



Under COVID-19 pandemic, MPs are shifting heavily toward service p. 18

Systemic racism is based in people p. 11



By Rose LeMay

By Jean Charest



Stéphane Perrault

p. 14

We're on the brink of losing Canada's aerospace industry p. 19

Susan Riley
p. 10



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News

Mackay's victory could be a 'threat to the party unity,' says Conservative MP Kusie

BY ABBAS RANA

Peter MacKay's potential leadership victory in what's shaping to be a divisive, close contest would alienate social conservatives and those in Western Canada, says a Conservative MP, while another says the former cabinet minister has a "proven track record" of unifying the party.

"If Peter is the victor, and he still could be, it is a threat to the unity of the party," said Conservative MP Stephanie Kusie (Calgary-Midnapore, Alta.). Ms. Kusie

Continued on page 20

News

Transformative global pandemic could bring positive changes to society, but will require 'an incredible amount of political will,' say politicians, pollsters

The deeper the impacts of COVID-19 and the longer the pandemic lasts, the more likely that major changes will occur in our society, says EKOS president Frank Graves, who hopes for big, positive changes. But Don Savoie says Canada will also need 'an incredible amount of political will' to deal with the massive spending hangover once the global pandemic is over.

BY ABBAS RANA

The global COVID-19 pandemic is a transformative moment that will reshape society by bring-



Once unthinkable policies, including a universal basic income and four-day work weeks, are now gaining traction, say politicians. Photograph courtesy of Pixabay

ing in positive changes to make Canada and the world a better place, say some political insiders, but others say a lot depends on when the public health crisis ends

Continued on page 23

News

Senators to decide on Beyak's fate this fall, Pate says Beyak should resign seat and offer to make way for someone Indigenous

BY BEATRICE PAEZ

With the fate of suspended Senator Lynn Beyak likely not to be decided until the fall, some Senators say they want to hear from her and their colleagues before making a decision, while one is "upset" that the committee charged with outlining remedies has recommended the Senate lift her suspension.

Continued on page 6

News

Federal, provincial watchdogs still waiting for full privacy assessment on national contact-tracing app

BY AIDAN CHAMANDY

The federal privacy commissioner says Health Canada only submitted documentation on the new voluntary national contact-tracing app to its office last Friday, June 19—a day after Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Ontario Premier Doug Ford announced the new app is set to roll out in Ontario on July 2.

Continued on page 4

News

Editorial independence assured, say Facebook and Canadian Press, amid launch of \$1-million fellowship

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

Following the launch of a fellowship between Facebook and The Canadian Press—a model CP's executive editor says has to

Continued on page 21



HEARD ON THE HILL

by Palak Mangat

Quebec pride on full display as MPs, province mark national holiday



L'hon. Pablo Rodriguez
Lieutenant du Québec et député d'Honoré-Mercier

Government House Leader Pablo Rodriguez is flanked by his senior communications adviser and former Ottawa Citizen parliamentary bureau chief Mark Kennedy as they jam out to mellow tunes to mark Quebec's national holiday on Wednesday, June 24, St-Jean-Baptiste Day. *Image courtesy of Twitter*

Government House Leader **Pablo Rodriguez**, also known around the Hill for his smooth dance moves, ditched the dance floor and opted to groove along to some mellow guitar tunes with his staffer **Mark Kennedy** to celebrate Quebec's Fête nationale on June 24. Mr. Kennedy, a former *Ottawa Citizen* parliamentary bureau chief who made the leap to the other side of the Hill in 2016, has been working with Mr. Rodriguez as his director of communications since early 2017. He took over the role in March five months after the election, when the prime minister named Mr. Rodriguez his Quebec lieutenant. Mr. Kennedy, now a senior communications adviser, joined his boss on the guitar in a video posted to Twitter on St-Jean-Baptiste Day. The 34 other Quebec Liberal MPs make appearances in the one-minute-and-55-second video and hold up signs with short descriptions of Quebecers and Quebec to the instrumental sounds of Mr. Rodriguez and Mr. Kennedy on their guitars. The video ends with a happy looking Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** wishing everyone a Happy St-Jean-Baptiste Day.

Political veteran Jay Hill now leading Wexit

Watch out, Parliamentarians, there's a new separatist party in town. Former veteran **HoCer Jay Hill**, who served in the House for 17 years (1993-2010) under the Reform Party, the Canadian Alliance and the Conservative Party as the MP for Prince George Peace-River, B.C., has been tapped to lead the newly emerged Wexit



Former Conservative MP Jay Hill, pictured in 2014, is now at the helm of the Wexit Party. *The Hill Times file photograph*

Party on an interim basis. The party's founder, **Peter Downing**, a former soldier and RCMP officer, resigned and Mr. Hill will assume his duties "until the party is able to hold a founding convention and the grassroots members elect a new leader," a party release said last week.

The party, which was green-lit by Elections Canada in January, wants to push for the separation of western provinces, an idea that began to gain greater traction again after the 2019 election handed Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** a second mandate. "I have been watching with great dismay the developments on the federal government scene and I'm very concerned about the direction the country's going in," he told CBC last week. "I came to realize that it will not matter to western Canada who wins the Conservative leadership race and who forms the next government ... because in the end, governments have to cater to the golden triangle of Toronto-Montreal-Ottawa and the West will never get a fair deal." Mr. Hill served most recently under **Stephen Harper** as government house leader until his retirement in 2010. Maybe everything old is new again? The Wexit Party plans to run 104 federal candidates in the next election in Alberta, British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

Hill reporters put feds on notice

The Parliamentary Press Gallery executive board agreed last month to "reiterate" to Public Services and Procurement Minister **Anita Anand** that the National Press Building, which is part of the Parliamentary Precinct, located on Wellington Street across the street from the West Block, is home to its gallery members and its "vocational history" needs to remain intact. "Any efforts to force out tenants through the imposition of unreasonable lease terms will be condemned by the board," read minutes from the gallery's May 28 executive meeting, held on teleconference.

The letter will be drafted by *La Presse* correspondent **Mélanie Marquis**, a member of the Parliamentary Press Gallery executive. Sometimes described as "dingy," the recognized federal heritage building is leased out to media outlets at commercial cost because of its proximity to the Hill. Some outlets, like *Le Devoir*, complained

in 2010 that the government was trying to kick it out of the space. At that time, the feds said that, as media tenants leave, the space would be held to look at how Ottawa can use it to meet other needs. Built in 1918, it has been leased to media organizations and the gallery since the 1960s. As reported in April, Ms. Anand's department has hit pause on some renovation projects that involve "exterior repairs," including at 150 Wellington St., in light of the pandemic.

Pressure mounts on Trudeau's China approach

Thirteen Senators are calling on the Trudeau government to slap Chinese officials with sanctions over the country's treatment of its Muslim minority, the arrest of two Canadians, and limitations to freedoms in Hong Kong. In an open letter written by Conservative Senators **Thanh Hai Ngo** (Ontario) and **Leo Housakos** (Quebec), signed by 11 of their colleagues, the group calls on Ottawa to impose Magnitsky sanctions on those officials responsible for the persecution of Tibetans "and intimidating our Chinese Canadians on Canadian soil, as well as for the treatment of our brave Canadians who are arbitrarily detained in China."



Conservative Senator Thanh Hai Ngo, pictured at right in 2017 with a representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Canada, is calling on Ottawa to slap China with sanctions. *Senate photograph by Martin Lipman*

It comes the same week a group of 19 high-ranking Canadians, including former foreign affairs minister **Lloyd Axworthy** and former justice minister **Allan Rock**, penned a letter calling for Justice Minister **David Lametti** to intervene and end the extradition case of Huawei executive **Meng Wanzhou**, in hopes that China will release two Canadians who Mr. Trudeau has said have been arbitrarily detained. Mr. Trudeau has said he respects but "deeply disagrees" with the suggested approach, and warned that intervening would lead to China detaining other Canadians.

Lawn Summer Nights bowling event shifts gears to trivia

Those looking to get their bocce, er, I mean lawn bowling fix in this summer might have to wait just a tad longer. The popular **Ottawa Lawn Summer Nights** event, held every July at the Elmdale Lawn Bowling club, is going virtual, with hopeful attendees encouraged to take part in a virtual trivia tournament instead. There is still a fundraiser for Cystic Fibrosis Canada, and registration for the first-ever virtual tourney opened last week ahead of the July 22 challenge.

Only captains of teams of no more than four need to register online. In what has become a summer staple that has brought together public servants, journalists, Hill



Eric Dillane, Kyle Allen, Greg MacEachern, and Chris McCluskey from Proof Strategies are pictured at last year's Lawn Summer Nights lawn bowling event. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

staffers, city staffers, and more, over the years and has raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for Cystic Fibrosis Canada, the hot-ticket event is usually remembered for its good-natured competition and creative, funky outfits. Among those who take part are Proof Strategies' **Greg MacEachern**, *HuffPost Canada's* **Althia Raj**, *The Globe and Mail's* **Kirsty Kirkup**, and *The Hill Times'* editor **Kate Malloy**.

MP Zann adds to her Hollywood chops

Liberal Nova Scotia MP **Lenore Zann**, already of *X-Men* and *Spider-Man* fame thanks to her roles as Rogue, has another movie hitting North America in August. Starring **Lucy Liu**, *Stage Mother* chronicles the story of a conservative church choir director who takes over a drag club in San Francisco that her deceased son started.



Liberal MP Lenore Zann has another movie coming out next month. *Image courtesy of Lenore Zann's office*

The two had been estranged since after he came out as gay, and Ms. Zann plays Babette, a Southern Belle. "I just saw the colonel & two soldiers!" "You've never seen that before?" "First time in the Ladies Room!" tweeted Ms. Zann on June 25, promoting the trailer. The film opens July 21 in the U.K. and makes its way across the pond on Aug. 21 in North America. Political theatre at its finest?

Former minister Clement advising in psychedelics world

Former Conservative MP and health minister **Tony Clement** is advising in the world of psychedelics. Ontario-based Red Light Holland, which is eyeing "production, growth, and sale of a premium brand of magic truffles to the legal, recreational market within the Netherlands," named the former Harper-era politician to its advisory board last week. He will work with officials to help the company in its lobbying and compliance efforts as it eyes international expansion. In a June 24 release, the company's CEO, **Todd Shapiro**, wrote that Mr. Clement "and I had long chats about his true thoughts on the unique sector we're in. Tony was the first to admit that years ago this would have been a difficult position to accept. However, his shared belief in our vision coupled with his extensive research, as of late, into the psychedelic space genuinely showed his progressive views which created immediate synergies."

Other notable Canadians involved with the organization include comedian **Russell Peters** and entrepreneur Ann Barnes, the founder and chairperson of the first legally licensed medical cannabis company in the country, Peace Naturals Project Inc.

In 2018, Mr. Clement resigned from his House committee duties, was asked to leave the Conservative caucus, sat as an Independent, and didn't run in the 2019 election after he admitted to sharing "sexually explicit images" and a video of himself to a person who he believed to be a "consenting female recipient," but who he claimed had targeted him for extortion. The RCMP later investigated and, in 2019, two men from the Ivory Coast were arrested for attempted extortion of Mr. Clement.

The Hill Times

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.



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Federal, provincial watchdogs still waiting for full privacy assessment on national contact-tracing app

The Ontario privacy commissioner says he hasn't seen the app in the final form ahead of the planned July 2 rollout, but is 'satisfied that privacy is being properly considered.'

Continued from page 1

The Office of the Privacy Commissioner told *The Hill Times* on June 24 that the documentation includes a "privacy analysis," but the office has "not received a formal privacy impact assessment (PIA) about this initiative."

Mr. Therrien told *The Hill Times* in a May 4 interview that a formal PIA "before an initiative is launched is the normal directive and is desirable" but "in an emergency situation, the government may proceed with a privacy-sensitive initiative with a serious privacy assessment, but not necessarily a fulsome PIA with all its usual rigour. There is some accommodation on some of the rules, but there needs to be a serious privacy assessment before something is launched."

Australia launched its contact tracing app on April 26 and released a full PIA on April 24. The Australian assessment was conducted by Maddocks, an Australian-based law firm. According to a post on the firm's website, the government asked for the PIA "in a timeframe much shorter than the minimum six weeks normally needed for a PIA of the same complexity."

At the federal level in Canada, PIAs are conducted according to a Treasury Board directive, not a law. Mr. Therrien has recommended that this be changed in a review of Canada's privacy laws. The guidance says these assessments should be submitted to both the Treasury Board Secretariat (TBS) and the Privacy Commissioner's Office at the same time, before the measure in question goes into effect. The privacy commissioner's office recommends, however, that institutions consult it "long before you finalize your report."

The TBS directive says assessments are only required in certain circumstances. Teresa Scassa, Canada Research Chair

in Information Law and Policy at the University of Ottawa, said because the federal government isn't going to be collecting data via the app, a PIA might not actually be required.

Prof. Scassa said that the information already made public about an app from Google, Apple, and Shopify could help speed up the privacy analysis.

The Google and Apple Exposure Notifications System is built

sure notification app, we are satisfied that privacy is being properly considered and addressed."

The federal privacy commissioner released a nine-point framework on April 17 that governments can use to assess potential privacy threats from initiatives like the contact tracing app.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) announced on June 18 that Canada would be

daily briefing. "There are over 30 million smartphones that could take this app in Canada, so we can talk about a significant portion of the Canadian population that could be protected by this app."

The app was built by the federal Canadian Digital Service, the Ontario Digital Service, and volunteers at Shopify. It uses application programming interface (API) technology co-developed



B.C. Privacy Commissioner Michael McEvoy and federal Privacy Commissioner Daniel Therrien, pictured on April 25, 2019, at a joint news conference in Ottawa to talk about their Facebook investigation involving Cambridge Analytica. Mr. McEvoy says he would like more information from the federal government on the proposed contact-tracing app. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

on open-sourced code and is a "very privacy protective protocol," Ms. Scassa said.

"Basically, the government doesn't get any of the data," she said.

Ontario Privacy Commissioner Brian Beamish told *The Hill Times* in a June 23 email that his office has not seen the app in its final form, "but in my discussions with government officials, I was clear that any Ontario-specific features of the app will be subject to review and oversight by my office. I have spoken to the federal privacy commissioner and we have agreed that our offices will be reviewing the app and the relevant privacy impact assessments to ensure that privacy is protected."

Mr. Beamish also said that "based on the information the government has provided us to date related to the proposed expo-

moving forward with a voluntary, nationwide contact tracing app, COVID Alert, that will be piloted in Ontario.

"It's something you can just download and forget about," he said. "Because it's completely anonymous, because it's low maintenance, because it is completely respectful of your privacy—including no location services or geotagging of any sort—people can be confident that this is an easy measure that they can have to continue to keep us all safe as we reopen, as we get more active."

Mr. Trudeau told reporters on June 18 that he hopes Canadians will voluntarily download the new app on their cellphones.

"It will be up to individual Canadians to decide whether to download the app or not, but the app will be most effective when as many people as possible have it," said Mr. Trudeau at that day's

told *The Hill Times* in a June 23 phone interview that he expects provincial privacy commissioners to have a big say in oversight, because "really, the nuts and bolts of this happens at a provincial level with provincial public health authorities." That is why, Mr. McEvoy said, he is disappointed that the federal government has not reached out to his office, or the offices of many other provincial privacy commissioners, to assess the specifics in each province. Mr. McEvoy said his office and B.C.'s ministry of health have been in close contact, but that "no decisions have been made in B.C. at this point."

New Brunswick Ombudsman Charles Murray echoed his provincial colleagues' concern. Mr. Murray told *The Hill Times* in a June 23 phone interview that he had seen a demonstration and had direct input into the architecture of his province's planned contact-tracing app, which was scrapped after Mr. Trudeau announced the national app. Apple and Google's terms of service limit their technology to one app per country to promote adoption and avoid patchworks. Mr. Murray said he hopes to see a demonstration of the app before it launches in his province.

Mr. Murray said one of the outstanding questions he has about the proposed app is how it knows which information to give people who've tested positive for the virus.

"When the time comes, how do you know that you have to give the person New Brunswick information? Because the app I saw had no geolocation encoded and no capacity for that," he said. "The device wouldn't know if that contact happened in New Brunswick or some other place. If we're going to direct people towards the correct testing information system, we're going to have to somehow link to their physical location unless we give them a whole page and say to click on the one that's appropriate."

On June 24, the British Columbia Freedom of Information and Privacy Association and a number of other civil liberty organizations, including the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, sent a letter to Mr. Trudeau and the premiers saying the app's launch "has come far too early, as the requisite privacy assessments are yet to be completed."

"If a contact-tracing application is to earn the trust of Canadians, then privacy must be of paramount importance. It is concerning that a deployment date has been publicly announced before the federal privacy commissioner has been given the opportunity to comprehensively review the application and its privacy impacts," the letter said.

The groups are calling on the federal government to provide the federal and provincial privacy commissioners with enough time and information to "fully analyze the application and release an assessment before, not after, the application is released to the public."

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The Hill Times

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Our Members have protected Canadians through floods, wildfires, pandemics, active threats and other incidents to ensure your safety and wellbeing. Most often though, we quietly serve to improve our collective quality of life and make our communities safer and better for everyone.

Thank you to all front-line RCMP Members who serve Canadians with pride in their hearts, today and always.

**Happy Canada Day,
From RCMP Members, Coast to Coast to Coast**

**NATIONAL
POLICE
FEDERATION**



**FEDERATION
DE LA POLICE
NATIONALE**

News

Senators to decide on Beyak's fate this fall, Pate says Beyak should resign seat and offer to make way for someone Indigenous

If the option were available, and if most Senators are in favour of lifting the suspension, Senator Kim Pate says she would prefer that Sen. Beyak be accepted back under a probationary period.

Continued from page 1

The Senate Ethics Committee issued its report Monday concerning the fate of Sen. Beyak, who was forced to step back without pay twice over her defence of racist letters insisting residential schools were good experiences, which she had posted on her Senate website. It recommended that the non-affiliated Senator be invited back into the Chamber after completing her second anti-racism course and writing an apology letter. The 24 hours of instruction, conducted by Jonathan Black-Branch of the University of Manitoba, was spread out over 10 sessions.

Progressive Senator Sandra Lovelace Nicholas (New Brunswick) said it was upsetting to hear the committee is recommending the lifting of the second suspension handed down in February.

"I was very surprised. We had asked Lynn Beyak to take those letters down for months and months, and she wouldn't do it," said Sen. Lovelace Nicholas. "I don't believe she's come to her senses. She's saying it was unconscious racism, but I just don't believe it. A racist is a racist is a racist."

One of the letters said Indigenous people in Canada would only "wait until the government

gives them stuff," and another said Indigenous people should be "grateful" for the residential school system imposed on them by Canada's government, in which as many as 6,000 children died and countless suffered abuse.

"Promoting this comment is offensive and unacceptable for a Conservative Parliamentarian," Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask.) said in a January 2018 statement announcing Sen. Beyak's removal from his party's caucus. "To suggest that Indigenous Canadians are lazy compared to other Canadians, is simply racist."



According to his March 2019 inquiry report, Senate Ethics Officer Pierre Legault said Sen. Beyak told him she "disclaimed an intention to promote anything that could be misconstrued as racist or promoting hatred in any way and reiterated that her objective was to restate the positive stories regarding Indian Residential Schools in order to help find solutions for some of the problems Indigenous people are facing. In her view this was necessary because the current approach is not working."

She also initially said that the letters were "edgy and opinionated," and that "there is no racism in Canada." She later amended this view to say that "there is in

fact racism in Canada, but that the overwhelming majority of Canadians are not racist," according to Mr. Legault's report.

Reached June 25 for comment, Ms. Beyak's lawyer Don Bayne declined to entertain any questions, saying "the committee heard from her," and that she has spoken to her "fellow Senators through her apology" and does not have anything further to add. Further requests for comment from Mr. Bayne in response to Sen. Lovelace Nicholas' comments were not returned.

In a letter sent in June to the Senate ethics officer, Sen. Beyak acknowledged that posting the letters was hurtful and "adversely impacted my Senate colleagues and the institution of the Senate."

"My intent was never to hurt anyone. ... My actions did not have their desired effect, which was to promote open and constructive dialogue to the national conversation on this critical issue. I accept full responsibility for my wrongful conduct," Sen. Beyak wrote in her June 5 apology.

The Senator also apologized "unreservedly" in February just before the Senate was expected to vote she be suspended again until conditions were met.

She said the letters "were disrespectful, divisive, and unacceptable," adding that she had not intended to "hurt anyone."

Sen. Lovelace Nicholas, who has been at the forefront in the fight to end sex discrimination of First Nations women, said she expected the committee to recommend her expulsion.

The committee, chaired by Independent Senator Murray Sinclair (Manitoba), wrote, "while it will be for all Senators to judge its sufficiency, your committee is satisfied that, in her letter of apology, Senator Beyak adequately acknowledges and understands the impact of her conduct and offers thoughtful reflection on her educational experience and what she has learned as a result."

Independent Senator Murray Sinclair (Manitoba), chair of the Senate Ethics Committee, told *The Hill Times* last week, "One of the aspects of reconciliation, which I have espoused from the beginning of my tenure as a Senator, and during my time as chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, is that, in order for us to achieve reconciliation, we have to recognize that there are obligations on both sides of the discussion. Obligations on the part of Indigenous people, and obligations on the part of non-Indigenous people, to figure out how to come together." *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

"Personally, I'm of the view that Sen. Beyak, like many people in Canada are, was totally unconscious of [her] own racism. I think she was unconscious of her own racism and is less unconscious now," Sen. Sinclair told *The Hill Times* last week.

"One of the aspects of reconciliation, which I have espoused from the beginning of my tenure as a Senator, and during my time as chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, is that, in order for us to achieve reconciliation, we have to recognize that there are obligations on both sides of the discussion," said Sen. Sinclair. "Obligations on the part of Indigenous people, and obligations on the part of non-Indig-



Non-affiliated Senator Lynn Beyak was suspended again from the Senate in February. A Senate committee has now recommended that her suspension be lifted after she completed her second anti-racism course. *The Hill Times* file photograph

nous people, to figure out how to come together."

Independent Senator Kim Pate (Ontario), a longtime advocate for the rights of prisoners, said she has yet to fully digest the report, but has great respect for her colleagues, especially Sen. Sinclair, who have come to the conclusion that Sen. Beyak has sought to make amends.

"I must say it's been a long time coming, and probably all of us have a heavy dose of skepticism," she said. "It remains to be seen whether this is a permanent change, and I think many of us would welcome it."

Progressive Senator Pierre D'Alphond (De Lorimier, Que.), a former judge, said he hasn't made a decision on whether he will support the committee's recommendation. Sen. D'Alphond said he will be giving careful consideration to its report, noting the committee is staffed by well-respected colleagues attuned to issues of racism.

"The best way to fight against that [racism] is education. Education in four days is certainly a good first step, but I expect to hear from her that education is a lifelong journey," the Quebec Senator said.

He also noted there has been "due process" for Sen. Beyak to respond to the Senate's concerns and has faced disciplinary measures beyond just a "slap on the wrist," including suspension without pay for several months.

"The Senate has been acting in a decisive way, imposing real consequences and a real program for retraining, and we've shown, as an institution, that we take these matters very seriously," he said.

If the option were available, and if most Senators are in favour of lifting the suspension, Sen. Pate said she would prefer that Sen. Beyak be accepted back under a probationary period.

At a time when there have been a number of high-profile resignations over controversial comments related to racial issues, Sen. Pate said she hopes Sen. Beyak will take it upon herself to resign and

offer to make way for someone Indigenous or a person of colour.

"In many cases, people who recognize they've behaved in a racist, or in some sort of discriminatory manner, often do agree to move aside," Sen. Pate said. "The honourable approach here could very well have been that Sen. Beyak decided to resign, to apologize, to undertake the [anti-racism] training."

Sen. Lovelace Nicholas agreed with Sen. Pate that the suspended Senator resign to make way for someone Indigenous or from a racialized background to take her place.

Asked if she plans to appeal to her fellow Senators to vote against the reinstatement, Sen. Lovelace Nicholas said she hasn't "thought that far ahead."

"We don't know when we'll be back; I'm sure there will be some people trying to say she shouldn't be reinstated, or she should stay on," she added.

The vote is likely to take place later in the fall, when the Senate is expected to resume routine sittings, according to Sen. D'Alphond. The Senate is currently sitting, but is not holding votes.

Sen. Sinclair, in an earlier interview, told *The Hill Times* that achieving reconciliation with Indigenous people means recognizing that the "educational process" that's needed "is going to be pretty bumpy." Sen. Sinclair said there's an "obligation" on the part of both parties to "to figure out how to come together."

At the same time, if Sen. Beyak fails to demonstrate she's learned from the experience, he said, the Senate would not be giving her a third chance.

Requests for comment from Conservative Senators Dennis Patterson (Nunavut), Don Plett (Manitoba), Yonah Martin (British Columbia), and Judith Seidman (Quebec), along with Canadian Senators Group Senator Josée Verner (Montarville, Que.), were deferred to Sen. Sinclair.

—With files from Palak Mangat
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The Hill Times



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Editorial

Sinclair offers true reconciliation, Beyak should show same respect

Independent Senator Murray Sinclair is one of Canada's leading experts on reconciliation. As the former head of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission from 2009 to 2015, he led the team that documented 7,000 statements from survivors of the notorious Indian residential schools across Canada. The schools, which ran from the 1870s to 1996, were legally mandated by the federal government and run by churches across the country to forcibly remove First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children between the ages four and 16 from their families, and existed in order to take away the children's language and culture. It's estimated 150,000 children were removed from their families and between 3,200 and 6,000 children died at the schools.

The TRC released its final report in 2015, calling the federal government's actions a "cultural genocide" and included 94 calls to action to commit to reconciliation. The TRC called for a more respectful relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. "Reconciliation is not an Indigenous problem. It is a Canadian one," Sen. Sinclair said at the time. "We have described for you a mountain. We have shown you the way to the top."

Last week, the former associate chief justice of Manitoba, and the first Indigenous judge appointed to the province, said suspended Senator Lynn Beyak deserved a "second chance" in the Senate.

As chair of the Senate Ethics Committee, he released a report recommending Sen. Beyak's suspension be rescinded and that she be reinstated to the Upper Chamber after she completed an "anti-racism" course that she was forced to take.

"Personally, I'm of the view that Sen. Beyak, like many people in Canada are, was totally unconscious of [her] own racism. I

think she was unconscious of her own racism and is less unconscious now," Sen. Sinclair told *The Hill Times* last week.

Sen. Beyak apologized "unreservedly" in February, which was also the eve of her second suspension from the Red Chamber. It was also two years after coming under fire, for sharing racist letters against Indigenous peoples on her Senate website. In 2019, the Senate ethics officer ruled that five of the letters had racist content.

Last year, Sen. Beyak was suspended without pay for refusing to take down letters from her website. Some of the letters, for example, claimed Indigenous people had good experiences at residential schools. She argued at the time that the letters were sent to her, not written by her. Sen. Beyak, who was kicked out of the Conservative caucus in 2018 over the letters, initially denied they were racist and said pressure to take them down violated free speech.

"One of the aspects of reconciliation, which I have espoused from the beginning of my tenure as a Senator, and during my time as chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, is that, in order for us to achieve reconciliation, we have to recognize that there are obligations on both sides of the discussion," said Sen. Sinclair. "Obligations on the part of Indigenous people, and obligations on the part of non-Indigenous people, to figure out how to come together."

Make no mistake, Sen. Sinclair also warned that "she's not going to get a third chance," but last week he showed her and offered her real reconciliation. It's now up to Sen. Beyak to begin climbing to the top of that mountain. She could do that by offering to resign her seat and to make way for someone Indigenous. Meanwhile Sen. Sinclair has done more than his part.

Letters to the Editor

Canada does not need a seat at the UN Security Council to be a credible player in global peacebuilding: KAIROS

Re: "It isn't fun losing UN Security Council seat, but there's a lot to be learned from it," (*The Hill Times*, June 22). There is indeed much to learn from Canada losing a seat on the UN Security Council. And while I agree that new voices, particularly women's voices, are needed to offer an alternative vision of human security and a culture of peace, I also believe that Canada could provide a credible plan to do just that.

Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP), which is backed by solid evidence, 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. Specifically, FIAP recognizes the importance of grassroots women peace-builders in conflict zones as key actors in rebuilding communities and maintaining peace.

The problem is not the plan. The problem is that FIAP has been underfunded since its inception, in part, because Canada's official development assistance funding has been well below the international standard of 0.7 per cent gross national income, much lower than Norway's and Ireland's.

Canada does not need a seat at the UN Security Council to be a credible player in global peace-building. It could champion a non-militaristic and feminist approach to security that reflects the work of the local women organizations and movements all over the world. Canada just needs to match dollars to its words.

Rachel Warden
 Partnerships manager
 KAIROS
 Toronto, Ont.

Preserving a vital lifeline in the time of COVID-19

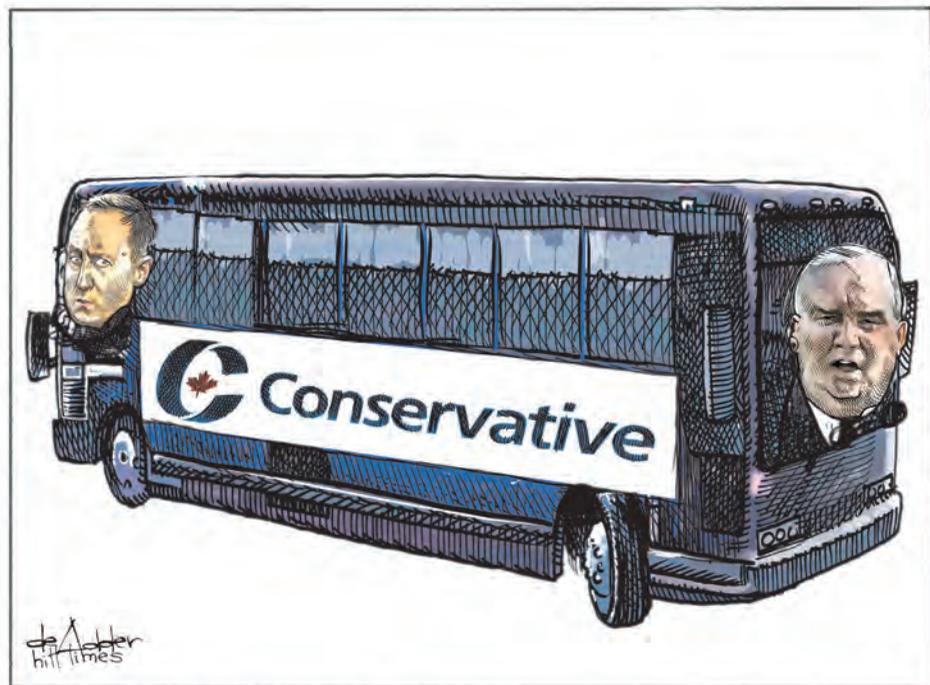
As a 100 per cent Inuit-owned airline, Canadian North was pleased to see thoughtful, in-depth coverage of northern social and economic issues in *The Hill Times*' recent policy brief, which included recognition that northern airlines play an essential role in the health and well-being of northern Canadians, particularly during the ongoing COVID-19 crisis. Canadian North serves an incredibly small and widely dispersed customer base, which represents less than one per cent of Canada's population, distributed across almost 40 per cent of Canada's landmass and three time zones. This includes Canada's northernmost communities, Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay. Of the 25 northern communities within our network, 23 have no road or rail access and limited seasonal sealift service, so our flights enable the movement of people, food and other crucial goods as well as access to medical care and government services—things that most other Canadians take for granted.

While we are supportive of the restrictive territorial travel bans that have been implemented to prevent the spread of COVID-19 within the vulnerable communities we serve, they have led to a sudden and severe loss of revenue that we depend on to operate our airline. We are grateful for the short-term government funding we have received which has enabled us to sustain our essential

services amidst these unprecedented challenges, however, this funding will only be available until the end of June. The impacts of COVID-19 will last much longer, so we require a long-term financial aid program so we can continue to serve as a vital lifeline for the duration of this crisis.

Canadian North has already reduced its schedule and capacity by more than 50 per cent and implemented temporary and permanent layoffs to decrease our workforce. Other northern airlines have taken similar, difficult steps to stay afloat. These actions will unfortunately not be enough to offset the severe loss of revenue. Furthermore, we are unable to reduce our overhead any further due to the vastness and complexity of the area we serve and the minimum essential air service that the Territorial and Regional governments have asked us to provide. We believe that the contraction or demise of Canadian North and other northern airlines would imperil the safety and well-being of the people and communities across Inuit Nunangat. We urgently need our government partners to provide the assistance necessary for us to maintain safe and stable operations for everyone who depends on us, at a time when we are most needed.

Johnny Adams
 Executive chairman, Canadian North
 Kanata, Ont.



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Internal warfare in Conservative leadership heating up

Modern technology makes campaigns easier to organize but also easier to infiltrate.



Sheila Copps

Copps' Corner

OTTAWA—The internal warfare in the Conservative leadership is heating up.

Accusations of espionage surfaced last week when an unnamed student employee of Erin O'Toole was fired for allegedly leaking information to the Peter MacKay camp.

Modern technology makes campaigns easier to organize but also easier to infiltrate.

The alleged offence involved a claim that MacKay's team secured videotapes of high-level Zoom meetings held by the O'Toole team across the country.

Neither side should be that surprised about a dirty tricks campaign.

Internal party nominations are always rife with malfeasance because the level of outside oversight is non-existent.

Only the party can investigate wrongdoing, and any party is hesitant to bring disrepute unto itself.



It's getting dirty: Conservative leadership candidates Peter MacKay and Erin O'Toole. Accusations of espionage surfaced last week when an unnamed student employee of Erin O'Toole was fired for allegedly leaking information to the Peter MacKay camp. The stakes are high, so both sides are baring their knuckles. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

So political parties go to great lengths to deny or obscure internal shenanigans.

In the olden days, the strategy was to try and disrupt delegate selection meetings in each riding.

That involved doing your level best to encourage supporters to get to the meetings and doing everything possible to discourage other teams' supporters from doing the same.

People would use every form of dirty tricks.

Some that have happened in the Liberal Party include disabling old-style telephone booths by plugging gum into the phone, supergluing the door locks of opponents' offices on the day of the vote, and even bugging an opponent's office to secure valuable confidential information. Hacking or even theft of computers has also been used to secure clandestine details about the opponent's campaign strategy.

The new Zoom world makes it possible, even ridiculously easy, to garner information right down

to the tiniest organizational detail by simply getting a full video of every meeting.

That security gap is one reason that many companies choose not to avail themselves of the Zoom platform but instead use encrypted offerings to manage the increasing number of post-COVID virtual meeting operations.

But political campaigns do not have the same financial leverage as large corporations. The Zoom platform is virtually free if the meetings end in less than 40 minutes, so they provide an ideal platform for cross country communications.

In the olden days, the biggest part of a campaign expense would-be long-distance phone charges. Now in the world of voice over internet protocol, it is virtually free to connect with all parts of the country.

But that also opens the door to more intraparty espionage.

And as the Conservative leadership vote is going to happen by

mail, the opportunity to contact every voter early can be a huge advantage.

The deadline for the postal ballot is Aug. 21 and the opportunity to purchase a membership ended May 15.

From mid-May until voting day, all candidates will be trying to encourage switchers to come onboard.

So, access to information is obviously important in building targeted campaign messaging.

But an investigation by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police is probably not the sort of campaign messaging that the MacKay team was hoping for.

MacKay's people insisted the violations were the work of a single individual, and not part of a larger strategy.

But O'Toole's team countered with a question as to why two internet providers in Calgary and Toronto were involved in hacking and recording more than 140 separate Zoom videos.

The police will get to the bottom of the story. Whatever

the outcome, there will be some damage done to the MacKay campaign.

Many party members are ideologues, who believe in the power of Conservative values, but vehemently oppose illegal activity.

Some of them will no doubt be raising eyebrows over the allegations.

MacKay supporters may simply discount the claim as sour grapes from a losing candidate. That is no doubt how the MacKay team will be trying to explain the issue internally.

But the ferocity of the dustup also shows that Conservatives believe the winner could actually form a government.

The stakes are high, so both sides are baring their knuckles.

Not long ago, it appeared that the Tories were doomed to spend a decade in opposition. With Andrew Scheer at the helm, it was simple for the Liberals and New Democrats to tag Tories as anti-women and anti-gay.

The picture is much different with this leadership race. O'Toole made it very clear during the leader's debate that he favoured a women's right to choose and supported the rights of gays and lesbians.

MacKay unsuccessfully tried to cast himself as the only social liberal in the race.

Both are positioning themselves to move to the centre at the end of the Tory convention.

And that could spell trouble for Liberals.

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

The Hill Times

Trump versus Biden will be negatively unique

This particular American presidential race promises to be one of the nastiest and most vicious campaigns in living memory, as each team will do its best to demonize the other side. Yet each team, I'd argue, will do so in starkly different ways.



Gerry Nicholls

Post-Partisan Pundit

OKAVILLE, ONT.—Russian author Leo Tolstoy wrote, "Happy families are all alike, every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way."

The same thing, I think, can be said for political campaigns;

the ones which focus on positivity are usually pretty much all alike, while every negative campaign is negative in its own way.

That's because negative campaigns focus on a particular opponent's weaknesses, and weaknesses can vary greatly, depending on whom you're attacking, depending on the situation's political context, depending on the target's record, and depending on prevalent public attitudes.

To see what I mean, let's consider the presidential slug match that's taking place right now in America, between Democrat Joe Biden and Republican Donald Trump.

First off, let me state the obvious; this particular American

presidential race promises to be one of the nastiest and most vicious campaigns in living memory, as each team will do its best to demonize the other side.

Yet each team, I'd argue, will do so in starkly different ways.

I suspect the Biden campaign, for instance, will focus on comparing and contrasting the personality and character of their candidate with Trump's personality and character.

In other words, the Democratic Party's communication strategy will be a mix of positive and negative.

Its positive messaging will likely stress Biden's long record of public service, his avuncular nature, his trustworthiness and his willingness to work with others to get things done.

The Democrats will also try mightily to link their candidate with former U.S. president Barack Obama, reminding American voters that Biden served as vice-president during a relatively peaceful era of "hope and change."

Additionally, Biden will be careful to avoid embracing any controversial policies that might

brand him as too radical. (Hence his current unwillingness to jump on the "Defund the Police" bandwagon.)

At the same time, however, Biden's team will take off the gloves and savagely hack away at Trump's character, doing everything they can to portray him as a dangerous, narcissistic, possibly racist, corrupt, and incompetent bully.

And given Trump's record, the attack ads will basically write themselves.

At any rate, my point is, the Democrats are hoping to creating a warm and fuzzy, nostalgic-tinted vibe around Biden, pushing him as a sane and reasonable alternative to the unstable Trump.

With the current ugly state of America—race riots, pandemics, economic downturn—it's a message that will likely resonate with a weary American public that just wants social peace and an end to turbulent times.

So how does Trump counter?

Well, his obvious play is to focus on inflaming emotions, with one emotion in particular—fear.

That's to say, the Republicans will try to make the case that Biden is too weak and feeble to

oppose his own party's left-wing base; if Biden is elected president, they'll warn, the police will be defunded, historic monuments, such as the Jefferson Memorial, will be dismantled and the Second Amendment guaranteeing the right to "bear arms" will be repealed.

Expect lots of images showing looters wrecking cities and vandals desecrating statues, to turn up in Republican TV ads.

In short, according to Team Trump's messaging, a Biden victory will be a win for Marxist malcontents who will destroy America's soul.

Could be an effective message.

True, as noted earlier, Biden will try to distance himself from his party's more left-wing elements, but that might not work since "guilt by association" is a thing in politics.

So, to sum up, the Democrats will say, "our guy is good, the other guy is bad," the Republicans will say, "Okay, our guy's bad, but the other guy's worse."

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant.

The Hill Times

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Opinion

The daily handouts have slowed and the reckoning has begun

Perhaps our best hope of recovery, not entirely foolish, is that Canada's abundance—our mineral, natural and human resources—will prevail. It is crucial, however, that everyone shares equally the sacrifices and rewards that lie ahead. That will require uncommonly wise political leadership.



Susan Riley

Impolitic

CHELSEA, QUE.—While the pandemic is far from over, its impact is declining in many parts of Canada and there are increasing stirrings of concern about the next challenge: how do we get ourselves out of this economic hole?

The general answer is “intelligently and carefully,” but anyone who professes to have a detailed plan is suffering a dangerous abundance of confidence. Too much is unknown, including the duration of the first wave and the timing and severity of a second. And we won't understand for a while how this unprecedented shock to our lives and our economy will change old economic patterns and old political bromides. We could be facing a changed world—or not.

There has been unusual political consensus that the geysers of federal spending was necessary—remains necessary, in many sectors—and most was dispersed with unprecedented dispatch and efficiency. The Canada Emergency Wage Subsidy (CEWS) was undersubscribed—some \$13.3-billion has been distributed from a potential \$73-billion budgeted—but the elves in Finance are tweaking the program, intended to help companies and organizations retain staff during the downturn.

Eventually, it is expected to replace the popular Canada Emergency Relief Benefit (CERB), which pays some six million Canadians \$2,000 a month until September, at least. At the depth of the downturn, more than eight million took advantage of the program. It is much simpler to access than the CEWS, which originally required employers to prove a 30 per cent decline in revenues to be eligible. And, for many businesses, it is hard to predict how many pre-pandemic employees they will still need in an uncertain new economy. Others have simply closed operations.

The assistance to large corporations (those worth more than \$300-million) has also been greeted wanly—partly because it comes with strings attached, and partly because the interest rates for the bridge financing are not attractive. Recipients are required to produce a carbon reduction plan and accept limits on executive pay, dividends and share buybacks, and, of course, pay back the loans.

Some also quietly question whether giving seniors a universal one-time \$300 smacks more of pandering than sound policy—given that seniors are, generally, financially secure. But most of the targeted aid, notably to cities and provinces, has been needed and appreciated.

But now the daily handouts have slowed and the reckoning has begun.

First, it is important to note that while the economy took an unprecedented hit with the highest projected deficit ever of \$250-billion for 2019-2020 and a projected debt of more than \$1-trillion, there are glimmers of hope.

Many government employees kept their jobs and continued working from home. Health-care workers are, if anything, overworked. Front-line grocery store employees (who received shamefully short-term wage increases), delivery personnel and food producers continued to work throughout the downturn, at considerable personal risk. And, while many teachers were laid off, others continued working remotely.

Canada's unemployment rate rocketed from 5.6 per cent in February to 13.7 per cent in May, but most adult Canadians continued to work. And, last month, the economy actually added 289,000 jobs as retail, manufacturing and other sectors began to re-emerge. Indeed, the construction sector and associated trades are booming, as home renovations, public works and other outdoor work accelerate.

And while many retail outlets, restaurants and bars—particularly in shopping malls—were fatally wounded, other small businesses thrived. Greenhouses, gardening stores, sporting and cycle shops, and online sales did box office business. Those Canadians who continued working, especially from home, continued to draw normal salaries with fewer places to spend their money.

Needless to say, the bright spots were shadowed by the collapse of family restaurants, tourism operations, concert and entertainment venues, losses in the airline industry and layoffs across the manufacturing sector. Young people, notably graduating students, hourly-wage earners, immigrant communities and women were disproportionately hurt by the economic chaos and continue to suffer from lack of day care and, in some cases, unsafe workplaces. Nor will the more than three million jobs lost in recent months re-appear overnight. New Bank of Canada Governor Tiff Macklem warned recently that recovery will be “prolonged and bumpy with the potential for setbacks along the way.”

That said, much has been made of Canada's remarkable recovery from a previous cataclysmic event: the record deficits and debts accumulated during the second world war. In the burst of growth and prosperity that immediately followed the war, the crucial debt-to-GDP ratio diminished to 20 per cent from 110 per cent by the 1970s.

Continued on page 22

Comment

Systems are made up of people, systemic racism is based in people

Anti-racism is a commitment to the value of equity and human rights. One must value the human rights of others, including others who are different, to be inclusive. One must uphold the principle of equity for all, not just those who look like me. And one must act on the values of equity and human rights.



Rose LeMay

Stories, Myths, and Truths

OTTAWA—Racism is harmful. Racism simply says there is no room for those who look different.

Anti-racism is a commitment to the value of equity and human rights. One must value the human rights of others, including others who are different, to be inclusive. One must uphold the principle of equity for all, not just those who look like me. And one must act on the values of equity and human rights.

Racism is acting on the belief that some do not have human rights, that equity is not available for all.

I have the right to be free from discrimination. It is a right recognized and upheld by the United Nations. When I experience blatant racism, when another individual blatantly acts or says something to demean me because of my race or culture, that individual is essentially saying that I have no rights, and that my identity is not worthy. Being followed in stores because of the assumption that I'm a thief or telling a youth that she should not expect to make good money because no 'Indians' are rich; these things are harmful.



Ottawa's Parkdale United Church Rev. Anthony Bailey, pictured on June 5, 2020, at the anti-racism demonstration on Parliament Hill, which attracted an estimated 8,000 people. Systemic racism shows itself in any measure in which Indigenous peoples, or Black Canadians, or people of colour are doing worse than any other group. It is that simple, writes Rose LeMay. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Not all racism is blatant or glaring. Some racism is racism by omission, such as giving a lesser quality of service because of the individual's race or culture; not getting served as often or at all in restaurants; being invisible in hospitals instead of being served as urgently as any other person in the emergency waiting room. This is dangerous.

Some racism is unconscious bias. Canadians have been brought up on the lies that Indigenous peoples need help, and they're all just unemployed or unintelligent or poor or drunk. But these are stereotypes, lies told to maintain racism. When Canadians are immersed in them and reinforced through media which rarely highlights Indigenous successes, the lies become ingrained. And then quick decisions are made based on unconscious bias and with grave results. Hospital staff assume the Indigenous person's stroke symptoms are instead about drunkenness. Police assume the Indigenous person's clothing represents poverty rather than casualness. The conference assumes the Indigenous speaker's silence is about lack of intelligence rather than thoughtful consideration. It's painful.

Repeated experiences of racism, or consistent inclusion in society, might well be a fundamental determinant of well-being in Canada. Repeated racism might well have impacts like repeated trauma and it risks health and well-being.

Systemic racism is the sum of the majority of humans acting on conscious and unconscious bias. Systems are simply the sum of the majority's values and beliefs in policy and procedure, and the



An anti-racism protester, pictured at the anti-racism demonstration on Parliament Hill on June 5. Anti-racism is a commitment to the value of equity and human rights. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

void of the minority's values and beliefs reflected in policy and procedure and perhaps just missing completely as people. Much of it is from unconscious bias so it is difficult to recognize, but it is glaringly obvious to those who are impacted negatively.

Systemic racism shows itself in any measure in which Indigenous peoples, or Black Canadians, or people of colour are doing worse than any other group. It is that simple. The overrepresentation of Indigenous Canadians in corrections is not a measure of Indigenous criminality—it is a stark measure of systemic racism in the corrections system. The

overrepresentation of Indigenous peoples with disease is a measure of the systemic racism in health systems from funding and all the way through to accountability measures. The alarming overrepresentation of Indigenous peoples enduring brutality at the hands of police is a glaring measure of the systemic racism of police forces, leaders, and unions.

Systemic racism calls out both the acts of conscious and unconscious racism, and the silent majority who have done nothing and may continue to benefit from the system. Some leaders simply don't want the trouble of making

changes. Some individuals simply don't want the status quo to change. The silent majority protects them all. Silence is support.

The spotlight is now focused on the darkness of racism. It is not the light's fault.

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

The Hill Times

Feature

'Just not the same': Parliamentarians plan Canada Day festivities around the COVID-19 pandemic

'We do not celebrate the existence of this country in the same way other people do, because we think that the existence of this country came at a price to our ancestors and to us,' says Senator Murray Sinclair.

BY PALAK MANGAT

With major Canada Day celebrations across the country either halted entirely or mimicking Parliament in their move to a more virtual venue, some Hillites and MPs are still eager to get into the celebratory spirit as much as they can, while still paying respect to the past and those hit hardest by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Liberal MP William Amos (Pontiac, Que.), whose riding spans more than 40 municipalities, will take part in an online celebration for the village of Wakefield, "but apart from that, my plan is definitely to get out in a canoe. I need to do something that I know in my bones feels Canadian."

He said the day "is all about tradition. It's about seeing the kids dressed up, it's about the face paint and remembering the time. So I feel like this is a moment when COVID isolation really strikes a raw nerve."

Mr. Amos said he hopes to do a road trip around to the region's long-term care homes. "I obviously can't go and visit, but I can go and make some noise and celebrate and have a big flag. We're still trying to figure out the logistics of all this, of how we do it in such a way that doesn't just confuse people." His province, along with Ontario, has been one of the hardest hit by the pandemic. As of June 25, there were more than 54,000 cases and 5,400 deaths in Quebec.

Now a two-term MP, he said the day is a "joyous celebration that has had political undertones."

"Sometimes people don't recognize this, but through the 70s, 80s, and 90s, with all of the threats of Quebec separation and the two referendums, western Quebec, and particularly Anglophone western Quebec, was really preoccupied and against separation," he said. "So there's always been this upwelling of passion for Canada Day, because it enables them to demonstrate not only the strength of their community, but their passion for a country that they don't want to see blow up."

Made up of "strong pockets of anglophones," and including towns like Shawville, Low, Sheenboro, and Wakefield, he predicted the population in some communities nearly quadruples during the day's festivities. "They can't have their events this year, which is actually not just a cultural loss, but an economic loss as well," said Mr. Amos. "Of course there will be efforts to modify and transform the celebrations to some degree online ... but for a region that borders Ontario ... it's a tough blow, for sure."

Typically, Mr. Amos' celebrations span two days, taking his staff at least a day to co-ordinate his stops across multiple communities. He usually begins by throwing out the ceremonial first pitch to open a Mansfield softball tournament, while his provincial colleague takes a swing of the bat. Then, it's off to a parade in Quyon, followed by a singing of the national anthem, a raising of the flag, and fireworks.

On the day of, he begins at a pancake breakfast in Shawville, then aims to hit communities like Wakefield, Low, Kazabazua, Otter Lake, and back to Aylmer or Wakefield for the evening.

"These towns are so well co-ordinated, they respect each others' parade times, so there's a real regional thing that happens," he said. "It took me two, three years as a first-term MP to really figure out, 'OK, how do I navigate all of these different amazing community celebrations, and really do justice to the community organizers?'"

Independent Senator Murray Sinclair (Manitoba) said he does not plan on attending any in-person events to mark the occasion, but the day is very much a family affair, complete with traditional ceremonies and big meals.

"We do not celebrate the existence of this country in the same way other people do, because we think that the existence of this country came at a price to our ancestors and to us," he said. "We talk about the history of this country to our grandchildren ... I tell them about what my grandparents went through, so that they know what will not be taught to them in school. And that is that we have come through a difficult time and we're still here and we're flourishing and we're doing well, because we are a strong people."

Sen. Sinclair, who chaired the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, laughed and added that "for the most part, we have some pretty fierce card games during the course of the day. Dominoes, apparently, has now come back, because now the younger people are playing dominoes, which I didn't know could be as fierce and potentially violent as it appears to be."

Conservative MP Jasraj Singh Hallan (Calgary Forest Lawn, Alta.) said he has been invited to take part in virtual celebrations, some of which are in neighbouring ridings.

"There's so many events to name, but all those won't be happening this year. So this year I've been invited so far to four digital ones on Zoom," he said. They include a virtual one hosted by the Dawoodi Bohra community, another organized by a local mosque, and an in-person barbecue and turban tying event at the Dashmesh Cultural Centre in Calgary. All are slated for 11 a.m. into the early afternoon, leaving Mr. Hallan to offer about 30 minutes to each event.

Though a rookie MP, Mr. Hallan said he is no stranger to running around his riding, noting he's door knocked his constituency about three times during the 2019 spring provincial election (Mr. Hallan unsuccessfully ran for the United Conservative Party in Calgary-McCall).

"I'm used to it," he laughed. "Before the pandemic, we were doing six to seven events in a day on a weekend, so we're used to all that kind of stuff."

"I think the spirit will be there from everyone, it's just being celebrated differently."

Conservative MP Kevin Waugh (Saskatoon-Grasswood,



Last year's Canada Day celebrations on the Hill and Major's Hill Park welcomed packed crowds as a sea of red joined to ring in the country's 152nd birthday. Thanks to the COVID-19 pandemic and physical distancing restrictions, this year's July 1 will look very different from eras past. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia



Independent Senator Murray Sinclair, pictured in March 2018, plans to spend the day with his children and grandchildren. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Liberal MP William Amos, pictured last June in Mansfield-et-Pontefract, says he plans to hit the water to celebrate Canada Day this year. *Image courtesy of the William Amos' Instagram*



There will be a lot less hand-shaking this Canada Day thanks to cancelled or scaled back events, says Conservative MP Kevin Waugh, pictured at Diefenbaker Park during last year's celebrations. *Image courtesy of Kevin Waugh's Instagram*

Sask.) said usually, he starts the day at Diefenbaker Park in Saskatoon, joining constituents as they flip pancakes, groove to live music, hear from dignitaries like himself, and revel in evening fireworks.

"There's only about seven or eight guys [organizing] and they've been doing this for decades. It all starts usually on the [June 29], they get fences going and then they put it on. It's great, but [won't happen] this year," he said.

Hosted by the Optimist Club of Saskatoon since 1967, the festivities have been held at the park since the 1990s. The in-person event was cancelled in April, as anywhere between 15,000 and 30,000 people were expected to attend. "They're doing virtual greetings on July 1 on their webpage, so I did mine a week and a

half ago from the site at Diefenbaker Park. But it's just not the same," said Mr. Waugh. Around noon, the MP usually heads over to a local mosque, before setting his sights on an event hosted by the Islamic Association of Saskatchewan.

"I'm not going to Canada Day at Diefenbaker Park, I'm not going to the [mosque], I'm not going to the Islamic Association. So in essence, on July 1, it's going to be pretty quiet here," he said. In the spirit of the celebration, though, Mr. Waugh said he plans to drive around and hand out accessories like Canadian flags and pins, but the day will still "be very low key." He is still finalizing which neighbourhoods he can hit, but said there are about seven he has his eyes on.

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The Hill Times

Global

U.S. sanctions against Syria won't bring Assad's regime down

When governments impose sanctions they usually explain that they had to 'do something,' but the new sanctions will hurt ordinary Syrians very badly.



Gwynne Dyer
Global Affairs

LONDON, U.K.—On June 17, the United States imposed new sanctions on Syria: a “sustained campaign of economic and political pressure” to end the nine-year war by forcing Syrian President Bashar al-Assad to

UN-brokered peace talks where he would negotiate his departure from power. Assad's wife was already cross about not being able to shop at Harrod's or Bergdorf Goodman, so he should crumble any day now.

Other things are crumbling already. Ordinary people's incomes are collapsing (down by three-quarters since the beginning of the year). The price of food in Syria has doubled. Lebanon next door, already in financial meltdown, is now seeing its large trade with Syria vanish as well.

Even those Syrians who support the regime—around one-third of the people who have not fled the country—will have a much harder time, but they won't desert the regime. The more prosperous ones depend on Assad's regime for their income, and the poorer ones are mostly minorities who fear they will be slaughtered if the jihadis win.

The U.S. decision to raise the pressure on Assad is probably a random by-product of Donald Trump's obsessive campaign against Iran (which has been helping the Syrian regime to stay afloat). If Trump even knows that the remaining rebel groups in

Syria are by now all led by fanatical Islamists linked to al-Qaida, the group that organized the 9/11 terrorist attacks, he doesn't care.

The Syrian tragedy is mainly due to endless foreign interventions. The Syrians who called for an end to Assad's regime in the 'Arab Spring' of 2011 were just like the young men and women who started demanding the fall of Egyptian dictator Hosni Mubarak at the same time. They were both genuinely popular movements, not fronts for jihadis.

The Egyptian protesters won, there was a free election—and then the army struck back in 2013, slaughtered several thousand people in the streets of Cairo, and put General Abdel Fatah el-Sisi in power, where he remains to this day. Egypt is at peace, although hundreds more people have probably died in Sisi's prisons since then, and thousands have been tortured.

The Syrian protesters didn't get that far. They were driven from the streets—but then various foreign powers started organizing the rebels and giving them arms. The war has lasted another eight years, and somewhere between 400,000 and 700,000 Syrians have been killed.

Five million Syrians have fled abroad, and another five million are displaced within Syria.

So here's the question: would you prefer Egypt's fate or Syria's? Both countries are still tyrannies, but one is literally in ruins, with half the population out of their homes, and the other had a few thousand deaths. It's a no-brainer, isn't it?

The Syrian power struggle would probably have ended in an Assad victory around the same time that Gen. Sisi took over in Egypt if the U.S., Turkey and Saudi Arabia hadn't begun sending the Syrian rebels arms and money. U.S. motives were mixed, but the Turks and the Saudis, both led by different kinds of militant Muslims, just saw an opportunity to replace a secular regime with a hard-line Islamist one.

They would probably have succeeded if Russia had not intervened to save Assad in 2015, and Syria would probably be divided today between al-Qaida and Islamic State. The groups linked to al-Qaida absorbed or destroyed all the others, and today they rule over a single province in north-west Syria under Turkish protection. But still the war drags on.

If any of these outside players had been willing to put their own

troops on the ground, the war would at least have ended years ago (though it might have ended badly). But none of them were willing to risk their own soldiers' lives—not even the Russians, who stick to air strikes. And now the U.S. is hitting Syria with even bigger sanctions.

When governments impose sanctions they usually explain that they had to “do something,” but the new sanctions will hurt ordinary Syrians very badly. They might be justified if there were a reasonable chance that more sanctions could bring Assad's regime down, but there's no chance of that, and everybody knows it.

In a famous paper in 1997, Robert Pape of the University of Chicago showed that out of 116 cases of international sanctions being imposed during the 20th century, in only six cases did the target government yield to the demands of the country imposing the sanctions. The success rate has not improved since.

It's 70 years since the United States imposed sanctions on North Korea, and the Kim family is still in power. It's 60 years since it put sanctions on Cuba, and the Communists still rule. It's 40 years since Washington slapped sanctions on Iran, and the ayatollahs still rule. Not to mention Zimbabwe (sanctions since 2003), or Venezuela (2006), or Russia (2014).

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

Once you think you have a handle on where terrorism is going it throws you for a loop

The added difficulty in all this is that terrorism has become complicated. Not that it was ever 'simple,' but we now need our security intelligence and law enforcement agencies to look at multiple actors across multiple ideologies all at the same time.



Phil Gurski
National Security

OTTAWA—We have been living in a post-9/11 world now for almost two decades. The events of that fateful day led to two military invasions by the U.S. and its allies in the name of 'fighting terrorism' as well as actions by other nations in the same vein. We have all learned more than we probably wanted to about con-

cepts such as jihads, martyrdom, and suicide bombing.

It has been generally accepted that a particular brand of terrorism, what we call Islamist violent extremism, has dominated the headlines and our attention over the past 20 years. Groups have arisen other than the one that carried out those attacks in New York and Washington, i.e., al-Qaida. Some of these include the Al Shabaab in Somalia, the Boko Haram in Nigeria and, of course, the Islamic State (ISIS), perhaps the worst of them all. Together, they have carried out thousands of attacks and killed tens of thousands of people in dozens of nations.

It was not always this way, however. Terrorism did not burst forth into our world on Sept. 11, 2001: it has been around, at least in its modern form, since the mid-1800s.

The current dominant strain is the fourth such “wave” of terrorism, as described by U.S. academic David Rapoport. Like other waves, it will most likely not last forever. But it is premature to write its obituary.

Of late, we have been hearing a lot about far-right terrorism. Recent events in the U.S. and Western Europe have introduced us to groups such as the Boogaloo Bois (who are seeking to foment a second U.S. civil war) and the German Nordadler (“northern eagles”) as well as a litany of white supremacist and neo-Nazi organizations. “Experts” have weighed in to say that security services have focused far too much on jihadis and need to retool to investigate these other actors who, they claim, pose a much greater threat.

Poppycock. The jihadist threat has neither disappeared nor even diminished in strength around the world or in the West, and that includes Canada. Recent reporting supports the position that we are nowhere close to being able to shift our gaze from Islamist terrorists to far-right ones, abandoning the former and dashing full speed ahead on the latter. To wit: 119 terrorist attacks were foiled,

failed or completed in 2019 in 13 EU countries, resulting in 27 people being wounded, 26 of them by ISIS. Of the 10 people killed, all but one were by ISIS-inspired terrorists;

Twenty-five terror plots have been foiled in the U.K. since the Westminster attack in 2017, the vast majority of which were Islamist extremist in nature;

Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, and Nigeria suffer terrorist attacks weekly, if not daily, all perpetrated by Islamist terrorists.

When I worked at CSIS, the overwhelming majority of counterterrorism investigations were centred on Canadian Islamist extremists, some of whom plotted acts of terrorism here (e.g., the Toronto 18) while others went abroad to join terrorist groups (e.g., Ottawa's John Maguire) or executed plots in far-away lands (Xristos Katsiroubas and Ali Medlej in Algeria in 2013). There was a small far-right desk, but frankly there was little to look at.

I would imagine that has changed. Alexandre Bissonnette, who shot up a Québec City mosque in 2017, was an example of a far-right extremist, even if he pleaded guilty to murder/attempted murder

and not terrorism. If you add in the two “incel” killings in recent years as terrorist deeds—I for one do not but I will concede the point to make one—it is clear that yes Canada does have a violent far right problem.

The added difficulty in all this is that terrorism has become complicated. Not that it was ever “simple,” but we now need our security intelligence and law enforcement agencies to look at multiple actors across multiple ideologies all at the same time. This requires money and resources, both of which may soon be in short supply after the COVID-19 bills come in.

When you hear someone say that terrorism has “changed” and that we have to change with it be skeptical. Nothing really has changed over 150 years with the sole exception of technology. Targets are still overwhelmingly defenceless civilians, terrorists are motivated by grievances, our decisions sometimes make matters worse, and ideologies appear to wane only to wax again.

Terrorism is here to stay as a violent tactic. Jihadis are not about to fade into the background. Far-right actors will continue to be active. We may see the return—yes, the return, not the rise—of far left terrorism. What was old is new again.

I wish it were otherwise.
Phil Gurski is the president of Borealis Threat and Risk Consulting and the author of five books on terrorism.
The Hill Times

Opinion

An electoral democracy that serves all Canadians and that Canadians trust

I am committed to leading Elections Canada and its dedicated staff, both at headquarters and across the country, as we work together to deliver an electoral democracy that serves all Canadians and that they trust, an electoral democracy that we can all be proud of and celebrate for many years to come.



Stéphane Perrault

Opinion



Chief Electoral Officer of Canada Stéphane Perrault, pictured Sept. 18, 2019, at Connaught Public School in Ottawa, says Elections Canada recently released three discussion papers on the issue of the overall regulatory regime that governs political communications in federal elections and says, 'events around the world are a constant reminder of the fragility of democratic institutions and our electoral democracy.' *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

In July 1920, Canada had just come out of a world war and was struggling with the global Spanish flu pandemic that had killed some 55,000 Canadians. The Russian Revolution was casting a long shadow over Europe and democracy was about to be shaken off its foundations in a number of countries.

In Canada, Parliament decided to create a non-partisan election office, independent of any government or political party, in order to reinforce public trust in the federal electoral system. In so doing, Canada became a pioneer and Elections Canada one of the world's first independent electoral agencies.

This week, Elections Canada is proudly turning 100. The agency has certainly evolved and adapted its operations, and will continue to do so, to meet the changing needs of Canadians. But through it all, our founding principles of independence and non-partisanship have remained the same. We continue to play a key role in Canada's democracy by helping Canadians to exercise their rights to vote and run as a candidate in federal elections.

As we celebrate this milestone on July 1, we must recognize that challenges facing our electoral process continue to exist. For instance, the current pandemic poses exceptional challenges to our ability to offer Canadians

safe, secure, and accessible voting opportunities.

Serving Canadians better

Our mission as an organization remains the same as it has for 100 years: to provide trusted voting services to all Canadians. But the way in which we work to achieve those goals must evolve to meet changing expectations.

The right to vote may be universal in principle, which was certainly not the case in 1920, but there remain real barriers to voting. The languages, cultures, religions, physical abilities, and economic circumstances of Canadians are increasingly diverse. Electoral democracy is a promise of equality. It is therefore crucial that we listen carefully to individuals and civil society groups to understand their needs for an equal right to participate in elections, be it as electors or as candidates.

More than ever, it is also essential that Elections Canada not only listens but also shares information about the voting process. It has always been our role to inform Canadians about where and when to vote. But we must go further. Trust in our electoral democracy requires that we adopt open data practices and that we become better at communicating

what we do to make the vote accessible and secure.

In addition, we need to work collaboratively. We live in a rich, complex, and challenging environment. Independence does not mean working in isolation. In recent years, we have made efforts to work with political parties to provide more predictable guidance on their regulatory obligations. We continually work with civil society groups that help electors who often face barriers to the electoral process. We have also worked with government security agencies in preparation for the last general election and will continue to do so. Collaboration with provincial electoral management bodies is also essential to better serve electors.

Finally, we need to carefully manage our human and financial resources in a sustainable manner to maximize our ability to support evolving services in an increasingly digital environment.

Earlier this year, Elections Canada adopted a new strategic plan reflecting those four key elements for our success moving forward: listen, share, collaborate, and manage.

Supporting Parliament

As chief electoral officer, I am also mandated to provide support to Parliament by recommending

changes to the Canada Elections Act.

As part of our approach, and in line with our new strategic plan, Elections Canada prepared three discussion papers on the issue of the overall regulatory regime that governs political communications in federal elections. They were released publicly earlier this month.

The first paper, *The Regulation of Political Communications Under the Canada Elections Act*, aims to foster discussion about whether existing provisions in the act meet the challenges that have arisen in recent years due to evolving communications technology.

The second paper, *The Impact of Social Media Platforms in Elections*, looks more closely at social media and digital advertising platforms and aims to promote discussion on the impacts that these platforms can have on electoral democracy.

The third paper, *The Protection of Electors' Personal Information in the Federal Electoral Context*, aims to encourage discussion on how fair information principles could be applied to political parties, taking into account their unique role in Canada's democracy.

The purpose of these three papers is to generate discussion and feedback from various stakeholders and experts to assist me

in making informed recommendations to Parliament so that our electoral regime remains relevant to today's challenges.

Moving forward

While we are this week celebrating the past, it is with an eye to the present and the future. Events around the world are a constant reminder of the fragility of democratic institutions and our electoral democracy. Acceptance by citizens and elected representatives of the values that underpin successful democracies, such as the rule of law, freedom of expression, equality, and human rights are critical to our collective future. We all have an important role to play in this and Elections Canada's ongoing success as an institution will also be the success of those who contribute to our electoral democracy in myriads of ways.

For my part, I am committed to leading Elections Canada and its dedicated staff, both at headquarters and across the country, as we work together to deliver an electoral democracy that serves all Canadians and that they trust, an electoral democracy that we can all be proud of and celebrate for many years to come.

Stéphane Perrault is Canada's chief electoral officer.

The Hill Times



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured May 29, 2020, 'climate change is an emergency. This must mean a new government, an emergency coalition government that can act, and renouncing our present plan to fail,' writes climate change activist Bill Henderson. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Climate change is an emergency, we need a coalition government to act now

But it looks like Canada is going to miss a huge opportunity to take much needed action on climate change.



Bill Henderson
Opinion

GIBSONS, B.C.—Looks like Canada is going to miss a huge opportunity to take much-needed action on climate change.

Activists and green energy insiders have been lobbying the Trudeau government for COVID recovery stimulus investment in renewable energy and transition funding for fossil fuel production regions hit hard by the COVID lockdown. Constraining themselves to what they believe is possible, they have mostly been asking for a Green New Deal Lite—not the full 'Big Government Plan' for transitioning to a post-carbon economy advocated by some Democrats in the U.S. or the nascent green recovery plan currently being debated by the EU.

Leaks from within the government and government economic support to date point at a government stimulus package that could be labelled as a Green New Deal Extra Extra Lite. There will be money in programs for a series of shovel-ready projects like building retrofits, transit, rehabilitating abandoned oil wells, etc., and some transition funding for areas hard hit, but nothing close to what many advocating for a Canadian GND had envisioned.

Systemic change is also needed to make our socio-economy more resilient, much more equitable, and to free government from the golden straitjacket so it can govern effectively. But system change is still not allowed or even seriously considered in Ottawa, or Toronto, or Edmonton. A just recovery with a brighter future for those presently marginalized will be part of the opportunity wasted.

Greenhouse gas emissions are still increasing both globally and in Canada after three failed decades of ineffectual mitigation. Five Canadian governments in a

row have signed up to international mitigation treaties, then set insufficient emission reduction targets, and then failed to initiate policies that could meet these inadequate targets. At the same time each of these governments continued to do everything in their power to expand Canadian fossil fuel production.

Canada signed on to the Kyoto, Copenhagen, and Paris climate treaties to reducing emissions in order to stay safely under an agreed precautionary ceiling of as far below a 2C global rise in temperature as possible. Monotonic warming will increase extreme weather, sea level rise, forest fires, etc., but the real concern for policymakers is staying safe from non-linear, catastrophic runaway warming.

Recent climate science papers and informed commentary upon what effective climate mitigation must now mean posit emission reduction at the rate of seven per cent to 10 per cent per annum until zero emissions are achieved within two decades. Canada under the Trudeau government has promised to raise our emission reduction ambition with policies (including the COVID recovery stimulus) that will produce around a one per cent per annum reduction; one per cent, not the needed seven per cent to 10 per cent. Economic and fossil fuel production recovery will in all probability keep Canada from even meeting this totally inadequate emission reduction.

Under the Trudeau government, Canada continues with a plan to fail, a pretend climate mitigation where only policies that can be shoehorned into political and economic business as usual are allowed and where fossil fuel production expansion can't be even questioned. Canada's pretend climate leadership fits into an

international 'immunity via collective failure' paralysis where we all lose big time. The COVID economic dislocation could and should have been a last chance to use renewed governmental capacity to initiate policies for deep systemic change to reduce emissions.

There is an evolving mitigation strategy to use both arms of the scissors—supply-side as well as demand-side—that requires fossil fuel producing countries like Canada, Australia, or Norway that are developed, wealthy and politically and socially stable to lead in winding down production in their countries and to form fossil fuel non-proliferation treaties with their trading partners. This would hopefully catalyze more ambition globally and put the pressure on Russia, the Saudis, and the Americans to get equally serious about mitigation.

But under the Trudeau government, we are not even thinking such thoughts: just continuing to be a bad example by claiming to be climate leaders while doing next to nothing. Climate, like COVID, is an emergency but the weak Trudeau government will not act responsibly.

This global failure to mitigate has some on the left calling for an ecological Leninism. The capitalists are never going to change; incremental change within neoliberal business as usual will just waste the last opportunity for the deep systemic change needed. They are right in that deep system change is surely needed and presently not possible. But the leftists are wrong in that there is only a tiny minority of Canadians that would be in favour of socialist central planning.

There is a reasonable governance innovation half way between continuing political and economic business as usual and a revolution for a socialist reordering of our socio-economy. It is a path to climate safety that should have been at least seriously considered if not taken a full decade ago—a wartime-style, coalition emergency government with a mandate to do what was necessary to reduce emissions. Such a government could achieve seven per cent to 10 per cent emission reduction rates while regulating a managed decline of Canada's fossil fuel production. Such a government could enforce the energy transition utilizing the market-based socio-economy fortunate Canadians treasure.

There will be no effective climate mitigation without such governance innovation and the protracted battle against COVID may yet require such a coalition government. So we should be at least debating the merits of emergency government. We need deep systemic change to a post-carbon economy that uses a great deal less energy and materials, a socio-economy more centred upon health and nurturing services than today's stuff economy.

We should have faith in our longer term social and economic evolution. This must mean real climate mitigation action, not more ineffectual time wasting. Climate change is an emergency. This must mean a new government, an emergency coalition government that can act, and renouncing our present plan to fail.

Bill Henderson is a longtime climate activist based in Gibsons, B.C.

Opinion

Prejudice with power is racism

As parliamentarians, we need to wield our power and work with Canadians to determine how we overhaul the systemic, institutional and structural racism that is deeply embedded in this country we call Canada and thereby make it a better and more just place for all.

BY SENATOR MARY JANE MCCALLUM

“Rats and roaches live by competition under the law of supply and demand; it is the privilege of human beings to live under the laws of justice and mercy.”—Wendell Berry

If someone indicates that they find something to be offensive and/or racist, they are identifying an action that they perceive to be unacceptable. Expecting a public apology from someone because they called out another's inappropriate actions is very concerning. It also becomes a double-edged sword by carrying the message that systemic racism doesn't exist in Canada while also injuring the reputation of the well-intentioned individual. And yet that person has done nothing wrong. Is that limiting the right to freedom of expression or attempting to silence Canadians asking for a study on systemic racism?

No one should be removed from Parliament for calling out what they see as a racist action, something we have recently

witnessed in the House. Here, the victim is the one being punished, as the racism they identify is an experienced trauma. Racism should not be protected by privilege—a privilege which is granted by having the word “racist” termed as unparliamentary language. Is that not, itself, discrimination?

“Systemic racism” has become a buzz word lately. Yet racism has been around since our very existence, created by the need for human beings to feel superior over others. For me, racism is when someone tells me to get over my 11 years in residential school and then tries to justify the good it did for me without knowing my hard road to recovering my identity, language, culture, spirit and power. These are all things that were intentionally taken away from me by leaders of this country. Who are they to determine and make judgment on my life and worth?

In Celeste Headless' article, *Racism vs. Discrimination: Why the Distinction Matters*, she recounts a story of musician Gregg Allman, who said all Confederate flags should be burned if people



ISG Senator Mary Jane McCallum (Manitoba), pictured in this file photo on the Hill. 'As Parliamentarians, we then have an important role to play in ensuring such institutions, many of which are overseen by the federal government, are improved and accountable when it comes to combatting racism.' *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

see it as representing slavery. As Allman stated: “If it causes pain to someone else, then put it away.”

The legal system in Canada has caused much pain, suffering, and premature death to many of the Indigenous and Black peoples in Canada. If the people who run this system are unaware that their system is unjust, callous, and threatening—or deny that systemic racism is at the very foundation of Canada's institutions—then why should they be allowed to continue to lead the process into a new system of peacemaking?

Blanket denial of the existence of systemic racism and discrimi-

nation is concerning. Is injury or death inflicted on Indigenous and Black peoples at the hands of Canadian institutions not social or political murder? Is there an abuse of power by government leaders when they look the other way—especially after years of fruitless parliamentary studies and debates that examined systemic racism? If they can't acknowledge that there's a problem, we must determine that they're not entitled to their position of power. For one luxury we no longer have is time.

Proper direction and understanding needs to happen through

adequate training, as this equips our first responders, primarily police and RCMP, to carry out their duties responsibly in a way that combats racism, not displays it. Civil society and minorities, in particular, are highly dependent on the police/RCMP for ensuring their security and protection against violent forms of racism and discrimination. The police/RCMP have a special role to play in tackling racism and discrimination in that these actions can be brought under the powers of criminal law. As Parliamentarians, we then have an important role to play in ensuring such institutions, many of which are overseen by the federal government, are improved and accountable when it comes to combatting racism.

In the article, *Race, Power and Policy: Dismantling Structural Racism*, by the Grassroots Policy Project, it states: “If race no longer matters, how do we explain persistent disparities among groups and disproportionate levels of poverty, incarceration, unemployment, etc. in communities of colour? We can't. Not without a structural racism analysis.”

It continues: “What is power? It is the ability to tell people what the problem is, who is responsible and what should be done about it.”

Now is the time that, as Parliamentarians, we wield our power and work with Canadians to determine how we overhaul the systemic, institutional and structural racism that is deeply embedded in this country we call Canada and thereby make it a better and more just place for all.

Senator Mary Jane McCallum is a member of the Independent Senators Group (Manitoba).

The Hill Times

Why Donald Trump will resign

Donald Trump is not a fighter and has never much cared for the presidency as anything but a vanity project. But like Lyndon Johnson, he has a morbid fear of losing. In his eyes, his life is an unbroken string of victories.



Patrice Dutil

Opinion

TORONTO—Observers of the American presidency are at a loss in their search for historical parallels that could explain Donald Trump's performance. His administration has been so eccentric, so out of the ordinary, so willing to step into unploughed territory, that it has become easy to simply declare it as “unprecedented.”

But there is a scenario on the near horizon that may offer a precedent. On March 31, 1968, Lyndon B. Johnson, a rude and crude character in his own way, announced on television that he would not run for re-election. It was a shock, but the circumstances that winter were difficult and parallel our time.

In late January of that year, the North Vietnamese communist forces successfully surged in the south and even attacked the U.S. embassy in Saigon. The “Tet Offensive” diminished American prestige around the world and disillusioned many voters.

The economy was not doing well. That winter saw the sharpest downturn since the Great Depression and sparked a dramatic run on the U.S. gold reserve which caused a sharp panic. On Feb. 8,

South Carolina Highway patrol officers killed three young African-American men who had been protesting racial discrimination at a local bowling alley. Johnson was helpless; for a growing number of voters he was hopeless, although polls showed that he still enjoyed the support of close to 50 per cent of voters. Johnson's rival in the Democratic Party, Senator Eugene McCarthy, beat Johnson in the New Hampshire primary a few weeks later.

But there was another reason. LBJ hated to lose. All his life, he had fought to overcome poverty and ridicule to attain the highest offices he could imagine. He had accepted the vice-presidency reluctantly in 1960, but felt he had no other path to one day attain the presidency. He got his wish and won the 1964 contest by absolutely crushing the Republicans.

Four years later, now 59, Johnson felt he had run out of time. His pride would never recover from losing. He felt he had no choice but to resign, if only to save his party.

Trump, five months out, is sinking in the polls as a result

of a perfect storm of pandemic, revolt and exhaustion. His ratings have declined dramatically since March and most surveys put his rival, Senator Joe Biden, anywhere between 10 and 15 points ahead.

Some may find reassurance that Trump will find the necessary support to win the Electoral College majority he needs in the mid-west states, but that calculus is rapidly losing its value.

In 2016, the key states that flipped victory to Donald Trump were Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Wisconsin. These have traditionally been areas where Democrats are competitive. Over the past four years, however, they have moved in the blue camp with strong and popular governors. Should polls in any these critical states confirm the trend against him, Trump has no chance.

The economy—rather, the health of the stock market and the low unemployment rate—were key to the Trump re-election. These have vanished. The stock market may have rallied lately, but as spring moves into summer, it likely will cool again. The unemployment rate will stay close

to ten percent for the foreseeable future, according to the Federal Reserve.

Trump is not a fighter and has never much cared for the presidency as anything but a vanity project. But like Johnson, he has a morbid fear of losing. In his eyes, his life is an unbroken string of victories. To lose in November would rob him of his narrative and, at age 74, he would never have the time necessary to rectify his reputation. He would, for the rest of his life, be a loser—the very epithet he spits at everyone he dislikes.

Better to go out claiming to have been defeated by global forces such as a pandemic, the Chinese, “deep government,” weak governors, the World Health Organization, or voter fraud.

Watch for it. The announcement will come late, because Trump has no regard for the GOP. The convention will scramble and choose a candidate at the last minute (not an accident that Senator Mitch Romney has been visible over the past few weeks). Donald Trump will thus walk into history with a new story, one that will keep intact his record—in his mind at least—as a winner.

Patrice Dutil is professor of politics and public administration at Ryerson University.

The Hill Times

History repeats itself: overrepresentation of Indigenous people in Canadian prisons is alarming

The 'Indigenization' of the Canadian correctional system is a product of structural inequalities entrenched in the legal system. The numbers are even more disturbing for Indigenous women, who now make up 42 per cent of the prisoner population in Canada.



A'ishah Abdul Hameed

Opinion

TORONTO—The endemic overrepresentation of Indigenous people in Canadian prisons is a systemic issue that transcends beyond carceral walls. Indigenous people account for five per cent of Canada's general population and yet, the proportion of Indigenous people in federal custody has exceeded 30 per cent, Correctional Investigator of Canada Ivan Zinger reports.

Despite warnings from human rights organizations, like the United Nations, to address the growing inmate population of Indigenous people, the criminalization of Indigenous groups continues to persist. The "Indigenization" of the Canadian correctional system is a product of structural inequalities entrenched in the legal system. The numbers are even more disturbing for Indigenous women, who now make up 42 per cent of the prisoner population in Canada.

Canada fails to address the systematic concerns that underpin mass Indigenous incarceration, specifically how federal corrections seem impervious to make extensive changes to rectify the colonial narrative that is deeply rooted in the justice system. It is not just about meaningful and rehabilitative reform anymore; it is about readdressing the issue of why Indigenous individuals are more likely to be criminalized.

As Zinger notes, "the overincarceration of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people in corrections is among the most pressing social justice and human rights issues in Canada today." The issue is not the Indigenous community, but rather, the inherently biased Canadian colonial system.

Such overrepresentation shows how Indigenous people are subjected to deliberate targeting and over-policing. Indigenous people are more likely to be incarcerated than non-Indigenous individuals for the same crime. The justice system cannot help but hold implicit biases against Indigenous people, in part due to a larger social structure that reproduces "Indigenous-specific offending circumstances," as Tim Rowse writes.

The justice system needs to seek out dynamic sentencing policies that address the socioeconomic disadvantage which contributes to criminality, understanding thus the social factors that result in Indigenous over-incarceration. Why some Indigenous people come into conflict with the law and why prison terms are the subsequent response is what needs to be explored. Disproportionate policing practices and biased sentencing norms explain the over-reliance on carceral sanctions instead of trauma-informed approaches.

The atrocious living conditions and reduced access to education, healthcare and government support are the structural barriers that cause Indigenous people to succumb to a life of crime. It is the lack of government intervention that further exacerbates the issues they experience; an indirect consequence is the influx of Indigenous people into Canadian prisons.

So, what can be done?

The disproportionate representation in Canadian prisons is undoubtedly the reflection of social inequalities and, until governments start taking urgent measures to focus on Indigenous lived realities and their unique needs, the injustice will continue.

The crisis of Indigenous overrepresentation in Canadian prisons is a pressing human rights issue that calls for immediate action. The problem in part is due to the legal and political paradigms that remain an injustice to Indigenous offenders. The role that systematic and historic discrimination plays when sentencing an accused Indigenous person is a key tenet under the Gladue framework, a 1999 Supreme Court of Canada decision. One reason that Indigenous incarceration rates keep rising is the scope in how Gladue is applied. On the one hand, there are retributive measures outlined in Sec. 718.2 of the Crimi-

nal Code. On the other hand, there are restorative guidelines set out in the Gladue Report. Altogether, this leads to ambiguity when judges canvass appropriate sentences and the mitigation of prison terms.

The unresolved tensions between Gladue and other sentencing provisions disregard the values and principles of Gladue. Canada continues to ignore how Indigenous traditions and systems of justice can be supported in exercising jurisdiction. And by learning from community- and healing-based approaches grounded in Indigenous law, only then will the traumas of the past not repeat themselves.

Canada's painful and contested history of the ongoing abuse of Indigenous communities continues to unfold in our prisons, reinforcing the communities' socioeconomic disadvantage. But the justice system can prevent the manifestation of these inequalities; it can reclaim Indigenous laws and legal traditions, allowing these communities to heal and strengthen their relationship with Canada. Redressing the over-incarceration of Indigenous people is an integral step towards reconciliation.

A'ishah Abdul Hameed is a fourth-year undergraduate student at the University of Toronto in the criminology, law, and society program.

The Hill Times

Canada's defeat in UN Security Council Seat bid also reveals Ottawa's lingering problems at home

Canada's defeat tells more than just its foreign policy failure. On many domestic issues, such as the environment and Indigenous rights, Canada's actions are not consistent with its international obligations.



Luthfi Dhofier

Opinion

VANCOUVER—After Canada lost its bid for the United

Nations Security Council (UNSC) seat on June 17, experts quickly blamed Ottawa's lack of global engagement as the key reason. But Canada's defeat tells of more than just its foreign policy failure. On many domestic issues, such as the environment and Indigenous rights, Canada's actions are not consistent with its international obligations.

As one of the founding members of the United Nations (UN), Canada's defeat in the bid for the UNSC seat is a stark reminder of Canada's deteriorating global influence. Canada lost to Norway and Ireland in the first round of voting, despite Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's intense and expensive campaign for nearly five years.

The council has the power to deploy peacekeeping operations, impose sanctions, and determine the UN's response to international security threats. As such, a seat on the UNSC would have enabled Canada to regain its global influence and help shape the future of the world that is becoming more interconnected and complex.

Canada was traditionally known as a middle power that championed a multilateral world. But in recent years, Canada has disengaged itself from the world.

Since 1970, Ottawa has continuously reduced its spending on foreign aid. Today, Canada only spends 0.28 per cent of its gross national income (GNI) on international development assistance. Meanwhile, Norway and Ireland spend at least 0.7 per cent of their GNI on foreign aid.

The UN figures found that Canada's peacekeeping efforts are currently at the lowest level in 60 years. At the end of April 2020, there were only 35 Canadian military and police officers in the UN peacekeeping force, despite its promise to deploy 600 military officers and 250 police officers. It is clear that Canada's foreign policy does not reflect its rhetoric.

But Canada's defeat signalled a much deeper problem than just its lack of global engagement. In many domestic issues, such as the environment and Indigenous rights, Canada has failed to uphold the values of the UN.

Despite being a signatory of the Paris Climate Agreement, Canada is one of the worst-performing countries in climate action. With a population of only 37 million people, Canada is one of the world's top 10 greenhouse gas emitters. Canada is not on track to meet its target to reduce its emissions by 30 per cent below

the 2005 level by 2030. According to the UN, Canada will miss its climate target by 15 per cent. A study by the Climate Action Network also found that Canada's climate plan is in line with the global warming exceeding 4 degrees Celsius above the pre-industrial level.

Ottawa has indeed instituted measures to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions, such as the national carbon pricing framework and investment on clean energy. The federal government has also earmarked \$70-billion to address climate change. But at the same time, the government is investing heavily in the fossil fuel industry. Between 2012 and 2017, Export Development Canada (EDC) spent a staggering \$62-billion to support the fossil fuel industry. Ottawa also spent \$4.5-billion to purchase the Trans Mountain pipeline in 2018.

Canada has also failed to uphold its commitment to Indigenous rights. Although the government of Canada officially adopted the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2016, Ottawa has yet to introduce legislation on UNDRIP. Violations against Indigenous rights continue to persist in Canada.

Today, an Indigenous Canadian is 10 times more likely to die at the hands of police officers compared to a white Canadian.

Canada's mistreatment of Indigenous groups has not gone unnoticed. Most recently, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination urged Ottawa to immediately suspend the construction of the Coastal Gas-Link pipeline, the Trans Mountain pipeline, and the Site C dam until it obtains "free, prior, and informed consent" from Indigenous peoples. The UN Human Rights Committee also ruled that the Indian Act discriminates against Indigenous women.

Canada cannot portray a moral high ground abroad while failing to address these issues at home. The recent defeat at the UN Security Council bid reveals more than Ottawa's foreign policy failure. It is also a reminder that Canada's international obligations extend beyond its global engagement. Therefore, Ottawa must ensure that its actions at home are consistent with its rhetoric.

Luthfi Dhofier is a policy analyst based in Vancouver and a graduate of UBC's master of Public Policy and Global Affairs program.

The Hill Times

Comment



Infrastructure and Communities Minister Catherine McKenna (Ottawa Centre, Ont.), right, pictured June 1, 2020, arriving for that day's ministerial briefing for the media on the pandemic. Especially for MPs who have shifted their Ottawa staff to aid with constituency work, as many told us they had to do, there are legitimate questions about how soon and how effectively they could take on the same House responsibilities as they did pre-COVID, write Kelly Blidook, Royce Koop, and Lesley Anne Fuga who recently wrote an article on this issue in the *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

issues, or a range of other matters. MPs told us the amount of casework they usually have had multiplied and almost all of it had become much more urgent: "This has to get done now," said Conservative MP Raquel Dancho (Kildonan-St. Paul, Man.) of these requests from constituents. "There is no putting this off. People are suffering, people are not being heard."

At the same time, MPs told us they weren't able to connect with constituents in the same ways they normally do—by attending events, holding townhall meetings, or having people visit their constituency offices. "Politics is like many other human activities: it's a human-to-human interaction," Conservative MP Kenny Chiu (Steveston-Richmond East, B.C.) told us. "I need to have coffee with, I need to talk to, I need to shake hands ... [with] constituents, stakeholders, [and] colleagues." While many MPs told us they were working directly on people's concerns—calling constituents themselves in many cases—they also lamented their inability to meet face-to-face with constituents, which is a key means by which they can know and understand the people they need to represent.

What the pandemic has shown us is the service function of MPs is a critical aspect of their work and something we should be happy was already in place and, in fact, well-established when the pandemic struck. The communication that flows through a constituency office is a primary source for MPs to know what problems exist and the extent of those problems. In a period when far more people are at risk—health-wise, financially, mentally—than usual, MPs play a critical role in finding supports for those who haven't been caught in the safety nets that governments have tried to quickly produce.

What these stories also tell us is that, while there were ongoing calls to see MPs back in Ottawa as soon as possible, perhaps we should be happy that there was not a decision to rush MPs back to their full-scale of House duties. While we would certainly prefer to see Parliament conducting its necessary functions with regard to holding the government to account, we also recognize that MPs have been busy with an increased workload that should remain a high priority. Especially for MPs who have shifted their Ottawa staff to aid with constituency work, as many told us they had to do, there are legitimate questions about how soon and how effectively they could take on the same House responsibilities as they did pre-COVID.

Kelly Blidook is associate professor of political science at Memorial University. Royce Koop is associate professor of political studies at the University of Manitoba. Lesley Anne Fuga is research associate at the University of Manitoba.

The Hill Times

Under COVID-19 pandemic, MPs across parties and jurisdictions are shifting heavily toward service

What these stories also tell us is that, while there were ongoing calls to see MPs back in Ottawa as soon as possible, perhaps we should be happy that there was not a decision to rush MPs back to their full-scale of House duties.

BY KELLY BLIDOOK & ROYCE KOOP & LESLEY ANNE FUGA

Politicians are often criticized about the work they do and the pay they receive for doing it. Whenever Parliament is in session, Members of Parliament are criticized for what they do while in Ottawa. When Parliament isn't in session (about half of the year) MPs are criticized for being on vacation. When COVID-19 sent most MPs home from Ottawa, concerns were voiced that they weren't working.

We've learned from our past research that MPs are indeed

very busy when not in their chairs in the House of Commons, but we didn't know what they had been doing since the pandemic limited their time in Ottawa.

In talking to MPs during the COVID-19 lockdown, what we found was that MPs remain very busy—in most cases too busy to speak with us, though we managed to interview a dozen MPs to find out what their workdays looked like. Their responses—which we document more fully in research for the *Canadian Journal of Political Science*—indicated that their work had shifted, but there was plenty of it to be done. Further, our findings suggest we should perhaps not be overly eager for a full recall of Parliament that sends MPs back to their regular duties.

In fact, while one MP suggested that this is the first time they have had some free weekends during what would normally be sitting weeks (a point worth thinking about), most MPs indicated to us that they are busier during COVID-19 than they were before.

MPs have been adapting to working from home, using new technologies to communicate with constituents and stakeholders, and filling their workdays differently than before—but filling them nonetheless. What struck us about

their responses was that the range of activities MPs can normally focus upon were much more limited.

Unsurprisingly, MPs' offices have been fielding a lot more

calls for help. MPs normally conduct casework for constituents—this can include aiding people with accessing government benefits, immigration



Conservative MPs Alain Rayes (Richmond-Arthabaska, Que.) and Richard Lehoux (Beauce, Que.), pictured June 1, 2020, arriving on the Hill for a Special Committee on the COVID-19 Pandemic meeting in the House Chamber. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

It's easy to see why U.S. Big Tech sees Canada as a happy hunting ground

The tech giants, such as Facebook, Alphabet/Google, Amazon, Uber, Microsoft and Apple, are sitting on billions of dollars in cash and are using it to acquire young growth companies—notably their intellectual property and talent—anywhere they can find them. That includes Canada.



David Crane

Canada & the 21st Century

TORONTO—Investment Canada boasts that “it continues to play an important role in encouraging investments from global companies.” But is this mission out of date?

Much foreign investment in Canada today consists of Big Tech firms acquiring Canadian tech companies for their patents and other intellectual property and access to their talent, or in establishing R&D branch plants here to utilize Canadian talent

and exploit university research to create intellectual property for their parent companies.

In the past, as Jim Balsillie, co-founder of the Council of Canadian Innovators, recently told the House of Commons Committee on Industry, Science and Technology, we looked to foreign investment to bring knowledge and technology into Canada. But “it is not the case with FDI into the innovation economy where FDI is extractive.”

While a Toyota auto plant creates opportunities for local suppliers and exports, a Google R&D branch plant does none of these things—it generates intellectual property for its U.S. parent, which is why Balsillie calls it extractive. There are no local suppliers or exports.

Given Canada's public funding for a strong talent base, significant university-based research and support for young tech companies, it's easy to why Big Tech



Although Investment Canada makes it extraordinarily difficult to obtain information, we can garner a partial picture of the steady takeover of Canadian tech companies and their key intellectual property. *Image courtesy of Pixabay*

from the U.S. sees Canada as a happy hunting ground. That could accelerate.

As *The New York Times* reported recently, the tech giants, such as Facebook, Alphabet/Google, Amazon, Uber, Microsoft and Apple, are sitting on billions of dollars in cash and are using it to acquire young growth companies—notably their intellectual property and talent—anywhere they can find them. That includes Canada.

This should come as no surprise. Although Investment Canada makes it extraordinarily difficult to obtain information, we can garner a partial picture of the steady takeover of Canadian tech

companies and their key intellectual property. These are some examples, all of them takeovers by U.S. companies:

Gennum Corp., a semiconductor company, taken over by Semtech for \$500-million; DALSA Corp., which developed the technology to transmit images from the Mars landing, taken over by Teledyne for \$341-million; Zarlink Semiconductor, taken over by Microsemi for US\$525-million; Tundra Semiconductor, taken over by IDT for \$120.8-million; Maluuba, one of Canada's most promising artificial intelligence companies, taken over by Microsoft; Inductive, another promising AI company, taken over by Apple;

CognoVision, a software company serving the retail industry, acquired by Intel; Ethoca and NuData Services, both companies specializing in dealing with digital fraud, acquired by Mastercard; DNNresearch Inc., a deep learning AI company with breakthrough technology, acquired by Google; Aeryon Labs, Canada's most promising drone company, acquired by Flir Systems for \$265-million; COM DEV, a Canadian space satellite company, acquired by Honeywell for \$455-million; and Sandvine, a software and systems company, acquired by Francisco Partners and Procar Networks for \$562-million.

Based on an initiative by Conservative MP Michelle Rempel Garner, the Commons Industry Committee is reviewing Investment Canada. Although its hearings will probably be too brief, it is raising important issues. We need a thorough examination of the role of foreign big-tech in our economy, and what we must do to ensure there is a future economy with strong Canadian tech companies.

In particular, how do we get around the very high thresholds in place that exclude almost all takeovers from Investment Canada's “net benefit” review? And how would we compile a list of strategic industries that would require a special national security review to address ownership of intellectual property and access to Canadian talent?

The Mulroney government made a major mistake in the Canada-U.S. free trade pact by agreeing that direct takeovers of Canadian companies by Ameri-

Continued on page 22

We're on the brink of losing Canada's aerospace industry

Political leaders saw the potential for aerospace to shrink our vast geography, facilitate global trade and commerce, help secure our borders, and raise our quality of life through the creation of highly-skilled, well-paying jobs in every region of this country. This is the legacy of aerospace. As the situation stands now, we're on the brink of losing it all.



Jean Charest

Opinion

MONTREAL—For more than 80 years, governments of all political stripes have made Canada's

aerospace sector a policy priority through strategic action and investments. They built Canada into a global aerospace leader with an impressive worldwide reputation that is now coming under threat.

Political leaders saw the potential for aerospace to shrink our vast geography, facilitate global trade and commerce, help secure our borders, and raise our quality of life through the creation of highly-skilled, well-paying jobs in every region of this country. This is the legacy of aerospace. As the situation stands now, we're on the brink of losing it all.

Even prior to the catastrophic consequences of COVID-19, Canada's aerospace sector was losing ground. In fact, we raised alarm bells a year ago when, together with the Aerospace Industries Association of Canada (AIAC), we released the Vision 2025 report that outlined industry and stakeholder feedback and recommendations needed to protect Canada's slipping aerospace position. Despite these alarm bells, the federal government took little action. And now, facing pressures and losses that are the biggest in aviation history, Canada has slipped even further.

While our major competitor countries have implemented sector specific plans and recovery measures, Canada has continued to sit idly by. Our once-held fifth place ranking on the global stage has fallen to number seven. And international experts predict that we will continue to fall in ranking if no action is taken. With this loss in standing comes losses in jobs and annual gross domestic product (GDP) to Canada.

These are real consequences.

In fact, a recent survey found that more than 95 per cent of AIAC member companies are running at partial

capacity or have shut down. More than half (60 per cent) have laid off workers, and 76 per cent expect to do so in the next six months. Overall, AIAC members say they expect to see their revenues decline by at least 40 per cent in 2020. These losses are happening in every region of Canada—within the very small businesses to the larger companies—operating in all three segments: space, aerospace and defence.

When faced with similar staggering challenges, other countries have taken action by making aerospace a key part of their economic recovery plans. More recently, France announced an investment of nearly \$26-billion to support its aviation industry. French Economy Minister Bruno Le Maire stated France will not sit back while hundreds of thousands of jobs and expertise disappear and he actually stated “we aren't in the business of being the village idiots of the planet who would sit back and allow the disappearance of ... jobs and expertise.” Around the globe, competitor nations are taking action with airlines in the United States benefitting from government investments worth \$50-billion; Hong Kong investing \$5.2-billion, and government investments across Europe, including \$9.8-billion in Germany.

Canada must take similar steps. Make no mistake: aerospace exists in a fierce, globally competitive marketplace and without action, our sector jobs and economic activ-

ity will be lost to Canada forever. In fact, other nations are, as we speak, actively soliciting Canadian firms to shut down and move to their jurisdictions. If we fail to keep up with our competitor countries, our industry's \$25-billion annual GDP contribution will be gutted and Canada will no longer be in a position to attract and keep highly trained skilled workers. This represents 215,000 skilled, well-paying jobs across the country that support more than 500 small businesses.

Our question to the political leadership of the day, and indeed all parliamentarians, is this: do we want to keep our aerospace industry in this country or not? If the answer is yes, we need to face up to the new reality and take action.

Safeguarding the future of our industry requires political foresight and leadership. We are in agreement with the Institut du Quebec study that reinforces our call for a sector strategy that includes a plan to ensure Canada regains our international standing and becomes a key contributor to Canada's economic recovery.

Canada must act now, as our competitors are, before we lose it all. The commitment we made as a nation 80 years ago to be a global leader, is needed again.

Jean Charest, chair of Vision 2025 and partner at McCarthy Tétrault, is a former deputy prime minister of Canada and former premier of Quebec (2003-2012).

News

MacKay's victory could be a 'threat to the party unity,' says Conservative MP Kusie

'Peter MacKay has a proven track record of uniting Conservatives, and that's precisely what he's doing in the leadership campaign. And that's what he'll do if he's elected as leader,' says Conservative MP Michael Cooper.



Conservative leadership candidates Erin O'Toole and Peter MacKay are the front-runners in the leadership race. Conservative MP Stephanie Kusie told The Hill Times that if 'Peter is the victor, and he still could be, it is a threat to the unity of the party.' But Conservative MP Michael Cooper, not pictured, disagrees. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade and courtesy of Peter MacKay's Twitter

Continued from page 1

identified two groups—Western Canadians and social conservatives—who, she said, could leave the party if Mr. MacKay wins.

Conservative MP Michael Cooper (St. Albert-Edmonton, Alta.), who is supporting Mr. MacKay, dismissed the suggestion that a potential MacKay victory would be divisive for the party. He said that the former cabinet minister was a key player in uniting the party in 2003, and will keep doing the same going forward.

"I couldn't disagree more strongly," said Mr. Cooper. "Peter MacKay has a proven track record of uniting Conservatives, and that's precisely what he's doing in the leadership campaign. And that's what he'll do if he's elected as leader."

The Alberta MP said he has broad support "from all regions of the country."

"He could win the leadership, and he could go on, I believe, to win the next election," Mr. Cooper said.

The contest to elect a successor to outgoing leader Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu'Appelles, Sask.) is expected to wrap up Aug. 21, the deadline for mail-in ballots. In this election, Mr. MacKay, the last leader of the now-defunct Progressive Conservative Party and who held senior portfolios in the Stephen Harper government, is perceived to be a Red Tory candidate.

He has positioned himself as a socially progressive option for party members. In 2003, sensing a decimation at the hands of Paul Martin's Liberals, the two right-of-centre parties—the Progressive Conservatives and the Canadian Alliance—merged.

After the merger, the new Conservative Party reduced the Martin Liberals to a minority in 2004, and then ousted them from power in 2006.

Mr. MacKay served as foreign affairs, defence, and justice minister during the Harper government. After being elected six times in the House, Mr. MacKay opted not to seek re-election in

2015. Now, he's returned in hopes of leading the Conservatives in the next election.

Mr. MacKay's chief rival in the current leadership contest is Conservative MP Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ont.), who was also a cabinet minister in the Harper government. He is running on the slogan of "True Blue Leadership." In the 2017 leadership contest, in which Mr. O'Toole came in third place, he was seen as a Red Tory candidate.

The other two candidates, Conservative MP Derek Sloan (Hastings-Lennox and Addington, Ont.) and Toronto lawyer Leslyn Lewis, have positioned themselves as social conservatives. Social conservatives, who number in the thousands and actively participate in leadership elections and general elections, play a critical role in the outcome of leadership races. In the 2017 election, former Conservative MPs—Brad Trost and Pierre Lemieux—ran as social conservatives, and came in fourth and sixth place, respectively, in the 14-candidate race. The social conservative vote is believed to have played an important role in Mr. Scheer's victory. He won on the 13th ballot, by less than two per cent of the votes.

May 15 was the last day to sign up new members to vote in the contest. None of the campaigns have publicized how many members they've signed up and from where. No matter how many members a riding has, each is weighed equally. The winner will have to carry support in most ridings across the country.

According to some Conservative insiders, Mr. O'Toole, a former Royal Canadian Air Force officer, is believed to have a strong base of support in the Western provinces, which was the bedrock of the Canadian Alliance Party

and of its predecessor, the Reform Party, before the merger. And Mr. MacKay's main support base is in Atlantic Canada, Quebec, and Ontario.

Even before the start of the leadership contest, Mr. MacKay drew the anger of social conservatives when he said after the October federal election that the questions about abortion and same sex marriage that dogged Mr. Scheer were like a "stinking albatross" around the party leader's neck.

In February, Mr. MacKay told CBC's *Power & Politics* that, if he became prime minister, he would personally oppose restricting access to abortion, and his cabinet would have to follow the same position. He said, though, that he would allow caucus

members to introduce legislation on the subject. In contrast, Mr. O'Toole has said he would allow all caucus members to follow their conscience on this subject. He has actively courted the social conservative base in order to be their third choice after Ms. Lewis and Mr. Sloan.

considering that most social Conservative supporters will likely support Mr. O'Toole.

The close contest has caused tensions between the supporters of both candidates. The O'Toole campaign recently accused a MacKay organizer of stealing confidential information on his strategy. It's an incident, which has been referred by Mr. O'Toole's campaign to the RCMP, and that has further poisoned the relationship between the two campaigns. The MacKay campaign has categorically denied the allegations.

"I don't think Erin could ignore it. I think our team very much takes the approach this is not a political matter, it is a criminal matter," said Ms. Kusie, who is her party's social development critic. "At that point, we should allow the RCMP to do their work. Having been involved in not a lot, but some investigations, I feel that, at least in my experience, the truth is always determined. And until that the investigation is completed and there is an outcome, I think, at this point, we just leave it."

Mr. Cooper said he does not have any first-hand information about the alleged hacking incident and cannot comment on this issue.

Ms. Kusie said that if MacKay wins, he could bring the party together by not only accommodating the rival candidates and their supporters, but also listening to social conservatives. Following the Liberal model, she suggested that Mr. MacKay appoint someone in his shadow cabinet, like Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.), to represent the interests of Western Canadians.

"He will have to demonstrate that he supports all areas of the

party by appointing, and this is just my perspective, social conservatives and Westerners within the caucus to key shadow cabinet positions," said Ms. Kusie.

"I might even go so far as to suggest he appoint a shadow minister for national unity, because that's something that the prime minister attempted to do through Chrystia Freeland. ... He's going to have to publicly say he allows votes of conscience to be free."

Political insiders interviewed said that the Conservative leadership election has mostly been lacklustre, because the global COVID-19 pandemic has dominated much of the national agenda.

The O'Toole campaign's allegations has introduced some excitement into the race, but not the kind of attention that Conservatives want from Canadians.

"It's more exciting; I'm not sure it's good for the party," said Prof. Duane Bratt, a professor of political science, and chair in the department of economics, justice, and policy studies at the Mount Royal University in Calgary.

"This sort of public fighting where allegations of misconduct are occurring between the two top contenders has hurt them," he said.

Meanwhile, the Wexit Party announced last week they have chosen Jay Hill, a former Conservative cabinet minister, as its interim leader. Following the Bloc Québécois model in Quebec, the Wexit Party seeks to separate from Canada, because it believes the four Western provinces are not getting a "fair deal" from the federal government. It has plans to run candidates in all 104 ridings in those provinces. If that happens, the right-of-centre vote could be divided between the Conservative Party and the Wexit Party, potentially giving advantage to the Liberals.

Of the 104 seats in the four Western provinces, the Liberals won only 15 seats—11 in B.C. and four in Manitoba—in the 2019 election. In comparison, the Conservatives won 71, the NDP 15, the Greens two, and one Independent MP was elected.

Both Mr. Cooper and Ms. Kusie said that the Conservatives are not ignoring the threat and keeping a close eye on the issue, but are not overly concerned about it.

"It's something that should never be taken lightly," said Mr. Cooper. "But I believe that most voters who want to see the defeat of Justin Trudeau, who is a big part of the problem in terms of the alienation that is felt in Alberta and Saskatchewan, and they understand most voters I believe, who feel that way who are frustrated and want a change of government recognize that the only way to do that is to vote Conservative."

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The Hill Times



Peter MacKay, pictured with Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer and Jill Scheer, at the 2018 Conservative Party policy convention in Halifax. Mr. MacKay is the front-runner in the ongoing leadership contest. The leadership election will conclude on Aug. 21. *The Hill Times* photograph by Samantha Wright Allen

Editorial independence assured, say Facebook and Canadian Press, amid launch of \$1-million fellowship

A spokesperson for the heritage minister says 'we are currently looking at models adopted in other countries on appropriate remuneration of news content and will come back with new propositions in due course.'

Continued from page 1

be "a part of the future, or there won't be a future"—the Canadian government has confirmed it's looking at models adopted in other countries like France and Australia to make large digital entities "pay their fair share," as Canada's media sector continues to be battered by plummeting advertising revenues amidst the COVID-19 pandemic.

As part of the Facebook Journalism Project (FJP), the Facebook-Canadian Press News Fellowship was unveiled on June 16. It's a one year, \$1-million program that will see eight journalists hired in communities across Canada.

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, which has only exacerbated ongoing fiscal issues within Canadian media, Facebook began having conversations with The Canadian Press, which identified a need for more reporting resources and expertise, especially regionally, to cover local stories from around the country, according to Marc Dinsdale, head of media partnerships with Facebook Canada.

"What we're hoping is that there's a cohort of recently graduated or young-in-their-career journalists who have this opportunity with this amazing organization to be mentored by the people there, and also get access to learning about how news can function in the space of digital," said Mr. Dinsdale in an interview with *The Hill Times*.

Gerry Arnold, executive editor with The Canadian Press, said his organization will have "complete rein" over how reporters will be

assigned with "no editorial input from Facebook whatsoever."

"That was kind of a bedrock principle for us that our independence had to be respected and defended, that we couldn't have any third-party influence over the content of the news report," said Mr. Arnold. "That's a complete non-starter for us, and they never suggested otherwise."

"Journalism costs money, and the traditional players in the industry, who are still very important are under pressure with their own business models," said Mr. Arnold. "The advertising-driven media business model is under siege, so we need, as an industry, not just CP but everybody, needs to engage with players like Facebook, Google, Apple, and Ama-



Marc Dinsdale, head of media partnerships with Facebook Canada, left, and Gerry Arnold, executive editor with The Canadian Press. Mr. Arnold says CP will have 'complete rein' over how reporters will be assigned with 'no editorial input from Facebook whatsoever.' Photograph courtesy of Facebook, photograph courtesy of Gerry Arnold/The Canadian Press

Kevin Chan, global director and head of public policy with Facebook Canada, said when Facebook first approached CP about seeing how it could help, "I think we ourselves were very clear and forthright in saying that we would expect no role—and in fact we want no role—in editorial."

"They should [be] and are free to cover whatever it is that they wish to cover," said Mr. Chan.

"The intent is then for them to be distributed across the country, so that they can tell the stories and local realities of different regions, but we also will be completely at ease and serene if they decide to cover a Facebook story."

"I think that is the proper role for a platform, and in all the partnerships we do, we do not insert any kind of editorial or curated point of view into anything," said Mr. Chan.

The response to the job postings has been "unbelievable," with more than 1,000 applicants so far, according to Mr. Arnold.

When asked if he thought partnerships between large digital platforms, such as Facebook and Google, and more traditional media organizations will be part of the landscape moving forward, Mr. Arnold said "these things have to be a part of the future or there won't be a future."

zon to come up with innovative ways to engage them in using our journalism that will both inform the public and help them with their business models in reaching Canadians."

'We are currently looking at models adopted in other countries'

The announcement of the partnership came on the same day Heritage Minister Steven Guilbeault (Laurier—Sainte-Marie, Que.) spoke to participants at the Banff World Media Festival on June 16, where he noted that the government is looking at how to "put in place a system that will support and sustain a healthy news and information sector" in the fall.

Mr. Guilbeault pointed to a series of measures announced by the government in the last year and a half, including a tax credit of almost \$600-million, credits for digital subscriptions, and \$50-million over five years to be spent in the Local Journalism Initiative.

But Mr. Guilbeault also said he doesn't think the government should be funding media.

"We're doing it right now. There's a crisis, there's an emergency ... but in the long run, we need to find longer term solu-

tions, and I've been looking very closely at what France has been announced what they want to do regarding neighbouring rights in the media, what Australia is looking at doing," said Mr. Guilbeault. "I think that those who benefit from the media content of our news and information agencies in Canada should be paying their fair share."

"We will be coming up with something in the fall, looking at neighbouring rights, news and information organizations, and web giants as well," said Mr. Guilbeault.

On May 2, the publishers of Canada's major newspapers came together in a rare demonstration of coordination to deliver a message to the federal government, imploring them to follow the example of France and Australia. They noted that both countries have "announced plans to make sure Google and Facebook pay their fair share, instead of exploiting tax loopholes while making billions of dollars off the back of original content producers."

The minister was not available for a follow-up interview, but, in a statement to *The Hill*

the last five years, pointing to the media bailout announced last year that included "measures that are not adding a desired impact."

"It's clear evidence that this lack of serious action taken for five years, that has been exacerbated by the pandemic, is jeopardizing all news media ecosystems," said Mr. Blaney.

"For Conservatives, what is critical are issues around copyright and intellectual property," pointing to Shifting Paradigms, a report tabled by the Heritage Committee in May 2019.

"What we've seen, and what we feel, is that it's important to fix the market, and the approach that was based in this report is to ensure that the value of the intellectual property of Canadian content is recognized and monetized," said Mr. Blaney. "That's the way we see the approach is to fix the market, unlike the Liberals, as we get back to this media bailout, are trying to subsidize. ... We feel it is important to protect the rights of the author—in this case, a journalist producing news."

'Goes back to a debate that's several years old now'

Carleton University journalism professor Chris Waddell told *The Hill Times* that there have been years of discussion and debate about whether Facebook should be taxed and whether they are the enemy of news organizations.

"Should Facebook and some of the other social media companies be treated as a media company or as a technology company? And they've always argued that they should be a technology company, which would mean they wouldn't have the responsibilities that they would have to have as a media company, in terms of overseeing and verifying content," said Mr. Waddell.

"But over the years, that argument has been watered down, as they've been forced to do a range of things in terms of fact-checking and other stuff like that," said Prof. Waddell. "So in fact, they are kind of closer to a media company than they thought they would be five years ago."

University of Ottawa professor Michael Geist, who holds the Canada Research Chair in internet and e-commerce law in the university's faculty of law, told *The Hill Times* that he thinks we've seen the large internet companies provide a number of overtures to the media sector, or what they would view as efforts to support the sector.

"I think part of that is being driven by the prospect of regulatory intervention by various governments, including the Canadian government," said Prof. Geist. "And in some instances, there may be a compelling business case for some of the support they are looking to provide."

"The Facebook example, in terms of support, strikes me more as a goodwill venture to support a sector that has been the source of some criticism lately," said Mr. Geist.

The Canadian Press hopes to have the jobs filled just after Labour Day.

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Opinion

The daily handouts have slowed and the reckoning has begun

Continued from page 10

This next recovery will feature, as previous ones have, federal investments in infrastructure, including pipelines, expanded child care centres, public transit, roads and tourism. But more innovative responses will be required to help women and others especially disadvantaged by the pandemic, including hourly wage earners. This means increased investment in child care, long-term care and public health generally. As well, politicians have been talking about shifting to a green economy for decades; the coming months will be a test of their sincerity and foresight.

If an economic recovery especially tooled for a new century requires fresh thinking, so, we must desperately hope, does political discourse. We haven't yet heard the usual clamour for tax cuts and smaller government that comes from the political right. Indeed, if anything increased, and more progressive, taxation will be required to help us out of this mess. But it probably won't be long before the arid and dated battles about the role of government resume.

Finally, there are underlying economic challenges that pre-date the pandemic. Donald Trump's renewed threats to impose tariffs on Canadian aluminum—hours before the new NAFTA was to be formalized—is not only another provocation from an erratic neighbour, but evidence of growing protectionism from our biggest trading partner. Then there is China and growing demands, from left and right, that Canada lessen its dependence on the increasingly autocratic superpower and repatriate some manufacturing to North America.

Perhaps our best hope of recovery, not entirely foolish, is that Canada's abundance—our mineral, natural and human resources—will prevail. It is crucial, however, that everyone shares equally the sacrifices and rewards that lie ahead. That will require uncommonly wise political leadership.

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

The Hill Times

It's easy to see why U.S. Big Tech sees Canada as a happy hunting ground

Continued from page 19

can companies would not be reviewed by Investment Canada for "net benefit" unless assets exceeded \$150-million by 1992, with that level rising over time. This meant that most Canadian tech companies could be acquired by U.S. companies without "net benefit" scrutiny since very few tech companies back then were worth more than \$150-million. Americans could just swoop in and buy up our most promising tech stars if they wanted, and many did.

Since then, the same provision has been included in other trade deals we have signed while over time the threshold for review this year has risen, to \$1.613-billion today for companies from countries with which we have trade agreements, such as the U.S., \$1.075-billion for companies from other WTO investors, and \$428-million from investors that are state-owned enterprises (this is aimed at China). This means that almost all tech companies still fall below the threshold for "net benefit" review.

Most trade experts agree that we cannot unilaterally lower the threshold levels for "net benefit" review now since they are written into trade agreements. So we have to find an alternative. One way may be to put some industry sectors—strategic sectors—under a defined set of national security concerns, including ownership of intellectual property.

The existing national security provisions of the Investment Canada Act already "apply to foreign investments of any size," according to a recent statement from Investment Canada. It is mainly through citing national security that Canada can block most takeovers today. So here the challenge would be to define national security to challenge takeovers of promising tech companies and their intellectual property.

The U.S. Exim Bank, drawing on the U.S. National Security Strategy, has identified 11 industry sectors it considers to be strategic: artificial intelligence; biotechnology; biomedical sciences; wireless communications equipment (including 5G); quantum computing; renewable energy; energy efficiency and energy storage; semi-conductors and semi-conductor machinery manufacturing; emerging financial technologies; water treatment and sanitation; high-performance computing; and associated services. Canada would have a different list but we need a list.

While much of the takeover debate in Canada is focused on takeovers of Canadian companies by Chinese state-owned companies, the bigger threat to our future prosperity comes from the actions of U.S. tech giants and that is the issue we need to confront now. We should expect the industry committee takes up this challenge.

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

The Hill Times

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Transformative global pandemic could bring positive changes to society, but will require ‘an incredible amount of political will,’ say politicians, pollsters

The deeper the impacts of COVID-19 and the longer the pandemic lasts, the more likely that major changes will occur in our society, says EKOS president Frank Graves, who hopes for big, positive changes. But Don Savoie says Canada will also need ‘an incredible amount of political will’ to deal with the massive spending hangover once the global pandemic is over.

Continued from page 1

has been, could be an impetus or an accelerant that would allow us to achieve some things that wouldn't have otherwise been possible—a different rebalancing of our society and economy,” said Frank Graves, veteran pollster and president of EKOS Research. “We will have a fundamental re-think of the economy and society and our democracies, and how they work or don't work. And the deeper the impacts of this, the more likely that those same sorts of changes will occur.”

Political insiders interviewed said that because of the jolt triggered by the pandemic, some of the public policy ideas that have long been unthinkable are now being cast as credible and are drawing public attention. These include a universal basic income, four-day work weeks, move to a post-carbon economy, more funding for health, education, and efforts to combat systemic racism.

“Those are some pretty dramatic examples of things that are now very much on the table,

which would not have been possible,” said Mr. Graves.

As of June 25, 102,622 Canadians had been diagnosed with COVID-19, and more than 8,500 have died, according to the Public Health Agency of Canada.

Since COVID-19 was declared a global pandemic, it has dominated the national and international agenda. This issue has seized all countries affected, with governments around the world making efforts to help their citizens in dealing with the health and economic impacts of this outbreak.

To help Canadians cope with the economic and health effects of the outbreak, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's (Papineau, Que.) government has been making near-daily funding announcements worth billions of dollars. Millions of Canadians and businesses have applied for the feds' emergency relief programs.

Parliamentary Budget Officer Yves Giroux, in his latest projection on June 24, said the deficit could hit \$256-billion this fiscal year. In May, he said it's “realistic” to expect that the national debt could rise to \$1-trillion.

Canada's credit rating has been downgraded by Fitch from triple A to double A plus because of the ballooning federal deficit, according to *The Globe and Mail*.

But recent public opinion polls have suggested that a vast majority of Canadians are satisfied with the government's handling of the once-in-a-century event that has upended the lives of Canadians and people around the world. These polls have also suggested that Canadians are satisfied with the overall direction of the country.

According to a recent poll by Abacus Data, 55 per cent of Canadians said the country is headed in the right direction; 76 per cent said that the public institutions have responded well to the pandemic; and 36 per cent said they're now more confident about Canada's public institutions than before.

The online poll of 1,500 Canadians was conducted between May 4 and May 6, and had a margin of error of plus or minus 2.5 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.



The Justin Trudeau Liberals have introduced measures worth billions of dollars to help Canadians cope with the negative impacts of COVID-19. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Pollster Nik Nanos told *The Hill Times* that the pandemic has hit the reset button and has turned some of the well-established political views on their head. For example, he said, until the start of the outbreak, the general established view amongst most political parties was that large deficits should be avoided at all costs, and that small government was better than big government. But, after COVID-19 hit Canadians in mid-March, millions of individuals and businesses are receiving money to pay their bills.

“In the olden days, when a politician talked about corporate, social-welfare bums receiving money, it was a negative slur on governments that wanted to subsidize and help businesses that businesses should stand on their own two feet and government should not support them,” said Mr. Nanos, founder and chief data scientist at Nanos Research. “Well, fast forward to now and corporations and Canadian enterprises are one of the main beneficiaries of economic welfare from the government.”

Mr. Nanos said that, according to his polling, Canadians have felt that the pandemic has had a negative impact on their standard of living. But, at the same time, Canadians now feel an increased appreciation of family and friends, and are embracing a simpler way of life. It's also prompted people to self-examine their priorities, which could result in long-term impact on public policy.

“[There's a] recognition that maybe I don't need as many possessions, and I don't need to buy stuff, [which] could have a positive impact on the environment if citizens become more citizen focused and less consumer focused,” said Mr. Nanos. “It could mean that, if people can consume less, that also means things like walking to work, taking the bicycle to go visit a friend focusing on events and activities in the neighbourhood, that could have a positive impact on the environment—just all of those micro-behaviours adding up.”

Mr. Nanos said that the COVID-19 global pandemic has been a disrupter on the public-policy

front, but has also been an accelerant in the adoption of technology. These days, it's common to see personal and professional meetings held over videoconference. For example, he said, it's not uncommon to see grandparents talking to their grandchildren on Zoom.

In the short term, he said, the pandemic has reduced political partisanship, and generally speaking, Canadians across the country have been satisfied with the way the federal and provincial governments have been working together. Still, it remains to be seen whether this trend holds.

Richard Johnston, a professor of political science at the University of British Columbia, said the post-COVID-19 society will see some changes, but much depends on when the crisis abates and how political parties respond to the proposed changes gaining traction.

Right now, he said, the balance of power is tilted in favour of the federal government over the provincial government, but is likely to change after this crisis is over. Prof. Johnston said that



Pollster Nik Nanos of Nanos Research says that COVID-19 has been a disrupter on the public-policy front. *The Hill Times* file photograph

after the pandemic comes to an end, the government and opposition parties at the federal level will have their differences of opinion, because of their competing electoral interests and ideological reasons. Those long standing differences and interests will be the biggest hurdles

in bringing about any change or introducing new public policies. He agreed that ideas, such as a universal basic income or four-day work weeks, are now getting a sympathetic ear from the general public and politicians—a significant change from the pre-COVID-19 time. But agreement on the scope of the adoption of this policy remains to be seen.

“There are real openings here, but a lot will depend on the details,” said Prof. Johnston, who holds the Canada Research Chair in public opinion, elections, and representation. “So once you get beyond the principles into the actual construction of the policies that express the principles, then a lot will depend on how the political class treats it. ... Once the opposing voices come out, it'll be

interesting to see how society at large divides.”

Prof. Johnston said the coming months are critical, with much hinging on how the easing of lockdown restrictions pan out, and whether there's a second wave. He said that, if people plunged back into the community transmission, and a deadly second wave emerges, people would lose confidence in the ability of the government to deliver positive change.

In the past, there have been major historical events that have produced some economic and social changes. As an example, he said, after the Second World War, a number of new important public policies were introduced in Canada, including unemployment insurance, the child benefit, and the Green Book proposals, which contained some social welfare measures, most notably a universal public health insurance.

Similarly, Mr. Graves said that, after the Great Depression in the U.S., in the mid-1930s, Franklin Roosevelt's administration introduced the New Deal. It consisted of a number of public works programs, projects, and reforms to help the economy recover from the severe economic downturn. They provided support to a broad cross-section of Americans.

Prof. Donald Savoie, a leading expert in the machinery of government and the public service, told *The Hill Times* that one of the major challenges the government will have to tackle in the coming months will be to rein in the national debt. He said the government has done the right thing by introducing financial measures to help Canadians affected by COVID-19. But the growing debt will be one of the impediments in introducing any big changes, which will require money. When this crisis is over, Prof. Savoie said, the “financial hangover” would be among the chief concerns for the government.

“It's going to have a profound impact on government, because post COVID-19, there's going to have to be some realignment between revenues and spending,” said Prof. Savoie, who holds the Canada Research Chair in public administration and governance at the Université de Moncton.

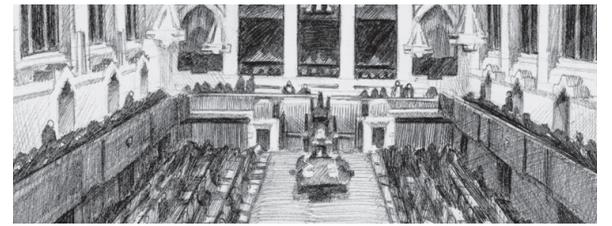
“And that's going to require an incredible amount of political will. It doesn't require much political will when you're spending every day,” he said. “It requires political will, when you deal with the hangover and that hangover is going to be very, very, very difficult to manage. I don't think people have focused on that.”

Prof. Savoie said the public service and the political leadership should start to think and plan now about how are they going to reduce the size of the debt. For any government, he said, turning the tap off of public spending is a big decision and not an easy one to undertake. He said in a minority government, it will be even more challenging.

“It takes an incredible jolt at the wheel to turn off spending,” said Prof. Savoie. “So when people get accustomed to receiving benefits from the government, very difficult to cut it back, and that's why it requires an incredible amount of political will.”

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The Hill Times

Parliamentary Calendar



Canada turns 153 years old on July 1, eh?

MONDAY, JUNE 29

House Sitting—The House had its final meeting on June 18 of the Special COVID-19 Pandemic Committee, composed of all members of the House, but as per a government motion tabled May 25, the House will sit 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 House 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 Sitting—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.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 1

Canada Day—Canada turns 153 years old on July 1. Happy Canada Day! There definitely won't be the same big crowds and celebrations happening across the country during this global pandemic, but Canadian Heritage has a few plans in place. Due to COVID-19, Canada Day 2020 celebrations will be hosted virtually. Canada's embassies, consulates and high commissions are also presenting activities worldwide. To find out more, check out the Canada Day website. From 1 p.m. to 2 p.m. local time (2 p.m. Atlantic time) watch *Canada Day Across the Country* on CBC and Radio-Canada as well as on CPAC and Canadian Heritage's digital platforms at 1 p.m. (ET). The Canada Day Daytime Show brings you a virtual tour of the festivities. Join Serena Ryder and Pierre-Yves Lord on a trip to meet talented artists from Yellowknife, Calgary, Winnipeg, Sudbury, Montréal, Québec City and Moncton. Celebrate cultural diversity, sport excellence and Indigenous languages and cultures, and honour frontline responders. There is also a salute to the 40th anniversary of *O Canada* as our official national anthem. Featuring: Paul Brandt; Marc Hervieux; Julie Nesrallah; the National Arts Centre Orchestra; Laurence Nerbonne and Sarahméa; Leela Gilday; Atlantic Ballet of Canada; Sierra Noble, Faouzia, Kelly Bado, Olivia Lunny, JP Hoe and Jason Burnstick; and Patricia Cano. From 8 p.m. to 10 p.m. local time (9 p.m. Atlantic time), watch the evening show *Canada Day Together* on CBC and Radio-Canada as well as on Canadian Heritage's digital platforms at 8 p.m. (ET). Hosts Serena Ryder and Pierre-Yves Lord bring original artistic collaborations from all over the country with stops in Halifax, Toronto and Vancouver. The night will conclude with highlights of the best Canada Day fireworks from previous years. Featuring: Alanis Morissette; Avril Lavigne; Sarah McLachlan; Shane Koyczan; Charlotte Cardin; Loud; Roxane Bruneau; Alan Doyle; The Sheepdogs; Corneille; Alexandra Strélski; Joel Plaskett; Ria Mae; Alex Nevsky; Radio Radio and Damien Robitaille; Haviah Mighty; The Jerry Cans; Natasha Kanapé Fontaine; Guillaume Côté, The National Ballet of Canada; Vanesa Garcia-Ribala Montoya, Les Grand Ballets Canadiens; and Alanna McAdie, Royal Winnipeg Ballet. Listen to the official Canada Day channel,



Happy Birthday, Canada: On July 1, from 1 p.m. to 2 p.m. local time (2 p.m. Atlantic time), watch *Canada Day Across the Country* on CBC and Radio-Canada as well as on CPAC and Canadian Heritage's digital platforms at 1 p.m. (ET).
Photograph courtesy of Pixabay

Canada: Together in Music, on the Stingray platform, which brings together Canadian artists participating in the Canada Day national shows. Through the magic of technology, there will be a virtual fireworks show on the evening of July 1. Presented by Tim Hortons, a web app will let you enjoy a new and memorable experience. Details will be announced soon here.

TUESDAY, JULY 7

Pearson Centre Webinar: The Canadian Economy, Now & Post-COVID Featuring Jim Stanford—In conversation with Andrew Cardozo, president of the Pearson Centre, on Tuesday, July 27, 3 p.m.-3:45 p.m. Jim Stanford, economist and director of the Centre for Future Work, and Andrew Cardozo will consider the prospects of debt repayment, labour, and the role of government in the post-COVID world. They will also discuss how sectors can and cannot change and the roles of precarious, frontline, and remote workers in this pandemic will change their roles in our economic future. Eventbrite.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 8

Finance Minister to Deliver Fiscal Update—Finance Minister Bill Morneau will deliver a fiscal "snapshot" of the Canadian economy on Wednesday, July 8, but has not announced a date yet for a fiscal update or a budget. The House is also scheduled to sit on 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, NCFCA; 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, Pourdard 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/>.

TUESDAY, JULY 14

The Pearson Centre Webinar: Infrastructure and Economic Recovery Featuring Infrastructure Minister Catherine McKenna—Hosted by Pearson Centre president Andrew Cardozo, this event will happen on Tuesday, July 14, 2020, 2 p.m.-3 p.m. EDT. Just as government investments have driven the economy through the COVID-19 pandemic, the scale, scope, and types of economic stimulus that will be included in Canada's economic recovery will have immense impacts on Canada's economic future. Canada's Minister of Infrastructure and Communities Catherine McKenna talks about how infrastructure can play a role in Canada's economic recovery. Will Canada need a new Marshall Plan? And how can government centre recovery objectives with issues such as environmental sustainability and gender equity? Register here.

FRIDAY, JULY 31-SATURDAY, AUG. 8

#CanadaPerforms at RBC Bluesfest Drive-In—The National Arts Centre and RBC Bluesfest are pleased to announce they are coming together to present #CanadaPerforms at RBC Bluesfest Drive-In, a summer weekend series of live concerts at the Place des Festivals Zibi site, by the Kitchissippi River (Ottawa River). Concert-goers, as small pods or families, will be encouraged to drive to the site and watch live concerts from their individual dedicated space. In order to safely welcome back audiences to watch live concerts, the Drive-In series will offer a physical distancing experience that

respects reopening measures and protocols. Canadians will also be able to watch online the live-streamed concerts. Concerts will take place on Friday, July 31, Saturday, Aug. 1, Friday, Aug. 7, and Saturday, Aug. 8. Tickets on sale now. For the details, including additional dates and performers, go to: canadaperforms.ottawabluesfest.ca/

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 33rd annual event to network and celebrate as the Public Policy Forum honours Canadians who have made their mark on policy and leadership. Anne McLellan and Senator Peter Harder will take their place among a cohort of other stellar Canadians who we've honoured over the last 33 years, people who have dedicated themselves to making Canada a better place through policy leadership and public service. The gala event will be held on Thursday, Oct. 15, at the Metro Toronto Convention Centre, 255 Front St. W., Toronto.

SATURDAY, OCT. 24

Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner—The Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner 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 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 held in Ottawa, from Nov. 12-15. For more information, please contact: 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.

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

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