Roadmap to advance Black rights exists, it's time to follow it p. 10

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N.L's new premier is one to watch:

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News

'I await your response': inside N.S. Liberal MPs' push for a public inquiry

'If the 10 MPs are articulating the position for Nova Scotia, I would like to think the government would consider that as a strong indicator of what's happening on the ground,' says Liberal MP Darrell Samson.









While they credit the swell of public outcry for the decision to turn an independent review of Canada's worst-ever mass shooting into a public inquiry, Liberal MPs Sean Fraser, Lenore Zann, and Darrell Samson are three of the 10-member N.S. federal Liberal caucus who lobbied the government to change course. Screenshot courtesy of CBC News, The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade and photograph courtesy of Lenore Zann's office

BY NEIL MOSS

As Nova Scotia Liberal MPs were hearing backlash from their constituents on the decision to have an independent review into Canada's worst-ever mass shooting, they continued to push party leadership on the need for a public inquiry, including through letters and calls to Public Safety Minister Bill Blair and a meeting with a Prime Minister's Office aide days before the feds reversed course and agreed to a public inquiry. The initial decision to have an independent review into the April mass shooting, and not a public

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News

'It's a national security threat': DND launches anti-Black racism initiative

BY NEIL MOSS

Addressing anti-Black racism in the ranks of the Canadian military is a matter of national security, with recent bad press likely to dampen recruitment, says the head of the Federal Black Employee Caucus.

"For a long time this work has been piecemeal and people kind of do it at the corner of their desk, but now there is such a higher level of importance that [is] being put on it and getting it right," said Richard Sharpe, founder of the Federal Black Employee Caucus (FBEC).

The Department of National Defence convened a meeting on July 27 to have its management "listen and learn directly from visible minority defence team members about the lived experience and systematic barriers that they and other colleagues face on a daily basis," according to a July 28 statement from outgoing chief of the defence staff Jonathan Vance and national defence deputy minister Jody Thomas.

The meeting came after a June 19 letter that Gen. Vance and Ms. Thomas sent to DND members apologizing for the delay in addressing the outpouring of response to the police killing of George Floyd and reports of

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News

'No gotcha moments': Trudeau's gambit reflects lessons learned from past ethical entanglements

BY BEATRICE PAEZ

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's "dead of summer" committee gambit may have spurred fresh questions about the circumstances that led to the since-cancelled WE Charity deal, but for those not tuning into the minute developments of the controversy, some political analysts say his testimony may have settled some of the biggest concerns.

"For a lot of people, who would just notice the headlines, who would not

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News

Introduction of remote voting in the House could come without unanimous support

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

The House Affairs Committee recently recommended the Lower Chamber adopt a system of remote electronic voting for use in exceptional circumstances, requiring changes to the Standing Orders,

but enduring Conservative opposition could see the government move ahead without unanimous support this fall.

While it's seen as good form and tradition for amendments to the Standing

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Former UN envoy Marc-André Blanchard has a new gig



Marc-André
Blanchard
served as
Canada's
ambassador
to the
UN from
2016 until
this week.
United
Nations
photograph
by JC
McIlwaine

Canada's recently departed ambassador to the UN, Marc-André Blanchard, already has a new job.

Mr. Blanchard was named an executive vice-president of Quebec's pension fund manager, Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec (CDPQ).

He was replaced as Canada's top diplomat in New York City by former Ontario premier and past interim Liberal leader **Bob Rae** on Aug. 4.

Mr. Blanchard was the chief campaigner in Canada's recent unsuccessful bid for a temporary seat on the UN Security Council. Canada finished third behind Norway and Ireland for two seats in the Western Europe and Others bloc. He had been Canada's ambassador in the high-profile role since 2016.

In his new position, Mr. Blanchard will oversee CDPQ Global where he will be in charge of the group's international offices and the fund's work in the United States, Latin America, Europe, and the Asia-Pacific.

He tweeted that he was "very excited" to join the firm.

Before entering the diplomatic corps, Mr. Blanchard was the chair of the law firm McCarthy Tétrault. He was also a member of Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau**'s transition team following the 2015 election.

Former Grit MP Ted Hsu wants to run for provincial office

One-term Liberal MP **Ted Hsu** is looking to return to public life at Queen's Park.



Ted Hsu, pictured in 2012, chose not to run for re-election in the 2015 federal election. *The Hill Times file photograph*

Mr. Hsu tweeted the news that he plans on seeking the Ontario Liberal Party nomination for the riding of Kingston and the Islands, Ont., on July 30. He previously represented the Liberal stronghold federally in the House of Commons from 2011 to 2015. He chose not to run for re-election in 2015, and was succeeded by current Liberal MP Mark Gerretsen.

During his time on the Hill, Mr. Hsu was the Liberal caucus' critic for science and technology and natural resources, and served as vice-chair of the House of Commons Natural Resources Committee.

The provincial riding is currently represented by NDP MPP Ian Arthur, but has been held by the Ontario Liberals for 27 of 35 years since 1985. Former Liberal MPP Sophie Kiwala has also said she will be running to be the party's nominee.

Mr. Hsu won his seat in 2011 by a margin of 4.38 percentage points in an election which saw the Liberals drop to third party status in the House.

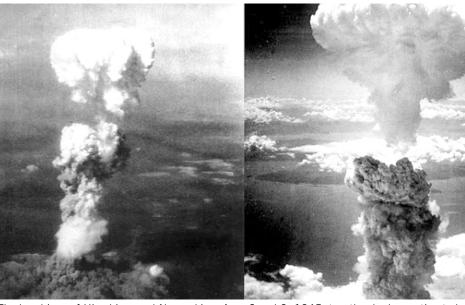
PM urged to do 'so much more' in fight for nuclear disarmament

Seventy-five years after the U.S. dropped two nuclear bombs on Japan—together resulting in an ultimate estimated death toll of more than 250,000 people—the Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (CNANW) wants the federal government to play a larger role in ensuring that no nuclear attacks happen again.

"Experts around the world have warned for many years that, unless effective action is taken to prevent it, it is not a matter of 'if' but 'when' there will be another nuclear event or series of events that could, literally, spell the end of humanity," members of the CNANW's steering committee wrote to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in a July 31 letter.

The first nuclear bomb was used against Hiroshima on Aug. 6, 1945, and three days later a second was used on Nagasaki. Less than a week later, Imperial Japan announced its surrender.

"Prime Minister, we know that you and your colleagues are deeply concerned about this and we applaud Canada's engagement in many fora and processes, including the recent Swedish-led, Stockholm Initiative that seeks to strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty," the letter



The bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on Aug. 6 and 9, 1945, together had an estimated death toll of more than 250,000. Photograph courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

reads. "But with respect, there is so much more that Canada could be doing, given our history, resources, and privileged position in the world."

The group is urging Mr. Trudeau to state at the UN General Assembly in September that nuclear disarmament will be one of Canada's "highest priorities," as well as "challenge the nuclear security doctrine within NATO," and "press" all countries to become part of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons or negotiate a new treaty that will have the same objective.

The CNANW will host a virtual event on Aug. 6 from 2-3:30 p.m., to mark the 75th anniversary of the bombing. Speakers will include **Setsuko Thurlow**, who survived the Hiroshima bombing, as well as former ambassadors for disarmament **Douglas Roche** and **Peggy Mason**, among others.

"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," wrote Mr. Roche in *The Hill Times*, a former Progressive Conservative MP and Independent Senator. "In 1996, the International Court of Justice ruled that the use of a nuclear weapon would contravene international humanitarian law."

Furey set to become next N.L. premier

Another Furey is joining public life.

Andrew Furey won the Newfoundland and
Labrador Liberal leadership vote on Aug. 3.



Incoming N.L. premier Andrew Furey is the son of Senate Speaker George Furey. *Photograph courtesy of Twitter*

The son of Senate Speaker **George Furey** is set to become the next premier of the province, despite not having a seat in the House of Assembly.

He replaces **Dwight Ball**, who has been the premier since 2015. Mr. Ball

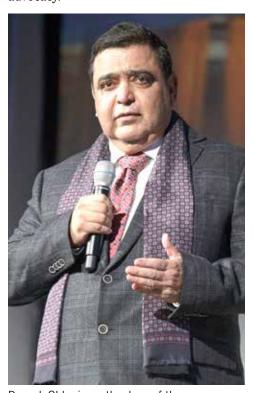
announced that he was resigning earlier this year.

Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** congratulated Mr. Furey in a statement, as did Newfoundland MP and Natural Resources Minister **Seamus O'Regan** in a tweet.

"It will be a tough road ahead, but no one could be more ready or able,"Mr. O'Regan wrote."Congratulations, my friend."

Family of Deepak Obhrai launches foundation in his honour

The family of past Conservative MP **Deepak Obhrai**, who died from cancer one year ago, is launching a foundation in his name to continue his human rights advocacy.



Deepak Obhrai was the dean of the Conservative caucus prior to his death last August. *The Hill Times file photograph*

The Obhrai Foundation is partnering with mAsk the People to "help change attitudes towards masks." The partnership will also raise funds for masks for "vulnerable and essential" communities in Canada and around the world.

Mr. Obhrai was an MP from 1997 to 2019, serving in the House of Commons for seven terms—first as the MP for Calgary East, Alta., and later as the MP for Calgary Forest Lawn, Alta.—and becoming the dean of the Conservative caucus. He also served as the parliamentary secretary to the minister of foreign affairs under the Harper government.

Mr. Obhrai has the distinction of being the longest-serving parliamentary secretary for foreign affairs, as well as the longest-serving Indo-Canadian MP. nmoss@hilltimes.com

nmoss@nilitimes.com The Hill Times

'No gotcha moments': Trudeau's gambit reflects lessons learned from past ethical entanglements

Though late and largely unconvincing, the PM's testimony helps ensure the government's points, rather than mere speculation, are litigated in the public square instead, says Garry Keller of StrategyCorp.

Continued from page 1

have watched the testimony ...
the headlines could have been a
lot worse," said Alex Marland, a
professor at Memorial University
of Newfoundland. "As far as a
communications strategy, for the
prime minister, it worked. It was a
good thing to try to deal with it."
Prof. Marland said that, unlike

Prof. Marland said that, unlike its handling of the SNC-Lavalin affair, which dragged out in the media over several months, the Trudeau government seems to have opted for a strategy meant to air its side in a relatively quick fashion in a bid to limit the number of news cycles devoted to it.

At the same time, Prof. Marland noted, Mr. Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) is presiding over a minority Parliament, and, as such, is operating in a different political environment than he was when he was called out twice for past ethical entanglements by the ethics commissioner. Opposition attempts to lengthen the probe into the SNC-Lavalin scandal at the committee level, for example, were curtailed because the Liberals had the numbers to block further testimony.

Mr. Trudeau made a rare committee appearance on July 30, acceding to the request of opposition parties to submit himself and his chief aide, Katie Telford, to questions on the process the government undertook to assess which organization could deliver the beleaguered Canada Student Service Grant program.

He testified that there had been "no preferential treatment" extended to WE Charity, arguing that his government even delayed the rollout of the program to ask the public service to further evaluate its options, because choosing the organization—given its well-documented connections to his family—would prompt close scrutiny of the deal.

Elliot Hughes, a senior adviser at Summa Strategies and former adviser to Liberal finance and defence ministers, said the prime minister's testimony largely oper-



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured July 30 during a rare committee appearance, sought to air his government's account of the process that led it to strike a since-abandoned deal with WE to deliver the student-grant program. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

ated in adherence to the conventional wisdom of crisis management of "do no harm."

"The prime minister did a good job of laying his argument out. It didn't raise any further questions in a larger sense. There were no gotcha moments," he said. "That was, at the end of the day, a successful appearance."

In appearing before the committee in the "dead of summer," the prime minister was addressing two audiences: the political audience that religiously follows the play-by-play developments, and a broader audience that may have concerns about how the deal

materialized, Mr. Hughes said.

"The prime minister has said quite clearly that he has made mistakes," said Mr. Hughes, adding the circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic nave led the government to acknowledge that

programs won't be rolled out with all the details immediately fleshed out. "The program wasn't done perfectly and options put forward weren't as vast as he would hope, but there was nothing nefarious here."

But Garry Keller, vicepresident at StrategyCorp and a former chief of staff to theninterim Conservative leader Rona Ambrose, said he doesn't think the testimony swayed many.

"If you have questions about it, you still probably have concerns about the whole issue," he said. "But if you're inclined to support him, you probably think he needed to do it. I'm not sure he convinced or changed a lot of views one way or the other."

Still, he said, it's clear the prime minister had "no choice" but to testify, adding that, in airing Mr. Trudeau's side, it would ensure that the government's points, rather than mere speculation, are litigated in the public square.

Keller. "He gave a defence, which, I think, while it raises a number of unanswered questions, perhaps for some observers, it will be enough for them to tune out. But it took him a month to do that, so they probably would have been better off had they gone sooner."

Defence 'stretches credulity': Marland

The public airing and the government's apology preempt the findings of the ethics commissioner's investigations into Mr. Trudeau and Finance Minister Bill Morneau's (Toronto Centre,

to recuse themselves from cabinet discussions around WE, which, if they are found to have broken conflictof-interest rules in the months ahead, will likely trigger a fresh mea culpas.

Ont.) failure

The ethics probe into Mr.

Morneau's connections to WE, and whether he was obligated to extricate himself from discussions involving the organization, was widened last week after he admitted that he and his family "unknowingly" accepted two trips on WE's dime and had donated \$100,000 in recent years.

Throughout the controversy, Mr. Trudeau and his ministers pointed to the public service as the source of the recommendation, but conceded more could have been done to mitigate the "perception" of a conflict of interest, stopping short of admitting there was one.

Mr. Keller said it's hard to

Mr. Keller said it's hard to reconcile Mr. Trudeau's assertion that he "pulled" the proposal to ask for more work to be done with the fact that the WE had been given the green light three days before, as spelled out in the contract.

The prime minister said he was first informed by the public service that WE was best placed to deliver the program on May 8, three days after the government's negotiated contract with the group came into effect, authorizing it to spend. He said the deal wasn't approved by the full cabinet until May 22.

Mr. Keller said in his experience, public servants tend to be reticent to move forward unless outstanding issues have been resolved.

While Mr. Trudeau may have allayed concerns among those less attuned to the developments and inner workings of political Ottawa, for those who pay "deeper attention," Prof. Marland said, "it really stretches credulity that the bureaucracy recommended" WE. He said the centralization and concentration of power in the Prime Minister's Office over the years has made it such that it has much influence over the bureaucracy, which means that it may have been more inclined to propose WE as the provider.

Pointing to the bureaucracy as the source of the recommendation, he added, is a "good line" of defence, because it lends politically charged decisions a veneer of impartiality.

Even as Mr. Trudeau and his closest advisers seem to have absorbed the lessons of mitigating the fallout from past ethical controversies, Prof. Marland and Mr. Keller said that beyond acknowledging that the optics around the deal were off, the Trudeau government doesn't appear to have grasped what a conflict of interest entails.

Former ethics commissioner Mary Dawson, in a CBC interview, herself mused that Mr. Trudeau seems to have a "blind spot" on ethical issues.

Mr. Keller, who helped write the Conflict of Interest Act, which forms the basis of the ethics commissioner's investigations, noted the Trudeau government released its own document, "Open and Accountable Government," outlining principles cabinet ministers should adhere to after first getting elected. As set out in the document, there's an expectation that ministers familiarize themselves with their obligations under the act.

"He doesn't seem to accept the premise of both the Conflict of Interest Act and his own document, published under his own name," said Mr. Keller. "He actually thinks in the grand scheme of things that what he's doing is right for Canadians, and if it can be done quickly, that's more important than following the rules."

bpaez@hilltimes.com The Hill Times



PMO chief of staff Katie Telford also testified, virtually, before the House Finance Committee on July 30. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

The stakes for Mr. Trudeau and the Liberals were clear, said Mr. Keller, pointing to the government's slide in public-opinion polls after cresting on a wave of support over its handling of the pandemic.

"Until he testified, there were questions to be asked," said Mr.





DND deputy minister Jody Thomas and outgoing chief of the defence staff Jonathan Vance took part in a July 27 meeting where they heard the lived experiences from those at DND who have dealt with anti-Black racism. *The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade*

'It's a national security threat': DND launches anti-Black racism initiative

The threat to recruiting posed by the bad press and reputational damage DND has suffered as a result of anti-Black racism amounts to a threat to national security, says Richard Sharpe.

Continued from page 1 systematic racism within DND and the Canadian Armed Forces.

Those members of DND who presented gave three recommendations for the Canadian military to implement: establish a secretariat for members of DND to report on racial discrimination, make clear who is responsible for

implementing policies and processes to tackle racism, and align DND with the rest of the public service to collect disaggregated data and renew the Employment Equity Act.

"I don't want to fawn all over them, but I think they've been doing a very good job of addressing some of these issues—at least at the senior levels of the organization head on,"said Mr. Sharpe, who took part in the July 27 meeting. "I appreciate the fact that we had a very frank and open discussion about race and anti-Black racism."

He said changes to the Employment Equity Act are "long overdue." The act, which was passed in the 1980s, outlines four classes of people that receive special protections: persons with disabilities, women, Indigenous people, and visible minorities.

"It refers to Black and racialized people as visible minorities and our experiences are masked within that visible minority term," Mr. Sharpe said.

During the meeting, Gen. Vance and Ms. Thomas wrote,

the leadership of the Canadian military heard about the need to "re-imagine and re-design," so the new policies work for those without power within the structure of DND.

"The experiences they shared exposed persistent and deeply painful occurrences of aggressively racist behaviours, microaggressions, and failures of leadership to address both," Gen. Vance and Ms. Thomas' statement read.

The statement also referred to the creation of a DND Black Employee Network, something Mr.

He noted that FBEC has been pushing for the establishment of Black employee networks—which create a safe place to gather to establish recommendations and have their own voice within institutions to push for change as a distinct group—across the public service.

"So with DND committing to do this, I think it gives great space for this to happen and a focus that we've never had. There's never been a focus on Black employees in the public service,"Mr. Sharpe said.

The DND Black Employee
Network is made up of both military and civilian members, who
can "come together to share their
experiences and discuss ways
to respond to anti-Black racism
within the Defence Team," according to a DND spokesperson, who
added that the group's mandate is
provide space for Black members
of DND and the Canadian Forces
to "explore, discuss, and create
ways to tackle anti-Black racism."

It will be made up of departmental volunteers who will act as a consultative body for senior DND and military leaders.

"It really does continue to feel like historic times here, with all that's been happening, and there's been movement on this work [that the FBEC] has been pushing for two years," said Mr. Sharpe.

Given the new territory of DND's initiative, Mr. Sharpe said it's difficult to establish concrete timelines, but added he's heard from DND leadership that they want to enact changes "very quickly."

"This is a national security threat for DND. ...The bad press,

power and privilege that he was throwing in my face, it just upset me so much,"he said.

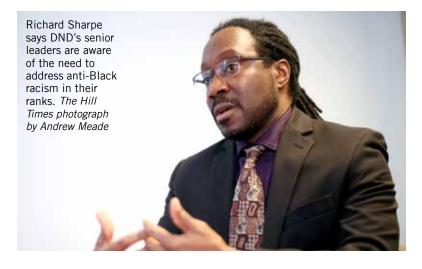
Prof. Okros said the Black Lives Matter protests in the United States and Canada have given an increased impetus to diversity and inclusion work that started with Marie Deschamps' 2015 report on sexual assault in the Canadian military, which led the Canadian government to launch Operation Honour to tackle sexual assault and misconduct.

"It's moved it up a notch in terms of the level of attention and focus on it," he said, adding that Gen. Vance and Ms. Thomas have made it clear this is how they want to lead.

Prof. Okros said now that the senior leaders have held a meeting to listen, the big question is: what have they heard and what is going to be done?

A DND spokesperson said implementation timelines and funding have not yet been determined.

"As we work towards establishing the appropriate framework and resources for this critical initiative, we are continuing to be open and transparent with the entire Defence Team," the spokesperson said.



the reputational damage impacts on the ability on the organization to recruit people," he said. "So I think they're trying to get this stuff in place as soon as possible, addressing any kind of reputational damage that they may be experiencing due to the ongoing incidents of racism within the ranks and intolerance in the various defence [branches]."

Canadian Forces College professor Alan Okros, an expert on diversity in the military, said the networks provide a way for individuals to have a voice and have their concerns illuminated.

"In the current context, there is more of an interest at the senior leadership level in listening to [advisory groups] and hearing what's going on,"he said.

Gen. Vance and Ms. Thomas said in their statement that National Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan (Vancouver South, B.C.) is "fully seized with addressing racial discrimination" within DND, adding that he "expects bold, decisive action" from both DND and the Canadian Armed Forces.

Mr. Sajjan told CTV last month that during his early days in the Armed Forces he realized "how intense racism can be."

"I remember one person ... saying to me, 'I let you join my military.' Just that position of

The recommendations being put forward are "good first steps," Prof. Okros said, adding that there will be individuals who will be expecting more to be done to fully achieve what's required.

"I think they're definitely going to be interested in moving as quickly as they can,"he said. "It likely is going to result in some staged or staggered implementation, recognizing that in some of these cases there are legal issues involved and it takes time, and there's a requirement to be prudent if you are going to make changes that have legal consequences."

"Creating the secretariat, clarifying roles and responsibilities are things that can be moved forward fairly quickly," said Prof. Okros. "I think part of what the next steps are is going to depend on having some legal review and some policy review to make sure they get it right."

Gen. Vance and Ms. Thomas called the July 27 meeting "just a start."

"We will be meeting with the other defence advisory groups to hear their stories on discrimination and systematic barriers. We know there is so much more to do, and that we will be judged based on our actions and results, not our sentiments and promises."

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Deepening COVID-19 impact raises the stakes for Canada's future choices



Trudeau, pictured on June 11 touring Régimbal Awards and Promotions to highlight the Canada Emergency Wage Subsidy, introduced in response to COVID-19. There's no doubt now that Trudeau will be seen historically as the COVID prime minister, writes Les Whittington. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

As the epidemic reshapes everything, it's time for the country to put aside traditional convictions and economic frameworks and try to pull together to build a future better suited to a changing endangered world.



Les Whittington

Need to Know

OTTAWA—It's kind of ironically amusing now to think back to March, when people were wondering if the warmer summer weather might do away with the coronavirus.

Or to think about how, just several months ago, there was a speculative feel to predictions that COVID-19 would change everything.

Given that there's been nothing quite like this epidemic in a century, it's not surprising that everyone is constantly behind the curve on the virus' resiliency, impact, and long-term disruptive potential

There's no doubt now that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, probably best known a year ago for his progressive socioeconomic policies and climate activism, will be seen historically as the COVID prime minister. His uneven, hesitant response in the early weeks of the outbreak will be overshadowed by his government's massive outpouring of financial support to try to protect people and the economy in the first half of 2020.

That story, with Trudeau at the centre of it, is unfolding and far from over.

Canada has done a much better job fighting off COVID-19 than the United States, which has witnessed a catastrophic failure of leadership by President Donald Trump that will someday likely be compared to former president Herbert Hoover's ineptitude in the face of the onrushing Great Depression in the 1930s. Still, Canada is struggling after five months of lockdown to keep the virus at bay. Reopening the economy, schools, and the entertainment sector looks highly risky, and a majority of Canadians are worried about a second COVID wave. Predictions that the virus could be around through much or all of 2021 are common.

A vaccine and mass inoculation—assuming the two things eventually happen—would reduce debilitating public angst and insecurity. But by then, the virus may have already set in motion irreversible changes in Canadians' day-today lives and, on a wider scale, the future direction of the country.

On the economic front, there's reason to think, based on polling, that the pandemic has chipped away at the austerity fixation the right-wing has managed to impose in western nations in its successful campaign over the last 50 years to bankrupt social programs while enriching the wealthy. The virus has pushed most everyone in the opposite direction.

In Canada, the federal government's COVID-19 response has amounted to a national experiment in guaranteed income at a time when the virus has exposed inequality as never before. Psy-

chological barriers have been broken by Ottawa's projected \$343-billion budget deficit, and more stimulus spending will be needed to resuscitate the economy. Canadians may be ready to throw off their Republican-style blinkers and opt for a fairer society for all, likely with higher taxes for the very rich.

With the economy in some ways starting from scratch, a historic turning point also lies ahead on the environment. The oil price crunch exacerbated by the pandemic has intensified questions about the future of the petroleum sector, and there is growing pressure for the federal government to grab this opportunity to move Canada more quickly toward a sustainable economy with greatly reduced reliance on fossil fuels. Besides helping address urgent climate change goals, speeding up the transition away irom on and gas would give Canadians the chance to capitalize on the growing global green investment phenomenon and grasp the huge potential for environmentally focused economic development in the post-carbon era.

Ålthough catastrophes can trigger radical change, it remains to be seen if Canadians can turn away from a historic dependence on natural resources with the speed and determination needed to make a difference. An accelerated transition would be painful, requiring monumental efforts by governments on all sides to ease the impact on workers and the economy, and in some areas support a wholesale reorientation of business activity. But it's not at all clear that Canada has much choice.

Regardless of today's COVID shock, a substantial chunk of voters still seems inclined to look backwards. And, based on the Conservative leadership candidates' messaging, the party is intent on keeping them focused there. Carbon pricing, widely acknowledged as the most effective and economically sensible, market-driven tool to reduce GHG emissions, is opposed by all four Conservative leadership hopefuls, despite the damage done by the party's gormless environmental policies in last year's election.

Unlike the U.S., where millions are engaged in selfish, anarchic conflicts over the responses to CO-VID-19, the virus has brought Canadians together in ways not seen for many years. As the epidemic reshapes everything, it's time for the country to put aside traditional convictions and economic frameworks and try to pull together to build a future better suited to a changing, endangered world.

Les Whittington is a regular columnist for The Hill Times.

Comment

Welcome to the new McCarthyism

As Beijing has reminded us repeatedly lately, Joe McCarthy gave McCarthyism a bad name. Problem solved!



Lisa Van Dusen What Fresh Hell

If Godwin's law has been among the many casualties of reality-show fascism, it is quickly being replaced by the rule that, in any debate about China, the spectre of McCarthyism will be deployed—invariably by China—to chill criticism.

"Current U.S. policy toward China is based on strategic misjudgments that lack factual evidence, and is full of emotional catharsis and McCarthy-style paranoia," said Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi—whom Canadians may recall from his outburst in 2016, when a reporter asked him about human rights during an Ottawa news conference—last month.

Setting aside the misdirectional, pre-election logrolling for an American president whose indefatigable service to China's world domination designs now includes an apparent willingness to whack American democracy, Beijing's McCarthyism hobgoblin is worth a ponder.

Sen. Joseph McCarthy's 1950s crusade to expose anyone who was now or had ever been a member of the communist party started out as an ostensibly patriotic Cold War mission. It devolved, as such things can, into a terribly unpatriotic, destructive, power-drunk jihad. But it was, at least foundationally, about ideology.

Today's tension between the world's democracies and Beijing over China's totalitarian bullying isn't about communism. In some ways, it's not even about China. It's about a two-decade campaign of corruption and misinformation to transform the post-Cold War balance of power in a way so incremental and systematic that

by the time a weaponized wanker like U.S. President Donald Trump threatens to front a coup in the liberal world order-leading democracy, it will be too late to stop him.



While China would be the major geopolitical beneficiary of such an outcome, it wouldn't be the only beneficiary.

This sequence of events would not have been possible without the assistance of a considerable number of actors large and small, whose key inputs in this narrative warfare extravaganza have been indispensable to what has been, among other things, a relentless Blitzkrieg of bullsh*t.

Does naming and shaming them amount to McCarthyism? It certainly serves Beijing's interests to say that it does at this tetchy, all-or-nothing juncture. So, in the spirit of the post-truth factual fungibility that has re-invented so many concepts from "presidential" to "facts," let's redefine the term.

Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi, pictured with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in Ottawa in June 2016. Mr. Wang recently compared American policies towards China as McCarthy-style paranoia, but today's tension between the world's democracies and Beijing over China's totalitarian bullying isn't about communism, writes Lisa Van Dusen. *PMO photograph by Adam Scotti*

Let's re-brand McCarthyism based on the approach, not of Joe McCarthy, but of Gladys McCarthy, my maternal grandmother. She was possessed of a spooky hypervigilance that could spot the lit end of a forbidden cigarette at 100 paces and an evil eye whose potency only the descendants of Irish matriarchs can know. After her husband, Colonel Joe Hogan, who commanded the Governor General's Foot Guards, died, she would sit in the alcove of her apartment above Quinn's Taxi in Aylmer, Quebec and surveil Main

Street. She knew who had stumbled out of the tavern across the street in broad daylight, who had an argument with his wife, what the mayor brought home from the pizza place. But let's get one thing straight: Gladys McCarthy never named names.

So, in the spirit of the new Mc-Carthyism, let's just say that without a vast network of co-opted opinion framers and apologists, without the massive expansion and then admitted and self-interested somnambulism of the Western intelligence community, without the early and sustained support of certain equally self-interested major political figures, and without the collaboration of covert and other players in Western democracies prevailed upon to use their power to rationalize, accelerate, and now disingenuously bemoan the apparent suicide but actual assisted death of democracy, we'd be witnessing a very different spectacle on global Main Street.

Fortunately, the new McCarthyism means never having to say who's a communist. Because that's the last thing this is about.

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

The Hill Times

Canada's declining productivity: is substance abuse the root of the problem?

The COVID-19 pandemic has sunk all boats, but when the tide comes back, we are still going to be seized with the challenge of declining productivity in comparison to our international competitors.



Andrew Caddell
With All Due Respect

Oa story appeared in the

news describing the problems of substance abuse in Canada. The study from the Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse and Addiction suggested the hit to Canadian productivity from the abuse of alcohol, tobacco, and drugs was \$46-billion annually. It did not get much attention and, like many stories of its kind, dropped out of sight.

That's a shame, as Canada's declining productivity has been an issue for policy wonks for many years. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, which keeps track of these things, ranked Canada 8th in productivity in 2001, and 15th in 2015, to 23rd in 2018. We rank about 30 per cent below the United States.

Of course, the COVID-19 pandemic is affecting us all. But while all boats have sunk, when the tide comes back, we are still going to be seized with the challenge of declining productivity in comparison to our international competitors.

Like an ongoing whodunit, the mystery of our declining GDP per capita is attributed to one or another culprit, but no one ever seems to solve it. I don't purport to be the equivalent of Louise Penny's Armand Gamache, but there are many suspects.

The Canadian Federation of Independent Business says it is the fault of regulations, taxes, and interprovincial trade barriers that strangle growth in small- and medium-sized enterprises.

Elite thinkers in the business community say we need to import and educate more PhDs, and undertake more industrially-based research. Economists say it depends on prices for resources or investment in technology and machinery. There are also our harsh winters, vast distances, aging population, foreign ownership, and resource-based economy.

Then, along comes the CCSA report, linking economic decline with increasing use of drugs like alcohol, cannabis, and opioids. A conversation this week on the impact of substance abuse with Dr. Tim Stockwell of the affiliated Canadian Institute for Substance Use Research was a revelation. Dr. Stockwell, who is winding up a 45-year career in the field in Victoria, B.C. this week, had some stark warnings about the impact of substance abuse on our lives

To begin with, Canadian alcohol consumption increased per capita from 7.6 litres in 2002

to close to nine litres in 2019 (one litre is 59 standard drinks). And based on anecdotal evidence, it has increased during the pandemic. The legalization of cannabis prompted increases over the past two decades, and then there is the opioid crisis, which has resulted in more than 16,000 deaths since 2016.

Alcohol and tobacco use together contributed 89 per cent of the 277,060 substance userelated hospital admissions and 76 per cent of the 751,356 years of lives lost due to substance use in 2017. Alcohol alone is the source of more than 400 different health diagnoses, from cancer to heart disease to cirrhosis of the liver.

Here is how the study worked: most of us are expected to work until 65; if a person dies at 50, they have lost 15 years of productivity. Earlier long-term disability or death and the effect is greater. Among hospital admissions and deaths linked to substance abuse, there are also the tragic effects of car accidents and domestic violence. A whopping \$20-billion is lost in lateness, absenteeism, and inefficiency due to drunkenness and drug use. The rest is the costs of health care, crime, and jail time.

Our culture of drinking is a major factor in the scale of the problem. Thanks to lobbying and advertising, people associate alcohol with a good time. As Dr. Stockwell ruefully admits, "alcohol brings communities together."

In rural Canada, the problem of gatherings based on alcohol is exacerbated: he gives the example of the interior of B.C., which has twice as many health impacts from alcohol abuse as the urban Lower Mainland. Another problem is the liberalization of sales: as privatization and greater distribution in stores has increased, so has consumption. He notes, increases in hospitalizations go hand in hand.

It is a harsh reality; one policy makers will have to deal with, and soon

Fifty years ago, half of adult Canadians smoked. Today, thanks to cessation campaigns and package warnings, that number is 15 per cent. In the same way, we have to solve this problem and take control of our alcohol and drug problem, or we will suffer even more serious economic and personal consequences.

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

Newfoundland and Labrador's new premier is one to watch



Incoming N.L premier Andrew Furey, pictured with his family after winning leadership of the provincial Liberal Party. Photograph courtesy of

Furey's greatest challenge will not be enthusiasm or passion, but rather the provincial political system that has rarely rewarded disruption and provides benefits for ward keepers who do not shake things up.



Tim Powers

Plain Speak

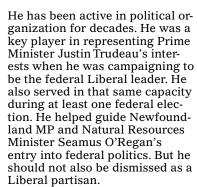
OTTAWA—Newfoundland and Labrador has a new premier. This past weekend the governing Liberal Party elected Dr. Andrew Furey as its leader. In the next number of days, he will be sworn as the province's 14th premier. The Furey name will be familiar to many in Ottawa, as his father is Senator George Furey, the Speaker of the Senate.

Furey, the younger, has taken leave from his successful orthopedic medicine practice to try and fix a very battered Newfoundland and Labrador. He may have had an easier time putting back together car crash victims than he will trying to get the Rock on track. But Furey is neither naïve nor ill prepared for the job, as his opponent in the leadership race charged.

Furey, even while excelling in medicine, has been around politics and business his entire life.

> Speaker George Furey pictured with his son, Andrew. Photograph courtesy of Facebook

Senate



Furey, like his father before him, has won fans and supporters across various political party and other sector lines. He has a natural intellectual curiosity and seeks all manner of views. He also listens well. These skills leave him positioned to succeed as a leader.

In his victory speech, and in subsequent interviews, Furey has made the point that the status quo approach to things in Newfoundland and Labrador is no longer good enough. We must address the real woes we have, and change is necessary. All of this is true. It is a requirement. This message will resonate with many Newfoundlanders and Labradoreans inside and outside the province.

The new premier's greatest challenge will not be enthusiasm or passion, but rather the provincial political system that has rarely rewarded disruption and provides benefits for ward keepers who do not shake things up; who, despite near provincial fiscal ruination, would prefer to leave things the way they are, have Ottawa orchestrate bailouts, and kick the problem down the road.

Newfoundland and Labrador legislators are not unique in this regard, but many are rewarded for getting roads paved to virtually nowhere, putting wharfs in communities whose best days of fishing are behind them, and doling out patronage to keep support. If that is how you get your bread buttered, how easy is it going to be to stop smattering it on? Not very.

The smaller the place often the more tribal the politics. Only the most detached person could argue political tribalism is in decline in Newfoundland and Labrador. Furey's big challenge will be battling through that perennial pandemic to move forward with the disruption he and many of us want.

Perhaps the advantage Furey possesses as a leader is that his courage is not driven by maintaining a pay cheque. As a highly skilled surgeon, he has another career to go to when his political journey is over. He can afford to go against the grain of traditional political management orthodoxies. He can take risks others may be less inclined to consider.

Furey is also not identifying himself as a political saviour. Newfoundland and Labrador have had a few leaders who were styled that way, and to date we still have not found the promised one. Furey has made a point of invoking a lot of Kennedy-esque language of late talking specifically about building and attracting the best and the brightest to join his team. If he gains ground here, he could add to his chances of unsettling the status quo.

Furey will be a leader to watch. If he makes progress, so does my beloved Newfoundland and Labrador.

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



A village on Newfoundland and Labrador's Fogo Island is pictured. If Furey makes progress, so does my beloved Newfoundland and Labrador, writes Tim Powers. *Photograph courtesy of Wikimedia Commons*

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Editorial

WE scandal underlines need to review lobbying rules

ast week's House Finance Committee Last week's House Finance Community hearings on the federal government's since-reversed decision to award the WE organization a contract to manage the Canada Student Service Grant program covered a lot of ground, to say the least.

As MPs grilled WE co-founders Marc and Craig Kielburger, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, and his chief of staff, Katie Telford, they, among other things, sought to nail down how much contact there was between the government and WE ahead of Mr. Trudeau's June 25 announcement awarding the charity a contract to administer the (as announced) \$912-million program.

The federal lobbying registry exists to help answer such questions, with registered lobbyists required to disclose when they have communications with federal politicians (and their staff), noting, among other details, the dates of discussions, participants, and what the subject matter was.

But no representatives for the WE Charity are registered as lobbyists. And the reason comes down to what's long been described as a loophole in the federal Lobbying Act, which only requires an individual or organization to register if lobbying constitutes a "significant part" of work, defined as 20 per cent of one employee's time (or what would constitute 20 per cent of one employees time if the work was performed by only one individual).

So, despite the Kielburgers testifying that WE pitched what they described as unsolicited proposals to Finance Minister Bill Morneau, Youth Minister Bardish Chagger, Small Business and Trade Minister Mary Ng, and Mr. Trudeau in April, no public record (prior to the committee testimony, at least) of that outreach exists. According

to Craig Kielburger, WE Charity's engagement with the federal government was the responsibility of one employee, and its expenses related to government relations were just 1.03 per cent of the organization's total budget in 2019.

It's a threshold successive lobbying commissioners have called on to be scrapped.

Issues with the threshold came up during the last Parliament as well, during the House Ethics Committee's study into the Cambridge Analytica-Facebook data breach, through which MPs learned that Facebook Canada's head of public policy Kevin Chan wasn't a registered lobbyist. The revelation prompted MP calls for the act to be amended to scrap the 20 per cent rule.

At the time, the act was already overdue for its required five-year review (the last review was in 2012). But that review never came to pass. Now, once again, shortcomings of the act have come to fore.

And it's not just the 20 per cent threshold. Other longstanding loopholes have been flagged, including that only oral, pre-arranged communications need to be reported, and that only paid lobbyists have to register, something that arose in relation to the scandal around Mr. Trudeau's 2017 acceptance of a trip paid for by the Aga Khan Foundation. In that case, the commissioner found the Aga Khan not guilty of violating the act as he wasn't a paid lobbyist, a decision that was upheld by the Federal Court of Appeal.

Already overdue, last week's hearings clearly underlined the need for Parliament to give the federal Lobbying Act a throughout review. Hopefully now there's enough political will to ensure that finally happens.



Letters to the Editor

Smart protectionism enables sovereign industrial capability innovation, say stakeholders

Re: "Why it is time for smart protectionism," (The Hill Times, July 20, p. 16). It is absolutely true that Canadian companies working in defence and national security have tried to highlight for years the opportunity that exists in reimagining Canada's defence industrial policies to reflect those of other countries in the international marketplace, including our close allies, who ensure some form of protection for their industrial base.

We in Canada often point to our formalized and complex offset policy (Industrial and Technological Benefits, or ITBs) as the end-all-be-all solution. Introduced in 2014. ITBs require that bidders on defence projects make commitments to invest 100 per cent of the contract value back into R&D and intellectual property transfer within Canadian

In turn, the ITB policy quite regularly places economic emphasis and success in export markets vis-à-vis Canada's smalland medium-sized defence enterprises, who largely specialize in components as tier two and three suppliers to larger original equipment manufacturers (OEMs), but does very little to help protect or at least obligate these foreign OEMs to consider domestic solutions for Canada's sovereign and major procurement projects. This includes large shipbuilding projects under the National Shipbuilding

As three, world-class defence manufacturing SMEs in Ontario, we can personally attest to this problem. All of us have been extremely successful in supplying our own individual naval propulsion products to some of the largest navies and coast guards around the world. In instances where we have not been successful, it has largely been as a result of those countries having policy levers in place that allow them to help protect their defence industrial base. As the author rightfully notes, this same argument has "largely fallen on deaf ears" with the Government of Canada.

For this reason, we have joined forces as a consortium to grab the attention of government and OEMs by offering a complete, integrated, innovative, and entirely made-in-Canada solution to be considered for propulsion supply on Canada's most important naval and coast guard vessels—the Canadian Integrated Shaftline System ("CISS").

At the end of the day, as proud Canadians, we should all want domestic, high-calibre products like CISS on Canada's ships. A policy of smart protectionism only levels the playing field for Canadian firms, and ensures the strength of our industrial base and our nations sovereign ability to respond to crisis.

Now is indeed the time for smart protec-

Terry McGowan, Thordon Bearings Inc., Burlington, Ont. **Bodo Gospodnetic, Dominis** Engineering Ltd., Ottawa, Ont. Robert Dimitrieff, Patriot Forge Co., Brantford, Ont.

Electing Senators is a constitutional non-starter, reader says

Re: "Sitting Alberta Senators mixed on planned provincial nominee vote that raises constitutional questions," (The Hill Times, July 29, p. 4). I fully agree with the expert who suggests that the Alberta government's intent on holding Senate nominee "elections" in 2021 is a "wasted and expensive exercise" but probably for different reasons. Electing Canadian Senators is unconstitutional. Holding pretend elections for Senators is what is the waste of time and money. For some reason, Alberta provincial governments just don't seem to get it.

There is no such thing in Canada today as an elected Canadian Senator. Of the more than 1,000 Canadians who have been Canadian senators since 1867, not a single solitary one of them from that day to this have been elected to the Senate of Canada. That includes every Senator from the province of Alberta. Every single one of them, bar none, became Senators the same way all others did—they were summoned to the Senate by the governor general of the day on the advice of the prime minister of the day. Full stop.

Canada's Constitution is very clear and unambiguous with regard to filling seats

in the Senate of Canada. Those Canadian citizens who meet the criteria set out in the Constitution can only become Senators by appointment. Senators cannot be elected to that Chamber because our Constitution does not allow for such elections. It's just that simple, and it did not need a Supreme Court ruling in 2014 to spell that fact out for some

So, if the Alberta government or any other provincial government for that matter, wants to waste time and money gulling their voters into believing that they are actually going to "elect" their Senators, well, go ahead and fill your boots. At the end of the day, no one will get elected to the Senate of Canada under such a phony process.

For the record, I believe Canadian Senators should be elected, by the Canadian people, in federal general elections. However, I know that electing Canadian Senators cannot happen until and unless Canada's constitution is amended (with the support of the Canadian people in a national referendum) to allow for such elections.

Winnipeg, Man.

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Trump wildly overstating the U.S. military retreat from Germany

For a man who has repeatedly claimed to be 'the most militaristic person ever,' Donald Trump seems to have little real grasp on how this defence stuff actually works.



Scott Taylor Inside Defence

OTTAWA—On July 29, U.S. Secretary of Defence Mark Esper announced plans for the withdrawal of 12,000 American military personnel from their current bases in Germany.

True to form, President Donald Trump immediately took to Twitter to put his personal spin on this troop reduction. He tweeted "Germany pays Russia billions of dollars a year for Energy, and we are supposed to protect Germany from Russia? What's that all about? Also, Germany is very delinquent in their 2% fee to NATO. We are therefore moving some troops out of Germany!"

For a man who has repeatedly claimed to be "the most militaristic person ever," Trump seems to have little real grasp on how this defence stuff actually works.

First of all, the U.S. presently has roughly 38,600 military personnel stationed on German sovereign soil.

Over the past decade, the German taxpayers have spent more than US\$1.1-billion (approximately \$100-million annually) to accommodate these U.S. soldiers.

From the U.S. air base at Ramstein, the Americans conducted airstrikes during their 2003 invasion of Iraq, a war which Germany opposed. To this day, Ramstein is used as a control centre for deadly extra-judicial U.S drone strikes in Yemen and elsewhere

Also troubling to many German citizens is the fact that the U.S. uses the German air force base at Büchel to house an estimated 20 American nuclear warheads.

The huge U.S. hospital facility at Landstuhl has also been the treatment centre for U.S. and allied (including Canadians) wounded during the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.



U.S. President Donald Trump, pictured July 10 at Joint Base Andrew. Trump's assertion that the U.S. military presence in Germany is solely to protect Germans from Russian aggression is patently false, writes Scott Taylor. Photograph courtesy of The White House's Flickr/Tia Dufour

So, Trump's assertion that the U.S. military presence in Germany is solely to protect Germans from Russian aggression is patently false. Even after this current planned reduction, there will still be more than 26,000 U.S. personnel on the ground. Ramstein will continue to co-ordinate drone strikes, Landstuhl will still treat battle-

European countries such as Italy, Poland, and the Baltic States. In other words, they will still be between the German citizenry and any hostile Russian aggressors.

As for the fact that Germany buys much of its oil and gas from Russia, how can that really bother Trump, the capitalist, when the U.S. imports most of its energy from Saudi Arabia? Enough said.

Atlantic Treaty Organization, it is a 28-country military alliance. It is not a golf and country club with annual membership "fees."

What Trump is referring to stems from a NATO summit held in Wales in 2014. At that meeting member states agreed to set a goal of spending two per cent of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on defence.



aircraft at Ramstein Air Base, Germany, on Sept. 17, 2019. U.S. Air National Guard photo by Tech. Sgt. Patrick Evenson

U.S. Air

Force

Airman

Sydney

Warmley

marshals

Hercules

out a C-130

1st Class

field casualties, and the nuclear warheads will remain on German soil.

Of the 12,000 being withdrawn, the bulk of these troops will be re-positioned to other Which brings us to Trump's other point that Germany is being "very delinquent in their two per cent fee to NATO."

For those who are not familiar with the structure of the North

In this regard, Canada is also "delinquent" in the eyes of Trump, as just prior to the pandemic we spent slightly more than 1.3 per cent of our GDP on defence. This is an equivalent percentage to

that spent by the recently "punished" Germany, pre-COVID-19 crisis.

Many have argued that the arbitrary figure of two per cent is meaningless, as the GDPs of the various members differ so greatly. For instance, in 2019, Bulgaria, which has a relatively puny GDP, bought a total of eight F-16 fighter jets at a one-time cost of \$1.5-billion, and this pushed its defence budget up to 3.25 per cent of its economic output.

Only the U.S. spent a higher percentage—3.4 per cent—of its GDP on defence, but that amount equals more than all other NATO members combined. For the record, Canada's annual expenditure in actual dollars ranks us No. 6 in spending within the alliance.

However, for those Canadian defence analysts that for the past five years have dutifully parroted the "two per cent GDP on defence" party line—your wish might soon be granted.

In April alone, Canada's GDP shrunk by more than 11 per cent, which means our defence budget climbed above the 1.5 per cent mark. If our economy continues to tank, Trump will get his wish and Canada will soon be spending *more* than two per cent GDP on defence.

Hell, it could be three per cent by Christmas. If so, I can think of a few defence cheerleaders in Canada who can shut down their think tanks and leave a "missionaccomplished" sign on the door.

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

Opinion

Migrant workers have paid their dues and should be given a path to permanent residency

It is a popular misconception that Canada does migrant workers a favour by allowing them to work hard, for little money, in hazardous and degrading conditions.





Harald Bauder & Jenna Hennebry

Opinion

Canada has expanded its temporary migration system to bring in a steady supply of exploitable and interchangeable migrant workers who are coerced into accepting low wages and miserable working conditions below standards that Canadians would accept. Now, exposure to COVID-19 has been added to the terms of the bargain.

As scholars, researchers, and teachers of immigration in Canada, we urge our government to adopt long overdue measures to end the vulnerability and exploitation of migrant workers—many of whom are now deemed essential. A litany of studies and reports have

long documented the adverse health, human rights, economic, and living conditions experienced by migrant workers, particularly among those in "low-wage positions" and in agriculture.

Contracting COVID-19 is just the latest price these essential workers have paid for sustaining Canada's

economy. Since March 2020, in the agricultural sector alone, more than 1,000 migrant workers have contracted COVID-19, and three workers have died. Migrant workers are also heavily represented in meat-packing plants, and long-term care facilities. Migrant workers do not bring the virus to Canada; the virus infects them here, because the system fails to ensure that workers live and work in safe environments.

Canada's economy has hundreds of thousands of

academics. Photograph courtesy of Pexels

permanent jobs that depend on temporary migrant

workers—harvesting crops, caring for children and the

elderly, working in construction and meat packing, and

a host of jobs across the service sector, write a group of

Canada's economy has hundreds of thousands of permanent jobs that depend on temporary migrant workers—harvesting crops, caring for children and the elderly, working in construction and meat packing, and a host of jobs across the service sector. Yet, the numbers of "temporary" migrant workers have skyrocketed—driven, unchecked, by employer demand, while governments and

sectors spend little resources on protecting the health and safety of migrant workers. And, the system remains unchallenged, in part because workers do not have universal protection of collective bargaining rights, and employers vote; migrant workers do not.

Under numerous temporary worker program streams, Canada has annually rendered some 300,000 migrants a permanent underclass. Most come from the global south. Many are required to leave families behind, and must leave Canada when their visas expire. As a racialized workforce, their precarious position in the country is a marker of systemic racism. Despite their essential contributions to the Canadian economy, most have no direct pathway to permanent residency.

Migrant workers understandably fear retribution if they complain, try to improve their working conditions, seek health care, or attempt labour organizing. For doing so, precarious migrant workers can face abuse, termination of employment, loss of earnings and future employment, loss of status, and deportation.

status, and deportation.

Now is the perfect time to rectify this wrong. Canadians recognize, as never before, the essential contribution immigrants and migrant workers make to this country. Further, Canada will fall far short of its annual immigration targets due to the CO-VID-19 pandemic. Canada aimed to admit 340,000 immigrants this year as permanent residents. Only about half that number will actually arrive. Future intake will also lag.

Canada needs permanent resident immigrants to address the challenges of its socio-demographic realities. Low birth rates, an aging population, and rural depopulation mean long-term skills shortages and labour market gaps across the country. Continuing to fill these gaps through temporary intake

programs hurts not only migrant workers but also deprives hundreds of smaller communities of revitalization from the immigration advantage of permanent settlement.

It is a popular misconception that Canada does migrant workers a favour by allowing them to work hard, for little money, in hazardous and degrading conditions.

The truth is that we are in their debt. We can no longer continue treating this work as essential and the people who do it as dispensable.

Migrant workers have paid their dues to Canada. It's time for Canada to reciprocate by offering them permanent residency.

Dr. Harald Bauder is a professor and director of the Immigration Settlement and Studies Program, Ryerson University. Dr. Jenna Hennebry is an associate professor, International Migration Research Centre, Balsillie School of International Affairs, Wilfrid Laurier University. Audrey Macklin is a professor, Faculty of Law, University of Toronto. Dr. Myer Siemiatycki, is a professor emeritus and past founding director, Immigration Settlement and Studies Program, Ryerson University.

ı University. The Hill Times

A roadmap already exists to advance the rights of Black communities

Let's have the courage in 2020 to go beyond grand words and promises. This is the time for action.



Mireille Apollon, Sébastien Goupil, ℧ David Schimpky

Ohinion

Earlier this year, the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights, Michelle Bachelet, put out a call for feedback on efforts underway to achieve the objectives of the International Decade for People of African Descent (2015-2024).

Given the dramatic events and protests that have marked the year so far, one could say that little has been done to advance the spirit of this important Decade. Unfortunately, it remains too-little known among nation states and institutions.

United Nations international years and decades are not celebratory; they are calls to concerted action on issues that need attention over a long period. The International Decade for People of African Descent expresses an urgent need for states to eradicate systemic racism and

ensure recognition, justice, and development for Black people and communities.

For some time now, the UN has done its part to sound the alarm and remind us that our world faces a crisis of racism and racial injustice. In 2001, it convened the Durban Conference, which was intended to unite the world around fighting racism, but was overshadowed by strife among the participants and the 9/11 attacks. The conference nonetheless ended with the adoption of a vigorous program of action to be implemented by member states to fight racism and discrimination.

This conference was also the origin of flagship initiatives, such as the creation by UNESCO of the International Coalition of Sustainable and Inclusive Cities, which are across the world. This network includes our own Coalition of Inclusive Municipalities, whose principal objective is expressly to fight racism and discrimination.

The conference also led to the creation of a Working Group of Experts on People of

African Descent, which looked at the situation in Canada in 2016. Their well-researched and thoughtful report should be mandatory reading for every Canadian. It concludes:

"Despite the reputation for promoting multiculturalism and diversity and the positive measures taken by the national and provincial governments ..., the Working Group is deeply concerned by the structural racism that lies at the core of many Canadian institutions and the systemic anti-Black racism that continues to have a negative impact on the human rights situation of African Canadians."

An important step was taken in 2018, when Canada recognized the International Decade for People of African Descent, and announced significant funding programs and the creation of an Anti-Racism Secretariat. But let's return again to the question from the high commissioner: how much progress have we seen over the past five years?

The Decade has been embraced by many Black organizations and activists, and there have been remarkable strides in Nova Scotia, which last year launched a historic action plan related to the International Decade. The Michaëlle Jean Foundation and the Federation of Black Canadians convened historic summits to mobilize Black communities and propose concrete actions.

Our Commission has undertaken new partnerships, including working with the Canadian Institute for Identities and Mi-

grations on two special editions of Canadian Diversity dedicated to the voices of African descent leaders, thinkers, and activists. In addition, we are working with the UNESCO Chair on the Prevention of Radicalization leading to Violence and Project SOMEONE on a recently launched toolkit to tackle racial



Given the dramatic events and protests that have marked the year so far, one could say that little has been done to advance the spirit of the International Decade for People of African Descent, write representatives of the Canadian Commission for UNESCO. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

and social profiling.

That said, the International Decade remains largely overlooked. The past few weeks have demonstrated that anti-Black racism is alive and well, and not just south of the border. Black Canadians are right to demand real action, and governments and intuitions everywhere need to respond. We need to implement policies and significant measures that promote diversity and inclusion, and address racism and discrimination in all their forms.

Let's have the courage in 2020 to go beyond grand words and promises. This is the time for action. The way forward is clear, we just need to take it.

Mireille Apollon is vice-chair, Canadian Commission for UNESCO and a former Gatineau city councillor and deputy mayor. Sébastien Goupil is secretary general, Canadian Commission for UNESCO. David Schimpky is director of secretariat, Canadian Commission for UNESCO.

'I await your response': inside N.S. Liberal MPs' push for a public inquiry

'If the 10 MPs are articulating the position for Nova Scotia, I would like to think the government would consider that as a strong indicator of what's happening on the ground,' says Liberal MP Darrell Samson.

Continued from page 1

inquiry, was met with protests in Nova Scotia, as MPs lobbied publicly and privately for the need for a formal inquest.

On July 27, the day before Mr. Blair (Scarborough Southwest, Ont.) announced that a public inquiry would take place, Liberal MP Lenore Zann (Cumberland-Colchester, N.S.) sent her third email to the public safety minister urging the need for one.

It is my sincere hope that you will hear this third plea on behalf of my constituents for a public inquiry," Ms. Zann wrote to Mr. Blair. Ms. Zann is the MP of the riding where the mass shooting took place.

The email followed two others on July 3 and May 29 also calling

for a public inquiry.

"Please don't patronize us by making assumptions for the victims' families that they will be retraumatized by a public inquiry. It will be much more traumatizing for them to be kept in the dark and not included in the process," Ms. Zann wrote.

"I await your response."

The third request for a public inquiry came three months after a gunman murdered 22 people in Nova Scotia on April 18 and 19.

Ms. Zann's email to Mr. Blair came after she met with Katherine O'Halloran, the PMO's Atlantic regional affairs adviser, on July 26. Ms. Zann said she was assured that her concerns would be raised with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) the next day.

Her outreach was part of a larger effort by Nova Scotia Liberal MPs to change the government's course.

to go forward with the independent review on July 23, it had not consulted with Ms. Zann beforehand, CBC reported.

Along with Ms. Zann, Liberal MPs Andy Fillmore (Halifax, N.S.), Darren Fisher (Dartmouth-Cole Harbour, N.S.), Sean Fraser (Central Nova, N.S.), and Mike Kelloway (Cape Breton-Canso, N.S.) publicly stated that the announced independent review didn't go far enough.

Mr. Fraser posted a July 28 Facebook statement saying that a public inquiry is "necessary to provide any meaningful opportunity for the affected families to experience healing, and for our communities to feel any meaningful sense of justice."

"I have been dedicating myself over the past few days to advocate for a reconsideration of the current approach and will continue to do so until we have a process that provides a level of comfort to those most affected by the tragedy," Mr. Fraser wrote. "I have spoken with many of my colleagues, including direct conversations with the prime minister."

Nova Scotia Justice Minister Mark Furey said in a July 28 statement that if the province's federal MPs want a public inquiry, they should "take that up with the federal minister and their federal colleagues.'

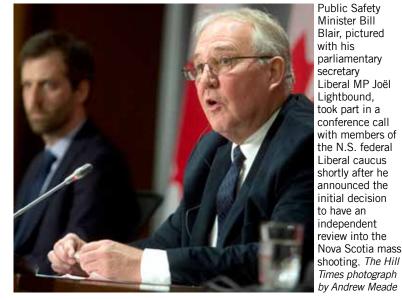
After it was announced there would be an independent review, the Liberals' 10-member federal Nova Scotia caucus convened a call with Mr. Blair.

We sent a note to the minister and said we need to chat about this and he was quick to respond,' Liberal MP Darrell Samson (Sackville-Preston-Chezzetcook, N.S.) told The Hill Times. "That's where it allowed us to get where

He said Mr. Blair already knew the caucus had concerns and he never shut the door to a public

'If the 10 MPs [in the Liberal N.S. caucus] are articulating the position for Nova Scotia, I would like to think the government would consider that as a strong indicator of what's happening on the ground,"he said."It doesn't mean that the government is going to change its mind if you have all the MPs in one province [on one side of an issue], but by God ... it should have a lot of weight, and it did."

Mr. Samson added MPs didn't change the decision, as without such public outcry a change wouldn't be as set in stone, but he said they played "a big role in



articulating what the people were saying on the ground.

"My job is to articulate on behalf of my constituents. So I have to have conversations prior to a decision being taken, I have conversations during and I have conversations after. You don't win them all, but this one was an easy one because everybody—the province, the constituents, and ourselves-were quick to conclude that this is where we have to be," he said.

Ms. Zann said in an email to The Hill Times that the Nova Scotia caucus, along with public support, was able to "change the tide" for a public inquiry.

I've learned that politics is a lot like sailing," she said. "When you've got a strong headwind sometimes you need to tack a little to [the] side in order to eventually find the right spot to get the full wind in your sails to help you reach your destination.'

"Onlookers may think you have changed course. But true sailors know that if you have a strong keel and an experienced captain with knowledge of the wind and the waves, you will bring your ship to shore safe and sound—maybe a little later than you'd hoped, but in the home harbour nonetheless," Ms. Zann

"close contact" with all Nova Scotia MPs.

We have heard clearly from families, survivors, advocates and Nova Scotia's Members of Parliament that more could be done to increase transparency. Based on these calls, we took further action by launching a public inquiry that will address the questions raised. We will continue to work with those affected by this tragedy to ensure that an event such as this never happens again," press secretary Mary-Liz Power said in

A spokesperson for Mr. Blair

said the minister has been in

Mr. Blair said on CBC Radio's The House that the pressure from the public was behind the federal government's decision to hold an

a statement.

'I think my colleagues in the Nova Scotia Liberal caucus did their job and advocated very strongly on behalf of their constituents," Mr. Blair said. "Their advocacy was important because the voice of the victims was amplified through them, and certainly I listened very carefully to them and their advocacy did have an impact on the decision that we made.'

Former Liberal ministerial staffer Greg MacEachern, senior vice president at Proof Strategies, said the outreach by Nova Scotia Liberal MPs is an example of MPs finding their voice.

"[They] have realized their full power, especially during a minority government," said Mr. MacEachern, a native of Nova Scotia, highlighting past reports during the previous majority Parliament of cabinet staff dictating direction to MPs.

"This is a really good example of how those days are over,"he said. "If you're a political staffer and you are not aware that things have changed, you can end up—as in a case like this—with some very public awkwardness and examples of where you missed the mark."

'Now it's a minority Parliament, those experienced MPs are very valuable to the government and the government now has to

keep their caucus happy," said Mr. MacEachern, adding that party leadership may have felt that MPs would fall in line based on the experience of Parliament from 2015 to 2019, but that has changed.

"The government should not have had to do a course correction on this. They should have been listening to their MPs, and Senators for that matter," he said.

A public inquiry gives added powers to commissioners, including the power to summon witnesses, have testimony under oath, and compel witnesses to produce documentation that is needed.

It was originally announced that the same three people—former deputy prime minister Anne McLellan, retired Nova Scotia chief justice J. Michael MacDonald, and Leanne Fitch, former chief of police in Fredericton, N.B.—who were charged with being panellists for the independent review would be the commissioners. But it was later announced that Ms. McLellan would not take part in the public inquiry, citing time constraints.

At the same time as his Nova Scotia caucus colleagues were imploring the government to change course, Liberal MP Kody Blois (Kings-Hants, N.S.), chair of the province's federal Liberal caucus, released a statement saying the independent review was welcomed by the MPs, noting the inclusion of a feminist analysis in the review.

Mr. Blois did not respond to an interview request from The Hill

In his statement on Facebook, Mr. Fraser, who did not respond to an interview request from The Hill Times, wrote that his inclusion on the letter was a result of a "serious, albeit innocent, misunderstanding of my views.

Mr. Samson said from the start he felt a public inquiry was the best approach, but he said when the review was announced he said he could have "lived with [it]." citing the benefits with its shorter timeframe and the inclusion of the feminist analysis.

Along with the province's Liberal MPs, the lone opposition MP in the province, Conservative Chris d'Entremont (West Nova, N.S.), was also championing a public inquiry, as were Nova Scotia Senators Wanda Thomas Bernard, Mary Coyle, Colin Deacon, and Stan Kutcher.

"These [Liberal] MPs were reacting not just as representa tives of their constituents in Ottawa, but also as residents of the province that went through a pretty horrific experience,"Mr. MacEachern said. "Those Members of Parliament could see the public reaction and where it was going. At the same time, I don't think any of them were all that surprised because they probably felt the same way."

nmoss@hilltimes.com The Hill Times



MPs spoke to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his staff to urge for a public inquiry. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Liberal

Introduction of remote voting in the House could come without unanimous support

House leaders continue to hold talks over the summer, but whether an agreement can be struck to get Conservatives on side with a recent call to allow remote voting in 'exceptional circumstances' remains to be seen.

Continued from page 1

Orders—the rules that govern how the House of Commons conducts its business—to be made by unanimous consent, all-party agreement isn't technically required, and changes can instead be adopted by simple majority.

A wide array of procedural challenges and changes were considered by the Procedure and House Affairs Committee (PROC) as part of its recent study on how to adapt regular House business in the context of COVID-19—from the tabling of documents, to rules around quorum and decorum in a virtual setting—but the question of whether to introduce remote electronic voting has proven a particular point of contention.

It's an idea Liberals floated during the last Parliament, in the context of permanent rule changes, but which sunk after facing strong Conservative opposition.

In a July 21 report, the majority of PROC members recommended, among other things, that an app-based system of remote electronic voting be pursued by the House administration.

But a strongly worded dissenting report from Conservative members came out against the idea, in particular as the main report recommends such voting be allowed in the (undefined) "event of a crisis or exceptional circumstances," and would constitute a permanent change to the Standing Orders, with no sunset clause included. In turn, Conservatives recommended an expiration date of Dec. 31, 2020, be set for PROC's proposals, at which point the changes could be reviewed and reconsidered.

"After multiple attempts by the Liberals to limit the role of Parliament during the pandemic, they are now pushing for permanent long-term changes that, at a minimum, should be temporary and subject to a review and sunset clause. This is yet another veiled attempt by the prime minister to make his government less accountable and less transparent," said Conservative House Leader Candice Bergen (Portage-Lisgar, Man.) in an emailed statement,

adding she hopes the "government will come around to" implementing the Conservatives' proposals.

Asked for his response to PROC's recommendations, the Conservatives' dissenting report, and whether the government would pursue the required Standing Order amendments without unanimous support, Government House Leader Pablo Rodriguez's (Honoré-Mercier, Que.) office said in an emailed statement that "we clearly want the House of Commons to resume regular sittings in September."

"If public health experts are opposed to large gatherings and cross-country travels, we will need hybrid sittings and remote voting. The Speaker said that solutions are ready and we are 100 [per cent] in favour of it. With it, Canadians will be safely represented in the House of Commons, not only people living in Ottawa, Montreal or Toronto," reads the statement.

meant that we stayed within the scope of our mandate," he said, adding the committee heard testimony "throughout the course of the study ... that at the height of a public health emergency is not the time to be permanently changing the Standing Orders of the House of Commons."

"We pushed for this in committee, and the members of the committee clearly didn't want an expiry date or sunset clause put into it," said Mr. Brassard.

With businesses and schools re-opening, Mr. Brassard said the Dec. 31 timeframe is "reasonable," and changes could be renewed if at that point Canada finds itself in the midst of a second wave, for example.

"We want to make sure that we resurrect Canada's democracy out of the Liberal-induced coma that it's in right now," said Mr. Brassard, but "our job was to look in the context of this current pandemic, it wasn't to look at permanently changing things."

cally, such work involves "negotiations" between the parties and he suspects "the whole issue of sunset would have been talked about."

"The Conservatives have really gone out of their way to avoid any sort of changes to the manner in which we vote and they come up with a multitude of different reasons," he said.

"The idea that the House of Commons cannot change the way in which it votes, whether it's during this emergency situation or an other situation, it's just ludicrous. ... Change is not a bad thing, it can be good for our Parliament, it can make us more effective for Canadians."

Mr. Lamoureux said while unanimous consent "would be wonderful," it's not a requirement, and that "with a minority situation, it means ultimately the government and at least one opposition party has to be OK with it."

"Sometimes getting unanimous support is not possible because one party has taken a very hard position," he said.

an arrangement; and block voting by party whips, "while ensuring that individual Members who wish to vote differently have a way to do so."

In his subsequent feedback, on having MPs queue, Mr. Rota suggested the courtyard space (sometimes referred to as "purgatory") that surrounds the Chamber or the nearby Sir John A. Macdonald building could be used, estimating 56 MPs would be able to line-up in each queue at a time while respecting distancing. On shift voting, the Speaker said a maximum of 86 MPs could be in the Chamber at once in designated desks.

Mr. Rota returned to committee with a run-down of how remote and electronic voting could work and issues to be considered on July 2, telling MPs that, if agreed to, an electronic voting system could quickly be made ready for use by MPs, with House staff already having begun the work of building an IT framework to support such a system.

In its resulting report tabled July 21, the committee stressed the remote-voting system should include multi-factor authentication, multiple notifications or reminders to MPs that a vote is happening, require double confirmation and verification of votes, and having vote times set in advance through talks between House officers, among other things.

The electronic system should also ensure end-to-end encryption; a recording and archiving of results; involve a "dedicated, secure application on Members' House of Commons-managed mobile device to read the motion and cast their vote"; and provide an alternative voting system in case of unexpected technology failures, among other things. It also recommends that the Communications Security Establishment review and report back on the security of any such voting solutions presented, and that MPs be trained on the new system, including inviting all MPs to take part in a mock sitting, before the first such vote.

While the main committee report clearly recommends a remote-voting solution be built—also recommending the administration work to develop a way to conduct secret ballots electronically "in the rare event they are ever necessary"—a dissenting report filed by Conservative members slammed Liberal "MPs' lust to vote by app."

Conservatives also recommended, among other things, that the House resume regular inperson sittings with up to a maximum of 86 MPs in the House at once, with MPs "strongly encouraged" to remain in the National Capital Region during weekends to minimize travel, and that MPs be tested for COVID-19 before being allowed to enter the Chamber and be tested "at least weekly" while staying in the area.

lryckewaert@hilltimes.com The Hill Times







Liberal House Leader Pablo Rodriguez and Conservative House Leader Candice Bergen, pictured alongside a shot of the House of Commons on June 4, after large video screens were installed to allow the Chamber to hold hybrid virtual sittings. *The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade*

"The Conservatives need to also support it, it's common sense in the $21^{\rm st}$ century."

In a follow-up response on whether the government would consider adding a sunset clause to try to get Conservatives on side, press secretary Simon Ross said "we will discuss the matter with the other parties in the coming weeks."

Though PROC is expected to meet again before the House returns in September, a House vote is required to concur in the report—which can be done by majority, and would be enough to make the proposed changes official—but before that happens, the government has to table its response, as requested by PROC.

Conservative MP John Brassard (Barrie-Innisfil, Ont.), a member of PROC, said the permanent changes recommended in the main committee report go beyond its original mandate.

"In terms of changing the Standing Orders, having a sunset date on there really would have

Security concerns aside, Mr. Brassard flagged the "unintended consequences" permanently allowing remote electronic voting in "exceptional circumstances" could bring, suggesting for example that "if a Member of Parliament was facing serious criminal charges for example ... that particular Member would not have to be in Ottawa to face the scrutiny of the Parliamentary Press Gallery," or that the option could be used by MPs facing "a close race for re-election" to spend more time in their riding.

Liberal MP Kevin Lamoureux (Winnipeg North, Man.), parliamentary secretary to the House leader and a longstanding advocate for the introduction of remote voting, welcomed PROC's recommendations, calling them a needed modernization.

Asked whether he thinks a sunset clause should be added to try to get Conservatives onside, Mr. Lamoureux said that while he wasn't part of the committee's in-camera deliberations to draft its report, typi-

"The bottom line is that there was a report [recommending this change, and] it took more than one political party in order to get that passed."

A closer look at PROC, CPC recommendations

Through an order of reference adopted—without unanimous consent—on May 26, PROC was directed to look into how regular House business could be conducted during the pandemic.

In a June 11 letter to House Speaker Anthony Rota (Nipissing-Timiskaming, Ont.), Ms. Bergen asked his office to look into how it could implement a number of voting options: having MPs queue in the lobbies, or the House Chamber, to verbally indicate their votes to a table officer, similar to the U.K.; shift voting in the Chamber; deferred divisions, with MPs marking off votes and signing their names to a paper ballot; making vote pairing a "binding commitment" by having MPs sign



Dea exits as PMO issues, parliamentary affairs director

Plus, the Liberal research bureau has a new communications director, and there are a couple of staff departures from the Conservative OLO to note.

Maxime Dea recently made his exit from the Prime Minister's Office after a little more than half a year as director of issues management and parliamentary affairs and legal affairs adviser to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

Mr. Dea officially shifted to post-employment status as of July 22, according to the federal conflict of interest commissioner's online registry.

"Max Dea decided in June to move back to Montreal with his family. We are sad to see him go and wish him all the best," said PMO press secretary Alex Wellstead.

That would put his decision ahead of the current WE Charity controversy that has engulfed the PMO and no doubt made for busy days for the office's issues management team, which continues to be led by executive director of issues management, parliamentary affairs, and Canada-U.S. relations **Brian Clow**.



Maxime Dea, pictured in the prime minister's office in the West Block building. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

A former counsel with Global Affairs Canada's trade law bureau. Mr. Dea had been working for the Trudeau government since December 2015, starting with a brief run as chief of staff to thendemocratic

institutions

minister Maryam Monsef.

From there, he became director of policy to then-agriculture minister **Lawrence MacAulay**, a role he held for roughly a year before joining the PMO for the first time as a policy adviser in March 2017. A little more than a year later, Mr. Dea left the top office to become chief of staff to then-Canadian heritage minister **Pablo Rodriguez**. He ran his office until November 2019, re-joining the PMO post-election in his most recent role.

Off the Hill, Mr. Dea is also a former lawyer with Borden Ladner Gervais LLP and former law clerk to then-Supreme Court justice **Marie Deschamps**, amongst other past experience.

No one new has been hired to replace Mr. Dea—yet, at least. Along with Mr. Clow, **Sebastien Belliveau** remains in place as deputy director of issues management and parliamentary affairs. Also part of the unit

are: Samantha Khalil, senior manager of issues management and parliamentary affairs; advisers Sabrina Kim, Alana Kiteley, and Thi Tran; co-ordinator Munavvar Tojiboeva; and Elise Wagner, senior special assistant for Canada-U.S. relations.

After roughly four and a half years in the PMO, senior speechwriter **Gabrielle Cesvet** marked her last day as a writer for Mr. Trudeau on July 31, announcing her



Gabrielle Cesvet, pictured at work with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. Photograph by Adam Scotti/courtesy of Twitter

departure on Twitter, calling it a "hard day."
"I loved being a speechwriter. It kicked
my ass, but it taught me so much and I'm
forever grateful for the opportunity of a
lifetime," wrote Ms. Cesvet.

She first began working for Mr. Trudeau five years ago in May 2015, starting as communications intern in his office as the then-third party Liberal leader. "Just four days after graduating" from McGill University, where she earned a bachelor's degree in political science, as she noted on Twitter.

Ms. Cesvet went on to do communications work for the 2015 federal Liberal campaign, and after the party was elected to government, she joined the PMO as a

writer. In 2016, she joined the office's speechwriting team, later adding on the title of French communications adviser. She was a speechwriter for Mr. Trudeau during the 2019 campaign, after which she returned



Vincent Hughes is joining the PMO as a communications planner. *Photograph courtesy of Twitter*



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau pictured with Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland at a press conference in the West Block on July 16. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

to the PMO as senior speechwriter.

Now, she's headed off the Hill, and out of the country, set to return to school at the University of Oxford.

"The only thing I will miss more than the job is the team," she wrote on Twitter.

Headed in the other direction is **Vincent Hughes**, who's returning to the Hill to
become a communications planner in the
PMO after taking time to travel the world

following the 2019 election.

Mr. Hughes' travel plans were thrown to the wind a couple of months in as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, and until recently he was Australia, where he'd been since mid-March when cases began skyrocketing across the world. On July 25, he tweeted a photo of himself donning personal protective equipment for his 36hour return journey to Canada.

In the PMO, Mr. Hughes fills communications planner **Emily Trogen**'s shoes. Ms. Trogen is

currently on maternity leave.

Before heading off on his travels, Mr. Hughes had spent most of the last Parliament working for now-President of the Queen's Privy Council **Dominic LeBlanc**, starting in March 2016 as a Quebec and Atlantic regional affairs adviser to Mr. LeBlanc as minister of fisheries and oceans. In 2018, he was promoted to press secretary to the minister, and after Mr. LeBlanc was shuffled into the intergovernmental and northern affairs and internal trade post in July 2018, Mr. Hughes was quick to follow, later being promoted to senior communications adviser.

In his new role, Mr. Hughes will be working closely alongside fellow communications planner Andrew MacKendrick. Cameron Ahmad is director of communications in the PMO, supported by deputy directors of communications Chantal Gagnon and Vanessa Hage-Moussa.

Katie Telford is chief of staff to the prime minister.

LRB names new comms director

Allie Lee recently got a promotion, having been tapped to take over as director of communications in the Liberal caucus' research bureau, also known as the LRB.

The role has been vacant since **John O'Leary**'s exit early last month to become a senior consultant with Crestview Strategy.

Ms. Lee has been working in the LRB since April 2017, starting as a media rela-

tions and engagement adviser. She's been working her way up the office ladder since, becoming a senior adviser for media relations and communications in January 2019, and a year later, manager of communications. Ms. Lee spent the fall 2019 federal election managing the team of videographers and editors producing video content for the national Liberal campaign.

Before coming to the Hill to work for the LRB in 2017, she was a senior business analyst with the Wazuku Advisory Group.

Melissa Cotton is managing director of the LRB, which supports all 156 members of the Liberal caucus.

Kalogerakos among recent OLO exits

There have been a couple of recent staff exits from outgoing Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer's office, including that of associate director of policy and research Nick Kalogerakos, who marked his last day on the job on July 24.

A former Harper-era cabinet staffer, Mr. Kalogerakos first joined Mr. Scheer's OLO as a policy adviser in 2017, later becoming associate director of issues management and research.

He's a former director of parliamentary affairs to then-national revenue minister **Kerry-Lynne Findlay**, who returned to the House to sit as the MP for South Surrey-White Rock, B.C., last fall, having previously lost her seat in 2015. Mr. Kalogerakos is also a former senior policy adviser to thencitizenship minister **Chris Alexander**, and a former policy adviser to then-international co-operation minister **Julian Fantino**.

Morgan Swan has also recently left the opposition leader's office. She'd been working there since the beginning of 2018, starting as a digital media liaison and ending as a regional adviser for B.C., Alberta, and the territories. Before then, she was doing public affairs work for Crestview Strategy in Ottawa, amongst other past experience noted on her LinkedIn profile.

During the 2019 election, Ms. Swan was a press secretary for B.C. and the Territories for the Conservative campaign.

Now off the Hill, she's already started a new job as an account director with Spark Advocacy.

It's worth noting that Ian Brodie, who joined the OLO as a senior adviser to Mr. Scheer in January, remains in place. In reporting on Mr. Brodie's return to the Hill, the CBC indicated he would be in place for the "next six months." That timing would have lined up with the originally planned conclusion of the Conservative Party's still-ongoing leadership race on June 27. Delayed due to the COVID-19 pandemic, party members now have until Aug. 21 to cast their ballots. The party has still yet to confirm when the new leader will be announced, but in a recent interview with The Hill Times, Conservative Party director of communications Cory Hann indicated he expected it to come "days" not "weeks" after Aug. 21.

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DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES

by Samantha Wright Allen

Recognize Palestine as a state, upgrade diplomatic status, says new representative

₹anada should recognize Palestine as Ottawa, who called Canada a good friend despite an international voting record on the disputed territory that critics say is one of the reasons for Canada's recently failed bid for a UN Security Council seat.

Canada has always been present for Palestine," said Palestinian Chief Representative Hala Abou-Hassira in an interview with The Hill Times on July 22.

Most importantly, she said Canadian leaders have voiced opposition to a proposed Israeli annexation of a large part of the occupied West Bank.

"Canada has voiced its objection [and] commitment to a two-state solution"to the longstanding Israeli-Palestinian conflict, she said, describing Canada as a friend of Palestine.

Earlier in June, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau said Canada remained committed to seeing a two-state solution and that he had expressed to Israeli leaders"deep concerns and disagreement" over Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's now-delayed plan to annex almost a third of the West Bank.

in the middle of a pandemic. Photograph courtesy of the Palestinian General Delegation Canada's position was underscored to Ms. Abou-Hassira again during a recent phone call with Foreign Affairs Minister François-

Palestinian Chief Representative Hala Abou-

Hassira, who arrived in Ottawa March 16,

said it was a challenge to start her posting

Philippe Champagne on June 8. We had a very warm, frank conversation. We discussed the need to develop the bilateral relationship between Canada and Palestine, we discussed annexation, the dangers of it, the illegality of this act," she said of her first official call, though she estimates she's had about 70 visits with Ottawa diplomats through Zoom since.

"Minister Champagne voiced out clearly Canada's engagement to the two-state solution, Canada's objection to annexation and unilateral actions.'

In June, when Canada lost its bid for a UN Security Council seat to Ireland and Norway, some critics said Canada's international voting record on Palestine had harmed its campaign.

Asked if she believed that was a factor, Ms. ou-Hassira said because the UN vote is private it's not possible for her to know the positions of the different member states and that she hoped Canada would get a seat one day.

Her predecessor, Nabil Maarouf, told The Hill Times in 2016 a more supportive record could help Canada's bid for the 2021 seat. When the Palestinian Authority pushed to be recognized at the United Nations as a nonmember observer state in 2012—and easily took enough votes- Israel, Canada, and the United States took a strong stand against among the nine against, though 138 voted in favour. The Liberals have, for the most part,

continued that pattern since, aside from a November 2019 vote in support of Palestinians' right to self-determination after 14 times voting against the same resolution.

Ms. Abou-Hassira didn't offer a position on Canada's voting record, instead saying Canada has taken "positive steps towards peace in the region.

"Our struggle at the United Nations is not an issue of counting votes, it is a struggle for freedom," she said. "It is a matter of standing next to the principle of international law. It is a matter of standing by the right of the Palestinian people and

its inalienable right to freedom and independence.'

Like her predecessor, she said she'd like to see the Canadian government upgrade the office's diplomatic status. Currently, the representatives don't present letters of credentials like ambassadors and high commissioners, but instead offer a letter of introduction between foreign ministers. But "primarily" she said it's important Canada recognizes the state of Palestine to protect the two-state solution. It's a move which the

Israeli government and its allies have called unhelpful in achieving peace.

Arriving amid COVID 'challenging'

Ms. Abou-Hassira is the first woman representative for Palestine in Canada and North America, a milestone she said she's proud to make. She arrived on March 16, just five days after the World Health Organization declared COVID-19 a pandemic and days after Canada started bringing in lockdown measures.

It was "very challenging" to arrive in a new country alone, working remotely from home and not yet knowing her team in Ottawa, she said

Still, she said she found ways to communicate with the Palestinian community and learn what support the diaspora needed in the pandemic's early days. It involved many conversations with universities to help students stuck in Canada and facing the prospect of closing dorms and nowhere to go.

It also led to her first human co months, when 25 seats were set aside on a Jordanian repatriation flight, as part of a joint operation with the neighbouring country, and she travelled to Montreal on June 18 to say goodbye to passengers on the first such flight. many of whom were students.

'It was the first time for me to see faces, to see people and communicate with people, and I was so happy that it was our students going back home to join their families," she said, calling it an "exceptional moment."

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Events **Feature**

Parties of the past

The Hill Times photographs by Sam Garcia

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

Ecuador takes over City Hall



Mr. Terán-Parral and Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson







Peruvian envoy throws first Canadian party









Morocco fêtes national day







Parliamentary Calendar

RBC Bluesfest Drive-In series ends with weekend of concerts Aug. 7

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 5

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

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.

Canadian Politics and Policy: Economic Outlook in a Pandemic—S&P Global Market Intelligence hosts a webinar on "Canadian Politics and Policy: Economic Outlook in a Pandemic," reviewing the decline in commodities markets, the next steps for Canadian financial markets, and the long-term effects of Employment Insurance, tax deferrals and stimulus on economic stability through 2021. Adam Noah, head of government affairs and public policy, North America, for S&P Global, will moderate the discussion featuring Devi Aurora, senior director, financial services ratings, S&P Global Ratings; Satyam Panday, senior economist, S&P Global Ratings; and Kevin Murphy, senior analyst, S&P Global Market Intelligence. Wednesday, Aug. 5, from noon to 1 p.m. Register online at spglobal.com.

THURSDAY, AUG. 6

75 Years Since the Nuclear Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: We Remember-Aug. 6 and 9 will mark 75 years since atomic bombs were dropped on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing more than 200,000 people. The Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (CNANW) will host a virtual event on Thursday, Aug. 6 from 2-3:30 p.m. EDT to honour the victims of this unspeakable act, and to consider new action to help rid the world of nuclear weapons. Featured speakers include: bombing survivor Setsuko Thurlow; Douglas Roche, former senator, ambassador for disarmament; Alain Dondainaz, head of mission to Canada of the International Committee of the Red Cross: Peggy Mason, former Ambassador for Disarma ment and current president of the Rideau Institute; Ray Acheson, director of Reaching Critical Will, the disarmament program of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Cesar Jaramillo, executive director of Project Ploughshares; and Michel Duguay, former co-ordinator of the Let's Move Quebec Out of Nuclear movement. CNANW chair Earl Turcotte will moderate. Register via Eventbrite.

FRIDAY, AUG. 7

Pink Tea Conversation With Sally Armstrong—The Famous 5 host the next in its Virtual Pink Tea Conversations featuring Sally Armstrong, award-winning author, journalist, and human rights activist who has reported and written about the struggles and triumphs of women in war and conflict areas. Friday, Aug. 7, from 1-2 p.m. MDT. Tickets available at famou5.ca.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7—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. The remaining concerts will take place on Friday, Aug. 7, Saturday, Aug. 8, and Sunday, Aug. 9. Tickets on sale now. For the details, including additional dates and performers, go to: canadaperforms.ottawabluesfest.ca/

TUESDAY, AUG. 11

COVID, Recovery, and Immigration—Since 2015, Prime Minister Trudeau and the Liberal government have regularly and widely championed immigration to Canada and the welcoming of refugees. Now, as we begin to recover from the COVID-19 pandemic, we must examine how this tumultuous period has shown areas of weakness in immigration. We must also consider how immigration has been affected during the pandemic and how this has affected Canada economically, socially, and otherwise. Join the Pearson Centre and federal Minister of Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Marco Mendicino as we discuss the role of immigration in rebuilding the Canadian economy. Tuesday, Aug. 11, from 2 p.m.-2:45 p.m. Register online.

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 12

Business Fireside Chat with Minister Ng and NCR Caucus—Minister of Small Business, Export Promotion, and International Trade Mary Ng will take part in a Business Fireside Chat hosted by the Ottawa Board of Trade. Wednesday, Aug. 12, from 11 a.m. to noon. Registration available at business.ottawabot.ca.

THURSDAY, AUG. 13

How-to Parliament—Ryerson University hosts "How-to Parliament: An introduction to the Institute for Future Legislators." Past IFL alumni and instructors will share insights from their time in the program, how they've put their training practice since the institute, and advice for anyone interested in the program or politics in general. Participants can participate in one of our signature IFL political simulations, experiencing first-hand some of the challenges, trade-offs, and opportunities that come along with public office. Thursday, Aug. 13, beginning at 3:30 p.m. EDT. Register for the Zoom event via Ryerson.

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 19

Ipsos COVID-19 August Update: Ask Me Anything Webinar—Join Darrell Bricker, global CEO of Ipsos Public Affairs for another interactive and frank "Ask me anything" webinar examining how the public mood around COVID-19 has evolved, where concerns are most focused now, and how the crisis is affecting Canadians' behaviour now and in the future. Aug. 19, 1:30 p.m. (ET), online. It will last 60 minutes. Register at Ipsos.com or online here.

FRIDAY, AUG. 21

Conservative Party Leadership Contest—The federal Conservative Party's Leadership Election Organizing Committee, also known as LEOC, announced on April 29 that Aug. 21 is the deadline for mail-in ballots, after the leadership was suspended on March 26 due to the global pandemic. The party says the winner will be announced once the ballots can be safely counted.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 2

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

MONDAY, SEPT. 21

House Sitting—The House is scheduled to return in the fall on Monday, Sept. 21, for three straight weeks, as per the original House sitting calendar.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 22

Senate Sitting—The Senate is scheduled to return in the fall on Tuesday, Sept. 22.

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



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Regulations:

 The nitty-gritty of regulations of laws enacted after legislation



Directory:

 A frequently updated list of all MPs and Senators with all of their contact details



QP Report:

- Summary of what happened in Question Period the day before (when the House is sitting)
- A bulleted list of what was discussed and who/what was mentioned



In Parliament:

 A quick glance at what legislation may be debated (when the House is sitting)



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