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News

Easing of restrictions to non-U.S. travellers into Canada unlikely to be met with Trump backlash, could pave way for reopening of 49th parallel, say experts

'The core operating ideal within ... Ottawa is evidence-based policymaking and there are clearly other jurisdictions out there besides the U.S. that have done a better job in containing [the virus],' says Eric Miller.

BY NEIL MOSS

With no progress towards reopening the Canada-U.S. border as the United States continues to be overwhelmed by COVID-19, experts say easing restrictions to allow non-U.S. foreign nationals to travel to Canada could be the first step in a phased reopening of the 49th parallel.

Despite U.S. President Donald Trump's forceful defence of his handling of the coronavirus pandemic, former diplomats told *The Hill Times* that a reopening

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A spokesperson for Public Safety Minister Bill Blair wouldn't say if the government is exploring easing restrictions to non-U.S. travellers to Canada before the Canada-U.S. border is reopened to normal operations. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

News

WE Charity highlights loopholes for 'celebrity' and secret lobbying, warn observers who call for long overdue review

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

Parliamentarians should reopen the Lobbying Act and adopt old recommendations to close loopholes that make secret lobbying possible, say observers and industry insiders, and address concerns that "celebrity" influencers can have an impact and get access with just a few calls and no requirement to report that activity.

Removing the 20 per cent rule as a threshold for reporting activity is the most obvious reform cited by

successive lobbying commissioners, MPs, and ethics watchdogs. It was also the reason given by WE co-founders Marc and Craig Kielburger under MP questioning why it was not registering to lobby, despite submitting proposals for government contracts. The charity was ultimately tapped to administer a student-volunteer program worth hundreds of millions of dollars, which it backed away from after immediate controversy for

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News

'Weak' trade growth in 2019 caused by 'trade policy uncertainty' and 'mixed economic signals', Global Affairs report suggests

BY NEIL MOSS

Following a year of slow economic growth in 2019 which

hurt Canadian trade, a Global Affairs report on the "State of Trade" suggests that the gloomy trade news will be likely "overshad-

owed" by the economic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic.

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News

Fundraising amid pandemic 'incredibly difficult' for Green leadership hopefuls as Paul takes clear lead

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

The latest fundraising figures suggest one Green Party leadership candidate is pulling ahead, doubling the next nearest contender in total raised to date despite what she called an "incredibly difficult" climate for

fundraising amid the pandemic. Ontario lawyer and leadership contender Annamie Paul's \$84,735 represented 38 per cent of all of the hopeful's hauls in the second quarter of 2020—\$225,368—and more than doubled her next near-

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HEARD ON THE HILL

by Neil Moss

Ng, Qualtrough to appear at Finance Committee as WE Charity inquiry continues



Small Business Minister Mary Ng, left, and Employment Minister Carla Qualtrough are the latest cabinet members to appear in front of the House Finance Committee in the midst of the WE scandal. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

Following the testimony of Diversity and Inclusion and Youth Minister **Bardish Chagger**, Employment, Workforce Development, and Disability Inclusion Minister **Carla Qualtrough**, and **Ian Ian Shugart**, the clerk of the Privy Council, at the House Ethics Committee on Aug. 11, Small Business, Export Promotion, and International Trade Minister **Mary Ng** and Ms. Qualtrough will take centre stage as the House Finance Committee continues its look into WE Charity and the awarding of the Canada Student Service Grant.

WE Charity sent a proposal to Ms. Ng and Ms. Chagger in April to run a program that it said would aid young Canadians amidst the COVID-19 pandemic, which followed a phone call Ms. Ng had with WE co-founder **Craig Kielburger** in which Ms. Ng told the organization to submit a proposal for a program that would encourage young Canadians to launch businesses.

So far, a handful of cabinet members have appeared before the Finance Committee, including Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau**, Finance Minister **Bill Morneau**, and Ms. Chagger. The committee has also heard from nearly two dozen witnesses over eight meetings since July 16, including Mr. Shugart and PMO chief of staff **Katie Telford**. Ms. Ng and Ms. Qualtrough are each scheduled to appear for an hour on Aug. 12.

The Ethics Committee is in the early stages of a study reviewing safeguards needed to prevent conflict of interests in government projects in the fall out of the WE scandal, and the House Committee on Official Languages is meeting on Aug. 12 to decide if it will start a study on the federal government's decision to award a contract to implement the Canada Student Service Grant to a primarily Anglophone organization.

Ottawa Police investigating incident outside McKenna's community office

The Ottawa Police Service is currently investigating an Aug. 6 incident that occurred at Minister of Infrastructure and Communities **Catherine McKenna's** constituency office in Ottawa after one of her staff was confronted by an individual

who launched into an expletive-filled rant after being denied a conversation with the Liberal MP.

The confrontation was captured on camera and has been circulating on social media. After asking if he could speak with Ms. McKenna, a staffer told the individual that her office was not open to the public due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Following an initial question about infrastructure spending, the individual then began a nearly 50-second tirade about Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau**, the ongoing WE Charity scandal, and government spending before suggesting "you're all going to get what you deserve," among other foul statements that *The Hill Times* has chosen not to re-print.

"I've got a tiny bit of an issue—can you help me? She says she's spending \$10-billion a year on infrastructure, the PBO office, Yves Giroux says she's only spending \$5-billion a year—what's up with that," said the unidentified individual before launching into his tirade.

When asked about the incident that appeared on social media, Const. **Martin Dompierre**, in media relations with the Ottawa Police Service, told *The Hill Times* that "on Aug. 6, at approximately 10:30 in the morning, there was an incident that occurred in the 100 block of Catherine Street."

"We received the complaint and it's presently under investigation. There's no further information at this time," said Const. Dompierre, who also said the Ottawa Police Service does not release information around specific addresses.

Ms. McKenna's community office is located at 107 Catherine St., slightly northwest of the Queensway in Centretown.

"The appropriate law enforcement authorities have been notified about this incident," wrote Ms. McKenna in an emailed statement to *The Hill Times*. "Unfortunately, it is not a one-off or an isolated occurrence."

Ms. McKenna also wrote that she, her family, and her staff deal with abusive behaviour on a regular basis, which is "unacceptable" and which she is "committed to working across party lines to make it stop."

"It is also the kind of behaviour that discourages women from entering politics," said Ms. McKenna. "These people just want attention. The only attention they should get is from law enforcement."



Infrastructure Minister Catherine McKenna is pictured speaking to members of the media on Aug. 10 to address an incident at her constituency office that is being investigated by the Ottawa police. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

The individual in the video also posted a video on Aug. 8 in which he confronted a CBC-Radio-Canada reporter in what looks to be downtown Ottawa, calling him a "scumbag" and "part of the problem [who] protects Justin Trudeau."

There is also a third video on what appears to be Sparks Street outside of CBC's headquarters, where the individual confronts a cameraman and reporter calling them "the enemy of the people."

Ms. McKenna has received support online since reports of the incident came out, including from Conservative leadership candidate **Peter MacKay**, who wrote "this is abhorrent behaviour that no one deserves," as well as former U.S. ambassador to Canada **Bruce Heyman**, who wrote that although he doesn't "as a normal course involve myself in Canadian politics," he respects Ms. McKenna, her professionalism, "and her desire to make Canada and the world at large a better place." Ottawa City Councillor **Riley Brockington**, who represents River Ward, also tweeted that he firmly stands with his Ottawa Centre colleague and friend "by rejecting any and all forms of hate."

Ms. McKenna has also previously been the subject of death threats and hate online and in-person, including being confronted in her riding of Ottawa Centre while with her children during the last federal election campaign, and having her campaign office vandalized in October 2019 when someone spray painted the word "cunt" across her picture on the front door of her office.

—Mike Lapointe

International Human Rights Subcommittee to meet to draft news release on Uyghur crisis

Three weeks after the House Subcommittee on International Human Rights heard from 23 witnesses over more than 14 hours on China's treatment of its Uyghur population, its members are meeting in camera to review a draft of a news release on the meetings.



Conservative MP Garnett Genuis says there is "clear cut" evidence that Chinese authorities are committing acts of genocide against Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

The subcommittee heard from many who argued that the treatment of Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang amounts to genocide.

Conservative MP **Garnett Genuis** told *The Hill Times* in July that there is "clear cut" evidence of genocide taking place.

NDP MP **Heather McPherson** said it is "pretty universally agreed upon is that there needs to be more done."

"I will say that the testimony that we heard—the very credible witnesses that we heard from, the survivors that we heard from—there's pretty strong proof and testimony that there have been acts of genocide perpetrated against the Uyghur people," she said.

Former BoC governor Mark Carney to advise Trudeau on COVID-19 economic recovery: report

A former governor of the Bank of Canada has been selected to help craft Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau's** economic recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic, according to a Bloomberg report.



Mark Carney was the governor of the Bank of Canada from 2008 to 2013. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Mark Carney, who was Canada's top banker from 2008 to 2013, is assisting Mr. Trudeau in an informal role for his "ambitious" recovery plan that will start to be announced in a fall budget update, the report notes.

Following his time leading the Bank of Canada, Mr. Carney served in the same role for the Bank of England from 2013 to 2020. He was appointed the United Nations' envoy for climate action and climate finance last December.

Before the last federal election last October as the Liberals' poll numbers were declining due to the SNC-Lavalin affair, *The Toronto Star* suggested that Mr. Carney was a potential replacement to succeed Mr. Trudeau as the next Liberal leader.

Former Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec CEO **Michael Sabia** is also advising Mr. Trudeau, Bloomberg reported. Mr. Sabia was recently appointed the new chair of the board for the Canada Infrastructure Bank.

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CORRECTION: *The Hill Times*, August 5 issue

Re: "WE scandal underlines need to review lobbying rules," (*The Hill Times*, Aug. 5). *The Hill Times* incorrectly stated that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's 2017 Bahamas vacation to the Aga Khan's private island was paid for by the Aga Khan Foundation. *The Hill Times* regrets this error.

'Weak' trade growth in 2019 caused by 'trade policy uncertainty' and 'mixed economic signals', Global Affairs report suggests

Canada's export growth with China declined by 16 per cent in 2019 and growth in exports to the United States slowed to 2.5 per cent.

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The benchmark report on Canada's international trade numbers, released by the office of Global Affairs' chief economist, found that goods exports to China dropped by 16 per cent in 2019, despite an annual average growth of 6.3 per cent from 2010 to 2019. Export growth with the United States only reached 2.5 per cent, down from an average growth of 4.6 per cent over the last decade.

The report suggests that Canada's "weak" trade performance was due to the "challenging global trade environment," but noted that "Canadian trade performed well compared to global trade."

Trade tensions between the United States and China was noted as a contributor to "trade policy uncertainty" as was the ongoing Brexit process. "Mixed economic signals" also caused trade disruptions as the global economy had the worst year of economic growth since the recession.

Goods export growth also declined to Mexico, South Korea, and Japan, but grew compared to last decade's average growth in India and the European Union. Annual growth for exports was 1.7 per cent in 2019 across the board compared to 4.4 per cent in average annual growth from 2010 to 2019. Imports similarly grew slowly—1.1 per cent compared to an annual average of 4.5 per cent in the last decade. Services trade also grew slower than its average annual growth in recent years.

"The global economy was already starting to kind of tap the brakes a little bit even before COVID came along and the sluggish growth was a concern that we had. Now, everything was just blown up by COVID altogether," said Mark Agnew, senior director of international policy at the Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

He said the types of problems that Canada faced before March that were causing the slowdown in trade are not the same things that have to be dealt with due to COVID-19.

The declining trade numbers with China can be seen as a result of Canada's political difficulties with China, as well as increas-



International Trade Minister Mary Ng took over the cabinet role near the tail end of a year filled with trade tensions and poor economic growth. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

ing protectionism, and increased China and U.S. trade uncertainty, said former trade official Robert Wolfe, now a Queen's University policy studies professor emeritus.

"The rules applying to trade haven't been as stable as firms like and that has a real impact on firm strategy and firm behaviour," Prof. Wolfe said of the increased uncertainty brought on by the China-U.S. trade war.

"We're a small player, relative to China and the United States; if their trade is slowing or their economies are slowing, our trade will slow," he said, noting that is particularly the case for energy.

Exports to China declined 15 per cent in March 2020 compared to March 2019, as Canada was facing the early days of the economic shutdown brought on by the pandemic.

Mr. Agnew said there are questions yet to be answered over how political issues with China will affect Canada's exports.

He added there are still structural issues for Canada to address, such as the global wave of protectionism, including with the U.S. and its use of national security tariffs, as well as the challenges created for Canadian industry by industrial subsidies around the globe.

The Trump administration reimposed 10 per cent tariffs on Canadian aluminum tariffs, for which Canada announced it would have a "dollar for dollar" response with \$3.6-billion worth of retaliatory tariffs following a period of consultations with Canadian industry.

Prof. Wolfe said there is only so much that Canada can do to promote trade growth.

"What Canada can do is try to keep barriers down and markets open so that when there is growth, we have a chance to compete for the sales in those markets just like everybody else," he said. "Arguably, that is what Canada has been doing at the WTO with various initiatives to promote keeping markets open and to keep monitoring what has been going on so there is a early warning signal if there are

numbers in the early days," he said.

Auto, electronics, energy, and machinery exports decline in March

The State of Trade report looked at how Canadian trade was impacted by the COVID-19 in the early days of 2020, finding that the automotive, electronics, energy, and machinery sectors suffered the biggest decline.

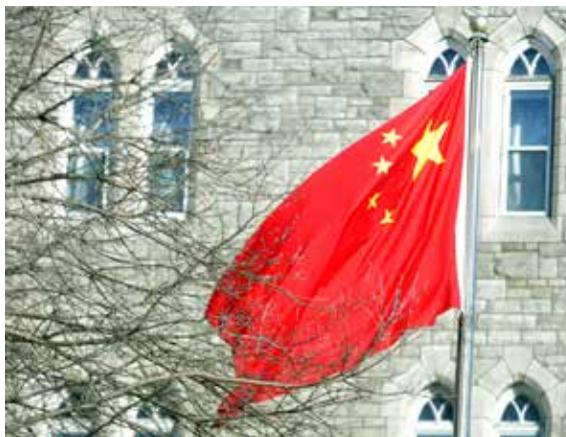
Auto exports dropped 23 per cent in March compared to the previous year, electronics exports dropped by 26 per cent, energy exports by 21 per cent, and machinery by 11 per cent.

Overall in March, exports dropped by 7.9 per cent compared to the previous year and imports by 8.4 per cent. But the report suggests that the declines cannot be "fully attributed" to the pandemic.

The agriculture sector had a 13 per cent increase in exports in March, which, the report found, "moderated" the decline in good exports for the month.

Pharmaceutical exports grew by 35 per cent in March, which the report suggests is likely to continue throughout the pandemic, if Canadian industry can keep up with the demand, as will increases in precious stones and metals which were up 12 per cent in March as gold prices have risen during the pandemic.

Since the pandemic hit Canada, there have been rebounds in some of the sectors that struggled



Canada's trade with China declined by 15 per cent in March compared to the previous year. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

restrictions growing on anything from medical goods to agricultural commodities."

Adam Taylor, a former adviser to then-Conservative trade minister Ed Fast (Abbotsford, B.C.), now president of Export Action Global, said the slowing economy is "ultimately the culprit" for reduced trade flows.

Mr. Taylor said increased protectionism was more of a concern in 2020 as the pandemic hit and countries were focused on self-sufficiency.

"The economy was already slowing pre-pandemic and I think that was a large driver of the

in March, with June exports increasing 17.1 per cent compared to the previous month.

The report suggests that signs of an economic recovery in China is "good news," as it suggests that country will resume importing and exporting.

"As Canadian industries resume their activities, many will likely look again to China as an important market while others will once again procure most if not all of the inputs they have traditionally sourced from China," the report reads.

More needs to be done to take advantage of CETA: report

Although trade with the European Union grew by 7.7 per cent in 2019 compared to an annual growth of 3.3 per cent in the last decade, the report suggests more still needs to be done to take advantage of Canada's trade agreement with the EU, the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA).

The agreement has been provisionally applied since 2017, although only 15 of 27 EU member states have ratified the pact.

The report found that the utilization rate for preferential tariffs was 53 per cent for exports and 46 per cent for imports—increases of three and nine per cent, respectively, compared to the previous year.

"These findings suggest that further promotion efforts are needed, with special attention to some markets like Germany and the United Kingdom, to increase the utilization rates."

Mr. Taylor said more needs to be done on the implementation and enforcement of trade deals, like CETA.

"For example, the Canadian agri-food sector has essentially been shut out of the EU market because of all these non-tariff barriers that have persisted despite the agreement being in force for three years," he said. "We set up a whole bunch of mechanisms within the agreement to prevent these very things from happening—yet they're happening."

Mr. Agnew said there is "definitely" work that needs to be done still to realize opportunities, including on promotion of the agreement and enabling businesses to understand how to take advantage of it.

He said there also is a need for patience, as building relationships take time, which will only be made more difficult due to the pandemic.

Mr. Agnew added it will take seven to eight years to have a better understanding if the trade pact met the objectives of the negotiation to allow companies to understand the agreement and build relationships.

Mr. Taylor said more needs to be done by Global Affairs, especially through its State of Trade report to analyze trade deals and to see if Canadian businesses have gotten what was promised.

"It is increasingly being identified as a real sort of gap at Global Affairs—the tracking of implementation and enforcement side of trade agreements," he said.

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News

WE Charity highlights loopholes for ‘celebrity’ and secret lobbying, warn observers who call for long overdue review

‘I’m of the opinion that organizations understand the rules so well that we have seen that they will make sure they don’t have to report if they don’t want to,’ says ethics scholar Ian Stedman.

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close ties and past speaking-fee payments to members of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s family.

Without the current media and committee scrutiny, the interactions between WE Charity and officials would not have been known, and that needs to change said Duff Conacher, co-founder of Democracy Watch.

“Secret and unethical lobbying is legal at the federal level and and very easy to do and that’s a recipe for corruption, waste, and abuse of the public interest and the loopholes need to be closed so not even one minute of secret lobbying is allowed,” said Mr. Conacher in an interview after testifying Aug. 10 before the House Ethics Committee on the scandal and conflict of interest investigations into Finance Minister Bill Morneau (Toronto Centre, Ont.) and Mr. Trudeau (Papineau, Que.). The Bloc, NDP, and Conservative ethics critics did not respond to request for comment by deadline.

The lobbying rules require groups and individuals to register communications with designated public officials—like political staffers, top bureaucrats, and politicians—if government relations make up a significant part of their duties. Often referred to as the “20 per cent rule,” if an employee’s time on lobbying meets that mark, then the group must register. But there are other

“big loopholes” Mr. Conacher and others would like to see closed. The Act also limits registrable lobbying activity to those who are paid consultants, staffers, or board members, and only requires that oral and pre-arranged communications be reported. And if a politician reaches out or a person is “invited to lobby,” Mr. Conacher noted, and the matter isn’t about money, that interaction isn’t tracked.

Records of communications should be disclosed in close to real time so people can see who is talking to government on its decisions, and “we can follow the whole trail,” said Mr. Conacher.

The 20 per cent rule isn’t wrong and was created for a valid reason, said Ryan Eickmeier, president of the Public Affairs Association of Canada, but a challenge has emerged that was not envisioned when the Lobbying Act came into effect in 2008: capturing what he called the “celebrity lobbyist,” who isn’t really a lobbyist but is engaging in these activities.

“This idea of celebrities being lobbyists, people that had typically never engaged in government to the extent that they are now. How do you capture them? How do you capture the Aga Khan in the lobbying rules?” he said, suggesting it’s not practical and not the intent of the legislation to make it so registration comes from CEOs of every major corporation—like Mark Zuckerberg of Facebook, for example.

In the last Parliament, several high-profile political actors came under scrutiny when their names didn’t appear in the lobbying registry despite conversations emerging with officials and their organizations engaging with government. First, Mr. Trudeau’s 2017 acceptance of a trip to the Aga Khan’s private island. 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. Then in 2018, Facebook’s Canadian head of public policy Kevin



Marc and Craig Kielburger, pictured speaking to the House Finance Committee on July 28, told MPs their interactions with the government did not cross the threshold required for disclosure in the lobbyists’ registry. A review of the Lobbying Act is supposed to happen every five years, but the last was in 2012 when no changes were made. Screenshot via ParLVu

Chan—a former high-ranking bureaucrat and Liberal political staffer—defended not registering, telling *Maclean’s* the company doesn’t “even come close to the threshold.”

And amid the SNC-Lavalin scandal, in his report, ethics commissioner Mario Dion tracked several unreported communications between government offices during the company’s bid for a deferred prosecution agreement, including a call between chairman Kevin Lynch—a former clerk of the Privy Council—and then-Privy Council clerk Michael Wernick. That call may have run afoul of existing laws because paid board members who engage in lobbying activities have to register as a consultant lobbyist and file a monthly communication report of contact with public officials. Democracy Watch has launched a complaint in this case.

And now, the Kielbergers, who themselves were involved in conversations with ministers but neither they nor their charity were registered. During testimony on July 28 they rejected suggestions that they lobbied government officials or the Prime Minister’s Office, or that the charity crossed the 20 per cent threshold.

When big government contracts are on the line and monthly communications aren’t capturing conversations taking place, Mr. Eickmeier said it’s clear the rule needs to be examined. COVID-19 has also added another dimension to the rule, he said, because organizations may not reach the 20 per cent mark on pitches or policy discussions when decisions are made on tight timelines and a lot of money is at stake.

“When somebody who is less engaged in these types of activities [pokes] their head in and the result is a significant government contract, I think that tests the trust of the public and that’s where I believe we have a problem,” he said, adding he couldn’t say whether that’s the case with the Kielburger brothers because all of the details aren’t yet public—but if they were leading discussions, they should have registered.

Regardless of the amount of time spent, the question is substance and whether big issues are being influenced, said Ian Stedman, a lawyer who specializes in ethics and a former staffer at Ontario’s Office of the Integrity Commissioner.

“Whether it’s 20 per cent or not, the Act is clearly supposed to be doing something that it doesn’t do here because this rule is too restrictive,” said the assistant professor and ethics scholar at York University, and creates a “grey area” that organizations likely exploit.

“I’m of the opinion that organizations understand the rules so well that we have seen that they will make sure they don’t have to report if they don’t want to.”

Lobbying Act review ‘long overdue’

WE Charity’s testimony is another reminder that the Act needs to be reviewed and changes need to be strongly considered, said Prof. Stedman.

The review is supposed to happen every five years and is “long overdue,” with the last conducted by MPs in 2012, he said. None of the recommendations from eight years ago were adopted into legislation, which included deleting the 20 per cent rule.

One solution put forward that Prof. Stedman supported is a catch-all requirement to register all lobbying activity, with some exceptions—to make sure it isn’t a disincentive for people or organizations with fewer resources to reach out to the government.

But any lobbying from well-resourced organizations should be mandatory, he said, and exclusions around unpaid board members—like the Aga Khan incident—need to be changed.

“A lot of people have organizations and foundations and take no money from them ... but they’re still incredibly powerful people,” he said, adding Mr. Eickmeier made a good point about celebrity lobbyists.

“Whether you’re paid or not, what you’re trying to do is influence the government. I think the pay thing is arbitrary at this point. We’ve learned the paid thing was an idea, an experiment, and it’s not the right one. We should fix that.”

Since her appointment in 2017, lobbying commissioner Nancy Bélanger has made a number of recommendations to improve the Act and her office said it continues to prepare in anticipation of the legislative review.

She agreed the 20 per cent rule should be removed and has made that case before past parliamentary committees. It should be

replaced by a “transparency-by-default approach along with some exemptions based on objective criteria,” said her spokesperson Manon Dion by email.

“Striking a balance between transparency and administrative burden is key,” she said, adding Ms. Bélanger has also recommended the “arranged in advance” requirement be removed because it means spontaneous communications go unreported.

She has also called for “harmonizing” registration requirements for corporations and organizations, which have different rules on listing employees who lobby, with corporations only required to list those who meet the 20 per cent mark.

Any breach of the lobbying code of conduct leads to a report to Parliament, and the office said there should be a wider spectrum of sanctions, including education, administrative monetary penalties, and prohibition on lobbying.

Lobbyists and those in government relations have been calling for more clarity in the Lobbying Act for a long time, said Government Relations Institute of Canada (GRIC) president Alayne Crawford.

“As an arbitrary measure, the 20 per cent rule is a threshold that can be a challenge for some businesses to measure,” she said by email, though there should still be “an appropriate minimum level of activity that triggers registration to ensure that organizations with infrequent political advocacy work are not unduly burdened.”

GRIC supports the “overdue review” of the Act, she added, to get “greater clarity, transparency, and consistency in the system.”

As for whether the review will happen, Mr. Eickmeier and Prof. Stedman said they weren’t hopeful.

“The reality is the timing just isn’t great to try and pass something through Parliament with urgent other policy matters,” said Mr. Eickmeier, while Prof. Stedman questioned who would bring the bill forward, that it would have to come from backbenchers or oppositions.

“History shows us that people who are subject to stronger restrictions don’t usually voluntarily add those restrictions on their own free will, unless there’s political reason to do so.”

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Opinion

‘How are you doing?’ Finding a way through during troubled times

My goal most days is to limit moments of anxiety and find some good in the circumstances, because there are positives to be had.



Tim Powers

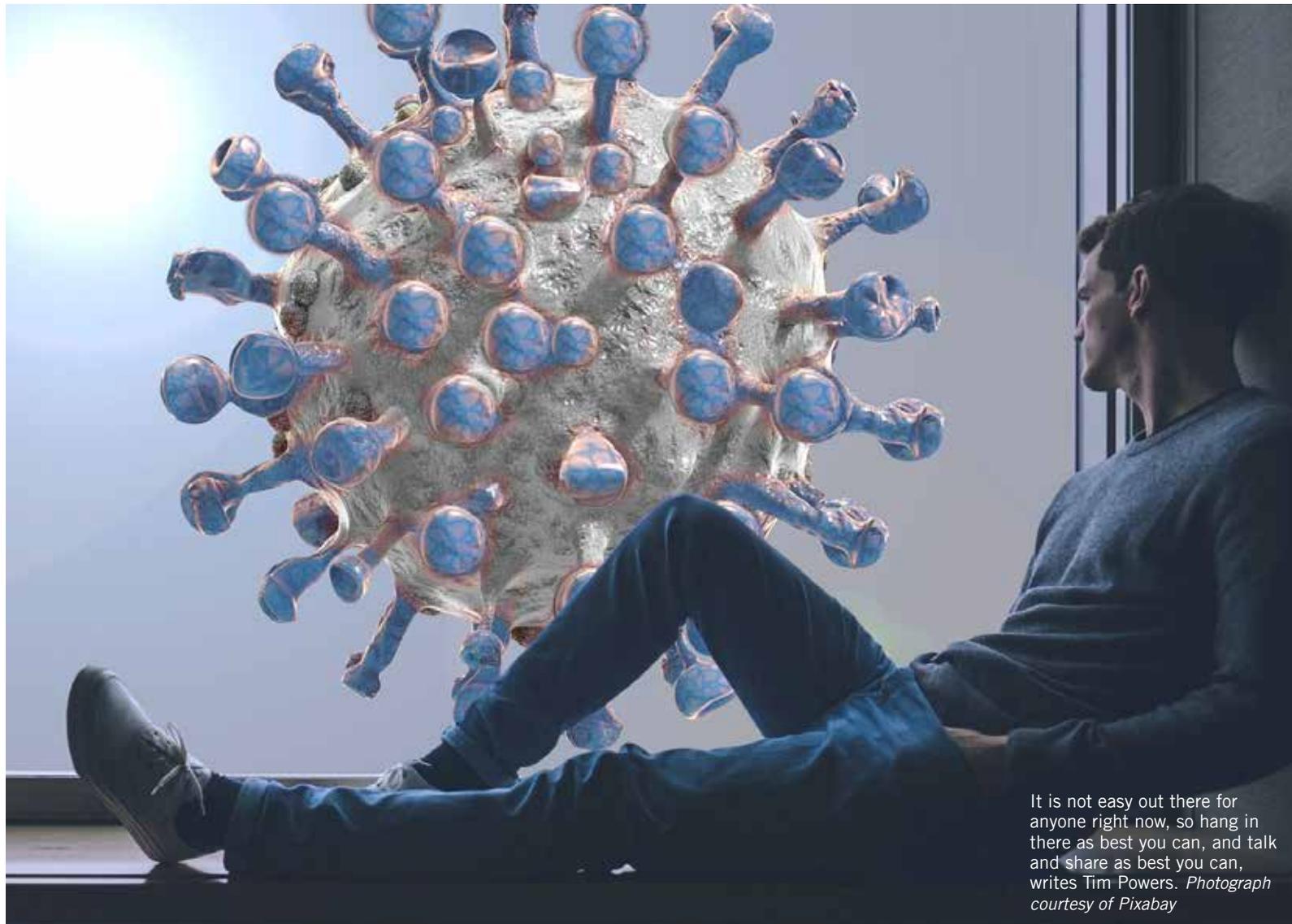
Plain Speak

OTTAWA—It has been almost five months of living with COVID-19 and all the changes it has brought to our lives. The degree of struggle and challenge varies for everyone, but I have yet to meet anyone who has not been impacted by the pandemic. From the body politic to personal well-being, the virus has packed a punch.

People in my family and my bubble have all been fortunate, as no one has gotten the disease, everyone still has their jobs, and can pay the bills. While we are blessed, I still find it is a slog, mentally. This is not a poor-me lament, just an attempt to have a comfortable conversation about mental wellness in these challenging times.

The most common question I hear and ask myself these days is “How are you doing?” It is an easy conversation starter, as it is an inquiry driven both by kindness and kinship. Many of us are trying to take the temperature of those around us and acknowledge the common bond of navigating these taxing times.

The answer to that question usually does elicit two things: a general recognition that circumstances are mostly tolerable and we are getting through it, followed by some signalling that there is a bit of personal bruising. Hematomas abound.



It is not easy out there for anyone right now, so hang in there as best you can, and talk and share as best you can, writes Tim Powers. *Photograph courtesy of Pixabay*

I have discovered new addictions in this time of COVID. I find I need a daily fix of case numbers in Ottawa, Ontario, and Newfoundland and Labrador. I suspect I am not alone on this one. The rational part of me knows this is like playing some slot machine and zeros across the board is not a lever pull away. Or somehow knowing this daily data is akin to having my fortune told and that the magical words I want to hear will at last find their way to my ears.

Every day, I also scout for border advisories and travel updates. My primary glance is to the east. When will Atlantic Canada open its doors to the rest of Canada

and Newfoundland and Labrador end its travel restrictions? I am practically obsessed with getting positive answers to those questions. To escape my mental prison, I need the liberty of an eastern passage.

As a parent, my COVID radar is highly active. Am I doing all that I can to make sure my son is healthy, happy, and living a normal life in this abnormal time warp? With school coming, are the right choices being made to keep him safe now and to put him on a positive track for the future. Worries abound about the basic joys and benefits of early learning he could potentially lose out on as the pandemic continues.

Lost time is a constant source of angst in this turbulent era. I worry about my son losing key moments with his grandmother in Newfoundland. She is not getting younger and he is not getting that opportunity because of the restrictions that prevent eastern travel. While my mother is blessed with a rich extended family and social circle at home, neither my sister nor I live nearby. That brings the delightful cocktail of worry and guilt.

Rare is the day when I do not feel anxious, but I am sure that is true for most of us. It is not a pleasant feeling to have distress coursing through one's veins. My goal most days is to limit those moments and

find some good in the circumstances because there are positives to be had. Thankfully, time and laughter with my son provides a salvation, as do other family activities, exercise, and maintaining an ongoing sense of purpose.

It is not easy out there for anyone right now. If I have a message, it is hang in there as best you can, and talk and share as best you can. This pandemic will not last forever—even if some days it feels like it will.

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

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Opinion

Co-operation is the only right choice for China and the U.S

The U.S. is also the troublemaker in China-Canada relations. The Meng Wanzhou case is a grave political incident concocted by the U.S. to suppress Chinese high-tech enterprises. Canada is being taken advantage of by the U.S.

BY CONG PEIWU

Current China-U.S. relations are facing difficulties and gaining much attention from the international community, including Canada. In fact, China and the United States shoulder essential responsibilities in upholding world peace, stability, and promoting global development and prosperity. I want to share some of my observations on China-U.S. relations.

The U.S. side ultimately creates the current difficulties between China and the U.S. A few days ago, the U.S. launched a unilateral provocation by abruptly demanding that China close its consulate general in Houston, Texas.

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo flagrantly attacked the Communist Party of China (CPC) and China's social system, maliciously said the CPC has "designs for hegemony," and called on countries to gang up on China. Pompeo's baseless fact-distorting speech is full of ideological prejudice and a Cold-War mindset. It has forsaken the most basic sense of propriety in interactions between countries and breached the very bottom line of international norms. The purpose is to disrupt China's development. Such behaviour is stark power politics that can be captured by one word: hegemony. The outrageously deranged words and acts have been criticized by all who love and have a sense of justice, including those in the U.S.

Since the People's Republic of China was founded 71 years ago, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the CPC, have found a development path in line with the country's national realities and achieved remarkable progress. The Chinese people have an increasingly stronger sense of happiness and fulfillment and now enjoy unprecedented rights and freedoms. China's economic growth rate has been leading major world economies, and it has been contributing more than 30 per cent to world economic growth for many consecutive years. More than 800 million Chinese people have been lifted out of poverty. China now has the world's largest number of middle-incomeers. As revealed in research

recently published by the John F. Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University, under the leadership of the CPC, the Chinese people's overall support and satisfaction towards the Central Government exceeds 93 per cent.

Pompeo and those who claim to safeguard democracy and freedom cannot represent democracy and freedom and the whole international community at all. They only reflect a tiny number of external elements that smear and attack China out of ulterior motives. Furthermore, their behaviour is unpopular and contrary to the trend of the times.

More than that, the U.S., promoting "America First" over the past years, has been going further down the path of unilateralism, repeatedly breaking its international commitments and obligations, and severely undermining international law and order. The number of international treaties that this U.S. administration has pulled out from is far larger than that of any of its predecessors.

What's worse, at the critical time when solidarity is most needed by the international community to fight COVID-19, the U.S. announced withdrawal from the World Health Organization and dodged its responsibilities. It has become the biggest perpetrator to destroy the current international order, making it a country that stands in opposition to the historical trend. Actually, the U.S. is also the troublemaker in China-Canada relations. The Meng



Chinese Ambassador Cong Peiwu, and U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo. China stays committed to a community with a shared future for mankind, and we would like to develop China-U.S. relations featuring non-conflict, non-confrontation, mutual respect and win-win co-operation, but we reject any bullying and injustice, writes Mr. Cong. *The Hill Times* photographs by Sam Garcia and Andrew Meade

Wanzhou case is a grave political incident concocted by the U.S. to suppress Chinese high-tech enterprises. Canada is being taken advantage of by the U.S.

On the contrary, China upholds world peace, contributes to global development, and upholds international order. By last year, China has contributed to nearly 40,000 UN peacekeeping personnel, outnumbering other permanent members of the Security Council. Over the past 70 years, China has helped more than 120 developing countries to the best of its capabilities. And China has joined more than 100 intergovernmental international organizations and signed more than 500 multilateral treaties, the latest one is the Arms Trade Treaty, which demonstrates China's resolve and sincerity in maintaining an international arms control regime, supporting multilateralism, and forging a community with a shared future for mankind.

The past 41 years taught us that China and the U.S. both stand to gain from co-operation and lose from confrontation and that a steady and sound bilateral relationship grows only when there's equality and mutual respect. Co-operation is the only right choice for China and the U.S.

China doesn't intend to change the U.S., and the U.S. surely cannot alter China. China stays committed to a community with a shared future for mankind, and we would like to develop China-U.S. relations featuring non-conflict, non-confrontation, mutual respect and win-win co-operation, but we reject any bullying and injustice. We are still full of confidence in the future of the world, because acting against what's right and good can never be popular and everlasting. Peace and co-operation will surely be the choice of the times and the people.

Cong Peiwu is the Chinese Ambassador to Canada.
The Hill Times

The next census should better reflect who we are

Although the census is not the 'wedge issue' it was under the Harper government, there is so much more we need to know about our country and ourselves.



Andrew Caddell

With All Due Respect

KAMOURASKA, QUE.—When we lived in Geneva, Switzerland, in the mid-90s, our family

welcomed a young woman from the nearby town of Saint-Pascal de Kamouraska, a friend of the family, to come and work as our *filie au paire*, or nanny. Patricia was smart, industrious and thoughtful, and as a francophone had no problems adapting to "La Suisse."

However, in her first week in the city, she went to the train station to get some tourist information. We told her what bus to take, but she had no idea how to get back. Luckily, a friendly bus driver helped her out and she returned to our house.

The reason she was unfamiliar with buses is she had never been on one. Neither the town of Saint Pascal (population 3,490) nor the surrounding area had mass transit. And yet, according to Statistics Canada, Patricia lived in an urban area. From 1971 to 2006, StatsCan defined "urban" as municipalities of 1,000 people or more, which led to the old shibboleth about modern Canada being 90 per cent "urban."

In 2010, a change was made. Small population centres were defined as between 1,000 and 29,999; medium population centres were 30,000 to 99,999 people and large urban centres were

100,000 and greater. The rural parts were what remained.

With those numbers, Canada was suddenly 70 per cent urban and 30 per cent rural. But it still meant little Saint Pascal is considered "urban." It is no wonder we refer to Riviere-du-Loup (population 19,500), 35 kilometres away, as "La Metropole." It has a mall.

There is a big difference between small towns where everyone knows one another, surrounded by farmland, and genuinely urban areas. It is a mindset, as well as a geographic and demographic reality. I grew up in the town of Montreal West, only 10 kilometres from downtown. And yet, our town might as well have been in the middle of the Prairies. We had three Protestant churches, three elementary schools, one Protestant high school, a main street with a dress store, hardware store, a shoe store, two pharmacies, a grocery store, and a pizzeria. Everyone knew each other.

Joe Clark, "The Man from High River" (pop. 13,584), was once lambasted for calling Canada a "community of communities." It's a redundant expression, but it does encapsulate much of what Canada

is about: neighbourhoods, villages, and towns where people rely on one another. In cycling across Canada, I always knew, whether in Golden, Moose Jaw, Kenora, Florenceville, Antigonish or Corner Brook, I would find helpful people who prided themselves in not being from the "big city."

Rather than having three categories of "urban" to make us sound "sophisticated," why not come to grips with reality and define urban as a city with transit of some kind, a few businesses, a radio station or a newspaper, and a significant institution like a college or university? The floor could be 50,000 people.

The reason I raise this issue is the 2021 census is around the corner, and there will be a number of innovations: family and demographic data, education and labour market information, data on immigration and ethnic diversity, income, expenditures, and housing.

These are all very useful information, but Canada is still considered to be an urban country, which is not really true. We have an average density of a handful of people per square kilometre, even excluding the territories above the 60th parallel.

Although the census is not the "wedge issue" it was under the Harper government, there is so much more we need to know about our country and ourselves: how many of us are functionally illiterate? How many speak French or English as a second language outside the home, even if it is not their mother tongue? How many Black, Indigenous, people of colour feel they have been discriminated against?

If we knew the answers to these questions, we would get a greater sense of where we are going and what we need to do to get there. Ignoring our collective flaws is much like pretending we all live in big cities: it fails to recognize the people affected, whether in rural Canada, BIPOC, or the educationally challenged, who face significant challenges of their own.

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

The Hill Times

The swindled and the vile: America's bomb-less Blitz

As Donald Trump attacks all the narrative inputs of a free and fair election—from the U.S. Postal Service to the longstanding expectation of a peaceful transition of power—history offers some lessons.



Lisa Van Dusen

What Fresh Hell

Years ago, when I first lived in Washington, D.C., the city was so paralyzed by snow one January Saturday that friends who came for lunch stayed five days. I wrote a column about how a hostile power could simply wait for what, in Canada, would be a good ski day to invade and hang an “Under New Management” sign on the White House.

As it turns out, it has taken more than a Snowmageddon but less than a military invasion to paralyze American democracy. The technological revolution just dawning when that snowstorm hit was already ushering in the era of covert conquest, leveraging innovations in viral corruption to produce previously unimaginable outcomes.

It's an odd time to be reading Erik Larson's *The Splendid and the Vile: A Saga of Churchill, Family and Defiance During the Blitz*. Not just because of the parallels, often drawn, between our current chaos and the last time malignant authoritarianism made a play for the free world, but because of how the confluence of an avoidable global pandemic and engineered political chaos has made life feel like wartime.

On the worst night of the Blitz, May 10, 1941, 1,436 people died. There are now more than 1,000 deaths a day from COVID-19 in the U.S. The bombings also disrupted individual choice architecture, subjugating every decision to the whims of a genocidal monster. The constant physical peril telescoped the vanishing points of planning horizons and recalibrated the

calculation of risk. They wore gas masks; we wear non-medical face masks.

In wartime Britain, supply chains were disrupted, rationing ruled, and stores, factories, and restaurants were here one day, gone the next; victims of the Luftwaffe rather than lockdown economics. But military production meant that in 1941, GDP was 21 per cent greater than in 1938.

The threat of annihilation came from the sky, not from other humans in the grocery store, so the consolations of company remained. People gathered for plays in Covent Garden and movies in Piccadilly; they danced at the Dorchester. The cliché of the wartime stiff upper lip was born of the critical gap between passive submission and defiant adaptation.

Winston Churchill channeled the fury, fear, shock, and grief of his people through a moral certitude that clarified the stakes of a Nazi future as a fate worse than death, binding their resolve with truth and requisitioning it as a weapon.

In 1941, Britain and Germany were officially at war. Today's world war is an undeclared, borderless one against democracy. After years of subterfuge and chicanery, it has now produced the perfect-storm crescendo of a transformation-rationalizing pandemic and a transformation-rationalizing American president in the process of staging a coup against his own country.

In major democracies, notably Britain and the United States as high-value narrative warfare targets, people are recoiling through the same sort of scammy—including craven betrayals of national

interest—that the French and British witnessed as epically fraudulent Nazism advanced.

On Jan. 11, 1941, Harry Hopkins, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's trusted adviser, arrived at Ditchley Park, the Oxfordshire estate where Churchill spent full moons to evade the bombers. After dinner, as brandies swirled in the candlelight, per Larson's book,

Churchill deployed his plea for American help in the war against Hitler.

“We seek no treasure. We seek no territorial gains,” he said. “We seek only the right of man to be free; we seek his right to worship his God, to lead his life in his own way, secure from persecution ... we wish him to know that no rat-a-tat-tat (knocking loudly on the table) of the secret police upon his door will disturb his leisure or interrupt his rest.”

That knock at the door isn't always a knock at the door anymore. But its meaning for humanity hasn't changed.

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

Port plan enables national trade growth while protecting the environment

If we don't meet the increasing demand in container trade through the Port of Vancouver, there will be consequences for Canada's economic progress.



Duncan Wilson

Opinion

As Canada continues to tackle the challenge of COVID-19, the Port of Vancouver remains resilient, thanks to a diverse trading partners and cargo. At the end of June, year-to-date cargo volumes are only one per cent lower than 2019, despite pandemic impacts to the cruise and auto sectors. This gives us confidence that trade will rebound strongly, as it did after the 2008 recession.

Our confidence extends to the container sector, where independent forecasts show long-term growth. Container trade will continue to be vital for Canadians who count on access to consumer goods that enable our standard of living; and to farmers and businesses across the country who rely on access to global markets.

Improvements have been made to container terminals in Vancouver and Prince Rupert to increase efficiency and capacity. But they still won't provide enough room to manage Canada's future trade demands.

As a Canada Port Authority, our mandate under the Canada Marine Act is to enable trade through the Port of Vancouver. This means anticipating and preparing for growth in the densely populated Lower Mainland of British Columbia while considering impacts to local communities and protecting the environment.

For a decade, we've been consulting with stakeholders, local governments, and Indigenous communities about the Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project, a proposed deep-sea container terminal in Delta, near Vancouver. The project, if approved, would take six years to build, making it ready by 2029, just in time to relieve a west coast Canadian container capacity crunch.

The project holds tremendous generational opportunity for Canada. It would inject more than \$2-billion in private capital into the economy, creating more than 12,000 construction jobs and more than 12,000 operating jobs. The project is driven by trade and market economics that will unleash private investment to fund the project through an operator's long-term

lease payments and port authority revenues—not taxpayer dollars.

If we don't meet the increasing demand in container trade through the Port of Vancouver, there will be consequences for Canada's economic progress. Once Canadian ports are full, importers and exporters will be forced to move cargo through ports in the U.S., resulting in increased transportation costs which would be passed on to Canadian consumers and export markets and impact our trade competitiveness. Canada would also lose the jobs and economic benefits associated with the project, estimated at \$1.2-billion in GDP annually.

The benefits and potential effects of the project have been thoroughly reviewed. In March, a federal independent review panel concluded the project is in line with our mandate, “consistent with Canada's role as a trading nation” and that it would “support competitiveness for Canadian markets linked to a marine shipping supply chain facing important changes.” They concluded that we had properly assessed alternatives to the project, and agreed that it would provide a significant contribution to the national, regional and local economies as well as Indigenous communities.

The panel also studied potential environmental effects of the project and made recommendations for how they could be mitigated—providing a road map for how we can further mitigate project-related effects. We are committed to working with Indigenous groups, government and other stakeholders to develop and implement measures that effectively address these concerns.

But our commitment to the environment extends beyond what is proposed or required for the project. For example, since 2014, we have brought together the marine transportation industry, government, Indigenous individuals and groups, environmental groups and scientists to advance a regional initiative called the Enhancing Cetacean Habitat and Observation (ECHO) Program to study and reduce the effects of marine shipping on at-risk whales in our region.

We appreciate the significant amount of support the project has received. We've heard from many stakeholders—Canadian producers of grain, forest products, minerals and other resources, retailers, railways, shipping lines, the construction industry, labour, small, medium and large businesses across the country, and the governments of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba—who recognize the project's national importance, as well as our ability to protect the environment at Roberts Bank. Like us, they are optimistic about Canada's trading future and the role this project will play in its success.

We look forward to the federal government's decision on the project and supporting Canada's economy moving forward.

Duncan Wilson is vice-president, Environment, Community, and Government Affairs for the Vancouver Fraser Port Authority, the proponent of the Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project.

The Hill Times

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Editorial

Hurling abuse at politicians and staffers isn't a game and needs to end

Pretty much for as long as there have been people, there have been people who behave badly. People who treat others poorly, who think they're above their fellow human, who go out of their way to denigrate and demean their neighbours.

And then the human race added politics to the mix, which was eventually followed by the internet. This makes it all the easier for people who would otherwise perhaps (hopefully) limit their vitriol to yelling at their TV screens when their favourite sports team is playing badly to feeling so entitled to a politician that they would get up from their keyboard and seek out an elected representative in person to deliver their latest hateful screed.

The recent verbal assault on Infrastructure Minister Catherine McKenna's staff at her Ottawa Centre constituency office is just the latest in a very long line of abuse hurled at politicians in general, and Ms. McKenna in particular, who, since heading up the Liberals' environment agenda, has been a favoured target for many years.

"What happened at Rideau Hall (with) threats against the Prime Minister, and what happened here—other incidents we've seen and a lot of incidents we haven't heard about—are all too common. And we have to be vigilant," Ms. McKenna told reporters on Monday.

As *The Hill Times'* Samantha Wright Allen reported on July 15, there is some debate over whether there is a larger problem in Canadian politics stemming from right-wing extremists that is symbol-

ized by incidents like this and the July 2 thwarted alleged attack of Rideau Hall by Corey Hurren.

But, as Tim Powers noted, "The disdain game has reached another level and it's getting dangerous."

Journalist Justin Ling spoke to a number of politicians and political staffers for a July 27 Vice story that outlined a spate of violent or otherwise disturbing events those who work in politics say is becoming commonplace.

"There was the staffer who was punched in the face at an election campaign stop by someone trying to get to a cabinet minister. One opposition Member of Parliament said they stopped going to public events without some kind of security presence. A cabinet minister was forced, due to a flight cancellation, to stay in the same small town as a man who had repeatedly threatened their life, without security. A parcel addressed to another minister was filled with literal shit. Death threats were spray painted across one minister's home and cottage," Mr. Ling reported.

It's up to everyone to change to the tone, change the rhetoric, and condemn this kind of behaviour. Some people see politics as a sport, a game that requires picking a team and defending it all costs. But people's lives are at stake—those who make the decisions, those who support the decision makers as their employees, and those for whom those decisions have consequences.

As Ms. McKenna said, it needs to stop. It's not a game.

The Hill Times

Letters to the Editor

Timing is right for Canada to lead on the world stage, says reader

There has been a widespread call for Canada to closely re-examine its foreign policy after our recent failed bid for a UN Security Council seat. Not surprisingly, PM Justin Trudeau has taken most of the criticism for this failure, with many critics saying Canada has not lived up to the many promises that he's made.

Canada currently isn't demonstrating the global leadership it once did on matters of conflict diamonds, the use of child soldiers, banning landmines, and promoting norms such as the Responsibility to Protect (R2P).

Moreover, we are in unprecedented times facing multiple global issues such as climate change, a global pandemic, nuclear proliferation, economic uncertainty, and other security threats. Indeed, we may be at a major historical turning point where the decision now to cooperate with others or compete; to go solo or to build multi-lateral coalitions and alliances; to innovate or retreat into old ways of thinking and acting, will set us on different trajectories for years to come.

With these challenges in mind, Canada should revise its foreign policy.

As usual, our foreign policy should be firmly grounded in our values and principles; those things that Canadians

feel strongly about, such as protecting ourselves while aiding others who are experiencing violence, growing our economy while keeping the welfare of future generations in mind, and taking a firm stand against those things we find morally wrong.

Critics will argue that we don't have the clout and resources to make an impact. I would argue otherwise. Canada can make a major positive impact on the world stage by playing the role of the troubleshooter, the collaborator, the trusted adviser, and the innovator.

Some of the tools we can put front and centre to support these efforts should include undertaking early conflict prevention, supporting sustainable development, and mediating global crises. All of these are proven to be cost-effective measures.

The current moment presents an important opportunity for Mr. Trudeau to build a lasting legacy, to promote peace and development, and to be a shining light of hope on a world stage which feels like it is otherwise devoid of true leaders possessing ingenuity, integrity, and wisdom.

Evan Hoffman

Adjunct professor of political science, Nipissing University
 Vancouver Island, B.C.

COVID-19 does not discriminate when it comes to who gets sick: reader

The coronavirus does not discriminate when it comes to who gets sick. However, there is a disparity in regards to who may suffer the most. While the virus inflicts illness, it also exacerbates the relationship between health, food, education, and income inequality.

Millions of people, especially in low- and middle-income nations suffer from income inequality. This means that the poor are unable to cope or recover from illness, but it also means that illness will further exacerbate their poverty. This cycle further leads to a lack of access to other basic human rights such as adequate food and nutrition, education, etc.

It's a vicious and unfair downward spiral, but it can be helped.

Canada has always been an advocate for the vulnerable and its support is especially needed during this current crisis. It is therefore imperative that Canada invests at least one per cent of its COVID-19 response in new and additional aid towards an emergency global response. Health, food, and education should never depend on income status especially during a pandemic. Let us help the vulnerable so that they are not left behind.

Dena Sharafdin
 Newmarket, Ont.

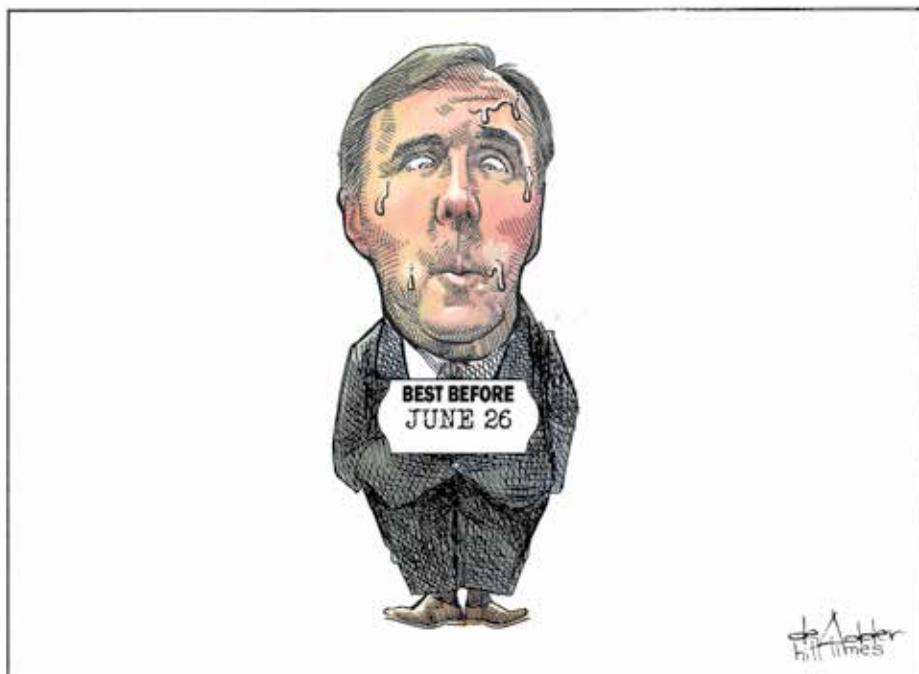
Trudeau shouldn't need a director of ethics and oversight, writes reader

Re: "Trudeau should hire a 'director of ethics and oversight' to vet potential conflicts and break 'serial pattern' of ethics lapses, say pollsters," (*The Hill Times*, Aug. 3, p. 1).

In my opinion, probably the best remark ever made about this issue of ethics and politics was made by Errol Mendes,

professor of constitutional law at the University of Ottawa, who said during Senator Mike Duffy's trial: "There is nothing wrong with the institutions, there just needs to be a better quality incumbent." I believe it is imminently applicable here.

Suzanne Langlois Mooney
 Ottawa, Ont.



EDITORIAL

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Comment

Recent revelations in Norman case highlight DND's pattern of defiance

This was not the Department of National Defence's first rodeo, and it won't be its last.



Scott Taylor

Inside Defence

OTTAWA—There were a series of stories last week by *Ottawa Citizen* reporter David Pugliese which clearly illustrate the culture of defiance and invincibility that exists within National Defence Headquarters' upper echelons.

The genesis of this current saga has its roots dating back to some extraordinary testimony at a December 2018 pre-trial hearing in the Vice-Admiral Mark Norman case.

Norman had been suspended from his duties as the vice-chief of defence staff and was subsequently charged with breach of trust. It was alleged by the prosecution that Norman had communicated cabinet confidence information to a Quebec-based shipyard.

Norman's legal team had been struggling to get information from the government that was needed in his defence and had used the federal access-to-information law to request such documents. Others had also requested similar records under the access law.

However, at the pre-trial hearing, a Canadian Armed Forces major testified that the requested documentation had been deliberately hidden. According to the witness, who had been tasked with collecting the Norman files, a brigadier-general had boastfully claimed that when the documents were created, Norman's name was deliberately not used. There would also be later testimony that the military had used code names like "Kraken" a phonetic play on Norman's former title as Commander of the Royal Canadian Navy (CRNC).

This all meant that any search for records about "Mark Norman" would come back as "nil." According to the witness, the unnamed brigadier-general made it sound like such deliberate thwarting



Vice-Admiral Mark Norman and his lawyer, Marie Heinen, are pictured outside court in Ottawa on May 8, 2019. That day, the Crown dropped its breach-of-trust charges against Norman. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

of the access-to-information law was commonplace. "This is not our first rodeo," was the brigadier-general's alleged reaction to the conscientious major's incredulity.

Needless to say, this testimony set off alarm bells within the legal community. Federal Information Commissioner Caroline Maynard—whose job is to oversee the implementation of the ATI process—immediately began an investigation into DND and the CAF. Within two months Maynard's office concluded that what had transpired in the Norman case was a possible "commission of an offence" under the Access Act.

As Maynard does not have the authority to investigate such offences, her office notified the attorney general. In turn the

attorney general's office alerted the Public Prosecution Service of Canada. This would be the same public prosecutors who were handling the charge against Norman.

Nevertheless, the prosecution service notified the RCMP about Maynard's concerns.

Realizing that because they were the agency that had conducted the original investigation, which resulted in the charge against Norman, the RCMP felt it could be in conflict of interest. Therefore, it handed the case over to the Ontario Provincial Police. At least that was the story.

Maynard's concerns and actions regarding the Norman case were released in a report to Parliament tabled on July 22. This prompted keen-eyed reporter Pug-

liese to ask about the status and results of the OPP investigation.

Pugliese's inquiry prompted the revelation that nothing was ever done. Due to an "administrative error," the RCMP never got around to contacting the OPP.

That has now been remedied. Following Pugliese's query, the OPP have now belatedly opened an investigation. We wish them godspeed on a very cold trail.

Of course, the bombshell revelations in the major's testimony also alarmed officials at DND. As such, Deputy Minister Jody Thomas detailed the Canadian Force's National Investigative Service (CFNIS) to leave no stone unturned in their investigation to find the culprit(s).

Alas, the case proved too difficult for the military gumshoes

to crack. The case was closed as their sleuthing efforts "did not reveal sufficient evidence to pursue criminal or service offence charges in the matter."

No documentation of the CFNIS investigation was released to Pugliese, who was told he could only obtain them with an access-to-information request. Which, of course, brings us full circle to where this all began. This was not DND's first rodeo, and it won't be its last.

For the record, the case against Norman collapsed before trial in May 2019. The vice-admiral retired and received a financial settlement from the Crown.

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

The Hill Times

Opinion

Shakedowns, bullying business, trade outrages: election-bound Trump spreads chaos far and wide

Canadians should be ready for further trade ambushes on flimsy national security grounds, including possibly renewed tariffs on Canadian steel.



Les Whittington

Need to Know

OTTAWA—Whatever your political stripe, you have to have some sympathy for Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland.

In the face of President Donald Trump's plan to scrap NAFTA if it could not be renegotiated along lines more advantageous to the U.S., Freeland led Ottawa's 18-month campaign to try to build some kind of rapport with the White House anti-trade zealots. Dodging what Freeland called an "existential threat" for Canada's trade-dependent economy, Canadian negotiators eventually worked out a new pact with the U.S. and Mexico that debuted July 1.

A month later, in a political stunt meant to burnish his America First credentials, the president displayed his contempt for bilateral trade relations, Canada, and the so-called progress evinced by NAFTA 2.0 by re-imposing 10 per cent tariffs on Canadian aluminum imports. Trump said he did so because Canadian aluminum was being dumped into the U.S., a claim repudiated on all sides, including by the leading American aluminum industry association.

Ontario Premier Doug Ford, once a Trump fan, spoke for a lot of Canadians when he called the latest U.S. protectionist move a stab in the back against an ally. The federal government announced plans to introduce \$3.6-billion in retaliatory tariffs that will be carefully reciprocal—a means of striking back without sparking escalating punishment from Trump.

Despite that, Canadians should be ready for further trade ambushes on flimsy national security grounds, including possibly renewed tariffs on Canadian steel. The president hinted last week that more nationalistic trade measures were on the way.

In that sense, Canadians are little different from everyone else between now and the Nov. 3 presidential election—and this is true whether we're talking trade, business, or diplomacy. As a desperate Trump seeks any possible ploy to fuel a reversal of his weak poll numbers, the chaos is rolling out from the White House across the U.S. and the world in seemingly endless waves.

Just in the last few days, the president has spawned massive confusion at home about what, if anything, his fellow Americans might receive in the way of new financial help as they continue to struggle with an out-of-control COVID-19 pandemic.

With the Republicans in the U.S. Senate holding up the next round of emergency aid because they want, among other things, to slash supplemental support for the unemployed from \$600 a week to \$200 a week, many of the 30 million Americans receiving unemployment support, as well as others, could lose their houses or face eviction now that the previous tranche of COVID aid has lapsed.

In keeping with his increasing use of executive orders, Trump responded to the Congressional standoff with his own COVID-19 support measures. A hodge-podge of iffy, conditional proposals, it was largely a symbolic power grab aimed at wooing voters as much as helping those damaged by the virus-fed recession. Senior Congressional Democrats said afterwards they were ready to renew negotiations on aid legislation, but huge differences remained, with Republicans favouring only a \$1-trillion package versus the Democrats' proposed \$3-trillion.

Trump has also injected a previously unimaginable element of uncertainty into the conduct of global business with his sudden move to ban popular TikTok or force its sale. The administration, which as part of its pre-election positioning is ramping up its cold war with China on all available fronts, based its edict on security concerns about the Beijing-headquartered app. But there's also a revenge factor. TikTok amplifies young peoples' ridicule of the president and was the vehicle behind the hoax that led to the embarrassingly low turnout at Trump's much-hyped Tulsa, Okla., rally last month.

And, as if to justify those who say Trump conducts national affairs like a mafia boss, the president demanded that whoever buys TikTok give the U.S. government a payoff, a shakedown so outside the bounds of any known ethical or legal standard as to be almost laughable.

U.S. corporations can only guess what's coming as Trump manipulates business, the economy, and international commerce for political purposes over the next few months. And what is most astounding is the lack of outrage in the U.S. about the president's abuse of power and disregard for the rule of law. With the almost total acquiescence of Republicans, things have reached a point where Trump makes no bones about running the U.S. any way he wants.

His transgressions against accepted traditions of governance, democracy and international relations can only be expected to increase, with the attendant rise in conflict, tension and uncertainty in the U.S. and abroad, as the presidential election nears, making for a long, bumpy few months until Nov. 3.

Les Whittington is a regular columnist for The Hill Times.

The Hill Times

The most important climate change policy that no one's talking about

The time is right for the Canada Revenue Agency to invest in technology that would make the carbon rebate a direct payment.



Michael Bernstein

Opinion

On March 25, a few weeks into the COVID-19 crisis, the government made an announcement that left most analysts wondering if it had bitten off more than it could chew.

Within 10 days, according to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, the government would have a new system up and running to issue direct payments to millions of Canadians. This was not your typical government program. And yet, when the Canada Emergency Response Benefit launched on April 6, the system worked as planned. It was an impressive counterpoint to the well-worn narrative that governments are slow and inefficient.

This newfound government nimbleness should now be applied to another important program that pays money to Canadians: the carbon tax and rebate.

A carbon tax and rebate system is one of the best policy tools we have to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and avoid the worst impacts of climate change, while also protecting the economy. Across the political spectrum, economists are in agreement on this point. Poll after poll show Canadians expect their governments to take serious action on climate—but they're also concerned about affordability.

That's where the rebate comes in—every household that pays the carbon tax gets a rebate. For example, a family of four in Ontario will receive \$448 in 2020, an amount that will increase in future years as the price of carbon also rises. Most families' rebates will exceed the extra costs

they pay in carbon tax. The rebate helps Canadians afford climate action, and over time, households could invest their rebates in things that help reduce carbon emissions—say caulking windows, or a smart thermostat—that also help save them money.

The problem with the program is the rebate is currently paid as a refundable income tax credit. Not surprisingly, our polling has found that only a third of Ontarians are even aware that they receive the rebate.

One of the reasons the government chose a tax credit was that issuing payments via cheque or direct deposit would require a new IT system that would have been complex and time-consuming to set up. But times have changed—the civil service has demonstrated an ability to quickly deliver new programs, and the Canada Revenue Agency is also upgrading its entire IT platform.

The time is right for the CRA to invest in technology that would make the carbon rebate a direct payment. It even has a precedent to follow since the payment system would be very similar to the GST/HST credit, presumably lowering the complexity and risk.

Sending money directly to Canadians in a way they can clearly see will build support for the most effective climate policy tool we have, thereby increasing the chances of the program enduring and growing over the long term. Polling we commissioned last year showed that half of those who oppose a carbon tax immediately change their minds when told the money goes back to households and businesses. With that one fact, support for a carbon tax and rebate climbs above 70 per cent.

More than just increasing public support, a direct payment will help achieve the goals of Canada's carbon-pricing policy. A study of another direct-payment benefit program administered by the CRA, the Canada Child Benefit, found that recipients used the money in ways consistent with the program's goals—increasing family expenditures on food, child care, education, and health. There's every reason to believe that discrete carbon tax rebate payments will produce the same results, encouraging people to mentally allocate their rebate money to reducing their carbon footprints.

During difficult economic times, like now, it's likely that most families will allocate their carbon rebate money to urgent needs, debt repayment, or savings. But a recurring, clearly identified payment would increase the likelihood that Canadians will think about the actions they might take—both small and large—that could decrease the amount of carbon tax they pay out, and increase the rebate money they retain. As the rebate rises over time, a periodic payment also increases the chances that households will go on to make ever more significant investments in reducing their carbon emissions.

Switching to direct payments, if issued quarterly, could also save the government the significant interest associated with advancing a full year's worth of rebate money. In 2021, we estimate that the savings could be as much as \$38-million dollars.

Building public support for the most effective tool we have to address climate change, encouraging Canadians to fulfil the intent of the policy and reduce their emissions, and saving money—these are all excellent reasons to switch to quarterly rebate payments. It's an upgrade that could unlock the full power of the carbon tax and rebate and help us reach the ultimate goal of net zero emissions by 2050.

Michael Bernstein is executive director of Clean Prosperity.

The Hill Times



DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES

by Samantha Wright Allen

Venezuela winter elections will be fraudulent, warns envoy, calling for continued support



Orlando Viera-Blanco was officially recognized as Venezuela's ambassador to Canada in November 2019 when he presented his credentials to Governor General Julie Payette, eight months after the prime minister recognized him as the representative of Venezuelan Opposition Leader Juan Guaidó. Photograph courtesy of Orlando Viera-Blanco

Last November, Canada officially recognized Orlando Viera-Blanco, a representative of interim president Juan Guaidó, as the country's ambassador.

Venezuela's December congressional elections will be fraudulent, warns the Venezuelan ambassador, who says he trusts Canada and the international community to remain steadfast in their support of Juan Guaidó as the interim president of Venezuela.

It'll almost certainly lead to the loss of opposition control of Venezuela's National Assembly, on Dec. 6, noted Orlando Viera-Blanco, but he said it shouldn't complicate Mr. Guaidó's political standing as the body's former leader because the international community already knows the election is something the current government has "tried to fix" and is going to be "illegal and unconstitutional."

"That means that we don't have legitimate elections, so we just have an extension, a continuation of the assembly that we already have until we have fair elections," said Mr. Viera-Blanco in a phone interview Aug. 4, referring to the view of the more than 50 nations that recognize Mr. Guaidó's interim position.

He compared the situation in Venezuela to a ticking time bomb, made worse by the pandemic that he said gives more power

to Nicolás Maduro, whom the Canadian government has called an "illegitimate" leader after his re-election as president of the South American country last January.

The pandemic gives a "kind of political and social control" because people in Venezuela "have no hospital, they have no medical attention, we don't have statistics [about] what's going on, there's no water, there's no power, there's huge inflation," he said, describing the "primitive situation" as one that could any day bring "some kind of social explosion."

"It's a tense climate right now in the country that the [Maduro] regime tries to control on the justification of COVID," he said.



Then-foreign affairs minister Chrystia Freeland speaks to Argentine Foreign Minister Jorge Marcelo Faurie at a Lima Group meeting in Ottawa on Feb. 4. The group accepted Venezuela's Juan Guaidó, whom members recognize as the oil-rich country's interim president, to join it as a member on Feb. 4, 2019. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau met with interim president of Venezuela Juan Guaidó in Ottawa on Jan. 27, 2020. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Asked about Venezuela's legislative elections, Global Affairs Canada spokesman Jason Kung said by email Canada "believes that a peaceful political solution is needed more than ever and we remain fully committed to continuing to support efforts to that end."

Mr. Guaidó has already been challenged for the spot of leader of the National Assembly, the only institution the opposition controlled in January 2019 when he declared himself interim president, citing the constitution. (Mr. Viera-Blanco said he didn't "self-proclaim" his presidency, but rather its a succession order in Article 233 of the constitution). In January 2020, Mr. Guaidó was blocked from accessing the legislative building during the body's vote to re-elect him as Speaker, in a move he called a "parliamentary coup" and countered days later with a rival vote outside the chamber, re-electing him to the spot, according to BBC News.

The problem isn't with the calling of the election, but how they're being conducted in order to "get advantage" of the assembly, said Mr. Viera-Blanco.

The Supreme Court, which he said is Maduro-controlled, will make the appointment of the member of the board of the electoral branch—a choice typically made by the national assembly. That didn't happen, he said, because of what he said was continued intimidation and bribery of members of opposition until it no longer had its majority. It's what the opposition has dubbed "Operation Scorpion," explained Mr. Viera-Blanco, and what he called corruption of deputies with the loyalty bought.

That's created "a fracture" in the Venezuelan National Assembly, he said.

That board has decided to expand the number of deputies that make up the assembly—congressional seats, which opposition used to control with 112 and a two-thirds majority—from 167 to 277 for the five-year period starting 2021.

"It is to undermine the assembly," he said, and an example of gerrymandering where regions of the country that traditionally support Mr. Maduro will get more representation.

The international community, including the Canada-led Lima Group, insisted it "will not recognize these kind of elections with-

out international observation, impartiality, [and] the participation of opposition."

Ottawa embassy staffed by Maduro appointees

Mr. Viera-Blanco remains working out of his own home office, jumping between Ottawa and Montreal, while the embassy in the capital is staffed by diplomats appointed by Mr. Maduro.

It's a highly unusual situation that has continued for more than a year, though Mr. Viera-Blanco has since been handed an official designation in November 2019, when he presented his credentials to Governor General Julie Payette.

The status of those appointed by the Maduro regime "is currently under consideration," said Mr. Kung, who also noted these diplomats continue to provide consular services to Venezuelans in Canada.

More than a year ago, Mr. Viera-Blanco he told *The Hill Times* it was a "complicated" situation he didn't want to rush, and he said that's still the case because he doesn't want to interrupt any consular services they might offer. It doesn't make sense for him to "squeeze the situation" if the office can be helpful in getting documents and services to his people, he said.

"That is the issue. Now the situation started to be a little bit different and if we can reach the full consular services that a normal diplomatic representation could be done, that changes totally the picture," he said.

The hope is for Mr. Guaidó's diplomatic corps to be able to issue special passports, something he said that's not already on the table but they are trying to "work in that direction."

Last August, Canada, like some other countries, granted a five-year extension of the validity of existing Venezuelan passports.

"It's not something that's going to happen soon, but we need to be prepared," to keep open possibilities for immigration, or registration should a future election permit voting from people outside the country, which Mr. Viera-Blanco said is necessary "if that's going to be a potential scenario in the future."

His upgrade to recognition as an official ambassador to Canada, eight months after he was recognized as a diplomatic representative by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, is "a demonstration" from Canada that shows it's "aligned with the narrative of Canada supporting Juan Guaidó and the restoration of democracy."

His new designation means he can have one-one-one meetings with the Canadian government and other heads of mission, though he can't host these discussions.

All of the roughly 40 ambassadors appointed by Mr. Guaidó have been working for more than a year without any kind of income, he said, but just a few weeks ago they started to get some financial support.

"We have to finance everything ourselves and it was just a few weeks ago that we have received some kind of support and financial co-operation from NGOs in the United States," he said, though he didn't know the total amount for his mission, saying that it's "nothing" in comparison to regular compensation for diplomatic work.

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News

Easing of restrictions to non-U.S. travellers into Canada unlikely to be met with Trump backlash, could pave way for reopening of 49th parallel, say experts

‘The core operating ideal within ... Ottawa is evidence-based policymaking and there are clearly other jurisdictions out there besides the U.S. that have done a better job in containing [the virus],’ says Eric Miller.

Continued from page 1

with non-U.S. countries could take place without an Oval Office backlash as the restrictive immigration policies of the Trump administration favours a closed Canada-U.S. border.

“I think there’s going to be a lot of countries—particularly Europe and parts of East Asia—that Canada is going to open to far before they open to the U.S.,” said trade consultant Eric Miller, president of Rideau Potomac Strategy Group who worked on the Beyond the Border Action Plan, which sought to make Canada-U.S. border crossings more efficient.

Canada has been closed to non-U.S. nationals since mid-March due to the pandemic. An order was extended until Aug. 31 preventing non-American international travellers from coming to Canada. The restrictions aren’t a blanket ban, as some international travellers are allowed to enter Canada as long as they have a quarantine plan.

Mr. Miller said the Trump administration is unlikely to make a big deal of a Canadian reopening with Europe or East Asia because they don’t see having restrictions on the 49th parallel as a bad thing.

“If Canada lets in French and German and other EU citizens or lets Japanese citizens in, then that’s considered Canada’s business and it’s not something that I think the White House is going to react very negatively to,” said Mr. Miller, a former senior policy adviser at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, D.C.

“The Trump administration sees a narrow path to victory [in the Nov. 3 presidential election] by doubling down on their core

messages and part of doubling down on the core messages ... is that [they] have the borders under control,” he said.

Despite some pressure from U.S. lawmakers who represent border regions, there hasn’t been a great push to allow Canadians and Americans to freely cross the border, with Canadian public opinion siding strongly against a return to normalcy as COVID-19 cases in the United States top five million with more than 160,000 deaths.

The Canada-U.S. border has been closed to non-essential

ID-19, which Canadian embassies around the world can help monitor on the ground.

He added that a potential reopening with some European countries could begin the conversation on how Canada can reopen its borders to the international community to establish the principles needed and work through the unresolved issues that will be helpful when it becomes a possibility to have a reopening of the Canada-U.S. border.

“If we wait for this to magically happen on its own or to go



Experts say U.S. President Donald Trump’s reaction to a potential easing of Canadian restrictions to non-U.S. restrictions will be muted as his administration is in favour of border restrictions. *White House photograph by Andrea Hanks*

ship travel. We will continue to do what is necessary to keep Canadians safe and will base our decisions on the best public health evidence available,” press secretary Mary-Liz Power said in an email.

Canada is one of 14 countries that have been allowed to travel to the EU since the beginning of July.

Mr. Robertson said the constant communication between Canadian and American officials allows for neither side to be surprised by developments in the other country.

In those conversations, Mr. Robertson said Canadian officials would be briefing their American counterparts on Canada’s thinking on easing restrictions to non-U.S. travellers and they would give advance notice if Canada made the decision to reopen travel with a country before the restrictions were loosened with the U.S.

Christopher Sands, director of the Canada Institute at the Wilson Center in Washington, D.C., said if Canada does ease restrictions for non-U.S. countries, there would be an understanding by American officials that a land border and an air border are two distinct considerations.

“Other borders are just so qualitatively different that the U.S. doesn’t see it in the same category [as the Canada-U.S. border],” Mr. Sands noted, although he said there could be a negative reaction from American officials if Canada eases restrictions on a country that is handling the pandemic worse than the United States.

Mr. Sands said there is a medical advantage for the closure of the Canada-U.S. border to prevent Americans without health coverage crossing into Canada in large numbers or Canadians crossing into the United States en masse if the U.S. develops a vaccine before they do.

But he said there should be clearer signs of how the two governments plan to have a phased reopening for the Canada-U.S. border.

He said a loosening of restrictions between Canada and a non-U.S. country could be used to influence how Canada and the United States move forward, adding that a previously tested solution will be more palatable for Americans to accept amid the hyper-partisan reaction to the handling of the pandemic by the Trump administration and the fast-approaching U.S. presidential election.

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The Canadian government has restricted travel from non-U.S. countries since mid-March. *Photograph courtesy of Flickr/Dan Zen*

crossers by joint agreement between the two governments since March 21. The initial agreement closed the border for 30 days, but the closure has been extended every month since, with the current closure ending on Aug. 21 if there isn’t another extension.

“The core operating ideal within the civil service in Ottawa is evidence-based policymaking and there are clearly other jurisdictions out there besides the U.S. that have done a better job in containing [the virus],” Mr. Miller said.

He said an easing of restrictions could be done based on the performance of individual countries in addressing COV-

away, we’re going to be waiting a long time,” Mr. Miller said.

A spokesperson for Public Safety Minister Bill Blair (Scarborough Southwest, Ont.) wouldn’t say if the federal government would consider easing restrictions on non-U.S. nationals entering Canada before reopening the Canada-U.S. border.

“We brought forward significant restrictions at our borders to keep Canadians safe during the COVID-19 pandemic. We all have a shared responsibility to flatten the curve, and our government continues to advise Canadians to avoid non-essential travel outside of Canada and avoid all cruise

Former Canadian diplomat Colin Robertson, vice-president at Canadian Global Affairs Institute, said it is possible that Canada could open up to some European countries that Canada feels has control over the pandemic.

“We’ll probably open up to some countries, but not all,” said Mr. Robertson, adding that it would make sense to open the Canada-U.S. border in a similar fashion with different regions reopening at different times.

“I think we are more likely to open to other countries before we open to the United States’ full border,” he said, noting that won’t happen for some time yet.



The top three fundraisers among Green Party leadership contenders are, from left, Annamie Paul, Dimitri Lascaris, and David Merner, with Ms. Paul pulling ahead and more than doubling the the other two in the second quarter. Photographs courtesy of Annamie Paul, Dimitri Lascaris, and Facebook

Fundraising amid pandemic ‘incredibly difficult’ for Green leadership hopefuls as Paul takes clear lead

The second- and third-place fundraisers are hitting the road, holding socially distanced campaign events across the country as they try to close the gap with leader Annamie Paul.

Continued on page 13

est competitors, Montreal-based lawyer Dimitri Lascaris’ \$33,421 and \$27,715 for David Merner, a retired federal and B.C. public service lawyer who ran for the Liberals in 2015. Party data puts her total at \$120,989 by the end of July, followed by Mr. Lascaris’ \$52,610 (though he said it’s more than \$60,000 now), and Mr. Merner’s \$46,718—totals the candidates predict will tighten ahead of the October election for the party’s first leadership race in 14 years.

The pandemic has made for “incredibly difficult conditions to be fundraising in,” said Ms. Paul, a lawyer who’s worked internationally for NGOs and at the International Criminal Court and ran unsuccessfully in Toronto Centre, Ont., for the Greens in 2019. She added it has to be done with a lot of humility and sensitivity and she’s grateful for the support.

“The feeling we have is one of momentum when we look at the numbers,” she said because the numbers remained strong over the last few months. “We led in donations in many parts of the country and so it makes us feel like we’re truly a national campaign.”

Her campaign led in donations in six provinces, including B.C., Ontario (where the top two each earned half of their respective pots in the second quarter), and Quebec, the provinces where the bulk of party funds are typically raised. She was second in fundraising in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Nova Scotia.

Quarterly returns filed with Elections Canada showed the Greens raised \$626,636 in the second quarter, up from \$576,644 raised by the end of March this year. The Conservative Party of Canada raised the most, at \$3.53-million (up from \$3.81-million in the first quarter), followed by the Liberal Party’s \$2.63-million (slightly down from its \$2.88-million raised the three months before), and the NDP’s \$1.3-million (up from \$963,923). The Bloc raised \$131,883 by the end of June, down from \$184,196 in the first quarter.

The Green Party said it has seen a steady increase in membership over the last two months and expects the biggest surge to occur over the next two weeks, though it didn’t offer any numbers.

As of July 31, Ms. Paul said her campaign had 1,004 individual donors to our campaign,

while Mr. Lascaris put his donor count at more than 400. Though he acknowledged it’s well behind, he’s “very encouraged” by his numbers, especially because he entered the race months after Ms. Paul, his team didn’t start fundraising until early June, and also didn’t benefit from the “very significant fundraising support from the former leader.”



Former Green Party Leader Elizabeth May has offered to fundraise with candidates from under-represented groups, which some candidates said has earned fundraising frontrunner Annamie Paul a ‘huge advantage.’ The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

“If not for those factors, I think this would be much, much closer in terms of fundraising numbers,” and last week was his campaign’s third-best bringing his total to over \$60,000, said Mr. Lascaris in an interview Aug. 10 from London, Ont., one of his last southwestern Ontario stops before heading out west.

Both Mr. Merner and Mr. Lascaris said one of the main reasons they are behind is an agreement to hit a pause on fundraising amid the pandemic.

“When you stop fundraising for a month, obviously that’ll have an impact on your bottom line,” said Mr. Merner over the phone Aug. 7 between campaign stops in Lloydminster, Alta., and Saskatoon, Sask., on his second tour across the country.

“People were telling me that it was important for them to donate to their local women’s shelter and food banks and the other candidates felt the same way,” he said, adding that about four candidates hit pause, including Judy Green, who raised \$8,895 last quarter. “Annamie didn’t.”

That’s not the case, Ms. Paul said, saying her team basically took off much of March and all of April save for raising the \$10,000 entrance fee—required within 10 days after a contestant submits their application, in her case pre-lockdown. Fundraising was mostly passive (like other campaigns leaving website donation buttons up), she said, pointing to two weeks in April when the team raised \$50 and three weeks in March where the total was \$210.

Though the team didn’t make any “public pronouncements” about it, she said they decided it wasn’t the time to be aggressively seeking money from people.

Former leader’s fundraising a ‘huge advantage’

It’s also difficult to gauge the impact of Green MP Elizabeth May (Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C.), who stepped down as leader in November 2019, helping through virtual events, said Mr. Merner who called her an “outstanding fundraiser” that he estimated brought in about \$40,000. Ms. Paul said that guess is “pure speculation” and wrong.

“We didn’t have any special preference,” said Ms. Paul, and she hasn’t been the only one to take Ms. May up on the offer to help, saying so have Meryam Haddad, Courtney Howard, and Judy Green.

In response to those concerns, Green Party interim leader Jo-

flawed rules and definitions for underrepresented groups.

Still Mr. Merner said he feels that’s been a “huge advantage” for Ms. Paul, but said his chances are still “fantastic.”

“We’re running different types of campaigns,” said Mr. Merner, who ran unsuccessfully for the Greens in Esquimalt-Saanich-Sooke, B.C., in the last two general elections. “Dimitri and I are on the road, so we will have travel expenses and others are just doing Zoom and phone campaigns, so their expenses will be lower and they won’t need as much money to run a full campaign.”

His campaign brings hand sanitizers and masks to events and sets up stakes to indicate proper social distance, while also limiting numbers based on the sites.

“People are coming out, they’re positive, there’s a little bit of anxiety about COVID-19 [and] getting together in person, but it’s building,” he said. “It is much easier to recruit new members if they show up in the community.”

Part of her campaign’s fundraising pitch for support has also been tied to a call for a different style of politics after the pandemic. The party needs to diversify and still “struggles with diversity, whether in candidates, governance, a lot of professional experience,” added Ms. Paul. As a Black, Jewish woman she knows her campaign carries symbolism and people have been responding to her historic campaign.

“I represent a lot of firsts in Canadian politics if I actually win, so those things are exciting to people,” she said, adding she likes to believe there’s more that the candidates have in common than separates them.

Mr. Lascaris said he has no problem separating himself from the pack. He describes himself as an “eco-socialist,” whereas he said the others in the top four—Ms. Paul, Mr. Merner, and fourth-place fundraiser Glen Murray, a former Ontario Liberal cabinet minister who raised \$23,105 last quarter—are regarded by party members as, to varying degrees, centrists.

“From a political perspective, I’m very distinct from the other candidates and I’ve made no bones about it,” said Mr. Lascaris, pointing to his endorsement from Sid Ryan, former president of the Ontario Federation of Labour.

He also takes issue with the party’s election slogan—“neither left nor right, but forward”—saying the party shouldn’t position itself that way and Canada is in need of a stronger left-leaning party with the NDP failing in that regard and a greater appetite for socialism in the population.

That’s where the opportunity is, he said, not trying to “out middle” the Liberals.

“We can’t win on that ground, now it’s become very crowded,” Mr. Lascaris said, adding he’s been struck on the campaign trail by how many people have left other political parties—particularly the NDP, but also the Liberal Party—to join his campaign.

“I feel like we’re in great shape ... but I don’t assume based on these numbers that Annamie is the frontrunner—but she does have a significant financial edge.”

The leadership election will take place Oct. 4.

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Feature

Parties of the past

The Hill Times photographs by Sam Garcia

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

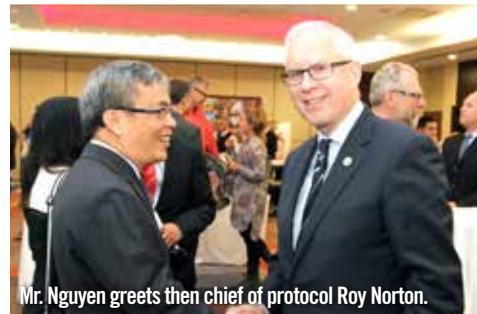
Vietnam celebrates national day



Then-Vietnamese ambassador Nguyen Duc Hoa, his wife Tran Nguyen Anh Thu, and South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo mark Vietnam's national day at the Westin on Aug. 31, 2017.



Mr. Nguyen raises a glass to Vietnam.



Mr. Nguyen greets then chief of protocol Roy Norton.



Philippines Ambassador Petronila Garcia, Mr. Nguyen, and Ms. Tran.

India marks Independence Day



Madhulika Verma and her husband Nirmal Kumar Verma, the then-high commissioner of India, greet then-Indonesian ambassador Dienne H. Moehario at an Indian Independence Day party at Carleton University on Aug. 15, 2013.



Dulcena Johnson, wife of the then-Bahamian high commissioner, Ms. Verma, Mr. Verma, and then-Bahamian high commissioner Calsey Willmore Johnson.



Then-Jamaican high commissioner Sheila Sealy-Monteith, Ms. Verma, and Mr. Verma.

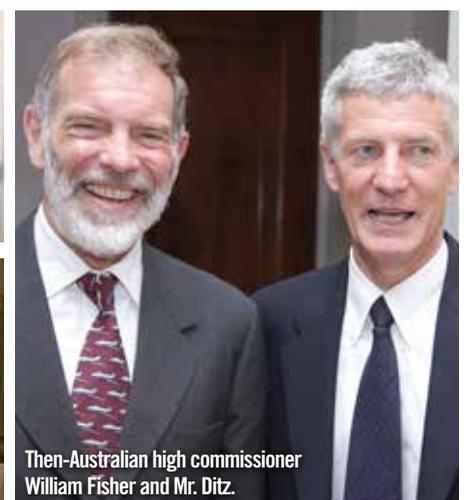
Austrian envoys says farewell



Otto Ditz, then-ambassador of Austria, his wife Maureen Ditz, and Tam Matthews, then-head of Ashbury College attend a party in honour of the outgoing Austrian envoy on Aug. 11, 2008.



Mr. Ditz, Ms. Ditz, Khorshied Samad, and her husband, then-Afghan ambassador Umar Samad.



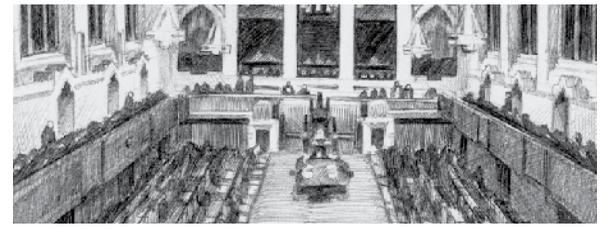
Then-Australian high commissioner William Fisher and Mr. Ditz.

If you washed your hands and your hand bled
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Parliamentary Calendar



MPs back on the Hill Wednesday for first of two August sittings

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 12

House Sitting—MPs are scheduled to meet as a committee of the whole on Aug. 12, and Aug. 26. The House is then scheduled to return in the fall on Monday, Sept. 21, for three straight weeks, as per the original House sitting calendar.

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

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.

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. 19, from 10:30-11:30 a.m. Registration available at business.ottawabot.ca.

FRIDAY, AUG. 21

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

MONDAY, AUG. 24

Innovation and Manufacturing in the Time of COVID—The Pearson Centre will host this talk with Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains on Monday, Aug. 24 from 1:30 to 2 p.m. to discuss his government's plans to assist the private sector in the rebuilding and recovery of the Canadian economy. He will be discussing this issue with Rhonda Barnet, president & COO at AVIT Manufacturing, and past chair of the Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters. Mr. Bains is expected to talk about how he believes the Canadian industry can return to its strong footing in the global economy in the coming years. Go to the Pearson Centre's website to register.

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.

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.



Justice Minister David Lametti, pictured in the House of Commons on July 20. Behind him are Women and Gender Equality Minister Maryam Monsef and Government House Leader Pablo Rodriguez. Members of Parliament were last in the House Chamber on July 22. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Small Business and International Trade Minister Mary Ng, pictured taking part in a June 10 press conference on COVID-19 via videoconference. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Infrastructure Minister Catherine McKenna, centre, and staff pictured at the Tomlinson Family Foundation Boys and Girls Club Clubhouse in Ottawa for a COVID-19 related infrastructure announcement on Aug. 5. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 23

Politics and the Pen 2020: Digital Edition—Politics and the Pen will hold a virtual event on Wednesday, Sept. 23. Politics and the Pen is a highlight of political Ottawa's social calendar and an important annual fundraising event benefiting the Writers' Trust. The in-person event regularly

attracts 500 guests from Canada's political and literary circles. The 2020 digital event will feature a special presentation of the 20th Shaughnessy Cohen Prize as well as memorable moments from past galas. To date, Politics and the Pen has raised more than \$4.5-million to support the programs of the Writers' Trust. This year's finalists are: *Canada on the United Nations Security*

Council: A Small Power on a Large Scale, by Adam Chapnick; *Peace and Good Order: The Case for Indigenous Justice in Canada*, by Harold R. Johnson; *Claws of the Panda: Beijing's Campaign of Influence and Intimidation in Canada*, by Jonathan Manthorpe; *Truth Be Told: My Journey Through Life and the Law*, by Beverley McLachlin; and *Canadian Justice, Indigenous Injustice*, by Kent

Roach. For information and sponsorship, contact Julia Yu, events manager, at jyu@writerstrust.com

SUNDAY, SEPT. 26

Green Party Leadership Online Voting Begins—Online voting to choose the next leader of the federal Green Party begins today and will continue until Oct. 3.

SATURDAY, OCT. 3

Green Party Leader Announcement—The Green Party of Canada is set to announce its new leader in a virtual event at 8 p.m. EST.

THURSDAY, OCT. 15

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

SATURDAY, OCT. 24

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

FRIDAY, OCT. 30

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

TUESDAY, NOV. 3

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

THURSDAY, NOV. 12

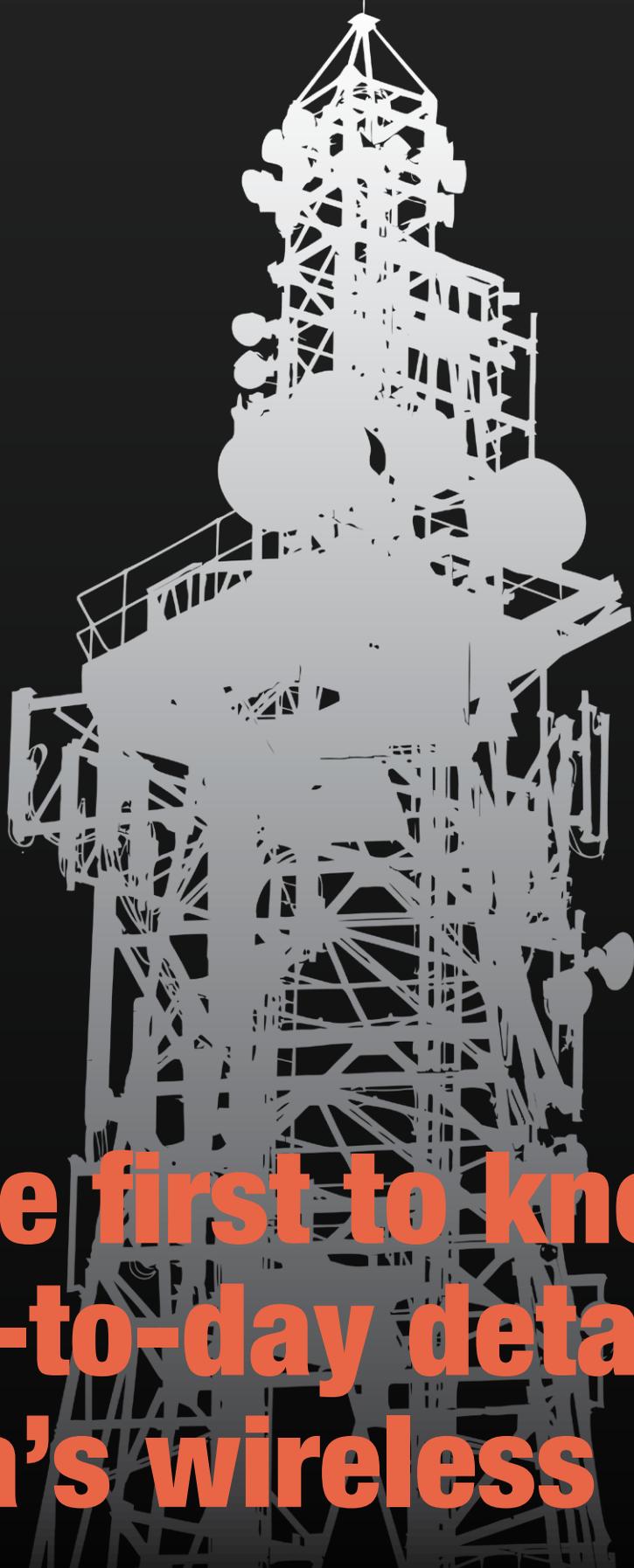
Liberal Party National Convention—The Liberal Party of Canada announced the 2020 Liberal National Convention will be hosted in Ottawa, from Nov. 12-15. For more information, please contact: media@liberal.ca, 613-627-2384.

FRIDAY, NOV. 13

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

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

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