

Meaningful police reform might need a shake up in the top ranks of the RCMP



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COVID-19 a game changer for Arctic international co-operation



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News

New NAFTA comes into force after months of testy renegotiations, but 'disruptions' will need to be addressed



The trade relationship between U.S. President Donald Trump, Mexican President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau will be guided by the new North American trade pact, which came into force on July 1. *White House photograph by Tia Dufour, Flickr photograph courtesy of the Mexican President's Office, The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

BY NEIL MOSS

After months of trade talks, political wrangling, and waiting, the new NAFTA is now

a reality, but the coming weeks and months will have "disruptions" as exporters adjust to new trade rules, say trade observers.

Dating back to 2017, U.S. President Donald Trump threatened to discard the pact that had been influencing North American trade since 1994. Now the Canadian

government has some certainty over the future of Canada's trading relationship with the world's

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News

'I felt silenced': voices missing from Upper Chamber's systemic racism debate, say some Senators, highlighting need for hybrid model

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

Witnessing the Red Chamber debate on systemic racism from afar was tough on Senators who have lived the experiences but couldn't be in Ottawa, and while some accepted the pandemic made that unavoidable, others say it demonstrates why virtual sittings are so important.

It was hard for Progressive Senator Lillian Dyck to watch

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News

Mounting deaths stemming from police wellness checks a 'wake-up call,' says Senator

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

It's time to "reset" how police and health professionals respond to people in crisis, says a Senator and former leading psychiatrist, in the

wake of several police wellness checks that ended in the deaths of the people being checked on.

Still, Independent Senator Stan Kutcher doesn't echo the "well-intended" call that officers

be removed from the front lines, describing that approach as "jumping to solutions without understanding the problem."

"A simple solution to a complex problem is likely to be

incorrect ... We have to do the hard work of deep and meaningful consultation and [a] deep-dive, critical look at the data for us to

Continued on page 16

BY NEIL MOSS

As a report suggests that the U.S. is considering reimposing national security tariffs on Canadian aluminum exports, the Canadian co-chair of the Canada-U.S. Inter-Parliamentary Group said Ottawa should persuade American officials against taking trade action away from the public eye, and should continue its outreach efforts to members of the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate.

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HAPPY CANADA DAY!



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HEARD ON THE HILL

by Neil Moss

No fireworks this year: U.S. Embassy to showcase Fourth of July online



Former U.S. ambassador to Canada Kelly Craft is pictured at the Fourth of July party at Lornado in 2018. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

The Fourth of July party thrown by the U.S. Embassy is usually one of the most noteworthy events of the year, but this year it will be celebrated online.

The embassy announced a series of celebratory productions to mark the 244th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence being ratified by the Second Continental Congress.

There will be a video message given by Chargé d'Affaires **Richard Mills** and posted to the embassy's social media accounts, as well as a colour guard ceremony performed by the embassy's U.S. Marine security guards.

The day before Independence Day, there will be a cook off with social media personalities **Maddie Longo** and **Kiki Longo**, **Sebastian Cortez**, **Max L'Affamé**, **Andy Hay**, and **Michael Klassen** alongside Texas pitmaster **Bryan Bracewell** as the Canadians put "their own Canadian twist" on traditional Lone Star State barbecue.

There are also 10 outdoor art pieces by Ottawa artist **Robbie Lariviere** that are being showcased on the embassy's fence.

While last year the Fourth of July party was thrown at the National Arts Centre, the bash is often held at the ambassador's residence at Lornado, which currently sits empty as ambassador-nominee **Aldona Wos** has yet to be confirmed by the U.S. Senate.



U.S. Embassy Chargé d'Affaires Richard Mills is pictured with Liberal MP Rob Oliphant, parliamentary secretary to the foreign affairs minister, at the 2019 Fourth of July party at the National Arts Centre. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

Bruce Champion-Smith becomes *Toronto Star's* public editor, Marc-André Cossette to join Global News



Bruce Champion-Smith was *The Toronto Star's* parliamentary bureau chief from 2007 to 2018. *Photograph courtesy of Twitter/Bruce Champion-Smith*

Longtime Hill reporter **Bruce Champion-Smith** is leaving his familiar post in *The Toronto Star's* parliamentary bureau and becoming the newspaper's next public editor.

Mr. Champion-Smith announced his new position on Twitter last week.

"I'm honoured to take on the role of public editor of [*The Toronto Star*], an important job that speaks to the *Star's* commitment to accurate and fair journalism," he wrote.

Mr. Champion-Smith was the *Star's* parliamentary bureau chief for 11 years from 2007 to 2018.

"I leave Parliament Hill and my terrific colleagues in the *Star's* Ottawa bureau with some sadness. Thank you to all the politicians, Hill staff and bureaucrats who shared their stories during my time here," he tweeted.

"Over 17 years, six elections, leadership races, budgets, it was never dull."

In other Hill media news, **Marc-André Cossette** is leaving CPAC to join Global News' Elgin Street newsroom as an investigative producer.

"Starting next month, I'll be helping the Ottawa bureau dig up more original stories, covering all things [Canadian politics]," Mr. Cossette tweeted on June 26.

Mr. Cossette has been a reporter at CPAC for nearly two years. Before that, he worked as an associate producer at CBC's *Power and Politics* and as a reporter with CBC Ottawa.

RCMP investigation ongoing into suspicious package found near Turkish embassy

The RCMP is currently investigating a suspicious package that was found near the Turkish embassy on the evening of June 3.

"The matter is still under investigation," an RCMP spokesperson said in an email. "No further details are available at this time."

Police were called to Wurttemberg Street in the late evening hours of June 3 in what was called an "RCMP operation" that led to apartment buildings neighbouring the embassy being evacuated.

The Turkish embassy declined an interview request on the matter.



RCMP officers are pictured outside the Turkish embassy during a demonstration marking the 103rd anniversary of the Armenian genocide in 2018. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

The security of the Turkish embassy has long been a complaint for the Turkish government, stemming from a 1985 storming of the embassy by members of the Armenian Revolutionary Army, which resulted in the death of one civilian security guard. Then-Turkish ambassador **Coskun Kirca** was injured when he jumped from a window to escape the attack. Three years earlier, Turkish military attaché **Atilla Altikat** was assassinated in Ottawa by an Armenian militant group while on his way to work.

Tory Parliamentarians want Tommy Prince on \$5 bill



Tommy Prince, right, is pictured with his brother Morris Prince at Buckingham Palace in 1945. *Photograph courtesy of Library and Archives Canada/Christopher J. Woods /Dept. of National Defence*

A group of Tory Parliamentarians that represent Manitoba and its bordering regions want to see one of Canada's most renowned Indigenous soldiers be the next face on the \$5 bill.

A member of a group German soldiers called the "Devil's Brigade," **Tommy Prince**—a veteran of both the Second World War and the Korean War—was awarded nearly a dozen medals, including being bestowed with the Military Medal from King **George VI** at Buckingham Palace.

"Sergeant Tommy Prince's sacrifices in World War Two and Korea ensured that other nations and their

peoples would be safe from despotism, that they would have the right to self-determination, and to all the freedoms that democracy provides," a letter penned by nine MPs and Senators reads. The signatories include Conservative MPs **James Bezan**, **Marty Morantz**, **Raquel Dancho**, **Larry Maguire**, **Dan Mazier**, **Ted Falk**, and **Eric Melillo**, as well as House Leader **Candice Bergen** and Conservative Senate Leader **Donald Plett**.

Mr. Prince is noted for repairing a key communication line while disguised as a farmer behind German lines.

"Sergeant Prince's courage and utter disregard for personal safety were an inspiration to his fellows and a marked credit to his unit," his citation for the Military Medal reads.

Following the two conflicts, Mr. Prince returned to Canada and didn't receive many of the same benefits other veterans did, the letter notes. In 1977, he died homeless in a Salvation Army shelter.

"Indigenous Canadians, like Sergeant Prince, came back from the war with self-confidence and desire to speak for themselves and to make changes. They were prepared to reconcile with Canada and move forward on the path of reconciliation, but Canada was not," the letter says.

The Parliamentarians sent the note to Finance Minister **Bill Morneau** and Bank of Canada governor **Tiff Macklem**.

Past prime minister **Wilfrid Laurier** is currently on the \$5 bill.

UBC's Kevin Milligan to pitch in at Privy Council Office

Professor **Kevin Milligan** of the Vancouver School of Economics at the University of British Columbia announced last week that he had joined the Privy Council Office on June 15 as a special adviser for economic recovery.

"I look forward to the challenge of helping in the effort to spur a vigorous and inclusive economic recovery," Prof. Milligan said in a statement.

A frequent media commentator on economic matters, Prof. Milligan won't be available for media com-



Kevin Milligan has appeared in front of multiple House committees since the COVID-19 pandemic began. *Photograph courtesy of Twitter/Kevin Milligan*

mentary during his time at the PCO. He has appeared before multiple House committees since the COVID-19 pandemic hit Canada. In May, Prof. Milligan appeared at a virtual meeting of the Human Resources Committee, in which he argued for the need to move to end the Canada Emergency Response Benefit (CERB). On June 16, it was renewed for another eight weeks.

He is taking a leave from UBC until the beginning of 2021.

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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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Comment

Dafonte Miller case another shocking wake-up call for police reform

The Liberals need to quit fiddling at the edges and finally do something about institutionalized racial injustice and police violence, starting with the RCMP and the implementation of effective accountability.



Les Whittington

Need to Know

OTTAWA—It took Ontario Superior Court Justice Joseph Di Luca four-and-a-half hours' worth of rationalization to conclude in his judgment that the white off-duty cop and his brother who beat up Dafonte Miller, who lost an eye as a result, didn't commit much in the way of crimes.

The judge said Toronto police Const. Michael Theriault's claim of having been acting in self-

defence was "razor-thin" and didn't continue to stand up when he struck Miller, who was by then trying to run away, in the head with a metal pipe.

In general, Di Luca said the two brothers probably weren't acting in self-defence as they later claimed when they pounded Miller, then 19, to the point where he lost an eye and suffered numerous other injuries. But the judge largely gave Theriault and his brother the benefit of the doubt anyway in his ruling on the 2016 incident in Whitby, Ont. Theriault, who had been charged with aggravated assault, was convicted of the lesser charge of assault and his brother Christian, despite having taken part, was acquitted on the aggravated assault charge.

The court had heard that after the incident, with Miller lying bleeding on the ground and Michael Theriault sitting on the



Commissioner Brenda Lucki's comment to Members of Parliament that her officers are feeling picked on and 'demoralized' by the 'anti-police narrative' belies all her talk about reform, writes Les Whittington. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Black teenager, Durham Police officer Barbara Zabdyr arrived and gave her handcuffs to Theriault so he could put the cuffs on Miller.

As a result of the incident, Miller initially faced several charges, including assault with a weapon and theft under \$5,000. Miller's lawyer, Julian Falconer, subsequently raised the incident with Ontario's police self-investigation unit, which later charged the Theriaults, leading to the eventual removal of the charges against Miller.

While Black Lives Matter advocates were outraged by Di Luca's ruling, Miller and Falconer seemed mainly relieved that Michael Theriault, not Miller, ended up having a criminal record as a result of the beating of Miller. Echoing what anyone who has ever spent any time outside establishment circles knows, Falconer said, "As a lawyer at it for 30 years in the area of police accountability, I can tell you with absolute certitude that the one hallmark of police abuse cases in every situation is that the victim of police brutality is the subject of the charge."

Despite the serious injuries incurred by Miller, neither Durham nor Toronto police thought it necessary to contact Ontario's Special Investigations Unit at the time. That failure is reminiscent of the situation in Alberta, where it

turned out the RCMP officer who violently attacked First Nations Chief Allan Adam was still on the job despite facing unrelated criminal charges. This appears to be an embedded problem. Research over a four-year period by CityNews in Toronto, for instance, found that, out of 59 police officers facing criminal convictions across the Greater Toronto Area, only five of the 59 were dismissed from their police forces after being convicted.

Today, investigations of the cover up in the Theriault matter continue. But, as Falconer said, the entire case is a textbook example of the police brutality and racial injustice visited on racialized and Indigenous people across North America all the time.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's government has shown during the pandemic that it can gear up for action quickly. The Liberals need to quit fiddling at the edges and finally do something about institutionalized racial injustice and police violence, starting with the RCMP and the implementation of effective accountability. And new leadership at the RCMP may be required. Commissioner Brenda Lucki's comment to Members of Parliament that her officers are feeling picked on and "demoralized" by the "anti-police narrative" belies

all her talk about reform. The RCMP will require an extensive overhaul—assuming it can be fixed at all.

At the same time, nationally, it's worth considering Falconer's call for a federal commission of inquiry to examine assaults and killings of racialized and Indigenous peoples in police custody. Such an inquiry, while time-consuming, would be in keeping with the unprecedented cross-Canada demands for change. Defunding police is not an intrinsically winning political slogan. But shifting revenues away from police to other social services and judicial improvements seems an inevitable step toward substantial change. As a start, the practice of police investigating themselves has to be replaced with something much more accountable.

As in many cities, pressure is mounting in Toronto for a fresh look at police operations and funding, and Mayor John Tory has come out in favour of revamping models of community safety. But Premier Doug Ford said he would refuse to consider reductions in police funding, saying what's actually needed is more money for policing. So, while the outrages continue, meaningful change is still a long way off.

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

Feature

How MPs, Senators are spending Canada Day amid the COVID-19 pandemic

‘My plan is definitely to get out in a canoe. I need to do something that I know in my bones feels Canadian, so I’m going to get out on the water and I’m going to go paddle,’ says Liberal MP William Amos.

BY PALAK MANGAT

A slew of Canada Day celebrations across the country have either been cancelled entirely, dramatically scaled down, or moved to virtual platforms. *The Hill Times* spoke to some Parliamentarians about how they plan on ringing in the nation’s 153rd birthday amid the COVID-19 pandemic.

Liberal MP William Amos (Pontiac, Que.)

“My plan is definitely to get out in a canoe. I need to do something that I know in my bones feels Canadian, so I’m going to get out on the water and I’m going to go paddle.”



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

“I think what I’m going to end up doing is probably a bit of a road trip around to our senior’s homes. I obviously can’t go and visit, but I can go and make some noise and celebrate and have a big flag.”

“[Canada 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.”

Independent Senator Murray Sinclair (Manitoba)

“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.”



Independent Senator Murray Sinclair. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

“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.”

“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.)



Conservative MP Jasraj Singh Hallan. Image courtesy House of Commons

“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.”

“I’m used to it. Before the pandemic, we were doing six to seven events in a day on a weekend, so we’re used to [running around].”

“I think the spirit will be there from everyone, it’s just being celebrated differently.”

Conservative MP Kevin Waugh (Saskatoon-Grasswood, Sask.)

“It all starts usually on the 29th, [organizers] get fences going and then they put it on. It’s great, but [won’t happen] this year.”



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

“[Some organizers] are 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.”

“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.”

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'I felt silenced': voices missing from Upper Chamber's systemic racism debate, say some Senators, highlighting need for hybrid model

Senator Mobina Jaffer is among those who say the in-person-only approach to spring Senate sittings limited participation and worries it will remain in place when Parliament returns in September.

Continued from page 1

a colleague read her question on June 25 to Public Safety Minister Bill Blair (Scarborough Southwest, Ont.) and his defence of RCMP Commissioner Brenda Lucki's bumbling answers around systemic racism, including what it is and whether it exists in the police force.

If the Saskatchewan Senator had been there she would have pushed back on his assertion that Ms. Lucki's heart was in the right place, pressing him to explain why her answers fell so far short of understanding the problem. When asked about racism at a June 23 House Public Safety Committee, Ms. Lucki spoke of some tests disadvantaging shorter recruits.

"Clearly she hadn't taken any actions to prepare herself satisfactorily for the House of Commons committee," said Sen. Dyck, who has called for Ms. Lucki to resign.

It felt like something was lost from the conversation and officials couldn't be held to account in the same way, said Sen. Dyck, who will retire in August.

"If you're not there, you can't do that... It could have been more of a live discussion," said Sen. Dyck, adding that many of the 12 Indigenous Senators weren't able to be in Ottawa, and it was a notable absence in the Chamber over the last two weeks.

"It certainly does limit the input and, in this case, limit the participation of racialized Senators just because of where we live," she said. "It is frustrating, but I recognize that safety comes first."

Since Canada brought in COVID-related restrictions, the Senate has sat 11 days, including one day in April, two in May, and seven days between June 16 and 26. It's expected to return Sept. 22, but Senators don't yet know if it'll be the current approach that only permits in-person participation from less than one-third of the members, or a hybrid model that permits virtual participation, as many are pushing for. In April, the Senate also struck the National Finance and Social Affairs committees to study COVID-related measures as well as allowed the Internal Economy Committee to meet virtually to handle Senate business.

'I felt silenced'

Stuck in B.C. and still under travel restrictions, Independent Senator Mobina Jaffer said it broke her heart that she couldn't be present for the emergency debate on racism held on June 18.

For years she's pushed to change the face of the Senate, led discussions at the Human Rights Committee about representation in the federal service, and pushed to have a diversity committee at the Senate, all efforts adding on to a lifelong commitment to anti-racism work, she said.



COVID-19 meant some racialized and Indigenous Senators couldn't be present for the Chamber's June 18 emergency debate on systemic racism, including Senators, from left, Mobina Jaffer, Lillian Dyck, and Wanda Thomas Bernard. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade, Sam Garcia

"I feel I've been involved in this for so long and then when the real debate happened, I wasn't there," she said, and while she was grateful colleagues asked her questions, "it's not the same."

"I feel I was silenced. If we had virtual meetings then it would have been much better," she said, calling it an "unsettling" feeling to not know what will happen in the fall.

On June 16, Canadian Senators Group (CSG) Senator Pamela Wallin raised a question of privilege, arguing her rights and those of all Senators to fully participate in debate and proceedings were being breached by the "so-called normal sittings," which she described as "unrepresentative" and setting a dangerous precedent.

"Why are we not adopting the same infrastructure and technology available to the House?" asked the Saskatchewan Senator.

Though there certainly would have been technical issues, Sen. Jaffer said she felt a hybrid model, allowing for virtual participation, could have been possible in June, months into the pandemic, seeing as the House had that option for MPs through the regular COVID-19 Special Committee meetings.

While Independent Senator Wanda Thomas Bernard (East Preston, N.S.) agreed it was difficult not to be in the Chamber for discussions around racism, she said she didn't feel silenced.

Though some seem to be approaching this discussion as if it's the first time it's come forward, Sen. Bernard pointed to her 2018 inquiry in the Upper Chamber on anti-Black racism, and two decades of work by Donald Oliver, who in 1990 became the first Black man appointed to the Senate.

"There were moments when I felt a lot of anger and frustration," she said, but COVID-19 meant the situation was outside of their control and so she and others worked behind the scenes to make sure necessary questions were asked.

"No matter what decisions were made, someone was going to be negatively impacted," she said, noting virtual meetings leave



people out, too, and she felt her words were well represented and acknowledged in the record.

She was among five Independent Senators of African descent, including three who are Black—Sen. Bernard, Rosemary Moodie (Ontario) and Marie-Françoise Mégie (Rougemont, Que.)—who led the push for an emergency debate, a committee of the whole sitting to question cabinet ministers on the government's response combatting racism, and calls for the Senate to form a special committee examining the issue and government action.



That committee means the conversation can continue come fall, but Sen. Bernard said if COVID-19 still prevents Senators from filling the Red Chamber, then "we really need to look at alternative ways of ensuring that all Senators can participate."

Internet access makes virtual sittings unfair, Senators warn

It's an open question among Senators about what to expect from sittings come September, if it will remain an in-person-only approach as the Conservative Party



CSG Leader Scott Tannas says he's worried without leadership the Chamber will be in the same spot after the summer, without the option to sit virtually, leaving members unable to fulfill their constitutional duties. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

prefers—or if a hybrid model is possible, as many Senators from other groups say is the majority's wish.

Conservative Nunavut Senator Dennis Patterson said he felt comfortable returning for the last two weeks given the measures in place in the Chamber, including the space and frequent sanitization, even though he's considered high-risk with underlying medical conditions.

Although the capital Iqaluit, where he lives, is better serviced, he said living in a remote region means he can't rely on internet access to fully participate.

Having in-person sittings are "quite superior" to the virtual approach, which he said is "fraught with challenges" and still has too many unanswered questions around security.

Independent Senator Rosa Galvez disagreed with that assessment, and said the technology and the security protections are sufficient to make a virtual sitting possible for those who are prevented from travelling or participating in person. Sen. Galvez (Bedford, Que.) has frequently sat in on virtual meetings held by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and ParLAmericas, showing that such meetings are possible.

These crises can be tempting for governments to take power because of the situation, which she said is in some ways understandable because the health risks demand swift and agile decision-making, but this moment calls for more democracy, more checks and balances.

"Everybody should have the right to vote and participate ... particularly in this moment of crisis," she said.

Sen. Patterson said the virtual approach would be discriminatory to Senators like him in remote regions who don't have reliable internet.

"We have been working well together to represent Senators who were unable to present and make interventions and we've been able to hold regular caucus meeting," said Sen. Patterson, who said he's satisfied the needs of the region are met as well as they can be with others asking questions on his behalf when he can't be there.

"I think we should go with the less-than-perfect model that we've already demonstrated can work."

Independent Senator Margaret Dawn Anderson (Northwest Territories) shared his concern about equal access, noting there's a clear "digital divide" between the North and South.

For voting and key issues, she said she prefers the in-person model to the hybrid approach, given the unreliability and limited access to quality internet.

The Northwest Territories suffers from a lack of competition and internet infrastructure, as well as data caps that at times made it difficult for her to follow Senate business online. Often, she'd have to use audio only, rather than the video feed, and she encountered power outages on top of disconnections.

Before the June sitting days, none of the Senators representing the territories had been able to travel, she noted, and so when restrictions were loosened, Sen. Anderson said she and her two counterparts felt it important to come to Ottawa to ensure that representation.

"There's a disparity between the Arctic and southern Canada and I think that unless we bring those forward and acknowledge that those disparities exist and bring a voice to Ottawa, sometimes the Arctic is swallowed up with the rest of Canada."



Conservative Senator Dennis Patterson, right, says in-person sittings are "superior" to a hybrid or virtual model given unequal internet access in remote areas, like his home territory of Nunavut. *Photograph courtesy of the Senate of Canada*

"To allow equal opportunity ideally these would be held within the senate. I think the reliance for me as a Senator in the NWT, on the internet and on technology ... poses issues."

Regional voices missing

The in-person set-up means various regions of the country, primarily those in the East and West were not reflected in the debates, said CSG Leader Scott Tannas, who returned from Alberta for the last two weeks.

It's important because the Senate is "the House of regions" and limited sittings mean in "practical terms, Senators can't fulfill their constitutional duties." In the early stages, that was understandable, but Canada will be "one of the last, if not the last," Westminster-style institutions without a hybrid session that allows robust debate, voting, and procedures.

Independent Senator Mary Coyle (Antigonish, N.S.) was the only Nova Scotian Senator present during the pandemic sittings, and she opted to stay in Ottawa since March to ensure that representation since going home would mean quarantine and an unlikely return.

Aside from the Conservative Senators, she said "I don't know anyone who doesn't want hybrid sitting to occur." There's an "equal level of frustration" that committees weren't able to meet, and she said the Independent Senators Group tried to address those gaps through informal working groups, on international issues, the future of the energy sector, small business, and adopting a guaranteed basic income.

A virtual Senate wouldn't be perfect she said, noting Sen. Anderson's concerns about internet access, but she said it would be "more ideal" than the current set up.

It would be "outrageous" if Senators arrived back in September with COVID-19 restrictions in place and all Senators still couldn't participate through a hybrid sitting, said Sen. Tannas.

The fall is a realistic timeline if people are "doing what they need to do now," but with so many parts and departments involved, someone needs to take the lead, he said.

"Everyone has a role to play, but somebody has to stick their neck out" to commit to

"a firm decision and transparent decision on virtual sittings," as well as a date, he said. "That hasn't happened. It's probably the Speaker in consultation with leaders that need to make that commitment," he said, noting the leaders are not all on the same page,

and the Internal Economy Committee would also have to approve expenses. "I'm worried that we let this float over the summer and find ourselves in the same spot." swallen@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

A question of privilege

On June 16, Independent Senator Pamela Wallin raised a question of privilege in the Red Chamber, charging that her rights, and those of all her Senate colleagues were being breached "without the appropriate measures to allow for full participation" in the sittings. The following is an excerpt from her question, which Speaker George Furey ultimately deemed fell outside of the Senate's rules and was not considered.

"Senate leadership has agreed to resume so-called normal sittings, including going through the Order Paper, to discuss non-governmental, non-urgent business. It is impossible in these circumstances to meet our oath, provide proper judgment or sober second thought about legislation or other matters without proper

adequate access to Senate resources. During the initial crisis, there was a troubling but somewhat understandable agreement to limit debate to emergency government legislation designed to help Canadians and to restrict the number of senators allowed to participate to protect their health. But technology could change that and should have by now.

As we gather here today, many senators are not able to participate. It is one thing when we are asked to deal with emergency legislation. It is quite another when we are returning to so-called normal sittings without the ability for all to participate. Senators are being asked or told rather to either stay in their homes or rotate their time in the chamber with others in their group. Without the infrastructure allowing for remote or virtual participation in non-emergency legislation we are, in essence, obstructing all senators' rights to represent their regions and constituents, and to participate in Senate proceedings.

While I understand that leadership has also agreed that there will be no formal votes, there is absolutely no way to predict or restrict

the right of a senator to demand such a vote. But votes should not be held when so many are denied their fundamental right.

More questions arise on the legitimacy of the actions of this chamber in this current arrangement. If there are standing votes on matters arising from the Order Paper, how do we record the votes of senators not in the chamber? How do I ask someone to be my surrogate and vote my conscience in my absence? Is it not their obligation to vote their conscience reflecting the obligations of their region?

Provincial stay-at-home restrictions and personal health concerns currently make it impossible for some senators to enter the chamber or attend future sittings. If a senator from P.E.I. were to come to the Senate to do their job, they would need to self-isolate for 14 days here and then again when they return home, preventing them from coming back for any

future sittings during that period. Other provinces and territories have similar restrictions. That no action has been taken to accommodate our colleagues is embarrassing, but it's more importantly a dangerous precedent. In fact, the oath we swear when we take our place in this chamber is that we must appear despite all difficulties and with no excuses. But for many of our colleagues, that would mean breaking the law, so we must give them the option to be here even virtually."

The Hill Times



In CSG Senator Pamela Wallin's question of privilege, she argued the sittings were breaching Senators' ability to participate. *The Hill Times* photograph by Aidan Chamandy

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Editorial

Trudeau shouldn't abdicate leadership on quashing systemic racism to 'consensus' rule

Despite the prime minister's repeated platitudes on the need to do "more" to tackle systemic anti-Black and anti-Indigenous racism in Canada, he has signalled the existence of a significant loophole he can use to not do much at all.

Much like other matters of import in this country, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau seems to have found that he can hide behind provincial jurisdiction to abstain from showing real leadership.

To wit: on the afternoon of June 25, the Prime Minister's Office released a joint statement on anti-racism from Mr. Trudeau and his provincial and territorial counterparts.

"Recognizing that one of the strengths of Canada is its diversity, first ministers condemn all forms of racism, discrimination, intolerance, and bigotry. First ministers are determined to combat it—including anti-Black, anti-Indigenous, and anti-Asian racism and hate, as well as anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. Hate has no place in Canada and will not be tolerated," the statement reads.

The statement goes on to say that the two orders of government "commit to exercise leadership and bring any required changes to their policies, initiatives, and practices to best support communities and address the root causes of inequalities."

Despite also acknowledging the "urgency of addressing these complex and long-standing issues," there was something critical missing. The phrase "systemic racism" was nowhere to be found in the statement, and as Mr. Trudeau told reporters on June 26, that was because there was no consensus among the leaders about the phrase.

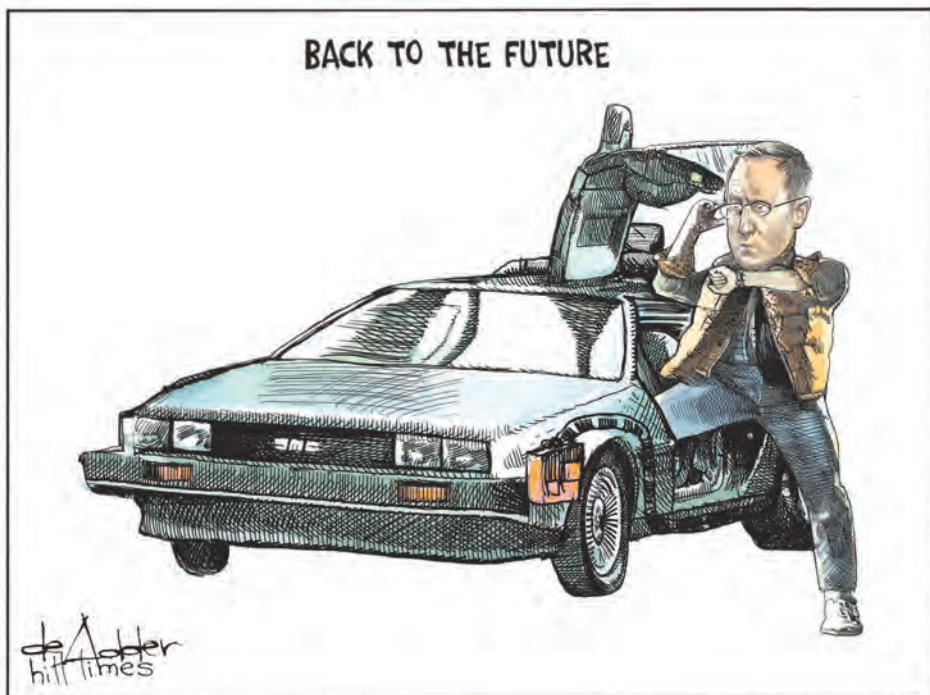
"I have been crystal clear that the federal government recognizes [systemic racism] in order to be able to better address it," he said, staying mum about which premiers were responsible for the omission. "I think that people have seen that it's still a strong statement that needs to be followed up by concrete actions."

But as the statement said: "Acknowledging that there is a problem is only the first step; a society that is free of racism and discrimination requires an ongoing commitment." If Mr. Trudeau, who has maintained his stance that systemic racism exists in Canada and needs to be addressed, can be comfortable with releasing a lukewarm, milquetoast statement from his PMO that deletes the words, simply because it's easier than pushing for an agreement, then what does that say about his ability to lead in all of the other areas society that need work? Nothing good.

And that's to say nothing of the fact the statement was already bafflingly late, coming one month after George Floyd was killed by police in the United States and weeks after anti-racism and anti-police brutality protests, which are still ongoing, took over streets around the world.

Inequity and inequality are baked into the way the country functions. From colonialism onwards, Indigenous people were kicked off their land, Black people were enslaved, and white people benefited. And they still benefit. Of the 14 current first ministers, all but two are white men. If they don't want to take action and lead—which includes acknowledging and using the very words that explain what the problem is—nothing will get done.

The Hill Times



Letters to the Editor

We need to protect democracy from internal attacks, writes former MP

Being a former NDP MP, I'm no Conservative—but as a Canadian, I'm dismayed at the so-called "stolen data" from the Erin O'Toole campaign. I think it is important that Canada have a credible Conservative Party with integrity. They should remember they are the party of Joe Clark, an Albertan, and Robert Stanfield, a Nova Scotian, both known for their integrity.

Peter MacKay and Mr. O'Toole should together give a joint statement as to what

happened. Then they should take the offending young offender to the woodshed and give him or her a lecture on right and wrong, in case his/her parents missed that lecture. Then get on with offering Canadian conservative policy options.

There is also a bigger issue: democracy itself worldwide is under attack. We "democrats" don't need to abuse our system from within. We need to protect it.

Ian G. Waddell
 Vancouver B.C.

There's still time to find a solution to the PMPRB problem, stakeholder writes

Recent data from a range of sources confirms what Canada's innovative medicines industry has been saying for more than three years now: Health Canada's recent changes to the Patented Medicine Prices Review Board's (PMPRB) Patented Medicines Regulations will have a negative impact on patients' access to medicines, on investment in our life-sciences sector, and on the launch of new medicines and vaccines in Canada.

Since the amended PMPRB regulations were published last August, Innovative Medicines Canada members have reported several drug-launch delays or suspensions, including for rare disease and oncology medicines. IMC's analysis of the Conference Board of Canada data (CBoC) confirms that between August 2019 and March 2020 there were 30 to 40 per cent fewer new drug submissions made within 12 months of the drug being submitted for approval elsewhere in the globe, compared to the previous three years (24 per cent), and twice as many drugs (42 per cent) with Health Canada approval were delaying launch by more than six months, compared to the three previous years. IMC's analysis of the CBoC data also showed that in the 11 months since the new regulations were published, Canada is already starting to see a decrease in the share of global industry-funded drug clinical trials. A separate recent analysis of new drug launches in Canada conducted by IQVIA—one of the world's leading health care, biopharmaceutical and clinical trials data companies—reached a similar conclusion: 2019 saw a significant drop in Canada in both the

number of new drug launches and in the share of global launches—to less than half the figures seen in recent years.

Similarly, a new peer-reviewed study by the Canadian Health Policy Institute published last week does not support PMPRB's assertions that there is no evidence linking drug access and R&D investments with drug prices. Health economist Yanick Labrie conducted a detailed literature review and found that there is in fact a large body of evidence directly linking prices and price regulations to R&D investment and new drug access. Out of 49 studies that reviewed this specific issue, 44 found there was a significant negative relationship between drug price controls with each or both of R&D investment and drug access, or a significant positive relationship between drug price levels with each or both of R&D and drug access.

This and other research confirm that the threats of negative impact of the PMPRB changes are real and significant, not only for the life sciences sector in Canada, but more importantly for millions of Canadian patients that depend on new medicines and vaccines. Fortunately, it is not too late to find a solution that will avert this outcome. Industry is prepared to come forward, as we have been over the last three years, with alternative approaches that will prevent the negative consequences of the amended regulations, while still allowing Health Canada to meet its public policy objectives. We hope that government will be a willing partner.

Pamela Fralick
 President, Innovative Medicines Canada

More money needed for global COVID-19 fight

In the fight against COVID-19, everyone everywhere must have access to quality health services and the most vulnerable communities must be protected from the direct and indirect impacts of this global crisis. So, the prime minister's announcement of \$300-million for equitable access

to treatment is a welcome first step on the way to investing one per cent of Canada's internal COVID-19 funding on international efforts, where much more is needed.

Randy Rudolph
 Calgary, Alta.

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Canada must come to terms with the tragic dimension of international politics

In the end, the ‘tragic’ is a prudently crafted balance between idealism and realism, which are the two legs of a steadfast foreign policy.



Jean-Frédéric Légaré-Tremblay

Opinion

By failing to secure a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council, Canada’s ambitions have come up against the wall of global political reality. This is not the first wall the Trudeau government has hit on the international stage. Since 2015, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has witnessed the disintegration of liberal international order and a return to power politics which are

undermining both its interests and ideals.

No wonder then that calls for a foreign policy review are multiplying. But whatever programs and measures may eventually redirect Canada’s international actions, Ottawa should rehabilitate in its speeches the tragic dimension of international relations.

Let’s not get carried away by the meaning of “tragic.” In a nutshell, the tragic here refers to an arbitration between the interests and ideals that a state wishes to defend and the hard reality of the balance of power that constrains it. It’s an acknowledgment of the existence of limits in the pursuit of interests and ideals. In the end, it’s a prudently crafted balance between idealism and realism, which are the two legs of a steadfast foreign policy.

The reign of idealism

Since the Liberals’ victory though, idealism has reigned supreme in foreign policy discourse. Trudeau wanted to mark a contrast with his Conservative predecessor by resuscitating the “sunny ways” of Wilfrid Laurier and by praising the power of “positive politics.” To the world, he announced that Canada “is back” with its “compassionate and constructive voice.”

Soon, reality bit back and clouds gathered over these sunny

ways: the election of Donald Trump and his reconsideration of the free trade and multilateral order so dear to Canada; the rise of China and the tensions over the arrest of Meng Wanzhou and the arbitrary detention of Canadians Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor; the Russian-Ukrainian conflict; foreign interference in Canadian internal affairs; not to mention pandemics and many other tough global challenges.

In a speech given last February at the Montreal Council on Foreign Relations (CORIM), Minister of Foreign Affairs François-Philippe Champagne took a notorious step towards a more realistic view of international politics by explaining what he meant by “a world in which the international system, as we know it, is under severe strain.” From human rights increasingly threatened to a rules-based international order profoundly challenged, his diagnosis was just.

But this diagnosis had few direct consequences for Canada. This realistic outlook entailed few tough choices. Instead, the minister exuded optimism in his government’s will to tackle all challenges.

Lessons from a realist thinker

Yet, accepting the limits of political action is not succumbing to pessimism. Accepting the

tragic of the world does not mean abdicating your ideals. On the contrary.

This can be learned from the father of the realist school in international relations in the United States, Hans Morgenthau, who influenced generations of researchers, diplomats, and leaders. This German Jewish intellectual, who fled an increasingly hostile Europe in 1937, sharply criticized fellow intellectuals and decision-makers who confined themselves to thinking about the world “as it ought to be” and not “as it is” first. He was struck by how infatuated these Americans were with “historic optimism,” that blind faith in “reason and progress” embodied in moralizing discourse and a crusader spirit.

To this he opposed the “tragic dimension of history”—a vision of the political world where the interests of states often come up against that of others and where the balance of power among them forms an implacable reality. For him, it is inevitable that states seek to maintain, increase, or demonstrate their power, which can only upset an ever-precarious international order.

However, Morgenthau did not give in to cynicism. He has never held that the world is a chessboard on which states must advance their pawns at all costs solely for amassing power. He believed in the need for norms and laws

to lessen the brutality of power politics and considered equality and freedom as humanist values worth defending. He even made a point of criticizing the American ruling class several years after the Second World War when he considered that an amoral realism was gaining ground in its ranks and upsetting the delicate balance between idealism and realism in decision-making.

Cornelian choices

The world that is shaping up will most likely not be as kind to Canada as it had been after the end of the Cold War. The era of the *mondialisation heureuse*, characterized by the spread of democracy and free trade that is conducive to both Canadian interests and ideals, looks more and more like a parenthesis. Defending those interests and ideals will then require a cold-headed view of the balance of power on the international scene, where decision-makers will face more and more Cornelian choices.

The foreign-policy discourse should incorporate this new reality. How will the government justify tough decisions to Canadians if it has not prepared them? These decisions will then seem arbitrary, inconsistent, or unfair. Speech cannot exist in weightlessness, or else risks being thrown to the ground by the gravity of world reality.

Jean-Frédéric Légaré-Tremblay is a fellow and communications advisor at the Montreal Centre for International Studies (CE-RIUM).

The Hill Times

With war-crimes indictment, Kosovo-Canada values don’t align

While Kosovo remains in a sort of international status limbo, President Hashim Thaçi has been living up to his old nickname.



Scott Taylor

Inside Defence

OTTAWA—Last week, it was announced that Kosovo President

Hashim Thaçi faces a war crimes indictment from the Hague-based Kosovo Specialist Chambers. According to the special prosecutors, Thaçi along with eight other former senior military officials of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) are collectively accused of committing “nearly 100 murders.”

In addition to the murders, Thaçi and his gang of eight are also alleged to have engaged in “torture, persecution, and enforced disappearance.”

For those unfamiliar with the recent history of the Balkans, it might seem startling that the president of a European nation could be indicted for such violent crimes. However, for those who have studied the exploits of Thaçi closely, it begs the question: what took so long to charge him?

The crazy part about all of this is that Thaçi has never pretended to be anything other than what he is, and by that, I mean a career criminal and a thug.

Back in 1993 at the age of 25, Thaçi became a member of the

ethnic-Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), a group that U.S. special envoy to the Balkans Robert Gelbard would later assert “is, without any questions, a terrorist group.”

Thaçi’s self-given nickname was “Snake,” and he was responsible for trafficking drugs and weapons for the KLA. In 1997, he was convicted in absentia of committing acts of terrorism by the District Court in Pristina and sentenced to 10 years in prison.

However, in 1998, as KLA Albanian separatist forces were openly waging an insurgency against Yugoslav security forces, the U.S. State Department had a change of heart. The “terrorist” KLA suddenly became the freedom fighter KLA and their ringleader Thaçi, a.k.a. “Snake,” was propelled into the role of statesman.

In March 1999, NATO forces including Canada, intervened in Kosovo in support of the KLA. After a 78-day bombing campaign, the Yugoslavs were forced to capitulate.

Naturally, it was Thaçi and his fellow KLA leadership that dominated the post-conflict political landscape in Kosovo. Thaçi was elected prime minister of Kosovo in 2007, and on Feb. 17, 2008, he made a unilateral declaration of independence.

The U.S. immediately recognized Kosovo as an independent state and pressured other countries—including Canada—to similarly redraw the map of Europe.

The Russians used their veto to deny Kosovo membership at the UN and other European countries with separatist movements within their own borders have blocked Kosovo from joining NATO and the EU.

So, while Kosovo remains in a sort of international status limbo, Thaçi has been living up to his old nickname.

The German intelligence agency, BND, conducted a recent investigation into Thaçi and his regime and concluded: “The key players (including Thaçi) are involved in inter-linkages between politics, business, and organized

crime structures in Kosovo.” To put it bluntly, Kosovo is a narco-criminal enterprise.

A separate report conducted for the Council of Europe had a far more sinister overtone. It implicated Thaçi and the former KLA commanders of such heinous crimes as human organ trafficking. Innocent victims—both ethnic Serbian and Albanian—were allegedly executed for the purpose of harvesting their organs on the black market.

In November 2017, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau hosted President Thaçi when he visited Ottawa. Thaçi’s message at the time was that Canada and Kosovo were being targeted by Russian meddling because our two great nations shared the same “principles and values.”

Because Thaçi’s comments mirrored the narrative of the Liberal government—that being “Russia bad”—the Canadian media simply parroted these sentiments without giving any honest context.

Thaçi, a.k.a. “Snake,” presides over a failed narco-criminal state and he has now personally been indicted for war crimes. How the hell does that align with Canadian principles and values?

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

The Hill Times

Comment



Russian President Vladimir Putin will win the referendum on the new constitution without even having to cheat, writes Gwynne Dyer. *Image courtesy of Needpix.com*

Putin expected to win Russia's referendum even without all the incentives

Government ads urging people to get out and vote (or stay home and vote—for this time only they can do it online) barely mention that the new constitution will ‘reset the clock’ for Vladimir Putin. That means he will be entitled to run for two more terms as president, which might let him stay in office until 2036, but his advisers reckoned that was more information than people actually needed.



Gwynne Dyer
Global Affairs

LONDON, U.K.—“The very existence of an opportunity for the current president (to be re-elected in 2024), given his major gravitas, would be a stabilizing

factor for our society,” said Valentina Tereshkova, former Soviet cosmonaut, first woman in space, and now, at 83, a member of the Russian Duma (Parliament).

She was talking about President Vladimir Putin, of course, and she was proposing a constitutional amendment to let him bypass the existing term limit and be re-elected in 2024 (and again in 2030, if he likes). The Duma obediently passed the measure, and Russians are now voting on the new constitution, but she paid a certain price on social media for sucking up to Putin.

“Tereshkova—the first woman who bravely travelled into cosmic

cold and darkness, and then brought the entire country there,” read one post, retweeted by opposition leader Alexei Navalny. But Putin will win the referendum on the new constitution without even having to cheat.

The vote was delayed for two months because of the coronavirus: Russia has the world's third-highest number of infections, although it only admits to 9,000 deaths. Voting is being spread out over a week to minimize the risks, and the results won't be known until early July.

Government ads urging people to get out and vote (or stay home and vote—for this time only they can do it online) barely mention that the new constitution will “reset the clock” for Putin. That means he will be entitled to run for two more terms as president, which might let him stay in office until 2036, but his advisers reckoned that was more information than people actually needed.

This referendum is rather like a lottery, and all you have to do to win is vote. Text messages told Moscow voters this week that there will be “millions of prizes,” from hair dryers to washing machines and on up. Provincial governments and even private employers are also offering

prizes, and the central government is raising pensions and the minimum wage.

Yet Putin was bound to win this referendum even without all these incentives: in 20 years in power, his approval rating has never gone below 65 per cent. The result might drop below that figure this time, because the country's oil income has halved in recent months and lots of people were already having a tough time economically, but it's hard to believe that it could fall below 50 per cent.

So why this circus to achieve a big turnout and a large majority? Could Putin be feeling insecure? His abrupt dismissal of the entire government including the prime minister in January might be a clue, and his various public changes of mind on what the new constitution should contain might be another.

But trying to read Putin's mind like latter-day Kremlinologists is a futile pursuit, and in any case it's obvious that he has to keep his options open. It must be legal for him to run for re-election when his present term expires in 2024, because if he becomes a lame duck the struggle to succeed him starts now. No mind-reading is necessary to know that.

I would hazard a guess, however, that Putin doesn't actually

know what he will want to do in 2024, when he will be 71. He might have to stay in power because he has made too many enemies to be safe in retirement, but he has never had a grand plan beyond restoring Russia's status as a great power. If it feels safe, he might just pick a promising successor and quit.

The main point of this discussion, for those of us who aren't Russians, is to remind ourselves that it isn't always about us. Russia has its own internal politics and priorities, and most of them are not about foreign policy.

Like any great power of long standing, Russia has a large “intelligence” branch of the government that gets up to various bits of skulduggery overseas. The latest allegations are that the GRU offered bounties to Taliban fighters for killing American and British troops. (But why pay them when they'll do it for free?)

More plausible claims allege that Moscow's spies tried to kill Russian exiles in Britain with nerve poison, and that in 2016 they tried to influence the British referendum in favour of Brexit and the U.S. election in favour of Trump. So what? Washington's spies have overthrown governments from Vietnam to Iran to Chile, and spent a lot of money (along with their British colleagues) trying to influence Russian elections in the 1990s.

It's what great powers do, and it doesn't mean they are plotting global conquest. In particular, it doesn't mean that the Russians are trying to take over the U.S. or British governments or planning a new Cold War. For the most part, they are just busy with their own affairs.

Gwynne Dyer's new book is *‘Growing Pains: The Future of Democracy (and Work)’*. This column was released on June 28.

The Hill Times

Happy Canada Day! Pass the vodka cooler and thank God we're a middle power

The dock may be outside your isolation perimeter and the barbecue could set your mask on fire, but at least we're still a democracy.



Lisa Van Dusen

What Fresh Hell

It's tempting, at a time like this—not that there's ever been, let's face it, a time like this—to say that this is the weirdest Canada Day ever in peacetime. It's the sort of context-setting line that makes for a perfectly serviceable lede. The kind of lede that conjures visions of readers nodding their assent as they toggle their tabs between ordering vodka coolers by the case and watching Sarah Cooper hilariously rubbish Donald Trump.

This Canada Day, as we avoid gathering 'round our screens in socially distanced, overextended isolation and watch an all-star lineup of performers be as Canadian as possible under the circumstances from their well-appointed, but not obnoxiously ostentatious, rec rooms, it might be a little harder to forget about current events.

Wartime, like so many things—news, reality, elevator rides—isn't what it used to be. The perpetual churn of epic competition for global supremacy waged by so many generations of powerful men with too much time on their hands has been overtaken by a different sort of struggle for dominance.

Those old power rituals in which very large, entirely randomly shaped weapons were displayed literally or figuratively for swagger and deterrence purposes while rarely or never being deployed in order to sustain a military-industrial complex whose retail game played out in a festival of lobbying retainers and expense-account dinners have been replaced.

Power is no longer measured in warheads or territory. Power is now measured in the ability to manipulate events and control outcomes, which makes corruption—especially but less and less specifically, covert corruption—the new nuclear warhead inventory. This evolution in power games gave non-democracies an early, Fourth Industrialized Revolution-enabled advantage, which is one reason why democracies are now under siege.

Which brings us to Canada. In this new geopolitical cesspool of colonized multilateral institutions, juvenile propaganda, globalized thuggery, hijacked elections, and weaponized quislings, Canada stands out for being partially protected, so far, by its middling value as an anti-democracy target and its longstanding values as a liberal, multilateralist member of the rules-based international order. That order is currently being cannonballed by the outcome-manipulating narrative impresarios who've

brought us Donald Trump as a wrecking ball deployed to demolish his own country, Brexit as his U.K.-EU equivalent, and an array of other avoidable disasters and catastrophes.

Our middle-power status, long the cause of a perpetual pendulum swing between forelock tugging and poppy decapitation from the cheap seats like this one, has actually, up to a point, protected us by consigning us to a place in the target field somewhere between the high-value circus currently unfolding south of the border and the low-hanging authoritarian arse opera of Rodrigo Duterte's Philippines.

Which is why Canada's relationship with China is so disproportionately important at the moment. Justin Trudeau's rule-



of-law orthodoxy in response to Beijing's norm-obliterating hostage diplomacy has isolated him in a way that says far more about China's role in our current global unpleasantness than it does about Trudeau's entirely normal position, writes Lisa Van Dusen. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade, Flickr photograph by Janne

of-law orthodoxy in response to Beijing's norm-obliterating hostage diplomacy has isolated him in a way that says far more about China's role in our current global unpleasantness than it does about Trudeau's entirely normal position.

At a time when Canada's adherence to principle makes it a potential narrative pawn and global object lesson in the outcome-controlling allure of criminal intimidation, this Canada Day feels like the 21st-century version of a wartime one. Think about the degree to which conventional wisdom about the world's geopolitical players has changed in the past year,

and the extent to which it could change further between now and next July 1.

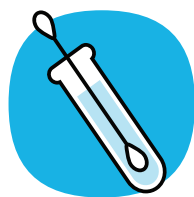
At a time when there are sides to be taken—not for or against countries, and certainly not for or against our fellow human beings, but for or against principles and worldviews—we should celebrate the fact, on this Canada Day, that we're still free to take them.

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

The Hill Times

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

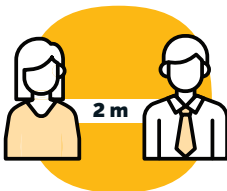
We all need to continue our efforts to protect each other.



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



Wear a face covering when physical distancing is a challenge.



Practice physical distancing, stay two metres apart.



Continue to **wash hands frequently**.

Inside or out, stay safe. Save lives.

Visit ontario.ca/coronavirus

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Opinion

The lessons of COVID-19 and international co-operation in the Arctic

The whole world found itself in the realities of the Arctic, where, because of its harshness, people have a moral imperative to help each other: if you don't, you will not survive.



Natalia Loukacheva

Opinion

The COVID-19 pandemic has become a game changer in many aspects. Firstly, this epidemiology drama has tested our practical resilience to tangible global threats.

The leaders and national health systems of various states were prepared (or unprepared) differently for dealing with new realities; and the figures of those infected, tested, recovered, and deceased speak for themselves. They are facts that can't be denied, misinterpreted, or made into "fake news." We all shall have to fight the consequences and prepare for the new challenges of this kind.

Although isolation was the primary means of salvation, nearly everyone understood that in no way this should force states to turn inside and encapsulate; vice versa, the major conclusion drawn was that in the post-COVID era we must have more, not less, international co-operation. The whole world—at least for a while—found itself in the realities of the Arctic, where, because of its harshness, people have a moral imperative, implanted by generations, to help each other: if you don't, you will not survive. This northern uniqueness partly explains the current, predominantly co-operative pattern of international relations in the Arctic.

Secondly, the pandemic became a wake-up call for all those who did not trust politicians' warnings about humankind's vul-

nerability. We are vulnerable. The new global threats of deadly viruses are as real, as are threats of terrorism, organized crime, drug trafficking, illegal immigration, constantly growing challenges in climate and environment, in water and food supply, in cyber and outer space areas, etc. In addition, these threats are global, and the Arctic is not immune.

Thirdly, the global health crisis suggested the need to reconsider some basics. Canada's "hard" security is based on a strategic alliance with the United States, but the United States is showing an overwhelming preoccupation with domestic partisan struggle. Even that has moved the task of withstanding COVID-related defiance to the background. That seriously compromises the U.S.'s ability to lead its allies. That makes it difficult for the U.S. to see the world, including the Arctic, outside of a simplistic, black-or-white light.

But, in fact, the world is now different, and it keeps on changing fast. It looks like COVID-19 will only speed up and galvanize these changes. Canada, more than any of its Arctic partners, is interested in keeping the Arctic a zone of peace, co-operation, and predictability. Why should we fol-

low the new, primitive version of the region, proclaimed by the U.S. State Secretary Mike Pompeo in Rovaniemi, Finland, in May 2019, as yet another area of big powers confrontation?

Are we looking in the right direction? Does this vision strengthen or weaken our security in the North? Shall we allow losing or undermining the unique spirit of international co-operation in the Arctic? Are we not weakening our potential of facing and fighting new real global COVID-19-like challenges in the area where Canada—due to its geography—should be the leader? Do we need an arms race in the Arctic, which this time, differently from the Cold War era, we are not sure to win? Should not all Arctic states bear full responsibility for the state of affairs in the changing Arctic? Should not we restart co-operation between our military and talk about the sort of "Arctic solidarity"?

The lessons from fighting COVID-19 suggest we take a broader view on our security. In the post-COVID world, zero-sum games in security can be even riskier than during the Cold War. All Arctic states should continue and strengthen their co-operation in adapting to climate change.

The recent unprecedented diesel fuel spill in Russian Arctic Norilsk, due to permafrost thawing, is, like the COVID-19 pandemic, a grim reminder of reality of global climatic threats with a special significance for northerners. The European immigration crisis shows us the reality of a risk of global refugee movement to the North to run away from the heat, in search of clean air, water, and food. Our Arctic Ocean borders are becoming porous and more accessible to terrorists, drug and human traffickers, criminals, and illegal refugees. Economic and maritime transportation development in the Arctic call on us to withstand rapidly growing pressure on the fragile Arctic environment.

If the Arctic states begin to fight each other and ignore the crying need to co-operate, they may witness not only the gloomy statistics of pandemic-related loss of life, but also existential threats not in the form of bombs and missiles, but of deteriorating living conditions, the loss of the comfort of the special co-operative spirit of the North, and may end with the "internationalizing" of the Arctic. Instead, we should co-operate more in the Arctic Council and other pan-Arctic multilateral frameworks.

Natalia Loukacheva Ph.D., S.J.D., is an associate professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Northern British Columbia, and a fellow of the Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

The Hill Times

On the bubble: Atlantic Canada's plan getting mixed reviews

Managing reopening the wrong way could also stoke some nasty regionalism and inflame discontent. We all have a role to play in making sure that is not the case.



Tim Powers

Plain Speak

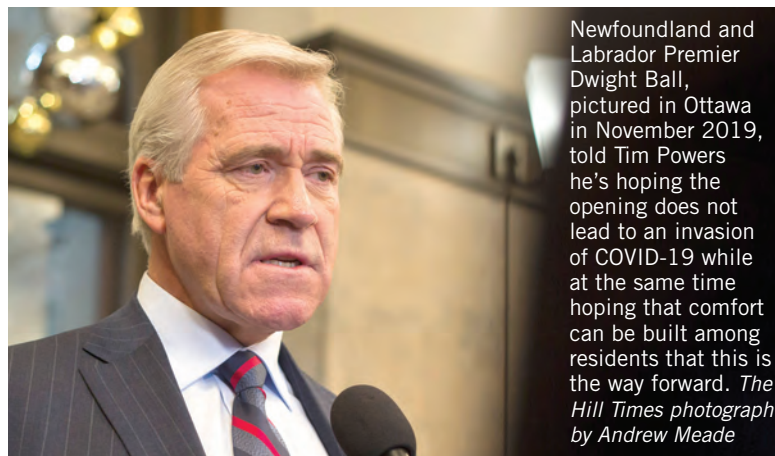
OTTAWA—The premiers of Canada's four Atlantic provinces are opening the region up for interprovincial travel among themselves this Friday, July 3. It could be the first step to opening Atlantic Canada to the rest of the

country. But in the East, there is concern.

Premiers Dwight Ball, Stephen MacNeil, Blaine Higgs, and Dennis King are hoping by opening the area among themselves, there will be some partial return to normal and some economic stimulation. The summer is a key time for all four of those provinces to generate much-needed tourism revenue. That is particularly true for Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as Prince Edward Island. Equally, if they can successfully make the Atlantic Bubble—as it is called—work, then later in the summer, perhaps visitors can come from the more populous provinces, specifically Ontario and Alberta, where lots of expats from Atlantic Canada live.

To some, the Atlantic Bubble is going over a bit like a lead balloon. While guest hosting VOCM radio's *OpenLine* program last week, that was the strong sentiment of many callers I had the pleasure of speaking with. In fact, it felt a bit like the message tracks of the prime minister and Dr. Theresa Tam were engrained deeply into the consciousness of those voicing opposition to opening. Score one for the effectiveness of recent public health messages.

Newfoundlanders and Labradorians—normally a very welcom-



Newfoundland and Labrador Premier Dwight Ball, pictured in Ottawa in November 2019, told Tim Powers he's hoping the opening does not lead to an invasion of COVID-19 while at the same time hoping that comfort can be built among residents that this is the way forward. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

ing bunch—were not quite saying barricade the province to visitors, but were concerned all the work they had done to stop the spread of COVID-19 would be undone by an errant traveller. Many of those who rang VOCM also found a contradiction in how Atlantic Canada was opening, but they still were subject to various restrictions regarding visiting loved ones in retirement or long-term care facilities. The pain of family dislocation and disconnect for them was apparent in their voices. Some struggling with the emotion of not being able to hug a 90-year-old mother. This was all real.

I had occasion to interview the outgoing Newfoundland and Labrador premier after the Atlantic Bubble decision was made. Ball spoke of going back and forth in his own mind on how to manage regional opening. He knows better that anyone the longer N.L.'s economy is restricted and closed to the outside world, the greater the likelihood the province's perilous financial state accelerates its decline. Yet, he is also aware of the strong local sense of kinship and the need to protect our own first. So, he, like his fellow Atlantic premiers, has gone with a phased approach, hoping

the opening does not lead to an invasion of COVID-19 while at the same time hoping that comfort can be built among residents that this is the way forward.

As a Newfoundlander who lives away, I have selfishly been wanting to charge home as soon as I can. This is the longest period I have been off the island in 20 years. Like so many of us from my province, though I live in Ontario, pay taxes here, and am raising a son in central Canada, that Rock in the Atlantic is still home.

Talking and listening to those last week who have been fortunate to stay in place, I recognized the importance of respecting their perspective. There is a broader lesson in that for all of us as Canada opens a bit. While we go to other places to seek an escape or reinvigoration, remember the people of that area also made sacrifices, and we have a responsibility to behave with the same diligence and regard for the rules as we do in our own backyards.

Managing reopening the wrong way could also stoke some nasty regionalism and inflame discontent. We all have a role to play in making sure that is not the case. Getting past COVID-19 means we need to find ways to live comfortably with each other again.

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

The Hill Times

Quebec's Dominique Anglade is a woman of many firsts



Andrew Caddell

With All Due Respect

KAMOURASKA, QUE.—Dominique Anglade heads a lot of lists: first person of colour to be an official opposition leader in Canada; first woman to lead the Quebec Liberal Party; and the first fluently multilingual, as in speaks more than four languages (Creole, French, English, German, Spanish), party leader anywhere in Canada. And, I point out, she would be the first engineer to be premier. She laughs and says, "Yes, you're right. I hadn't really thought of that."

Speaking from her home base of Montreal, the 46-year-old Anglade comes across as engaging, determined, and above all, very smart. I ask her where she got

her inspiration. "My parents made me the person I am today. Their accomplishments had a huge influence on me."

Her parents, Georges and Mireille, were Haitian immigrants to Canada. Her father, an educator, was imprisoned by the Duvalier regime in Haiti, and after coming to Canada as a political exile, was one of the founders of the Université de Québec à Montréal (UQAM). Her mother was a diplomat, professor, author, and feminist leader. Tragically, they both died in the earthquake that hit Haiti in January of 2010.

As for Anglade's drive, she recalls a meeting with a female CEO. "She said, 'When you are offered an opportunity, just say 'yes' and then figure it out afterwards.'" These words appear to sum up her life. Born in Montreal, she moved to Haiti with her parents as a teenager, but returned alone to go to university. She worked in the private sector from 1996 to 2010; during that time, she met her husband in Vancouver, and lived there for three years. Before running for the Quebec Assembly in 2015, she led Montreal International, a business promotion

group and established an NGO in Haiti with Arcade Fire's Régine Chassagne.

I point out her new job will make her a role model for young women, especially women of colour. She doesn't flinch: "I take this role with a lot of responsibility. I have always felt the pressure to deliver results."

A former colleague told me he immediately "bonded" on meeting her, as she "makes you want to work with her." She won the Liberal leadership by acclamation in May, after her only competitor dropped out. She had the leadership in the bag: most of the 28-member Liberal caucus had endorsed her.

Up until a few weeks ago, it was not an easy time to be the opposition leader in Quebec: Premier François Legault had stratospheric polling numbers after the passage of Bill 21, the secularism law, and turning in a budget surplus. During the early days of COVID-19, his avuncular humour in televised briefings made him look invincible. Then Legault made a few gaffes and the massive COVID death toll in Quebec's long-term care homes emerged.

Anglade knows the premier well, having been the president of the CAQ in 2012 before parting ways on the party's anti-immigrant platform. But she won't say anything negative about him, insisting: "I rely on a constructive approach to politics." She supports Bill 21 for its secularism, but feels the law should be challenged in court, so would lift its notwithstanding clause.

As someone who knows the rest of Canada well, Anglade says she would look to be a true "collaborator" with Ottawa, while protecting Quebec's jurisdiction. She said she wants to work more closely with Ontario and the Atlantic provinces, and is proud of an interprovincial agreement developed while minister of the economy and deputy premier under former premier Philippe Couillard. On the international scene, she said she feels Legault is not doing as much as he could in creating opportunities for trade, notably in the environment.

The greatest handicap for the Quebec Liberals is the perception it is relegated to the Montreal area, while the CAQ dominates the rural regions, like Kamouraska. So Anglade is calling for a "Charter of the Regions" to counter demographic decline and respond to economic and social challenges. She is also an advocate for more immigration to spur new life in the regions, as well as Montreal.



Quebec Liberal Leader Dominique Anglade was acclaimed to her party's top spot in May. 'I have always felt the pressure to deliver results,' she tells Andrew Caddell. Screenshot via Twitter

Finally, I ask what would be her trademark if she becomes premier. "The importance of the link between the economy, the environment, and climate change ... and to see every Quebecer, no matter where they live or who they are, achieve their full potential." The next election is two years away: given her track record, she may yet achieve her own full potential.

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

The Hill Times

Canada's future workforce must be truly diverse and highly skilled at problem-solving

Diversity, essential skills, digital learning tools, and the skills mismatch are not new topics of discussion, but world-changing events have impressed upon us the urgency of ushering in such progress.



Karen Creditor & Shaun Thorson

Opinion

Last month, thousands of Canadian students graduated and will have to face quickly changing workforce realities.

For policy makers, parents, and teachers, the "new normal" workplace and evolving labour demands should make them question if our current system is geared towards teaching young people the most relevant skills, in the most effective ways.

As we contemplate the future of skills development, conversations with our many education and corporate partners across Canada have led us to identify recommendations for decision makers and stakeholders to consider:

We must increase the promotion of essential occupations. The pandemic exposed our reliance on many occupations that are often overlooked yet critical to our economy. Jobs related to building maintenance (keeping the lights on in our hospitals), transportation (getting deliveries to the supermarket), and manufacturing (PPE and ventilator production) have proven to be imperative in the fight against COVID-19.

Canada was already facing a serious skills mismatch before the pandemic. And now the retrofitting of service-based businesses, as well as the expansion of IT and other infrastructure projects will only heighten the demand for these occupations. So where will this skilled workforce come from? And how

are we making sure students are fully aware of these career opportunities?

We must insist on a more diverse skilled workforce. Increased calls for concrete anti-racism measures have reawakened our resolve to insist on greater engagement with youth who are Black, Indigenous, and racialized.

We must also continue to encourage and support a greater number of women, people with a disability, and folks who belong to the LGBTQ+ community, to enter and remain in skilled trade and technology occupations.

Recognizing the immense social and economic benefits related to truly inclusive and diverse workforces, we are committed to working closely with our partners to implement such opportunities. The traditional face of our sectors—white and male—will not meet our growing labour demands, nor does it lead to the just and inclusive society we seek and need.

Skills/Compétences Canada's (SCC) work with Indigenous students across Canada, as well as its women in trades programs, are just a couple of examples of initiatives that have had a direct positive impact on under-represented groups. We, and our sector writ-

large, must and will step up efforts in this regard.

We must develop more in-context virtual learning opportunities. Like so many other sectors, we have found that the online experience is well suited for some aspects of learning but falls short in other regards.

Skilled trades are inherently hands-on, so it is not surprising that many viewed learning alternatives as inappropriate for this sector. However, we have come to see in the last few months that there are indeed some elements that can be taught effectively virtually, with the proper supports in place.

For example, while theory and health and safety can certainly be effectively taught online, we must consider the learner in this approach. Those pursuing such occupations usually thrive in an applied-learning environment and nothing can replace the in-person energy of learning how to machine precision parts, adjust a clutch, or wire an electrical panel.

We must focus on problem solving. The pandemic is an extreme happening that has called on all of us to tap into the essential skill of problem-solving on some level.

Skilled trade and technology professionals solve problems every day. Whether it's figuring out why a client's car is making

an odd sound, how a company's IT infrastructure was compromised, or how to fix a building's AC system, problem-solving is the essence of our sectors' jobs.

The more deeply skilled trade and technology training is embedded into our curriculum, and the more employers create apprenticeship partnerships and innovative work-integrated-learning field placements, the closer we will be to raising the next generation of sophisticated problem solvers.

Diversity, essential skills, digital learning tools, and the skills mismatch are not new topics of discussion in our sectors. However, world-changing events have impressed upon us the urgency of ushering in such progress. We have little time to deliberate anymore.

Rather, we must actively collaborate across sectors to create a national skills action plan that will ensure that Canadian youth and our economy prosper in the years ahead—despite any health, economic, or political challenge that will come our way.

Karen Creditor is the president of Skills/Compétences Canada (SCC) and CEO of OCAS. Shaun Thorson is the CEO of SCC, a national non-profit organization mandated to promote skilled trades and technology careers to youth across Canada.

The Hill Times

New NAFTA comes into force after months of testy renegotiations, but 'disruptions' will need to be addressed

'We all have to expect that there's going to be some bumps over the next six months,' said Ohio-based trade lawyer Daniel Ujcz.

Continued from page 1

most important economy, but as businesses struggle with the fallout of the COVID-19 pandemic they will also have to adjust to new trading rules.

"There has been a hope that this would've been pushed off a little bit later into the year, if not early next year, given some sectors face bigger compliance burdens when it comes into force," said Brian Kingston, vice-president of international and fiscal policy at the Business Council of Canada, of the entry into force date of July 1. "But I think a lot of work has been done to make sure that the sectors that do need that have a little bit of leeway."

He added that there is a hope that there will be "an element of flexibility" at the border as exporters adjust to the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA)—called the Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA) by the Canadian government.

The new trade deal was implemented by the Canadian Parliament on March 13, nearly three years after Mr. Trump said he would renegotiate NAFTA in May 2017. Over that time, there were tense negotiations with little



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and then-foreign minister Chrystia Freeland announced on May 31, 2018, \$16.6-billion worth of retaliatory tariffs on U.S. goods that would take effect later that summer. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

concrete progress and aspersions cast on Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) from Mr. Trump and top aides. Canada eventually signed onto the deal after a period of intense discussions with American trade officials following the U.S. and Mexico reaching a bilateral deal. Then Canadians were forced to wait months as the White House negotiated with the House Democrats leading to the final agreement that came into force on July 1.

Speaking to reporters on June 29, Mr. Trudeau said the new trade deal "achieves many important gains for Canadians."

"Protection on intellectual property, protections for our auto industry, protections on cultural industries, which was extremely important right across the country not just in Quebec," he said. "But most important of all, we secured Canada's access to the world's largest market in a privileged way at a time of protectionism and uncertainty. And that is something that makes a huge difference for Canadians and Canadian businesses, and, indeed, for investors around the world that Canada continues to have protective and privileged access to the United States."

The trade pact follows much of the original North American trade deal with changes on Mexican labour standards as well as granting American and Mexican farmers greater access to Canada's supply-managed dairy sector. State-to-state dispute settlement systems continues—a sticking point for the Canadian side, while investor-state dispute settlement bodies between Canada and the U.S. will end.

One of the most comprehensive changes is the rules of origin modifications for auto production. To receive tariff-free access to the American and Mexican markets, Canadian vehicles will need to

eventually have 75 per cent of its content produced in North America, up from 62.5 per cent under NAFTA rules. Automobiles that qualify for zero tariffs in the agreement will have to have 40 to 45 per cent of their parts made in facilities that pay at least \$16 an hour.

There is also a joint review of the USMCA required after six years, and if a country decides not to continue in the trade deal, the pact will end after 16 years. Another addition is the much-talked about "China clause" which forces any party of the new trade deal to notify the others if they intend to begin trade talks with a



Global Affairs' Steve Verheul served as Canada's chief trade negotiator during the NAFTA renegotiations. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

"non-market country" and allow the other countries to review the trade deal before it is signed.

Former U.S. diplomat Sarah Goldfeder, who served as special assistant to two American envoys to Canada, said there are still some unknowns to be ironed out.

"The questions will be around to what extent will [the USMCA] be enforced," said Ms. Goldfeder, an Earncliffe principal, adding that programs that have existed in the past, such as the sale of used trucks in the United States, will now come with an unintended tariff as they were manufactured under past NAFTA rules.

"I'm willing to bet there are a couple of things like that, that will come up in the first couple weeks [and] months of implementation," she said. "Those will get worked out along the way."

"I don't think there's anything that needs to be changed structurally in the deal. I don't think there's any realistic discussion of reopening anything to address some of these little problems. I think for the most part, they're things that can be discussed within ... the realm of enforcement and how things are addressed at the border," she said, adding that a solution would come from a change in guidance to border officials.

"Nobody's sure of that guidance yet—industry, government—nobody knows quite what to do with that yet."

Ms. Goldfeder added that the "certainty" of the trade deal is "really important" for investment, but said if there is a decrease in trade or investment, it would be hard to link it to the USMCA given the economic situation brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Ohio-based trade lawyer Daniel Ujcz, a Canada-U.S. trade expert at Dickinson Wright, said it's important that border officials have designated that while companies will need to be in compliance of the USMCA, there will be a six-month period of "informed compliance" for companies that may not fully adhere to provisions in the trade deal but are trying.

"The reality is that ... there are countless companies out there that are not ready for July 1," he said. "There will be disruptions in the first six months, but it will be, at least I think, more slaps on the wrist than it would be fines and audits."

"That's important given where the economies are in the three countries, too. We couldn't take some massive shockwaves given the fragility in the economy right now," he said.

He added, speaking to *The Hill Times* two days before the USMCA came into force, that there were still documents that needed to be published outlining guidance on the new deal.

"We all have to expect that there's going to be some bumps over the next six months," he said. "Without that phased-in [approach] it would be a nightmare. But



U.S. Vice-President Mike Pence visited Ottawa on May 30, 2019, to discuss the timeline to ratify the USMCA with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*



Democrat Richard Neal, chair of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee that has jurisdiction over trade agreements, came to Ottawa on Nov. 6, 2019, amid negotiations between House Democrats and the White House on the new NAFTA. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

How did Canada get to Day 1 of the new NAFTA?

May 18, 2017: The Trump administration announces its intention to renegotiate NAFTA, which the U.S. president called "perhaps the worst trade deal ever made."

Aug. 16, 2017: First round of NAFTA renegotiation talks begin in the United States.

Aug. 27, 2017: In a weekend morning tweet, Mr. Trump said that Canada and Mexico were being "very difficult" and raised the question of the need to terminate the deal.

September 2017–May 2018: Canada, United States, and Mexico have eight more rounds of talks with slow progress and no end in sight.

May 31, 2018: The U.S. places a 25 and 10 per cent tariff on Canadian and Mexican steel and aluminum imports, respectively. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau calls the tariffs "totally unacceptable."

June 9, 2018: Tensions erupt at the G7 summit in Charlevoix, Que., where Mr. Trump tweets that Mr. Trudeau is "meek and mild" and "dishonest and weak" after the Canadian prime minister said in a summit-ending press conference that Canada

would "almost certainly" impose retaliatory tariffs on the United States.

June 10, 2018: White House economic adviser Larry Kudlow appears on CNN remarking that Mr. Trudeau "stabbed us in the back" and White House trade adviser Peter Navarro says on Fox News that "there's a special place in hell for any foreign leader that engages in bad faith diplomacy with President Donald J. Trump."

July 1, 2018: Canada enacts \$16.6-billion worth of retaliatory tariffs on strategic U.S. goods manufactured in areas represented by influential U.S. lawmakers, such as Kentucky bourbon and Florida orange juice.

Aug. 27, 2018: The U.S. and Mexico announce they have reached a bilateral deal. Then-foreign affairs minister Chrystia Freeland cancels a European trip to go to Washington, D.C., for a round of spirited trade negotiations with U.S. Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer.

Sept. 26, 2018: Mr. Trump says in a press conference that the U.S. is "very unhappy with the negotiations and the negotiating style of Canada," and "we don't like their representative very much," which is interpreted as a reference to Ms. Freeland.

Sept. 30, 2018: Against a midnight deadline to present an agreed-upon trade deal to the U.S. Congress, Canada and the U.S. reach a deal.

Nov. 30, 2018: The renegotiated NAFTA is signed as the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) on the margins of the G20 summit in Argentina. But tariffs are still in place.

Jan. 16, 2019: An official in Canada's Washington embassy tells *The Hill Times* that "the negotiations are done" as U.S. House Democrats question if they will approve the new trade pact.

Feb. 24, 2019: Transport Minister Marc Garneau tells the National Governors Association in Washington, D.C., that tariffs "will present us with real challenges as we begin the process of ratification in Canada."

April 28, 2019: Republican Senator Chuck Grassley pens a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed urging Mr. Trump to end the tariffs or else the new NAFTA wouldn't be passed.

May 8-10, 2019: MPs on the House International Trade Committee travel to Capitol Hill to meet with their American counterparts to urge the need to remove the tariffs.

May 17, 2019: Canada and the U.S. agree to lift tariffs and retaliatory measures.

May 29, 2019: Bill C-100 is tabled in the House of Commons as the Canadian government pledges to ratify "in tandem" with the United States despite slow progress in negotiations between the White House and House Democrats.

May 30, 2019: U.S. Vice-President Mike Pence visits Ottawa to talk trade ratification with Mr. Trudeau and Ms. Freeland.

June 20, 2019: Mr. Trudeau visits D.C. and meets with Mr. Trump and U.S. Democrat House Speaker Nancy Pelosi.

Sept. 11, 2019: Bill C-100 dies on the Order Paper at the election call as little progress is reached between the White House and House Democrats.

Nov. 6, 2019: Democrat Richard Neal, chair of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee that has jurisdiction over trade agreements, comes to Ottawa to meet with Mr. Trudeau and Ms. Freeland.

Dec. 10, 2019: White House and House Democrats reach an agreement on changes to the USMCA, which include stronger labour protections and a scaling back on patent protections for biologic drugs. Canada, U.S., and

Mexico sign the updated trade pact in Mexico City.

Dec. 12, 2019: The Mexican Senate ratifies the changed trade deal. It had previously approved the original USMCA last June.

Jan. 29, 2020: Mr. Trump signs the USMCA into law after it passes the House of Representatives and the Senate. That same day, Ms. Freeland tables Bill C-4 to implement the deal in Canada in the House of Commons.

March 13, 2020: After weeks of political wrangling over the lack of parliamentary oversight of the new NAFTA, the House of Commons and Senate approve the new deal swiftly as Parliament adjourns amid the COVID-19 pandemic.

April 24, 2020: The U.S. becomes the last of the three countries to notify the others that it has finished the necessary domestic procedure in order for the new NAFTA to come into force. Canada had notified its North American partners on April 2 and Mexico had on April 4 that their domestic ratification processes have been completed. The trade deal comes into force on the "first day of the third month following the last notification."

July 1, 2020: The new NAFTA enters into force.

— Compiled by Neil Moss

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Mounting deaths stemming from police wellness checks a 'wake-up call,' says Senator

'We need to address poverty and support community programs to prevent many of the situations that police are being asked to handle with guns and handcuffs,' says NDP critic Don Davies.

Continued from page 1

develop something that's going to work," said the Nova Scotia Senator, calling it an "urgent" matter that warrants immediate study.

It's clear a new model is needed, he said, including better de-escalation training and perhaps more widespread use of integrated teams that partner police with mental health workers—though he said this moment calls for an analysis of how those programs are working.

"It's a wake-up call that we have to do things differently."

Police forces across the country have been under increased scrutiny for their use of force, with mental health coming into focus given a number of recent deaths.

Some Parliamentarians like Sen. Kutcher say the federal government and Public Safety Minister Bill Blair (Scarborough Southwest, Ont.), who oversees the RCMP, have a responsibility to investigate the problem. That could include a panel of experts, including mental health professionals, officers, and those with mental illness and from the BI-POC community, to offer recommendations.

The RCMP have been involved in several cases where Canadians in crisis have been killed, including at least two in the last month in New Brunswick. In early June, police in Edmundston, N.B., shot Chantel Moore, a 26-year-old Indigenous woman, and a little more than a week later, 48-year-old Rodney Levi, was also fatally shot by police.

These instances prompted the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, Canada's largest mental health hospital, last week to echo calls from advocates for the removal of police from front lines for people in crisis. Though "well intended," Sen. Kutcher said he worried the discussion is focusing on one part of the problem, and missing the complexities. (The RCMP said it does not comment on statements provided by individuals or agencies.)

"We are trying to solve the problem by only looking at one end of it. When the mental health crisis occurs, it just doesn't happen out of the blue. There is usually a series of events that leads to it," said Sen. Kutcher, who said



Independent Senator Stan Kutcher, a former leading psychiatrist, doesn't think police should be removed from wellness checks, but says it's clear a new model and better de-escalation training is needed. *Photograph courtesy of Senate Communications*

it's important to know whether Canada is seeing an increase in these crises—or a change in their nature—that's leading to calls for wellness checks.

Asked about that data, an RCMP spokesperson said by email it would take several weeks to compile. But on June 23, RCMP Commissioner Brenda Lucki told MPs on the House Public Safety Committee that the number of calls the force responds to on mental health "are growing exponentially."

and the person ends up dead, you really have to question the use of deadly force," said Sen. Bernard, a former social worker, noting that more focus should be on prevention.

"Let's go more upstream to look at how to be providing better services," she said.

During a mental health crisis, it's not appropriate to only have the police arrive on scene, and there often needs to be cultural sensitivity in the response, said

"Many of the countries where we come from, to see the police at your door, is [the] most frightening thing. You don't see them as support ... [police are] seen as a real threat, so we're trying to get people to understand that we need culturally sensitive people in these circumstances to arrive with the police to deal with these issues."

Integrated units a starting point

Not all crises are the same, said Sen. Kutcher, each with "huge differences" in their circumstances, how they present, and whether the person is known to the health-care system. Are they intoxicated? Are they on a drug? Which drug is important, as responses can be different. What is their history? These details are necessary, so it's important to improve information systems so that they can respond quickly with these answers, said Sen. Kutcher, who favoured a team approach.

These mobile integrated units, often with plainclothes police officers responding in tandem with mental health professionals, like a psychiatric nurse, have been around for years but there should be a better understanding of their effectiveness and best practices, said both Sen. Kutcher and Sen. Bernard.

The RCMP wasn't able to provide a list of all the jurisdictions that have these integrated units, noting establishing such joint mental health responses are contingent on resources and support from provincial and municipal health services.

Removing police entirely would put mental health professionals at risk when weapons are involved, said Sen. Kutcher. Not all mental health providers are equipped to deal with these crises, he said, and also require substantive training in the first place.

"It's one thing to be able to de-escalate a situation on an inpatient unit in which the environment is controlled and quite another thing to go into the com-

munity where the environment is uncertain to de-escalate a situation," he said, adding the teams themselves prompt a number of questions: How do we train those teams? Who needs to be part of those teams? How can they be available in rural settings, and not just highly populated areas?

Appearing before the Senate on June 25, Mr. Blair said he was "in complete agreement" with using integrated teams, acknowledging the discussion to find "better ways to respond to these critical situations that the police, with all their training and tools, may not be the most appropriate response, but they are the only available response."

Sen. Bernard said Mr. Blair should commit to an in-depth analysis of the use of "brutal force" of police interventions, but also what training is available as a needed "counterbalance" to the "only narrative" available to the public now, which is that wellness calls often end in death.

Pull police from some wellness checks, says Davies

Canada needs to stop relying on police to address problems like mental illness and addiction, said NDP MP Don Davies (Vancouver Kingsway, B.C.), and focus on better social support instead.

The deaths represent an "inappropriate use of force in mental health situations," he said, and are a "tragic result" and product of decades of lack of investment.

Training for officers needs to be "overhauled," said Mr. Davies, his party's health critic, who said he wants police removed from the front lines when it comes to wellness checks that could be done by someone else.

"A number of the issues that we're asking police to intervene in are more properly identified and handled as health care or even social issues as opposed to criminal ones," he said, calling for upstream investment.

"It's imperative we invest in housing, we need to address poverty and support community programs to prevent many of the situations that police are being asked to handle with guns and handcuffs."

Conservative MP Matt Jeneroux, his party's health critic, said by email that Conservatives have long been advocates for additional funding for mental health initiatives.

"Far too many Canadians suffer from mental health challenges and there needs to be much more investment at all levels of government to help those facing mental health challenges," said Mr. Jeneroux (Edmonton Riverbend, Alta.). "However, defunding the police will not make Canadians safer. We can invest in mental health and other important initiatives without taking away much-needed police resources."

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Public Safety Minister Bill Blair told Senators last week that he is in support of integrated units that pair police officers and health professionals when responding to those in crisis. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

If so, Sen. Kutcher said that prompts the question of what's happening in the mental health system and its services, and whether they could have been prevented.

Culturally sensitive training needed, too: Sen. Jaffer

It's notable that many of the recent deaths are among racialized and Indigenous people, raising questions about the "thought process" behind police shootings, and the need for culturally specific care that should be part of the response, said Independent Senator Wanda Thomas Bernard (East Preston, N.S.).

"When police show up for wellness checks or interventions

Independent Senator Mobina Jaffer, a former lawyer who for years led anti-racist training, including for police.

The B.C. Senator said she's been reflecting quite a bit on the June 20 death of Ejaz Choudry, a 62-year-old Mississauga man who was suffering from a schizophrenic episode and brandishing a knife when police arrived. He reportedly didn't understand English and their commands before police shot him through his balcony door. His death came a month after Regis Korchinski-Paquet, an Indigenous Black woman, fell from her balcony following a police response to a mental health call.

"It could have been handled so differently," said Sen. Jaffer, who wondered whether Mr. Choudry understood that the police were there to help.



Liberal MP Wayne Easter says he has been speaking to members of the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate about possible U.S. tariffs on Canadian aluminum exports. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Backroom, Capitol Hill lobbying key to fighting possible return of tariffs, says MP Wayne Easter

‘At least at this stage, it’s better to work the backrooms, work the players that have some influence with the White House, and try to ensure that such a threat doesn’t become a reality,’ says Canada-U.S. Inter-Parliamentary Group co-chair.

Continued from page 1

Liberal MP Wayne Easter (Malpeque, P.E.I.), who also serves as the chair of the House Finance Committee, said it’s “absolutely critical” to create support for Canada’s position on Capitol Hill, but there are questions if this time around it will prove to be as effective as the last effort to remove tariffs.

Bloomberg reported on June 22 that the Trump administration was considering reimposing a 10 per cent national security tariff on Canadian aluminum entering the U.S. market.

“Within diplomatic circles, official circles, and unofficial circles, the word has gone out in a fairly quiet way,” Mr. Easter said. “We’ve overcome this problem once, let’s not get into that kind of problem again where both countries are hurt, especially American consumers.”

“At least at this stage, it’s better to work the backrooms, work the players that have some influence with the White House, and try to ensure that such a threat doesn’t become a reality,” he said.

Mr. Easter said he has been having discussions at the Congressional level, but wouldn’t reveal who he has had those discussions with.

After national security tariffs were levied on Canadian steel and aluminum in the midst of the NAFTA renegotiations, the Canadian government lobbied White House officials, but also influential lawmakers on Capitol Hill, such as Republican Senator Chuck Grassley—the second-highest ranking member of the Senate and chair of the Senate Finance Committee—who penned a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed in April 2019 urging U.S. President Donald Trump to end the tariffs on Canada and Mexico.

After Canada and the U.S. came to an agreement to remove the tariffs in May 2019, then-

foreign affairs minister Chrystia Freeland thanked the “many Americans who understood that 232 tariffs were hurting both the U.S. and Canada” in a tweet, particularly noting the work of Sen. Grassley.

More recently, the Iowan Senator had pushed to curtail the power of the White House to enact tariffs on national security grounds, but the effort has lacked support among fellow Republican Senators.

Mr. Easter said Congressional Republicans do not want to challenge Mr. Trump, especially in an election year.

“There’s certainly a reluctance to speak out against Trump,” he said, but added there is “a lot of sympathy” to the Canadian position.

Although encumbered by not being able to meet face-to-face due to the COVID-19 pandemic, Mr. Easter said he is able to rely on relationships that he has built up over a dozen years with many trips to D.C.

NAFTA council member Hassan Yussuff, president of the Canadian Labour Congress, said he was briefed in a council call on June 26 on the government’s engagement with the U.S. to ensure the tariffs are not placed on Canadian exports.

Ms. Freeland (University-Rose-dale, Ont.) has been talking to

U.S. Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer and the White House, Mr. Yussuff was told.

“The president has been very vocal about the renegotiation of NAFTA and the accomplishment he achieved, and to simply go in and [use] sanctions immediately after the [new NAFTA] agreement takes effect, I’m really not sure what message he’s trying to convey to the American people, to American workers, and American industry,” he said. “That’s kind of troubling. At the end of the day, I’m hoping these conversations will lead to some success. In the past, we were able to get sanctions off steel and aluminum and I am hoping again that wisdom and effort will prevail.”

Conservative MP Randy Hoback (Prince Albert, Sask.), his party’s international trade critic, told *The Hill Times* that there needs to be a full-court press in Washington, citing that the U.S. aluminum industry isn’t in agreement for the imposition of tariffs on Canada.

Mr. Hoback said the issues that are emerging are issues that the Conservatives were trying to address at the House International Trade Committee’s study of the new NAFTA implementation bill and why the study should have been extended to have a better understanding of the consequences of the new trade deal.

“One of the frustrations I have is, in this deal they have taken away one of the tools in the tool chest and that’s the ability to put tariffs on products other than the product accused of being dumped into the U.S.,” said Mr. Hoback, adding strategic tariffs would have a better chance to influence U.S. trade behaviour than tariffs on American aluminum exports.

“We’re relatively handcuffed by this new trade agreement and, having said that, I don’t see any answers coming from the govern-

ment on how they are going to progress or move forward,” he said.

When the tariffs were removed last year, Canada and the U.S. agreed that if a country takes tariff action, resulting retaliatory tariffs can only be “in the affected sector” of aluminum or aluminum-containing products.

Former U.S. diplomat Sarah Goldfeder, an Earncliffe principal with a focus on trade, said since the aluminum surge complaint came from an aluminum smelter association and not a monitoring body, Canada could argue that the U.S. had not upheld the conditions of the May 2019 agreement and then Canada could argue that it doesn’t have to uphold to its side of the agreement to not slap retaliatory tariffs on strategic, and not reciprocal, goods.

“That would be the playing field you have moving forward and that would be the nastiness that could come in to play,” she said.

Under the 2019 agreement, Canada and the U.S. were supposed to “establish an agreed-upon process for monitoring aluminum and steel trade between them.”

Mr. Easter said the Canadian government has to work on a strategy in case it needs to respond to a reimposition of tariffs, which could include countervailing measures similar to the ones Canada placed on the U.S. during the NAFTA renegotiations.

He said that if the U.S. isn’t playing by the rules, Canada shouldn’t be forced to.

“One ridiculous policy approach could lead to another ridiculous policy approach,” he said. “One side can’t play by all the rules and the other side not. That doesn’t make sense.”

A spokesperson for Ms. Freeland’s office didn’t respond to a question if the government has the authority to put retaliatory tariffs on unaffected goods.

Trade committee to resume work on July 9

Mr. Hoback said the International Trade Committee will meet in the coming weeks. A spokesperson for Liberal committee chair Judy Sgro (Humber River-Black Creek, Ont.) confirmed that the committee will meet on July 9.

The committee last met on March 11, when it began a study on Canada’s efforts to reform the World Trade Organization.

Mr. Hoback said he wants to hear from the industry on what it will face in a post-COVID-19 world.

“There’s a new reality ... in the world and that is supply chains are shifting drastically,” he said. “How does Canada fare in this new reality where you’ve got countries like the U.S., Australia, New Zealand, Japan, India, all basically forming their own cartels to take care of each other and we’re not part of any of those cartels. We’re kind of on the outside looking in.”

“It’s more of a fact-finding mission than to try to bring the minister and hold her to account,” Mr. Hoback said. “That wasn’t the objective of the meeting.”

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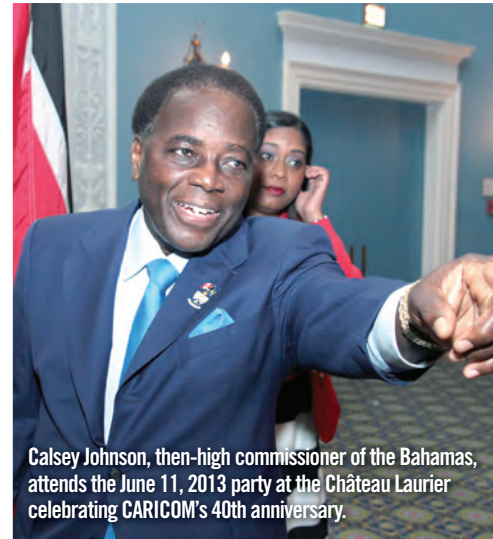
Feature

Parties of the past

The Hill Times photographs by Sam Garcia

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

CARICOM celebration



Then-Algerian ambassador Smail Benamara and Haitian Ambassador Frantz Liautaud.

Calsey Johnson, then-high commissioner of the Bahamas, attends the June 11, 2013 party at the Château Laurier celebrating CARICOM's 40th anniversary.

Evelyn Greaves, then-high commissioner of Barbados; Mathabo Tsepa, then-high commissioner of Lesotho, and Sheila Ivoline Sealy-Monteith, then-high commissioner of Jamaica.

Chilean call



Then-Chilean President Michelle Bachelet made the rounds during a three-day visit to Canada, June 8-11, 2008, including a stop at Ottawa Peacekeeping Monument, where she was accompanied by dignitaries including and then-Chilean ambassador Eugenio Ortega, then-defence minister Peter MacKay, and Col. (Ret) John Gardom.

Ms. Bachelet walks through Centre Block with then-Speaker of the Senate, Noël Kinsella.



Ms. Bachelet shares a laugh with Mr. Ortega and then-NDP Leader Jack Layton.

Ms. Bachelet and then-prime minister Stephen Harper.

Croatia celebrates national day



Mr. Korac, Ms. Mrden Korac, then-Albanian ambassador Adhurim Resuli, and his wife Brumilda Resuli.

Marko Korac, spouse of the then-ambassador of Croatia; Vesela Mrden Korac, then-Ambassador of Croatia; and then-and-current Panamanian Ambassador Romy Vasquez Morales attend a June 14, 2006, Croatian national day party.

Mr. Korac, Ms. Mrden Korac, and Elena Sava Stefoi, then-ambassador of Romania.

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 1

House Not 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 Not Sitting—The Senate has adjourned 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.

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 1-2 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*. Featuring: Paul Brandt; Marc Hervieux; Julie Nesrallah; the National Arts Centre Orchestra; Laurence Nerbonne and Sarahmée; 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 Strélishki; Joel Plaskett; Ria Mae; Alex Nevisky; 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, 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 are here.

THURSDAY, JULY 2

Maclean's Live with COVID-19 Immunity Task Force—Dr. Catherine Hankins and Dr. David Naylor, two scientists on Canada's COVID-19 Immunity Task Force, will take part in a conversation with *Maclean's Live's* Paul Wells to discuss the progress in the fight against the coronavirus and the dangers that lie ahead. Thursday, July 2, at 7 p.m. on Zoom.

Senator Patti LaBoucane-Benson tells her story in virtual tea talk on July 5



Finance Minister Bill Morneau will release a "fiscal snapshot" in the House on July 8. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

SUNDAY, JULY 5

Famous 5 Virtual Pink Tea Conversation—The Enbridge Famous 5 Speaker Series profiles extraordinarily successful women. Next up is a conversation with non-affiliated Senator Patti LaBoucane-Benson, the government liaison in the Senate, who will take part in a virtual Pink Tea conversation hosted by the Famous 5 Foundation. Sunday, July 5, from 1-2 p.m. (MDT). Register via Eventbrite.

TUESDAY, JULY 7

Government Relations: The New Reality—Global Public Affairs hosts a webinar on "Government Relations: The New Reality," exploring how the uncertainty of the pandemic will likely have major impacts on corporate strategy, especially when it comes to government relations and engagement. Tom Clark will moderate the discussion featuring Elan MacDonald, senior vice-president, national business development; and Yonathan Sumamo, senior consultant. Tuesday, July 7, from 10-11 a.m. (MDT). Please confirm your attendance by Monday, July 6 at 4 p.m.

Pearson Centre Webinar: The Canadian Economy, Now and Post-COVID—In conversation with Andrew Cardozo, president of the Pearson Centre, on Tuesday, July 7, 3-3:45 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, front-line, and remote work 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.

Auditor General Tables Spring Reports

The 2020 Spring Reports of the Auditor General of Canada will be tabled in the House of Commons on Wednesday, July 8. The three reports will cover Immigration Removals, Student Financial Assistance, and Supplying the Canadian Armed Forces—National Defence, as well as special examinations of Crown corporations including the Canadian Commercial Corporation, Standards Council of Canada, and the National Gallery of Canada. The 2020 Spring Reports of the Auditor General of Canada will be available on the Office of the Auditor General of Canada website (www.oag-bvg.gc.ca) immediately following tabling.

Assessing Canada-China Relations—The University of Alberta's China Institute hosts a webinar on "Assessing Canada-China Relations," featuring former Canadian ambassador to China Robert Wright; Yves Tiberghien, Canada's representative on the International Steering Committee at the Pacific Trade and Development Conference; and former Canadian diplomat Philip Calvert, now senior fellow at U of A's China Institute. Wednesday, July 8, from 1-2 p.m. Register online via Eventbrite to receive the Zoom link.

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; Alix Cormick, president, Venture Law Corporation; Nikola Danaylov, founder, keynote speaker, author futurist, Singularity Media; Pam Draper, president and CEO, Bitvo; Justin Hartzman, co-founder and CEO, CoinSmart; Peter-Paul Van Hoeken, founder & CEO, FrontFundr; Cynthia Huang, CEO and co-founder, Altcoin Fantasy; Austin Hubbel, CEO and co-founder, Consilium Crypto; Patrick Mandic, CEO,

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THURSDAY, JULY 9

Enhancing Canada-Pakistan Bilateral Trade—Minister of Small Business, Export Promotion, and International Trade Mary Ng will take part in a webinar on "Enhancing Canada-Pakistan Bilateral Trade," hosted by the Canada Pakistan Business Council. Ms. Ng will be joined by Liberal MP Salma Zahid, chair of the Canada Pakistan Parliamentary Friendship Group, and Rocco Rossi, president, Ontario Chamber of Commerce. Thursday, July 9, from 11 a.m. to noon. Register via Eventbrite.

Making Space for Indigenous Governance—Ryerson University hosts a webinar on "Making Space for Indigenous Governance: Two Examples in Conversation," featuring Dr. Damien Lee, assistant professor in Ryerson University's Department of Sociology; and Marrison Mathews, a PhD candidate at McMaster University in Political Science. Thursday, July 9, from 1-2:30 p.m. Register for the Zoom event online.

FRIDAY, JULY 10

Quantum Supremacy and its Many States of National Insecurity—The Conference of Defence Associations Institute hosts a webinar on "Quantum Supremacy and its Many States of National Insecurity." Panelists include Lindsay Gorman, fellow of Emerging Technologies Alliance for Securing Democracy in Washington, D.C.; James Andrew Lewis, Center for Strategic and

International Studies in Washington, D.C.; and Michele Mosca, director of Quantum-Safe Canada and co-founder of the Institute of Quantum Computing, Waterloo, Ont. Friday, July 10, at 10 a.m. Register through cdainstitute.ca.

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, 2-3 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.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 15

Cross Canada with Ambassador Cong Peiwu—The Canada China Business Council hosts a webinar on policies to encourage investment in China and liberalize trade. The webinar is geared to all five of its Canadian chapters simultaneously, followed by a roundtable discussion with Cong Peiwu, China's ambassador to Canada. Wednesday, July 15, from 11-11:45 a.m. Tickets are available for this Zoom webinar via Eventbrite.

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). Concertgoers, 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.

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.
The Hill Times



THE GREAT REBUILDING

PART II



The Hill Times' special second report on The Great Rebuilding will explore where the government will focus its efforts in the next phase of rebuilding the economy and stimulus spending. We'll also look at:

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