

Canada should reach out to Africa, be authentic in next campaign for UN Security Council seat p. 17

Gwynne Dyer on a warning from Poland p. 11

Police reboot: urgent need to listen and focus on community needs, not police needs p. 16

U.S. election will have real outcomes for us, no matter who wins p. 13

Canada must also curb its own wildlife trade to prevent future pandemics p. 15

Michael
Harris
p.10



THE HILL TIMES

THIRTY-FIRST YEAR, NO. 1746

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, JULY 20, 2020 \$5.00

News

WE scandal won't shape next election, say strategists, but say goodbye to fall election talk

BY PETER MAZEREEUW

Political strategists with ties to three parties say the WE

Charity scandal won't change the outcome of the next election unless new developments deepen the controversy, but pollster Nik

Nanos says the scandal should stamp out rumours that the Liberals could trigger an election this fall.

"I think the polling tells us so far that people who like the prime

Continued on page 21

News

U.S. presidential campaign likely to be 'ugly or uglier than last time,' and of 'deep concern' to Canadians

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

With skyrocketing deaths due to COVID-19 in the United States, cases on the rise in that country, and the extension of the Canada-U.S. border closure until Aug. 21, Canadians are paying very close attention to the U.S. political situation as the presidential election campaign heats up, which some pollsters expect to be "uglier than the last time because of Donald Trump's survival instinct."

Pollster and president of Ekos Research Frank Graves told *The Hill Times* that Canadians are extremely tuned in to what's going on down south, and that the presidential election is "an area of deep concern."

Continued on page 20



U.S. President Donald J. Trump, pictured on July 14, 2020, at a press conference in the Rose Garden of the White House. Pollster Nik Nanos says the presidential campaign will be 'as ugly or uglier than last time because of Donald Trump's survival instinct.' Photograph courtesy of the White House Flickr account

News

RCMP, Canada Elections commissioner probing O'Toole campaign allegation it was hacked by MacKay campaign, says O'Toole campaign

BY ABBAS RANA

The RCMP and the commissioner of Canada Elections have started probing the Erin O'Toole campaign's hacking allegation against the Peter MacKay campaign, a spokesperson for the O'Toole campaign told *The Hill Times*.

"It's easy to be confused by the technical details of what took place, or muddy the waters with misrepresentations," said Melanie Paradis, a spokesperson for the O'Toole (Durham, Ont.) campaign, in an email. "This is also not a political matter; it is a criminal matter. The RCMP and the Toronto Police Service agree, and they have launched an investigation after we notified them, along with the elections commissioner, of what took place."

Ms. Paradis declined to share any specifics on when these investigations will conclude saying only that they're ongoing.

"We are confident that, in due course, those responsible for the data breach and the resulting theft of confidential materials will be brought to justice," Ms. Paradis said.

But a spokesman for the MacKay campaign told *The Hill Times* that their campaign is unaware of the existence of any ongoing investigation by police or any other authority.

"No one from our campaign, including our legal counsel

Continued on page 4



HEARD ON THE HILL

by Palak Mangat

Conservative leadership hopefuls square off in late-July debate hosted by Independent Press Gallery of Canada

Four leadership hopefuls for the Conservative Party will take part in a debate later this month, at the Independent Press Gallery of Canada's first event on July 29. **Leslyn Lewis, Peter MacKay, Erin O'Toole, and Derek Sloan** will square off in the debate moderated by True North's **Andrew Lawton**, an event that will also feature an appearance by Independent Press gallery president **Candice Malcolm**. The debate will be streamed on the gallery's page and broadcast live from Toronto, beginning at 7 p.m., along with media availabilities for the candidates. Voting for a new leader is currently underway, and the party said July 14 that more than 269,000 members are eligible to vote in the race. About 100,000 of those memberships were bought in 2020, and the party said it is the largest membership in party history. A replacement for outgoing leader **Andrew Scheer** is to be named on Aug. 21. The Independent Press Gallery, meanwhile, bills itself as "an alternative to the government-influenced Parliamentary Press Gallery."

Homecoming for former journo, current arts exec Rosemary Thompson

Hillites will welcome back **Rosemary Thompson** to her stomping grounds when the former CTV journalist-turned-arts exec returns to Ottawa for a new job with the National Gallery of Canada next month. Ms. Thompson, the former deputy chief for CTV's parliamentary bureau, is fresh off the heels of a three-year stint at the Banff Centre for Arts and Creativity, where she was vice-president of marketing and development for the Alberta centre. Before that, she served with the National Arts Centre for eight years, until 2017 as its director of communications and public affairs, following two decades of experience in network TV with CBC and CTV.

As a reporter, she covered campaigns in the U.S., Quebec, and Ottawa, and was CTV's first female Washington correspondent, making guest appearances on



Former CTV reporter Rosemary Thompson, left, is heading back to Ottawa for a new gig with the National Gallery of Canada. She's seen giving an elbow bump to Karen Sorensen, mayor of Banff, a city she's spent the last three years in. *Photograph courtesy of Rosemary Thompson's Twitter*

programs like *Question Period* and *Mike Duffy Live*, among others. "A fond farewell from @BanffMayor she's sending me back to #ottcity to hang with @cathmckenna. Thank you ... for the best 3 years of our lives! We'll miss you!" tweeted Ms. Thompson on July 15, alongside a photo of her elbow bumping **Karen Sorensen**, Banff's mayor. Ms. Thompson begins her new job as the National Gallery of Canada's vice-president of corporate/public affairs and marketing on Aug. 17.

Tory MP paired up on TVO's Political Blind Date

Conservative MP **Cathy McLeod** said last week that she was filming for TVO's *Political Blind Date* show, a six-part series that brings together politicians of different stripes to talk shop on important topics to voters. "You never know who you will get set up with," she tweeted on July 14, adding that she's been filming in Kamloops, B.C. "Will show in fall 2020 and all #COVID19 precautions in place for the day." Who she's been paired up with is anyone's guess though (her office did not return a request for comment in time for publication).



Conservative MP Cathy McLeod will be on an episode of TVO's *Political Blind Date* in the fall. *Photograph courtesy of House of Commons*

Over its three seasons so far, the show has featured Parliamentarians like Conservative MPs **Shannon Stubbs, Garnett Genuis, Pierre Paul-Hus**, and Conservative Leader **Andrew Scheer**. Liberals featured on the show included MPs **Marco Mendicino, Wayne Easter, and Gary Anandasangaree**, while NDP Leader **Jagmeet Singh** and his party colleagues **Jenny Kwan and Romeo Saganash** have also

made appearances. The half-hour instalments have covered hot-button topics like the carbon tax, transportation, affordable housing, and marijuana.

'Defend democracy,' say politicians

Some former Parliamentarians have lent their names to an open letter calling for governments to "defend democracy" amid the COVID-19 pandemic. Organized by Sweden's Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance and Washington-based National Endowment for Democracy, institutions and civic leaders around the world have signed onto the letter released on June 25. "The greatest strength of democracy is its capacity for self-correction. The COVID-19 crisis is an alarming wake-up call, an urgent warning that the freedoms we cherish are at risk



Former prime minister Joe Clark is among the signatories on a letter calling on world powers to 'defend democracy' amid the pandemic. *The Hill Times file photograph*

propaganda." Among those who have their names attached to the document are former foreign affairs minister **Lloyd Axworthy**, former prime ministers **Stephen Harper** and **Joe Clark**, Conservative Party leadership hopeful **Peter MacKay**, former NDP leader **Tom Mulcair**, former senator **Hugh Segal**, current Liberal MP **Anita Vandenbeld**, and newly appointed UN ambassador **Bob Rae**. The Parliamentary Centre has endorsed the calls to protect democracy and civil liberties threatened by the pandemic, and said in a July 15 release that though some restrictions are justified, they must be temporary, proportionate, and have effective oversight. "It is paramount that any extraordinary actions are ended as soon as the crisis period is over," the centre said in the release, noting such measures include freedom of assembly and of movement.

Time to start thinking big

The Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences' Big Thinking lecture series is looking for speakers in the fall on the topic of the 2020 U.S. election, which is slated for Nov. 3. In an update on its webpage, the group invites people to submit their ideas on topics spanning the fallout of the pandemic, international relations and global security, inequality and social justice, and climate change, among others.



The Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences is looking for speakers for its Big Thinking lecture series in the fall on the topic of the U.S. election, which will see President Donald Trump try to defend his role. *Photograph courtesy of Global Affairs Canada*

Since 1994, the series has seen more than 50 researchers present their findings to thousands of civic leaders involved in policy and decision-making in Ottawa. The series is held up to six times each year, and the lectures are held when the House and Senate are in session, presenting "a high profile [opportunity] to introduce evidence from current research on the most pressing public policy issues." Those who often tune into the series are MPs, Senators, media, and policymakers, and past topics have included the promotion of refugees' health and artificial intelligence. Interested applicants must submit a title and abstract of up to 200 words of their proposed talk and a resume by Aug. 7. This year's event will be held virtually sometime between Oct. 20 and Nov. 17, though a date has yet to be finalized.

WE Charity, feds controversy deepens

Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** and his government's involvement in handing a now-nixed \$900-million contract to WE Charity for a troubled student service grant remained in the spotlight last week. On July 16, Ethics Commissioner **Mario Dion** said he was launch-

and that we must not take them for granted. Through democracy, citizens and their elected leaders can learn and grow. Never has it been more important for them to do that," the letter said.

It continued that democracy "is the best system of government" to address the pandemic, as opposed to the "self-serving claims of authoritarian



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Finance Minister Bill Morneau, pictured holding the 2016 budget, are both under investigation by the ethics commissioner for their involvement in the WE Charity controversy. *The Hill Times file photograph*

ing an investigation into whether Finance Minister **Bill Morneau** also breached the Conflict of Interest Act. Mr. Morneau's daughter, Clare, has spoken at the charity's events and his daughter, Grace, is a contractual worker. Mr. Dion is already probing Mr. Trudeau's involvement, after it was revealed by *Canadaland* that his mother Margaret and brother Alexandre earned speaking fees from the group.

The government is facing pressure on multiple fronts: at least two House committees are studying the matter; some student advocates are calling on Ottawa to ditch the program altogether; and others are criticizing the relief measures as not having gone far enough to help older students. Last week's developments also included the charity pledging to "return to its roots" by prioritizing "international development work," and committing to "a series of governance and structural changes." The charity is bringing in former Ontario education commissioner **Avis Glaze** to do a workplace review and former Ontario lieutenant governor **David Onley** as counsel during its "transformation." *pmangat@hilltimes.com*

The Hill Times

Editor's Note: apology to our readers

BY KATE MALLOY

On April 6, 2020, *The Hill Times* published an op-ed headlined, "Iraq deserves to be free from Iranian meddling," both online and on page six of that day's newspaper.

Unfortunately, we have since learned that the op-ed was written as part of an international propaganda campaign, according to *The Daily Beast*, and that the purported author of the op-ed, Joseph Labba, was in fact a false persona created by this campaign to insert op-eds in more than 40 news outlets around the world, including *The Hill Times*.

The Hill Times was alerted to this by one of our readers and we have since removed the column, the author, and have posted a note to our readers online in place of the op-ed.

Publishing this op-ed was a breach of *The Hill Times'* editorial standards. We strive to provide our readers with accurate information at all times. On behalf of *The Hill Times*, I want to apologize to our readers for this clear lack of due diligence to confirm the author's authenticity, which I take full responsibility for. *The Hill Times* has editorial practices in place to ensure this does not happen again.

Kate Malloy is editor-in-chief of The Hill Times.

CORRECTION: *The Hill Times*, June 22 issue

Re: "RCMP use-of-force policies include three out of eight rules championed by police reform campaign," *The Hill Times*, (June 22, p. 1). This story incorrectly stated that RCMP officers were responsible for shooting a woman during a wellness check in New Brunswick. In fact, Chantel Moore was fatally shot by an officer from the Edmundston Police Department on June 4. *The Hill Times* regrets the error.



THE COMPLETE, **MADE IN CANADA** PROPELLER SHAFT SOLUTION

Thordon Bearings Inc., Dominis Engineering Ltd. and Patriot Forge Co., three world-class, family-owned and operated high-performance manufacturing businesses in Ontario, have joined forces as a consortium to provide fully integrated and complete vessel shaftline systems for Canada's most important vessels included in Canada's National Shipbuilding Strategy. These global industry leaders will provide the highest quality shaftline system to significantly improve operational performance, lower costs for Canada's Navy and Coast Guard and create sustainable jobs in the critically important Canadian manufacturing sector.

For the past 30 years some of the most critical and core major ship equipment have been supplied from overseas. Now more than ever the times call for world quality, Canadian manufactured components for Canada's ships; supporting high skilled, high tech, high paying jobs right here in Canada.



www.ThordonBearings.com/CISSpartners

THORDON
THORDON BEARINGS INC.

Dominis

PATRIOT
FORGE CO.

News



Conservative MP and former cabinet minister Erin O'Toole, pictured with his wife Rebecca and their children, Mollie and Jack, has accused the MacKay campaign of stealing confidential strategy information but the former cabinet minister's campaign categorically denies the allegations. The RCMP is looking into it. *The Hill Times* file photograph

RCMP, Canada Elections commissioner probing O'Toole campaign allegation it was hacked by MacKay campaign, says O'Toole campaign

'No one from our campaign, including our legal counsel, has been contacted about this investigation by any authorities or police organizations,' says Chisholm Pothier, a spokesperson for the Peter MacKay campaign.

Continued from page 1

has been contacted about this investigation by any authorities or police organizations," said Chisholm Pothier, a spokesperson for the MacKay campaign in an interview with *The Hill Times*. "And my only comment would be, I will let others speculate on what this tactic by the O'Toole campaign means about the state of the O'Toole campaign. But I'm not going to comment on something that is allegedly under investigation."

A Conservative source familiar with the file told *The Hill Times* that a Toronto Police detective who works with the cyber crimes wing has interviewed some O'Toole campaign staffers to gather evidence and other information relevant to the allegations. Reached by email, the detective told *The Hill Times* that the RCMP has now taken over the file. He did not provide any details. The RCMP in response to a query from *The Hill Times* declined to share the status of the investigation.

"The RCMP is examining this matter carefully with all available information and will take appropriate actions as required," wrote the media relations services of the RCMP's national division. "It would be inappropriate for us to provide any more comments on this matter at this time."

Myriam Croussette, a spokesperson for the commissioner of Canada Elections, said the office does not confirm or deny the existence of any investigations for privacy reasons. She said the office reviews all complaints it receives and will launch an investigation only if it sees any evidence that a violation may have occurred. The office makes the information public on its website about a specific complaint only after the conclusion of an

investigation, if there is a violation of the act, she said.

"In keeping with the confidentiality provisions of the act, the Office of the Commissioner of Canada Elections does not confirm whether it is conducting an investigation, or not, into a particular matter," said Ms. Croussette. "As a result, I'm not able to speak to the specifics of your question."

At issue is the allegation by the O'Toole campaign that a 19-year-

old intern of Conservative MP Greg McLean (Calgary Centre, Alta.), a supporter of Mr. O'Toole, allegedly gave the log-in and password credentials to Jamie Lall, an Alberta organizer for Mr. MacKay.

According to a letter sent by the O'Toole campaign to the RCMP, Toronto Police and OPP on June 19, the log-in credentials were used to download a significant amount of strategy information, more than 100 hours of Zoom videos of strategy meetings, and other information allegedly by supporters of Mr. MacKay in Alberta and in Ontario. The intern in question, who has now been let go by Mr. McLean, has taken full responsibility and in a statement to *The Toronto Star* and CBC last month has said that he downloaded the information and sent it to Mr. Lall but does not know if Mr. Lall accessed the information. Mr. Lall and the MacKay campaign have categorically denied any wrongdoing. But the O'Toole campaign stands by its allegation.

"We believe it is important to present the complete set of facts regarding the recent data breach which impacted our campaign," Ms. Paradis told *The Hill Times* last week.

"A significant amount of our confidential campaign data and strategy was illegally accessed and stolen after an individual outside our campaign obtained an administrative password to our Zoom video conferencing account," Ms. Paradis alleged.

Mr. Lall and the intern did not respond to interview requests from *The Hill Times*. Mr. Lall, however, in an interview with *The Toronto Star* denied all allegations, adding that he's "aggressively pursuing" legal action against the O'Toole campaign.

"All of these allegations I categorically deny, every single one of them," said Mr. Lall. "I had nothing to do with this."

Mr. Lall also tweeted on June 20 that "not a single word" of the O'Toole campaign's allegations is true.

None of the allegations have been tested in a court of law.

The O'Toole campaign has also provided information about its hacking allegation against the MacKay campaign to the Conservative Party's Leadership Election Organization Committee, but has not made a formal request for investigation.

"We have provided information, but we have not asked them to investigate bc this is a criminal matter," wrote Ms. Paradis in a tweet, last month. "The request for an investigation has been submitted to the RCMP, OPP, and Toronto Police."

Ms. Paradis echoed this view in her interview with *The Hill Times* last week. She said the O'Toole campaign did not file an official request of investigation to LEOC because it believes "it's a criminal matter" and that the police should conduct an investigation.

A Conservative Party spokesman declined to say whether the Conservative Party, or LEOC is investigating the complaint.

"As we understand from media reports that this may be a matter under consideration by legal authorities, the party and LEOC will not be making comment," said Cory Hann, director of communications for the Conservative Party.

Conservative sources, meanwhile, told *The Hill Times* last week that LEOC is not investigating the issue.

It's not unusual for leadership campaigns of any party to get nasty and divisive but calling in a police force to investigate a rival candidate's campaign's alleged questionable tactics is a rarity.

Former Saskatchewan Conservative MP Brad Trost who came in fourth place in the 2017 leadership election said that LEOC must investigate this issue and take appropriate action in order to reassure party members that the Conservative Party is committed to holding a fair nomination contest and will not allow dirty tricks.

"The LEOC needs to get involved and find out what's true and what's not, and sort this out for the good of the party nationally," said Mr. Trost who is supporting Toronto lawyer Leslyn Lewis and Conservative MP Derek Sloan's leadership campaigns.

"We do not need this hanging over if Peter MacKay wins, and if it turns out that his team stole the data from the O'Toole people, then it's an illegitimate win fairly clearly, particularly if it's close. But if they didn't, it had nothing to do with it, they should be given a clean pass and not be blamed for anything to do with it. So, LEOC should actually get involved and try to investigate this ASAP and clear the matter up," said Mr. Trost.

Mr. Trost said the allegation is tough to prove in a court of law and that an investigation could be completed long after the leadership election. But if LEOC undertook an investigation, he said, it wouldn't have to meet the same burden of proof that a police force has to file any possible charges. Also, he said, LEOC could complete its investigation a lot earlier than a criminal police investigation.

But some Conservative sources familiar with the issue disagreed, arguing that LEOC would not have been able to conduct this investigation as it involves potentially a criminal matter and does not have the legal authority to complete the job.

arana@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times



Former cabinet minister Peter MacKay, pictured with his wife, Nazanin Afshin-Jam, is the front-runner in the Conservative leadership election. His campaign says they have not been contacted by anyone regarding the hacking allegation investigation. *The Hill Times* file photograph

If MacKay doesn't win on the first ballot, social Conservative voters critical in the leadership outcome, say political players



Conservative Party members are currently in the process of choosing the successor to outgoing leader Andrew Scheer. *The Hill Times* photograph by Samantha Wright Allen

Campaign Life Coalition has signed up 30,000–40,000 members to help Leslyn Lewis and Derek Sloan, the two social conservative candidates, according to Jack Fonseca, director of political operations for the organization.

BY ABBAS RANA

A committed group of thousands of socially conservative voters will play a critical role in deciding the Conservative Party's leadership election if presumed front-runner Peter MacKay doesn't win the contest on the first ballot, say political insiders.

"If Peter MacKay doesn't win on the first ballot, then that seems likely [social conservatives deciding the outcome],"

said pollster Greg Lyle of Innovative Research in a phone interview with *The Hill Times*. "Social conservatives can make a huge difference."

Mr. MacKay, a former cabinet minister in the Stephen Harper cabinet, has positioned himself as the progressive option in the four-candidate leadership contest. He is the front-runner in this election, followed closely by Conservative MP Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ont.), a former cabinet minister and a former Air Force colonel, who is running on the slogan of "True Blue Leadership." His campaign has made a concerted effort to seek the support of social conservatives and to be their second or third choice, if not first. Toronto lawyer Leslyn Lewis and Conservative MP Derek Sloan (Hastings-Lennox & Addington, Ont.) are running as social conservative candidates.

The party is using a preferential-ballot or ranked-ballot system for the leadership election. That means all eligible party members could vote for all four candidates, ranking them from one to four, in order of preference. If none of the candidates wins 50 per cent-plus one of the votes after the first ballot,

Continued on page 18

SPONSORED BY THE AEROSPACE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION OF CANADA



OPEN LETTER to Canada's federal party leaders and all MP's from Canada's 215,000 strong aerospace industry. **TIME FOR ACTION!**

The Right Honourable Justin Trudeau, P.C., M.P., Prime Minister of Canada
The Honourable Andrew Scheer, Leader of the Conservative Party
Jagmeet Singh, Leader of the New Democratic Party
Yves-François Blanchet, Leader of the Bloc Québécois Party
Elizabeth May, Green Party Leader

Dear Prime Minister and Federal Party Leaders,

RE: Your commitment and action is required now!

On behalf of the Aerospace Industries Association of Canada, we would like to extend our appreciation to you, our country's political leadership, for your ongoing work as our country copes with the effects of COVID-19.

As the national association representing more than 95% of aerospace activity in Canada, our members are located in all regions of the country and range from very small to very large businesses operating in all three segments: space, aerospace and defence.

Even prior to the catastrophic consequences of COVID-19, Canada's aerospace sector was losing ground. In fact, we raised alarm bells a year ago when we released the Vision 2025 report that outlined industry and stakeholder feedback and recommendations needed to protect Canada's slipping aerospace position.

Despite these alarm bells, the federal government took little action. And now, facing pressures and losses that are the biggest in aviation history, Canada has slipped even further.

While our major competitor countries have implemented sector specific plans and recovery measures, Canada has continued to sit idly by. Our once-held fifth place ranking on the global stage has fallen to number seven. And international experts predict that we will continue to fall in ranking if no action is taken.¹ With this loss in standing comes losses in jobs and annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to Canada.

These are real consequences and now is the time to act.

New polling data compiled by Pollara Strategic Insights shows overwhelming support from Canadians for a comprehensive aerospace strategy. While the results showed Canadians don't have a strong familiarity with the industry (18% saying they are not at all familiar and 3% being very familiar), they are **very supportive of investments into the industry**.

- When told of the economic benefits of the aerospace industry (\$31 billion in revenue, has contributed more than \$25 billion to Canada's Gross Domestic Product, provides jobs to 215,000 Canadians), almost all Canadians agree it is at least somewhat important that it stay in Canada (91%), with almost half (46%) saying this is very important.
- When hearing that Canada's ranking in this industry has slipped from fifth to seventh place, a vast majority say it is important that Canada remains competitive (85%). Likewise, 85% also feel it is important that Canada invest in this industry, similar to other countries like Hong Kong, France, Germany and the USA.
 - o More than one-third feel it is very important that Canada remain competitive (39%) and invest in this industry (36%).
- Almost four-fifths (78%) of Canadians agree that Canada needs a comprehensive aerospace strategy to ensure the industries long-term future as well as to protect the more than 215,000 jobs and financial contributions.

For over 80 years, governments of all political stripes have made Canada's aerospace sector a policy priority through strategic action and investments. They built Canada into a global aerospace leader with an impressive worldwide reputation that is now coming under threat.

If we fail to keep up with our competitor countries, our industry's \$25 billion annual GDP contribution will be gutted and Canada will no longer be in a position to attract and keep highly-trained skilled workers. This represents **215,000** highly skilled, well-paying jobs across the country that support more than 500 small businesses.

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

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

Sincerely,

Jim Quick
President and CEO
AIAC

Jean Charest
Chair of Vision 2025 and Partner at McCarthy Tétraut
Former Deputy Prime Minister of Canada and Premier of Quebec (2003-2012)

¹ Global Aerospace in Post Covid-19 Scenario - Roland Berger, June 2020.

‘Would not be wise to pursue austerity’ before recovery, says Kevin Page

National president of the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) Chris Aylward says the timing ‘couldn’t be worse’ for this government to start looking at cuts to public service jobs.

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

Although there is a projected federal deficit of just under \$350-billion for 2020-21, Canada’s former parliamentary budget officer Kevin Page said the government needs to think about spurring economic growth before thinking about austerity measures to cut down on government debt.

In an emailed statement to *The Hill Times*, Mr. Page said he did not think it would be wise for the federal government to pursue austerity policies until the Canadian economy has fully recovered.

“Various economic forecasts from domestic and international institutions do not have the Canadian economy returning to fourth quarter 2019 GDP levels until late 2021 or 2022 assuming no vaccine is in place,” wrote Mr. Page. “Austerity exercises are contractionary from an macroeconomic perspective. Over the next two years, government macro policy needs to be focused on economic growth.”

Mr. Page also wrote that it is possible the scope and depth of an austerity exercise could be part of the next federal election, alluding to targets, spending controls, areas of focus for spending reductions, and tax increases.

“While an austerity exercise could be a few years off it would be wise for the public service to develop possible options for future political consideration in a post COVID19 environment—operational efficiencies; re-allocations to eliminate poor performing programs, [and] process and institutional reforms to strengthen transparency and accountability,” wrote Mr. Page.

“Austerity is difficult. It is hard on the public service. Bad public policy hurts government re-election chances.”

Following Finance Minister Bill Morneau’s (Toronto Centre, Ont.) fiscal “snapshot,” unveiled

on July 8, the Parliamentary Budget Office released a report on July 16 that found that Canada can expect a 6.8 per cent decline in its GDP in 2020, and that the projected deficit for 2020-21 will be \$343.2-billion.

“This is the ‘challenge of our lifetime,’” according to the report, but as “temporary investment measures come to an end and GDP recovers over time, deficits are expected to retreat.”

wrote Mr. Page. “A post COVID-19 federal government may decide that federal debt-to-GDP ratios around 50 per cent are too high, notwithstanding low interest rates.” Higher debt creates instability risks if interest rates rise,” he said.

“[The] public service will learn about the effectiveness of technology and working differently during the COVID-19 lockdown,” according to Mr. Page. “Oppor-

difficult for governments of any political stripe not to put something in the window that shows that in-house constraints are underway,” said Sen. Dean.

Sen. Dean also said that any government would want to go into an election with a clear fiscal plan to start to tackle the deficit.

“I think it has to be a long-term plan,” said Sen. Dean. “I think the important thing is having a rigorous, defensible



Former parliamentary budget officer Kevin Page says that ‘while an austerity exercise could be a few years off, it would be wise for the public service to develop possible options for future political consideration in a post COVID-19 environment.’ *The Hill Times* file photograph

Perhaps, the more the public service can involve itself in the post COVID-19 economic recovery project, by developing a sustainable, resilient and more equitable economy, positive change in the public service will be become intrinsic, wrote Mr. Page, alluding to a more evidence-based, open, transparent, and digital apparatus.

“Could a post-COVID-19 public service imprint be smaller, even if government transfers (basic income, infrastructure, federal-provincial fiscal arrangements) get relatively larger? Yes,”

tunities to work more efficiently with a smaller work force will be examined.”

Senator Tony Dean (Ontario) said in an interview with *The Hill Times* that he’s “been around this block before” during his time as a high-ranking provincial public servant under Mike Harris’s Progressive Conservative government in Ontario, as well as with the federal Liberals.

“It’s not unusual—in fact it’s to be expected that in situations in which there are burgeoning deficits and reduced revenues and we’re hitting a fiscal wall, it’s

and comprehensive fiscal plan going into the election. It will be important to start taking some steps before an election, particularly if it’s a year, or a year and half out, and the content of that is anybody’s guess.”

“But I would say that going into an election, the government will need to demonstrate and be able to explain what it’s basic or general approach is to get back to balance, and I would think that would have to contain some commitment to spending across the board, and a revenue-generating strategy, but also a commitment

to public sector spending,” said Sen. Dean.

Former top bureaucrat Mel Cappe, who was clerk of the Privy Council from 1999 until 2002, told *The Hill Times* that he agrees with Mr. Page that the next two to five years would be the wrong time to engage in austerity.

“The real problem was from 2015 to 2020, when we ran big deficits—in relative terms—when we should have been accumulating surpluses so that we would have had flexibility to act now,” said Mr. Cappe. “Until we’re well into recovery, in fact beyond recovery into some new equilibrium, it would be inappropriate to take action.”

“However, at some point, we will have accumulated a significant debt, which is going to prove to be, in a new, balanced, positive future, is going to be inappropriate, and is going to be difficult to manage,” said Mr. Cappe. “And everyone else in the world is in exactly the same position.”

Timing ‘couldn’t be worse’ to cut public service jobs, says PSAC national president

National president of the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) Chris Aylward said the timing “couldn’t be worse” for this government to start looking at cuts to public service jobs.

“Communities depend on federal public service workers getting paid, to bolster their economy,” said Mr. Aylward. “Number one, for the economy, it would absolutely be terrible to cut the public service jobs.”

“Number two, the public servants have gone above and beyond providing services to Canadians, and to cut any service at all from the federal public service, [you’re] hurting the most vulnerable in our community—the people who depend on those services day in and day out, whether it’s veterans, whether it’s seniors, whether it’s those on social benefit programs, that’s who you would eventually end up hurting,” said Mr. Aylward.

Senior economist with the Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada (PIPSC) Ryan Campbell told *The Hill Times* that “first and foremost, austerity shouldn’t be on the agenda right now.”

“That thinking is counterproductive at the moment, and what we need now is investment—and cutting at a time when you need investment is not good,” said Mr. Campbell. “The focus right now should be on the health crisis, on containing the virus, protecting people and making sure that basic needs are met, repairing the damage—[and] then hopefully rebuilding the economy better than it was before.”

Mr. Campbell said that he hopes what comes out of this situation is “more confidence in investing in public service capacity” as opposed to contracting out.

“Our public service employees have really stepped up and showed their colours and done a really impressive job, and I think it warrants investing more in the public service and not feeling the need to outsource those services,” said Mr. Campbell.

mlapointe@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

Liberals might need new bill and ‘much more’ to tackle police reform: Goodale

‘What we really need is some more official announcement by somebody who actually holds power, which is the current public safety minister, Bill Blair,’ says former police watchdog Ian Scott.

BY PETER MAZEREEUW

The Liberal government may need to introduce new legislation to shore up the powers of the RCMP’s civilian oversight body, and take many more steps to address calls for police reform in Canada, says former Liberal public safety minister Ralph Goodale.

“It might be more efficient in terms of parliamentary rules to introduce a new bill, instead of trying to amend C-3,” said Mr. Goodale, referring to a bill currently before the House of Commons—nearly identical to one he introduced during his time as minister in the last Parliament—that would change the name and responsibilities of the Civilian Review and Complaints Commission for the RCMP.

“It needs to be remembered that this draft legislation (like its predecessor in the last Parliament) was designed to resolve an issue with the Canada Border Services Agency, not the RCMP,” Mr. Goodale said in an emailed statement in response to questions from the *The Hill Times*.

“CBSA does not currently have a review agency for complaints about officer conduct. C-3 would effectively correct that problem by expanding (and renaming) the review agency for the RCMP to also cover CBSA. It’s still very important to do that, but—whether by amending C-3 or introducing a separate bill—it would also be useful to add to the package the additional innovations that I suggested in response to the CBC’s questions.”

Mr. Goodale proposed three reforms to Bill C-3 in an interview with the CBC published July 12. Bill C-3, as currently written, would change the name of the body that manages public complaints about the RCMP from the Civilian Review and Complaints Commission (CRCC) to the Public Complaints and Review Commission. It would make that body responsible for managing complaints about the Canada Border Services Agency as well as the RCMP. The bill would fulfill a longstanding Liberal promise to impose independent oversight on the CBSA, but would not change the oversight of the RCMP.

Mr. Goodale suggested three changes to Bill C-3 to beef up RCMP oversight: setting deadlines for the RCMP commissioner to respond to reports and recommendations from the renamed complaints commission; creating an appeal mechanism for cases in which the complaints commission and the RCMP don’t agree on how to respond to a complaint; and creating panels of experts from minority communities in Canada, and involving them in the review of complaints from members of that minority group.

“With the legislation before the House, it might be a good idea to add some additional things to it other than the original intent to cover also the CBSA,” Mr. Goodale told the CBC.

Mr. Goodale served as the Public Safety Minister in Justin Trudeau’s Liberal government during the forty-second Parliament, from 2015 to 2019. He was defeated in last fall’s election. Mr. Goodale is currently working for the government as a “special adviser” on the investigation into Iran’s attack on Ukraine International Airlines flight 752 in January, which killed 63 Canadians.

NDP MP Jack Harris (St. John’s East, N.L.), his party’s public safety critic, told *The Hill Times* he isn’t sure that the amendments proposed by Mr. Goodale would be allowed under House of Commons rules, which do not allow amendments that go beyond the original scope or intent of the bill.

Creating an appeal mechanism through an amendment would likely not be allowed, he said.

“In my experience in Parliament is that you wouldn’t be able to put a whole new process in there that wouldn’t be in the original bill,” he said.

He said Mr. Goodale’s suggestions are worth considering, particularly giving the RCMP commissioner a deadline to respond to reports from the complaints commission. The NDP will likely push for more changes to the powers of the complaints commission when the bill is sent to committee.

“It really should be re-engineered to conform to recommendations that the committee might put forward,” he said.

In response to questions from *The Hill Times*, Mr. Goodale said that he had not been asked by the government to publicly propose those reforms to Bill C-3. He said his suggestions were not meant to be a “panacea” for the problems with policing in Canada.

“The challenge of overall police reform is a much, much bigger question with many dimensions—e.g., inclusive recruitment and promotion reflecting diversity, training which incorporates (among other things) Indigenous expertise like that available at First Nations University of Canada and the University of Regina, the importance of building

and nurturing community roots and relationships, team response capabilities in close partnership with other service providers and first responders, bias-free operational techniques, and MUCH more,” Mr. Goodale wrote in his statement to *The Hill Times*.

He also said it was important to give the complaints commission sufficient resources and staff, and hand police officers “meaningful, timely consequences when a finding of wrongdoing is confirmed.”

a final report to the complainant, the commissioner, the federal public safety minister, and the relevant provincial minister.

The CRCC also has the ability to start its own investigations if a case of questionable police conduct becomes public, but no complaint is made. The CRCC has completed only a handful of its own investigations over the last several years.

The CRCC received nearly 3,000 public complaints in 2018-19; complaints about excessive use of

that the government would be making “new investments” in the complaints commission.

Mr. Trudeau told reporters earlier this month that Mr. Blair would be looking into “modernizing policing structures and updating standards regarding the use of force,” over the summer. Mr. Blair told *The National Post* in June that the public complaints system for the RCMP must be “timely” and “transparent,” but has not committed to specific reforms to the complaints commission beyond those already contained in Bill C-3. He has also promised to bring forward legislation to better support First Nations policing.

Setting a deadline for the RCMP commissioner to respond to reports from the complaints commission, and establishing an appeal mechanism for disagreements between the complaints commission and the RCMP would be improvements, but “very small steps,” said Alok Mukherjee, who served as the chair of the Toronto Police Services Board—another civilian watchdog agency—between 2005 and 2015.

“I don’t know exactly what having these rotating panels, what value they would add. It’s not clear to me,” said Mr. Mukherjee, who also previously served on the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

Mr. Mukherjee ran unsuccessfully as an NDP candidate in Toronto-St. Paul’s, Ont. in the 2019 federal election. He was defeated by Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister Carolyn Bennett.

Mr. Mukherjee said that creating community expert panels, an appeal mechanism, and deadlines for the RCMP commissioner, on its own, would not be enough to resolve problems with police accountability in Canada. He said the government should either make the complaints commission more accessible to Canadians, many of whom don’t know it exists, and give it more powers to investigate complaints and compel documents from the RCMP, or scrap the RCMP’s contract policing operation altogether.

The RCMP currently fulfills two different mandates: policing at the national level, including responsibilities for organized crime and national security, and contract policing in rural areas and communities across the country, in jurisdictions that don’t have their own police forces. Ontario and Quebec have provincial police forces, and most large municipalities in Canada have their own police forces. Through contract policing, the RCMP covers much of the rest of the country.

“It’s a choice: either the government gets out of the contract policing, which pays for a huge portion of the RCMP’s budget, or it agrees to put in place solid accountability mechanisms for that part of the RCMP’s mandate,” said Mr. Mukherjee.

peter@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

Ralph Goodale served as Canada’s public safety minister under Prime Minister Justin Trudeau between 2015 and 2019. The government should give the civilian oversight agency for the RCMP more power and resources, as just one of several steps needed to reform policing in Canada, he says. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



The three reforms that Mr. Goodale first proposed to the CBC, on their own, wouldn’t do enough to rein in police misconduct in Canada, say two former police watchdogs, who called on the government to impose more drastic changes to the public complaint process for the RCMP.

“They should just take the whole section on dealing with public complaints and start all over again,” said Ian Scott, the former director of Ontario’s Special Investigations Unit, the civilian agency that investigates when police are involved in deaths and serious injuries to civilians.

Mr. Scott said the changes proposed by Mr. Goodale would not meaningfully improve police oversight in Canada, and called the complaints commission a “pretty toothless organization.”

“Even if all of them are implemented, it’s really not going to make any difference. It’s frankly a very thin veneer on the issues,” he said.

The CRCC does not investigate most of the complaints made to it by members of the public; instead, it refers them to the RCMP, which conducts its own investigations, the results of which are sent to the complainants. If a complainant is not satisfied with the outcome of the RCMP’s investigation, the CRCC can look over the documents produced by the RCMP’s investigation into the complaint, and, if it deems the RCMP’s response to be unsatisfactory, the CRCC can issue an interim report recommending a change of approach to the RCMP commissioner. Once the commissioner responds, the CRCC sends

force were among the most common. The RCMP determined that only 1.6 per cent of the allegations of excessive use of force made against its officers through the complaints process over the last three years were “substantiated.” Another 22 per cent were resolved informally, 63 per cent were found to be “not substantiated,” 10 per cent were withdrawn by the complainant, and six per cent were terminated by the RCMP.

The complaints commission should be given the powers and resources to conduct more of its own investigations into public complaints, said Mr. Scott.

As it stands, the RCMP controls the investigation and the disciplinary process connected to the vast majority of public complaints that aren’t picked up by a provincial police oversight body or result in criminal charges. The CRCC can only make recommendations, which the RCMP is not required to act on.

“It needs a system where the consequences are not merely interim reports that bounce back and forth between two government offices, with the ultimate decision maker having the ability to ignore it in any event,” said Mr. Scott.

“What we really need is some more official announcement by somebody who actually holds power, which is the current public safety minister, Bill Blair,” he said.

Mr. Blair’s office did not answer a series of emailed questions from *The Hill Times* about Bill C-3, police reform, or Mr. Goodale’s comments to the CBC. Press secretary Mary-Liz Power said in a statement

EDITOR Kate Malloy
MANAGING EDITOR Charelle Evelyn
DEPUTY EDITORS Peter Mazereeuw, Laura Ryckewaert
ASSISTANT DEPUTY EDITOR Abbas Rana
DIGITAL EDITOR Beatrice Paez



PUBLISHED EVERY MONDAY AND WEDNESDAY BY
HILL TIMES PUBLISHING INC.
246 Queen Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5E4
PUBLISHERS Anne Marie Creskey,
Jim Creskey, Ross Dickson
GENERAL MANAGER, CFO Andrew Morrow

Editorial

Politicians should try harder to unite Canadians, not divide them

On Feb. 21, 2019, Michael Wernick, then the PCO clerk and the top federal bureaucrat in the country told members of the House Justice Committee studying the SNC-Lavalin controversy that he feared for our country. He said he was afraid of the rise of political violence in Canada and said he was worried about the next election campaign.

“I worry about the rising tides of incitements to violence, when people use terms like treason and traitor in open discourse. Those are the words that lead to assassination. I’m worried that somebody is going to be shot in this country this year, during the federal campaign,” said Mr. Wernick.

His comments were unusual and dramatic and appeared out of place in the middle of a critical meeting looking into political interference at the highest levels of government. But he said it for a reason and his words resonated. Today, Mr. Wernick’s comments are particularly poignant.

On July 2, an armed man tried to crash through the gates of Rideau Hall where Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his family and the Governor General live. Corey Hurren, a Canadian Armed Forces reservist, faces weapons charges and uttering a threat against Mr. Trudeau. On July 1, People’s Party Leader Maxime Bernier attended a far-right rally on the Hill where at least one protester had a sign showing the prime minister standing in the gallows.

On July 13, a Quebec man, André Audet, was charged by the RCMP’s national security team for making threats against Muslims, and for calling for the death of Mr. Trudeau.

At a campaign rally before the last election, Mr. Trudeau wore a bulletproof vest because the RCMP had reportedly received a credible threat that a man was outside the event with a gun.

Other prime ministers have faced disturbing threats while in office.

These events cannot be easily linked or traced to any one group, but it’s clear Canada has become more polarized in the last five or six years and it is up to our political leaders to unite people, not divide them.

As Tim Powers, a former adviser to Conservative leaders and cabinet ministers, said, “The disdain game has reached another level and it’s getting dangerous.”

Pollster Frank Graves says he’s seen an “alarming” development over the last 10 years of “a very intense polarization into this new, ordered, authoritarian camp.”

Terrorism expert Jessica Davis told *The Hill Times* last week that she’s concerned about the normalization of hateful language online and about extreme-right threats, along with what she called the Trudeau effect.

“He really does seem to inspire a particular level of animosity, mostly in the West but also in other parts of the country as well,” she said. “It’s really quite extreme.”

Conservative strategist Yaroslav Baran said he’s also seen a deterioration over the last 10 years in Canada’s political messaging and that it’s become less constructive, more polarizing, more vitriolic, and more intolerant. The biggest culprits, he said, are the Liberals and Conservatives.

“If left unchecked, it could have a socially disintegrating effect and propel us in the direction of what we see south of the border,” Mr. Baran.

Both the Liberals and the Conservatives should stop the “us against them” and the “take back Canada” messaging. All politicians should try harder to be more civil and to show Canadian voters that they’re working together, especially in these extremely challenging times.

Letters to the Editor

New Brunswick expects to extract plutonium without any parliamentary debate or cabinet scrutiny: Edwards, O’Donnell

Re: “Nuclear power a safely regulated solution,” (The Hill Times, letters to the editor, July 15), Colleen d’Entremont, president of Atlantic Clean Energy Alliance, has misread and misquoted us. We stand by what we wrote: irradiated fuel from the new nuclear reactors proposed for New Brunswick will be far more radioactive, kilogram for kilogram, than the used fuel from the Lepreau CANDU reactor. The waste will be smaller in volume, but much more radioactive per unit volume.

Canada’s nuclear regulator is indeed highly praised by those in the industries it regulates, but sharply criticized by most intervenors who pay the bills and take the risks. CNSC freely admits it has never

refused to grant a licence for any major facility, as revealed in a letter linked here: www.ccnr.org/CNSC_licence_refusals_2017.pdf.

Regarding safeguards, then-prime minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, following the lead of then-U.S. president Jimmy Carter, prohibited plutonium extraction from used nuclear fuel in Canada. Now New Brunswick seems to expect to extract plutonium without any parliamentary debate or cabinet scrutiny of the global proliferation implications of such a move.

Dr. Gordon Edwards, Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility, Montreal
Dr. Susan O’Donnell, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton

Taliban war in Afghanistan against West: how it ends?

Currently, the Taliban are in discussion with Western governments in Afghanistan for the withdrawal of all international forces and is in talks with the Afghanistan government, the U.S., Britain, and Pakistan after an agreement was signed in February of this year.

There is a lot at stake in Afghanistan, including women rights, access to education, business activities and a basic income. We already know that women and children will be denied education, the GDP of Afghanistan will drop, and achieving the United Nations’ goals will be at stake, which is something that Canada and other countries will regret.

Reports by human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International, say the Taliban banned Afghan women and girls from working and learning in the country when the regime was in power. A full report by Amnesty can be viewed at <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/issues/womens-rights-afghanistan>.

The ending of the war in Afghanistan shines a light on what the future can look like for ordinary Afghan people. The war has two ways it can be ended: one way the war will end is that if Taliban and Afghan government work together (which will be in favour of all the people), and the second way is the Taliban keeps the

war and wages a jihad war (which will not be accepted).

Meanwhile, tensions are rising after a family member of Afghanistan President Ashraf Ghani was shot dead in his own home. Hundreds and thousands of military personnel have also been killed in Afghanistan while serving the country since the American operation began in 2001.

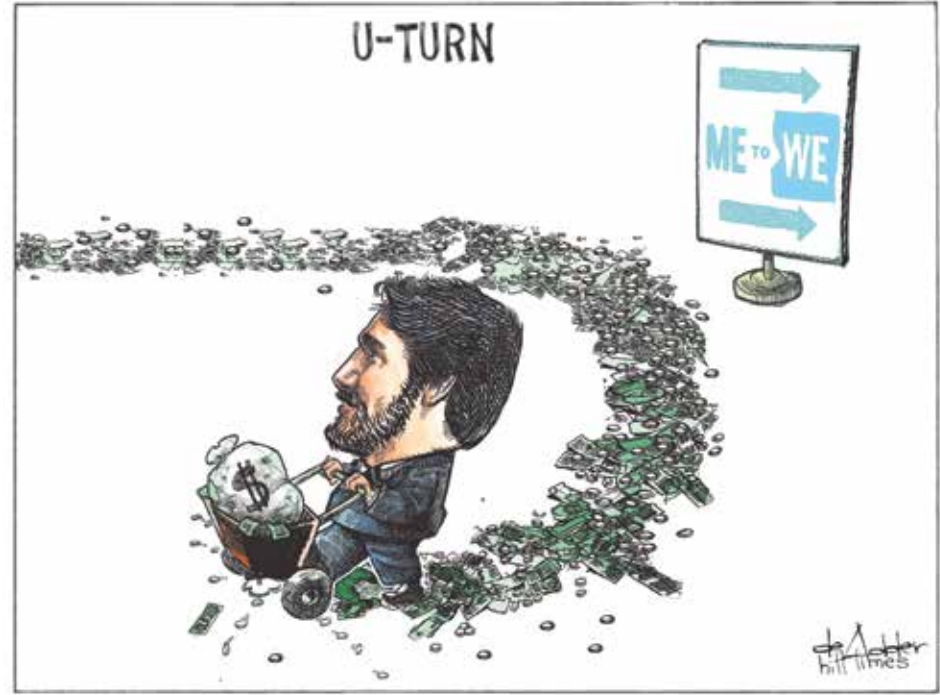
According to the World Bank, Afghanistan’s GDP for 2019 was around \$19-billion (highest of anytime) an increase from Taliban’s opium economy.

Opposition leaders in Pakistan are also against the odds of peace in Afghanistan and are saluting the continuous war due to geopolitical tensions between Pakistan and India. Several Taliban safe havens are in Pakistan, including the Quetta group, something that the current vice-president of Afghanistan, Amrullah Saleh, has repeatedly warned governments about.

So now after two decades of never-ending war in Afghanistan, why is Canada not doing anything on the conflict resolution part? Just recently, Canada lost its vote to win a seat on the UN Security Council, after spending a great amount of energy by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

If the war in Afghanistan ends as portrayed, we will all lose.

Meladul Ahmadzai
Ottawa, Ont.



EDITORIAL

NEWS REPORTERS Aidan Chamandy, Mike Lapointe, Neil Moss, Samantha Wright Allen, and Palak Mangat
PHOTOGRAPHERS Sam Garcia, Andrew Meade, and Cynthia Münster
EDITORIAL CARTOONIST Michael De Adder
COLUMNISTS Cameron Ahmad, Andrew Caddell, Andrew Cardozo, John Chenier, Sheila Copps, Éric Couture, David Crane, Jim Creskey, Murray Dobbin, Gwynne Dyer, Michael Geist, Dennis Gruending, Phil Gurski, Cory Hann, Michael Harris, Erica Ifill, Joe Jordan, Amy Kishek, Rose LeMay, Alex Marland, Arthur Milnes, Tim Powers, Mélanie Richer, Susan Riley, Ken Rubin, Evan Sotiropoulos, Scott Taylor, Lisa Van Dusen, Nelson Wiseman, and Les Whittington.

ADVERTISING

VICE PRESIDENT MARKETING AND MULTIMEDIA SALES Steve MacDonald
DIRECTORS OF BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT Craig Caldbick, Erveina Gosalci, Martin Reaume, Ulle Baum

PRODUCTION

PRODUCTION MANAGER Benoit Deneault
SENIOR GRAPHIC, ONLINE DESIGNER Joey Sabourin
DESIGN MANAGER Serena Masonde
WEB DESIGNER Jean-Francois Lavoie
ASSISTANT WEB DESIGNER Ian Peralta

CIRCULATION

DIRECTOR OF READER ENGAGEMENT Chris Rivoire
DIRECTOR OF MARKETING Leslie Dickson
SUBSCRIPTIONS AND LICENSING EXECUTIVE Darryl Blackbird, Lakshmi Krishnamurti
VICE PRESIDENT OF CONTENT LICENSING SALES Sean Hansel
CIRCULATION MANAGER Dan Lahey

ADMINISTRATION

HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGER Tracey Wale

DELIVERY INQUIRIES

circulation@hilltimes.com
613-288-1146



Published every Monday and Wednesday by Hill Times Publishing Inc.

246 Queen Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5E4
(613) 232-5952
Fax (613) 232-9055
Canadian Publications Mail Agreement No. 40068926
www.hilltimes.com

Please send letters to the editor to the above street address or e-mail to news@hilltimes.com. Deadline is Wednesday at noon, Ottawa time, for the Monday edition and Friday at noon for the Wednesday edition. Please include your full name, address and daytime phone number. *The Hill Times* reserves the right to edit letters. Letters do not reflect the views of *The Hill Times*. Thank you.

Publications Mail Agreement No. 40068926
RETURN UNDELIVERABLE CANADIAN ADDRESSES TO: CIRCULATION DEPT.
246 Queen Street Suite 200, Ottawa, ON K1P 5E4



Blanchet denies anonymous sexual misconduct allegations, but damage is done

Bloc Québécois Leader Yves-François Blanchet has vigorously denied the allegations and challenged his accuser to go to the police so charges can be tested in a court of law.



Sheila Copps

Copps' Corner

OTTAWA—Bloc Québécois Leader Yves-François Blanchet is the latest victim of social media internet justice.

Twenty-one-year-old anonymous allegations surfaced last week against Blanchet, accusing him of “sexual misconduct” in 1999 in a biker bar bathroom in Montreal, at an after-party for a rock group he managed.

Blanchet has vigorously denied the allegations and challenged his accuser to go to the police so charges can be tested in a court of law.

But the court of public opinion has already weighed in on Twitter and in the mainstream media with a vicious tone that is the flavour of the month.

Blanchet’s accuser posted her claim on a website set up to give victims a voice. The allegation topped a roller-coaster week of accusations against Quebec entertainers and media elites.

Even the premier’s wife, Isabelle Brais, got into the act, posting on Instagram in French, exhorting “knights, princes and



Bloc Québécois Leader Yves-François Blanchet, pictured in Hull on Aug. 8, 2019, denied sexual misconduct allegations last week posted on social media alleging an incident from 1999. *The Hill Times* photograph by Cynthia Münster

gentlemen” to challenge those she describes as their “deviant brothers” who “stain your reputation and put you into their boat of s-t”.

She finished by asking everyone to let her know what they think.

The whole of Quebec is weighing in on the debate.

With Blanchet facing an anonymous accuser, more unproven allegations will likely follow.

What is truly bizarre is that mainstream media is stoking the flames with its own sensational coverage.

In the case of the *Montreal Gazette*, the anonymous accuser was interviewed and said she thought her attacker was bald and that his last name was François. Before the arrival of social media accusations, newspapers would never have printed the allegations, unless they were corroborated by another credible witness.

But all the old rules have gone out the window and the traditional media is forced to chase the tail of the social media dog.

Brais posted her Instagram comments before the allegations against Blanchet had surfaced but her call to Quebecers to let her know what they think will not go unheard.

The high-level shout-out to speak up could become a slippery slope of more social media justice.

Allegations should always be taken seriously, but Blanchet is right. The best place to deal with these allegations is by filing a complaint with the police.

In the current climate, reported allegations have to be taken seriously. But it will also be very hard to prove a 21-year-old claim without any witnesses.

But simply throwing out the accusation in the social media world does nothing to secure

justice and simply besmirches the reputation of the accused, who has little power over anonymous allegations.

Unfortunately, like it or not, some of the dirt is going to stick.

And that is why direct accusations of this nature need to be raised in a court of law, not in a social media setting.

As long as anonymous complaints are given credibility by coverage in the mainstream media, we do a disservice to those who should face their accusers in a court of law.

The justice system used to be tipped against complainants who alleged sexual misconduct, assault, and improprieties.

Now it appears the pendulum has swung the opposite way. You are guilty until proven innocent.

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

Weaponizing the WE scandal

How do the Conservatives and New Democrats take the ‘We Charity’ controversy, with all its facets and all its variables and forge it into a simple narrative that fits into a 30-second TV attack ad?



Gerry Nicholls

Post-Partisan Pundit

OAKVILLE, ONT.—Prime Minister Justin Trudeau sure is generous.

After all, thanks to the inept way he triggered the “WE Charity” fiasco, Trudeau charitably bestowed to his political opponents a nice little gift.

Yet, for this gift of a scandal to actually have any lasting value in terms of helping the Conservatives and New Democrats chip away at Trudeau’s lead in the polls, it still needs to be weaponized.

In other words, Trudeau’s foes have to take the “WE Charity” scandal and craft its essence into a short, concise political message that will resonate with voters on an emotional level.

So how do they do that? How do they take the “WE Charity” controversy, with all its facets and all its variables and forge it into a simple narrative that fits into a 30-second TV attack ad?

Well, before answering those questions, let’s go over the scandal’s basics to see what the Conservatives and NDP have to work with.

The details of the case, of course, are pretty straightforward.

It all started when news emerged that the Liberal gov-

ernment had doled out a \$912 million, sole-sourced government contract, to the WE Charity.

Such a massive expenditure looked fishy from the start, since the WE Charity had close ties to Prime Minister Trudeau, e.g., his wife, Sophie, was a high-ranking volunteer for the group.

Then things got even fishier when it was discovered that this very same organization had paid Trudeau’s mother and his brother huge fees for speaking at its events between 2016 and 2020.

All in all, the optics were pretty bad for the Liberals, which is why the WE Charity contract was ultimately cancelled and Trudeau eventually apologized.

But by then it was too late, the scandal was already cooking.

At any rate, what matters from a tactical point of view are the scandal’s “raw materials,” i.e. the stuff that can be used to effectively damage Trudeau’s brand; in this case: conflict of interest, ethical lapses, poor judgement and waste of tax dollars.

Now, you might think with all this ammunition, it’d be pretty easy to come up with an attack.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured July 8, 2020, on the Hill. For the WE Charity gift of a scandal to actually have any lasting value in terms of helping the Conservatives and New Democrats chip away at Mr. Trudeau’s lead in the polls, it still needs to be weaponized, writes Gerry Nicholls. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

But keep in mind, the default position for many voters when they’re contemplating government scandals is “all politicians are crooks,” so as long as they figure the prime minister is doing a good job on the major issues — managing the economy, handling COVID-19 — they likely won’t be swayed by arguments that he’s unethical or corrupt.

However, that said, the WE Charity scandal does offer up one juicy little sin, that, if properly exploited, could potentially draw Liberal blood.

I’m talking about its “nepotism” angle, specifically how Trudeau seemingly wanted to use tax dollars to lavishly fund an organization that’s known to pay lucrative fees to his family members.

Make no mistake, this particular transgression could sting the Liberals since voters, who might otherwise excuse more typical corruption, will often get outraged if they believe politicians are rewarding their cronies or relatives at the expense of taxpayers.

This is why, for instance, the “adscam” scandal bit the Liberals so deeply; it was all about politicians using tax dollars to enrich their corporate pals.

So, if I were a political strategist working for the Opposition that’s the point I’d hammer home.

My TV ad would say something like, “While you’re barely making ends meet, Justin Trudeau wanted to pay out millions of your tax dollars to a pro-Liberal organization, that would use the money to make his rich family even richer. That’s wrong.”

Such a message, if repeated long enough, would help ensure that Trudeau’s generous gift keeps on giving.

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant. *The Hill Times*

Opinion



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured on June 18, 2020, speaking to reporters from his home at Rideau Cottage in Ottawa. For the foreseeable future, the political opposition and the ethics commissioner will conduct a painstaking autopsy on this now dead \$900-million sole-sourced program. That is bad news for the PM, writes Michael Harris. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Trudeau better hope that his base is pissed off, but still with him

Instead of favourable and deserved reviews based on its handling of the COVID-19 pandemic, the government will be dragged before two parliamentary committees, and subjected to months of scrutiny from Ethics Commissioner Mario Dion—he who never wants to be called a lapdog.



Michael Harris

Harris

HALIFAX—“As a result of not wanting the Cons rule again, I’m still supporting Justin. WTF is he thinking with this decision? Does he not listen to his advisers? Damn, he pisses me off. He was doing well at the polls and he had to do this. I know he wasn’t alone on it as Morneau is right there

with him. That’s a lot of money and they should have known that the sniffers were not far away.” Trudeau supporter, Captain Ron, from Moncton New Brunswick.

I found that direct message when I opened my Twitter feed a few days ago. Justin Trudeau better hope that the Captain Ron Factor permeates his base: pissed off, but still with him.

If we were talking about tennis, what the top Liberal leadership has done in the WE Charity fiasco would be called an unforced error. Who on earth would give nearly one billion taxpayer dollars to a “charity” to dole out—no matter how noble the cause?

Who would pay them up to \$43-million to administer the student volunteer program? That sounds more like something out of

the Ad Sponsorship scandal than a sound government program.

It is the second stage of ignorance to shower WE with public money when family members of both the PM and the finance minister had financial connections to the same charity.

And to top it all off, as confirmed by Rachel Wernick, senior assistant deputy minister at Employment and Social Development Canada, the Trudeau government outsourced the program to WE without a competitive bidding process. What the heck is the public service for?

The deal, whether sleazy or just dunderheaded, has since collapsed like a poorly constructed lean-to in the heavy winds of public scrutiny. Both the PM and his finance minister have also apologized for their “mistake.”

It doesn’t sound like a mistake. It sounds more like a decision that they just can’t justify in the light of day. “When cornered, apologize,” is getting to be this government’s motto.

So for the foreseeable future, the political opposition and the ethics commissioner will conduct a painstaking autopsy on this now dead program.

That is bad news for the PM. Instead of favourable and de-

served reviews based on its handling of the COVID-19 pandemic, the government will be dragged before two parliamentary committees, and subjected to months of scrutiny from Ethics Commissioner Mario Dion—he who never wants to be called a lapdog.

The public will find out if WE was secretly favoured behind the scenes by the Liberals.

It will find out the name of the Finance official who approached Wernick about the WE Charity.

It will learn whether any officials in the PMO had a hand in steering this plum as big as the Ritz into the hands of the WE Charity.

And it will learn that there is nothing quite as unrelenting or opportunistic as Opposition politicians who smell blood in the water—a prime minister’s blood.

It must be said loud and clear that no one should pre-judge Dion’s investigation before it’s finished, let alone before it’s even begun.

Remember the “billion dollar boondoggle” in HRDC that cost former Chrétien minister Jane Stewart her political career? A preliminary audit suggested that millions of dollars in departmental funds had gone missing. Subsequent audits whittled that number down to a modest \$64,000.

Scandals are often driven by hot blood rather than hard fact.

And there is a defence for the government to make in this matter. Like a lot of other things happening in the current pandemic, the normal rules of procedure have gone out the window. Bureaucrats have already said that the key to the WE deal was the need for speed. After investigators and parliamentarians do their deep dive, it is not inconceivable that there is a measure of truth to that.

And then there is the other side to the Captain Ron Factor that might help the government; distaste for the most likely alternative to the Liberals, the Conservative Party of Canada.

No one cares more about ethics than a politician out of power. That interest usually wanes when they become the government. It doesn’t take much time to adumbrate a host of reasons why voters should be slow to hoist Trudeau over the side in favour of embracing the Conservatives.

The In-and-Out scandal, constant cheating in both elections and leadership conventions; phoney Fair Elections legislation designed to suppress rather than expand voting; Dean del Mastro, a former cabinet minister and parliamentary secretary to Stephen Harper, sent to the slammer for cheating on election expenses; the enduring stench of Robocalls; and the former government’s constant lies about the true cost of acquiring the F-35 Stealth Fighter Jet.

As things now stand, the Conservatives have accused their sitting leader of using his OLO budget for personal use, and the two front-runners to replace have called each other liars and thieves. One of them even called in the Mounties.

Politics is littered with examples of tossing out a government that has “pissed off” the electorate, only to get someone who fills them with buyer’s remorse.

Paul Martin was punished for a scandal not of his making, and Canadians elected Stephen Harper in his place.

Voters were mad at Bill Clinton, so they tossed the Democrats and got George W. Bush.

The grand daddy of throwing out the baby with the political bath water? Americans were tired of the Clinton dynasty, so they hoisted Donald Trump into the driver’s seat.

And now Justin Trudeau has put himself in peril, but is the answer really Salmon Camp Peter MacKay, or a guy who has gone from moderate progressive to bible-thumper to capture his party’s social conservative base? Does anyone know what Erin O’Toole really stands for?

That said, the PM can’t step in any more cow flogs. If he does, his actions will be seen in the context of a disturbing pattern of poor judgment—the billionaire’s island, the SNC-Lavalin affair, and now this.

For now, the PM’s best hope is the Captain Ron Factor.

But under desperate enough conditions, even captains have been known to jump ship.

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

Global

A warning from Poland

So what relevance could Polish politics have for the forthcoming election in the United States? Quite a lot, actually, starting with the very similar ways in which the two countries are polarized politically.



Gwynne Dyer

Global Affairs

LONDON, U.K.—Few people outside of Poland care about the outcome of the July 12 presidential election there, but maybe they should. Andrzej Duda is practically a Polish clone of Donald Trump—who will also be seeking re-election less than four months from now—and Duda squeaked out a victory.

Duda only got 51.2 per cent of the vote against 48.8 per cent for his liberal opponent, but Trump doesn't even need that many votes. The Poles vote for their president directly, but gerrymandered electoral districts and the 'electoral college' system in the United States let Trump win last time with only 46.1 per cent of the popular vote. He could do it again.

It's not a perfect comparison, of course. Duda is more intelligent than Trump, and the COVID-19 death toll is only 40 per million people in Poland, compared to 420 per million in the United States. Moreover, the Law and Justice Party he is linked to is generally seen as competent and honest.

The history is different, too. Just as the United States was winning its independence from the British empire in the late 18th century, Poland was carved up by its neighbours and vanished from the map for more than 100 years. Twenty years after, it regained its independence in 1918 it was conquered by Hitler's legions, and then it fell under Soviet Communist rule until 1989.

So what relevance could Polish politics have for the forthcoming election in the United States?



Andrzej Duda is practically a Polish clone of Donald Trump, who will also be seeking re-election less than four months from now—and Duda squeaked out a victory. Photograph courtesy of Commons Wikipedia

Quite a lot, actually, starting with the very similar ways in which the two countries are polarized politically.

The Law and Justice Party (PiS), in power since 2015, draws its support from exactly the same social groups as Trump's 'base': older, small-town or rural, lower-middle, or working class, poorly educated, and significantly more male than female. Also more religious (which in Poland usually means a conservative brand of Catholicism) and much more nationalist.

Duda doesn't use the slogan 'Make Poland Great Again,' because it's three centuries since Poland was a great power in Europe. He doesn't share Trump's deference to Russian leader Vladimir Putin, because Russia rivals Germany as the great historic enemy in Polish nationalist thought. But in terms of targeting minorities, the PiS and Duda actually outdo Trump.

The PiS makes a great song-and-dance about hordes of

Muslim immigrants threatening Polish national identity (although no sane Muslim would ever choose to move to Poland). But the best targets in the culture wars are people who actually live in the country, and since Poland has no minorities of different colours, that mainly means gays and Jews.

Duda made homophobic rhetoric the centrepiece of his re-election campaign, promising to "defend children from LGBT ideology" and comparing the LGBT rights agenda to communism. He promised a new constitutional amendment to ban same-sex adoption, which he described as the "enslavement" of children.

Since the government has already turned the once impartial state-owned media into the PiS's propaganda arm, it now concentrates its fire on the private media, much of it owned by U.S. and German companies, which still try to offer independent analysis. Duda's line was therefore to attack the evil foreign-owned

media—and, of course, to suggest that they are really serving "Jewish interests."

It's not pretty, but Trump recognizes a kindred spirit in Duda, whom he has met 11 times since 2017, including an invitation to the White House last month to give the Polish president a last-minute electoral boost. Duda attacks the media, his party is busily packing the judiciary with reliable conservative judges—and he won re-election. It's enough to give The Donald hope.

But maybe not enough hope, because there is one big practical difference. However much Trump may claim to love the poor and "the poorly educated," he hasn't done much to help them, whereas the PiS puts its money where its mouth is.

Trump has signed a cheque for \$1,200 for each American once during the pandemic, and wants to sign one more if Congress approves. The PiS gives every Pole \$125 a month for each child every month, pandemic or not. It

doesn't make much difference to the average urban middle-class Polish family, but it has transformed the lives of millions of families who live in the small towns and the countryside.

The PiS 'base' is also invested in the culture wars, but there's little doubt that this subsidy, running around \$3,000 a year for the average family, gave Duda a vital extra push in the election. If Trump promised a thinly disguised 'basic income' like that for the United States, he could probably win too.

He wouldn't have any serious ideological objection to that, because he actually doesn't have any coherent ideology. However, the Republican Party's loyalty to its traditional conservative beliefs, though heavily eroded, is probably still strong enough to make that impossible.

Gwynne Dyer's new book is 'Growing Pains: The Future of Democracy (and Work)'. This column was released on July 15.

The Hill Times

Opinion

A rare insight into Canada's most secretive spy agency

All in all, CSE's report is a very welcome peek behind the espionage curtain.



Phil Gurski

National Security

OTTAWA—I never thought I'd see this day. My old stomping grounds, the Communications Security Establishment, also known as Canada's "electronic spy agency," has just put out its very first public report. Let the trumpets sound and the banners fly.

Okay, technically it is not my old stomping grounds as I was there from 1983 to 2001, and that was at the Sir Leonard Tilley

(SLT) Building, and not at the ultramodern new CSE HQ right next to the CSIS HQ (where I also "stomped" from 2001-2015). Trust me, the new building is a wonder of the 21st century when compared to the freezing cold in winters and stultifyingly hot in summers at SLT.

The report is short and light on details but this should not surprise anyone. It is an intelligence agency, after all, and we all know that our spies are circumspect with what they say and what they don't say. These organizations are in the business of keeping secrets, not splashing them all over the internet.

This first-ever "public report" is divided into six sections: a message from the chief (Shelly Bruce, with whom I worked way back in the mid-1980s; she was not chief then); setting CSE's strategic outlook; Canada's security, prosperity and competitiveness; engaging Canadians; our people: a culture of community; and CSE by the numbers.

In all honesty, a lot of this is typical Government of Canada dry, boring pabulum, unlike the actual work that CSE does on our behalf. Or at least I assume that the work is exciting as it sure

was when I was there (I can only imagine how sexier it is now).

To me, the most interesting part is the third one (Canada's security, prosperity, and competitiveness). It is here that we gain a tiny window into what CSE does from day to day. The first part talks a little of the new Cyber Centre, described as "deliver(ing) world-class dynamic defence of Canadian government networks." It goes on to say that it foils a billion "malicious actors" who try to penetrate Government of Canada systems every day. Wow, that's a lot and sure wasn't the reality when I worked there.

The CSE is also liaising with private industry to keep companies apprised of what the spies have learned on cyber threat. I always believed that expanding the remit of information sharing was the way to go, but there were always obstacles in the road (secrecy, i.e., sources and methods), so this too is a good thing. And one more: CSE worked alongside CSIS, the RCMP, and Global Affairs Canada (GAC) to keep an eye on foreign threats during the 2019 election. Given that we know certain nations are engaged in these activities, it is important for these agencies to stand on guard for us.



CSE chief Shelly Bruce, pictured April 8, 2019, at the National Press Theatre in Ottawa at a press conference to discuss cyber threats to Canada's democratic process. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Finally, there is the section on foreign intelligence, where I laboured for 17 years. CSE states that it "provided foreign intelligence reports to more than 2,100 clients in more than 25 departments and agencies within the Government of Canada in response to a range of priorities related to international affairs, defence, and security." My bias aside, this was indeed a very fascinating part of the organization to work in. I am sure it is of equal fascination today.

All in all, then, a very welcome peek behind the espionage curtain. While, in large part, protecting what they do and, more importantly, how they do it, CSE has given us a taste of why we have them and why we spend a big chunk of change on it. This is a good start; more please.

Phil Gurski is the director of the Security, Economics and Technology (SET) programme at the University of Ottawa's Professional Development Institute (PDI). *The Hill Times*

History could be in the making, and Canadians should pay attention

Based on the numbers that have presented themselves so far and based on anecdotal evidence of voter-identification figures coming from inside each of the four campaigns, the long-shot candidate of four months ago has become anything from a long-shot today.



Gerrit Van Dorland

Opinion

OTTAWA—The average Canadian might not be aware, but Leslyn Lewis has a good chance of winning the Conservative Party's leadership next month.

Born to immigrant parents who left Jamaica in pursuit of freedom, peace, and hope for a better future, Lewis is a mother of two, a successful Bay Street litigator, and a business owner. She

holds a master's in environmental sciences and a PhD in international law. She's a Black woman and she's intelligent, articulate, and kind.

By all accounts, she's an underdog candidate. As a newcomer to politics with very little name recognition, most Conservatives thought her chances of meeting the high entrance thresholds were slim. She surpassed the fundraising threshold with more than \$100,000 to spare.

Fast forward to today, her campaign has cracked \$1-million in fundraising, and of the four candidates running, she's gained the highest number of unique donors in the second quarter, as well as the highest number of donations made. She continues to hold the highest level of engagement on social media. She's mak-



In a cautious but confident manner, Leslyn Lewis has made her way to close the helm and taking over the Conservative Party's leadership. *Photograph courtesy of Commons Wikipedia*

ing waves, and hers is the fastest growing campaign in the history of Conservative Party leadership campaigns.

A combination of COVID-19 and political tensions at home set the stage for Lewis' highly successful campaign. In a world of fear, confusion, frustration, and hate, her voice of reason, compassion, and common sense is striking a chord deep within the hearts of grassroots conservatives across Canada.

And while the "perceived" front-runners continue to shoot

arrows at each other and play classic political games, they've paved the way for her positive, constructive, and no-nonsense approach to politics to shine through and resonate with the base. She has a brilliant ability to speak to the full spectrum of what the party believes and is being increasingly noted as the unity candidate who can tie the various party factions together and remind them what they stand for.

Unlike many Conservatives, Lewis truly understands what it means to be ideologically

conservative. While the left tries to depict the right as intolerant and unloving, Lewis shatters that narrative by embodying the rich values Conservatives hold dear. Values that include individual rights and freedoms—particularly freedom of speech, expression, and religion—personal and fiscal responsibility, limited government, love for your neighbour, and care for the vulnerable.

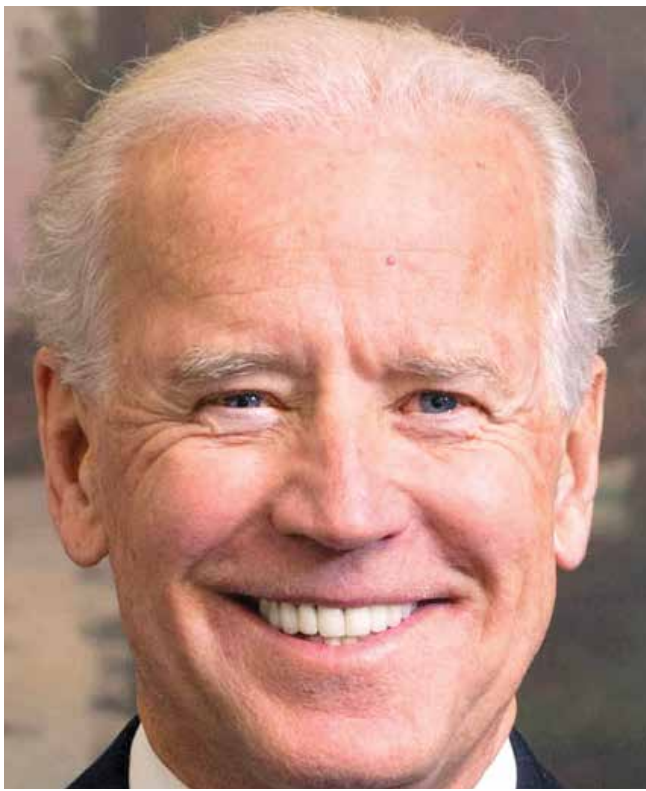
Based on the numbers that have presented themselves so far and based on anecdotal evidence of voter-identification figures coming from inside each of the four campaigns, the long-shot candidate of four months ago has become anything but a long-shot today. The odds of her winning the leadership on Aug. 21 are growing significantly.

To add to the suspense, our current prime minister is under his third ethics controversy—one that's looking increasingly problematic for him—and the chances of an election this fall are rising dramatically. If that were to happen, and assuming that Trudeau would remain on as leader and Lewis would lead the Conservatives, Lewis would have a clear advantage.

And so, Canadians would do well to pay attention, as we may well see a Black, female prime minister leading our country by the close of 2020.

Gerrit Van Dorland is executive assistant to Conservative MP Jeremy Patzer on Parliament Hill, and holds a BA in history from Western University. This op-ed was written independently of his work for Mr. Patzer, and all opinions expressed are his own.

The Hill Times



It's on: While the approaches of Donald Trump and Joe Biden are clearly different, both are promising protectionist policies to voters who fear their country is falling behind—and either will create problems for us, even if Biden is the preferable choice, writes David Crane. Photographs courtesy of Flickr

U.S. election will have real outcomes for us, no matter who wins

A Biden administration would make much greater use of Buy American laws, with massive increases in public procurement or funding that would be confined to products and services made in the U.S.



David Crane

Canada & the 21st Century

TORONTO—Regardless of who wins the U.S. presidential election campaign in November, it will be a victory for America First.

While the approaches of Donald Trump and Joe Biden are clearly different, both are promising protectionist policies to voters who fear their country is falling behind—and either will create problems for us, even if Biden is the preferable choice.

We already know the Trump approach. It includes bullying threats and the misuse

of trade laws to penalize imports—the threat of new tariffs on Canadian aluminum being the latest example—or the threat to scrap trade agreements, as we saw with the one-sided negotiation of the Canada-U.S.-Mexico Agreement to get new concessions from Canada and Mexico.

Seeing trade as a zero-sum game, in which only one side can be a winner, the Trump administration has also targeted bilateral trade balances, demanding that countries with trade surpluses buy specified amounts of U.S. products, as has been the case with China. Even when the target is another country, Canada can get side-swiped. By arm-twisting the Chinese to buy more American farm products, some of these U.S. farm exports will come at the expense of Canadian farmers who will end up selling less.

So we have a rough idea of what we can expect from another four years of Trump—more confrontation, more threats of trade wars, more bullying, more abuse of global trade rules. This is how Trump's America First works.

But what about a Biden administration? How would its America First strategy work?

The Biden campaign is promising massive investments in infrastructure, clean energy, climate change, the auto industry and innovation across the manufacturing sector, as well as sharply increasing investments in research and development and commercialization as well as in training and skills.

The goal is to use a protected American market, backed by massive U.S. spending on innovation and advanced technologies, to accelerate the competitiveness of the

U.S. in world markets. But this depends on a different kind of protectionism.

A Biden administration would make much greater use of Buy American laws, with massive increases in public procurement or funding that would be confined to products and services made in the U.S. The strategy is to invest heavily in next-generation infrastructure, energy and manufacturing through U.S. companies and to develop technologies and intellectual property so that U.S. companies will be poised to grab a much greater share of world markets—in the process, Biden's campaign says, creating millions of well-paying and unionized American jobs.

The campaign at one point even takes aim at Canada. "We will work with U.S. ports and labour unions to ensure that cargo bound for U.S. is offloaded in the U.S. and not in Canadian ports to avoid harbour taxes," the campaign says. Prince Rupert, B.C., for example, has become a major offloading hub for goods from Asia destined for the U.S. which are shipped south by Canadian railways.

So as with Trump, it is an America First strategy. With plans for a U.S.\$1.3-trillion investment in infrastructure over 10 years, the Biden campaign underlines Buy America. "American workers should build American infrastructure and manufacture all the materials that go into it." So much for Canada-U.S. free trade.

"When we spend taxpayers' money, we should buy American products and support American jobs," Biden says. His platform complains that in 2018 the Defence Department spent US\$300-million on "foreign engines and vehicles instead of buying from American companies and putting Americans to work." Perhaps some of those vehicles came from Canada.

In fact, the Biden campaign promises to tighten Buy American provisions. As his platform says, "Biden will use the government's purchasing power to Buy American, boosting U.S. industries through a historic procurement investment," as well as "an ambitious extension of his infrastructure and clean energy plans." These Buy America provisions would "require that all steel, iron, and manufactured products used in transportation projects are melted, mined and manufactured in the U.S.," since "they are critical for the U.S. manufacturing industry."

Early on, a Biden administration would spend an extra US\$400-billion on government procurement to create new demand for "American products, materials and services." It will invest an extra US\$300-billion in research and development to strengthen U.S. capacities in next-generation industries, from artificial intelligence, 5G communications and biotechnology to electric vehicles, advanced manufacturing, clean energy, and smart infrastructure. "This will be the largest mobilization of public investments in procurement, infrastructure and R&D since World War II," the Biden documents claim.

The auto industry gets special attention from the Biden campaign which says the goal is "to ensure that the American auto industry 'wins the 21st century.'" The auto industry is described as "the heart of American manufacturing" and Biden says it must be "the global leader for generations to come."

For starters, the U.S. government will spend "tens of billions of dollars" on clean vehicles and parts produced in the U.S., drawing on Buy America, to create near-term demand for U.S.-made vehicles and parts. But the bigger goal is to spur U.S. auto innovation through public and private investments in technology and innovation, using part of the promised US\$300-billion boost in federal R&D spending, with a big focus on electric vehicles, batteries, and low-carbon hydrogen fuel cells.

The Biden campaign promises a total of US\$1.7-trillion in spending on clean energy to lead America to "become the world's clean energy superpower." It promises high-speed electric-powered freight and passenger rail in crowded transport corridors and even for a coast-to-coast network. There are plans to accelerate and promote commercialization and scaling up of tech companies through direct investments or grants and tax and other incentives, all backed by Buy America provisions.

So how will Canada respond? We should be planning for a much more challenging future now, not waiting to see who wins in November. The U.S. election will have real outcomes for us no matter who wins.

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

The Hill Times

The Original
La Favorita
since 1986

Order a Romantic
Italian Dinner

Uber Eats **SKIP THE DISHES** DOORDASH

356 Preston St. • 613-749-7490
lafavoritapreston.com

Opinion

Forget the second wave of lockdowns, prepare for the recessionary tsunami

Although this pandemic is novel, the laws of economics remain unchanged.



Ash Navabi

Opinion

TORONTO—In the midst of multi-phase reopening plans, COVID-19 cases are back on the rise around the world. This has caused talks of a second round of lockdowns to circulate before this first round of unlocking. This is music to the ears of struggling business owners. Yet we shouldn't expect a government-orchestrated economic plan to be harmonious. The new normal for businesses

will still mean cacophony of higher input prices and disrupted distribution networks.

Finance Minister Bill Morneau's fiscal snapshot delivered on July 8 predicts a very sharp recovery in GDP, with a gentle tapering of unemployment. This is a bad prognosis. With or without a second round of lockdowns, the economy will fall sharply ill again. Simply put, the global economy of the past few months has produced less stuff to use in trade, production, and manufacturing. What makes it worse is that these disruptions have happened at the arbitrary whim of bureaucrats. Even if demand returns to pre-COVID levels tomorrow, businesses may not be able to support their existing workforces or capital structure.

The invisible hand of supply and demand will soon be greeting the market not with a socially distant salute; but rather with an invasive groping of revenue streams and supply chains. Investors and business owners must prepare for the worst. Expect more layoffs, store closures, and bankruptcies, as entrepreneurs unmask what the new normal will look like.

Politicians themselves will never admit to these problems. Many will tout that their decision-making has been prudent and shrewd, as they've been seeking expert advice. Officials tell us to expect the economy to bounce right back, even though these advisers are not economists themselves. Whether the recovery will look like a "V" or "U," we should seriously question the alphabet soup of optimism that we're being told to swallow.

Foremost: politicians have no objective measure for determining what is and isn't essential. The global supply and distribution system is, quite literally, unimaginably complex. The metaphor of a supply "chain" is misleading, as it implies a clear beginning and end. Since what may be a consumption good for one person may be a capital good for another, it's more accurate to talk about an economic crochet—an intricate interweaving of supply threads and demand threads, coming together in an ever growing pattern of commerce. Plucking away at random threads may seem harmless at first, but it fundamentally alters the structural integrity of the whole economy.



Finance Minister Bill Morneau, pictured on Parliament Hill on March 18, 2020. Prices are determined by supply and demand, and enterprising individuals will find a solution to anything profitable. Understanding these principles will be the key to a healthy prognosis for recovery. The only complication to worry about is more meddling by politicians, which has a simple cure: civic vigilance, writes Ash Navabi. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

The impacts are already being felt. Scholars estimate an increase of more than 253,000 cases of infant mortality this year due to the global lockdowns (compare that number to 550,000, the worldwide death total of COVID-19).

Between overloaded mental crisis hotlines, deferred cancer testing and treatment, an increase in domestic abuse, disruptions in supplying pharmaceuticals, and a global food supply crisis that the UN's World Food Programme says could lead to 270 million people being "acutely food insecure," it will be years until the full effects of these lockdowns will be reckoned with.

Governments around the world have been almost uniform in their response: hand out money to seemingly anyone who asks for it. Where did all this money come from, in a time when many are working and earning less? The central banks. Yet printing

money to prop up financial assets devalues the currency overall. Ultimately, all of us will be forced to pay higher prices for everyday goods and services.

Although this pandemic is novel, the laws of economics remain unchanged. Prices are determined by supply and demand, and enterprising individuals will find a solution to anything profitable. Understanding these principles will be the key to a healthy prognosis for recovery. The only complication to worry about is more meddling by politicians, which has a simple cure: civic vigilance.

Ash Navabi is an economist based in Toronto. He is also the senior economist at Housing Matters (a Toronto-based YIMBY organization), and has been writing about a broad range of economic issues in Canada and the world since 2011. You can reach him at ash@ashnavabi.com. *The Hill Times*

How COVID-19 changed Canada's conversation on digital infrastructure

Much has changed in the past few months, and in many ways we have all been forced to adapt. Let's embrace this opportunity to change by laying the groundwork of a digital infrastructure that works for every Canadian, today and tomorrow.



Trevin Stratton & Ulrike Bahr-Gedalia

Opinion

In a matter of months, Canadians' primary thoughts about broadband connectivity went from cost to need, and from "nice to have" to "must have." In between virtual meetings, conference calls, and running work laptops from home, Canadians everywhere were not only using

their internet services like never before, but also became relentlessly dependent upon them. In the language of COVID time, digital infrastructure became an unprecedented essential service, showcasing accelerated technology adoption at best. There's no point of return from where we are today.

Before COVID, so much was made of Canada having among the highest wireless prices in the G7. Speciously absent from that political talking point were two critical determinants. First, the inconvenient truth of the costs associated with building a high-speed broadband network across one of the largest countries in the world that also has one of the smallest populations in the G7. Second, the incomprehensible fact that

Canadian government charges are among the highest broadband licence fees globally. This two-fold setback has been magnified by COVID-19. That's the thing about critical infrastructure: it's so easy to take it for granted. Today, it would seem inconceivable to limit the ability of service providers to offer their services or build new digital infrastructure.

Undoubtedly, COVID-19 changed how Canadians think about internet services. Now is a good time for Canada to think about the big picture of its digital infrastructure. Even as Canadians continue supporting each other today, we must also begin looking over the horizon to the post-COVID-19 world to start planning how our country and economy can emerge stronger. There will be stark changes ahead with a focus on economic recovery, opportunity, acceleration, and collaboration—with domestic inclusive technology adoption and global competitiveness being top of mind.

Today, the focus is on ensuring all Canadians have access to broadband services, including rural and remote communities. Let's think about virtual health

care in this context for a moment. Canada has a growing aging population with more people over the age of 65 than under the age of 15. In some rural communities, citizens don't have regular, direct access to a general practitioner which is why revolutionizing access to health care via virtual means is critical to Canada's overall well-being. In addition to the time-saving benefit, safety aspect, and undeniable convenience of utilizing healthcare services remotely from your home, digitally accessible services also create a better carbon footprint.

Canada needs to accelerate its national plan for the rollout of broadband to all locations across the country, and for the government to partner with service providers to invest in infrastructure where there isn't a business case for the private sector to do so alone. The digital divide is no longer an option—and never should have been.

Part of this plan includes recognizing the undeniable importance of our digital infrastructure and the central role it plays in helping Canada compete. We need to catch up to G7 peers by getting our policies focused on enabling next-generation technology. That starts

with prioritizing the auction of the 3,800-megahertz spectrum so Canadians can take advantage of 5G networks, as well as accelerating the pace of mmWave spectrum allocation so businesses can use the power of the internet of things for logistics, smart cities/towns, and other industrial purposes.

But there's more to the wireless story than services. An increasingly digital economy will require major investments in sophisticated networks, cybersecurity, and electronics. It will also force businesses to accelerate their adoption of new technologies and business models to interact with customers, suppliers, and employees more efficiently.

Canada needs to start thinking about programs, funding, and incentives for technology adoption in businesses of all sizes, and across all sectors, to improve Canadian productivity and global competitiveness.

Much has changed in the past few months, and in many ways we have all been forced to adapt. Let's embrace this opportunity to change by laying the groundwork of a digital infrastructure that works for every Canadian, today and tomorrow.

Dr. Trevin Stratton is vice-president of policy and chief economist of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. Ulrike Bahr-Gedalia is senior director of digital economy, technology & innovation, Canadian Chamber of Commerce. *The Hill Times*

We must curb the wildlife trade to prevent future pandemics

While China needs to be encouraged to do more, other countries need to step up to the plate. Wildlife markets exist around the world. This is a global problem, requiring a global solution.



Melissa Matlow

Opinion

TORONTO—While we look forward to the future and immunity to COVID-19, a vaccine won't stop a pandemic from happening again. To prevent another global health and economic crisis, we must look back at how this virus emerged.

It is widely acknowledged that a wildlife market in Wuhan, China, played a significant role in the outbreak of COVID-19. Scientific research suggests the coronavirus may have been transmitted from bats to pangolins to humans. While scientists are still investigating the evolution of this virus, we can no longer afford to ignore that this pandemic and previous major epidemics around the world (e.g., SARS, MERS, Ebola,) are fundamentally linked to the cruel treatment of animals and encroachment on their habitats.

Picture a diverse array of live animals, who would never encounter each other in the wild, kept close together, in filthy, cramped cages, next to dead animal parts and products made from them, while other animals are being slaughtered nearby. These animals

undoubtedly suffer and when animals are stressed, they can shed more pathogens and become more vulnerable to infections. Add crowds of people and you can see why wildlife markets are the ideal environment for the emergence and spread of deadly, infectious diseases. It doesn't matter how the animals were sourced or what they are sold for—it is how they are treated that got us into this mess. It is an animal welfare problem at the core which is why a growing number of animal protection organizations, zoonotic disease experts and ecologists are calling on the Canadian government to recognize this in their pandemic prevention strategy.

The high cost of this pandemic has moved China to ban the consumption of many wildlife species for food, but a more comprehensive ban is needed to cover the farming, sale, and trade of wildlife for other purposes. To be effective, it must also be backed by strong enforcement and initiatives to reduce consumer demand and transition livelihoods and the ban must be permanent. Had these

wildlife markets remained closed after the SARS outbreak, this pandemic might never have happened.

The U.S. and Australia are calling for a permanent shut-down of wildlife markets. And Germany's environment minister is urging more ambitious international action to restrict the wildlife trade.

While China needs to be encouraged to do more, other countries need to step up to the plate. Wildlife markets exist around the world. This is a global problem, requiring a global solution.

Millions of wild animals are captured, bred and traded for meat, traditional medicine and pets every year and sold at different types of markets around the world and increasingly online. Animal suffering exists at every stage and preliminary research suggests the risk of disease transmission increases along the wildlife supply chain.

Canada must recognize its role in allowing the trade and consumer demand for wild animals and wildlife products to grow. This is enabled by a patchwork of inadequate regulations to restrict the legal trade

and insufficient resources to crack down on the illegal trade. A variety of wild animals are coming into Canada from countries around the world and intensively bred within our borders. More than 500,000 live wild animals were imported into Canada since 2014, but this is just a fraction of the total as permits are only required for those species regulated under the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES). With limited tracking and data, public surveys have been used to estimate 1.4 million wild animals are kept as pets in Canada.

Alarming, 75 per cent of new or emerging infectious diseases affecting human health come from animals, mainly wildlife. A new UN report on pandemic prevention lists the wildlife trade as a key driver of emerging diseases. This should be reason enough to compel Canada to support a ban on wildlife markets and commit to curbing the global and domestic wildlife trade at the G20 summit in November. This would not only prevent animal suffering, species extinction, and biodiversity loss, it is also one of the most effective strategies for preventing future pandemics. The enormous cost of this pandemic to Canadian lives and our economy warrants nothing less than bold and firm action.

Melissa Matlow is campaign director for the World Animal Protection.

The Hill Times

Coronavirus: why Canada must recalibrate its foreign aid policy

We can increase our international aid contributions and reform our foreign aid program, an approach that will be mutually advantageous to Canada's national interest as well as its global standing.



Pouyan Kimiayjan

Opinion

pandemic has demonstrated that in our interconnected world order, we cannot protect the Canadian mainland without projecting our reach abroad. While closing borders can be a short-term solution, the Canadian economy will inevitably open its doors to cross-border travel and international tourism, thus making our citizens vulnerable to the ongoing pandemic and other potential viruses. Once a vaccine is produced, its distribution will not be immediate. The global economy is in a recessionary period and developing countries have been hit the hardest. This environment will most likely translate to higher refugee numbers and thus become a matter of health security for Canada. In this light, Canada must increase its cooperation with multilateral institutions, recalibrate its foreign aid efforts, and assist the most vulnerable countries.

Thus far, the pandemic has dealt a heavy blow to developing countries. Limited testing capacity, poor health infrastructures, and weak social security programs have exacerbated the crisis. In low-income countries, social distancing carries a high cost: vulnerable members of society have low food stocks, small savings, and are dependent on casual labour. Under these conditions, working from home is not an option. And once unemployed,

many will then suffer from poor nutrition and hunger arising from economic isolation. Meanwhile, a number of developing countries, including India, Mexico, and the Philippines, are losing billions of dollars as their overseas migrant workers are becoming unemployed in record numbers. Just last year, tens of millions of migrant workers working overseas sent a staggering \$554-billion back to their home nations.

In Western Asia, cash-strapped governments are unable to financially accommodate their vulnerable populations. In sanctions-hit Iran, the government couldn't afford to impose a nation-wide lockdown, fearing a potential rise in unemployment numbers. Now, a second wave of COVID-19 cases has emerged in the country, with the government still financially unable to impose a quarantine and resorting to making face masks mandatory for the general public. In war-torn Syria, the country's limited testing capacity has only recorded 372 cases. Refugee camps across the world are also fearing a surge in coronavirus cases.

To help these nations, Canada needs to significantly improve its foreign aid track record. In 2018, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) protested that as a share of gross national income, the federal government's spending

on international development was still below where it was under the Harper government. Not only has the Trudeau government failed to outspend the Harper government on foreign aid, Canada also ranks lower than its European counterparts. Recently, Canada lost its bid to gain a seat on the United Nations Security Council, failing to win against Ireland and Norway. The two countries have increased foreign aid spending in recent years, while Canada's aid spending has remained stagnant. This poor track-record is unjustifiable, given that Canada's economy is more than four times larger than Ireland and Norway.

Recently, the Trudeau government has pledged \$300-million to address humanitarian concerns of COVID-19 abroad. This contribution includes \$120-million toward the Access to COVID-19 Tools (ACT) Accelerator, recently created by the World Health Organization, the European Commission, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and the French government, aimed at ensuring equitable access to medical treatments. The contribution also includes \$180-million to address the developmental and humanitarian ramifications of the pandemic. Since the emergence of COVID-19, the government has channelled much of its foreign aid through international organizations. This effort is highly welcome, particularly as the United States has failed to take the lead on the global stage. Canada must stay on course and build on this effort.

On the other hand, Canada must recalibrate its foreign aid agenda and prioritize fight-

ing COVID-19, until a vaccine is produced and distributed in adequate quantities around the world. We can begin targeting the most-affected countries, help strengthen their health infrastructure and keep their economies afloat.

Foreign aid contributions are not fixed and can change on an annual basis. For example, compared to 2018, our foreign aid to Syria increased by 21 per cent, while assistance levels to Afghanistan decreased by -22 per cent in 2019. Hence, in the next upcoming year, we can temporarily divert our funding away from countries that have managed to flatten the curve, and instead focus on countries with low testing capacity, surging cases, and ones that have suffered the most economically.

The recent United Nations Security Council vote must serve as a reminder that the Trudeau government has so far failed to improve its global image as a proactive middle power. The negative implications of a global economic downturn and the resurgence of a second wave, originating from a foreign source, are serious risks to our national security. We can increase our international aid contributions and reform our foreign aid program, an approach that will be mutually advantageous to Canada's national interest as well as its global standing.

Pouyan Kimiayjan is a research fellow for the Institute for Peace & Diplomacy who writes on Canadian foreign policy, European affairs, and Middle Eastern issues.

The Hill Times

Opinion

Police reboot: there's an urgent need to listen and focus on community needs, not police needs

To those who are tasked with the responsibility of examining police operations and budgets, be brave and be innovative; your work is important. It is in the public's best interest.



David Cassels

Opinion

EDMONTON—Policing is first and foremost a service to the community; the more it is at odds with the needs and values of the community, the less it works.

While these words may be good common sense to most people, the reality is that the police are most often at odds with the needs of the community. This is not the fault of individual police officers. It is the outdated, traditional organizational components of police agencies that inhibit well-intentioned police officers from doing their work.

Police organizations in Canada are bureaucratic, centralized, highly structured, impersonal, process oriented and law-enforcement based. The basic operational components are random patrol, rapid response and investigation, after the fact. This is simply the way it is. Many empirical studies of police operations have shown that random patrol has no effect on the prevention or incidence of crime, victimization rates, or public perception of police effectiveness.

Rapid response by police is only marginally effective and in the majority of cases, response comes during or after a crime has been committed, leaving the police to spend countless hours investigating. Again, empirical studies have proven that there is no evidence that rapid response increases apprehension rates or has any effect on crime rates. Unfortunately, investigation after-the-fact is exceptionally time-con-

suming and has no effect on the reduction of crime and disorder in our communities.

Most police officers are skilled, well-equipped and committed to their work. Generally, they are there when you need them and act immediately to bring some calm to a difficult situation. However, your police have both the ability and opportunity to do much more. It is the organizations that they work within that impede them from doing so.

To make matters worse, the traditional manner in which police are deployed has the majority of police personnel in cars, responding to a variety of calls-for-service. The calls received at the dispatch centre drive the actions of your police.

They respond, conduct an investigation, report and apply law enforcement as the only tool available to them, and then they are back in the car responding to another call. This is the way it is.

It is time for a reboot.

Many Canadians including some police officers do not know Sir Robert Peel's Principles of Policing.

Two of these principles are significant and particularly relevant today: to prevent crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment;

and, to recognize always that the power of the police to fulfill their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour, and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect."

Many marginalized groups in Canada are desperately looking for help. These are the people that police serve.

City councillors in Canada are beginning to listen. Police agencies are beginning to listen.

Canadian police leaders have both the authority and ability to make change. Police leaders with a true understanding of Peel's principles and with their personal commitment to community well-being can achieve success through consultation with community leaders and with decisive, focused leadership.

While there will always be a need to have police available to respond to urgent calls for service and conduct investigations, there are many opportunities to redeploy police officers to local troubled communities with a mandate to listen, then focus on helping people in neighbourhoods by reducing or eliminating recurring crime and disorder problems. This establishes both trust and understanding. These police officers will have much

more success reducing crime than simply driving around waiting for something to happen. Information is the lifeblood of policing.

Police organizations must be less bureaucratic, be decentralized to local communities, be communicative and consultative, and be problem-solving based.

Enforcement must not dominate policing strategies.

There are many skeptics who do not recognize the value in reviewing police budget allocations and looking for a better way to do business. Many of the functions performed by police today need not be done by police officers. There are many opportunities to examine administrative police functions and eliminate them, freeing police officers for reassignment to help communities deal with their problems.

To those who are tasked with the responsibility of examining police operations and budgets, be brave and be innovative; your work is important. It is in the public's best interest.

David Cassels is a former deputy chief of police for the Edmonton Police Service, and a retired chief of police for the Winnipeg Police Service.

The Hill Times

Why it is time for smart protectionism

Put simply, Canadian governments have a responsibility to practise smart protectionism where the risks to Canadians' personal security and national security are high.



Christyn Cianfarani

Opinion

Free trade is good economics. Protectionism is bad. Global supply chains are efficient. Favouring domestic goods, services and industries is inefficient.

Canada has long adhered to these orthodoxies. And most of the

time it makes sense to do so.

However, through the COVID-19 pandemic, both the public and private sectors have seen weaknesses associated with heavy or total reliance on foreign sources and global supply chains for essential goods, notably personal protective equipment (PPE). As of June 2, for example, the Government of Canada had ordered close to 122 million N95 masks from international suppliers, yet 12 million had been received and 9.8 million of those failed Canadian standards.

We are learning the hard way that foreign sources cannot necessarily supply the products we need in the time, quantity or quality required during a national or global emergency.

China, as the dominant global producer of many of these PPE supplies, has become the focal point for an emerging debate around domestic control over certain goods, technologies, and services. A recent report from the Henry Jackson Society in the U.K., for example, has argued the "Five Eyes"—the U.S., U.K., Canada, Australia and New Zealand—are far too reliant on Chinese sources for all kinds of strategically important goods, and that this is a threat to the national security of those countries. The Canadian Security Intelligence Service, too, has

warned that Canadian companies that produce certain critical technologies are vulnerable to foreign takeovers by entities with agendas hostile to Canada's interests.



the peak of their COVID-19 outbreak. In April, a presidential executive order gave the U.S. Federal Emergency Management Agency the power to "allocate to domestic use" sev-

eral types of PPE that would otherwise be exported. U.S. produced masks bound for Germany, a close American ally, were reportedly diverted back while in transit. Ultimately, Canada was exempt from the U.S. order, but this episode should tell us that global emergencies can lead to "home front comes first" attitudes, even among our closest allies.

Fundamentally, the issue comes down to one of efficiency versus necessity. Sometimes, in some areas of the economy, security of supply is more important than efficiency.

While this thinking is new to most companies and governments

in Canada, it is not new to Canadian companies working in defence and national security. The Canadian defence industry has long highlighted the need for focused sovereign production and control in key national security capabilities—in part to ensure security of supply—as our allies in the U.S., Europe and elsewhere have been doing for generations.

The argument has fallen largely on deaf ears. There seems to be a greater aversion in Canada to any kind of protectionism than among our more pragmatic allies. There is also a belief that Canada can always rely on obtaining critical supplies from the U.S., owing to both our close trading relationship and bi-lateral defence agreements dating from the 1950s that purport to establish an integrated North American defence industrial base.

Canada puts too much faith in these beliefs, to our peril.

While we can still hold free trade and integrated global supply chains as the goal, we also need to recognize that this view of the economy does not always serve our national interests. Put simply, Canadian governments have a responsibility to practise smart protectionism where the risks to Canadians' personal security and national security are high.

Christyn Cianfarani is president and CEO of the Canadian Association of Defence and Security Industries (CADSI).

The Hill Times



South Africa's President Cyril Ramaphosa, left, is a seasoned diplomat and if Canada could have a strong relationship with him, it would help re-establish the once strong relationship Canada had with South Africa and other countries on the African continent, writes Tshweu Moleme. Photograph courtesy of Commons Wikipedia

Canada should keep Security Council seat campaign alive: reach out to Africa; use Mulroney; be authentic

There are many lessons to learn from such a loss; chiefly that any leader in the Prime Minister's Office should be keeping the Security Council election file alive and ready to pass it on, in the case of a change in political leadership in the country.



Tshweu Moleme

Opinion

TORONTO—Canada had a decade to campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council and it was disappointing to see us defeated again. There are many lessons to learn from such a loss; chiefly that any leader in the Prime Minister's Office should be keeping the Security Council election file alive and ready to pass it on, especially in the case of a change in political leadership. In other words, our very existence at the United Nations should be our permanent campaign; a campaign that will produce real and strong relationships in the long term. Our country will also have to strongly consider employing the diplomatic capital at its disposal. Cana-

da, home to so many people from around the world, should not lose the Security Council seat so many times.

Indeed, an ambassadorial shakeup at our United Nations office in New York will be a welcome change to some. However, our strategy should go beyond such a shift in UN representation. More importantly, and perhaps where the new ambassador, Bob Rae, could also help, is in Canada's restoring its historic relations and strengthening ties with old friends.

Of course, the question of whether Canada is doing enough or not abroad, has also come up many times and based on the opinion of trusted observers in this area, there's room for improvement. Canada can do better, particularly in areas such as foreign aid, where much of the criticism can also be found. There could also be a lesson or two learned from former prime minister Stephen Harper's attempt at the Security Council seat. In his case, there were a myriad of concerns at the UN, such as his positions on the Middle East, which often



Bob Rae, pictured in this file photograph at the National Press Theatre in Ottawa, could help in restoring and employing Canada's historic relations and strengthening ties with old friends, writes Tshweu Moleme. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade



Former Progressive Conservative prime minister Brian Mulroney, pictured in Ottawa at a public speaking engagement on March 5, 2019. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

drew a fair bit of criticism. So, a lot remains to be done. Harper struggled to gain votes from the Africa bloc and Trudeau is also struggling to break into that vote-rich bloc.

No doubt, Canada's loss of the Security Council seat was not the end of the world but, truth be told, a bruising reminder that Canada could do better. There are indications that there is slowly, a little gravitation towards Canada. We need to keep that alive, and we also need to gravitate towards those with whom we want to help build strong relationships.

For example, we saw a slight improvement in the number of votes for Canada received this time around. While some might argue that the numbers were just not enough, others could counter that there was a message in these votes: "take us seriously, and we will take you seriously."

Justin Trudeau's government managed to pull in 108 votes this time around, while Harper was only able to get 78 votes in 2010. So, we saw a small, but important improvement here. In other words, Canada is getting there, and with a more

seriousness presence, and an active, ongoing campaign, votes will be there next time.

So, what can be done?

First, if Canada really wants the seat, a lot of work will need to be put into it. Again, Canada will need to focus on strengthening relations with African countries. A country such as South Africa, with an influential leader, who is also the current head of the African Union, would be a good first step. South Africa's President Cyril Ramaphosa is a seasoned diplomat and if Canada could have a strong relationship with him, it would help re-establish the once strong relationship Canada had with South Africa and other countries on the African continent. So, it'll be wise to make use of a person like former prime minister Brian Mulroney, who is well-regarded in South Africa, given his history with the country, particularly, his fight against apartheid and his support for South Africa's black majority.

South Africans have not forgotten what Mulroney did—standing up to the apartheid regime, at a time when some leaders and countries around the world wouldn't. This is the man you want to see meeting with Ramaphosa and, through him, the rest of the continent, working through issues, and strengthening Canada's relations with Africa. If Canada can sustain such a campaign, with authenticity, there's a very good chance we'd win the Security Council seat next time.

The second consideration for Canada will have to be the upkeep and strengthening of the election machinery that just failed in the attempt to win Canada the coveted UN Security Council seat. This means that the minute Canada learned of its loss, that should have been the minute Canada restarted its new campaign for the seat, maintaining an active relationship-building presence. Third, Canada, uniquely positioned as a country with people from just about every part of the world, should make use of this advantage.

Finally, while it is unclear whether Trudeau will remain in office beyond the next election, or not, he needs to build up a transferable, politically inclusive Security Council campaign that takes into consideration the possibility of him and his party losing power and another party taking over. This is an issue of national interest, and doing the right thing in this respect will also be considered an important part of his legacy, likely alongside his handling of the COVID-19 pandemic.

For Canada to have a real chance, however, to succeed in attaining the Security Council seat, we would first need to assemble a strong, non-partisan campaign group who can help us win, in the next election.

Enough with licking wounds. Go get that seat, Canada. Our friends at the UN are still waiting for us to show up, as a real friend. Perhaps we do need Bob Rae at the helm? Time will tell.

Tshweu Moleme is a PhD student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at University of Toronto.

The Hill Times

If MacKay doesn't win on the first ballot, social Conservative voters critical in the leadership outcome, say political players

Continued from page 5

the candidate who received the fewest first-place votes is eliminated, and his or her ballots are diverted to the candidate they had ranked second. This process continues until one of the candidates receives 50 per cent-plus one of the vote. The party members would vote only one time, but ballots continue to be redistributed by dropping the last-place finisher until a clear winner emerges.

All 338 ridings across the country are weighted equally and are worth 100 points each, for a total of 33,800 points to be captured. The leadership contest winner will need at least 16,901 points, or just more than 50 per cent of the maximum points available.



Former cabinet minister Peter MacKay is the front-runner in the leadership election. If he does not win on the first ballot, social conservatives will play a critical role in the outcome of the leadership election. *The Hill Times* file photograph

A poll of 7,958 party members by Mainstreet Research in May found that Mr. MacKay had the support of 45 per cent of decided respondents, versus 36 per cent for Mr. O'Toole, 12 per cent for Ms. Lewis, and seven per cent for Mr. Sloan, iPolitics reported. Many Conservative insiders say they also believe that Mr. MacKay is the front-runner.

The Conservative Party announced last week that 270,000 party members are eligible to vote in the leadership election. The last date to sign up new members allowed to vote in the leadership contest was May 15. At the start of the leadership election in January, the party had about 170,000 members, which means the leadership candidates signed up about 100,000 new members. The contest is expected to wrap up Aug. 21, the deadline for mail-in ballots. The party has started to mail ballots to party members, and the party must receive the completed ballots by 5 p.m. on Aug. 21. The winner of the election would be announced right after the party completes the counting process.

Neither the party nor individual candidates have made it public how many members each

candidate has signed up during the leadership election campaign.

Currently, the four leadership campaigns are busy ensuring that all of their supporters cast their votes in the election. Getting supporters to vote is crucial to the success of all of the campaigns, no matter how many members they signed up.

Fourteen candidates ran in the 2017 leadership election, and it took 13 rounds of voting for the winner, Andrew Scheer, to be named.

Jack Fonseca, director of political operations for the anti-abortion advocacy group Campaign Life Coalition told *The Hill Times* that his organization has endorsed only Ms. Lewis and Mr. Sloan, and is encouraging their supporters to vote for these two candidates. He said that his

supporters, including Richard Decarie and Jim Karahalios, both of whom have been barred from running in the leadership contest.

The Conservative Party never officially said why they had barred Mr. Decarie from taking part in the leadership election as a candidate. In January he made national headlines for making controversial comments in a CTV interview that being gay is a choice and that he was against same sex marriage and government funding of abortion services. A number of senior Conservatives and caucus members condemned these comments.

The Conservative Party also barred Mr. Karahalios' potential candidacy after the O'Toole campaign filed a complaint with the party that the Cambridge, Ont. lawyer had made "racist Islamophobic remarks" against Walied Soliman, the chair of the O'Toole campaign. Mr. Karahalios challenged the party's decision in court, arguing that it was made by a subcommittee of Leadership Election Organization Committee, which was not authorized to make the decision. The court accepted his position and overturned the party's decision, but a day after that the full 18-member LEOC decided to bar Mr. Karahalios again.

Meanwhile, Mr. Trost told *The Hill Times* that social conservatives are not a homogenous block of voters. Even though a significant majority of them might vote for social conservative leadership candidates, some would likely vote for Mr. MacKay or Mr. O'Toole as their first choice for a variety of reasons, including regional loyalty. Former military personnel may vote for Mr. O'Toole, he said.

Mr. Trost has endorsed Ms. Lewis and Mr. Sloan. He said social conservative party members who have participated in the past in leadership elections know how the ranked ballot system works, but a significant number of the new members may not, and may only indicate only their first or second choices on the ballot. Both social conservative candidates must encourage their supporters to fill the ballot completely, he said, and explain how the system works. Mr. Trost said this will increase the influence of the social conservative voters in the leadership election.

"Voters need to be educated on how the preferential ballot works," said Mr. Trost. "The preferential ballot is still something that's new to a lot of people. [Party members] who have voted more than once in a leadership race or a nomination race are comfortable with it. But what I'm hearing [is] there is a number of

new voters in this race, and they don't understand how the preferential ballot works unless it is explained to them."

Mr. Trost also said that leadership candidates who will not be the first choice of social conservatives should make an effort to reach out to those voters to seek their help in winning the election, including Mr. MacKay and Mr. O'Toole.

"So this race could come down to how well the leading candidates can educate second, third... preferences and how much they go after those voters," Mr. Trost said.

Steve Outhouse, Ms. Lewis's campaign manager, said social conservative members are an important part of the Conservative Party's base. He said social conservatives are "not necessarily single issue" voters, but they are people whose lives are guided by their faith. Once they decide to support a candidate, they not only vote but also donate money and volunteer for the campaigns they're supporting, he said.

"We grow up and live our lives, hearing messages about how it's not just enough to have faith, you need to put your faith into action to help other people," said Mr.

Outhouse, a former Hill staffer. "And so when there are causes that we believe in, and when there are candidates that we believe in, it's not enough to just sort of say, 'Yes, I'm voting for you.' A lot of social conservatives then want to give their time and they want to give their money to help advance good people running for office or advance causes that they believe in."

He said that his campaign is sending out information to all of their supporters on how to vote in a ranked ballot system, but won't tell them who to vote for as their second, third, or fourth choices. Mr. Outhouse said it's up to each individual candidate to reach out to social conservative voters on their own and earn their support.

"We're certainly going to be talking to members on how to fill in their ballot, or at least on the instructions on how to do that," Mr. Outhouse. "In fact, we are sending out a mail-out to supporters and encouraging them to do just that. So we're not going to tell people who to put in second, third or fourth, we think everyone will make their decision."

arana@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

Conservative leadership election endorsements

Peter MacKay's endorsements

Conservative MPs

Ziad Abouttaif
Scott Aitchison
Leona Alleslev
Dean Allison
Tony Baldinelli
John Barlow
Luc Berthold
James Bezan
Steven Blaney
Blaine Calkins
Colin Carrie
Michael Cooper
James Cumming
Scot Davidson
Chris D'Entremont
Todd Doherty
Terry Dowdall
Ed Fast
Kerry-Lyne Findlay
Cheryl Gallant
Joel Godin
Bernard Généreux
Jacques Gourde
Matt Jeneroux
Randy Hoback
Mike Lake
Ben Lobb
Tom Lukiwski
Dave MacKenzie
Kelly McCauley
Phil McColeman
Marty Morantz
Rob Moore
Bob Zimmer
Pierre Paul-Hus
Jag Sahota
Bob Saroya
Kyle Seeback
Doug Shipley

Jasraj Hallan
Tim Uppal
Karen Vecchio
Kevin Waugh
Len Webber
David Yurdiga

Senators

Salma Atallah
Denise Batters
Pierre-Hugues Boisvenu
Claude Carignan
Norman Doyle
Michael MacDonald
Fabian Manning
Yonah Martin
Thanh Hai Ngo
Rose-May Poirier
David Wells
Dennis Patterson
Victor Oh
Percy Mockler

Erin O'Toole's endorsements

MPs
Michael Barrett
Bob Benzen
Kenny Chiu
Kerry Diotte
Marc Dalton
Raquel Dancho
Eric Duncan
Dave Epp
Garrett Genuis
Tracy Gray
Pat Kelly
Peter Kent
Robert Kitchen
Damien Kurek
Stephanie Kusie
Phil Lawrence

Dane Lloyd
Larry Maguire
Richard Martel
Greg McLean
Dan Mazier
Cathy McLeod
Eric Melillo
Rob Morrison
Lianne Rood
Brad Redekopp
Blake Richards
Martin Shields
Alex Ruff
Jamie Schmale
Bruce Stanton
Gerald Soroka
Warren Steinley
Corey Tochor
David Sweet
Tako van Popta
Brad Vis
Gary Vidal

Senators

Leo Housakos
Judith Seidman
Larry Smith

Leslyn Lewis's endorsements

MPs
Richard Bragdon
Rosemarie Falk
Tamara Jensen
Cathay Wagantall
Jeremy Patzer
Glen Motz

Derek Sloan's endorsements

No caucus endorsement



HILL CLIMBERS

by Laura Ryckewaert

Christopher Evelyn takes over as chief of staff to Women and Gender Equality Minister Monsef



Women and Gender Equality Minister Maryam Monsef, pictured Dec. 6, 2019, speaking with reporters outside the House of Commons in the West Block. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Women and Gender Equality Minister **Maryam Monsef** has a new chief of staff leading her office with the recent promotion of **Christopher Evelyn** to the top job.

Mr. Evelyn has been working for Ms. Monsef since late 2015, and has slowly been working his way up the proverbial Hill ladder since.



Christopher Evelyn is Ms. Monsef's new chief of staff. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

He started out as a policy adviser in Ms. Monsef's office as minister of democratic institutions. After Ms. Monsef was shuffled into the then-named post of minister of status of women, Mr. Evelyn was quick to follow, and a year later was promoted to director of operations.

Mr. Evelyn officially took over as Ms. Monsef's chief of staff in early July, replacing **Leslie O'Leary**, who'd been in the role since December 2019. She marked her last day in the office at the end of last week.

Before joining Parliament Hill's political staff ranks, Mr. Evelyn spent almost three years working with the Canadian Air Transport Security Authority, ending in December 2015 as a policy adviser.

He has both a bachelor's degree in international political economy and history and a master's degree in history from Trent University, which sits in Ms. Monsef's riding of Peterborough-Kawartha, Ont. While a student at the school, Mr. Evelyn spent time working as a liaison officer and then enrolment adviser for the university. He also has a master's degree in international affairs, with a specialization in intelligence and national security, from Carlton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, as noted on his LinkedIn profile.

A former Ontario Liberal staffer, before she took the helm in Ms. Monsef's office, Ms. O'Leary spent a year as director of issues management in the Prime Minister's Office. She's also a former director of issues management and alternate chief of staff to then-infrastructure minister **Amarjeet Sohi**.

Stayed tuned to **Hill Climbers** for an update on where she's landed. As of filing



Leslie O'Leary ended her time as chief of staff to Ms. Monsef last week. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*



Government House Leader and Quebec Lieutenant Pablo Rodriguez, pictured in the West Block on June 10. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

deadline, a new director of operations had not been hired yet in Ms. Monsef's office.

With Mr. Evelyn's promotion, it means there are now two cabinet chiefs of staff who are Black, out of 37 (including the PMO). **Marjorie Michel**, chief of staff to Treasury Board President **Jean-Yves Duclos**, became the first Black person to lead a ministerial office under the Trudeau government; she was first promoted to the role roughly one year ago. It also means that now five out of cabinet's 37 chiefs of staff—or 13.5 per cent—are not white.

Also currently at work in Ms. Monsef's office are: **Yanique Williams**, director of policy; **Matthew Pollesel**, director of parliamentary affairs; **Alex Howell**, director of communications; **Marie-Pier Baril**, press secretary; **Mike Bossio**, senior adviser for rural affairs; **Rosalyn Stevens**, senior special assistant for communications and planning; **Isabella McKenna**, special assistant for parliamentary affairs and issues management; **Kendra Wilcox**, policy adviser; **Laurence Harvey**, policy and Quebec regional affairs adviser; **Skye Wolff**, Ontario regional affairs adviser; **Harry Burton**, special assistant for operations and Atlantic regional affairs; **Joanna Lam**, regional affairs adviser for Western Canada and the Territories; **Heather Porter**, executive assistant and scheduler to the minister; and **Danielle Moriarty**, assistant to the minister's parliamentary secretary, Liberal MP **Gudie Hutchings**.

Rodriguez adds director to Quebec Lieutenant team

Government House Leader and Quebec Lieutenant **Pablo Rodriguez** recently welcomed **Agathe Alie** to his political staff team as director of operations and outreach in his office as cabinet's point-person for La Belle province.



Agathe Alie is now director of operations and outreach to Mr. Rodriguez as Quebec lieutenant. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

Ms. Alie officially joined Mr. Rodriguez's office on June 2 and in her new role works on "co-ordinating the minister's tours in Quebec," noted Mr. Rodriguez's press secretary, **Simon Ross**.

Previously, Ms. Alie spent almost 18 years in all working for the Cirque du Soleil Entertainment Group in Montreal, the last seven and a half years of which she was principal director of public affairs.

She's also a former information agent for the National Capital Commission, a former researcher for Radio-Canada, and a former theatre director for Gatineau's Casino Lac Leamy.

Geneviève Hinse is chief of staff to Mr. Rodriguez as Quebec Lieutenant. That team also currently includes regional affairs directors **Paul-Christian Nolin** and **Marie-Laurence Lapointe**, a former Quebec MNA and Liberal MP from 2015 to 2019; director of community relations **Norair Serengulian**; and senior regional affairs advisers **Ramez Ayoub** (also a former Liberal MP from 2015 to 2019, and former mayor of Lorraine, Que.) and **Éric Beaulieu**.

A few staffers support Mr. Rodriguez in both of his roles: Mr. Ross, director of communications **Lois-François Brodeur**, communications adviser **Emmanuelle Ducharme**, and executive assistant **Lynda Bouraoui**.

In Mr. Rodriguez's House leader's office, there's a belated staff addition to note, with **Alexander Wozny** having joined the team as a special assistant for parliamentary affairs in March.



Alexander Wozny is a parliamentary affairs assistant to the government House leader. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

Mr. Wozny had previously working in Innovation, Science, and Industry Minister **Navdeep Bains'** office since December 2019 and in the summer of 2019 interned in then-intergovernmental, northern affairs, and internal trade minister **Dominic LeBlanc's** office. He's also a former House of Commons page and proceedings and verification officer—all while studying for a bachelor's degree in political science and communications at the University of Ottawa.

Rheal Lewis is chief of staff to Mr. Rodriguez as government House leader. That team also includes: **John Matheson**, director of policy; **Daniel Arsenault**, director of Senate affairs; issues management; **Hugo Dompierre**, director of parliamentary affairs; **Kornelia Mankowski**, director of **Rob Jamieson**, senior adviser; senior advisers for parliamentary affairs **Trevor Harrison** and **Izabel Czuzoj-Shulman**; **Jean-Luc Plourde**, senior special assistant for parliamentary affairs; **Jérôme Miousse**, policy adviser; **Samar Assoum**, special assistant for parliamentary affairs; and special assistant **Shahnaz Mouhamou**.

lryckewaert@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

News



U.S. President Donald Trump, pictured on July 15, 2020, in the Oval Office of the White House. Photograph courtesy of the White House Flickr

U.S. presidential campaign likely to be ‘ugly or uglier than last time,’ and of ‘deep concern’ to Canadians

Former Liberal foreign affairs minister and deputy prime minister John Manley says the U.S. election campaign ‘is going to be a very touchy thing for Canadian politicians to handle.’

Continued from page 1

“It seems to be definitely affecting how we’re looking at things within our own borders, but there’s a high level of anxiety of what’s going on to the south,” said Mr. Graves. “I’ve never seen Canadians so alarmed about what’s going on with our neighbours to the south, and this includes things like the Iraq War, George W. Bush, but nothing even close to the levels of concern that we see right now.”

Former prime minister Pierre Trudeau once characterized the relationship between Canada and the United States as “sleeping next to an elephant.”

“It appears that the elephant now has rabies, and that does not make a comfortable bedfellow,” said Mr. Graves. “What to do about it? It really is hard to say—I don’t think most Canadians have any confidence that Donald Trump is going to turn things around,” said Mr. Graves.

“They’re, I think, hoping and waiting for a change in government in November.”

Nik Nanos of Nanos Research told *The Hill Times* that the first inclination for Canadian politicians and policy-makers should be to “stay clear” of U.S. politics.

“Right now, we’re in a very volatile situation in the United States because of the rising number of cases, the perceived lack of coordination in the response, the potential recurrence or emergence of a second wave, and from a political perspective, the best thing Canada can do is to stay clear of all of that because you don’t want Canada to be part of the narrative.”

“The best case scenario for Canada is when Americans don’t pay attention to us because that just means everything is working well,” said Mr. Nanos. “To enter into a scrap over the border, for example, basically immerses us into a hyper-partisan context in the United States where people are exceptionally polarized.”

Mr. Nanos said from a political establishment perspective, our federal party leaders should govern themselves in a way for us to stay out of the debate that’s happening in the United States—and “to not get immersed in what’s going to be a very turbulent fall for the presidential election.”

Mr. Nanos said that the presidential campaign will be “as ugly or uglier than last time because of Donald Trump’s survival instinct.”

“We have to realize that the Trump strategy has never been to get people to like him or to be popular,” said Mr. Nanos. “The Trump strategy has always been to suppress voter turnout for his opponents.”



President Donald J. Trump boards Marine One on the South Lawn of the White House Wednesday, July 15, 2020, to begin his trip to Atlanta. Photograph courtesy: Official White House photo by Tia Dufour

“I don’t think that he’s going to attack Biden four months before election day—he’s going to look to smear and question the integrity of Biden in the fall,” said Mr. Nanos, who added that polling leading up to an election is a tricky time for campaigns.

“If you’re so far ahead, when the technical correction comes to your true level of support, it’s going to look like your losing support and that your opponents have momentum, when the reality is you’re just artificially ahead right now.”

The worst thing for U.S. Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden is to show a massive lead against Trump, because the reality is, that’s probably not his true level of support, said Mr. Nanos.

“It just happens to be how people feel today on Donald Trump,” said Mr. Nanos. “If Biden has a

10-point lead, and then the next month he has a seven point lead, and the month after that he has a five-point lead, and there will be a narrative that he is losing support.”

Social media will play a bigger role in this campaign compared to 2016, says Senator Boehm

Independent Senator Peter Boehm (Ontario) said “in Canada, we are always very avid observers of what is happening in the U.S. electoral cycle, whether it’s midterm elections or the big one that’s coming up in November,” said Sen. Boehm.

“When I was posted in Washington, during the Gore versus Bush election, the one that was won by the hanging chad and eventually went to the Supreme

Court, there’s always drama in U.S. elections in a way that we don’t seem to have by comparison,” said Sen. Boehm. “There will be a lot of observation, and I think at the political level, a lot of attention not to be seen as favouring one candidate over another, just like the last time,” said Sen. Boehm.

Sen. Boehm also said he thinks social media, which Mr. Trump makes considerable use of, will play a bigger role in the campaign than it did in 2016.

“It was prevalent in 2016, and Twitter is obviously a tool that President Trump uses, and uses to his advantage, but I would say there’s always nastiness in political campaigns [but] the real nastiness will be seen on social media,” said Sen. Boehm. “That’s, frankly, where it could get dangerous because you have an unprecedented situation with the pandemic, you have the racism issue which is significant, and you have some global geopolitical issues that are more prevalent than they were before—I’m speaking obviously of China, in this instance.”

Former diplomat Colin Robertson, with more than 30 years in Canada’s foreign service, told *The Hill Times* “we’ve never had a president like him.”

“And that’s acknowledged globally, and in normal circumstances, our entrée into the United States system is through the office of the presidency and administration,” said Mr. Robertson.

“With Trump, we’ve had to work around dealing as best as we can with secretaries, who come and go with remarkable rapidity, but that has proven to be useful and necessary, particularly during the negotiation of the Canada-U.S.-Mexico agreement,” said Mr. Robertson.

Former Liberal foreign affairs minister and deputy prime minister John Manley said the U.S. election campaign “is going to be a very touchy thing for Canadian politicians to handle.”

“There’s always a balance that you need to project on the Canada-U.S. file—on the one hand, historically, it’s always been important not to be seen to be too close to the United States. On the other hand, Canadians intuitively know they have important interests tied up, especially economic interests, many family ties, they like traveling there and going there freely,” said Mr. Manley.

When asked to predict the tenor of Mr. Trump’s campaign against Democratic nominee and former vice-president Mr. Biden, Mr. Manley said he “doesn’t think a leopard changes its spots.”

“I look at him as somebody who is incapable what’s true and what isn’t,” said Mr. Manley. “He just makes stuff up, and he defines a reality according to his own purposes, so I think he’ll continue to do that.”

“The way I see the election playing out, is that I don’t think he wins over anybody to his side that isn’t already with him, so I think it all becomes a question of who shows up to vote,” said Mr. Manley. “For the Democrats, the good thing is that Donald Trump really motivates their base.”

mlapointe@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

WE scandal won't shape next election, say strategists, but say goodbye to fall election talk



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau is being investigated by the federal ethics commissioner for the third time, after a charity with close ties to him and his family was awarded a sole-sourced contract that could have paid it up to \$43-million. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

The WE scandal is a problem for Justin Trudeau, but it 'doesn't stack up' to Canadians' concerns about the COVID-19 pandemic, and how it is affecting them personally, says Nik Nanos.

Continued from page 1

minister and the party are disappointed, and perhaps frustrated. People who don't like the prime minister and his party are all the more convinced that their judgement is solid, and has been justified. But I don't think it's going to move a bunch of votes," said Geoff Norquay, a consultant at Earncliffe Strategy Group and former high-level staffer to Conservative prime minister Stephen Harper and Progressive Conservative prime minister Brian Mulroney.

"It is, and is going to be, painful for the prime minister and his party," said Mr. Norquay. "The government has got to hope and pray that there are no more smoking guns set to emerge, or grenades set to go off on this particular issue."

The WE scandal won't impact the outcome of the next election "as much as the opposition would like," said Karl Bélanger, the president of Traxxion Strategies, and former principal secretary to ex-NDP leader Thomas Mulcair.

The next election is a ways off and Canadians remain more focused on the COVID-19 pandemic than the WE scandal, he said.

The scheduled fixed date for the next election is Monday, Oct. 16, 2023, but in a minority Parliament, it could happen before then.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) has been at the centre of other ethical scandals in the past, including over his vacation on the Aga Khan's private island and his attempts to influence the prosecution of SNC-Lavalin on corruption charges. Mr. Trudeau's Liberals still won the last election, hanging on with a minority government.

"I don't see that this is more important and bigger in scope" than those scandals, said Mr. Bélanger.

Kevin Bosch, a vice-president at Hill and Knowlton Canada and former deputy director of the Liberal research bureau, also said he did not believe the WE scandal would affect the outcome of the next election.

"As someone who worked in opposition research for a long time, I don't see the scandal," he said.

The WE story has created "perception issues" for the Liberals, and Mr. Trudeau should have recused himself from the decision to award a sole-sourced contract to the charity, he said, but he added, "I don't see corruption here."

On July 9, Canadaland and the CBC reported that WE Charity and its non-profit affiliate, Me to We, had paid roughly \$300,000 in speaking fees to Prime Minister Trudeau's mother, Margaret, and brother, Alexandre, during the years in which he was prime minister.

That news came after reports that the government had decided to award a sole-sourced contract to the WE Charity to run a \$900-million student grant program on behalf of the government, which Diversity and Youth Minister Bardish Chagger (Waterloo, Ont.) said last week would have earned the charity up to \$43-million in compensation. Mr. Trudeau said the decision was made by public servants, who deemed that the WE Charity alone—not other charities, or the government itself—was capable of delivering that grant program. Mr. Trudeau later said he did not recuse himself from the cabinet decision to approve that contract.

Rachel Wernick, the senior assistant deputy minister at Employment and Social Development Canada, told MPs on the House Finance Committee last week that she and her department had indeed recommended WE as the only option for administering the grant program quickly.

She said WE Charity co-founder Craig Kielburger sent her an unsolicited email that included a detailed proposal for WE to run the program, just hours after Mr. Trudeau had announced that the government would roll out the student grant program. She also

said that WE had been sending emails to public servants before Mr. Trudeau's announcement, proposing youth grant programs similar to the one that Mr. Trudeau later announced.

Mr. Trudeau has volunteered for the WE Charity in the past, and his wife, Sophie Grégoire Trudeau, runs a podcast for the organization. WE Charity also paid to produce and distribute online a video ad in 2017 that was very similar in content and appearance to a political campaign ad. Mr. Trudeau was the focal point of the 30-second ad, which featured numerous images of his face, and his voiceover pledging to "work hard for all Canadians, and invest in our youngest leaders."

Ethics Commissioner Mario Dion has launched an investigation into both Mr. Trudeau and Finance Minister Bill Morneau (Toronto Centre, Ont.), who also did not recuse himself from the cabinet decision to approve the contract, and whose daughters also have connections to the charity.

The Angus Reid Institute polled 1,503 Canadian adults about their political preferences on July 10 and 11 online. Exactly 50 per cent of those polled said they approved of Mr. Trudeau, down from 55 per cent in May. Mr. Trudeau still had the approval of significantly more respondents than he had in routine Angus Reid polls before the COVID-19 pandemic, which often suggested he had the support of fewer than 40 per cent of Canadians. Between February and April, when Mr. Trudeau's government began to respond to the pandemic, his popularity rose from 33 per cent to 54 per cent, according to Angus Reid Institute polls. All of those polls were conducted online, which means a margin for error cannot accurately be calculated for them.

A Nanos Research poll conducted on July 10 found that support for the Liberal Party itself had not yet changed significantly from where it stood before the WE scandal began. That poll suggested the Liberals had the support of 36 per cent of Canadians, roughly the same as it was on July 3, and only slightly lower than the 38 per cent approval the party had in late June.

"Are people taking an interest? Absolutely. But it's a little too

early to say it whether it's going to have an impact," Mr. Nanos told *The Hill Times* in an interview last week.

"Whenever any kind of controversy gets close to the PM, people take an interest, as opposed to something that's distant. And that's what Justin Trudeau has to watch out for: the fact that it includes his mother and his brother is about as close as you can get without Justin Trudeau being involved absolutely directly."

Still, the WE scandal "doesn't stack up" to Canadians' concerns about the COVID-19 pandemic, and how it is affecting them personally, said Mr. Nanos. Like Mr. Norquay, he said the scandal will likely reinforce Mr. Trudeau's unpopularity with those who already don't like him, and disappoint his supporters, "but those supporters are still committed to the platform and vision that he has for the country."

The scandal has given the opposition plenty to work with during the next election campaign, however, said Mr. Nanos.

"They're going to take this, and there'll be pictures of Justin Trudeau and his mother and his brother, dollar value amounts for speaking engagements, and then the tendering process," he said.

"Probably the last week has felt like Christmas for the Conservatives, because they got a little bit of a gift."

It's too early to say how the scandal will affect the next election, said Garry Keller, a vice-president at StrategyCorp, and former chief of staff to interim Conservative Party leader Rona Ambrose.

Mr. Keller said the scandal could play out like the Liberal sponsorship scandal in 2006, forcing the government off its preferred messaging and allowing the opposition parties to paint it as a government with an ethics problem—or, it could turn out like the opposition parties' attempt to punt the Harper government in 2011 over its refusal to provide MPs with documents on the estimated cost of F-35 fighter jets and other expenses.

That year, an opposition-majority House committee found prime minister Stephen Harper's government to be in contempt of Parliament, and opposition parties triggered an election. Mr.

Harper's Conservatives subsequently won a majority government.

That election was a lesson to opposition parties, said Mr. Keller, that "what you might think is a driving force in the public's mind may not translate when it comes to election time."

In this case, Mr. Trudeau's government is fortunate that the scandal is breaking during the summer, and amid a pandemic, he said. "People are exhausted by COVID."

None of the strategists who spoke to *The Hill Times* thought the government would try to trigger an election this year, nor did Mr. Nanos.

"If there was speculation in terms of a fall election, this is a big wet blanket to put on that," said Mr. Nanos.

Mr. Norquay and Mr. Bosch both said the government should disclose any relevant information immediately, and that the scandal will get worse if those facts are instead left for the media to unearth and report over time.

"The information about family members having been paid should have been found before [the press] said a word about it," said Mr. Norquay.

"What keeps a crisis going is its oxygen, and the oxygen comes in the dribs and drabs of additional information coming out that has not been anticipated if you're trying to manage something," said Mr. Norquay.

To make the most of the scandal, both Mr. Bélanger and Mr. Norquay said the opposition should continue to press for answers to any outstanding questions related to any conflict of interest, wrongdoing, or bad judgement. It should not waste energy pursuing "irrelevant" aspects of the story, such as those primarily concerning the WE Charity itself, said Mr. Norquay.

The opposition should continue to use House committees, and their combined majority voting power to summon witnesses and documents and "build a case on the government," said Mr. Keller.

The opposition should not call for the prime minister's resignation unless there are major new developments in the scandal, said Mr. Bélanger and Mr. Keller.

peter@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

THE HILL TIMES CLASSIFIEDS

Information and advertisement placement:
613-232-5952 • classifieds@hilltimes.com

HOUSES FOR RENT

4-BEDROOM SINGLE HOME IN CENTREPOINTE FOR RENT SEPT 1 OR FLEXIBLE.



4BR single house for rent. Walking distance to Baseline station. Phone 3432046678 or email linda.cozy.home@gmail.com

CLASSIFIED TITLE: BEAUTIFUL 3 BEDROOM BUNGALOW + DEN FOR RENT SEPTEMBER 1ST



Charming bungalow in Ottawa's west end. Close proximity to shopping, hospital and major routes. Beautiful gardens and pond. Contact 613-402-2060.

1 BEDROOM + DEN FOR RENT IN CENTRETOWN



1 Bedrm + Den at SOHO Lisgar. Floor to ceiling windows, gourmet kitchen, marble bath, tons of amenities, ideal location 613.238.2801

CONDO FOR RENT

700 SUSSEX APARTMENT - RENTING AT ITS BEST



Desired location, over 1400 sq ft, 2 bedroom, 2 bathroom, classic finishes, 24 hr security, garage parking, wonderful views. 613-262-2277

CONDOS FOR SALE

CONDO SANTE FE DE BOGOTA



WALK to Canadian Embassy & Shopping Malls.!! 2 bedrooms, baths, 24/7 security, indoor parking, Beautiful Building, Vendor can Finance/renovate. NICE!

ARTICLES FOR SALE/WANTED

WANTED: OLD TUBE AUDIO EQUIPMENT.

50 years or older. Amplifiers, Stereo, Recording and Theatre Sound Equipment, Hammond Organs, any condition. CALL Toll-Free 1-800-947-0393 / 519-853-2157.

FIREARMS WANTED FOR JUNE 13TH, 2020 LIVE & ONLINE AUCTION: Rifles, Shotguns, Handguns, Militaria. Auction or Purchase: Collections, Estates, Individual Items. Contact Paul, Switzer's Auction: Toll-Free 1-800-694-2609, sales@switzersauction.com or www.switzersauction.com.

FINANCIAL SERVICES

FREE CONSULTATION
\$5 MONEY \$5 • 1ST, 2ND & 3RD MORTGAGES FOR ANY PURPOSE • DEBT CONSOLIDATION • BAD CREDIT • TAX OR MORTGAGE ARREARS • DECREASE PAYMENTS UP TO 75% • SELF-EMPLOYED • NO PROOF OF INCOME. We Can Help! Even in extreme situations of bad credit. FOR MORE INFORMATION OR TO APPLY NOW BY PHONE OR ONLINE: 1-888-307-7799. www.ontario-wide-financial.com. ONTARIO-WIDE FINANCIAL. 1801347inc. FSCO Licence #12456. !! WE ARE HERE TO HELP !!

\$5 CONSOLIDATE YOUR DEBT NOW \$5
HOME OWNER LOANS FOR ANY PURPOSE!! Pay down other high interest debt! Bank turn downs, Tax or Mortgage arrears, Self-Employed, Bad Credit, Bankruptcy - We Can Help! Even in extreme situations of bad credit. Borrow: \$50,000 Pay Monthly: \$268 • Borrow: \$100,000 Pay Monthly: \$537. LARGER AMOUNTS AVAILABLE!! Decrease monthly payments. up to 75%!! Based on 5% APR. OAC FOR MORE INFORMATION OR TO APPLY NOW BY PHONE OR ONLINE: 1-888-307-7799. www.ontario-wide-financial.com. ONTARIO-WIDE FINANCIAL. 1801347inc. FSCO Licence #12456. !! WE ARE HERE TO HELP !!

FINANCIAL SERVICES

BETTER OPTION MORTGAGE
LOWER YOUR MONTHLY PAYMENTS AND CONSOLIDATE YOUR DEBT NOW!!!
1st, 2nd, 3rd MORTGAGES Debt Consolidation Refinancing, Renovations Tax Arrears, No CMHC Fees \$50K YOU PAY: \$208.33 / MONTH (OAC). No Income, Bad Credit. Power of Sale Stopped!!! BETTER OPTION MORTGAGE. FOR MORE INFORMATION, CALL TODAY TOLL-FREE: 1-800-282-1169 www.mortgageontario.com (Licence # 10969)

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY

DAVISON

ATTN: ONTARIO INVENTORS!!
Need Inventing Help? Call Davison!! Ideas Wanted! CALL DAVISON TODAY: 1-800-256-0429 OR VISIT US AT: Inventing. Davison.com/Ontario FREE Inventor's Guide!!

EMPLOYMENT

DAVISON INVENTORS WANTED!

Do you have a new product idea, but you're not sure where to start? CALL DAVISON TODAY: 1-800-256-0429 OR VISIT US AT: Inventing. Davison.com/Ontario and get your FREE Inventor's Guide!!

**Have a house to rent or sell?
Items or products to sell?**

Advertise them in *The Hill Times*

FOR INFORMATION: KMORE@HILLTIMES.COM

613-232-5952

Feature Events

Parliamentary Calendar



MPs return July 22 to meet as a committee of the whole in House

MONDAY, JULY 20

House Not Sitting—The House has not met regularly since mid-March, when it was suspended amid the COVID-19 pandemic. The regular summer recess was scheduled to begin on June 24, but MPs agreed to meet as a committee of the whole on July 8, July 22, Aug. 12, and 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.

Senate Not Sitting—The Senate has adjourned until Sept. 22.

20th Alliance Against Trafficking in Persons—The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings is holding this online Zoom platform on 'Ending Impunity: Delivering Justice Through Prosecuting Trafficking in Human Beings.' July 20-22. Registration link: <https://events.osce.org/2020-aat/registration>

THURSDAY, JULY 23

Canada, the World and the UN: A webinar with the new appointed ambassador Bob Rae. Following Canada's loss at getting a seat on the UN Security Council, Canada has a new ambassador at a time when the UN and all multilateral organizations are being widely questioned and under threat. Lester B. Pearson was Canada's best known multilateralist and the Pearson Centre is examining what Canada can do to re-imagine multilateralism. The moderator will be Andrew Cohen, a Pearson board member, author and analyst. This webinar will take place on Thursday, July 23, at 2 pm. For more information: www.thepearsoncentre.ca

The Future of Air Travel—The Edmonton Chamber of Commerce hosts a webinar on "The Future of Air Travel," exploring the future of business travel, managing travel restrictions, recovery plans, and the outlook for Edmonton, Western Canada, and tourism. Speakers include Ferio Pugliese, senior vice-president, Air Canada Express and Government Relations; and Tom Ruth, president of Edmonton International Airport. Thursday, July 23, from 10 a.m.-11 a.m. Register online. Please confirm your attendance by Wednesday, July 22, at 4 p.m.

Mastering the Elements of Clear Political Communication—Ryerson University hosts a webinar, "Cutting through the Noise: Mastering the Elements of Clear Political Communication," featuring Alison Broddle, managing editor of digital content at the CBC; and Elamin Abdelmahmoud, news curation editor with BuzzFeed News and a columnist for CBC Radio's Q. Thursday, July 23, from 3:30-5 p.m. Register for the Zoom event via Ryerson.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 29

Brian Mulroney Will Discuss To Discuss His 'Agenda for Canadian Greatness'—The former prime minister will discuss his 10 big ideas for the future of Canada that address major social and economic challenges, including combating racism, Indigenous equality and a free trade agreement for the Americas. Hosted by the Pearson Centre, the moderator will be Brian Gallant, a Pearson advisory board member and former premier of New Brunswick. This webinar will take place at 3 p.m. on Wednesday, July 29. For more information: www.thepearsoncentre.ca

FRIDAY, JULY 31—SATURDAY, AUG. 8

#CanadaPerforms at RBC Bluesfest Drive-In—The National Arts Centre and RBC Bluesfest are pleased to announce they are coming together to present #CanadaPerforms at RBC Bluesfest Drive-In, a summer weekend series of live concerts at the Place des Festivals Zibi site, by the Kitchissippi River (Ottawa River). Concert-goers, as small pods or families, will be encouraged to drive to the site and watch live concerts from their individual dedicated space. In order to safely welcome back audiences to watch live concerts, the Drive-In series will offer a physical distancing experience that respects reopening measures and protocols. Canadians will also be able to watch online the live-streamed concerts. Concerts will take place on Friday, July 31, Saturday, Aug. 1, Friday, Aug. 7, and Saturday, Aug. 8. Tickets on sale now. For the details, including additional dates and performers, go to: canadaperforms.ottawabluesfest.ca/

FRIDAY, AUG. 21

Conservative Party Leadership Contest—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.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 2

43rd FIPP World Media Congress—Susan Goldberg, editor-in-chief of *National Geographic* and editorial director of National Geographic Partners, is the latest speaker to be confirmed for the 43rd FIPP World Media Congress, which will take place online from Sept. 2-30. To find out more, www.fippcongress.com and online here.

MONDAY, SEPT. 21

House Sitting—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.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 22

Senate Not Sitting—The Senate has adjourned until Sept. 22.

THURSDAY, OCT. 15

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

SATURDAY, OCT. 24

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

FRIDAY, OCT. 30

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

TUESDAY, NOV. 3

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

THURSDAY, NOV. 12

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

FRIDAY, NOV. 13

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

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

The Hill Times

SNORING IS FUNNY
... BUT NOT REALLY

SNORING MEANS YOU ARE
HEALING **LESS** AT NIGHT

SNORING MEANS YOUR BRAIN
AND HEART ARE **HURTING**

AND NOT GETTING GOOD OXYGEN
TO **HEAL** AND **FUNCTION**

Call to consult • 613 234 5758
info@dolphindentistry.com • thinkintegrative@gmail.com

Extra! Extra!
Read the full
Parliamentary
Calendar
online



A quiet summer day in the Parliamentary Precinct

It's been four months since Ottawa was virtually locked down, but it's slowly creeping back to life. The Hill Times' photographer Andrew Meade captured scenes from the Hill and the neighbourhood on Wednesday, July 15.



Passersby, pictured walking up Wellington Street and past the Peace Tower and Centre Block.



A woman, wearing a protective face shield, pictured walking past the Bank of Canada on Wellington Street.



Construction workers shoot the breeze while working on Parliament Hill.



This way to the West Block. The iconic Centre Block is closed for a major, multi-billion-dollar renovation project, expected to be finished in a decade, at least.



Hill construction workers pictured working on the Hill.



Do not enter, indeed.



It's quite the backdrop, Martha. People pictured taking a break on the front lawn of the Supreme Court of Canada building and next to the Justice Building.

Stay connected to decision-makers

Inside Ottawa & Inside Canada Now in stock

Save time, have all political
phone numbers and email
addresses at your fingertips.

Inside Ottawa includes:

- Federal riding profiles
- MP contact details, both Hill and constituency
- House committee clerks and membership
- Senators' contact details and committee membership
- Current photos in colour
- Prime Minister's Office and Privy Council Office staff contacts
- Ministers' offices staff contacts
- Speaker's office contacts
- Committee charts with current photos
- List of shadow cabinet and opposition critics
- Key political, government and media contacts
- Sitting calendar 2020
- Remuneration
- Session tip sheet

Inside Canada includes:

Contacts for every Province and Territorial Government:

- Legislature key contacts
- Members of the Legislative Assembly with photos
- Cabinet ministers' executive departments
- Party and Government Posts (ministers and critics)
- Opposition contacts
- Agencies of Parliament
- Media contacts
- Remuneration
- Committees members and clerks
- Sitting calendars for 2020
- Seat breakdown by province
- Next election forecast

Order Now

www.hilltimes.com/the-hill-times-store-package
circulation@hilltimes.com • 613-688-8821

