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# THE HILL TIMES

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CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

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News

Trudeau should hire a 'director of ethics and oversight' to vet potential conflicts, break 'serial pattern' of ethics lapses, say pollsters

BY ABBAS RANA

The PMO should hire a senior staffer to vet all major political initiatives for ethical problems before they are rolled out, to avoid more of the ethical lapses

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News

## PM's 'Tiger Team' meant to address diversity, inclusion in Canada's national intelligence and security community hasn't met since 2018

The National Security and Intelligence Committee of Parliamentarians says the Tiger Team hasn't met since 2018, but the PCO says 'the work of the Tiger Team is ongoing and is currently chaired by the Department of National Defence.'

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

The federal government still has "much work to be done" on addressing diversity and inclusion issues within its intelligence and security apparatus, according to a recent parliamentary committee report, with one leading intelligence expert suggesting more senior leadership within the Privy Council Office with "power and clout" is needed to oversee the problem—and questioning why Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's launch of the "Tiger Team" in 2017 meant to address diversity

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News

'There has never been anything like this before': experts split on GG's fate as PCO launches Rideau Hall workplace probe over harassment, bullying claims

BY PETER MAZEREEUW

Two experts in Canadian politics and constitutional law say Gov. Gen. Julie Payette should resign over the allegations of staff harassment at Rideau Hall, but another leading academic and

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News

Former U.S. ambassador to Canada Bruce Heyman and wife Vicki 'working hard' to make Donald Trump 'a footnote in history'

BY ABBAS RANA

Bruce Heyman and his wife Vicki are leading Joe Biden's American Voter Abroad Initiative, and trying to at least double the voter turnout of Americans living in Canada from six to 12 per cent

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The Prime Minister and the Privy Council Office, pictured in Ottawa. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

News

Lewis courts dairy farmers, Sloan attacks WHO as Conservative leadership underdogs burn through cash in late advertising push

BY PETER MAZEREEUW

Underdog candidates Leslyn Lewis and Derek Sloan have begun using paid online ads to promote their campaigns to win the Conservative Party leadership, and have grabbed the atten-

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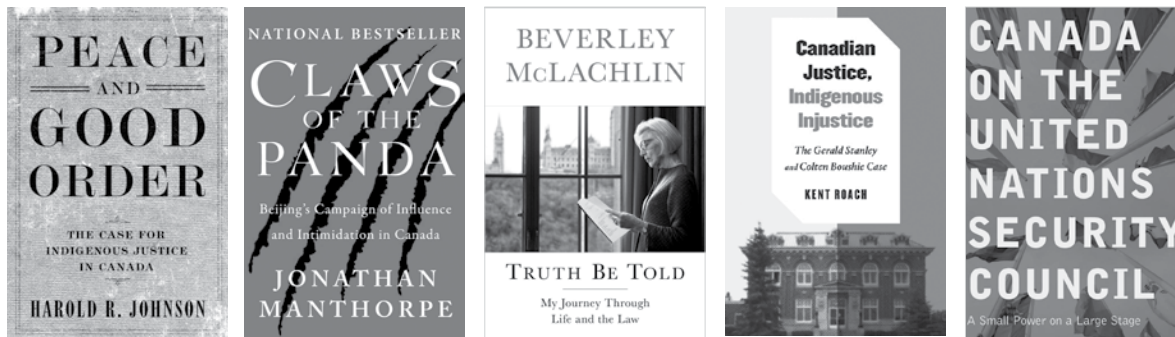
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# HEARD ON THE HILL

by Palak Mangat

## Writers' Trust finalists probe Indigenous injustice, Canada-China relations, Ottawa on international stage



This year's shortlisted books for the Writers' Trust of Canada's Shaughnessy Cohen Prize for Political Writing dive into timely topics like Canada-China relations and Indigenous injustice. The winner taking home the grand prize of \$25,000 will be named at a digital gala in September. Book cover images courtesy of UBC Press, McClelland & Stewart, Cormorant Books, Simon & Schuster Canada, and McGill-Queen's University Press

Five finalists were named last week for the Writers' Trust of Canada's Shaughnessy Cohen Prize for Political Writing, including the first woman chief justice at the Supreme Court of Canada, **Beverley McLachlin**. In her memoir *Truth Be Told: My Journey Through Life and the Law*, Ms. McLachlin chronicles her beginnings as a small-town Alberta girl, to becoming an accomplished lawyer and the longest-serving chief justice of the country's history. "It is essential reading for anyone interested in the intersection of law and politics in Canada," said the jury in a July 29 release of the announcement, adding that the book offers

insight into the court's "personal dynamic and its operations." The four other shortlisted books are: Royal Military College of Canada defence professor **Adam Chapnick** for *Canada on the United Nations Security Council: A Small Power on a Large Stage*; Montreal Lake Cree Nation member and former Crown prosecutor **Harold Johnson** for *Peace and Good Order: The Case for Indigenous Justice in Canada*; foreign correspondent **Jonathan Manthorpe** for *Claws of the Panda: Beijing's Campaign of Influence and Intimidation in Canada*; and University of Toronto law professor **Kent Roach** for *Canadian Justice, Indig-*

*enous Injustice: The Gerald Stanley and Colten Boushie Case*. The announcement comes at a timely moment, particularly in the wake of calls for racial equity for Black and Indigenous people in Canada amid the pandemic, Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau's** failed bid for a UN Security Council seat this year, and increased scrutiny of the relations between his government and China. Each finalist receives \$2,500 and vies for the grand prize of \$25,000. The winner will be chosen on Sept. 23 at a digital gala, and will be chosen by a jury that includes the late **Greg Donaghy**, *HuffPost Canada's* **Althia Raj**, and Independent Senator **Paula Simons**.



Late Green Party policy director Angela Rickman, left, is pictured with then-environment commissioner Julie Gelfand in March 2018. Photograph courtesy of Rickman's Twitter

### Greens honour late staffer with Angela Rickman Memorial Award, 'the rarest of people'

The Green Party of Canada announced last week that it will set up an award to honour the party's late policy director through the **Angela Rickman Memorial Award**. The motion was passed unanimously at the party's federal council meeting on July 26, to recognize the environmentalist who worked in the offices of former NDP MPs **Linda Duncan** and **Ian Waddell**, with the Sierra Club of Canada, and a host of environmental NGOs during her time. Green parliamentary leader **Elizabeth May** called Rickman "the rarest of people" in

a release announcing the award, adding "she was hard-working, and yet brought a spirit of mischief and fun to work."

Ms. May's days with Rickman date back to their time working with the Sierra Club of Canada, and most recently, in the 2019 election, when she helped the party draft its official platform. Before working for the Greens, Rickman worked in the NDP leader's office on the Hill from 2011 to 2018, mainly under the tenure of **Tom Mulcair's** leadership. Rickman died on July 17 at the age of 56 from ALS. The award will be presented at each biennial general meeting to a member "who, like Angela, has made significant contributions to Green policy development," the release added.

### New book details inner workings of whips

Toeing the party line and balancing party expectations while representing constituents is no doubt a difficult task for even the most experienced Hillites, and a

new book to be released in the fall dives into these sometimes competing interests. Authored by Memorial University of Newfoundland political science professor **Alex Marland**, who in the past has edited *Inside the Campaign: Managing Elections in Canada*, the book logs "the good, the bad, and the ugly of party disci-

pline" at the federal and provincial level, a July 29 release noted.

Before the pandemic gripped much of the country and sent many MPs back into their ridings, Chief Government Whip **Mark Holland** told *The Hill Times* this year he hopes to "operate on a basis of having no surprises," especially as a

### Conservative leadership candidates Lewis, MacKay pull out of True North's televised debate

Conservative leadership hopefuls **Leslyn Lewis** and **Peter MacKay** dropped out of the Independent Press Gallery of Canada's leadership debate last week, hours before it was scheduled to happen on July 29. Ms. Lewis said that her doctor had ordered her to stay home because of an ear infection and fever (she has tested negative for COVID-19), and shortly after, Mr. MacKay's team said it would not be taking part in a debate "where she is not present," in order "to be fair to all." In a release just after 4 p.m. that day, the group wrote that it would move ahead with the event that was scheduled for 7 p.m., but instead opted for a "fireside chat" with the remaining two participants, **Derek Sloan** and **Erin O'Toole**. "We will be speaking with the candidates who have gone to great length and expense to come in to talk about their ideas," the release said. **Candice Malcolm**, a conservative columnist who heads the group and hosted the event with moderator **Andrew Lawton** of True North, took a shot at Mr. MacKay for "abandoning" and requesting the event be postponed. "He lives in Toronto, he is here in Toronto right now. But he has chosen to abandon tonight's debate," she said, noting it is difficult to change logistics like hotel bar rentals, technical crew, and journalists who "had already flown in from all over the country to cover this event."

"We're not the CBC, we don't have billions of dollars to waste, just to do this all again next week,"



Conservative columnist Candice Malcolm, pictured during the Independent Press Gallery of Canada's July 29 event, said Peter MacKay 'abandoned' what was supposed to be a Conservative leadership debate after Leslyn Lewis dropped out for health reasons. Photograph courtesy of True North's YouTube

she said before the chats began. "Leadership is about resiliency, courage, and trust. Voters can judge for themselves what they think of Peter MacKay's last-minute decision to renege on his commitment." The group bills itself as "an alternative to the government-influenced Parliamentary Press Gallery," and Ms. Malcolm added that it was "putting forward the tough questions that are important to Conservative members and not the irrelevant issues obsessed upon by the mainstream media." Among the topics Mr. Lawton probed the two leadership candidates about were free speech, party and caucus unity, free trade, and immigration. The party will name its leader Aug. 21, and the event is available online.

### Wente named head of Canada Council for the Arts, first Indigenous person to chair Canadian Heritage portfolio

Former CBC Radio *Metro Morning* columnist **Jesse Wente** was named president of the Canada Council for the Arts last week by Heritage Minister **Steven Guilbeault** for a five-year term. An Ojibwe of the Serpent River First Nation, Mr. Wente has long been an advocate for Indigenous art and has in the past worked with the Toronto International Film Festival. Other accolades include being the first winner of the Reel Activist Award from the Reelworld Film Festival and the first director of the Indigenous Screen Office.

The council promotes art by investing in grants and services for artists and art groups focused on music, theatre, visual arts, and dance, among others. "Arts and culture play a decisive role in our living together. These areas have a unifying effect. They stimulate our creativity and imagination, and increase the general well-being of individuals and communities," the minister said in a July 28 release. With the announce-



Jesse Wente, former CBC radio *Metro Morning* columnist, was named president of the Canada Council for the Arts last week. Photograph courtesy of Facebook

ment, Mr. Wente becomes the first Indigenous person to act as chair of a Canadian Heritage portfolio, which includes 16 agencies. "I want to acknowledge everyone who has reached out today. It's deeply appreciated. I hope to live up to the faith and trust you have placed in me. Chi miigwetch!" tweeted Mr. Wente in response to the news.

minority Parliament calls for fewer shenanigans and, as NDP House Leader **Peter Julian** said, makes communication between parties "sacrosanct." Since then, we've seen MPs like Conservative **Scott Reid** and Liberal **Nate Erskine-Smith** defy their respective parties' whips and not hold back on criticizing

their own parties. *Whipped: Party Discipline in Canada*, hits shelves on Sept. 15, days before the House is scheduled to return on Sept. 21. It draws on 131 interviews with politicians and staffers of all stripes, including Ms. May, **Brian Mulroney**, **Bob Rae**, **Gilles Duceppe**, and **Michael Ignatieff**.

# PM's 'Tiger Team' meant to address diversity, inclusion in Canada's national intelligence and security community hasn't met since 2018

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and inclusion issues hasn't met since July 2018.

In their lengthy 2019 annual report, which was tabled in Parliament only a few days before the nation-wide COVID-19 lockdown began in March, the National Security and Intelligence Committee of Parliamentarians, composed of 11 MPs and Senators and chaired by Liberal MP David McGuinty (Ottawa South, Ont.), focused considerable attention on the issue of diversity and inclusion in the security and intelligence community.

The review was conducted for several reasons, according to the report, most importantly because "challenges to increasing diversity and inclusion persist in the security and intelligence community even after decades of legislation, multiple reports and repeated calls for change."

"These issues are particularly important for organizations responsible for protecting the national security of Canada and the rights and freedoms of Canadians."

The report also notes that the "Tiger Team" established in 2017, created "with the stated aim of 'exploring, advancing and implementing joint efforts to learn from one another and share best practices to enhance diversity and inclusion within and across [their] organizations through a variety of activities and initiatives,'" has not met since July 2018.

In January 2017, the leaders of the Canadian Armed Forces, the Canadian Coast Guard, Canadian Border Services Agency, CSIS, Canadian Security Establishment, Department of National Defense and the RCMP established the Tiger Team.

National security expert Wesley Wark, a professor at the University of Ottawa, told *The Hill Times* that the initiative to create a Tiger Team was a product of a push by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) in late 2016, and because of a meeting Mr. Trudeau requested with the heads of agencies in the security and intelligence community as well as with the Privy Council Office.

"Sadly, the tigers seem ultimately to have gone to sleep," according to Prof. Wark's April 2020 working paper addressing the NSICOP's findings. "It is time, perhaps, for the prime minister to crack the whip again."

"This kind of Tiger Team concept moved into the lane of deliverology, in the sense that it was overseen by the deputy secretary to the cabinet, but I'm not sure that was the original idea—that's just where it ended up in terms of maintaining some momentum and producing reports for a period of time," according to Prof. Wark in an interview with *The Hill Times*.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured on July 16, 2020, at a press conference on the Hill. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

When it comes to the specifics of diversity and inclusion in the security and intelligence community, it was "probably a mistake to move it into that lane or allow it to be moved into that lane," said Prof. Wark.

"If an initiative of this kind was going to be sustained and picked up by all the different elements of the security and intelligence community, it needed to be overseen by senior leadership in the PCO [outside] of the deliverology mechanism," said Prof. Wark. "In other words, it should have been taken up as a priority by the national and security and intelligence advisor, and it's that senior officer in PCO who would have the power and clout to really make sure that something significant happened in this way."

"I don't understand why the national security and intelligence adviser himself did not take this up, and the committee of parliamentarians notes that although it doesn't attach any explicit criticism to this, the whole Tiger Team effort obviously just faded away all together after a period of time," said Prof. Wark.

The deputy secretary to the cabinet resides within the PCO, underneath the Clerk, and the national security and intelligence advisor is a very senior deputy minister position that ranks almost as an equivalent position to the clerk of the Privy Council, according to Prof. Wark.

According to PCO spokesperson Pierre-Alain Bujold, the work of the Tiger Team is ongoing, and currently chaired by the Department of National Defense (DND).

"The Government of Canada appreciates the work undertaken by [NSICOP]," according to Mr. Bujold, [and] sees diversity and inclusion as an important means to making its national security and intelligence community even more effective in protecting Canadians," according to Mr. Bujold in an emailed statement to *The Hill Times*.

"We have been working for a number of years to improve diversity and inclusion in the security and intelligence community. This is critical, not just in terms of better representing Canadian communities, but in making security and intelligence agencies more effective at doing their job."

Mr. McGuinty, the committee's chair, was not available for an interview, but in an emailed statement to *The Hill Times*, the executive director of the committee, Rennie Marcoux, wrote that although the report did not make any findings or recommendations as to the national security and intelligence adviser's role within the Tiger Team, the committee recognizes the merit of the community approach to address diversity and inclusion issues—and that its recommendations reinforce the value of the coordinated effort.

"The security and intelligence community is best placed to determine which individual or office is best suited to lead or direct this work," according to Ms. Marcoux.

In its conclusions, the report notes that "building diverse and inclusive workforces is essential to the effectiveness of the security and intelligence community."

When asked to expand, Ms. Marcoux noted that in addition to the "well-documented" benefits of a diverse workplace and inclusive workforce across a large body of research, as well as the committee's belief that Canada's public service should reflect the population it serves, "a more diverse workforce ensures that organizations are benefitting from the broad range of perspectives and talent that Canada has to offer."

"Finally, the committee notes that diversity is particularly important inside security and intelligence organizations because it allows them to leverage language skills, community contacts and cultural competencies, and protects against groupthink mindsets that permeate more homogeneous organizations," according to Ms. Marcoux.

Tim McSorley, national coordinator with the International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group, told *The Hill Times* that "there needs to be a level of accountability and transparency in terms of what the words on paper mean."

"I think a big question is that we see, year-after-year, whether it's three-year plans or five-year plans are in line with Treasury Board recommendations, it seems like there's a plan and then the next plan seems to repeat very similar issues around the importance of lowering barriers [around] increasing diversity and inclusion within these organizations," said Mr. McSorley. "While it does seem that the numbers have gotten slightly better over the last 10 or 11 years, it doesn't seem like anything new is coming out, it seems that it remains the same question each time a new plan is put together."

"So what are they doing on the ground to actually change and to increase diversity and inclusion in the security and intelligence community," said Mr. McSorley. "Who is accountable if they don't meet those goals, and what kind of consequences are there?"

When asked about the Tiger Team, Mr. McSorley said that looking at some of the critiques within the report, the fact that it was composed solely of members from HR departments was part of the problem.

According to the report, the committee noted several shortcomings with this initiative, including the lack of specific objectives for diversity and inclusion as well as the development of a performance measurement framework to assess the success of its initiatives.

"The representatives from each organization were all from human resources departments and organizations did not seek out members of employment equity groups for membership or participation

on the Tiger Team," according to the report. "[Throughout] its discussions, the Tiger Team focused on short-term initiatives without considering systemic challenges raised in various organization-specific studies or class-action lawsuits (the CAF and the RCMP), such as workplace culture and discrimination."

The Abella Commission, which led to the creation of the Employment Equity Act, unfolded in 1984, said Noa Mendelsohn Aviv, director of the equality program at the Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

"The first Employment Equity Act was in 1986. The current [act] is 25 years old, and that act calls for serious accountability measures, serious long-term and short-term goal setting, serious monitoring and reviews for organization accountability," said Ms. Aviv.

"So we always need to be optimistic and hopeful and try to move things forward, but we've also been working on these issues for a very long time," said Ms. Aviv. "There are clear obligations there, obligations that, according to this report, have simply not been met."

Ms. Aviv said she believes that there is a notion that things are getting better, that they get better on their own, and that patience is required to change organizational culture.

"But if you actually look at the trajectory and the amount of time that's passed, and the amount of harm that's been done to people in these organizations, and the ill-effect it's having on the effectiveness of the organizations themselves, then you understand that things won't change on their own," said Ms. Aviv.

According to RCMP spokesperson Catherine Fortin, the RCMP has implemented a number of initiatives to increase the ratio of women, visible minorities, and Indigenous people within their ranks, with objectives to include 30 per cent women, 20 per cent of people from visible minority groups, and 10 per cent Indigenous people.

"We intend to reach these goals through a targeted approach to recruiting, using advertising and marketing to position the RCMP as the employer of choice to people who may not have considered a career in policing," according to Ms. Fortin. "The RCMP is committed to inclusiveness and diversity of all types within the organization. We believe that the more diverse we are when it comes to gender, ethnic background, religion or sexual orientation, the better we are able to serve all Canadians."

According to DND spokesperson Major T.A. Smyth, "DND and the CAF place unprecedented emphasis on ensuring diversity and gender equality in military human resource management as part of efforts to strengthen the operational force and to position DND and the CAF as inclusive organizations. Diversity is viewed as a source of strength and flexibility to build the capacity of the CAF and the civilian workforce."

"DND and the CAF are working with other government departments as a community and considering the findings and recommendations of this report to inform future decision making," according to Mr. Smyth.

mlapointe@hilltimes.com  
*The Hill Times*

## News

# Lewis courts dairy farmers, Sloan attacks WHO as Conservative leadership underdogs burn through cash in late advertising push

Leslyn Lewis and Derek Sloan spent roughly \$20,000 in a week on a last-minute bid to shore up support, while Erin O'Toole's campaign slowed its online ad spending to a trickle.

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tion of hundreds of thousands of Canadians as the party's election date draws near, while front-runners Peter MacKay and Erin O'Toole appear to have shifted their focus to getting out the vote.

Each campaign has run targeted ads on Facebook over the last month. Unlike regular posts, Facebook ads are inserted into the feeds of Facebook users as they browse their accounts—they do not have to visit the candidate's page to see the ads.

Many of the leadership campaigns' ads have been tailored around particular issues, or for audiences the campaigns hope to win over before the Aug. 21 deadline for mail-in ballots, when the next leader of the Conservative Party will be decided.

Facebook has become a key advertising platform for political campaigns in Canada over the last several years, according to digital campaign strategists. The platform is still widely used by Canadians, and gives advertisers the ability to show a variety of simple ads to

different groups of Facebook users who fit a desired profile, at a relatively low cost. That means political campaigns can try to reel in supporters or donors by showing them an ad the campaign thinks will resonate the most with them.

Through its ad library, Facebook also gives observers a better look than other advertising platforms at the different ads each political campaign is running, approximately how much money was spent on each, and how many people they reached.

## MacKay has outspent all rivals combined during campaign

A recent Maru/Blue online opinion poll commissioned by *The National Post* suggested that Mr. MacKay is the front-runner in the Conservative leadership race, with 55 per cent of respondents suggesting that they would put Mr. MacKay at the top of their ballot, versus 25 per cent for Mr. O'Toole (Durham, Ont.), 11 per cent for Ms. Lewis, and 11 per cent for Mr. Sloan (Hastings—Lennox and Addington, Ont.)

The Conservative leadership election is not determined by a popular vote, however, but by winning the most votes from party members in a majority of Canada's federal ridings.

Mr. MacKay has spent \$222,000 on targeted Facebook ads to promote his campaign as of July 28, significantly more than the other candidates. As of July 28, Mr. O'Toole's campaign had spent a total of nearly \$109,000 on those ads; Mr. Sloan's campaign had spent just shy of \$59,000, and Leslyn Lewis's campaign had spent roughly \$37,000. Mr. O'Toole and Mr. MacKay have been running ads on Facebook for months, but Mr. Sloan and Ms. Lewis only began doing so in June.

The free posts and paid ads on Facebook from Mr. O'Toole's campaign have generated the most activity from viewers among the campaigns: according to Facebook statistics, Mr. O'Toole's campaign page had generated roughly 403,000 reactions, comments, and shares in the week leading up to July 30. Mr. O'Toole's campaign ads and other posts have been regularly re-posted on the Facebook pages and websites associated with Canada Proud and Ontario Proud,

a right-wing political media organization run by Jeff Ballingall, who is also working as the digital director for Mr. O'Toole's campaign.

Mr. Sloan's campaign page had generated the next-most activity over the same period of time—roughly 329,000 engagements—followed by Ms. Lewis's campaign, with 171,000, and Mr. MacKay's page, with 101,000.

However, engagement on Facebook is not necessarily a measure

eyes on the prize. I think Leslyn Lewis is really pushing hard and doing a good job," said Mr. Tester. "It's a late push, but it's the right time to spend the money."

In contrast, Mr. O'Toole's campaign has slowed its spending on Facebook ads recently, which Mr. Tester said was "bizarre" this late in the campaign.

Spokespeople from the O'Toole and MacKay campaigns declined to be interviewed about their digital

## Lewis, Sloan campaigns spent 20k on ads in a week

Mr. Sloan's campaign had spent nearly \$19,000 on Facebook ads in the week leading up to July 28, roughly a third of its \$58,000 Facebook advertising total for the campaign. Ms. Lewis' campaign had spent nearly \$21,000 over the same week, more than half of its \$37,000 total for the campaign. By comparison, Mr. MacKay's cam-

**Dr. Leslyn Lewis**  
Sponsored • Paid for by Leslyn Lewis Campaign  
ID: 398689524445206

As Prime Minister, I will not let our dairy farmers be treated as a bargaining chip anymore. Our country needs reliable food security and that means ensuring the future stability of our farmers.  
[https://www.leslynlewis.ca/standing\\_up\\_for\\_dairy\\_farmers](https://www.leslynlewis.ca/standing_up_for_dairy_farmers)

**Standing up for Dairy Farmers**

**LESLYN LEWIS**  
COURAGE · COMPASSION · COMMON SENSE

[LESLYNLEWIS.CA](#)  
Standing up for Dairy Farmers  
Trade with other countries is a good thing when done correctly.  
Which means it brings economic opportunities for our...

**About the disclaimer**  
When an advertiser categorizes their ad as being about social issues, elections or politics, they are required to disclose who paid for the ad. [Learn more](#)

### Data About This Ad

This data only updates as long as the ad is active

Inactive

Jul 22, 2020 - Jul 27, 2020

ID: 398689524445206

Amount spent (CAD): CA\$900 - CA\$999

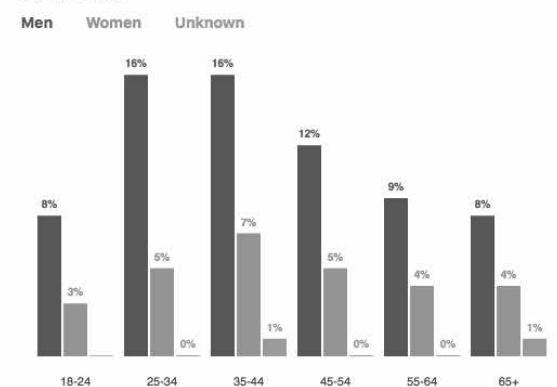
Potential Reach: 1K - 5K people

Impressions: 30K - 35K

### Who Was Shown This Ad

These values are estimated.

#### Age and Gender



Underdog candidate Leslyn Lewis ran one ad appealing to dairy farmers, who helped outgoing leader Andrew Scheer to win his leadership campaign in 2017. *Screengrab of Facebook's ad library*

of success in the closing days of a political campaign, said Dean Tester, the president of Tester Digital, who has done digital campaign work for several provincial parties and high-profile political leaders, and previously worked on Maxime Bernier's 2017 Conservative Party leadership campaign.

Many of the Facebook ads run by the O'Toole and Sloan campaigns in particular appear to be designed to entice people to "like," comment, or share the post or the candidate's Facebook page, and not to persuade a viewer to vote for their candidate, said Mr. Tester, who is not supporting any of the candidates in this race.

"It's all attacking Justin Trudeau. Attacking China. It's very click-bait. It's not, 'here's my plan, here's why you should vote for me,'" he said, describing some of the O'Toole campaign's ads.

Other O'Toole ads pitch the MP as the only candidate ready to lead the party in the House of Commons, and those better fit the profile of a "persuasion" ad more typical of the late stages of a campaign, said Mr. Tester.

"I think Peter [MacKay] is doing the best job of keeping his

advertising strategies, but both told *The Hill Times* that they were focused now on getting out the vote.

One MacKay campaign ad viewed several thousand times simply showed a photo of Mr. MacKay under text that said, "I will be Canada's jobs prime minister." Another ad focused on racism, including the text, "We need to listen, and acknowledge that systemic racism exists in Canada," and showing a video of Mr. MacKay speaking on that topic during the English-language Conservative leadership debate in June.

Another ad included the text "uniting Canadians," along with a video clip from the debate showing Mr. MacKay speaking about divisions in the country between "regions, people, [and] places."

Mr. MacKay's campaign has also run online ads recently promising to repeal the Liberal government's gun control legislation brought in through Bill C-71, and an ad promising to support the energy sector that was viewed more than 40,000 times. He ran most of his ads in French as well.

campaign spent just more than \$6,500 during that week, and Mr. O'Toole's spent less than \$1,700.

Ms. Lewis's campaign began running ads on Facebook in mid-June. Early ads promoted some of her interviews with the press, took a stance against human trafficking, and vowed she would overhaul the long-term care sector.

More recent ads include a video viewed more than 100,000 times in which Ms. Lewis makes a case for herself as the best option to defeat the Liberals in an election, in part because of her credibility on environmental issues—she holds a masters degree in environmental studies—and because she can bring new people into the party, including those in urban areas. Another ad is aimed at social conservatives; in others, she promises to stand up for gun owners, and parental rights. She has also released several ads in French.

Another English language ad released primarily in Quebec included a promise to stand up for dairy farmers. The ad was viewed more than 30,000 times. Outgo-

**Peter MacKay**  
Sponsored • Paid for by Peter MacKay  
ID: 30963236070291

We need to listen, and acknowledge that systemic racism exists in Canada.

**ACKNOWLEDGING AND FIGHTING SYSTEMIC RACISM IN CANADA**

**PETER MACKAY**

How we can fight racism in Canada. [Learn More](#)

Peter MacKay is promoting himself as the Conservative candidate ready to tackle racism in Canada. *Screengrab from Facebook's ad library*

Continued on page 5



Derek Sloan, left, Leslyn Lewis, Erin O'Toole, and Peter MacKay are making a final push to rally their supporters ahead of the Aug. 21 deadline for Conservative Party members to send in ballots to decide which of the four will be the next leader of the Conservative Party of Canada. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade, file photograph, and photographs courtesy of Twitter and Facebook

minister Stephen Harper's cabinet. Mr. O'Toole's father, John, was also a politician, and represented the same riding at the provincial level for 19 years.

Mr. O'Toole's ads do not acknowledge his competitors in the leadership election by name. They focus on Mr. O'Toole and Mr. Trudeau, casting the aspiring Conservative leader as the best option to lead the opposition against the prime minister now.

In one ad, Mr. O'Toole says a federal election is likely within the next six months. "We don't have time to miss holding them to account in the House of Commons. We don't have time for leaders to find their footing over several years and learn how to lead. We need somebody that can fight in both languages," says Mr. O'Toole in one ad.

Mr. MacKay does not currently hold a seat in the House of Commons. He did not run for re-election in 2015, after winning six consecutive elections in Nova Scotia, and serving in several high-profile cabinet posts under prime minister Stephen Harper.

In another ad, Mr. O'Toole promises to "strengthen the bond between India and Canada" if he is elected party leader and, subsequently, prime minister.

"India is a natural partner and ally in our fight against Chinese Communist Party aggression," says the ad, which features a video of Mr. O'Toole speaking into the camera along with two South Asian men he identifies as "Subhash and Raman." In the video, Raman implores party members to vote for Mr. O'Toole, calls China a

Continued from page 4

ing Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask.) famously courted support from Quebec dairy farmers with tenuous connections to the party during the last leadership campaign, in which he narrowly defeated challenger Maxime Bernier.

Mr. Sloan has run a variety of ads since June that cast him as an opponent of the Paris Agreement on climate change and the World Health Organization. Those ads have collectively been viewed several hundred thousand times.

Mr. Tester said Mr. Sloan's ads appear to be designed to entice viewers to "like" his campaign's Facebook page—and little else.

"They're clearly designed to drive up that vanity metric," he said.

The digital side of Mr. MacKay's campaign is being run by Emrys Graefe, who filled that same role for Maxime Bernier during the 2017 Conservative leadership contest. Ms. Lewis's campaign Facebook page is being managed by Intercede Communications, a company run by her campaign manager, Steve Outhouse. Mr. Sloan's campaign manager is Paula Iturri.

### O'Toole ad takes aim at 'radical' BLM vandalism

Since mid-July, the O'Toole campaign has released online ads targeting viewers in Quebec, and others with messages aimed at social conservatives, Indo-Canadians, and Hong Kong and Taiwanese Canadians.

One of Mr. O'Toole's French-language ads also positioned him as an opponent of Black Lives Matter activists who had spray painted slogans on historical statues. The text-based ad, which ran on Facebook between July 19 and 22 that was viewed more than 6,000 times, showed a statue of Sir John A. Macdonald in Toronto that had been covered in paint and slogans by activists in the Black Lives Matter movement. It promised that Mr. O'Toole would "take Canada back from the radicals."

"Are you tired of Canadian history being disfigured and erased? Me too," said the ad.

*The Hill Times* asked the O'Toole campaign to confirm Mr. O'Toole's position on the Black Lives Matter movement. Press secretary Chelsea Tucker responded with a state-

ment, part of which said, "The BLM movement has put a spotlight on inequalities and injustices that exist in Canada—but vandalism doesn't solve these issues. We need a leader willing to make meaningful changes to better the life of all Canadians." She said the use of the term "radicals" referred to "Justin Trudeau and his team of radical ideologues."

In another French-language ad, Mr. O'Toole promises to shut down illegal border crossings and close the loophole in the Safe Third Country Agreement between Canada and the United States that allows people to make a claim for refugee status in Canada after entering the country between official border crossings.

Another more widely circulated English-language ad shows a speech by Mr. O'Toole in which he casts himself as an everyman, and Mr. Trudeau as a celebrity. "I don't think I was born with the right to serve as our country's leader, I believe that I have lived a life of service to our country to earn it," he says in the ad.

Mr. O'Toole served as an air navigator in the Royal Canadian Air Force, spending 12 years in the RCAF and RCAF Reserve before moving on to a decade-long career as a corporate lawyer. In 2012 he began his political career, winning the first of three consecutive elections to serve as the MP for Durham, Ont., and later serving as a veterans affairs minister in prime

Erin O'Toole  
Sponsored • Paid for by Erin O'Toole  
ID: 895539670973081

Un autre jour, une autre partie de l'histoire du Canada défigurée. Cela s'est produit à Queen's Park à Toronto ce matin.

Assez, c'est assez. Il est temps de reprendre le Canada des mains des radicaux et des politiciens faibles qui les laissent faire.

Je serai prêt dès le premier jour...

**VOUS EN AVEZ ASSEZ QUE L'HISTOIRE DU CANADA SOIT DÉFIGURÉE ET EFFACÉE? MOI AUSSI**

The O'Toole campaign has run ads in Quebec focused on vandalism from Black Lives Matter protesters and asylum seekers crossing the border at Roxham Road. *Screengrab of Facebook's ad library*

country "full of human rights violations," and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi—who has been accused in lawsuits and reports from Human Rights Watch of facilitating human rights violations in Kashmir and his home province, Gujarat—a "man of action." The ad was viewed on Facebook more than 10,000 times.

peter@hilltimes.com  
@PJMazereeuw  
The Hill Times

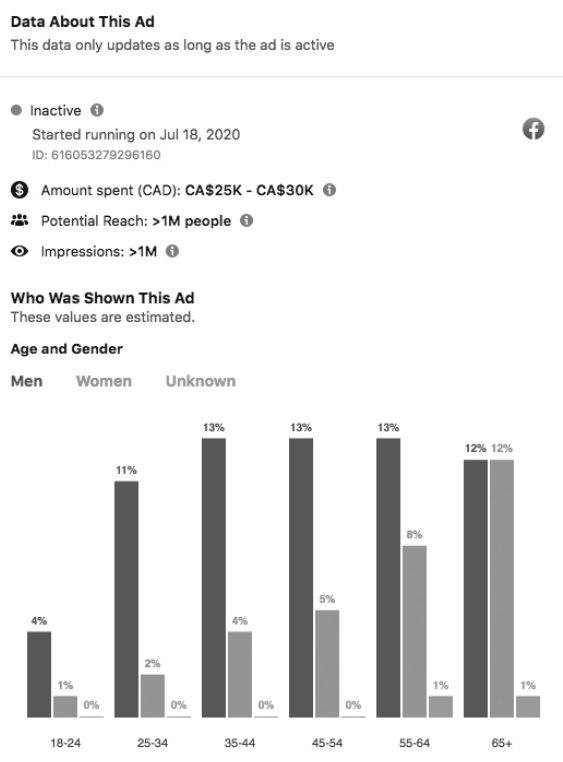
Derek Sloan For Conservative Leader  
Sponsored • Paid for by Derek Sloan Leadership Campaign  
ID: 616053279296160

NO more CARBON TAXES! NO to PARIS! Please click on the "THUMBS UP" symbol just below Derek's photo, on the right!

Derek Sloan For Conservative Leader  
Political Candidate  
45,400 people like this

About the disclaimer  
When an advertiser categorizes their ad as being about social issues, elections or politics, they are required to disclose who paid for the ad. Learn more

Information from the advertiser



Derek Sloan has run several ads highlighting his opposition to the Paris climate change agreement, and the World Health Organization. *Screengrab of Facebook's ad library*

# Trudeau should hire a 'director of ethics and oversight' to vet potential conflicts, break 'serial pattern' of ethics lapses, say pollsters

Justin Trudeau's Liberals should ensure they don't end up in anymore ethical controversies, as these scandals lead people to think that it is 'time for change,' says Innovative Research president Greg Lyle.

Continued from page 1

that have plagued Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Liberal government since it won power in 2015, say two veteran political pollsters.

"It's really critical that they up their game on the aggressive vetting, potential conflicts, both in Morneau's office and Trudeau's office and probably more generally ministers' offices," said Innovative Research president Greg Lyle in an interview with *The Hill Times*. "If they don't do that, then these things are going to keep coming back."

Pollster Frank Graves of Ekos Research said the Trudeau Liberals earned an enormous amount of goodwill from Canadians by effectively handling the COVID-19 pandemic. But, he said, with one mistake they have lost a significant chunk of that political capital. Mr. Graves said this mistake is reminding Canadians once again about all the ethical missteps, and other unforced errors the government has run into since 2015.

"All of a sudden, it's [all of the political capital] just been kind of squandered on the altar of another controversy or ethics scandal, and it's sloppy, it's bad judgment, and it's a serial pattern," said Mr. Graves, president of Ekos Research, in an interview with *The Hill Times*. "This is not the first time there's been [a controversy]; this is the third time. So they have to have a hard, long look at their office, you know, and say, 'What are the gaps here?' ... Maybe they need a director of ethics and oversight in their own office."

Mr. Graves suggested that the person should have the experience, stature, and profile to raise red flags about potential conflicts of interest without worrying about any consequences from the prime minister. As an example, he said, former public safety minister and a veteran Saskatchewan Liberal Ralph Goodale, or any of the former auditor generals would be good candidates for this position.

The WE Charity controversy is the third major ethics controversy that Mr. Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) has run into since first forming government. Before this, he broke ethics laws when he, his family, and some of their close friends



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Liberals are losing their political capital because of the WE Charity scandal. Political insiders say the prime minister should bring a senior staffer into his PMO who could 'speak truth to power' and warn Liberals about any potential conflict-of-interest issues going forward. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

vacationed at the Aga Khan's private island in the Caribbean; and later in the SNC-Lavalin scandal, when he tried to interfere in the criminal prosecution of the Montreal-based construction firm. Last month, former ethics commissioner Mary Dawson—who found Mr. Trudeau in violation of the Conflict of Interest Act for the Caribbean vacation—told CBC that Mr. Trudeau seems to have a "blind spot" on ethical issues.

Right after forming government in 2015, Gerald Butts, the then-principal secretary to Mr. Trudeau and his best friend, and Katie Telford, chief of staff to the prime minister, landed in hot water for claiming about \$210,000 of expenses for moving from Toronto to Ottawa to take their jobs in the PMO. Later, both returned a total of \$65,000 to the government, accepting the initial claim to be "unreasonable."

In 2017, CBC reported that Finance Minister Bill Morneau (Toronto Centre, Ont.) had failed to declare to the ethics commissioner his private corporation that owns a chateau in France.

The WE Charity scandal involves a now cancelled, untended \$500-million contract to manage the federal government's student grant volunteer program, which was initially awarded to the charity. The total amount of the program was \$900-million, but the WE Charity could have given away \$500-million in grants to students. If the contract had not been cancelled, the charity would have received about \$43.5-million to administer it. Opposition MPs are alleging that Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Morneau were in a conflict of interest, as both participated in the cabinet meeting that approved the contract, instead of recusing themselves. Ethics Commissioner Mario Dion is investigating both Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Morneau for possible ethics violations in relation to the program.

The Trudeau family has close ties to the charity: Mr. Trudeau has volunteered for it in the past, his mother Margaret and brother Alexandre have received more

than \$300,000 over the years in speaking fees for WE Charity events. Sophie Grégoire Trudeau, the prime minister's wife, is an official ambassador for the charity and hosts a podcast for it. Ms. Grégoire Trudeau received a \$1,500 honorarium for hosting a WE Charity event in 2012. In addition, the Trudeaus have been paid \$200,000 in expenses to attend the charity's events.

Mr. Morneau did not recuse himself from cabinet discussions about the student grant contract, despite the fact that two of his daughters have been directly involved with the charity, one as a contractual employee. He told the House Finance Committee two weeks ago that his family has donated \$100,000 to the charity in the last two years and has recently paid back \$41,366 for their family trips to Kenya and Ecuador to learn about WE projects overseas. The payment for trips was made the same day he appeared before the committee on July 22. The opposition parties are calling for Mr. Morneau's resignation because he did not pay back the trip money until the day he appeared before the House Finance Committee.

On July 21, Privy Council Clerk Ian Shugart told the House Finance Committee that Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Morneau had no option but to be present during the cabinet discussions on the contract because of its size and significance.

Citing cabinet confidentiality, all cabinet ministers have refused to say whether they raised any objections to the presence of the prime minister and finance minister in the room when the cabinet discussed the program. By print time last week, Finance Minister Francois-Philippe Champagne (Saint Maurice-Champlain, Que.) had been the only cabinet ministers who said that he did not know if the Trudeaus or the Morneaus had close family ties to the charity.

Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.) told reporters on July 16 that "everyone in cabinet" bears responsibility for the WE Charity controversy and

that Prime Minister Trudeau has her "complete confidence."

In his defence, Mr. Trudeau has apologized for not recusing himself from cabinet discussions on the issue. In his appearance before the Finance Committee last week, he pointed out that the public service told cabinet that the WE Charity was the only organization that could run this program effectively without any delay. Mr. Trudeau said that when he learned about this, he asked the public service to do "further due diligence" because his family's connections with the charity were known, and he suspected that critics could raise objections to this contract. Still, he said, the public service came back with the same recommendation. Mr. Trudeau insisted that WE Charity did not receive any preferential treatment.

"This proposal mattered to me and, instead of encouraging it along, as some people say, because it was somehow connected to my family, I actually slowed it down, pushed back on it, to try and make sure that everything was done exactly right," Mr. Trudeau said. "Because I knew there would be questions asked because of the links to the family."

"But in no way was this benefiting my mother or my brother, to be creating a grant program for students to volunteer in their communities right across the country."

Up until the WE scandal became public last month, all national public opinion polls had suggested that the Liberals were enjoying a double-digit lead over the second place Conservatives, and would win a majority government if an election were to be held then. But, now the lead has been shrunk to single digits.

According to a poll by Ekos research released last week, the Liberals had the support of 34.7 per cent of Canadians, the Conservatives 30 per cent, the NDP 15.2 per cent, and the Green Party had the support of 7.6 per cent of Canadians. Only a month ago, the Liberals enjoyed a lead of 11 points, which now has been reduced to only five. The poll also suggested that 52 per cent of Canadians think that managing COVID-19 should be

the most important priority for the government, 19 per cent said that ensuring accountability and transparency, 17 per cent chose growing the economy, and 12 per cent said reducing the federal deficit should be the government's top priority.

A poll conducted by Abacus Data suggested that the Liberal Party had the support of 34 per cent of Canadians, the Conservatives had the support of 30 per cent, the NDP 17 per cent and the Greens were the choice of six per cent of Canadians.

The poll also found that the government had lost four points in 10 days and 14 points since May. Another finding of the poll indicated that Canadians' negative opinion about Mr. Trudeau were up five points and 14 points since May. The poll suggested that 41 per cent of Canadians had a negative impression of Mr. Trudeau, compared to 39 per cent who had a positive impression.

The online poll of 1,500 Canadians was conducted from July 27 to 29, and had a margin of error of 2.6 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

Prior to becoming prime minister, Mr. Trudeau had built his brand promising to run a clean, transparent, accountable and an ethical government. But, considering the ethical controversies that the Liberals have faced over the years, it appears the government has failed to keep this promise, said Mr. Lyle. He pointed out that former Jean Chrétien cabinet minister David Dingwall explained some of his questionable expenses to a parliamentary committee in 2005 by saying he was "entitled to his entitlements," and Mr. Lyle said it appears that some top Liberals in this government still feel the same way.

"They're looking like they feel entitled to their entitlements, and that is a problem because Trudeau's brand was new and different, real change," said Mr. Lyle. "And 'entitled to my entitlements' is not new and different."

Mr. Lyle said that Liberals need to undertake some initiative to ensure that more of these ethical controversies do not arise, as these are the kind of issues that lead Canadians to think that it's time for change in government. To achieve this, he said, the PMO should bring on a senior top official who could vet all government initiatives before they are rolled out, to ensure they won't raise questions about conflicts of interest. He said that person should be able to "speak truth to power."

"If this trend continues, that's a big problem," said Mr. Lyle. "This is what drives time for a change [sentiment]. And it is an ongoing Liberal weak point. It is not hard to define the Liberals as the party of entitlement because they've been there before. So if there are additional controversies that build on this, or if they can't find a way to shut this one down, it would be an issue."

arana@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times

# Former U.S. ambassador to Canada Bruce Heyman and wife Vicki 'working hard' to make Donald Trump 'a footnote in history'

Bruce Heyman and other former Democratic ambassadors to Canada want the voter turnout of Americans living in Canada to at least double from six to 12 per cent in the November election.

Continued from page 1

in the November election, which the former U.S. ambassador to Canada says will be one of the most important elections in U.S. history.

"In my whole life, I don't recall anyone telling me that an election isn't important," said Mr. Heyman in a telephone interview with *The Hill Times*, last week. "But based on everything that we see going on, there's probably never been a more important election in the United States. And then the question that has to be resolved is, what kind of country do we want to be in going forward? And does Donald Trump represent an aberration or a longer term trend? I'm working hard to make him you know, a footnote in history."

Mr. Heyman, a Democrat who served as the U.S. ambassador to Canada from 2014 to 2017, said he and his wife are working with three former U.S. ambassadors to Canada to encourage an estimated 600,000 Americans living in Canada, the highest number of expatriates living in any country, to vote in November. The other three ambassadors who are involved in the effort include David Jacobson, Gordon Giffin, and James Blanchard. Mr. Giffin and Mr. Blanchard were appointed by Bill Clinton, while Mr. Jacobson and Mr. Heyman by the Barack Obama administration.

In addition to Canada, he said, he's also trying to reach out to millions of American living all over the world to encourage them to vote in the election. Mr. Heyman said this is the first time that a presidential campaign is undertaking a massive effort to seek the support of expatriate Americans. He said former senior Democratic U.S. diplomats are helping him in this initiative.

Mr. Heyman said he's undertaking this effort full time and holds strategy meetings with former ambassadors on a daily basis.



Former U.S. ambassador to Canada Bruce Heyman, left, is working with other former ambassadors to reach out to Americans living abroad to encourage them to vote in the upcoming November presidential election. He and his wife, Vicki Heyman, are 'working hard' to make President Donald Trump 'a footnote' in history, he said. Photograph courtesy of White House and Hill Times file photograph

In 2016 when Donald Trump surprised everyone by winning the election, less than six per cent of Americans living in Canada voted. Now, ideally Mr. Heyman and other ambassadors would like to see the voter turnout triple, or at least double. To achieve this target, they are sending out messages through traditional print and electronic media, social media, and digital campaign tools, to educate and encourage more Americans to vote in the Nov. 3 election.

"We are working with former U.S. ambassadors to Canada to engage their network and to use their voice either through op-eds or Zoom [meetings] or social media etc.," said Mr. Heyman. "We look for more people who are willing to do that and engage. We have engaged in working with Democrats abroad, and working on a digital media campaign that will try to reach as many Americans as possible."

Mr. Heyman said that his initiative to increase the voter turnout of expatriates will be critical in the outcome of the presidential election, as the last election was decided by less than 100,000 votes.

According to the 2016 presidential data analysis, the election was decided by about 77,744 votes in three battleground states, including Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. The analysis indicated that Mr. Trump won Pennsylvania by 44,292 votes, Wisconsin by 22,748 votes and Michigan by 10,704 votes.

This election is happening in the midst of a global pandemic that has health and economic implications for people around the world. According to Johns

Hopkins University, as of Thursday, there were 4.4-million confirmed cases of COVID-19 in the U.S., and about 152,000 Americans had died. On the economic front, the U.S. economy contracted at a 32.9 per cent annual rate in the second quarter, according to the Bureau of Economic Analysis last week, plunging the country into a recession. *The New York Times* reported last week 30 million Americans were receiving unemployment benefits. Making matters more complicated for Mr. Trump are the ongoing nationwide protests against police violence and racism.

According to RealClearPolitics' composite of national polls on July 30, Mr. Biden, the Democratic presidential candidate, had an 8.3 percentage point lead over Mr. Trump.

Mr. Heyman said that the outcome of the U.S. presidential election is critical for Canadians as well as for Americans, since 75 per cent of Canadian exports go to the U.S. Recent media reports that the U.S. is considering imposing tariffs on Canadian metals such as aluminum and steel, Mr. Heyman said, are a serious concern for Canadians and the Canadian government. He said it's odd that such reports would surface, as the two countries just successfully renegotiated the trade agreement, now called United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) which replaced the 25 year old North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The new agreement came into effect on July 1. Mr. Heyman said that the reports about imposing tariffs on

Canadian aluminium and steel when the two countries just renegotiated a trade agreement are unhelpful for U.S. credibility.

He said one of the key tasks of the new U.S. administration would be to win back the trust of its allies, including Canada.

"There are rumours afoot and conversation that the U.S. is considering implementing aluminum tariffs again in Canada," said Mr. Heyman. "Here we are just weeks after agreeing to a new agreement...the break of trust with your partner in the United States, that trust has been broken so many times now, or at least challenged so many times, that the next administration is going to have to work really hard to earn that trust back."

In a media availability, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) also expressed concerns about those reports.

"I think it's really important that at a time of economic strain and stress, we continue to have access to the world's most important market, and this is good for Canadian workers and Canadian jobs right across the country," Mr. Trudeau told reporters last month.

"At the same time, we are concerned about the threat of extra tariffs on aluminum and possibly steel. This is something that again is a little difficult to understand, because the United States relies heavily on imports of Canadian aluminum, in particular, for their domestic manufacturing capacity."

During this effort to increase the voter turnout, Mr. Heyman said, he hasn't talked to any Canadian official, but considering

the high stakes, he would be surprised if they were not monitoring the campaign developments closely.

Without getting into specifics, a PMO spokesman confirmed that top government officials are following the U.S. presidential and Congressional elections.

"We salute our American friends, neighbours, and allies as they head to the polls to exercise their democratic rights and elect their government leaders," said Alex Wellstead, press secretary to Mr. Trudeau. "We remain in close contact with all our foreign service officers and embassies around the world, very much including in the United States. It is normal practice for Canadian embassies to provide general updates on electoral processes."

Michael Wernick, former clerk of the Privy Council, said in an email to *The Hill Times* that then-Canadian ambassador to the U.S. David McNaughton briefed the federal cabinet on possible outcomes of the last U.S. presidential election during an Aug., 2016 cabinet retreat in Sudbury, Ont., when Mr. Wernick was still Canada's top public servant.

During the briefing, Mr. McNaughton discussed different possible scenarios about the election outcome, and what those scenarios meant for Canada, said Mr. Wernick. After the election, Mr. McNaughton did another briefing for top government officials in Ottawa.

The Cabinet committee on Canada-U.S. Relations, Trade Diversification and Internal Trade received briefings from the ambassador during the last presidential election campaign as well, said Mr. Wernick, who retired from public service in 2019.

Greg MacEachern, senior vice president of government relations at Proof Strategies, and a former Hill staffer, said that as a regular practice, Global Affairs Canada, the Privy Council Office, and the Prime Minister's Office would follow the U.S. presidential election. He said that Congressional elections, and state legislature elections especially in bordering states are also important to watch because of the trade relationship between the two countries.

Prof. Lori Turnbull, who is also a former senior PCO official, told *The Hill Times* that officials dealing with the foreign affairs and defence at the Privy Council Office take the lead in monitoring the U.S. elections. She said they would be "agnostic" as to who would win the election and would come up with strategy for dealing with the new administration after the election. New presidents officially take over the executive branch about two and a half months after the election. The gives foreign countries enough time to adjust to the change at the top of the U.S. government.

"They would be agnostic on who wins and once there's a result, there'd be some thought around, like how that would affect the Canada-U.S. relationship," said Prof. Turnbull, director of School of Public Administration at the Dalhousie University in Halifax, N.S.

arana@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times

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## Editorial

### Governor General's Office work environment shouldn't be 'a house of horrors'

According to the CBC's investigative story two weeks ago, Gov. Gen. Julie Payette—who was sworn into office on Oct. 2, 2017, in the Senate as Canada's 29th Governor General—has created such a toxic climate of harassment and verbal abuse at Rideau Hall that many staffers have been reduced to tears, have taken leaves of absence or have left outright what they say is an atmosphere of bullying and harassment. Based on interviews with more than 16 unidentified sources "with direct knowledge of the office under Payette," the CBC reported that Canada's Governor General has "yelled at, belittled, and publicly humiliated employees."

"This has gone from being one of the most collegial and enjoyable work environments for many of the staff to being a house of horrors," one government source told the CBC. "It's bullying and harassment at its worst."

The Privy Council Office is now conducting a workplace investigation and has hired a third party to look into the claims of harassment and verbal abuse in the Governor General's Office. Ms. Payette has not denied the allegations, said she takes harassment issues very seriously, and said she requested an independent review. The Governor General's Office said no formal harassment complaints have been made, but the CBC reported that multiple sources did complain to human resources and to the government's ombudsman, but that nothing happened. According to the government's annual 2018 public service employee survey results, 22 per cent of respondents at Rideau Hall said they have experienced harassment and of those, 74 per cent claimed they were harassed by individuals with authority, the CBC reported.

The CBC also reported last week that the office has hired a former manager of the Cirque du Soleil, as its new chief of staff and special ad-

viser to Gov. Gen. Payette to take over for Lieut.-Col. Marc-Antoine Fecteau who was recalled to help with the Canadian Forces' response to the COVID-19. The Governor General's secretary Assunta Di Lorenzo, a longtime friend of Ms. Payette's, has also been accused of harassing Rideau Hall employees. The CBC reported that Ms. Di Lorenzo is not a seasoned public servant and has been struggling in the post after two years on the job. The government created an entirely new position, associate secretary, and hired Marie-Geneviève Mounier to assist the Governor General's secretary.

Apart from exercising most of the Crown's powers on behalf of the sovereign, including summoning, proroguing, and dissolving Parliament, reading the Speech from the Throne, giving royal assent to laws, the Governor General is also the commander-in-chief of Canada who regularly visits military bases and honours Canadian military personnel. The GG also promotes a "sense of identity," recognizes the achievements of outstanding Canadians, receives foreign dignitaries, travels overseas as the representative of Canada and hosts and takes part in official events. The Office of the Governor General of Canada is "the oldest continuous institution in Canada and is an unbroken link with the early days of our country's recorded history," the Government of Canada says.

While the PCO conducts what it calls a "thorough, independent, and impartial" probe into Rideau Hall, the rest of the country is wondering why the former astronaut can't just do her job without being accused of harassment and bullying, especially right now in this time of crisis when people are looking for real leadership, even in the mostly ceremonial Office of the Governor General of Canada.

## Letters to the Editor

### Canada should invest one per cent of its COVID-19 response in new aid towards global emergency response: Rudolph

It is no secret COVID-19 has placed a frightful burden on already overwhelmed systems, especially in the developing world. For those facing humanitarian emergencies such as famine, conflict, epidemics, natural disasters and fleeing as refugees or displaced persons, COVID-19 has created an untenable situation. This mother-of-all whammies overburdens international humanitarian systems as

developed countries focus on domestic needs, limiting much-needed funding for international emergencies that have become back-page news. That is why Canada needs to invest at least one per cent of its COVID-19 response in new and additional aid towards global emergency response. It continues to be the right thing to do.

**Randy Rudolph**  
 Calgary, Alta.

### How did Morneau forget about \$41,000 trip, asks Calgary reader

It would be understandable if Finance Minister Bill Morneau forgot to repay a \$200 tab for dinner, but one does not "forget" about a debt of \$41,000 in travel expenses to WE Charity. It is high time we had some resigna-

tions in Ottawa, beginning with Mr. Morneau and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. And WE Charity is complicit in all of this.

**Ivor Green**  
 Calgary, Alta.

### Morneau should never have accepted trips from WE Charity, writes reader

There are two points that seem to have been missed concerning Finance Minister Bill Morneau and his little problem with the WE Charity. One, for the wealthy Morneau-McCain family, when offered a 'free trip' by any charity, the correct answer should have been "thank you, but we are privileged to be able to pay our way to see your good work, and see where we

can be of help." Two, if the two donations from his family to the WE Charity and its parts totalled \$100,000, then the WE Charity didn't come out so well financially with the two free trips, that is, until the government's contract for the student volunteer program came along.

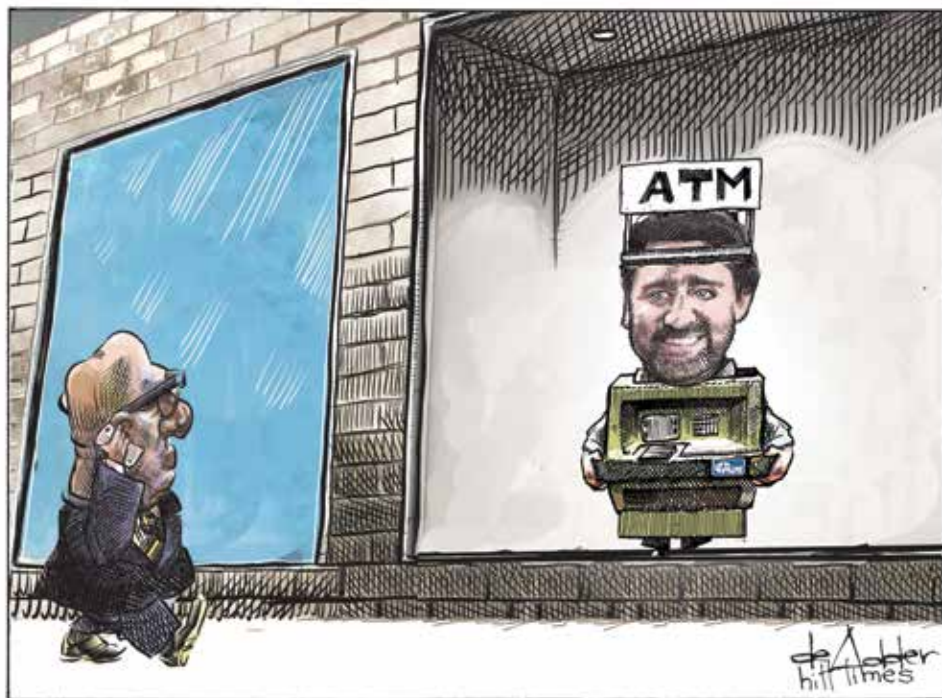
**Suzanne Langlois Mooney**  
 Ottawa, Ont.

### Federal Canadian government's silence on Hagia Sophia conversion is deafening: Sotiropoulos

When Prince Vladimir of Kyiv traversed Europe, the Middle East, and Asia Minor during the 10th century in search for a religion for his people, he made the following famous proclamation after experiencing the Divine Liturgy at the magnificent Hagia Sophia Cathedral in Constantinople: "We knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendor or such beauty, and we are at a loss how to describe it." Construction of the Byzantine cathedral was completed in the sixth century; today Hagia Sophia (Αγία Σοφία or Holy Wisdom) is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Despite its official status as a museum, with its doors open for all people of the world to walk through and marvel, Turkey—not-

withstanding its international obligations—is unilaterally proceeding with converting this gift to and for humanity into a mosque. It is little exaggeration to write that the entire international community, including, it should be noted, many leaders and scholars of Islam, have condemned this move, not only as morally wrong, but also counter to the secular society established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey. Absent, however, in this important international conversation about human rights and fostering an inclusive society, is Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, whose silence on Hagia Sophia's conversion is deafening.

**Evan Sotiropoulos**  
 Toronto, Ont.



## EDITORIAL

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 PHOTOGRAPHERS Sam Garcia, Andrew Meade, and Cynthia Münster

EDITORIAL CARTOONIST Michael De Adder  
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# Trudeau needs to learn a valuable lesson from WE scandal

Canadians are miffed by the WE mess, but they are still willing to give the prime minister the benefit of the doubt. Their patience is wearing thin. The opposition parties will continue to push for Justin Trudeau's head, and unless he does something soon, they may succeed.



Sheila Copps  
Copps' Corner

OTTAWA—Prime Minister Justin Trudeau needs to learn a valuable lesson from the last scandal that almost buried his government.

The agonizing internal bleed caused by the cabinet resignations of Jody Wilson-Raybould and Jane Philpott almost cost him the government.

Instead of earning a robust majority in the midst of a strong economy and great job numbers, Liberals limped back with a minority. The loss of seats was the result of integrity questions related to SNC Lavalin's effort to secure a deferred prosecution agreement.

The prime minister suffered a personal hit in his popularity when allegations from two ministers dragged on for months.

History seems to be repeating itself. The damage being done by the WE funding agreement is growing daily. It appears the government does not have a strategy to make it go away.

The only thing that will work is a high-profile firing or two. That will remind the public that someone has actually paid a price for this mess.

The deeper we plumb the international workings of the WE network of not-for-profit to business links, the more the government is being damaged.

Recent surveys show that most Canadians have lowered their

opinion of the prime minister because of the WE problems.

They are still willing to give him the benefit of the doubt, but simply saying sorry is not enough.

At some point it was rumoured that Bardish Chagger would have been on the chopping block as she was the minister directly responsible for delivering the program.

Thankfully, that did not happen, as that would simply have reinforced the Raybould/Philpott narrative that Trudeau was not really supportive of women on his team.

Trudeau and chief of staff Katie Telford did a decent job of defending themselves in their testimony before a parliamentary committee.

But that will not turn the corner. And in the dog days of summer, the opposition parties will continue to do their level best to keep the WE saga on the front pages of the newspaper.

That is their job, and they have been superb in keeping new information about WE before a public that is fatigued from hearing nothing but COVID news.

The internal machinations of WE have certainly provided fodder for critics.

Ousted WE Charity chair Michelle Douglas testified last week that she did not know the organization paid people as WE day speak-



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured on July 30, 2020, testifying virtually before the House Finance Committee, which is looking into the WE Charity controversy. Screen capture courtesy of CBC News

ers. That was a complete contradiction to statements issued by the organization when it was revealed that Trudeau family members had been paid for their appearances.

The fact is that the prime minister's mother has built up a national following because of her personal experience with and advocacy for mental health issues.

There is absolutely nothing wrong with Margaret Trudeau being paid for her work, but there is something wrong when one arm of the WE organization has no knowledge of the payouts by another arm of the organization.

Recent news concerning WE's hiring of high-priced American lobby firms to support their initiatives in the United States is also prompting more opposition questions.

In reality, an international movement with the reach of WE needs to rely on paid help to get support and sponsorship.

And the Kielburger brothers made it very clear that if this line of inquiry continues, the very survival of the organization could be at stake.

Thousands of young people will be deprived of an opportunity to learn about community contributions because somebody jumped the gun on awarding a contract to WE.

The prime minister needs to staunch the bleeding by some bold internal moves.

One of them definitely includes moving the minister of finance out of his portfolio.

The second one must include a restructuring of the inner advisory circle of the prime minister, who apparently did not understand the basic concepts of parliamentary refusal.

Ultimately, the buck stops with the prime minister, but if his office did not provide him with proper advice, he needs to ensure that does not happen again.

The leader has done a fantastic job in carrying the country through the COVID crisis.

It is a shame that a not-for-profit sidebar could undo all the good that has been happening.

But unless the prime minister moves quickly with some dramatic internal departures, that is exactly what could happen.

Canadians are miffed by the WE mess, but they are still willing to give the prime minister the benefit of the doubt.

Their patience is wearing thin. The opposition parties will continue to push for Trudeau's head, and unless he does something soon, they may succeed.

Sheila Copps is former Jean Chrétien-era cabinet minister and a former deputy prime minister.  
news@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times

# Trudeau's Sunny Ways scandals

Whenever Trudeau becomes embroiled in a scandal, the Liberals spin it into something positive: the SNC-Lavalin issue was about saving jobs, the blackface embarrassment was a 'learning opportunity,' the WE Charity scandal resulted from trying to help young people.



Gerry Nicholls  
Post-Partisan Pundit



Whenever Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured July 8, 2020, at a press conference in the West Block, becomes ensnared in some thorny scandal, he always seems to somehow extricate himself, suffering barely a scratch, writes Gerry Nicholls. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

OAKVILLE, ONT.—Whenever Prime Minister Justin Trudeau becomes ensnared in some thorny scandal, he always seems to somehow extricate himself, suffering barely a scratch.

And, yes, he's escaped a multitude of scandals: the ethics-breaching Christmas vacation to a billionaire's island; the SNC-Lavalin affair; the "blackface" scandal; and most recently the WE Charity fiasco (mind you, the jury is still out on that last one, but I suspect he'll evade it too.)

Needless to say, this Houdini-like ability of Trudeau has delighted his supporters and infuriated his opponents.

The prime minister's fans, for instance, like point out the public's

seeming willingness to forgive Trudeau for his alleged sins is simply evidence Canadians are wise enough to understand how the media, hungry as it is for salacious stories, and urged on by a desperate Opposition, tends to blow Liberal scandals way out of proportion.

In other words, Trudeau's various missteps are mole hills not mountains because voters say so.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the fence, Trudeau's detractors firmly believe the prime minister's seeming ability to get away with scandal after scandal, only proves that, sadly, our society has become cynical and tolerant of corruption, which means we're only going to get more of it.

Both these viewpoints, of course,

contain kernels of truth, yet they also fail to adequately consider the reality of politics when it comes to Trudeau's scandals.

What do I mean by that?

Well, for starters, I don't believe voters let Trudeau off the hook for his misdeeds because they think they're insignificant or because they believe the media exaggerates them; rather, it's much more likely they let him off simply because they don't really understand his misdeeds.

That's to say, the average Canadian doesn't pay much attention to political news, so they're only vaguely aware of what's going on in Ottawa.

To take the recent WE Charity scandal, for example, I'd bet most people know Trudeau did something wrong, but that's about the extent of it; they're probably not up on all the gory details.

My point is, it's hard to get worked up about something that's only on the periphery of your consciousness, especially when they're lots of other things for people to worry about: a pandemic, a faltering economy, etc.

This doesn't mean people don't care about corruption; they do, but it's not always on the top of their priority list.

This is why, by the way, "attack" ads are a crucial part of any opposition party's arsenal; they're

needed to "educate" voters as to why they should be outraged by whatever scandals are percolating on the national stove.

The other factor which helps to immunize Trudeau from "scandalitis" is his own brand image.

Simply put, the public sees not Trudeau the man, but Trudeau the "brand"; i.e., in Trudeau they see a compassionate, squeaky clean, ultra-progressive, boy scout.

Basically, it's hard to believe anyone so adorable could intentionally do anything wrong.

And yes, Trudeau might be a fallible human, but once voters have made the emotional investment of buying into the prime minister's image, any evidence that runs counter to that idealistic portrait will generate cognitive dissonance.

Please note, the Liberals understand this mindset exists, which is why they play to it; whenever Trudeau becomes embroiled in a scandal, they spin it into something positive: the SNC-Lavalin issue was about saving jobs, the blackface embarrassment was a "learning opportunity," the WE Charity scandal resulted from trying to help young people.

Essentially, they're all "sunny ways" scandals.

Sure, that's a stretch, but for people who already like Trudeau and who aren't paying heed to the news, it resonates.

Gerry Nicholls is a communication consultant.  
news@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times

## Opinion

# WE ‘scandal’ doesn’t have the firepower to take down the PM

When it comes to real scandals, you need DNA on the dress, money in a Swiss bank account, or a tape-recording of evil doers. So far, WE has no killer evidence. Pierre Poilievre giving the stink eye to the PM on TV is a poor substitute.



Michael Harris

Harris

**H**ALIFAX—Justin Trudeau breezed through the rumble in the House Finance Committee last week, even though his professional detractors, and some of the sheep in the media flock, saw doom and gloom for Mr. Sunny Ways.

Some commentators have even gone so far as to suggest that the Liberal Party is falling apart, and may soon turn on the man who led them out of the political wilderness in 2015.

They might be right.

Trudeau has found himself in the middle of more than a few political dust-devils, and one or two genuine Category-5 hurricanes. In certain matters, this PM is attracted to impulsive bungling like iron filings to a magnet.

That free trip to a billionaire’s island showed the PM’s snotty, entitled side—and a stupendous lack of judgment. The SNC-Lavalin affair was an Exocet Missile amidsthips for Trudeau’s much ballyhooed feminism, not to mention the independence of the justice system. Two good women and cabinet ministers were tossed overboard, when it should have been their dodgy captain who got dunked.

But here’s why I think the WE “scandal” hasn’t got the firepower to take out the PM, or trigger a mutiny in the ranks. If the opposition’s best punch is a damning report from the ethics commissioner (and they might well get one in the WE affair), we already have the evidence of how little that means.

Despite being cited by the ethics commissioner for hobnobbing with the Aga Khan and meddling in the administration of justice, Trudeau won the next election. True, he lost his majority government, but he wasn’t made to walk the plank. For the most part, being found to be in conflict of interest in politics is more like jay-walking than grand theft.

As I have noted before in this space, it is not that sleazy politics aren’t poison to a democracy. They are. But if we really cared about ethics in government, the penalties would be serious for breaking the rules. As it is, they are risible. A small fine, and a dash of public shaming in a bureaucrat’s report that will possibly be read by friends and near relatives.

Being found to be in conflict of interest is a little like talking in class; you go to the corner for some quiet time, and maybe they send a note home to your mother. Otherwise, not much else happens. Our pretend commitment to ethics in government is matched by the public’s pretend outrage over misbehaving politicians.

A recent Angus Reid Institute poll nailed that odd fact. While three in five Canadians felt that the WE Scandal was a “serious



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured July 30, 2020, testifying virtually before the House Finance Committee. The WE ‘scandal’ hasn’t got the firepower to take out the PM, or trigger a mutiny in the ranks. If the opposition’s best punch is a damning report from the ethics commissioner (and they might well get one in the WE affair), we already have the evidence of how little that means, writes Michael Harris. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

and significant one”, 56 per cent in the same poll said it would not threaten the viability of Trudeau’s minority government. If it’s serious and significant, then how can a majority of those polled also think it won’t hurt the government?

Simple: because ethics in government is just not a top of mind issue for them, but rather an emotional holdover from their mostly forgotten Sunday School days.

According to Angus Reid, a measly 16 per cent of Canadians choose ethics and corruption as one of their top three issues facing the country. This equals the number who said the same thing during the SNC-Lavalin scandal in 2019. As the poll put it, “Canadians core priorities continue to be the Covid-19 response, economy, and health care.”

Which is why that prickle pear of the CPC, Pierre Poilievre, is barking up the wrong tree. Poilievre is shocked and appalled by something that engages the priorities of just a tiny portion of the Canadian electorate. He also continues to confuse bellicose rudeness with being a relentless inquisitor.

Trudeau meanwhile is taking action on the pandemic, the economy, and health care. In other words, he is getting the

big shapes right, or mostly right, and connecting with his fellow citizens, while his critics continue to yodel down the well.

Incidentally, the public has a handy way of punishing the current PM without dumping him. They give him a scolding in his personal approval rating, which

them, Dean del Mastro went to jail for cheating on his election expenses. Peter MacKay, now in the running to lead the party, never did level with Canadians about the true costs of the ruinously expensive F-35 fighter jet—he preferred posing in the cockpit of a cardboard replica.



Conservative finance critic Pierre Poilievre, pictured in this file photograph, led the virtual grilling of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau over the WE Charity scandal when he appeared in front of the House Finance Committee on July 30. That scandal alone won’t be enough for Canadians to dismiss Mr. Trudeau’s Liberal party, writes Michael Harris. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

has dipped 11 points since May. But a majority of respondents say that the WE Affair will have a minor impact, or no impact at all, on Trudeau’s minority government. Several other polls show that the Liberals remain the solid odds-on favourite to win either a majority or minority government if the Writ were to drop now, the Tories’ We-We-Weing notwithstanding.

Part of the reason for that is the country’s basic approval of how the Liberals have handled the Covid-19 pandemic, the issue of the century. Canada looks like it’s being run by Mr. Spock, unlike the U.S., where the Mad Hatter is stumbling around the bridge for a few more episodes of *Lost in Space* before Americans lower the electoral boom.

But part of it is also a certain enduring queasiness about getting ethical complaints from the Conservatives. This was the party whose leader, Stephen Harper, was found in contempt of Parliament. Several senior Conservatives were central players in election expenses frauds. One of

Pierre Poilievre himself fronted the infamous Fair Elections Act, a piece of legislation designed to suppress, not expand, voting in Canada. And remember the 2015 Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act, a legislative venture so noxious that it sent Chris Alexander and Kellie Leitch, along with the entire Harper government, into political oblivion.

That said, all of this could change, depending on how the WE Affair develops. If, for example, it were to turn into a criminal investigation that unearthed crimes, all bets would be off on the Liberals winning a third federal election in a row.

When it comes to real scandals, you need DNA on the dress, money in a Swiss bank account, or a tape-recording of evil doers. So far, WE has no killer evidence. Pierre Poilievre giving the stink eye to the PM on TV is a poor substitute.

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



Katie Telford, chief of staff to the prime minister, pictured on July 30, 2020, when she testified virtually before the House Finance Committee. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

# For Canada's political leadership, the COVID rally is fraying: now what?

For Alberta and the federal Liberals, a new season is coming with potential for a new wave of COVID-19. How they manage this potential wave will likely sweep away the impact of these summer controversies.

BY GREG LYLE

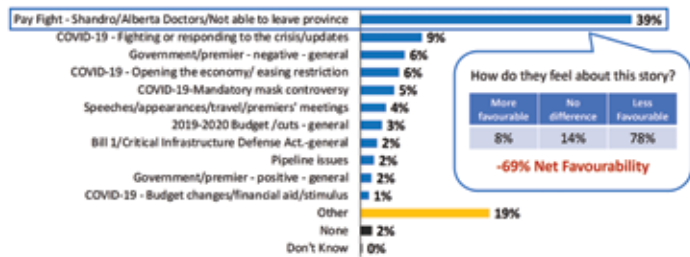
VANCOUVER—If the loss of the UN Security Council vote marked the beginning of the end for the federal government's COVID-19 rally, the WE controversy applied the coup de grâce.

The federal government's response to COVID enjoyed the support of half of Canadians when we started tracking in May. As the federal government responded to concerns about managing travellers, approval rose 10 points throughout March, and stabilized in the low-60s, slightly behind provincial handling of the crisis throughout the summer.

The government's overall satisfaction improved dramatically in short order, quickly rising from the mid-40s back in March to 60 per cent in mid-May and continuing near that level through June. However, our most recent poll shows a six-point drop to 54 per cent at a time when half of Canadians cite the WE controversy as the most recent thing they have heard about the government.

Among those who mentioned the WE controversy, two-in-three (66 per cent) said they felt less favourably towards the prime minister and the federal government as a result of the story.

## What news stories do Albertans recall from the past few days? (open ended)



Full Question Text: "And what have you read, seen or heard about Alberta's Premier Jason Kenney and the provincial government in the last few days? Please be specific;" and "Did what you read, see or hear leave you feeling a lot more favourable, somewhat more favourable, somewhat less favourable or a lot less favourable towards Alberta's Premier Jason Kenney and the provincial government, or did it make no difference?"

last October's election, but in this new data, his image has recovered substantially. On key attributes, the PM is running circles around the opposition as the best leader to provide "strong leadership" (31 per cent vs. 11 per cent for Scheer), "competence," (29 per cent vs. 14 per cent), "represents positive change" (26 per cent vs. 12 per cent), "cares about people like me" (26 per cent vs. 13 per cent), and "stands for what I believe" (27 per cent vs. 14 per cent).

Trudeau's handling of COVID-19 refilled the tank on leader brand. He rebuilt his post-SNC-Lavalin image. The WE controversy may well be eroding those gains, but he can still draw on a large pool of reputational capital.

Even more important is the fact that the Liberals continue to have a significant lead in underlying brand loyalty. So even if Trudeau does lose more of his recent gains, he has a large group of party loyalists to provide a backstop.

## Jason Kenney, the Odd One Out

Of the four largest provinces, only Jason Kenney and the UCP in Alberta are also losing the benefits of the COVID-19 rally.

The likely suspect here is the renewal of controversy around the government's relationship with Alberta's doctors. The controversy is by far the most common story followed by the public, and the story's impact on views of the government is strongly negative.

One development the UCP will need to watch is Rachel Notley's relative gains compared to Kenney since the provincial election. Notley is well ahead of Kenney on compassion, and the two are essentially tied on strong leadership, competence, and several other positive measures. Kenney only has a lead on the negative attribute of dishonesty.

That said, the Alberta government stumbled and recovered once already during the COVID-19 outbreak. With the UCP's strong lead in partisan loyalists, they are still well-positioned for re-election. They just shouldn't take it for granted.

## Horgan is the New Dominant Force in BC

British Columbia's Premier John Horgan provides our first example of a leader of a government with a weaker party brand.

John Horgan and the British Columbia NDP have significantly outperformed other provinces when it comes to the public's perception of their handling of COVID-19. Since April, more than 7-in-10 have consistently approved of how Horgan handled the crisis, and British Columbia remains seven points ahead of the overall provincial average on this measure.

Those high COVID-19 scores have translated into a broader rally as overall government approval has jumped from 56 per cent to 72 per cent. The high marks have also benefited Horgan's personal brand with a majority (55 per cent) who now feel favourably towards Horgan, up eight points since March. When asked who would make the best premier of British Columbia, Horgan outperforms Wilkinson by more than a 3-1 margin (43 per cent to 13 per cent).

Horgan has run up the scoreboard on leadership attributes to a significant lead on 'strong leadership' (48 per cent to Wilkinson's 11 per cent), 'competent' (48 per cent to 12 per cent), and 'cares about people like me' (33 per cent to 13 per cent). More than half of BCers say no leaders are dishonest, but even there, Wilkinson is ahead of Horgan by 10 points. Before the crisis, it was a far closer race.

## Doug Ford 2.0

After a bumpy start in March, Doug Ford has reinvented himself as the steady hand Ontarians need.

In March, Ford underperformed the national average by 12 points when it came to Ontario's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic, with just over half (51%) who approved. Since then, approval of the Ford government's handling of the crisis has grown 24 points, so that now, Ford is 4-points ahead of the national average.

This strong performance on COVID-19 has pulled up the Ford government's numbers on overall satisfaction. Overall satisfaction is up 32 points since March and now sits at a historic 70 per cent.

Ford has become an ascendant political force: a majority (51 per cent) now feel favourably towards Ford, up from 25 per cent in March. And Ford (38 per cent) beats the new Liberal leader, Steven Del Duca (10 per cent) by nearly four-to-one on who would make the best Premier of Ontario. Since the June 2018 election, Ford has nearly doubled his numbers on "strong leadership" (from 27 per cent to 42 per cent) and 'competent' (from 22 per cent to 38 per cent) at the opposition's cost. No other leader comes close. He now even beats Andrea Horwath on empathy.

## Legault and the Rise of the CAQ

Quebec's insurgent CAQ government, under François Legault's leadership, is also showing a much-needed rally-around-the-flag with no end in sight. After an early peak, assessments of the Legault government's response to COVID-19 has stabilized at 66 per cent. While overall government satisfaction has dipped from its April peak of 82 per cent, it has stabilized with seven-in-10 (70 per cent) support.

It is clear from the leadership numbers that the star power of Legault is holding this government's coalition together. When compared to his competitors, no one is in his league. A majority of 59 per cent view him favourably, compared to just 22 per cent for the PLQ's Dominique Anglade and 21 per cent for Pascal Bérubé. Legault outperforms Anglade on Best

Premier by more than four-to-one (48 per cent to 11 per cent). And on leadership attributes, Legault beats all other candidates combined on "strong leadership" (51 per cent) and competence (52 per cent).

## The political implications of the fraying COVID-19 rally.

Summer controversies are putting an end to the COVID-19 rally federally and in Alberta. But the rally remains in place for Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia. What is most striking about this is that we see the rally remains where governments need it the most, while it is disrupted for governments that can best handle their loss.

Both federally and in Alberta, the government parties stand on strong foundations of party loyalty.

Early stumbles on COVID-19 management and the renewed dispute with doctors simply leave Jason Kenney and the UCP in roughly the same shape as before COVID-19.

Trudeau and the Liberals are still in a better place than when they started. COVID-19 allowed Trudeau to rebuild his personal brand and while overall government approval is down from its peak, it is still better than it was this winter.

Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia all have something in common. Their governing parties are based on a weak foundation of party loyalties.

The CAQ is a new party and receives much of its political support from defectors from other parties.

In both British Columbia and Ontario, the government party has fewer brand loyalists than their key competitors—they need to lead among the unaligned and win over defectors.

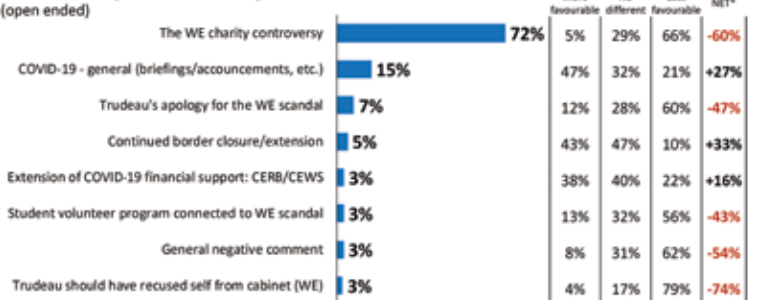
In the absence of partisan realignment, each of these governments needs to rely on their leader to reach beyond their party base and draw support from unaligned voters and defectors usually loyal to opposition parties.

The good news for all three of these parties is that each of their leaders have built strong leads over their opponents on key leadership attributes such as competence and empathy. They cannot take those gains for granted, but it puts them in a strong position for re-election. For Alberta and the federal Liberals, a new season is coming with potential for a new wave of COVID-19. How they manage this potential wave will likely sweep away the impact of these summer controversies.

Greg Lyle is founder and president of the Innovative Research Group Inc.

The Hill Times

## What news stories do Canadians recall from the past few days? (open ended)



Full Question Text: "And what have you read, seen or heard about Canada's Prime Minister and the Federal government in the last few days? Please be specific;" and "Did what you read, see or hear leave you feeling a lot more favourable, somewhat more favourable, somewhat less favourable or a lot less favourable towards Canada's Prime Minister and the Federal government?"

Despite an overall dip in government approval, though, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has held on to significant gains on critical leadership measures.

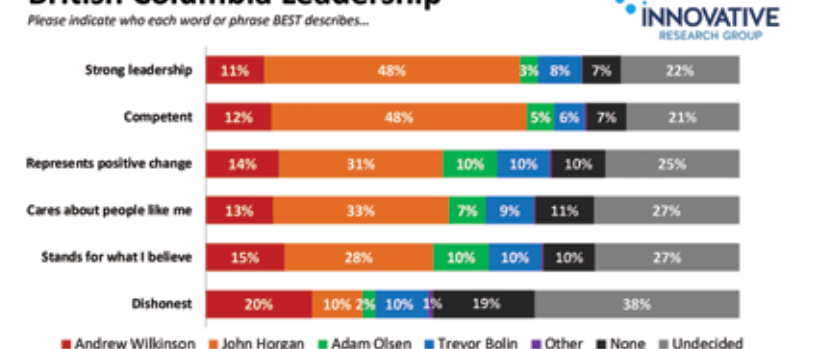
Trudeau's lead on the question of who would make the best prime minister (51 per cent select him) shows him higher than all other federal leaders combined, with Scheer (19 per cent) and Singh (18 per cent) tied for a distant second.

The PM's image took a hit following the SNC-Lavalin controversy that persisted through

While the Alberta government has not experienced the highs of other governments on the public perception of its handling of COVID-19, they have consistently enjoyed the support of well over 50 per cent of the public.

However, the link between COVID-19 approval and government approval has been looser than other provinces and now appears to be broken. After a high of 53 per cent in May, overall government approval has fallen back down to March levels at 43 per cent.

## British Columbia Leadership



Full Question Text: "Now we would like to read you a list of different words or phrases that describe some political leaders. For each word or phrase, please indicate who it BEST describes..."

## Opinion



U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, right, pictured in this file photo with U.S. Vice-President Mike Pence, delivered a scathing speech on China titled 'Communist China and the Free World's Future,' on July 23, 2020, at the Richard Nixon Presidential Library in California. Photograph courtesy of U.S. Department of State

# Canada should be alarmed by Cold War rhetoric emerging from U.S.

Unfortunately for Canada, the 'sleeping elephant' is awake. Every 'twitch and grunt' made will be felt by Canadians from coast to coast to coast. The ideological spiral between the two rivals will continue. It's time we brace ourselves.



Darren Touch

Opinion

**C**ALGARY—On a visit to Washington, D.C., to meet with U.S. president Richard Nixon in 1969, prime minister Pierre Trudeau said, "Living next to you is in some ways like sleeping with an elephant. No matter how friendly and even-tempered is the beast, if I can call it that, one is affected by every twitch and grunt." This phrase has not only come to define bilateral relations between Canada and the U.S., but has proven to be even more true today.

Despite Canada's unique bilateral relationship with the U.S., Ottawa has been pulled in deeper into growing China-U.S. geopolitical rivalries, contributing to the sharp decline in Canada-China relations. The "twitch and grunt" the U.S. has made towards China under the Trump administration has forced Canada to react more than once.

On July 23, U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo delivered a scathing speech on China titled "Communist China and the Free World's Future." Speaking at the Richard Nixon Presidential Library in Yorba Linda, California, the venue was symbolic of almost 50 years of U.S. engagement with China, which began with Henry Kissinger's secret mission to China in July 1971, and subsequently, Nixon's visit in 1972. Considered a hallmark of Republican foreign policy, the

historic visit saw the normalization in relations between the U.S. and Communist China.

As the U.S.'s chief diplomat, Pompeo's speech was far from diplomatic, asking Americans what 50 years of "blind engagement" with China has produced. Rather, the speech harkened to the days of the Cold War: a world divided along ideological lines. According to Pompeo, today's choice isn't between China or the U.S.; instead, it is one between "freedom or tyranny." It was an urgent call for the world's democracies to unite against China. Pompeo said, "If we bend the knee now, our children's children may be at the mercy of the Chinese Communist Party, whose actions are the primary challenge today in the free world."

The speech is the culmination of a series of events leading to the downfall of China-U.S. relations from the ongoing trade war to the new national security law Beijing has passed in Hong Kong to the COVID-19 pandemic. And most recently, the unprecedented closure of China's Houston consulate over accusations of economic espionage. These events have only exacerbated and accelerated the trends towards U.S.-China decoupling, and worse—confrontation.

For Canada, the speech

emerges at a time when Canadian attitudes on China is at an all-time low, shifting from ambivalence to distrust. Tensions emerged in December 2018 when Canada detained Huawei's chief financial officer Meng Wanzhou following an extradition request from the U.S. In response, China arbitrarily detained two Canadians, Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, who have recently been formally charged with espionage. Moreover, Canadian agricultural exports were targeted as part of Beijing's retaliatory efforts. Despite diplomatic efforts, Ottawa has been unable to stop the downward spiral in Canada-China relations.

Canada isn't the only "middle-power" country that has been under pressure by Beijing. Australia's push for answers on the COVID-19 pandemic's origins has resulted in China targeting its agricultural commodities. The U.K.'s recent decision to offer three million residents of Hong Kong the right to settle in the U.K. and ban on Huawei's 5G technology has prompted outrage with threats of retaliatory measures by Beijing.

Front lines are being drawn as a new Cold War emerges between China and the U.S. Given China's eroding relationship with several middle-power countries, Pompeo's

call for the free world to respond is strategic and timely. However, middle-power countries should be wary of Washington's plea of having to choose between "freedom" or "tyranny." Picking a side would lead to a path of further confrontation and unpredictability for not only Canada's national interest, but the liberal international order. Singapore's prime minister Lee Hsien Loong warns that "any confrontation between these two great powers is unlikely to end as the Cold War did, in one country's peaceful collapse."

Canada should be alarmed by the Cold War rhetoric emerging from the U.S. Our geographic proximity to our closest friend, neighbour, and ally does not make it easier for us in being independent. However, Canada must strive to work and build coalitions with other like-minded countries to resist a new Cold War and reinforce and revitalize a rules-based international order. It's high time we adopt a firmer stance towards both China and the U.S.

Unfortunately for Canada, the "sleeping elephant" is awake. Every "twitch and grunt" made will be felt by Canadians from coast to coast to coast. The ideological spiral between the two rivals will continue. It's time we brace ourselves.

Darren Touch is an incoming Schwarzman Fellow with the Canada Institute and the Kissinger Institute on China and the United States at the Wilson Center in Washington D.C. He is a recent graduate from Tsinghua University, where he attended as a Schwarzman Scholar.

The Hill Times

# On 75th anniversary of Hiroshima, today's debate should be about continued illegal, immoral possession of nuclear weapons



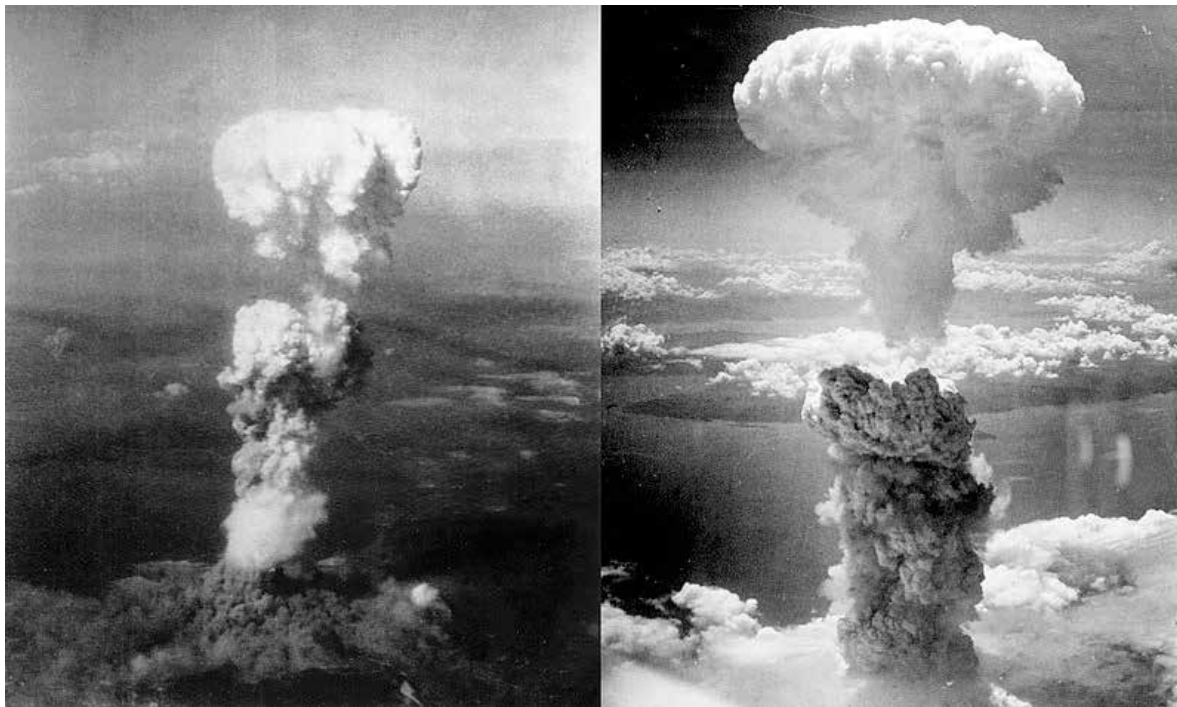
U.S. censorship tried to keep the scenes of carnage from the American public, but a year later, the full horror of the attacks got out, principally through John Hersey's book, *Hiroshima*. Photograph courtesy of Commons Wikimedia

If wants Canada to make nuclear disarmament 'among the highest priorities for Canada,' get NATO to work for a world free of nuclear weapons, and sign the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.



Douglas Roche

Comment



The U.S. detonated two nuclear bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan on Aug. 6 and 9, 1945, respectively, killing between 129,000 and 226,000 people. We should stop talking about past culpability and concentrate on present responsibility. The debate is a diversion we cannot afford, writes Doug Roche. Photographs courtesy of Commons Wikipedia

EDMONTON—Did the United States commit a war crime in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima on Aug. 6, 1945? And a second war crime in a similar bombing of Nagasaki three days later? Was Canada complicit in such crimes because it participated in the Manhattan Project, which invented the atomic bomb?

Now, on the 75th anniversary of those events, these haunting questions have been raised again. As we hear the voices of the hibakusha, the Japanese survivors of the attacks, crying out, "never again," the debate over guilt continues to go in circles. It is the wrong debate. The debate should be about the continued illegal and immoral possession of nuclear weapons—all 13,400 of them held by nine countries, principally by the United States and Russia.

In other words, we should stop talking about past culpability and concentrate on present responsibility. The debate is a diversion we cannot afford.

A brain-washing of the public is taking place and it must be stopped. This deception is on full display in a *New York Times* current bestseller, *Countdown 1945: The Extraordinary Story of the Atomic Bomb and the 116 Days that Changed the World*,



Chris Wallace, author of *The New York Times*' bestseller, *Countdown 1945: The Extraordinary Story of the Atomic Bomb and the 116 Days that Changed the World*, which Doug Roche says leaves the reader with justification for using the bomb. Image courtesy of Flickr

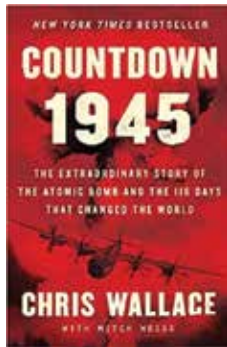
by Chris Wallace. Wallace, son of the late *60 Minutes* journalist Mike Wallace, is a TV anchor at Fox News and (with the help of his co-author, Mitch Weiss) knows how to write a thriller. The book is written as a great adventure story, with heroes overcoming adversity "to get the job done and bring our boys home."

While not ignoring the moral dilemma or at least the pause it gave the new U.S. president, Harry Truman, in deciding to use the atomic bomb for his stated purpose of ending the war in Japan, the book leaves the reader with justification for using the bomb.

Wallace writes: "Despite all his misgivings, Truman knew he had to drop the bomb. The Manhattan Project had given him a weapon to potentially end the war. And no matter how devastating their losses, the Japanese refused to surrender. They left him no choice."

This is propaganda of the first order.

Demoralized and defeated by incessant American fire-bombing of Tokyo and other centres, Japan was ready to surrender and asked only that the Emperor, Hirohito, be allowed to stay on the throne.



Truman insisted on "unconditional surrender," yet when the surrender did come after the atomic bombings, the emperor was allowed to retain his position.

Truman rejected advice that the Japanese military leaders be shown a demonstration of the bomb before its actual use. He accepted the argument that countless American soldiers' lives would be saved by not having to invade Japan. Actually, as historical records show, there was no military justification for the use of the bomb. It wasn't needed to win the war. The real reason for its use was that Truman considered it primarily as a political tool in the burgeoning U.S.-Soviet power struggle, a sad truth that only became evident a few years later when the Soviets also exploded an atomic device, thus starting the nuclear arms race.

The Wallace book ignores the even more outrageous violation of morality in the second use in Nagasaki. Apparently, it wasn't enough to kill 140,000 persons in Hiroshima; another 74,000 people were killed in the Nagasaki explosion to hasten the surrender. U.S. censorship tried to keep the scenes of carnage from the American public, but a year later, the full horror of the attacks got out,

principally through John Hersey's masterful work, *Hiroshima*.

But as time passed, the scenes of devastation faded from public memory, which is precisely what the nuclear planners wanted in order that public opinion would accept the "necessity" of modern nuclear weapons to maintain the military doctrine of nuclear deterrence. The atomic bomb was not needed in 1945, and nuclear weapons are not needed today for security. In fact, it is the reverse: nuclear weapons are the biggest impediment to global security.

That is the argument that must be focussed on, not the events of 1945.

The great danger in the Wallace book is not just that it exculpates the U.S. from its unleashing of the atomic bomb but that it dulls the senses to the continuing pileup of nuclear weapons in the world today.

If the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki occurred today, they would instantly be labelled a war crime because in the past 75 years a body of international humanitarian law has been built up. In 1996, the International Court of Justice ruled that the use of a nuclear weapon would contravene international humanitarian law.

The public conscience must be awakened to what is going on now. The Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, which includes 16 organizations, does this powerfully in a new Call to Action. It wants Canada to make nuclear disarmament "among the highest priorities for Canada," get NATO to work for a world free of nuclear weapons, and sign the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

The Call to Action warns: "Another nuclear event could occur at any time. We must do everything within our collective power to rid the world of this existential threat and to preserve our planet for succeeding generations." This is what we need to concentrate on, not the past.

Former Senator Douglas Roche was Canadian ambassador for disarmament 1984-89. *The Hill Times*

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## Opinion

# Canada cannot be drawn into a false choice between United States and China

China is not going to disappear. Nor is it going to change its system because we think it should. But we have to have a future relationship with a country that is home to 1.4 billion people and that should be uppermost in our minds in October.



David Crane

*Canada & the 21st Century*

**T**ORONTO—Oct. 13 will be the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Canada and China. But how will the Trudeau government mark it? Presumably, there are people wrestling with this question right now.

All we can know with certainty is that it won't be anything like the celebratory occasion Prime Minister Justin Trudeau might have envisaged in the pre-Meng world prior to Dec. 1, 2018. Following his electoral victory in 2015, Trudeau had made an expanded relationship with China, including even a free trade agreement, a top foreign policy objective, following on his father's decision, as prime minister, to establish diplomatic relations with China—on Oct. 13, 1970—a top priority in his day.

Justin Trudeau set out to take the relationship many steps further, spurred on by a growing Canadian recognition that an unfriendly Trump administration and excessive Canadian dependence on the United States underlined the need for Canada to seek other markets. As the world's second largest economy and by then already Canada's second largest trading partner, China seemed the obvious choice.

But a newly-elected U.S. President Donald Trump and his team of Cold Warriors saw China as a threat to the then dominant role of the U.S. and China's rise had to be curbed, its technology advance constrained, the rise of its leading companies blocked, its leadership demonized and the country isolated by forcing the major economies of the world to unite behind policies to isolate China and limit its future potential. Traditional allies were to be forced to choose



Canadians Michael Spavor, left, and Michael Kovrig, been detained by Chinese authorities since December 2018. Canada cannot allow itself to be drawn into a false choice between the United States and China. Despite differences with China in many areas—Canada has to restore a relationship with China, which probably will not be possible until the two Michaels episode is resolved, writes David Crane. *Photographs courtesy of Twitter and the International Crisis Group*

between the U.S. and China, with heavy threats of retribution if they did not choose the U.S.

The entire project of strategic engagement by president Richard Nixon and his secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, is now seen by Trump and his Secretary of State Mike Pompeo—falsely—as a huge failure.

The Trump administration was clearly not happy with the Trudeau government's pursuit of closer ties with China. So in seeking the extradition of Meng, allegedly for breaking U.S. sanctions on Iran, our pursuit of a closer relationship with China was effectively derailed. On Dec. 1, 2018, Meng was arrested by Canadian officials at the Vancouver airport and her case is still before the courts because of a debatable decision by the B.C. Supreme Court that allowed the extradition process to proceed.

China had already quickly retaliated by arresting two Canadians—Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor—with the result that Canadian public opinion has become increasingly negative on China. China's standing has also suffered because of its harsh treatment of its Uyghur population and the imposition of a draconian national security law in Hong Kong.

Despite all of this, Canada cannot allow itself to be drawn into a false choice between the United States and China. Despite differences with China in many areas—Canada has to restore a relationship with China, which probably will not be possible until the two Michaels episode is resolved.

But we should, in the meantime, make it clear to the Trump administration that we reject its approach to China, as well as the broader attempt by the U.S. to boss the rest of the world—its unilateral ditching of the accord with Iran and the use of harsh economic penalties on countries dealing with Iran; its withdrawal from the Paris Accord on climate change and its efforts to prevent international bodies from even addressing climate change; its campaign to destroy the effectiveness of the World Trade Organization; its decision to withdraw from the World Health Organization; and its constant use of trade threats against other countries, including Canada (aluminum). We cannot excuse China for its serious misdeeds, but U.S. actions are more dangerous to the world than anything China is doing.

As Jack Austin, who worked closely with Pierre Elliott Trudeau

in the early days of establishing and building a closer Canadian relationship with China, told a recent Simon Fraser University seminar, "Canada's relationship with China must inevitably take into account the significance of the U.S.-China relationship. However, we must find a way to express our own realities. Whatever is happening, we must try to maintain our communication with China and the Chinese people at the highest level possible and at all levels of government."

Former Australian prime minister Kevin Rudd has become a leading voice on the need to accept the reality of strategic competition between China and the West, but argues that this should be managed within what he calls "defined parameters" through "a defined mechanism of the highest level continuing strategic dialogue, communication, and contact."

This would include "a clear understanding of the red lines which exist," such as on Taiwan. As Rudd told a recent conference at Peking University, this would mean "a core understanding about absolutely core interests, both in the military sphere, but also in terms of future large-scale financial market actions as well"

along with a China-U.S. "bilateral mechanism in place to ensure that these red lines are managed."

But at the same time, Rudd argued, it was important to identify areas where cooperation is possible, for example on trade and market access issues, and as well identify those areas where bilateral or multilateral cooperation should be normal such as on pandemics, climate change and the effective operation of global governance through the multilateral system.

As Austin said, "I understand him to mean cooperate on issues we have in common, engage on issues which are difficult but where each side accepts the value of engagement, work to build trust to address other issues which each side believes are core to their interests and cannot be challenged."

In looking to our own future relationship, this is the place to start. China is not going to disappear. Nor is it going to change its system because we think it should. But we have to have a future relationship with a country that is home to 1.4 billion people and that should be uppermost in our minds in October.

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

*The Hill Times*

## Global



Indigenous demonstrators, pictured in Ottawa on Feb. 24, 2020. Coordinating with Indigenous leaders will ensure COVID-19 protection measures are provided in Indigenous languages and that specific needs and priorities of respective communities are met, writes Emmanuelle Fahey. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

# COVID-19: once again, Indigenous communities are failed by North American governments

Engaging Indigenous leaders in the policy-making process is crucial for addressing othering practices that exacerbate these economic, social, and physical vulnerabilities.



Emmanuelle Fahey

Comment

**M**ONTREAL—Indigenous tribal nations in the United States waited more than 90 days to receive emergency federal COVID-19 funding. Even with the release of some funds, tribal governments still face mountains of administrative barriers to access full funding, resulting in further delays and intra-governmental competition. Macabre headlines have become byproducts of such failures. This gross neglect is a shameful reminder of how Indigenous communities continue to suffer from society's othering.

Othering is a societal phenomenon in which a group of people are treated intrinsically different from the rest of society. The Othering & Belonging Institute at UC Berkeley defines it as "a clarifying frame that reveals a set of common processes and conditions that propagate group-based inequality and marginality." These processes are a product of colonial historical norms in the U.S. and Canada rooted in preventing the social inclusion of Indigenous groups. COVID-19 has shown us that these systems of othering are as prominent as ever.

In May, the Navajo Nation in the U.S. surpassed New York state to hold the highest number of infections per capita. The social factors that led to this are multi-fold and historically rooted in deep-seated federal neglect. A chronically underfunded Indian Health Service system means Indigenous populations are being serviced by a system that was under severe strain before the pandemic. Generations of poverty, denial of cultural heritage, and resource alienation have led to increased rates of COVID-19 risk factors, creating a feedback loop that further stresses health services.

An estimated 30 per cent of Indigenous households in the U.S. lack access to water. This combined with overcrowded housing have created nearly impossible conditions for hand-washing and social distancing practices aimed at preventing transmission. UN briefings show that these conditions are not endemic to the U.S. but rather present in Indigenous communities worldwide.

Othering of Indigenous communities is heavily felt in the policy-

making world as well. Failure by the U.S. federal government to include Indigenous communities in the federal stimulus package has led to what *The New York Times* calls "one of the most significant legal battles between tribal governments and the United States in years." In an acute literal example, the categorization of Indigenous communities as "other" in national data collection has led to grossly skewed representation and subsequent insufficient funding.

In response, community organized relief efforts are forced to fill the voids left by inadequate federal policy and the failings of the Trump administration. Grassroots organizations like Seeding Sovereignty are meeting emergency needs in Indigenous lands through mask drives and crowd-funding to deliver essential needs. Former community members have made it a full-time job to deliver essential supplies to the Navajo Nation in Northern Arizona.

Conditions in the U.S. are indeed horrific, but here in Canada we have no reason to remain smug. Systemic othering is vastly present in various institutional forms. In Montreal, decisions to reopen the city did not reflect the fact that cases were only beginning to peak in Indigenous communities.

Like in the U.S., negligence is further reflected in the data gaps in Canada on rates of infection in Indigenous communities as well as information related to COVID-19 and preventative measures not being available in Indigenous languages. Emergency funding to Indigenous communities across Canada remains competitive and underfunded. The recent killing of Chantal Moore after a wellness check and the increased rates of

domestic violence against Indigenous women since the start of the pandemic are just two examples of how large of a problem Canada still faces in prioritizing Indigenous safety and security.

Policy-makers must immediately address data deficiencies to ensure full funding opportunities to these hard-hit communities. While securing fundamental data can be the first step in identifying and addressing discrimination, issues of data sovereignty must be prioritized to ensure Indigenous communities are guaranteed data ownership and right to privacy.

Engaging Indigenous leaders in the policy-making process is crucial for addressing othering practices that exacerbate these economic, social, and physical vulnerabilities. Coordinating with Indigenous leaders will ensure COVID-19 protection measures are provided in Indigenous languages and that specific needs and priorities of respective communities are met.

In the words of José Francisco Calí Tzay, UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: "Now, more than ever, governments worldwide should support Indigenous peoples to implement their own plans to protect their communities and participate in the elaboration of nationwide initiatives to ensure these do not discriminate against them." Only through direct collaborations with Indigenous leaders can governments ensure appropriate health responses needed for these marginalized communities.

Emmanuelle Fahey is a student fellow at the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies.

*The Hill Times*



Julie Payette, pictured on July 13, 2017, the day Prime Minister Justin Trudeau announced she would be Canada's 29<sup>th</sup> governor general. Ms. Payette's five-year term is scheduled to run until at least 2022, but she is now facing calls to resign after multiple former Rideau Hall employees told the CBC that she had allegedly harassed them. *The Hill Times* file photograph

# 'There has never been anything like this before': experts split on GG's fate as PCO launches Rideau Hall workplace probe over harassment claims

'It's got to the point, I think, with this particular story, that the governor general should resign,' says Emmett Macfarlane, professor of constitutional law at the University of Waterloo.

Continued from page 1

the chair of Canada's League of Monarchists both say they aren't ready to call for her resignation.

"It's got to the point, I think, with this particular story, that the Governor General should resign," said Emmett Macfarlane, a professor at the University of Waterloo who studies and teaches constitutional law, Canadian politics and governance.

"I think there needs to be a behind-the-scenes conversation to see if the prime minister can get her to resign on her own volition," Prof. Macfarlane told *The Hill Times* in an interview last week.

The CBC reported on July 21 that multiple sources "with direct

knowledge of" Rideau Hall during Ms. Payette's tenure said that she and her hand-picked second in command, Assunta Di Lorenzo, regularly verbally abused and humiliated staff. The CBC did not reveal the identity of the accusers. Global News also quoted an unnamed former Rideau Hall employee on July 24 who said Ms. Payette and Ms. Di Lorenzo made Rideau Hall "the very definition of a toxic workplace."

The Governor General's office has also scored poorly on annual surveys of workplace satisfaction among federal public service workers during Ms. Payette's time in office—22 per cent of 126 staff in the Office of the Secretary to the Governor General reported harassment on the job in 2019. That figure was down just slightly from 25 per cent in 2018. The average across the public service was 14 and 15 per cent in those years, respectively.

The Privy Council Office announced that it will conduct an independent review of the Governor General's office in response to the allegations. Ms. Payette's office released a statement that said she welcomed the review, was "deeply concerned" by the media reports, and was "committed to ensuring that every employee who works at Rideau Hall enjoys a secure and healthy work environment."

Her spokesperson pointed to that statement when contacted for comment by *The Hill Times*.

"The [Governor General] should probably resign and make things easier for everyone," said Nelson Wiseman, a professor of Canadian politics at the University of Toronto for nearly 40 years.

"The issue is not that there has been an accusation, which is a problem, but multiple accusations. It lowers the office," said Prof. Wiseman, who communicated with *The Hill Times* both via email and a phone interview last week.

"Just the fact that they are looking into it is a big embarrassment," he said.

Whatever changes come as a result of the PCO investigation, "I'm not sure that really addresses the core problem of the Governor General's judgment," said Prof. Macfarlane, who noted that opposition politicians have called for action in response to the scandal. NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh (Burnaby South, B.C.) called on Mr. Trudeau to investigate the matter after the CBC story broke.

"I don't think that problem goes away with an investigation into Rideau Hall and changes to how they deal with staff members to the office," said Prof. Macfarlane. He said it was now "quite clear" that Ms. Payette was not a "good fit" for the job of Governor General.

The Governor General carries out most of the Crown's powers on behalf of the sovereign, including summoning, proroguing, and dissolving Parliament, reading the Speech from the Throne, and giving royal assent to laws. The Governor General is also the commander-in-chief of Canada's armed forces. The GG also promotes a "sense of identity," recognizes the achievements of outstanding Canadians, receives foreign dignitaries, travels overseas as the representative of Canada and hosts and takes part in official events, according to the Government of Canada's website. The Office of the Governor General of Canada is "the oldest continuous institution in Canada and is an unbroken link with the early days of our country's recorded history," the Government of Canada says.

The role of Governor General is about "symbol, and perception, and upholding the integrity of the office," said Prof. Macfarlane. "You want this office to be absolutely beyond reproach, and you want the person filling the office to be someone of strong reputation."

However, other experts in constitutional law, Canadian politics, and the monarchy in Canada said they did not believe Ms. Payette should resign now.

"Rideau Hall has agreed to an investigation and there appear to be staff changes. It is probably worth seeing whether those efforts improve things," said Philippe Lagassé, a professor at Carleton University who teaches and researches the Westminster parliamentary system.

"But I do worry that the office's authority has been undermined, which could be significant during a constitutional confrontation," Prof. Lagassé wrote in an email exchange with *The Hill Times*.

Prof. Macfarlane, Prof. Lagassé, and Prof. Wiseman all said that some other Governors General had caused controversy before, but never because of their management style.

"There has never been anything like this before," said Prof. Wiseman.

Jeanne Sauvé caused a backlash when she strongly hinted at support for prime minister Brian Mulroney's Meech Lake Accord during a televised speech in 1989. Julian Byng famously rejected a request from prime minister Mackenzie King for an election less than a year after the previous one, and asked opposition leader Arthur Meighen to try to form a government instead. When he could not and an election was called, King won.

## 'Stability right now is paramount'

With a government propped up by a minority of MPs in the House of Commons, the Governor General could, in theory, be called upon on short notice to make an important decision about whether to dissolve Parliament, or possibly even to decide which political leader to ask to try to form a government. In those situations, the Governor General must have the confidence of MPs from all of the political parties, said Prof. Macfarlane.

Prof. Macfarlane said that is a reason for Ms. Payette to step down, but Robert Finch, the chair of the Monarchist League of Canada, told *The Hill Times* that Ms. Payette should stay in the job for the same reason.

"We have to understand and realize that we are in a minority

government scenario. We have a government that is itself embroiled in a scandal. We are in the midst of a pandemic and economic situation that is frankly unparalleled before," he said, adding the harassment scandal "could not have occurred at a worse possible time."

"The stability of the non-partisan Governor General to remain in office, I think, is important to understand, is important to appreciate," he said.

"Stability right now is paramount. To me it would be beneficial for her to remain in that position."

The harassment scandal has nothing to do with partisanship or impartiality, he said, and so should not undermine Ms. Payette's ability to make important decisions.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) should step up to defend Ms. Payette publicly, if he still has confidence in her as the Governor General, said Mr. Finch.

"The prime minister has to take this opportunity and defend an appointment that he largely was responsible for," he said.

Susan Smith, a former Liberal strategist and lobbyist at Bluesky Strategies, said the onus is on the Governor General to demonstrate that she can fulfill the expectations that came with the job, not the prime minister.

"I think the prime minister needs to continue to keep an eye on: is the role of the office continuing to be delivered and upheld the way it should be?" she said. "I think the Governor General should be responsible for her own actions."

The Governor General is appointed by the Queen, on the advice of the prime minister, and can be dismissed from his or her post the same way. The prime minister has no formal authority to discipline the Governor General for misconduct, if any is proven, said Prof. Lagassé. Any financial penalty would require an act of Parliament, he said.

"Both the PM and Buckingham Palace could technically advise the GG to change her behaviour, but this would not be binding advice in a constitutional sense. The threat of dismissal is the principal mechanism to change behaviour here if the problem persists," Prof. Lagassé told *The Hill Times*.

"It would normally not come to that, and it shouldn't come to that, but in the event that the Queen was advised to dismiss the GG in this case, I do not see on what grounds the Queen could refuse here," he said.

Both Prof. Macfarlane and Prof. Wiseman said that Mr. Trudeau should have maintained and consulted the Advisory Committee on Vice-Regal Appointments before appointing Ms. Payette.

That committee was established by former prime minister Stephen Harper to advise on the appointments of governors general and lieutenant governors; however, Mr. Trudeau has not appointed anyone to fill the vacant spots on the committee.

Filling and making use of that committee before Ms. Payette's appointment "might have saved them a lot of headaches," said Prof. Macfarlane.

Advisers to Mr. Trudeau in the Privy Council Office encouraged him to "re-engage" that advisory committee in a memo sent after Mr. Trudeau won re-election last fall. The Canadian Press reported in January.

peter@hilltimes.com  
@PJMazereeuw  
The Hill Times





## HILL CLIMBERS

by Laura Ryckewaert

# Federal Diversity Minister Chagger makes some staffing changes

Meanwhile, Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Minister Bill Blair is in need of a new director of communications after Brittany Perreault's exit.

Canada's federal Diversity, Inclusion, and Youth Minister **Bardish Chagger** has no doubt had an intense few weeks as a result of the WE Charity controversy, likely making for an interesting—to say the least—entrance for the minister's newest political aide: **Udita Samuel**.



Udita Samuel is now assistant to Diversity Minister Bardish Chagger's parliamentary secretary. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Ms. Samuel marked her first day in Ms. Chagger's office on July 15, arriving straight from Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau's** office, where she'd spent the last six months as a special assistant for tour. She's now assistant to Ms. Chagger's parliamentary secretary, Liberal MP **Adam van Koeverden**.

Before joining the PMO in February, Ms. Samuel was working for the federal Liberal Party, last as regional field manager for the Peel, Halton, and Niagara region of Ontario. Ms. Samuel studied for a bachelor's degree in political science and sociology at Montreal's McGill University. Along with past experience working for the Hillary for America campaign in Iowa in 2015, and for the Democratic Party of Virginia in 2016, Ms. Samuel has previously interned at Crestview Strategy in Toronto, as noted on her LinkedIn profile.

Previously, **Humna Shaikh** was both assistant to Mr. van Koeverden and Ontario regional affairs adviser to Ms. Chagger. While she continues to cover the Ontario desk in the minister's office, Ms. Shaikh is now also a policy adviser, focused on the multiculturalism file.

Ms. Shaikh has been working for Ms. Chagger since January, and previously spent a little more than a year as a special assistant for outreach in the Liberal research bureau,



Dilys Fernandes is director of operations to Bardish Chagger. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

where she focused on outreach to South Asian and Muslim communities, as noted by her LinkedIn profile. She's also a former legislative assistant to then-Liberal MP **Marwan Tabbara**, who now sits as an Independent, having stepped down from the Liberal caucus after news that he had been arrested and charged with two counts of assault, one count of break and enter, and one count of harassment in Guelph in April. His case is next set to come before the Ontario Court of Justice on Aug. 28.

Ms. Shaikh is also a former intern in Health Minister **Patty Hajdu's** Hill office as the Liberal MP for Thunder Bay-Superior North, Ont.; a former intern to B.C. Liberal MP **Jati Sidhu**; and spent a year as president of Carleton University's Equal Voice chapter while studying for a bachelor's degree in law, with a minor in psychology, at the school, amongst other past experience.

In more belated (but as yet unreported in these pages) news, **Dilys Fernandes** was promoted to director of operations to Ms. Chagger back in the spring.

A former senior manager of mobilization for the federal Liberal Party, Ms. Fernandes joined Ms. Chagger's office after the last election—during which she'd been an Ontario operations and events manager for the Liberals—as a youth policy adviser and Atlantic regional affairs adviser.

Before joining party headquarters in January 2019, she was working in Innovation Minister **Navdeep Bains'** office as executive assistant to his chief of staff, and she's also a former special assistant for operations to then-public services minister **Judy Foote**, a former senior special assistant for operations and Ontario regional affairs to Ms. Foote's successor, **Carla Qualtrough**, and a former assistant to now-Immigration Minister **Marco Mendicino** in his role as the Liberal MP for Eglinton-Lawrence, Ont.

**Jamie Kippen** is chief of staff to Ms. Chagger.



Diversity, Inclusion, and Youth Minister Bardish Chagger, pictured wearing a face mask as she exited the West Block building on July 22. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

### Blair needs a new communications head

Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Minister **Bill Blair** is in want of a new director of communications following **Brittany Perreault's** exit at the end of June.



Public Safety Minister Bill Blair, pictured being scrunched by media outside the West Block on July 22. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Ms. Perreault spent about seven months in all running Mr. Blair's communications shop, having joined the minister's team last December shortly after the 2019 federal election and subsequent cabinet shuffle.

She previously had spent almost the entire span of the 42nd Parliament working in the PMO, starting as a speechwriter in December 2015 after having spent that year's federal election as a writer for the national Liberal campaign. Before the election, she was a special assistant for communications in Mr. Trudeau's office as leader of the third party.

By the time she exited the PMO, Ms. Perreault was senior manager of speechwriting, and she spent the 2019 election leading the national campaign's speechwriting team.

On her LinkedIn page, Ms. Perreault has indicated she's currently looking for

her "next challenge after spending more than six years directly supporting Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his team."

**Mary-Liz Power** continues to serve as press secretary to Mr. Blair, with **Craig MacBride** serving as a senior communications adviser.

Mr. Blair's office is overseen by chief of staff **Zita Astravas** and also currently includes: **Dan Linden**, director of policy; **Jordan Crosby**, director of parliamentary affairs; **Radey Barrack**, director of operations; senior policy advisers **Sacha Atherly**, **Manel Menouar**, and **Mehlan Garoonanedi**; **Ellen Kuschnik**, issues management and parliamentary affairs adviser; **Loïc Paré**, issues management and parliamentary affairs assistant; **Emily Horonowitsch**,

Quebec regional affairs adviser; **Annie Cullinan**, Atlantic regional affairs adviser; **Kevin Den Heijer**, Ontario regional affairs adviser; **Danielle Boyle**, office manager and executive assistant to the minister; and **Hilary Hendricks**, executive assistant to Ms. Astravas.

In other staffing news, Mr. Bains recently welcomed **Magas Yusuf** to his ministerial team.

A former legislative assistant to Liberal MP **Gary Anandasangaree**, Mr. Yusuf marked his first day as a special assistant in Mr. Bains' office on July 20. Before landing a job as an assistant to Mr. Anandasangaree in September 2018, he spent a little more than half a year as a constituency assistant to Ontario Liberal MPP **Mitzie Hunter**.

Mr. Yusuf has a bachelor's degree in biology from McMaster University, and along with extracurriculars, worked as a community adviser for the university during his time as a student.

**Ryan Dunn** is chief of staff to Mr. Bains. [lryckewaert@hilltimes.com](mailto:lryckewaert@hilltimes.com)  
The Hill Times



Brittany Perreault, pictured centre during her PMO days with chief of staff Katie Telford, then-PMO communications adviser Michael Den Tandt, director of communications Cameron Ahmad, and Mr. Trudeau. Photograph by Adam Scotti/courtesy of Facebook



Magas Yusuf is the newest addition to Mr. Bains' office. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

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## Feature Events



Immigration Minister Marco Mendicino, pictured on July 20, 2020, will participate in a Pearson Centre webinar on Aug. 11, discussing the role immigration will play in rebuilding the Canadian economy. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

# Mendicino to discuss how immigration will help rebuild Canadian economy at Pearson Centre webinar on Aug. 11



## MONDAY, AUG. 3

**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 is adjourned until Sept. 22.

## 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/](http://canadaperforms.ottawabluesfest.ca/)

## SATURDAY, AUG. 1

**Virtual Camp Parliament for Girls**—The Girls in Politics Initiative hosts "Virtual Camp Parliament for Girls," a live, interactive class that introduces girls ages 11-16 to Canada's parliamentary system of government. The class is limited to 12 students, no exceptions. Students are required to register in advance. Students will need a poster board, art

markers and glue sticks to create their MP campaign poster before class. Saturday, Aug. 1, from 9 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. Register via Eventbrite.

## TUESDAY, AUG. 4

**Defining A Role For Canadian Armed Forces and Humanitarian Assistance In Disaster Relief**—Queen's University hosts a webinar on "Canadian Armed Forces and Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief: Defining a Role." Christian Leuprecht, director of Queen's Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, and Peter Kasurak, adjunct professor at the Royal Military College of Canada, will explore the problematic nature of the Canadian Armed Forces' domestic role in both operational and cultural terms, the options available to the federal government, and make recommendations. Tuesday, Aug. 4, from 4 p.m.-5 p.m. Registration is required for this free event.

## WEDNESDAY, AUG. 5

**New Normal, New NAFTA**—The Toronto Board of Trade hosts a webinar on "Reimagining the Way We Trade: New Normal, New NAFTA." This panel discussion will feature trade and business experts as they explain how CUSMA can be leveraged to help Canadian importers and exporters. How does a background of the pandemic impact this new trade agreement? Wednesday, Aug. 5, from 10:30 a.m.-11:30 a.m. Register at [bot.com](http://bot.com).

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



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# Five political scientists offer fresh insights into election campaigning in three provinces

Provincial Battles, National Prize? Elections in a Federal State is a study of the 2015 Canadian federal election, with a twist: it examines campaign dynamics in British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec.



Alex Marland

Comment

**S**T. JOHN'S, N.L.—If all goes according to plan, on Oct. 26 voters in Saskatchewan will head to the polls, grab some hand sanitizer, and vote while wearing a face mask. In the weeks leading up to election day, the campaign will largely be conducted online, with candidates shaking hands on doorsteps and kissing babies a thing of the past. The number of people voting by mail or not voting at all will likely skyrocket. All of this has profound implications for how political parties canvass for votes, mobilize their supporters to the polls and ultimately which candidates are elected.

It is against this extraordinary backdrop that a book written by five distinguished political scientists offers some insights into election campaigning in three provinces. *Provincial Battles, National Prize? Elections in a Federal State* is a study of the 2015 Canadian federal election, with a twist: it examines campaign dynamics in British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec. Normally, election studies are concerned with what happens on the national stage. Rarely do we get a detailed assessment of variances in different regions of the country.

Laura Stephenson, Andrea Lawlor, Bill Cross, André Blais, and Elisabeth Gidengil are well-suited to tell these stories. At 175 pages and nine chapters, they have produced a concise book packed with information using an economical style of writing. It is immediately evident that this is a work for people who like quantitative data. Lots and lots of data—35 figures and 29 tables, to be exact, which works out to an illustration on more than a third of the pages. If tables about vote share gaps and graphs about the evolution of vote intentions excite you, then this book is worth a look.

*Provincial Battles, National Prize* begins by discussing the regionalization of elections and lays the theoretical groundwork. The authors observe how Canada's national political parties have

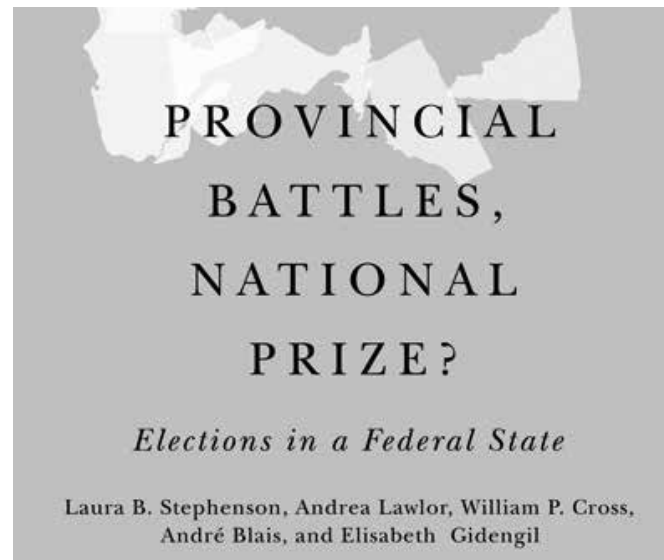
mixed appeal across the country. As they say, it "should not be surprising" to learn that the Conservatives are most popular west of Quebec and that the Liberals enjoy more popularity east of Manitoba (page 4). This sets up one of the book's core research questions: to what extent do national political parties vary their campaigning by region?

Now, regional messaging has long been something of a mystery about Canadian election campaigning. For much of the country's history it was not unheard of for Anglophones to be told something different than francophones. The existence of strong regional cultures resulted in national parties pandering to regions, giving rise to the Canadian terminology of "brokerage politics." The ability of national party leaders to speak out of both sides of their mouths or for candidates to take different stances diminished as the parties evolved into cohesive, top-down national organizations. The decline of regional news silos and rise of 24/7 national news cycles eroded the ability of regional party bosses to control localized messaging. National campaign managers and staffers in the war rooms gained the technological ability to keep candidates on message by distributing talking points via fax, then email, then smartphones and now digital hubs. Policing of message variances is easier with social media; furthermore, parties vet prospective candidates to ensure they will support the platform when it is released.

Today, I suspect that diverging from the national party's position is most likely to go undetected in languages other than English or French, such as if a party or candidate transmits information in Cantonese, Mandarin, or Punjabi. There have been some news reports of message variations occurring in unofficial languages. In 2015, Conservative advertising in Chinese and Punjabi newspapers and radio stations used messaging that was different from what was being said on the leader's tour. According to CBC News, the advertising claimed that "Justin Trudeau supports the sale of marijuana to children, the expansion of safe injection sites and the establishment of neighbourhood brothels," (CBC, Oct. 13, 2015). In 2019, the Conservatives ran Facebook ads in Chinese alleging that the Trudeau Liberals would legalize hard drugs.

Candidates can also be found to say things not supported by the national party. For example, a Liberal candidate resigned from the 2019 Burnaby South byelection after remarking on WeChat that she was the "only Chinese candidate" whereas NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh is "of Indian descent." Canadian society is increasingly multilingual, however, to my knowledge academia has not yet examined these deviations from national messaging.

Identifying regional divergences in messaging is thus a daunting undertaking for researchers. It would foremost require compiling and comparing messages put out by the national parties, such as news releases, tweets



Provincial Battles, National Prize? Elections in a Federal State, by Laura B. Stephenson, Andrea Lawlor, William P. Cross, André Blais and Elisabeth Gidengil, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019. Image courtesy McGill-Queen's University Press

and party leaders' remarks. Examining what a sample of party candidates say in news stories and on social media would be another aspect. This quickly becomes overwhelming. Even collecting information from regional media would be significant work. Little wonder that we lack understanding of regional campaigning. And yet exploring such a wide range of data is exactly what the authors manage to do, and more besides, albeit restricted to English and French.

Chapter 1 sets the scene with a summary that establishes regional variations in Canadian elections and outlines the book. Chapter 2 reviews what is known about Canadian regions and summarizes applicable academic literature. Chapter 3 provides further context by rehashing the 2011 and 2015 Canadian general election campaigns. For some readers, these chapters covering familiar territory will be the easiest to comprehend.

Chapter 4 is, as the authors put it, the start of "the meat" of the book (page 62). Here they look at constituency-level campaigning, showing that federal NDP candidates receive support from their provincial cousins, and that Bloc Québécois candidates rely disproportionately more on the leader and party label. Ontario candidates—no surprise here—were less likely than Quebec or British Columbia candidates to promote provincial messaging. The chapter confirms that there are indeed regional and party variances embedded within a national campaign.

In Chapter 5, the authors look at media coverage of the party leaders' tours, the parties' news releases, and the parties' Facebook and Twitter posts to determine that in 2015 there was a greater emphasis on national messaging than in the past. Chapter 6 examines newspaper and television news coverage in the three studied provinces. The analysis foremost documents 2015 campaign issues, interspersed with interesting nuggets of information. For example, they find that newspapers paid greater attention to economic issues whereas television highlighted social issues (page 108). They suggest that this might be because social tensions are easier to depict on television whereas financial matters are better dissected in the written word.

The authors then turn to what extent the campaigns persuaded vote decisions in the three studied provinces. In Chapter 7, they show that there was little in the way of media effects in 2015, which is consistent with previous research. Chapter 8 looks at a survey of voters. Here is where Canada's political parties can find pertinent lessons, such as Conservatives being less popular with women. There are also regional dimensions. For example, people who were employed or self-employed were more likely to vote NDP in British Columbia, but they were drawn to the Conservatives in Ontario (page 144).

Other findings challenge conventional wisdom about the 2015 election, such as establishing that the debate over women wearing a niqab during citizenship ceremonies harmed the Liberals more than the NDP in Quebec (page 155)—a polarizing topic that seems more absurd in 2020 given that face coverings are being encouraged by government authorities during the COVID-19 pandemic. A brisk concluding chapter synthesizes the findings, raises more questions and suggests that regional variances in voter behaviour have less to do with campaigning than differences between the voters themselves.

So, what does all this mean for the next Canadian federal election or, for that matter, the upcoming Saskatchewan campaign? To me, we are left with a greater awareness of how complex it must be for party operatives to sort out the strategic messaging of a campaign. What political parties should say to whom and how to say it is a constant puzzle. This book tells us that armchair pundits should not be so quick to critique party strategy. Often, what works with one cohort of voters does not work with others, and in the heat of a campaign impressions about pivotal events may be exaggerated. It also tells us that political parties must invest in market research. Public opinion survey data combined with focus groups are needed to understand the peculiarities of the political marketplace. People in a party's war room and on the leader's tour also need to listen to what local candidates are hearing on the ground.

A challenge for studying elections is finding lessons that are enduring. In some ways, researchers ought to approach elections data as though they are analyzing weather, earthquakes or stock markets: the greatest value is when the objective is to identify patterns that can help us understand the next event. Otherwise, an election study is akin to analyzing a sporting event long after the results are known. In this regard, the authors try to extrapolate lasting observations instead of documenting the finer details of the 2015 Canadian general election. The well-edited, crisp writing combined with theory testing goes some way to achieving that objective.

*Provincial Battles, National Prize* is written primarily for academics who study political behaviour, but it will intrigue anyone who enjoys the academic study of elections.

**Provincial Battles, National Prize? Elections in a Federal State**, by Laura B. Stephenson, Andrea Lawlor, William P. Cross, André Blais and Elisabeth Gidengil, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019.

Alex Marland is a professor of political science at Memorial University of Newfoundland. One of the authors of *Provincial Battles, National Prize* contributed a chapter in a recent book that he co-edited, *Inside the Campaign: Managing Elections in Canada*.

The Hill Times

Photo Feature

# In the time of the pandemic, MPs, cabinet ministers wear their masks in public

The full House hasn't sat since mid-March when the WHO declared the COVID-19 a global pandemic, but it's been busy over the last few months on the Hill with daily ministerial briefings, some House committee meetings, cabinet meetings, and, up until June 18, Special COVID-19 Pandemic Committee meetings. It's also been a little surreal.



Public Services Minister Anita Anand, pictured July 20, goes for the straight-up medical mask.



Social Development Minister Ahmed Hussen, pictured July 22, matches his dark red 'Hope' mask, with his red tie and a red, blue and white checked shirt.



Canada's Minister of Diversity Bardish Chagger, pictured July 22, sports a black cotton number with little white maple leaves.



PCO President Romeo LeBlanc, pictured July 22, wears a blue speckled mask, material that could also be used for a tie, in a pinch.



Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland, pictured July 22, keeps it simple.

Economic Development and Official Languages Minister Mélanie Joly, pictured July 22, also goes for the simple white mask.



Independent MP Jody Wilson-Raybould, pictured July 22, wears an Indigenous art printed black mask.



Conservative MP Jacques Gourde, pictured July 22, isn't fooling around. He's party blue all the way.

The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade



Liberal MP Julie Dzerowicz, pictured July 20, goes for the blue denim look.



Canadian Heritage Minister Steven Guilbeault, pictured July 20, goes for the black mask.



NDP MP Alexandre Boulerice, pictured July 20, looks a little American in his blue and white star spangled mask.



Liberal MP Greg Fergus, pictured July 22, keeps it sharp with his black mask and black and white checked sports jacket.



Justice Minister David Lametti, pictured July 20, matches his plum-and-orange-zig-zag mask with his light plum coloured sports jacket, white and purple speckled shirt, and a blue, purple, and green, and white flowered tie, and he pulls it off nicely.



NDP MP Matthew Green is a party man with his orange mask, while Liberal MP Adam Vaughan opts for the simple black mask, pictured July 22.



Conservative MP Rachel Harder, pictured July 22, sports a light grey mask.

