Biotechnology policy briefing pp. 15-

Would two terms of Trump mean the end of American democracy? Not necessarily



Canada's military justice system's in chaos



Michel Drapeau & Joshua Juneau p. 14





THIRTY-FIRST YEAR, NO. 1762

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 2020 \$5.00

#### News

O'Toole's pitch to working class a winner, say strategists, but he'll have to go through union boss Jerry Dias

BY PETER MAZEREEUW

Conservative Party Leader Erin O'Toole's olive branch to the working class is a well-timed message that could pay dividends for the party, say political strategists and a veteran pollster—but one of Canada's most influential labour leaders says he isn't buying it.

Mr. O'Toole (Durham, Ont.) has reached out to the unionized working class in recent interviews, and, in particular, in a 90-second video run online

Continued on page 25

#### News

#### DeLorey, Deltell brief Conservatives on election readiness and fall strategy

BY ABBAS RANA

The Conservative House leader and a top opposition staffer briefed the party's 142 MPs and Senators on election readiness and their fall parliamentary strategy during a one-day in-person

Continued on page 24

News

## Trudeau's Liberals risk leaving ideological centre open by tilting further to the left in Throne Speech, say some Grits

The federal Liberals don't want an election this fall, but also don't want to be seen being 'pushed around' by the opposition parties either. See story by Abbas Rana on p. 6



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured in Ottawa on Aug. 18, 2020, will unveil his Throne Speech on Sept. 23. Some of his MPs are worried the party is tilting further to the ideological left, leaving the moderate middle open to the Conservatives. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Newly elected Conservative Party Leader Erin O'Toole, pictured on Sept. 9, 2020, with Fred DeLorey, national campaign manager, and his chief of staff Tausha Michaud arriving at the Sir John A. Macdonald Building in Ottawa for a Conservative Party caucus meeting. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

#### Public opinion polls: where the federal political parties currently stand in surveys

Leger Liberal 34% Conservative 32% NDP 19% Green 6% Poll was released Sept. 8 Nanos Research Liberal 33.2% Conservative 31.05% NDP 19.2% Green 7.5% Poll released Sept. 4 Abacus Data Liberal 33% Conservative 31% NDP 18% Green 7% Poll released Sept. 4 Angus Reid
Liberals 35%
Conservative 35%
NDP 17%
Green Party 4%

Poll released Sept. 2

Ipsos Liberal 35% Conservative 32% NDP 18% Green 7% Poll released Aug. 21

#### News

Experts sound alarm over 'politicized' U.S. intelligence, say COVID-19 pandemic a 'wake-up call' about Canada's new national security threats

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

Security and intelligence experts are sounding the alarm about increasingly "politicized" intelligence information from the United States during the COV-ID-19 pandemic, with one saying it could "undermine" intelligence sharing within the Five Eyes alliance, and another suggesting the events of the past few months represent a "wake-up call" about the changing nature of threats to national security.

In a recent publication from the Centre for International Governance Innovation publication entitled Security, Intelligence, and the Global Health Crisis, a number of experts dove into "important questions about best practices with regard to global and domestic health surveillance, early warning and preparedness," including Greg Fyffe, president of the Canadian Association of Security and Intelligence Studies.

"When you are trying to get early warning of a pandemic, you should have every possible set of ears, lines of inquiry, and sources [open] to receive information," said Mr. Fyffe in an interview with *The Hill Times*. "I think there are kinds of information that may come into the intelligence net that don't necessarily come into other nets."

"For example, you may pick up, through communications interceptions, communications between officials who are acknowledging

Continued on page 4



#### HEARD ON THE HILL

by Palak Mangat

# Those are his pyjamas': O'Toole opts for suit and tie to catch thrilling Raptors playoff game



Many Twitter users poked fun at Conservative Leader Erin O'Toole's choice of attire when he tweeted a photo of himself watching a Raptors game last week wearing a suit and tie. Some thought he was channelling his inner professional basketball team owner vibe. Photograph courtesy of Erin O'Toole's Twitter

New Conservative Leader Erin O'Toole was among the millions of Canadians who caught the Raptors bug on Sept. 9, and watched a thrilling, double overtime Game 6 victory against the Boston Celtics from the comfort of a swanky looking setup. Did I say it was thrilling? In normal times, politicos in Ottawa would have watched the game in a crowded, noisy bar, and when there's only one basketball squad for the entire country, which just happens to be the defending championship team, rallying behind said team is nearly impossible to avoid.

But some jokes started flying around on Twitter after Mr. O'Toole tweeted a photo of himself watching the Raptors game and looking like he was a basketball coach. Wearing a suit and tie, and sitting alone in a living room, but looking happy, Mr. O'Toole tweeted: "What an exhilarating game. Let's do this. @Raptors! #raptors #wethenorth."

"I forgot to put on my basketball suit and tie. I am chagrined," joked Toronto city councillor **Gord Perks**, who ran for the NDP in the 2006 federal election but lost to incumbent Liberal **Mario Silva**.

Liberal MP **Adam Vaughan**, having some fun of his own, replied "those are his pyjamas."

"Erin loves basketball so much he gets dressed up like the team owner for all the games," remarked another user.

There's no shortage of fashion inspiration for Mr. O'Toole if he wants to take advice from fellow politicos next time; he could lean on Toronto Mayor John Tory, whose snazzy gold-and-black jacket has become a game day staple, or opt for a more casual pants-and-polo combo inspired by the team's head coach, Nick Nurse. To inject some real colour, he could tap into the coaching squad's pink-and-

white striped polos, but that might be a far cry from his "true blue" suit and run a bit too close to the Liberal red. But still, other options are out there, just sayin'.

Meanwhile, comedian and actor Mark Critch made fun of Mr. O'Toole's TV. "I really hope that the money to renovate Stornoway goes to a bigger TV #WeTheNorth #RaptorsVsCeltics #cdnpoli."

#### NDPers ring in birthdays

A trio of Dippers celebrated their birthdays last week, with NDP MP Niki Ashton marking her 38th and rookie MP Matthew Green and longtime party aide George Soule bidding farewell to their 30s. "BEER ... in my 30s," Mr. Soule tweeted,



Longtime NDP staffer George Soule marked the end of his 30s last week with a Labatt 50 beer at Brixton's. *Photograph courtesy of George* Soule's Twitter

inviting Ottawa friends over to Brixton's to catch up. "If you can't make it and wish you could buy me a beer, [please] send your \$5 here," he tweeted, along with a link directing followers to donate to the party. Mr. Soule, previously a senior media strategist with the party during last fall's election campaign and aide to figures like Thomas Mulcair, Trent Wotherspoon, Nicole Sarauer, and Rachel Notley, is now listed as a director of communications to NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh. Frequent national affairs columnist and commentator **Tom** Parkin, who sought the party's nomination last year in the riding of Parkdale-High Park, Ont., sent his wishes and joked: "Judging from your beer choice I thought your 40th birthday was before this Wednes-

Mr. Soule's ale of preference appears to be a Labatt 50, regarded by *National Post* reporter **Christopher Nardi** as "Quebec's most underrated beer."

Ms. Ashton, meanwhile, tweeted out a link encouraging supporters to sign up with the party. "Normally, when political staff make birthday cards for their bosses, it's devoid of any politics but, let's be honest, that wouldn't be Niki," read the webpage, which featured a photo of Ms. Ashton with her twin sons. "So instead of centering this around her, pretend it's your birthday and you're blowing out the candles on a cake. What is the one thing you would wish for to make Canada a more fair and just society?"

The appeals come as election speculation begins to heat up, as Parliament is set to resume in less than two weeks on Sept. 23. That will usher in a new Throne Speech and subsequent confidence vote which, if all opposition parties withhold their support of, could topple the government and trigger an election.

Meanwhile, Ms. Ashton also posted a photo on Facebook with her twin boys, two birthday cakes, and two candles, an 8 and a zero. 'Lucky to share this special day with family—including my kids who insisted it was their celebration and their cake too. Also I'm definitely 38 and not 80—the store ran out of 3s!"

This just in: Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner punted to 2021

Hill media, MPs, Senators, diplomats, politicos, Hill staffers, and lobbyists will have to wait until next year to rub elbows (probably literally) at the annual Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner. Initially pushed from May to Oct. 24 at the Sir John A. Macdonald Building, the historic annual event, which attracts about 500 people, was postponed again because of the global pandemic and this time the press gallery isn't scheduling a possible date. The press gallery's executive



The Hill Times Haws, right, and Globe and Mail reporter Kristy Kirkup reminisced last week about their past looks at the Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner, which has been postponed to 2021 Photograph Emily Haws' Twitter

sent out a note dated Sept. 8 to all fulltime members. "The gallery executive has decided that the Press Gallery Dinner will be rescheduled due to the pandemic. The executive looks forward to hosting members and their guests at the gala next year," wrote Press Gallery president **Jordan Press**, adding that details will be announced soon.

The postponement of the hot-ticket event had some reminiscing about the good old

days. "I miss having places to wear fancy dresses. #pandemiclife," tweeted Emily Haws, an associate producer with CBC's Power and Politics program and a former reporter at The Hill Times. "I now have a collection of gowns from Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinners gone by in my basement," added The Globe and Mail's Kristy Kirkup. Until 2021, or 2022!

#### Journo quits Montreal paper, joins Ricochet

Award-winning journalist **Christopher Curtis** announced last week that he's leaving the Montreal Gazette to work with Ricochet Media as a crowdfunded investigative reporter. "I'm betting my future on this experimental new model of journalism, and hoping you'll fund me to do the kind of deep, context-rich stories I can't really do at the Gazette," Mr. Curtis wrote in a column posted to a Ricochet webpage. Mr. Curtis reflected that more than a decade ago, he was a construction worker and college dropout, failing to get into journalism school at Concordia University. Since then, he's battled it out with Liberal MP Marc Miller in the ring after bragging about his Muay Thai skills on Twitter; seen multiple colleagues take buyouts or leave the industry to take a stab at public relations; and worked on stories that have helped in coroner inquests.



**Just watch me:** Reporter Christopher Curtis is opting to work with Ricochet Media as a new crowdfunded investigative reporter. *Photograph courtesy of Ricochet Twitter's screengrab* 

"I believe I'll be the first journalist to quit a full-time job to launch a crowdfunded newsletter in Canada," he wrote. "If the experiment works, I hope it provides a blueprint for how to do meaningful journalism amid the wreckage of a collapsing industry." Mr. Curtis will split his time between Montreal and Val-d-'Or, and his new venture has already gained the support of Anishinaabe writer and comedian Ryan McMahon, former Montreal city councillor Justine McIntyre, and former Globe and Mail reporter Daniel Leblanc, who recently made the move to Radio-Canada.

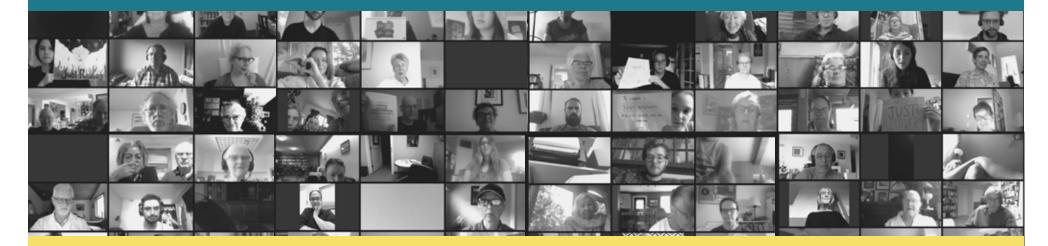
#### Prime minister announces chch-ch-changes to senior ranks of federal public service

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau announced some changes in the senior ranks of the public service on Sept. 8. Christyne Tremblay, currently deputy minister of Natural Resources, becomes deputy clerk of the Privy Council, associate secretary to the cabinet and deputy minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, effective Sept. 9. Jean-François Tremblay, deputy minister of Indigenous Services, becomes deputy minister of Natural Resources, effective Sept. 21. Christiane Fox, deputy minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, become deputy minister of Indigenous Services, effective Sept. 21. Catherine Blewett is the deputy clerk of the Privy Council. Jonathan Fried, coordinator of international economic relations with Global Affairs Canada and personal representative to the prime minister on the G20; Janet King, associate deputy minister of Public Services and Procurement; and Anne-Marie Smart, senior adviser to the Privy Council Office, all recently retired from the public service.

pmangat@hilltimes.com The Hill Times



#### YOU HAVE A CHANCE TO TRANSFORM CANADA



#### **WE'RE COUNTING ON YOU**



**INVEST IN A** 

## JUST RECOVERY

#### TO BUILD BACK BETTER AFTER THE PANDEMIC

Any economic recovery plan must:

- Tackle economic inequality: Establish a guaranteed \$500/week income for all and raise billions to help pay for it with a 1% wealth tax on the super rich.
- Advance racial justice: Divert federal funds from policing to invest in community-led supports, harm reduction tactics, and social services; establish permanent residency for all migrants.
- Invest in bold climate action: Create green jobs by investing \$81 billion over 5 years to move Canada towards zero emissions; ensure stimulus funding does not go to polluters; raise billions by ending handouts to fossil fuel corporations.
- Uphold Indigenous rights: Immediately address the drinking water crisis on reserves and pass legislation for Free, Prior and Informed Consent for Indigenous Peoples.



# Experts sound alarm over 'politicized' U.S. intelligence, say COVID-19 pandemic a 'wake-up call' about Canada's new national security threats

Bitter partisanship in the U.S. could undermine intelligence sharing within the Five Eyes and Ottawa needs to rethink its security and intelligence apparatus this century as the Arctic melts and 'our mental maps will need to migrate North and West.'

Continued from page 1

there is a problem in their country, but are not reporting it," said Mr. Fyffe, who was also the executive director of international assessment staff in the Privy Council Office from 2000 to 2008.

"The point here is to have every possible receptor open and tuned into possibilities," said Mr. Fyffe, who also argued that one of the advantages of good intelligence is that it's "immediate and it's policy neutral."

Mr. Fyffe wrote that "bitter partisanship" in U.S. politics is leading to a "politicization of intelligence" in his contribution to CIGI's series. That politicization, he wrote, could "undermine intelligence sharing within the Five Eyes alliance"—a network that includes the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Australia.

"What's clear now, what's happening in the U.S. now, is unequivocally politicization," Mr. Fyffe told *The Hill Times*. "The personnel has been politicized, the product has been politicized, there's no equivocation here that the intelligence is being politicized."

If U.S. President Donald Trump is re-elected in November, Mr. Fyffe argued in his August 24 report, COVID-19 and Geopolitics: Security and Intelligence in a World Turned Upside Down, that "Canada's intelligence community will have to maintain a relationship that will be distrustful on both sides." If former vice-president Joe Biden wins, "we can





Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, left, and U.S. President Donald Trump. If Mr. Trump is re-elected in November, 'Canada's intelligence community will have to maintain a relationship that will be distrustful on both sides,' says Greg Fyffe, president of the Canadian Association of Security and Intelligence Studies. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade, photograph courtesy of the White

expect a return to the belief that the intelligence community will give policy-neutral advice and a reassertion of more traditional U.S. foreign policy goals,"he

When asked about the role of the Five Eyes intelligence community moving forward, Mr. Fyffe said all five have similar operating principles; one of which is that the collection and reporting of material is "policy relevant, but policy neutral."

"When you write an assessment, you're giving it to a decision-maker that you think needs it because they have an important decision to make, and your information is highly relevant, but you're not telling what the policy should be," said Mr. Fyffe. "That is critical to the credibility of intelligence."

21st century to be 'an age of globalized threats and challenges'

Calder Walton, assistant director of the Applied History Project at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs told *The Hill Times* that we need to "re-think" what we mean by national security in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, and that the 21st century is going to be an age of globalized threats and challenges.

"This is a wake-up call, if one were needed, for the changing nature of threats to national security," said Mr. Walton. "I think it's safe to say that we have completely missed the threat posed by other globalized and global nonstate threats to national security and international security, [with]

biological security and pandemics [being] a clear example."

"We are witnessing the changing nature of national security, and intelligence needed to meet those threats, by definition, also needs to change," said Mr. Walton. "Specifically, in terms of biological threats, they can come from naturally occurring pathogens—we're witnessing the effects of a zoonotic pathogen, or one that has travelled from animals to humans."

There have been moments in the past when the U.S. intelligence community has been dangerously politicized, according to Mr. Walton, pointing to the administration of former U.S. president Richard Nixon as well as former U.S. president George W. Bush's unfounded claims around the existence of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) in Iraq.

"What we are witnessing [now] are unprecedented challenges and

strains put on the U.S. intelligence community to speak truth to power, which is the whole purpose of an intelligence community, under President Trump," said Mr. Walton. He said that it's "crucially important" to establish a coronavirus commission to investigate and figure out exactly what happened with the intelligence that got to the Oval Office, and Mr. Trump's actions or inactions after receiving it.

On Sept. 9, it was reported that Mr. Trump admitted to concealing the true threat of coronavirus back in February. Journalist Bob Woodward wrote in his new book Rage that Trump told him that he knew that COVID-19 was deadly but wanted to "play it down" because he didn't "want to create a panic." Part of the president's taped interview with Mr. Woodward was released last week, which set off a media firestorm.

The book is set to be released on Sept. 15.



Calder Walton, assistant director of the Applied History Project at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, says 'we are witnessing the changing nature of national security, and intelligence needed to meet those threats, by definition, also needs to change.' Photograph courtesy of Calder Walton

"The politicization of intelligence at the moment under Trump has a lot of characteristics of the way intelligence operates in authoritarian, one-party regimes, where intelligence agencies tell the leader what they want to hear, rather than the truth," said Mr. Walton. "What's happening in the United States is Trump applying an authoritarian playbook to domestic institutions and U.S. society itself."

## Ottawa's security and intelligence apparatus 'enmeshed with the American framework'

Irvin Studin, founder, editorin-chief and publisher of *Global*Brief magazine, told The Hill
Times that he believes "all of Ottawa's security and intelligence
apparatus is enmeshed with the
American framework, which is
only one of the pressures and
poles we need to manage this
century."

"China wasn't relevant at Confederation—it's hyper relevant today, it's not an abstract reality, it's the most significant country in the world, it's a machine that's close to us, in all respects, [including] economic security and demographics," said Mr. Studin, who is also the president of the Institute for 21st Century Questions.

"Russia is to the east of Europe as we imagined in the Cold War, but because the Arctic is melting, it's a new reality, so we juxtapose Russia across the Arctic Ocean," said Mr. Studin. "Those two new borders suggest that much of our mental maps will need to migrate North and West."

Mr. Studin said that in regards to the Five Eyes alliance, it's "too colonial and too 20th-century a construct for us to manage this new world in which we're operating"

ing."

"We're thinking about this [security and intelligence] organism which [operates] in a democratic world in which we're comfortable, but which does not provide us with either the raw intelligence or the psychological coverage that we need to manage our own circumstances as a country," said

If Canada relies too heavily on the United States, said Mr. Studin, "we become vulnerable to their very flawed judgment and their often very bad intelligence."

Here in Canada, the quarantine "has put the country to sleep for four months," but a country that's in trouble economically and strategically cannot be asleep for months and then be expected to pivot out, according to Mr. Studin.

"We're coming out of it in a stupor, expecting that the machine will right itself, and it won't—it will either disintegrate over time, or we'll become extremely [vulnerable] economically and strategically without even realizing it,"said Mr. Studin. "Ottawa doesn't have a mobilization capacity—that can only come from the political level in the end, but that's not part of our culture because we've had 150 years of strategic serenity by and large on the homeland."

mlapointe@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

## The need for fundraising urgency

It's plausible that an election is near and that plausibility is all political fundraisers need to inject their pitches with a sense of urgency. And believe me, urgency is a key part of any fundraising message.



**Gerry Nicholls** 

Post Partisan Pundit

AKVILLE, ONT.—Rumours abound these days that a federal election could

And, I suspect, the people who are doing a lot to agitate such rumours are political fundraisers.

Indeed, I'm pretty sure every political party, along with various political advocacy groups, are sending out fundraising mes-



sages to their respective donors right now, saying something like: "A federal election might be just weeks away! We need to be ready! We need to quickly fill our election war chest! Send us as much money as soon as you can!! Time is of the essence!

Does this mean a federal election is really in the offing?

It just means it's plausible that an election is near and that plausibility is all political fundraisers need to inject their pitches with a sense of urgency.

And believe me, urgency is a key part of

any fundraising message.

After all, without a sense of urgency donors might slip into a state of complacency, which is a problem since complacent donors are much more likely to procrastinate when it comes to making a contribution.

It's like Oscar Wilde once said, "I never

put off till tomorrow what I can possibly do the day after."

My point is, as a fundraiser you don't want to give donors the notion that it's okay to put off making a donation until the day after tomorrow, since the more time a donor has to think, the more time a donor has to dream up excuses as to why contributing might be a bad idea.

Excuses like, "I just made a donation to the cause two months ago, no need to make one now," or "Sure, it'd be nice to help the party, but I'm trying to save money to buy a new set of golf clubs."

This is why good fundraisers will always frame their fundraising pitches, whether via mail or phone, in a way which suggests donors shouldn't hesitate, even for a second, when it comes to sending in dollars.

One trick I liked to use when writing direct mail fundraising letters, for instance, was to paint a picture of plight

In other words, I'd have the letter say something such as, "Dear Donor; It's late at night, but I'm still in my office. I can't help but worry because bills are piling up on my desk. Simply put, I need to pay off these bills so I can focus on fighting for what you and I believe in. But to do that, I desperately need your help right away. Please send in a donation; but don't delay. Do it now!!"

Another tactic is to tie a fundraising plea to a certain specific event.

If you're going to release a TV ad on a certain date, you ask donors to help make sure you have the money to produce it on

Deadlines increase urgency.

By the way, since donors can also lose their contribution fervour during the time it takes them to find their cheque book, it's a good idea to urge them to donate on your website, since that's quicker.

At any rate, it should now be clear as to why fundraisers will embrace election

Any time an election is near or even thought to be near, it will energize and mobilize a party's donor base.

How could it not?

Winning an election is always a top priority for party members, so there's less need for fundraisers to come up with tricks or tactics to stave off donor procrastination.

Anyway, if you know anyone who wants to be a fundraiser, pass along this column. Do it now!

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant.

The Hill Times

### INVESTING IN TRAINING AND APPRENTICESHIPS ARE KEY TO BUILDING CANADA'S WORKFORCE

Canada's Building Trades Unions are an association of 14 international unions in the construction, maintenance and fabrication industries that represent 600,000 skilled trades workers. We employ a joint union/employer training system that allows apprentices to earn-whilethey-learn, combining on-the-job training with theoretical and practical technical training.

Each year our industry - through union members and our contractor partners - invests over \$300 million to fund and operate 175 apprenticeship training and education facilities across Canada. These training centres produce the safest, most highly trained and productive skilled craft workers found anywhere in the world.

VALUE ON DISPLAY. EVERY DAY.



## Liberals risk leaving ideological centre open by tilting further to the left in Throne Speech, say some Grits

The Liberals do not want an election, but don't want to be seen 'pushed around' by opposition parties either, says Liberal political insider Greg MacEachern.

#### BY ABBAS RANA

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Liberals are expected to tilt further to the left in their high-stakes Sept. 23 Throne Speech, but some MPs and former candidates say they're nervous that would leave an opening in the ideological centre, home to most Canadian voters and where the Conservatives can make gains in the next federal election.

Liberal MPs and former candidates told *The Hill Times* last week that the hints they had received about the Throne Speech, which will set out the government's agenda, suggested that it would pave the way for new initiatives on the environment and the green economy, pharmacare, and other issues popular with left-of-centre Canadians, and would further increase the size of the federal deficit.

It's not clear if the government is going to outline any concrete plan in the speech for reducing the size of the debt or balancing the budget. Failing to do so would create a perception, these Liberals said, that their government is leaving the political centre open for other parties.

The Liberals who spoke with The Hill Times said the government should have a credible claim to both the political left and centre; if it doesn't, the party could lose seats and perhaps even governing status to the Conservatives in the next election.

After the Throne Speech, MPs will debate, move amendments to, and ultimately vote on a reply to the speech. If the government fails to secure majority support for that reply—in essence, for its Throne Speech—an election will be triggered.

In the 338-member House, the Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) government would need the support of 170 MPs to avoid an election. The Liberals have 154 seats in the House, the Conservatives 121, the Bloc Québécois 32, NDP 24, the Green Party three, and there are two Independent MPs. The Liberals need 16 votes from outside of their caucus to win the confidence vote, so they will need to secure the support of at least one other party in the House to survive.

The average age of a minority government in Canada is only



dismissed the speculation of a fall federal election. He said it's time to focus on the recovery phase of the pandemic. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew

Veteran

Liberal

MP Wayne

Easter totally

about 18 months. The last election was held just shy of 11 months ago, on Oct. 21, 2019.

"I think the party has gone too far to the left," said a Liberal MP who spoke on a not-for-attribution basis to express his views candidly. "They only look in one direction."

Another agreed: "In my view, that's a mistake. I hope the leadership will look into it before they finalize the [Throne] speech," said the second MP.

In media interviews last week, Mr. Trudeau declined to say if the Throne Speech will have any timeline for reducing the deficit, or any plan to balance the budget. He only said that his government would unveil an ambitious green agenda, but did not get into specifics.

"I know people are eager to see what's going to be in the Throne Speech and I've been very clear it's going to be an ambitious, responsible plan for helping Canadians right now and building a stronger future for us all into the coming years," Mr. Trudeau told reporters on Wednesday.

"The values and principles that underpin it should be obvious to everyone because they are the things this government has remained focused on from the beginning."

At the end of last year, the federal deficit was around \$28-billion, but because of the unprecedented spending this year by the government to tackle the COVID-19 pandemic, the deficit is expected to grow close to \$400-billion. The federal debt will soon exceed \$1-trillion. The Trudeau government has not tabled its budget this year, and it's not known how much will the new measures, included those in the Throne Speech, will cost.

Until late June, all national public opinion polls suggested that if an election were to be held then, the Liberals would have won a majority government. Opinion polls broadly showed that Canadians were satisfied with the government's handling of the pandemic. But since the WE Charity controversy started

making national headlines in July, Liberal popularity has taken a nosedive. As of last week, the Liberals were running neck and neck with the Conservatives.

According to a Leger poll released last week, the Liberals had the support of 34 per cent of Canadians, the Conservatives 32 per cent, the NDP 19 per cent, and the Green Party had the support of six per cent. The online poll of 1,500 Canadians released on Sept. 8 had a margin of error of plus or minus 3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

Mr. Trudeau prorogued Parliament on Aug. 18. The House will come back on Sept. 23 with a Throne Speech that will spell out the government's plan to help the country recover from the pandemic. Mr. Trudeau said that he prorogued Parliament to get a new mandate from Parliament.

The last Throne Speech was delivered after October's federal election, before the pandemic hit Canada and the rest of the world and it will become an uphill battle for the governing party to win an election a year from now, or even after that. At the time of prorogation, different House committees were investigating the WE Charity scandal and some also speculated that the government prorogued Parliament to metaphorically change the channel, as the media coverage of the controversy had overshadowed most other issues.

Pollster Darrell Bricker of Ipsos said that, considering the polling numbers suggesting both main parties were tied in a statistical dead heat, it would not be wise for the prime minister to provoke an election. He said, according to his polling last month, 58 per cent of Canadians did not want an election.

"If you're setting up a Speech from the Throne in a minority Parliament to trigger an election, you better think that on the other side of this, that the public's response will be to say, 'Well, that's okay, because we want to have one and right now.'That's not the case," said Mr. Bricker, who is the CEO Of Ipsos Public Affairs. "The only people who seem to want an election are the guys on the other side."

Liberal political insider Greg MacEachern told *The Hill Times* that the government is consulting opposition parties to see what initiatives they would like to see included in the Throne Speech. He conceded that in order to win the confidence vote, at least one opposition party's priorities would have to be included in the Throne Speech.

"The Throne Speech should demonstrate that the government has been in active conversations and is listening to the opposition parties," said Mr. MacEachern, sesomething in the Throne Speech that at least, is reflective of every party," he said.

Liberal MPs told *The Hill*Times that Mr. Trudeau has also invited his own caucus members to submit any ideas that they would like to be included in the government's Throne Speech.

Liberal MP Han Dong (Don Valley North, Ont.) told *The Hill Times* that he has submitted his confidential advice to associate Finance Minister Mona Fortier (Ottawa-Vanier, Ont.). Some of the issues that his constituents have told him are important include urban transit, seniors' care, and housing affordability.

He disagreed with his colleagues who think the Liberal leadership is leaving the ideological centre open to the Conservatives. He said that the recovery phase of the pandemic requires an economic stimulus, and many governments around the world are providing one. Mr. Dong said he's not worried about left- or rightwing agendas, adding that now is the time when effective leadership is important to help people deal with the negative health and economic impact of COVID-19.

"For me, my focus is on the right stimulus that goes to the public," said Mr. Dong. "To stimulate the economy, make sure that people have money to spend looking after [their families]."

Mr. MacEachern said that Canadians right now are not paying attention to ideological dynamics of political parties. They are, he said, focused on which party has a better plan to help them with their health and economic needs, in the recovery phase. Mr. MacEachern said the Throne Speech will address what Canadians need to pull themselves out of the pandemic.

"They are paying more attention to what their government is doing about their concerns, which I think chiefly would be about health and safety," said Mr. MacEachern. "And then secondly would be about the economy and jobs."

Mr. MacEachern also played down the ongoing speculation about the possibility of a fall election. He said the governing party does not want an election, but at the same time would not want to be seen to have been "pushed around" by the opposition parties.

"So they've got to find that sweet spot where they are not only listening to the opposition in trying to make a minority Parliament work, but being perceived to do that as well," said Mr. MacEachern. "And the Speech from the Throne is a great exercise to feel that you are listening to both the opposition and Canadians."

Veteran Liberal MP Wayne Easter (Malpeque, P.E.I.), said that he does not think there'll be an election in the fall. He said his constituents don't want an election; rather, they want all the government's focus to be on the recovery phase of the pandemic.

"We're in a pandemic. This is time to focus and concentrate on the recovery coming ahead of this pandemic, and we're not out of it," said Mr. Easter. "I mean, we're part way through. So it's time now to focus on recovery. And let's get there. Let's get our minds on that."

arana@hilltimes.com The Hill Times



Ipsos Public Affairs CEO Darrell Bricker says that based on the recent polling numbers, now is not the right time for the Liberals to trigger an election. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade* 

hard, altering the political and policy landscape of the country. Mr. Trudeau has denied he wants an election.

Pundits have been speculating about the possibility of a fall federal election. The economy is expected to get worse in the coming months because of COVID-19, nior vice-president of government relations at Proof Strategies and a former Hill staffer.

"To what scale each of the parties is represented will also be reflective of the potential support that party might give the Liberals. I think it's in the government's best interest that you can point to

### Our Kids. Canada's Future.

It's time to put Canada's kids first. We call on the Government of Canada to urgently establish an independent Federal Commissioner for Children and Youth in Canada.

Many Canadians believe our country is one of the best places in the world to raise a child. However, UNICEF Report Card 16 reports that the health and wellbeing of Canada's children ranks 30th of 38 wealthy countries. According to Children First Canada's latest Raising Canada report, fully one third of kids in Canada do not enjoy a safe and healthy childhood.

With strong economic, environmental, and social conditions for growing up, there are no excuses for the poor outcomes our children experience. The COVID-19 pandemic has widened existing inequalities and will affect the health and wellbeing of our children for a generation. **We must do better.** 

- 92% of Canadians believe children should be a priority as governments develop plans and policies related to COVID-19 recovery, and beyond. (Children's Healthcare Canada Abacus Polling, August 2020)
- Canada spends **30% less** on policies focused on children and families than most rich countries. (UNICEF Report Card 16, 2020)
- The pandemic has heightened concerns about children's healthy development, with many of the top threats to childhood increasing, including mental illness, food insecurity, child abuse, physical inactivity and poverty. (Children First Canada, Raising Canada Report, Sept 2020)
- **70**% of Canadians expect the pandemic to have long-term effects on children. (Children's Healthcare Canada Abacus Polling, August 2020)
- **70**% of mental health disorders and addictions begin in childhood. *(CCSA, 2019)*
- 20% of children and youth suffer from mental health disorders. (UNICEF Report Card 16, 2020).
- Suicide is the **second leading cause** of death for youth aged 15 to 24 and has now become the leading cause of death among children 10 to 14. (Children First Canada, Raising Canada Report, Sept 2020)
- 1 in 5 Canadian children live in poverty. (UNICEF Report Card 16, 2020)
- 73% of Canadians support the creation of a Federal Commission for Children and Youth. (Children's Healthcare Canada Abacus Polling, 2020)

The statistics are in. The time for a Federal Commissioner for Children and Youth is now. Join us on social media to help build awareness & support for a Federal Commissioner for Children and Youth in Canada!

**#WeCANforKids | #RaisingCanada | #WorldsApart Visit bit.ly/canadasfuture for more information.** 





Santé des enfants Canada

























MANAGING EDITOR Charelle Evelyn **DEPUTY EDITORS** Peter Mazereeuw, Laura Ryckewaert ASSISTANT DEPUTY EDITOR Abbas Rana DIGITAL EDITOR Beatrice Pae

#### **AHILL TIMES**

PUBLISHED EVERY MONDAY AND WEDNESDAY BY PUBLISHERS Anne Marie Creskey, HILL TIMES PUBLISHING INC.

GENERAL MANAGER, CFO Andrew Morrow

#### **Editorial**

#### Feds need to strengthen security and intelligence capacity in post COVID-19 world

Mel Cappe raised a lot of very good points in his recent piece in the Centre for International Governance Innovation and in a follow-up interview with The Hill Times in last Monday's issue. The former clerk of the Privy Council Office and Canada's former top bureaucrat said "during a crisis, success in governance requires strong institutions, robust decision-making processes and the right people in the right jobs." Specifically, without an "institutionalized" cabinet emergency group constantly in place, the capacity for cabinet ministers to tackle pandemics and other emergencies is "woefully lacking," he told The Hill Times. Mr. Cappe said although the prime minister's move to create a cabinet committee on COVID-19 on March 4—a week before the World Health Organization declared the COVID-19 virus a global pandemic—was an important and valuable step, such a cabinet committee should be put in place permanently to deal with future pandemics and emergencies. He's right.

"In less than two decades, we have experienced SARS, Middle East respiratory syndrome, Ebola and H1N1. Being prepared for the next natural disaster, terrorist act or health crisis is the objective. The committee would ensure the planning function gets done during quieter times and the emergency response is robust during crises," Mr. Cappe wrote.

Mr. Cappe also said the Public Health Agency of Canada should develop a foreign intelligence capacity, and the federalprovincial-territorial relationships should be institutionalized in Canada. "A move

to formalize executive federalism can lead to improvements in decision making. We have such institutional arrangements in Environment and Climate Change Canada and elsewhere, and could adopt an increasingly formalistic arrangement for first ministers and other ministers," he

The Privy Council Office, he said, should have a security-based capacity on health issues. Moreover, he said Parliament should adapt and innovate in order to function remotely in times of crises and the Open and Accountable Government, or the old Guide for Ministers, should be updated to include ministerial responsibility during crises. As well, the relationship between the public service and the political decision-makers must be established in order to function "smoothly in a crisis.'

This is sage advice to govern better in times of crises. The federal government should definitely revisit all its security and intelligence capacities in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic—as well as its preparedness at the parliamentary and ministerial levels, especially in a world where threats to public health are on the rise.
From increasing the PCO's security-

based capacity on health issues, to instituting a "comprehensive review of capacity and performance in the four phases of this pandemic" according to Mr. Cappe, there is still much to be done to improve the government's ability to keep its citizens safe in this new landscape.

The Hill Times



#### Letter to the Editor

#### Throne Speech represents a critical opportunity to tackle the challenges defining our generation

In a few short months, COVID has provided a snapshot of the types of disruptions to social and economic systems that experts warn are coming if global climate action is not urgently scaled up. It has also demonstrated how quickly political will and vast resources can be mobilized to respond to an imminent threat

Herein lies a historic opportunity: resilience to pandemics and resilience to climate change can go hand-in-hand, promote reconciliation, cooperation and partnership, and bring justice, social and economic benefits.

As organizations working with people on the front lines of the climate crisis, we write to encourage Prime Minister Justin Trudeau to use the Throne Speech on Sept. 23 to signal his government's commitment to a bold, five-year international climate finance package that will increase adaptation support for those most vulnerable and put resources in the hands of women and girls best positioned to lead a green, feminist, and just recovery

Climate change preys on those least able to recover—especially women, girls and other marginalized groups, who have the fewest resources to help them cope in times of crisis. Climate change threatens to push an additional 100 million people into extreme poverty by 2030, force up to 250 million people from their homes by 2050, and expose three billion people to Saharan heat levels by 2070. Today, these numbers are being compounded by the social and economic fallout of COVID-19. As the prime minister's former special envoy on humanitarian and refugee issues recently highlighted, we won't truly recover unless Canada and other wealthy countries help developing countries get back on track. Canada's international climate finance is a critical part of the

In the prime minister's first major foreign policy announcement in 2015, he committed \$2.65-billion in international climate finance. This year, with Canada's commitment to international climate finance up for renewal, Mr. Trudeau has the opportunity to build on that legacy and announce a truly feminist international climate finance package that will build resilience to climate change, the pandemic

and other shocks that are growing in frequency and insensity.

The Canadian Coalition on Climate Change and Development has documented several key areas in which Canada's future contribution to climate finance can be optimized toward that end. This includes meeting Canada's fair share of developed countries' commitment to mobilize USD\$100-billion per year in international climate finance by 2020, making adaptation the focus of its support to vulnerable countries and communities, and addressing the barriers that prevent local women's organizations from accessing these funds.

Making sure Canada's climate finance is consistent with the Feminist International Assistance Policy and respectful of Indigenous peoples' sovereignty can be part of the government's COVID-19 recovery legacy, while also helping to spur climate ambition and restore trust in the international climate regime ahead of COP26. There is great expectation that G20 countries like Canada will present green recovery plans that include much more ambitious nationally determined contributions (NDC) alongside the increasing quality and quantity of climate

The prime minister and his cabinet have recognized that COVID-19 must not be allowed to dampen climate ambition and that this crisis calls for bold and transformative action. The Throne Speech represents a critical opportunity to show Canadians and our international partners that Canada is ready to tackle the challenges defining our generation. We stand ready to work with the government to implement these priorities.

Catherine Abreu, executive director, **Climate Action Network Canada** Barbara Grantha, president and CEO, **CARE Canada** Nicolas Moyer, president and CEO-**Canadian Council for International** 

Co-operation Stephen Cornish, chief executive officer, David Suzuki Foundation Jean Lowry, president of the Canadian **Association of International Development Professionals (CAIDP)** 

The Hill Times

#### EDITORIAL

NEWS REPORTERS Aidan Chamandy, Mike Lapointe, Neil Moss, Samantha Wright Allen, and Palak Mangat PHOTOGRAPHERS Sam Garcia, Andrew Meade, and

EDITORIAL CARTOONIST Michael De Adder COLUMNISTS Cameron Ahmad, Andrew Caddell, Andrew Cardozo, John Chenier, Sheila Copps, Éric Couture, David Crane, Jim Creskey, Murray Dobbin, Gwynne Dyer, Michael Geist, Dennis Gruending, Phil Gurski, Cory Hann, Michael Harris, Erica Ifill, Joe Jordan, Amy Kishek, Rose LeMay, Alex Marland, Arthur Milnes, Tim Powers, Mélanie Richer, Susan Riley, Ken Rubin, Evan Sotiropoulos, Scott Taylor, Lisa Van Dusen, Nelson Wiseman, and Les Whittington

#### ADVERTISING

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

#### **PRODUCTION**

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

#### **CIRCULATION**

DIRECTOR OF READER ENGAGEMENT Chris Rivoire DIRECTOR OF MARKETING Leslie Dickson SUBSCRIPTIONS AND LICENSING EXECUTIVE Darryl Blackbird, Lakshmi Krishnamurt VICE PRESIDENT OF

CONTENT LICENSING SALES Sean Hansel CIRCULATION MANAGER Dan Lahev

**ADMINISTRATION** HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGER Tracey Wale

#### **DELIVERY INQUIRIES**

613-288-1146

#### HILLTIMES

**Published every Monday and** Wednesday by Hill Times **Publishing Inc.** 

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

www.hilltimes.com

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

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







### Donald Trump and the art of the lie



President Donald Trump has repeatedly lied about the threat that COVID-19 poses to the public. Photograph by Andrea Hanks. courtesy of the White House

The U.S. president has encouraged Americans to play Russian roulette with their lives, and mocked opponents who have taken the virus seriously.



Michael Harris

Harris

HALIFAX—When, I wonder, will Donald Trump write the one book he is qualified to produce: *The Art of the Lie?* 

American, Canadian, Mexican, North Korean, Russian, Chinese, or African—it doesn't matter what your nationality is, Trump's lying rampage impacts your life.

Take Canada and the battle against the pandemic. In this country, there has been, up until now at least, a well-managed, science-driven response to COVID-19. There is a sense that we're all in it together, that we are one another's keeper.

So we wear our sweaty little masks, keep our distance, stay away from the office, and shake hands with our elbows. All of that because the prime minister saw this virus for what it really is—a deadly plague that has the power to kill thousands of people, and jeopardize the very foundations of our society.

But for all Canada's efforts to contain COVID-19, there is the real threat posed by hundreds of millions of Americans just across the border. That's because their president told them that the pandemic was a hoax, masks were for wusses, and the whole thing would disappear by itself. After all, the U.S. only had fifteen cases back then, right?

So far, thousands of Americans have tried to sneak into Canada. Some come by pleasure boat, some use the so-called "Alaska loophole," and some just show up at the border, where they have been turned back.

With nearly 200,000 of their fellow citizens dead from CO-VID-19, 40,000 new cases per day, and a second phase of the pandemic expected this fall, arm-in-arm with the seasonal flu, travel is a bad idea. What would possess them to leave the "petri-dish" of America and come to Canada to shop, sight-see, or unknowingly spread a deadly disease? Their president's cavalcade of lies, that's what.

When COVID-19 didn't disappear like a miracle, as this delusional president often claimed it would, he then became Dr. Trump. If you got it, it wouldn't really make you sick. Kids were basically immune and all schools had to open. Americans that did succumb to COVID-19 were old and nearly dead anyway. You know, one foot in the grave, the other on a banana peel.

And if that wasn't enough to calm jangled nerves state-side, Dr. Trump even floated a few cures. They ranged from light therapy, to mainlining a little bleach to knock out that pesky virus in a New York minute. The wonder is he didn't put out a Trump anti-virus product himself, like Trump Steaks and Trump

If bleach injection didn't work, you could just take a little anti-malaria drug, hydroxichloroquine, the president's personal favourite. Never mind the pessimists at the World Health Organization, or the Food and Drug Administration, who concluded it was no defence at all against the

Now the president who said that COVID-19 was nothing to worry about has begun talking up an imminent vaccine that will lay the whole thing to rest.

Trump has ordered up a vaccine like he would a burger and fries from McDonald's. That's one vaccine to go, and hold the full third-phase studies. This dish has to be served up for an early November election. And don't worry about that data-driven scientific gobbledygook. Vladimir Putin didn't bother with one, and now he's got a vaccine right?

Earth to Donald Trump fans: just look at the serial lies Trump has told you, and the world. The president said the virus would go away on its own; it exploded. He said it only had minor consequences; key models are now predicting COVID-19 could claim 400,000 victims in the U.S. by the time the new president is inaugurated.

Trump said America has done the best job in the world of

fighting the virus; in fact, only Brazil has possibly shown greater negligence and incompetence in failing to protect its citizens.

And now this. In an exercise of ego-liberation gone horribly wrong, President Trump admitted to legendary journalist Bob Woodward that far from being harmless or a hoax, COVID-19 was a very deadly disease. Worse, the president knew that from the very beginning. Trump made that statement on tape for Woodward's new book, *Rage*. Unlike the *Access Hollywood* tape, this time he can't put it down to locker room talk.

So all the while he was telling Americans that COVID-19 was nothing to worry about, Trump personally knew it was a deadly disease five times more lethal than a normal flu. He also knew that in addition to being spread by touch, it was also an airborne pathogen.

Think about that. Think of all the people who attended beach parties, barbecues and bars, and yes, political rallies, without masks and without social distancing. The whole time their president was telling them it was all okay, he personally knew they were playing Russian Roulette with their health and lives. When ne mocked presidentiai riva Joe Biden for wearing a mask in public, he knew that Biden was doing the right thing, and that he, Trump, was encouraging people to do things that might make them terribly ill or even kill them.

When the avalanche of denunciation came Trump's way for his damning admission that he had always played down the virus, and still does, he lied again. Although he held back information vital to the public health, and

even encouraged life-threatening behaviour, Trump claimed he didn't alert Americans to the lethal risk they faced because he didn't want to create "panic." The old vice into virtue gambit.

It was the biggest whopper of all.

The way to avoid panic in the population when faced with something Trump now likes to call "the plague" is to tell the truth about the threat, and then detail what the government intends to do about it.

You create calm with vigorous national policy. You provide ventilators for the sick and protective gear for front line medical staff; you mandate masks, social distancing, and hand-washing for the general population; and quarantining and sheltering in place when necessary. And yes, sometimes you have to shut down the economy, no matter how much the stock market is your one true love. You don't create calm by lying to people about the threat, and when you can't lie about that anymore, say it's a problem for U.S. governors.

As Angela Merkel said, you can't fight COVID-19 with lies. If you could, America would be pandemic-free.

Instead, you have a U.S. president with his pants on fire, a once great democracy on the brink of a ghastly sea change, and the rest of the world wondering if Americans will ride to the world's rescue on November 3 by ending the Trump pandemic.

Like the California wildfires, expect this president to rage until the very end.

Michael Harris is an awardwinning journalist and author. The Hill Times

## The death of WE in Canada is shameful

The death of WE in Canada will kill any momentum that the opposition parties are seeking to pump up. But don't expect them to stop trying. The program was killed, the finance minister is gone, and so is WE.



Sheila Copps
Copps' Corner

OTTAWA—The death of WE in Canada is shameful.

The ruthless destruction of a charity for political purposes accomplishes nothing.

The critics of WE puffed themselves up after Craig and Marc Kielburger announced the shuttering of their Canadian operations.

"Well, at least we have cut off a huge source of income for the Trudeau family," snarled one on Twitter.

Earth to Twitter verse: you are not cutting off a Trudeau money source, you are killing a program that convinced thousands of young Canadians of the value of volunteerism.

And for all those armchair quarterbacks who said somebody else could run the youth program, there is no other national organization that has a tie-in to education systems in multiple provinces.

Some argued we should have tasked the government with running youth programs. Others said it was a task for the military.

But in the end, as cabinet decided at the time, there is no other national organization with the heft and depth to run the kind of massive youth engagement that WE was contracted to launch.

We should reflect on what the death of WE says about the current political culture in Canada.

What WE-haters succeeded in doing was killing an organization that had direct involvement with 7,000 schools across the country. The Kielburgers are gone, and their organization will only function as a foundation while the WE

work continues in other countries; what a loss for Canada.

In the Kielburgers' public exit letter, they claimed that in the 25 years of their organization's existence, youth volunteerism went from the bottom to the top of the demographic charts.

One million students attended the WE Day celebrations after the teens had already helped 3,000 charities.

How does the death of WE help anyone? It certainly doesn't support the plethora of young people who have been motivated to look beyond their own little worlds when it comes to caring about life.

Set aside the politics of a scandal that wasn't really a scandal. The organization was designed to inspire young people to think beyond themselves.

Turning the "me" into the "we" was the whole premise behind the movement that motivated youth in all parts of the country.

A friend of mine witnessed their first rally, describing it as "cultish." Truth be told, the experience of sharing the joy of volunteerism with thousands of others in a rally is very un-Canadian. Most of us like to hide our light under a bushel, and that holds true in the volunteer sphere as well.

But from the beginning, the Kielburgers went against the grain. At the age of 12, Craig Kielburger actually got a meeting with prime minister Jean Chrétien to promote a simple message—child poverty on the international agenda.

Kielburger was prompted to action when he read about a Pakistan boy named Iqbal Masih who was sold for \$4 at age four to work in a rug factory where he was chained to the loom.

Masih ran away, became an advocate against child exploitation and was murdered at age 12, exactly the same age as

Kielburger. The story had a huge impact on the young Canadian. "It really upset me. What did the two of us have in common except our age?" he told *The Washington* Post in a 1996 interview.

That chance article led Kielburger and his brother into lives of doing things for others

Around the world, young leaders are lauded. When Pakistan's Malala Yousafzai survived a gunshot wound to the head, shot by anti-girl extremists, she devoted her life to girls and education. Greta Thunberg became the face for climate action.

Malala became the world's youngest Nobel Peace Prize laureate.

She spoke at a WE Day in the United Kingdom six years ago, supporting the values of the organization.

WE plans to continue its work across the pond and in other countries where it has a presence.

The only country it is leaving is the home where it was founded, Canada.

The death of WE in Canada will kill any momentum that the opposition parties are seeking to pump up. But don't expect them to stop trying.

The program was killed, the finance minister is gone, and so is WE.

There is not much more that opponents can do to damage this incredible, youthmotivating organization.

The notion that it was a Liberal cash cow is a joke. Bill Morneau donated \$100,00 to the organization. He was hardly looking for a freebie trip.

looking for a freebie trip.
Mistakes were made. Only in Canada,
do we expect perfect.

Sheila Copps is a former Jean Chrétienera cabinet minister and a former deputy prime minister.



## Global

## Would two terms of Trump mean the end of American democracy? Not necessarily

What Donald Trump has triggered—and somebody was bound to trigger it around now, because every political niche, like every evolutionary niche, is always filled—is a final reckoning on the 'race problem,' about 150 years after the American Civil War.



Gwynne Dyer

**Global Affairs** 

London, U.K.—"To lose one parent ... may be regarded as a misfortune; to lose both looks like carelessness," wrote Oscar Wilde in his play *The Importance of Being Earnest* in 1895.

In somewhat the same spirit, British journalist Robert Fisk wrote last week "At some point in the next two months we are going to have to decide whether we absolve the American people if they re-elect Donald Trump." Losing one election to Trump is unlucky; losing two in a row may be saying something about the national character.

Fisk has been the Middle East correspondent of various British newspapers since 1976, so he was not on familiar ground when he wrote that about the United States in *The Independent* on Sept. 4. On the other hand, he was expressing a mostly unspoken, but widespread attitude among all Europeans except the extreme right. Let me quote some more:

"Like all snobs, we've taken the view that Trump did not really represent American values—any more than the Arab dictators reflect the views of their people. We've hoped and prayed and fooled ourselves into believing this was only a temporary autocracy, a deviation, an old and reliable friend suffering from a serious but ultimately curable mental disease.

"Yet ... I wonder how we are going to react to Americans if the Trump years become the Trump



era; or if his dreadful, ambitious family transform themselves into the Trump Caliphate ... if the America we felt we could always ultimately rely on—once they've straightened out their little Trump misadventure—turns into the nation we can never trust?"

I grew up in Canada, and Canadians, like Mexicans, while fond enough of individual Americans, are by nature mistrustful of the American state—"like sleeping with an elephant," as Pierre Elliott Trudeau put it. If it just rolls over or wakes up cranky, you can get badly hurt.

Europeans have a different perspective.

Bob Fisk grew up in the United Kingdom, which like France remembers (most of the time) that it would have lost both world wars without American help. Even if the United States was years late to both world wars, it showed up both times in time to save the day.

And American troops stayed in Western Europe to protect it from

Soviet power throughout the Cold War. Most Eastern Europeans see the United States as the instrument of their liberation from the Soviet Union, even though it did not in the end involve a hot war.

So there is still a deep well of respect and trust for the United States in Europe. Fisk is probably right that a second Trump election victory would finally poison that well, which would be a pity.

Another four years would also see him complete the destruction of the existing international order (without giving a single thought to a replacement). Trump is, as Michael Moore noted in 2016, "a wretched, ignorant, dangerous part-time clown and full-time sociopath."

But would two terms of Trump mean the end of American democracy? Not necessarily. Not even likely. What Trump has triggered—and somebody was bound to trigger it around now, because every political niche, like every evolutionary niche, is always filled—is a final reckoning on the 'race problem,' about 150 years after the American Civil War.

At the time of the Civil War (1861-65), Black Americans accounted for around 12 per cent of the total population, and four-fifths of them were slaves. Whites accounted for almost all the rest; only a quarter-million were Native Americans.

African-Americans still account for the same 12 per cent share of the population today, and many of them are still victims of the same white fear, exclusion and official violence that their ancestors experienced (mainly because they were slaves) 150 years ago. But since U.S. immigration law changed in 1965, allowing people from the entire world to immigrate, the 'non-Hispanic white share' of the population has dropped to only 60 per cent.

That share will to drop to 50 per cent by 2044, according to forecasts based on current birth rates and immigration trends. This has triggered a huge panic among working-class white

Americans, who often compete for the same jobs and used to depend on their whiteness as a competitive advantage.

Trump is personally a racist, if his remarks and behaviour are any guide, but he is a cynical populist and would be exploiting white fears right now even if he really loved non-white Americans. That is why the vicious legacy of the Civil War, which ended slavery but not white privilege, is finally being dragged out into the open.

Having been so exposed, it will probably finally be extinguished—but not necessarily in time to thwart Trump's re-election. This is not the end of the United States, nor the advent of a new Hitler either. It is a necessary evolution of American history, for which some people living elsewhere may also pay a substantial price.

Gwynne Dyer's new book is 'Growing Pains: The Future of Democracy (and Work)'. This column was released on Sept. 8.

Dear Prime Minister Trudeau & Deputy Minister Freeland,

In the Speech from the Throne, show how combined action on economic recovery and addressing the climate crisis is the path to building a **stronger**, **safer**, **and fairer future for Canadians**.

Imagine if Canadians could go through life with the security that their everyday actions won't perpetuate climate change, but rather are part of the solution.

Imagine if Canadians young and old could see well paying, long term jobs ahead of them, as they graduate into the job market and shift jobs later in life.

Canada has a once-in-a-generation opportunity to stop imagining and start creating this future.

This is a moment when new policies and spending are required to kick start our economy, and a critical time for action to address the climate crisis. We can't continue to subsidize climate polluters while slowly chipping away at the edges of the problem. This is the moment for transformational leadership. To build a resilient, just, and climate safe future.

We expect your government to lay out a vision for a truly transformative, just, and green recovery in your September 23rd throne speech including a commitment to:

1

Signal to the private sector and all Canadians that the commitment to reach zero emissions by 2050 requires immediate action today starting with a new Climate Target & Plan, Climate Accountability Legislation, and Just Transition Legislation



Apply conditions and principles to all government departments that ensure economic recovery spending steers the economy towards zero emissions by 2050



Build public understanding for a transition to zero emissions by providing regular updates to Canadians on steps taken to reduce emissions and build a just a green economy









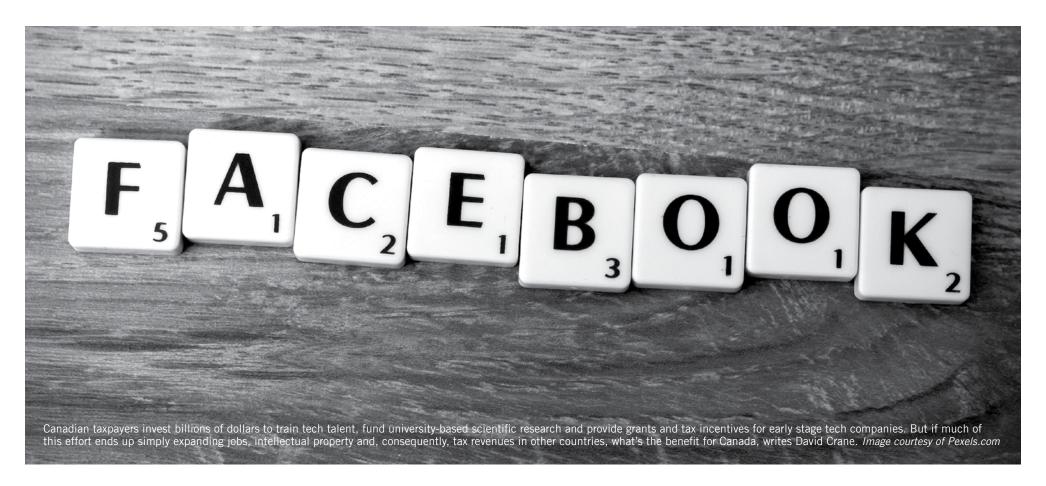












## Canada needs better ways to transform early stage companies into future global champions

While excellent at starting really smart new companies, Israel, like Canada, has much less success in turning these into locally owned multinationals with the potential to create thousands of domestic jobs.



David Crane

Canada & the 21st Century

TORONTO—Writing in the Global Innovation Index 202 report, Yaron Daniely of Israel's aMoon Venture Fund, worries that his country—highlighted in the best-selling book, Start-Up Nation—may be suffering from the same problem that I see in Canada.

While excellent at starting really smart new companies, Israel, like Canada, has much less success in turning these into locally owned multinationals with the potential to create thousands

of domestic jobs. Instead, many of them are sold, while still small, to foreign multinationals who acquire the intellectual property and use it to strengthen operations and create jobs elsewhere.

Israel, as Daniely points out, has more start-ups per capita than any other country, the highest number of engineers per capita (engineers typically turn inventions into innovations), and has the world's second-largest research and development spending rate.

"Yet, often overlooked, given this glowing data, is a less fortunate fact," Daniely writes. "While we have excelled at launching game-changing start-ups and lifechanging technologies, we have struggled to produce well-known multinational corporations." Can Israel—and Canada—move beyond early stage innovation?

Part of Israel's problem is that it has developed an "exit culture," Daniely argues, with both early stage investors and start-up founders seeking to cash out early rather than building world-scale companies. This makes early investors and start-up founders wealthy, but doesn't do much for the rest of society.

do much for the rest of society.

Moreover, there is a downside to this approach. "In the longrun, a private sector consisting entirely of small technologically advanced companies chasing an exit strategy" is damaging because "it exports the country's most valuable know-how and hinders the development of large local companies." This, in effect, suppresses the number of jobs available within Israel—or Canada—and reduces the long-term tax payments needed to

meet health, education, and other needs.

Another challenge that Israel—and Canada—face comes from the growing number of innovation centres that foreign multinationals are establishing. I call these R&D branch plants, which tap the local talent pool and the publicly funded research base of local universities to develop intellectual property for foreign corporations. These multinationals, as Daniely points out, can offer higher pay and benefits than smaller local companies and so are well-positioned to win the battle for local talent.

In Canada's case, companies like Alphabet/Google, Facebook, Microsoft, Uber and others are—in addition to establishing R&D branch plants—hiring away our top professors and implanting themselves in our top research universities. This puts them in a strong position to learn of the best new researchers and early stage start-ups. With their deep pockets they are also buying up promising tech companies.

Yet selling out to foreign multinationals seems to be encouraged by one of Canada's leading incubator/accelerator centers for nigh-tech companies, MaR Toronto. In its start-up toolkit, it extols the benefits of linking up with U.S. venture funds since these are a quick pathway to eventual sale. In fact, it boasts, of 183 Canadian tech start-ups sold over a five-year period, nearly 70 per cent were acquitted by U.S. corporations, including six by Google and three by Twitter. "U.S. companies are driving the majority of Canadian company exits," the MaRS toolkit notes.

It quotes Stephen Hurwitz of the Boston-based law firm Choate, Hill & Stewart, as stating that American venture capital firms love doing deals in Canada. "What they see is a combination of fabulous technology, high-quality and lower-priced talent, less competition for deals, and better [lower?] pricing," he says.

One of the big challenges in Israel, says Daniely, is the lack of multi-billion-dollar funds that can provide the patient capital to grow a company into a large corporation with thousands of employees. Israeli pension funds, for example, "are more likely to invest in overseas real estate markets than they are to invest in a growth-stage Israeli company." Much the same could be said of Canadian pension funds. Both countries need to do a much better job in growing their best tech companies into international champions.

Corporate venture funds, known as "strategic investors," are playing a major role in helping to fund Israeli startups, and foreign multinationals are doing something similar in Canada. "While it is exciting and theoretically beneficial for young start-ups to evolve with strateic support, it also limits independence and the likelihood of growing to become strong market players before they are absorbed by the strategic investor—which often happens too soon and at a significant valuation discount."

So what to do? How do we create an environment where entrepreneurs are less inclined to sell their start-ups and more energized by the possibility of building a successful Canadian tech multinational, such as Shopify, CAE, OpenText, Kinaxis or Constellation Software? Examples of success can encourage others.

"Public-private partnerships can and should lead efforts to provide financial security and support to enable budding entrepreneurs to take big risks and stick with them," Daniely argues, adding "additional measures could include models for encouraging young companies to collaborate more closely with each other and even merge to create more stable and scalable businesses."

While some may object to government involvement, the venture capital industry in Israel was launched by government and, in Canada, federal and provincial governments have accounted for much of the growth in venture capital. Public-private partnerships could generate more funds to provide long-term and patient growth capital.

Canadian taxpayers invest billions of dollars to train tech talent, fund university-based scientific research and provide grants and tax incentives for early stage tech companies. But if much of this effort ends up simply expanding jobs, intellectuai property and, consequently, tax revenues in other countries, what's the benefit for Canada? If Canadians are to get a better return on their investment, then instead of simply providing seed corn for other countries, we need to find better ways to transform more of our early stage companies into future global champi-

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

Minister

conference in

## Military justice system in chaos

A parliamentary solution is needed to remedy the current chaos in our military justice system.



Michel Drapeau & Joshua Juneau

Opinion

TTAWA—In a shocking decision last month, R. v. Crépeau, the Deputy Chief Military Judge, Lt.-Col. Louis-Vincent d'Auteuil, declared that his court is not independent nor is it impartial; in their current form, military courts are unconstitutional. What this means is that, going forward, all criminal and disciplinary trials before courts martial will likely be stayed, including upcoming trials for sexual assault or drug trafficking of other serious

This is as remarkable as it is unprecedented. But it's not just Judge d'Auteuil that questions the independence of his court. Earlier this year Military Judge Martin Pelletier in R v. Pett; and Military Judge Sandra Sukstorf in R v. D'Amico foreshadowed this same result.

Judge d'Auteuil's decision is likely the second last chapter in a not-so-private spat between the military courts and the chief of defence staff. The final chapter will see the power struggle between the head of the military judiciary and the head of the Armed Forces establishment end, but it is possible that neither will like the outcome.

#### **Duality of accountability**In October 2019, in the wake of the

court martial against the former chief military judge Mario Dutil, the Chief of Defence Staff, Jonathan Vance, issued an order. Gen. Vance made all military judges subject to disciplinary authority of the vice chief of defence staff. Sec. 60 of the National Defence Act clearly stipulates that all officers of the Regular Force are subject to the code of service discipline. The act also states that persons who are subject to the code fall under the penal military justice. What is remarkable here is that it took all this time before the military justice system actually realized this conflicting duality of accountability, which obviously flies in the face of the constitutional requirement that all judges be independent of the executive—never the two shall meet.

In a recent interview with La Presse Defence Counsel Maj. Eric Léveillé stated that the maintenance of discipline and order of military judges by the chain of command was problematic. He opined that military judges are not independent because they remain subject to the military hierarchy and subject to a code of service discipline. We have previously written that a "judge in military uniform is a paradox" and continue to hold this belief. We have also proposed a cure: judges presiding at court martials should be civilian jurists.



**Marking time** 

As the current military court structure has now been declared unconstitutional, Maj. Léveillé states that he will seek a stay of proceedings in "99 per cent" of his defence files going forward. This is perhaps the largest issue at hand. Our military courts are inefficient at the best of times, and now they have been enduringly

There is worse for the military justice system. Additional delay in the administration and superintendence of the military justice system could also cause many serious criminal and disciplinary matters to be dismissed due to the timelines established by the Supreme Court of Canada in R. v. Jordan. This could be a real coup de grâce to the reputation management of the military justice system.

#### Prior criticism

In a spring 2018 report, the auditor general openly criticized the military judiciary as being inefficient, marred with delays and plagued with "systemic weaknesses."

Presently, there are four full-time military judges each earning in excess of \$200,000 per year. This is expensive considering that, in 2019, the military judiciary only heard from 44 defendants at the trial level. Of these trials, about half involved guilty pleas, and the other half largely concerned minor disciplinary offences—not exactly a heavy case load.

In addition to judges' salaries, there are the salaries of staff, prosecution lawyers, and defence lawyers who all travel on location dispersed across Canada and abroad

to hear the cases in the unit lines of an accused. For general courts martial, a fivemember military panel (quasi-jury) must be selected broadly, and panel members are commonly flown across the country to sit for days as a juror, all at public expense.

In December 2018, the House Public Accounts Committee found that the Canadian Armed Forces did not administer the military justice system efficiently, as evidenced by excessive delays throughout the process. Therefore, from a financial perspective alone, there is a good case for civilianization

#### **Unconstitutional courts**

Ultimately, Military Judge d'Auteuil declared his court unconstitutional because he lacked independence, as a military officer, to hear the matter. We agree with him.

Judges are specialists, and, as such, should not be subject to the military chain of command or hold rank. It is cavalier to think that a military judge (or lawyer, or doctor, or padre) could deliver binding orders or hold the requisite skill set to battlefield into harm's way; yet, at present, the military's top padre, lawyer, and doctor are all major-generals—the top judge is a colonel.

From an independence perspective, judges should not hold military rank and should not be subject to the orders and directives of the military's chain of command. If this is so, there is also no need for a parallel system of military justice since the civilian judiciary can aptly respond to the small number of courts martial currently taking place in Canada.

#### Parliamentary solution required

One thing is certain. Structural reform is urgently needed, and Judge d'Auteuil's decision has given the perfect opportunity for Parliament to act by amending the National Defence Act to solve this embarrassing void in the administration of military justice. Parliament could consider a solution whereby, upon appointment as a military judge, officers would retire their rank and assume the role of 'judge' distancing themselves from both the military chain of command and the code of service discipline while remaining subject to the existing Military Judges Inquiry Commit-tee appointed by the chief justice of the Court Martial Appeal Court.

Alternatively, following the lead of our European allies, courts martial could be abolished, and a new military division added to the Federal Court to expand its jurisdiction. In our view, this would be the best solution, particularly given that the Federal Court has standing courtrooms countrywide, with a qualified compliment of bilingual judges. Creating a 'military division' of the Federal Court would be consistent with the court's original mandate, which is to ensure the better administration of the laws of Canada, such as the prosecution of offences under the National Defence Act.

This current paralysis of the military justice system is too important a matter to be left to the generals. It is time for Parliament to intervene. Our soldiers, sailors, and aviators deserve no less.

Michel Drapeau and Joshua Juneau are administrativė lawyers whose practice focuses on military and veterans issues. The Hill Times

## Biotechnology

How the pandemic has driven us to up our game in research and teaching

p. 21

Liberal government must end COVID-19 vaccine secrecy

p. 21

We need better foresight for the next normal

p. 20

Human challenge studies to speed development of COVID-19 vaccine are unethical

Challenge trials face too many ethical and logistical hurdles, experts say

p. 16

Biotech industry leading the charge to find vaccines and treatments for COVID-19

p. 17

Onto the next pandemic

p. 18

Rapid COVID-19 saliva tests are the swatter that could squash the pandemic: will Canada deploy them?

#### **Biotech** Policy Briefing

### Challenge trials face too many ethical and logistical hurdles to go forward, experts say

Four Liberal MPs and health experts recently penned an op-ed arguing that challenge trials are worth the risk.

#### BY AIDAN CHAMANDY

The race to develop the CC VID-19 vaccine, or a series of he race to develop the COvaccines, is well underway and at the time of writing, three clinical trials are in phase three, with dozens more in phases one and two and in the pre-clinical stage. One Russian vaccine was even approved before phase three of

Developing a vaccine takes an average of more than 10 years from pre-clinical development to distribution, according to a 2013 study conducted by Dutch scientists Ester S. Pronker, Tamar C. Weenen, Harry Commandeur, Eric Claassen, and Albertus Osterhaus.

The normal clinical trial timelines are too long in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic, said Liberal MP and former ER doctor Marcus Powlowski (Thunder Bay-Rainy River, Ont.), which is why he signed on to a *Toronto* Star op-ed arguing that challenge trials should be looked at as a legitimate alternative.

"I think getting a vaccine out there sooner has to be overwhelmingly the most important issue of the day," Mr. Powlowski said in a Sept. 9 phone interview with The Hill Times.

Mr. Powlowski was one of four Liberal MPs to sign the op-ed. The others were former doctor and York Region public health official Helena Jaczek (Markham-Stouffville, Ont.), Nathaniel Erskine-Smith (Beaches-East York, Ont.), and Bob Bratina (Hamilton East-Stoney Creek, Ont.). Several doctors and professors also signed the letter.

onamenge trials are widely seen as a way to speed up the vaccine development process, but at a certain cost

In a challenge trial, participants are given a potential vaccine that has passed phase one and phase two safety trials. They are then intentionally exposed to the virus to see if they get sick.

Phase three trials are different. In these, a large number of participants are given a potential vaccine and released, while still

being monitored, into the world to go about daily life. Large numbers of people are needed because there is no guarantee any single individual will come into contact with the disease in regular life. The uncertainty of exposure also necessitates a phase three trial being conducted in a place where there are a high number of daily new cases. Predicting when and where high case loads may arise is incredibly difficult, Mr. Powlowski argued, and further complicates a phase three trial.

Challenge trials are smaller

because they normally occur in a

more controlled environment. Mr.

they are advocating for a highly

Powlowski and the co-authors said

controlled trial where participants

would be housed in containment

centres to monitor their progress.

challenge trials have serious risks

but proposed several measures,

Mr. Powlowski acknowledged

such using containment centres and

limiting participation to those aged

between 18-25 where symptoms are

which is impossible, Mr. Powlowski

society from a vaccine outweigh the

risks to the individual voluntarily

He said that if phase three

trials aren't producing "positive

least severe, to address these con-

cerns. While not eliminating risk,

said he believes the benefits to

participating in the study.

and don't face the same issues

around exposure uncertainty

results" by the end of October, a challenge study should be initi-

"If the phase three trials aren't coming to an answer in the next few months, I think it's unethical not to do them because we are actively contributing to perpetuating the pandemic," he said, adding that planning should begin before that time to ensure a challenge trial could actually get started, regardless of which country it starts in.

"If no one else is stepping up to the plate, why not Canada," he

An attenuated strain is one that has been modified in some way to make it less harmful. There are several methods used to attenuate a pathogen.

The Sabin poliovirus vaccine, still in use today, is a live polio strain that was run through generations of laboratory animals to make it a much more mild form of polio. An attenuated strain can also be from a different pathogen that is similar enough to confer immunity, such as using cowpox to confer immunity to smallpox.

Lastly, the disease could be genetically modified to make it susceptible to currently available treatment options.

'Malaria strains that are currently used to infect healthy volunteers have been genetically modified so that they are killed by a single drug treatment," Prof. Weijer said.

Without an attenuated strain of some kind, "there's too much risk, even in a healthy young person" to begin a challenge trial,

With most infection challenge studies you're dealing with a disease that won't kill you or with a disease where we already have some kind of therapeutics, which

> Canada's Chief Public Health Officer Theresa Tam, pictured June 15, 2020, arriving at the West Block to hold a press conference and to update Canadians on the response to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. Dr Tam has said that vaccines won't be a silver bullet in fighting COVID-19. The Hill Times photograph by



Despite the potential benefits of discovering a vaccine earlier than initially thought, bioethicists say challenge trials face too many ethical and logistical hurdles to view them as a viable path forward. "We're going to have a vac-

cine in hand before any challenge study gets up and running," said Charles Weijer, a Western niversity professor and Can Research Chair in bioethics.

In order to get a challenge study up and running, Prof. Weijer said, an attenuated COVID strain would need to be developed because it "would be unethical to use a wild-type COVID strain to speed vaccine development.... The front end of challenge studies are how do you make a strain of the disease that is more susceptible to treatment so people don't

we don't have" for COVID-19, said Jonathan Kimmelman, a professor of biomedical ethics at McGill University.

It would be unprecedented to do a challenge study with a virus for which we can't give rescue medications or have figured out how to limit infection,"

The U.S. National Institute for Allergies and Intections Diseases announced in August that it's working on developing an attenuated strain for use in challenge trials. There are currently no institutions in Canada working on an attenuated strain, according to CBC's Vaccine Tracker.

An attenuated strain would take time to develop. For those critical of challenge studies, the time and effort it would take to develop an attenuated strain would essentially be wasted because it

wouldn't give results sooner than a regular clinical trial.

Mr. Powlowski also said waiting for an attenuated strain is not wise, but for different reasons.

We could contemplate it, but given the length of time it takes to develop and given the number of deaths that occur every day as a result of COVID, I think it's unethical to wait that length of time," he said.

Mr. Powlowski said one of the key things informing his position that challenge trials are ethical is the relatively low risk posed to young people, who would be the subjects of the proposed challenge trial.

'The whole core central concept as to why this makes sense is you would initially only do it with people aged 18 to 25. In this age group, COVID is no worse than common influenza," he said.

'It's not really dangerous in that age group. Certainly people say it's unethical. If it's unethical to allow people to assume that risk, wouldn't it be unethical to allow police to go into a situation where they could be harmed,"he

Françoise Baylis, research professor at Dalhousie University and bioethical philosopher, said this reasoning is flawed because it fails to take into account how the risk involved with research participation differs from the risk involved in a job, and the compensation an individual receives for participating in research or for simply doing their job.

"It takes us back to a conversation that people tried to have a long time ago about whether we should think about research participation as a job. So then you get all the benefits you get with employment, including health insurance, but perhaps including life insurance policies for your loved ones. I think that those people have chosen a career path. That career path provides them with many, many kinds of benefits, not just remuneration," she said.

"A firefighter who consents to that job is motivated by all kinds of things. But I think that's very different from a person who is often of lower socioeconomic status, perhaps not seeing a way to get access to a vaccine that they see as a potential benefit, and seeing that this might be their only route to that. What I want to underline here is that there is a risk of coercion and a risk of exploitation and I do not believe those two risks apply with the job scenarios that we've been discussing," she said.

"The risk of coercion is, 'I've offered vou so much money relative to what you can do in the world to make that same amount of money,' that it's nearly impossible for you to say no. Alternatively, the risk of exploitation is, 'I haven't offered you enough money for the risk that I'm asking you to take,' which is the risk of death," she said.

"I don't believe that the situation applies for the firefighter. If they think that money is not right. they can go and do another kind of job. They're not at risk in the same kind of way," she said.

achamandy@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

#### Policy Briefing Biotech

## Biotech industry leading the charge to find vaccines and treatments for COVID-19

The Canadian biotech sector should rest assured that our government not only recognizes the critical role it plays in our economy, but that we will continue to look for opportunities to help further develop this vital domestic industry.



Liberal MP Ali Ehsassi

Opinion

Canada's economy, including Canadian biotech, has been hit hard by the CO-VID-19 pandemic. Disruptions to employment and supply chains have had signifi-

cant impacts on workers and their families, and have created barriers to growth at a time when innovation and research is critical. In the face of these unprecedented challenges, our government has worked tirelessly to protect the health and safety of Canadians and to support Canadian businesses.

As we begin to look towards our economic recovery, there are clear opportunities for innovative industries such as biotech to grow and prosper here in Canada. Countries are working together to find vaccines and treatments for COVID-19, and the biotech industry is leading the charge

That is why our government is working across several fronts to position the Canadian biotech industry for success in the short- and long-term.

Our first priority continues to be securing access to safe and effective vaccines and treatments. This includes supporting the most promising made-in-Canada candidates, and securing agreements to access the most promising international candidates. For example, our government announced support of up to \$175.6-million for Vancouver-based AbCellera Biologics to accelerate the development of their antibody-based drug candidates and to expand their bio-manufacturing capacity here in Canada. Similarly, our government announced an investment of up to \$56-million to support Ottawa-based Variation Biotechnologies Inc. for their

clinical trials of a COVID-19 vaccine candidate. Our government is also supporting Dartmouth-based IMV Inc. with more than \$3-million to support phase one clinical trials and the rapid scale up of their manufacturing processes. Over the coming weeks, we expect to make further announcements regarding other promising Canadian technologies.

Our government is deploying significant support for this area through the Strategic Innovation Fund, which has earmarked \$600-million to support COVID-19 vaccine and therapy clinical trials and to support bio-manufacturing opportunities

We know that scaling up Canada's biomanufacturing capacity is critical to ensuring that Canadians have a secure supply of eventual COVID-19 vaccines or treatments. That is why we are making significant investments to ensure we are able to do just that.

Just two weeks ago, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains announced an investment of \$126-million for a new bio-manufacturing facility at the National Research Council's Human Health Therapeutics Research Centre in Montreal. This new facility will increase vaccine-manufacturing capacity at the National Research Council to up to two million doses per month by mid-2021. This complements our investments in Saskatoon's Vaccine and Infectious Disease Organization-

International Vaccine Centre (VIDO-InterVac) to accelerate the development of their COVID-19 vaccine candidate and to scale up their bio-manufacturing capacity.

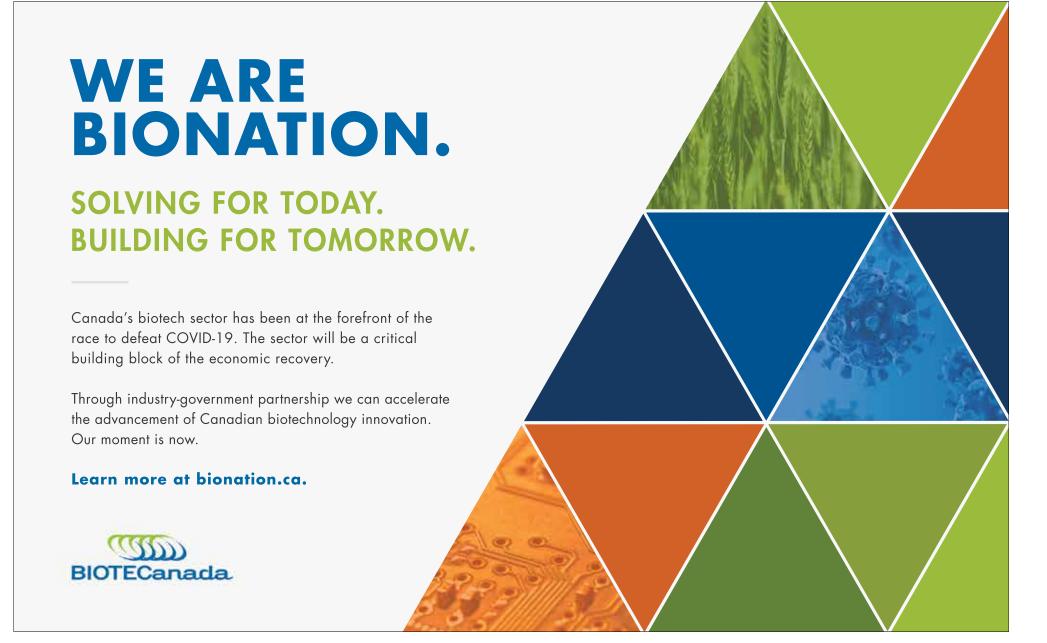
These measures will help ensure Canada has the capacity to produce doses of vaccine for our front line health workers, long-term care workers, and those at risk of becoming seriously ill if they contracted COVID-19.

In the months ahead, our government will continue to support Canada's biotech industry. Its position as a driver of growth and innovation make the sector important now and into the future. As our economy gradually re-starts, it will be critical to maintain and foster strong public-private partnerships to address the global challenges we face and to grow Canadian biomanufacturing capacity.

Even while we remain focused on dealing with the impacts of COVID-19, our Government will continue to plan for the future growth of this important sector. This fall there will be a relaunch of the Health and Biosciences Economic Strategy Table, which will provide expert advice to help ensure that our economic recovery both helps keep Canadians safe while growing an inclusive and innovative economy.

The Canadian biotech sector should rest assured that our government not only recognizes the critical role it plays in our economy, but that we will continue to look for opportunities to help further develop this vital domestic industry.

Liberal MP Ali Ehsassi, who represents Willowdale, Ont., is parliamentary secretary to the minister of innovation, science and industry.



#### **Biotech** Policy Briefing

## Onto the next pandemic



medical health officer Howard Nioo. Canada's chief medical officer Theresa Tam, Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan, Health Minister Patty Hajdu, and Foreign Affairs Minister François-Philippe Champagne, pictured Jan. 26, 2020, in the National Press Theatre in Ottawa, less than a month before the WHO declared the COVID-19 virus a global pandemic on March 11, 2020. Our fair performance comes in spite of the fact that we appear to have starved a worldleading epidemic early warning unit. our Global Pubic Health Intelligence Network, born out of SARS, just in time to miss the early signs of COVID, writes Harvey Schipper. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Canada is in a unique position to be a, if not the, world leader in preparedness. We now have an unprecedented opportunity to reframe our thinking of what a pandemic represents, and in so doing, we can potentially create a revolutionary and science-driven health economy. Here's what we need to do.



Harvey Schipper

Opinio

TORONTO—As we emerge from our first encounter with COVID-19, we are beginning to take stock of where we stand and what we have learned. It has been a humbling, at times quite frightening, and at other times even hopeful experience.

We have largely balanced the scientific, cultural and political imperatives, and apart from the catastrophe of our long-term care structure, we have done pretty well so far. Our fair performance comes in spite of the fact that we appear to have starved a world-leading epidemic early warning unit, our Global Pubic Health Intelligence Network, born out of SARS, just in time to miss the early signs of COVID.

Regardless, our successes and shortcomings present learning opportunities. We must look to the future with the clear understanding that this type of event will happen again, though in a form and from a direction we cannot fully anticipate. Each pandemic is unique, finding and exploiting the vulnerable niches in our societies.

Canada is in a unique position to be a, if not the, world leader in preparedness. We now have an unprecedented opportunity to reframe our thinking of what a

pandemic represents, and in so doing, we can potentially create a revolutionary and science-driven health economy.

Here's what we need to do. First, we must develop a workable, broader pandemic model that allows consideration in real time of parameters beyond narrow single pathogen factors. This model would include all-causes of morbidity and mortality, geographic, and social and cultural factors, physical infrastructure contributors, and economics. It will be essential to develop a common language, so that the same words have the same meanings across disciplines and communication with the public is clear and predictable.

We also need to implement an early warning system that is globally accepted and transparent. In the rush to finger pointing, we have lost sight of the fact that the new virus was characterized a quantum leap in our scientific capability. We may already be on the cusp, by virtue of modern genetics, of characterizing the population and organ-specific risks of new pathogens by their genetic makeup. These technologies must be globally available and globally shared with clear procedures for notification.

Canada should lead in the advancement of global responsiveness and availability of essential tests and treatments. We need to push further innovations at the public-private-government interface with respect to intellectual property, financing and risk mitigation of new treatments.

To play a leadership role, we must also modernize our health care. This includes finding a public-private balance that drives innovation in health and wellness delivery. That means incenting systems to innovate and rewarding them for it. Government could have a role in rewarding novel healthcare innovations that produce effective outcomes for patients. Doing this will make our system more resilient, flexible, innovative, and responsive.

Moreover, Canada could pioneer the establishment of an international consortium of likeminded countries to provide the scientific, industrial, and financial means to respond to the next pandemic. While no middle power can do it all, a collective can.

In support of internationalizing our health economy, we would do well to identify and reinforce areas of our strength in respect to global health threats. It could be the production of medical technologies, or the manufacture of essential drugs, or the bridging of distance and cultures. Whatever the form of our comparative advantages, we ought to establish them early in this process.

Canada is uniquely wellsuited to leading on this health economy project. Our biological and medical sciences expertise is, on a population and expenditure basis, world leading already. We just don't capitalize on it. Also, our diversity both provides the test bed for new interventions and links to other countries that no other country can match. Moreover, as a middle power with a track record of trust and success in forging new concepts for global well-being (such as UN peace keeping and our founding leadership of the WHO) we have specific advantages in terms of engaging the international com-

What would be the effect of all this? If nothing else, we will transform what is now considered a 15 per cent cost sink to our economy into an economic engine of world-leading potential. It will create high value, sustainable jobs. It will attract risk investment to realms of enormous human promise. And ultimately, an unavoidable byproduct of these efforts would be a next generation health system and resilient readiness for the next pandemic.

Harvey Schipper is a professor of medicine and adjunct professor of law at the University of Toronto.

#### Policy Briefing Biotech



While the effects of COVID-19 on the lungs is widely known, it has emerged that the virus can infect the heart, major blood vessels. and the brain resulting in myocarditis, strokes, and other neurological sequelae. Even more worrisome, are the increasing numbers of people reporting symptoms that persist months after acute illness. so-called coronavirus 'long haulers,' writes Charles Weijer. Shutterstock photograph

### Human challenge studies to speed development of a COVID-19 vaccine are unethical

If COVID-19 challenge studies are not ethical at present, do they have a future role in vaccine development? I believe they may.



Charles Weijer

Opinion

L ONDON, ONT.—The COIVID-19 pandemic is a oncein-a-century global health crisis.
In Canada, a coordinated public health response, involving physical distancing, testing, contact tracing, and isolation of cases and contacts, has largely been successful in "flattening the curve."
Yet, many European countries are now in the midst of a second wave that Canada may not be able to avoid. It seems clear that

a return to normal life will not occur until a safe and effective vaccine is widely available.

How can we speed the development of a vaccine for COVID-19? Some have suggested that human challenge studies, in which healthy volunteers are intentionally exposed to the novel coronavirus, are the answer.

Traditional vaccine studies are stepwise and laborious. Establishing that a vaccine prevents disease requires large trials in the community in which some people receive the vaccine and others are given a placebo. But epidemics are capricious; infection rates wax and wane, and epicentres of infection may shift away from communities in the trial. Because exposure to the infectious agent is uncontrolled, vaccine trials in the community require tens of thousands of participants.

Human challenge studies are more efficient than traditional vaccine trials because they control for exposure. Healthy volunteers are given either vaccine or placebo and then all are exposed to the infectious agent. If less people who received the vaccine become sick, this is evidence that the vaccine prevents disease. Because exposure is assured in a challenge study, only a few hundred participants are needed.

But is it ethically permissible for scientists to intentionally

expose healthy volunteers to the novel coronavirus?

Earlier this year, I served on the World Health Organization's Working Group for Guidance on Human Challenge Studies in COVID-19 that examined this question. In May 2020, WHO issued ethical guidelines for COVID-19 challenge studies. Because the guidelines did not rule out COVID-19 challenge studies tout court, some interpreted our report as giving them a "green light." The Guardian reported that "WHO has said [COVID-19 challenge studies] could possibly go ahead using healthy, young volunteers." Nir Eyal, a bioethicist at Rutgers University, was quoted in the same article saying the acceptability of challenge studies reflects an "emerging consensus among everyone who has thought about this seriously."

Having thought about this seriously, I do not believe that CO-VID-19 challenge studies can, at present, satisfy the WHO ethical guidelines. Three criteria present obstacles to challenge studies.

First, the WHO guidelines require that a challenge study be scientifically justified. Scientists must provide evidence that "similar results could not feasibly be obtained as efficiently or expediently in other study designs involving less risk to human

participants."The considerable progress observed in traditional vaccine development since May 2020 has largely undercut the case for challenge studies. According to an article in *Nature* Reviews Drug Discovery (Sept. 4, 2020), of 321 vaccine candidates, 32 are currently being evaluated in clinical trials "with plans to enrol more than 280,000 participants ... in 34 different countries." We are told that "data to support licensure are anticipated to be available later this year." As challenge studies take months to set up, we are likely to have a vaccine in hand before such studies can even begin.

Second, the risks and potential benefits of a challenge study must be rigorously assessed. In challenge studies, "risks to participants should ... be carefully controlled and minimized." But too many long-term effects of COVID-19 to view intentional infection as plausibly "controlled" or posing minimal risk. While the effects of COVID-19 on the lungs is widely known, it has emerged that the virus can infect the heart, major blood vessels, and the brain resulting in myocarditis, strokes, and other neurological sequelae. Even more worrisome, are the increasing numbers of people reporting symptoms that persist months

after acute illness, so-called coronavirus "long haulers."

Third, procedures for selecting participants must be fair. One possible way of reducing the risks of participation in a challenge study is to include people who are at higher risk of infection in the community—the incremental risks of study participation are discounted by their background risk. But the WHO guidelines are clear that "those whose background risk is high as a result of social injustice should be excluded from participation because their inclusion could be considered unethical exploitation." It has become clear that some social groups are at higher risk of COVID-19 because of structural injustice. Health providers are at higher risk of COVID-19 when access to personal protective equipment is lacking. Black people and indigenous people have higher rates infection and death from COVID-19 when living conditions are crowded and access to healthcare is poor.

If COVID-19 challenge studies are not ethical at present, do they have a future role in vaccine development?

I believe they may. Work should continue on the development of an attenuated strain of the novel coronavirus that causes only mild disease and poses no risk of severe disease. The development of an attenuated strain may take one or two years, but it could prove useful in the efficient identification of second-generation vaccines for COVID-19, particularly as rates of infection decline.

Charles Weijer is a professor of medicine, epidemiology & biostatistics, and philosophy at Western University. He was a member of the WHO Working Group for Guidance on Human Challenge Studies in COVID-19.

#### **Biotech** Policy Briefing

## Linking science, health and policy more effectively: foresight for the next normal

The lessons of the past should tell us that foresight and follow-up matter. It is not too early to start planning for a next normal within our knowledge and research ecosystem across the country.



**Paul Dufour** 

Opinion

OTTAWA—Hindsight is 20/20 or so they say today. But what happened to foresight?

It's Nov. 7, 2001. The place is Ottawa. The meeting is with health ministers and officials from Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the U.K., the U.S., and the EU. The topic is health security and bioterrorism—a few months following the events of 9/11. The ministers design a plan for improving health security for the future.

Among the actions they propose are new partnerships to address critical issues of public health and security, including working more closely with the World Health Organization. The objectives include: to explore joint cooperation in procuring vaccines and antibiotics; to engage in constructive dialogue regarding the rapid testing, research in variations of vaccines; to support the WHO's disease surveillance network along with WHO's efforts to develop a coordinated strategy for disease outbreak and containment; to improve linkages among level four laboratories; and to agree on a process for international collaboration on risk assessment, management and a common language for risk communications.

Fast forward five years to May 6, 2006. The place is London, at the Royal Society.

The occasion is a conference on the release of a foresight report titled 'Infectious Diseases: Preparing for the Future'. The opening address is given by Sir David King, chief scientific adviser to the U.K. Government who had provided the report's highlights at

a meeting of G8 science advisers and ministers in late 2005.

The conference has key sessions on future risks of infectious diseases. future science and systems for detection, identification and monitoring, and societal contexts for managing diseases in the future. Looking 10-25 years ahead, the foresight study examines potential threats and offers visions of future detection, identification, and monitoring systems. Framed within a climate change perspective, the report explores human and zoonotic diseases in China and elsewhere, and notes that the risk of zoonotic infection shows no sign of diminishing and could increase in the future. An action plan is prepared underscoring early detection and the need for high-throughput screening of people at airports, as well as other forms of surveillance and quarantine.

Two different times, two different global contexts—one major issue: how to anticipate, mobilize and respond to health outbreaks with science, technology and research taking the lead.

It's now September 2020. The place is Canada. The crisis is a major health pandemic with ramifications for society, the economy, environment, and global statecraft. Elected officials of all stripes are trying to follow the science and evidence—in its many forms.

Multiple expert panels and task forces are underway in the country at the federal, provincial and territorial levels tackling key issues in rapid response time. Public health officials and science advisers are doing their best to filter, assess, and communicate the fast-moving pace of evidence and data. It is understandably piecemeal, reactive, with risk assessment and communication a critical element of the narrative to maintain public trust and confidence in the polity and the science.

Advice and research is underway on a spectrum of issues ranging from the impact of COVID on children, to immunity response, to mental health, to reimagining seniors' residences, to impacts on poor and disenfranchised populations, to training of the next generation of talent. Granting councils are funding pandemic research; schools, universities and colleges are adapting to the new learning; academies and institutes are posting expert blogs and commentary on a wide variety of pandemic subjects; innovative industry sectors are pivoting to respond ... and the digital world has greatly transformed learning and knowledge.

But with hindsight, what have we learned from missed warnings decades ago? Some have argued that this is a moment not merely to deal with the virus, but to address the underlying issues that make this virus and this epidemic more severe, including the wide-ranging social impacts and research challenges beyond the immediate crisis.

What will be the plan after the pandemic is managed? Who will show the necessary leadership and how will citizens participate meaningfully? Will we see more effective national coordination on research, innovation, and health strategies? Can we become technologically sovereign with vaccines, medical devices and equipment while maintaining our global science outreach? Will we go beyond the mere rhetoric of being prepared for the next global emergency?

The lessons of the past should tell us that foresight and followup matter.

In short, it is not too early to start planning for a next normal within our knowledge and research ecosystem across the country. Above all, it is important to remember that science and technology communities and their advisory capacities can be mobilized in horizon scanning for future opportunities as well as threats, without compromising the very nature of longer-term discovery science. But in the end, it is vision and leadership that matters in making decisions, and trust by citizens that must be maintained. Otherwise, the shadows of doubt will overcome the lights of knowledge.

Paul Dufour is a senior fellow, ISSP, at the University of Ottawa. The Hill Times

#### Rapid COVID-19 saliva tests are the swatter that could quash the pandemic: will Canada deploy them?

The ball is in the government's hand, and as a first step it could form a COVID-19 task force on rapid testing, extending the existing one on immunity, to develop a plan for universal rapid testing. Whichever their choice, now is time for leadership and action to safeguard our health and our economy.



David Juncker

Opinion

MONTREAL—As vaccines are being developed at a breakneck pace, it is unlikely that they will be available to us before summer next year. Rapid tests for COVID-19 that are run like a pregnancy test, but with saliva instead of urine, will be

available shortly and could be deployed for screening the population, deliver results within a few minutes at the cost of a coffee cup or less—rapid malaria tests cost less than \$1.

Whereas Canada has managed to control the initial COVID-19 outbreaks, the situation could change rapidly. Israel went in a matter of a few months from one of the most successful countries at suppressing the viral spread to an uncontrolled epidemic with the highest death rate per capita following a premature relaxation of measures, reopening of schools, contradictory messaging, and political instability. While hoping for the best, Canada is susceptible to a similar fate with schools reopening, with 97 per cent of Canadians not showing immu-

nity, with flu season ahead, and possibly an election. We should prepare for the worst, so as to prevent it.

The current PCR-based testing regime is essential, but procedurally ineffective. Following suspicion, we need to seek a designated test site, undergo nasopharyngeal swabbing, and then quarantine for sometimes days until the results are returned. COVID-19 is insidious because it is often invisible. Many carriers lack symptoms which combined with the inconvenience of testing means that about 40 per cent of infections are never diagnosed, based on a large-scale study in Iceland. In case of a viral outbreak, testing might quickly become a bottleneck again, precisely when it is most needed, thus giving spreads through our communities.

our understanding of the disease and technological advances afford new opportunities to corral COVID-19. During the course of infection, the viral load grows exponentially, from zero to billions of viruses per millilitre (a spoonful) of saliva at the peak. Transmission is found to only occur above a threshold of tens of millions of virus per millilitre in laboratory experiments. We can safely conclude that the

window of contagion is limited to a few days. PCR testing is too sensitive as it detects viral fragments from as little as a thousand viruses, far below the contagion threshold. Indeed, an investigation by *The New York Times* revealed that up to 85 per cent of positive cases would be classified as negative with a contagion-based threshold. Consequently, most quarantines and contact tracing efforts are misdirected.

COVID-19 rapid diagnostic tests are available for swabbed-samples, and saliva-based tests are imminent. Their sensitivity is good, expected to be adequate for screening for contagious individuals, and they could thus complement PCR testing. Epidemiological models indeed support that daily, rapid testing would be much more effective at containing COVID-19 than intermittent PCR testing.

Why are we not deploying rapid tests? For one, Health Canada must approve them, but only took a first, timid step a few days ago, by indicating they would consider them. If we want to fully benefit by leaps and bounds, and marshal the best of Canada towards and develop a strategy for the most effective deployment of rapid, cheap saliva testing for everyone, everywhere. We need to develop a new screening framework around contagion and subsequently adjust test performance criteria based on contagion data obtained on the ground; evaluate and approve rapid tests and track their performance in practice; develop

guidelines for where to deploy them: front-line workers, schools, daycares, COVID-19 hotspots, etc.; consider if and when immunity tests should be used concomitantly to improve sensitivity and reveal past infections; develop a cellphone app to record the results and relay the information to the provincial health authorities; consider ethical and legal implications; launch an information campaign on rapid testing, including at-home testing when ready. Finally, we must remain agile, as COVID-19 progression will dictate the urgencies.

All of this will come at a price, but not only could it save lives, but it will likely pay for itself almost immediately by reducing lost productivity due to unnecessary quarantining. The benefits could be huge if it helps extinguish COVID-19 outbreaks and lockdowns. It also constitutes an opportunity to spur Canadian research, development and commercialization of rapid tests, and to become self-reliant, and importantly, ready to confront the next pandemic when it strikes. court, and as a first step it could form a COVID-19 task force on rapid testing, extending the existing ones on immunity, to develop a plan for universal rapid testing. Whichever their choice, now is time for leadership and action to safeguard our health and our economy.

David Juncker is a professor and the department chair of the Department of Biomedical Engineering at McGill University.

#### Policy Briefing Biotech

## How the pandemic has driven us to up our game in research and teaching

Necessity is indeed the parent of invention. While the pandemic entered uninvited, we accepted the challenge to up our game and do our part in bringing it to an end. Canada succeeds by supporting its universities.



Ishwar K. Puri

Opinion

Hamilton—Tragedy, suffering, and uncertainty have trailed in the wake of COVID-19, bringing social and economic turmoil, and hurting people everywhere.

The pandemic is a grand challenge that threatens our safety and our very existence.

This challenge is also a unique opportunity for universities to lead and innovate in ways that will benefit humankind well beyond the pandemic.

Canada's universities have the talent and ideas to ensure that the disruption visited upon us will leave solutions that will benefit us long after the pandemic is overcome.

We need sustainable, ethical and responsible solutions for prevention, treatment, and protection to deal with the virus itself. To overcome its far-reaching impacts, we must restructure the way that goods, services and care are provided, at home and internationally.

Just as cholera gave rise to modern sanitation and the Spanish flu spawned public health, the battle to overcome COVID-19 will inevitably yield new and beneficial knowledge.

That is where we are focusing our resources on research and education alike.

In the Faculty of Engineering at McMaster University, where I serve as Dean, we have moved quickly, seizing our share of responsibility to help resolve this crisis.

Our researchers have risen to the expectation that we must provide solutions swiftly. They have taken the enormous problems that COVID has created and broken them into manageable pieces Much of this work has been direct and immediately relevant, as it is for Ravi Selvganapathy, Canada Research Chair in Biomicrofluidics, who is leading our Centre of Excellence in Protective Equipment and Materials, and Tohid Didar and Leyla Soleymani, entrepreneurial faculty members adapting the bacteria-repellent wrap they invented to stop the transfer of COVID 19 to commonly used surfaces.

Civil engineers Zoe Li and Wael El-Dakhakhni are developing a reliable model for municipal facility operations and reopening decisions to be made in a smarter, faster and more strategic manner.

Carlos Filipe, a leading chemical engineer, is embedded in a team working with vaccine manufacturers to store and transport vaccines safely without refrigeration. My research group has developed a home testing kit to rapidly detect SARS-CoV-2 antibodies in human blood.

All these names, including mine, are of immigrants.

Canada succeeds when its universities celebrate talent, no matter where it originates.

Across our university, McMaster's leading researchers in many disciplines are working with one another and collaborating with national and global partners through the Global Nexus for Pandemics and Biological Threats.

These are but a few examples. In my three-decade career in academia, I have never seen university researchers pivot as rapidly to solve a grand challenge problem. That we were prepared to step up so quickly points to the significance of continuing investment in research.

Canada succeeds when it strengthens its research granting councils.

Tackling COVID-19 head on has given our researchers and students hope and made us realize that we have the agency and the expertise to make a difference.

In my faculty, deploying our researchers as effectively as possible has also hastened the ongoing process of making engineering education more practical and relevant.

Our engineering researchers find answers, not by working on their own, but in partnership with medical and scientific researchers, communicators, policymakers, government agencies and industry.

This is a good example for our students to follow.

The threat of infection has forced us to set aside our traditional methods of teaching and identified opportunities to create newer and better ways of educating students that allow us to more tightly weave together education and research.

From the time they start their undergraduate studies, we ask students to work in labs so they learn to inquire and understand complex problems. They work in diverse multicultural teams that create solutions by understanding

how to integrate different disciplines and perspectives.

Our students responded from the start when the pandemic loomed, from designing PPE and ventilators to engaging with our community to propose new ways to keep the local farmers' market going safely.

Moving our teaching online has forced us to rethink what our students need to know and how to present this to them most effectively and efficiently.

Our instructors have accelerated the conversion of formal lectures to more engaging project-based and challenge-based learning, where students learn to solve problems in teams under careful expert guidance and mentoring. This is how engineering research is meant to be done.

Students are learning about subjects in virtual classrooms but also gaining valuable research skills. Assignments are being drawn from real-world examples that encourage them to inquire, research background material and generate solutions.

Our future graduates are learning to be agile in the face of increasing complexity.

Across the country, and around the world, entire institutions like ours are stepping up with a shared purpose. This concentrated effort will make a difference, playing a significant role in overcoming the pandemic.

Necessity is indeed the parent of invention. While the pandemic entered uninvited, we accepted the challenge to up our game and do our part in bringing it to an end.

Canada succeeds by supporting its universities.

Ishwar K. Puri is dean of engineering and professor at McMaster University.

The Hill Times

## Liberal government must end COVID-19 vaccine secrecy

The Trudeau government owes it to all Canadians to be open, honest, and accountable about its COVID-19 vaccination plans.



NDP Don Davies

Opinion

Canadians cannot fight COV-ID-19 in the dark. Experience has demonstrated that an effective pandemic response requires clear, transparent, and open communication from governments at all levels. This is essential for maintaining public confidence in recovery plans and the legitimacy of the institutions implementing them.

Unfortunately, the Trudeau government has demonstrated a disturbing tendency to operate with secrecy, manipulation, and hyper control.

From withholding important information, to improperly censoring key documents, to shutting down Parliament to block committee investigations, the Liberals appear determined to replicate the most secretive tactics of their predecessors in the Harper government.

As we enter the crucial fall season, finding a COVID-19 vaccine is a top priority for Canadians to ensure their loved ones stay safe and to rebuild our damaged economy. An effective, trustworthy vaccine will play a key role in ending the pandemic and allow a return to normal life. But Canadians need to clearly understand the advice their federal government is following and be assured that no one is

inappropriately benefiting from a position of authority or influence over Canada's vaccination plans. Such transparency is essential to ensure Canadians trust any new vaccine and actually take it.

That is why the fact that the Liberal government's plan is so shrouded in secrecy is so troubling.

In late July, media reports revealed that the Trudeau Liberals had quietly appointed a task force to provide advice on how the federal government should invest in potential COVID-19 vaccines. Disturbingly, however, the government refused to reveal any details on the task force's membership and work, saying only that it consisted of experts "outside of government" who have experience in vaccination, vaccine development, and infectious diseases, as well as "industry knowledge."

Although the Liberals were compelled eventually to release a list of the task force's members, the board's deliberations and advice have not been made available to the public. And while the federal government says it made a deliberate decision to include"individuals who may have a real or perceived conflict of

interest with respect to one or more proposals to be evaluated,"activities and interests that could place taskforce members in a conflict of interest have not been publicly disclosed.

According to media reports, there have been 18 potential conflict-of-interest disclosures to date, yet none of this information is accessible to the Canadian public.

Public disclosure of potential conflicts of interest, either real or perceived, is an indispensable component of medical research and practice. Such disclosures are meant to provide assurance to patients that they're receiving information free from bias and to be able to evaluate the advice they receive with full transparency.

The federal government's refusal to apply this standard to its vaccine task force is an inexplicable and unacceptable break from this standard practice. In our view, with so much at stake, the federal cabinet should designate members of the task force as public office holders, which would allow the ethics commissioner to log, review, and publish their declarations.

It is further of concern that the Liberals won't reveal the cost of the vaccine supply deals they have signed to date, or how much they have budgeted for vaccine purchases. They claim that revealing this information would compromise ongoing negotiations

for other vaccine supply deals.

But this rings hollow. Comparable jurisdictions, like the United States, have published the value of payments to pharmaceutical companies as deals are reached.

Former parliamentary budget office Kevin Page has stated that Canadians deserve to know they're not being gouged by vaccine supply deals and that their federal government is co-ordinating with international partners on purchases and distribution. Moreover, he has speculated that the Liberals' refusal to release this costing information could be a signal they believe they've overpaid on early contracts. The federal government should clear the air by heeding Page's call for the release of a budget this fall that clearly outlines its plans for vaccination and costing.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau cannot continue to claim that "we're all in this together" if he continues to hide vital information about his government's pandemic response.

The Trudeau government owes it to all Canadians to be open, honest, and accountable about its COVID-19 vaccination plans.

After all, the health and wellbeing of all Canadians is at stake. NDP MP Don Davies, who represents Vancouver Kingsway, B.C., is his party's health critic.

us party's health ( The Hill Times

#### **Biotech** Policy Briefing

### Collaborative IP strategies for publicly funded R&D needed now and for the future



What's another way to describe Canada's high-potential life sciences companies from sea to sea?

Life sciences companies in Canada are essential to Canadians' health and our economy. Canada has built an extraordinary knowledge infrastructure, and we must not lose momentum in making our country a global life sciences leader.

Let's keep excelling at bringing Canadian life sciences to the world.

To learn more visit admarebio.com



**Essential.** 

There is little doubt that IP, especially patents, should not be an impediment to forging solutions to the global crisis that we are all facing. It is important that Canada's policy-makers continue to explore models for facilitating collaborative development and access to essential medicines, treatments, technologies and other innovations.



Karima Bawa & Myra Tawfik

Opinion

It has been said that a crisis brings out the best and the worst in people. This pandemic is no different. So many people and so many nations have come together in hopes of finding solutions more quickly by sharing and pooling their resources. They have clearly put the collective good ahead of their own interests. However, others have acted with myopic and unconscionable self-interest, seeking to take advantage of a crisis to further their own agendas. These contrasting behaviours are most prominently displayed in the realm of intel-

lectual property ("IP").

IP rights have sparked global discourse, especially in the area of patents, because they apply to everything from the medications and respirators for those who are sick, to the protective equipment required by health-care workers, to the vaccine(s) which we will all, ultimately, require. In the early days of the pandemic, we heard stories of IP impeding progress in fighting the pandemic. For example, when a hospital in Chiari, Italy, began to run out of valves for its respiratory machines and the manufacturer was unable to keep up with the demand, volunteers who wanted to 3D print the valves were not only refused help from the manufacturer but were allegedly threatened with a patent infringement suit. There was also a patent infringement lawsuit by a shell company against a company that makes COVID-19 tests.

However, since those early days, many businesses, researchers, universities, and governments have taken extraordinary actions to ensure that IP does not get in the way of helping people through this pandemic. For example, many IP owners have now waived their patent rights to encourage others to develop and manufacture the necessary supplies to fight the novel coronavirus. The director general of the World Health Organization has endorsed the creation of the COVID-19 Technology Access Pool to facilitate the research and manufacturing of essential products and treatments. The pandemic has disrupted the status quo and has spurred new forms of partnerships between the private sector and universities, colleges and research institutions creating new models for commercialization.

Specifically, there is a clear recognition of the need for collaborative approaches to patents and know-how where research and development is publicly funded, whether in whole or in part. These collaborations

should ensure that the value of the R&D is fairly shared amongst contributing parties—public and/or private. The private sector should be held to strict obligations around making publicly funded vaccines and cures available to the public on an expeditious and affordable basis.

There are a number of IP sharing models

that can be explored in this country. For instance, the University of Oxford adopted an IP policy that helps forge partnerships around the COVID-19 vaccine. This model balances competing interests in a fair and equitable way by contemplating royalty-free licensing during the pandemic and a royalty-bearing licence after the pandemic. Another example is the Open COVID Pledge. This model was developed by scientists, technologists, and lawyers to encourage universities, researchers, and companies to make their IP available on a royalty-free basis for the purposes of ending the "COVID-19 pandemic" and minimizing its impact. In both these cases, the publicsector researchers and institutions retain the ability to benefit commercially from the research if and when the time is right.

Canada is already exploring a variety of models to encourage greater collabora-tion and sharing of IP. For instance, as part of the national IP Strategy the Canadian government has already announced the Patent Collective Pilot Program for the data-driven clean technology sector. It may well make sense for Canada to follow the lead of some European countries and establish a sovereign patent fund. This would be a fund for the purposes of pooling health care related patents (particularly those that are publicly funded) or patents that might well fall into the wrong hands as companies that have struggled through this crisis may no longer be able to afford to prosecute them or maintain them. In addition, it is perhaps more important now, than ever before, to have an independent organization tasked with helping businesses strategically leverage their IP.
There is little doubt that IP, especially

patents, should not be an impediment to forging solutions to the global crisis that we are all facing. It is important that Canada's policy-makers continue to explore models for facilitating collaborative development and access to essential medicines, treatments, technologies and other innovations. However, whatever the approaches, they must be directed towards the future so that the publicly funded R&D being generated at this time of crisis, especially at universities and colleges, can also realize a reasonable and fair commercial return for Canadians once the crisis has

Karima Bawa is an expert on the commercialization of university research and development. Myra Tawfik is a professor of law and distinguished university professor at the University of Windsor. Both are senior fellows with the Centre for International Governance Innovation and are the co-authors of The Intellectual Property Guide.

## U.S. should recognize Arctic waters as Canadian

Recognizing the
Northwest Passage as
Canadian would deny
access to China and
Russia and safeguard
U.S. security.



Pierre LeBlanc

Opinion

OTTAWA—The Arctic's capacity as a strategic buffer is eroding rapidly, with the disappearance of ice making it an avenue of threat to the U.S. homeland.

With the power competition between China, Russia, and the United States growing in the Arctic it may be wise for the latter to recognize the Northwest Passage as internal waters of Canada. This would deny the right of transit to China and Russia not only on the surface of the passage but also for the air column above and the waters below (submerged submarine). It would deny a strategic waterway to them.

The U.S. government has been slow to recognize the fast-developing Arctic as a new strategic theatre of competition where China and Russia have been expanding rapidly. The U.S. Coast Guard, the U.S. Air Force, and the U.S. Navy have now developed Arctic strategies and U.S. President Donald Trump is now pushing for the U.S. Coast Guard to acquire up to 10 icebreakers.

The U.S. has recently appointed James DeHart, a career diplomat, as its Arctic policy czar to specifically monitor China and Russia. DeHart suggested that his appointment marks a turning point in the engagement of the United States in the Arctic. In 2004, then-U.S. ambassador Paul zenucci recommended a reviev of the U.S. position. He believed that Canada could protect the Arctic Archipelago and its waters. Cellucci said he believed that it was in the United States' security interests "that the Northwest Passage be considered part of Canada."

Recently, China, which has declared itself a "near Arctic nation," has started to behave more aggressively on the world scene, supported by its growing



economic and military power. It has published a guide on the use of the Northwest Passage, and its icebreaker Xue Long has visited the Arctic on several occasions.  $Xue\ Long\ 2$  is now in the process of doing its first Arctic voyage. It now has a navy larger than the U.S.'s, and is in the process of building its own aircraft carriers and amphibious assault crafts, which are power projection assets. Despite its commitment not to militarize the Spratly Islands, it has done so. It has ignored a decision of the Hague-based Permanent Court of Arbitration in favour of the Philippines in the South China Sea. It has set debt traps in Africa to secure strategic assets worldwide. The Chinese Coast Guard vessels have harassed Vietnamese fishing boats in the South China Sea. It has recently arrested two Canadians on fabricated grounds. It has breached the agreement on Hong Kong. Although China claims that it would respect international laws and so on, given its track record, it cannot be trusted.

Canada and the U.S. are in the process of planning for the replacement of the North Warning System that will lead to the NWS 2.0 and possibly a new and expanded NORAD, which includes the U.S. Northern Command. NORAD already has a maritime

warning mission. The U.S. Navy could be included in the protection of Canada's waters, in a fashion similar to the U.S. Air Force protecting the air space of both countries. After all, Canada Arctic Archipelago is the right flank of Alaska and its waters allows a strategic maritime approach from the east.

The Northwest Passage is no longer a promising commercial transit route because of the regular presence of multi-year ice, its shallow draft and the many islands requiring slow maneuvering. It comes in the news from time to time when an event threatens Canada's sovereignty.

In 1969 the Manhattan supertanker attempted to cross the Northwest Passage to test the viability of moving crude oil from the Alaska North Slope to the U.S. Eastern seaboard. In 1985, a U.S. Coast Guard Cuttei transited the Northwest Passage from east to west to reposition the icebreaker on the West Coast. That led to an agreement whereby the U.S. would advise Canada of a transit and Canada would provide permission. Both countries agreed then to leave the issue dormant without prejudice to their respective positions. Both have managed their differences very well over the years.

In 1970, Canada extended its

maritime jurisdiction through the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act (AWPPA). In 1985, Canada defined its internal waters in the Arctic using the strait baseline method. A line is drawn from the farthest points of land to the next one along the outside of the Arctic Archipelago. The waters within that line are considered to be internal waters over which Canada has total control and jurisdiction.

It has long been the position of the U.S. Navy to block the recognition of the internal waters of the Arctic Archipelago because of the fear that it would create a legal precedent for other nations to claim jurisdiction over international straits around the world, which could reduce their strategic freedom of navigation.

Donat Pharand, an internationally renowned scholar and authority on the United Nation Law of the Sea, has argued that the U.S. Navy concerns were weak, given that the other straits have long been established on historical and traffic volume precedents whereas, even to this date, the Northwest Passage, which has seven different possible routes, is not used as a regular commercial transit route between the Atlantic and Arctic Oceans.

Some would argue that to do so may support similar claims

by China and Russia. I would counter that their gains would be negligible in comparison with the Chinese and Russian loss of a strategic waterway. Apart from the waters south of the Severnaya Zemlya, the Russian claims are generally along the coast. The Chinese claims are also alongside its coast and would not likely impede freedom of navigation, except maybe for the Xisha Islands, which are disputed. Soon enough the polar route, which goes directly over the North Pole, will be the preferred route with the continued disappearance of

By formalizing the recognition of Canada's strait baseline method the United States would contribute significantly to its 2019 Department of Defense (DoD) Arctic strategy, which calls for "A secure and stable region where U.S. national interests are safeguarded, the homeland is protected, and nations address shared challenges cooperatively."

The national security of the U.S.A. would be better served by the waters of the Arctic Archipelago being part of the internal waters of Canada.

Retired colonel Pierre Leblanc is a former commander of Joint Task Force North and president of Arctic Security Consultants.

Throne Speech.

## DeLorey, Deltell brief Conservatives on election readiness and fall strategy

Conservatives don't want a snap election in the fall but will be ready if one is called, say Conservative MPs.

Continued from page 1

national caucus meeting on Parliament Hill last week.

Conservatives deny that they want a fall snap election, but say they will be ready if one is called.

Conservative sources told *The* Hill Times that campaign manager Fred DeLorey did a presentation to the caucus outlining the party's preparation for the election if a snap election is triggered after the Sept. 23 Throne Speech. Mr. DeLorey, who successfully managed Mr. O'Toole's come-frombehind leadership campaign, was appointed as the party's campaign manager for next election Aug. 25, two days after the conclusion of the leadership campaign.

Mr. Delorey served as the party's director of political operations in the Stephen Harper government. He was also a top strategist in Mr. O'Toole's unsuccessful 2017 leadership campaign.

"Fred assured the caucus that the party will be ready whenever the next election is called," a Conservative source told *The* Hill Times on a not-for-attribution basis because all caucus meetings are confidential.

The nomination process in the 338 ridings across the country is the most important part of any party's election readiness. The Conservatives finalized their nomination rules for the 121 ridings currently held by their MPs back in April. Under those rules, all MPs would be acclaimed as candidates in their respective ridings if an election were to be held between now and June 2021. If an election is called after June of next year, MPs can still run unopposed if they raise \$15,000 by Dec. 31, 2020.

If any Conservative MP fails to meet the threshold by that deadline, they would have to then raise \$25,000 by April 30, 2021. If an MP still is not able to meet either of the two deadlines, they will have to go through the regular nomination process, where anyone in the riding can run to be the party's candidate.

The fundraising requirements set by the party are relatively low, and all MPs are expected to be acclaimed.

The 20-member national council, the highest elected governing body of the party, is currently working on coming up with the rules for nominations in the 217 ridings not held by Conservatives, party sources told *The Hill Times* two weeks ago.

If an election is triggered this month by the vote on the Throne Speech, the Conservatives will not have adequate time to go through the regular nomination

process in the ridings not held by their MPs. In that case, new party Leader Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ont.), according to the party constitution, would have the prerogative to appoint candidates.

If the Throne Speech is passed in the House, the Conservatives are aiming to complete the nomination process by Spring 2021, sources told The Hill Times two

The social distancing requirements that have become necessary during the COVID-19 pandemic have complicated the logistics of the nomination process. Conservative sources predicted that the national council would most likely allow voting by mail in most ridings. The Conservative Party also used mail in ballots in its leadership election.

As of deadline last week, the Liberals had not started the nomination process in any of the 338 ridings nationally. The NDP is expected to finalize its nomination rules this month.

Gérard Deltell (Louis-Saint-Laurent, Que.) who was appointed as the party's House leader on Sept. 8, briefed his caucus colleagues last week about the possible scenarios and votes that they could face after Parliament resumes later this month.

Conservative sources told The Hill Times that the presentations by Mr. Deltell and Mr. DeLorey were not especially detailed. They noted that Mr. Deltell Took his position as House leader just a day before the caucus meeting, and the Mr. Delorey started his new job about two weeks before the meeting.

The Conservative caucus members congregated in Ottawa on Sept. 9 for a one-day meeting after the leadership election. Because of social distancing requirements, the meeting took place in three different rooms on the Hill-two rooms in the John A. Macdonald building and one in the West Block-but all three rooms were connected through audio and video equipment and everyone was able to see, hear and participate in the proceedings live. The meeting took place from 9:30 am to 12:30 pm. Since Mr. O'Toole's election as the party leader on Aug. 23, this was the first in-person caucus meeting.

Conservative MPs interviewed for this article said that a vast majority of MPs attended the meeting. Caucus members who had personal health issues were allowed to take part in the meeting via Zoom.

In an interview with The Hill Times, newly minted Conservative Deputy House Leader Karen Vecchio (Elgin-Middlesex-London, Ont.) said that this was a regular caucus meeting, not a caucus retreat.

The House is returning back for its fall sitting on Sept. 23, beginning with the Throne Speech. Traditionally, prior to the start of every sitting, all parties hold caucus retreat to plot their parliamentary strategy.

Ms. Vecchio said she did not know if the Conservatives would have a caucus retreat prior to the start of the fall sitting of Parliament. She said that in-person caucus meetings are much more useful when everyone is at the same place, compared to the Zoom meetings where caucus members take part via computer sitting in their different regions of the country.

"This meeting actually was a caucus meeting in which we had the opportunity to talk about what we usually would on a Wednesday, going through our regular agenda and just kind of discussing what's going on," said Ms. Vecchio. She declined to go into details of the meeting, citing the need for caucus confidentiality.

"In-person meeting is really important, we talk about communication all of the time and being able to be there with your colleagues and having those discussions are really, really important."

During a regular parliamentary session, all parties hold weekly caucus meetings on Wednesday mornings when the House is sitting. MPs first huddle with their regional colleagues to discuss issues that are important in their geographic area, and must be shared with the national caucus and the party leader. Then the MPs come together in roughly two-hour national caucus meetings, in which each caucus plot parliamentary and policy strategies, and MPs share with their colleagues what they are hearing in their ridings. This is also an opportunity for MPs to meet with colleagues and the party leader.

In the case of the governing party, these meetings give opportunities to backbenchers to meet with the prime minister and cabinet ministers and discuss any issues important to them.

However, caucus meetings have been held online since COVID-19 hit Canada in March. During the peak days of the pandemic, Liberals used to hold daily caucus meetings on the phone. The Conservatives and NDP held virtual caucus meetings.

The House sat virtually before it was prorogued in August, and a quorum of MPs from all parties attended weekly Special **COVID-19 Pandemic Committee** meetings three days a week in the House Chamber.

The Conservatives have been pushing the Liberals to restart regular in-person sittings of the House. Last week, all Conservative MPs interviewed for this article argued that if children can return back to school. Conservative MF could hold an in-person national caucus meeting, then all regular House proceedings could also start.

"If children can go back to school, then certainly we can go back to Parliament in a safe manner," said Conservative MP Stephanie Kusie (Calgary Midnapore, Alta.), her party's new transport critic, said in an interview with The Hill Times.

'And certainly we followed all the safety protocols, from wearing masks to being two metres apart,

to the hand sanitizer everywhere. ...This was just a demonstration to the government that Parliasafety precautions in place, and that if other segments of society are doing this, then certainly we can do it here on the Hill as well."

Conservative MP Marilyn Gladu (Sarnia-Lambton, Ont.) agreed. In an interview with The Hill Times, she also said that the caucus meeting was an opportunity for all Conservative MPs and Senators and the newly appointed shadow cabinet to meet with their

ment can take place with the right

"You bond better together in person," said Ms. Gladu, her party's critic for president of the Queen's Privy Council and Federal Economic Development Agency for Southern Ontario. We have a new leader, as you

know, and so I think it's a chance for the leader to roll out his vision. ...and the chance for all of us new shadow ministers with our new roles to talk with our new colleagues."

arana@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

colleagues in person, and discuss their new responsibilities. Ms. Gladu said this was also an opportunity for Mr. O'Toole to share his vision with his colleagues. She said that her party doesn't want a snap election, but will be ready if one is triggered after the

**Conservative House of** Commons Leadership Team:

Conservative Party Leader Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ontario) Deputy Leader: Candice Bergen (Portage-Lisgar, Manitoba)

Quebec Political Lieutenant: Richard Martel (Chicoutimi-Le Fjord, Quebec) House Leader of the Official Opposition

Gérard Deltell (Louis-Saint-Laurent, Quebec) Chief Opposition Whip: Blake Richards (Banff-Airdrie, Alberta)

Deputy House Leader of the Official Opposition: Karen Vecchio (Elgin-Middlesex-London,

Deputy Opposition Whip: Alex Ruff (Bruce-Grey-Owen Sound. Ontario) Caucus-Party Liaison: Hon. Tim Uppal (Edmonton Mill Woods, Alberta)

Question Period Coordinator: Fric Duncan (Stormont-Dundas-South Glengarry, Ontario) National Caucus Chair: Tom Kmiec (Calgary Shepard, Alberta)

#### Conservative Party's Official Critics:

Leona Alleslev (Aurora-Oak Ridges-Richmond Hill, Ontario): National Security Committee Rob Morrison (Kootenay-Columbia, British Columbia): National Security Committee Lianne Rood (Lambton-Kent-Middlesex, Ontario): Shadow Minister for Agriculture and

Alain Rayes (Richmond-Arthabaska, Quebec): Shadow Minister for Canadian Heritage Official Languages & Quebec Economic Development

Cathy McLeod (Kamloops-Thompson-Cariboo. British Columbia): Shadow Minister for Crown-Indigenous Relations

Dane Lloyd (Sturgeon River-Parkland, Alberta): Shadow Minister for Digital Government Kenny Chiu (Steveston-Richmond East, British Columbia): Shadow Minister for Diversity and Inclusion and Youth

Warren Steinley (Regina-Lewvan, Saskatchewan): Shadow Minister for Economic Development & Internal Trade

Peter Kent (Thornhill, Ontario): Shadow Minister for Employment, Workforce Development and Disability Inclusion Dan Albas (Central Okanagan-Similkameen-

Nicola, British Columbia): Shadow Minister for **Environment and Climate Change** Michael Barrett (Leeds-Grenville-Thousand Islands and Rideau Lakes, Ontario): Shadow Minister for Ethics

Tracy Gray (Kelowna-Lake Country, British Columbia): Shadow Minister for Export Promotion and International Trade Jamie Schmale (Haliburton-Kawartha Lakes-Brock, Ontario): Shadow Minister for Families, Children and Social Development Pierre Poilievre (Carleton, Ontario): Shadow Minister for Finance

Richard Bragdon (Tobique-Mactaquac, New Brunswick): Shadow Minister for Fisheries, Oceans and the Canadian Coast Guard Michael Chong (Wellington-Halton Hills Ontario): Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs Michelle Rempel Garner (Calgary Nose Hill, Alberta): Shadow Minister for Health

Brad Vis (Mission-Matsqui-Fraser Canyon, British Columbia): Shadow Minister for

Housing

Raquel Dancho (Kildonan-St. Paul, Manitoba): Shadow Minister for Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship

Gary Vidal (Desnethé-Missinippi-Churchill River, Saskatchewan): Shadow Minister for Indigenous Services

Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan): Shadow Minister for Infrastructure and Communities

James Cumming (Edmonton Centre, Alberta): Shadow Minister for Innovation, Science and Industry

Chris d'Entremont (West Nova, Nova Scotia): Shadow Minister for Intergovernmental Affairs & Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency

Garnett Genuis (Sherwood Park-Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta): Shadow Minister for International Development & Human Rights Rob Moore (Fundy Royal, New Brunswick): Shadow Minister for Justice and the Attorney General of Canada

Mark Strahl (Chilliwack-Hope, British Columbia): Shadow Minister for Labour Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ontario): Party Leader and Shadow Minister for Middle Class

James Bezan (Selkirk-Interlake-Eastman, Manitoba): Shadow Minister for National

Greg McLean (Calgary Centre, Alberta): Shadow Minister for Natural Resources & Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency (CanNor)

Philip Lawrence (Northumberland-Peterborough South, Ontario): Shadow Minister for National Revenue

Eric Melillo (Kenora, Ontario): Shadow Minister for Northern Affairs & Federal Economic Development Initiative for Northern Ontario (FedNor)

Marilyn Gladu (Sarnia-Lambton, Ontario): President of the Queen's Privy Council & Federal Economic Development Agency for Southern Ontario (FedDev Ontario) Shannon Stubbs (Lakeland, Alberta): Shadow Minister for Public Safety and Emergency

Pierre Paul-Hus (Charlesbourg-Haute-Saint-Charles, Quebec): Shadow Minister for Public Services and Procurement

John Nater (Perth-Wellington, Ontario): Shadow Minister for Rural Economic Develop-

Rosemarie Falk (Battlefords-Llovdminster. Saskatchewan): Shadow Minister for Seniors Pat Kelly (Calgary Rocky Ridge, Alberta): Shadow Minister for Small Business & Western Economic Development

Stephanie Kusie (Calgary Midnapore, Alberta): Shadow Minister for Transport Luc Berthold (Mégantic-L'Érable, Quebec): Shadow Minister for Treasury Board John Brassard (Barrie-Innisfil, Ontario): Shadow Minister for Veterans Affairs Jag Sahota (Calgary Skyview, Alberta): Shadow Minister for Women and Gender

Equality Todd Doherty (Cariboo-Prince George, British Columbia): Special Adviser to the Leader on Mental Health and Wellness

Tony Baldinelli (Niagara Falls, Ontario): Special Adviser to the Leader on Tourism Recovery

## O'Toole's pitch to working class a winner, say strategists, but he'll have to go through union boss Jerry Dias

'When he kicked off his campaign, he was picking a fight with me. The reality is, I accept,' says Unifor president Jerry Dias.

Continued from page 1

around Labour Day. In that video, he noted that his father worked for General Motors, and said he was "raised in a General Motors family." He acknowledged that thousands of workers in the automotive, forestry, and energy sectors have been laid off in recent years.

He blamed the troubles on "big government, one that signs bad trade deals with the U.S. and countries like China," and on, "big business, corporate and financial power brokers who care more about their shareholders than their employees." He promised to introduce a "Canada First economic strategy," and pursue an economic policy that values "solidarity, and the wellness of families," and in-

cludes higher wages for workers.





New Conservative Leader Erin O'Toole, left, has promised to fight for workers and higher wages. Union leader Jerry Dias says Mr. O'Toole has a track record with a government that hurt them. *The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade* 

Yet, the Conservative Party has been winning over working-class Canadians over the last several years, said Frank Graves, president of the polling firm Ekos Research.

A 2013 Ekos poll found that 25 per cent of self-identified "working class" Canadians supported the Conservative Party, compared to 31 per cent for the Liberals and 23 per cent for the NDP. By 2019, the Conservatives had easily surpassed the Liberals, with another poll showing the Tories with the support of 38 per cent of people who considered themselves to be "working class," versus 21 per cent for the Liberals,

video would be "extremely effective" at reaching many of the people she grew up with in Ajax, Ont., where manufacturing jobs, particularly in the automotive sector, were once a backbone of the local economy.

"I think that he will be able to tap into a large swath of voters that he needs in the 905, 519 regions in order to get closer to majority territory," said Ms. Monk, who was the founding executive director of the Broadbent Institute, and now works as a consultant at Earnscliffe Strategy Group.

The emergence of populist "strongmen" politicians, the Brexit vote, and a U.S. president who questions the value of multilateral institutions are signs of a fading public appetite for unfettered free trade and economic growth at all costs, said Yaroslav Baran, a former Conservative strategist and fellow Earnscliffe consultant.

Mr. O'Toole is just capturing that sentiment, said Mr. Baran.

"When he makes an appeal to unionized workers, for example: that's bold, it's necessary, it's smart, and frankly a whole lot of them have been part of the Conservative electoral coalition for years anyways."

#### Dias drops the mitts

Courting the labour movement comes with risks for Mr. O'Toole as well, said Ms. Monk. He is tied to the policies of the Harper government that targeted unions or hurt unionized workers. He will also be asked to explain how he's going to get tough with China, or help working families.

"O'Toole's team is counting on the fact that you don't pick apart his argument," she said.

Jerry Dias, the president of Canada's largest private sector union, Unifor, will be working to do just that.

Unifor represents tens of thousands of workers in the auto, energy, and forestry industries mentioned in Mr. O'Toole's Labour Day video. He and Mr. O'Toole also have a history of clashing publicly.

On a January stop in Dundas, Ont. during his campaign for the party leadership, Mr. O'Toole told a gathering of nearly 50 people he would be "Jerry Dias' worst nightmare," according to the *Dundas Star News*.

"I am standing up for the people that Jerry should be," he said, likening Mr. Dias to a member of the Liberal government's cabinet.

Mr. Dias returned fire in a paid ad on Facebook, in which he said Canadians didn't want "rightwingers" like Mr. O'Toole and former party leader Andrew Scheer.

In an interview with *The Hill Times* last week, Mr. Dias dismissed Mr. O'Toole's Labour Day video as "hypocrisy."

"He was clearly trying to talk to working class people and to workers, that somehow he was their friend. But nobody did more to hurt them," Mr. Dias said.

Mr. O'Toole served as the parliamentary secretary to the trade minister in Mr. Harper's Conservative government between late 2013 and early 2015. During that time, a controversial foreign investment protection agreement with China—which was negotiated in 2012—came into effect. During Mr. O'Toole's time in the trade role, the government also signed a comprehensive free trade agreement with South Korea, carried on negotiations toward a Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal, and struck a trade deal with the European Union.

Those deals have hurt some Canadian workers, said Mr. Dias, expanding Canada's trade deficit in the auto sector, and awarding access to Canada's protected dairy sector to foreign competitors.

"He has to take responsibility for his actions. So for him to talk tough on China when he's the one that was by far the weakest just reeks of hypocrisy," said Mr. Dias.

"When he kicked off his campaign he was picking a fight with me. The reality is, I accept. Because I'll compare my record with his any day of the week," Mr. Dias said.

Mr. Dias said that Unifor would once again spend money on third-party political ads before the next election. When asked whether those ads would target Conservative politicians, he said, "We'll make that decision with our national executive board, but I don't see it changing."

Asked to respond to Mr. Dias' comments, Mr. O'Toole's press secretary, Chelsea Tucker, issued a statement that said he would advocate for "fair trade deals" and "prudent domestic economic policies," and "continue to hold the Liberal government to account to ensure workers receive the supports they need in these unprecedented times."

#### China trade talks long dead

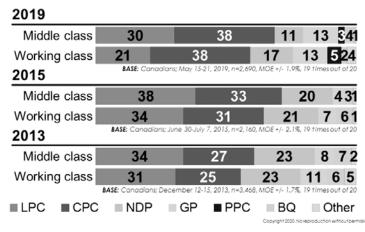
The Chinese government has been a favourite target of Mr. O'Toole's during his leadership campaign and the early days of his tenure atop the Conservative Party. His 90-second Labour Day video mentioned "trade deals" with China twice.

Canada does not have a free trade agreement with China. Both the current Liberal government, and the previous Conservative government in which Mr. O'Toole served, pursued closer trade ties with China, before backing away.

The Harper government signed the investment protection agreement with China, and added several small-scale trade agreements worth \$2.5-billion during a visit to the country in 2014. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's (Papineau, Que.) Liberal government came closest to signing a comprehensive free trade agreement with China in 2017, only to have it derailed by Mr. Trudeau's insistence on including language about gender equality and environmental and labour protections in the deal. Since then, trade talks have been sidelined by a growing rift between the two countries that was triggered by Canada's arrest of Chinese businessperson Meng Wanzhou, and China's imprisonment of two Canadians working in China, Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor.

peter@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

#### If a federal election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?



Canadians who consider themselves to be 'working class' have increasingly moved to the Conservative Party in recent years, according to polls by Ekos Research. *Graphic courtesy of Ekos Research* 

Many labourers and tradespeople in the industries that Mr. O'Toole mentioned in that video are unionized. Canada's unions have largely been at odds with the Conservative Party dating back at least as far as the leadership of Stephen Harper, whose government passed or supported a series of legal changes intervening in labour disputes, making it harder for new unions to organize, and forcing unions to report more financial information publicly.

Several unions spent millions on advertising campaigns before the last two elections that urged Canadians to vote for any party but the Conservatives. and 17 per cent for the NDP.

A similar shift has happened in the United States, with working class voters moving to the Republican Party, said Mr. Graves.

Mr. O'Toole's Labour Day video, with a focus on jobs and restoring manufacturing to Canada, "fits in extremely well with the current mood," said Mr. Graves.

"It almost looks like he's presenting himself as a reasonable version of Donald Trump. Some of the populist themes are definitely there. The populism is driven by contempt for elites, and a desire to restore power to the people."

Former NDP strategist Kathleen Monk said Mr. O'Toole's

#### Erin O'Toole's Labour Day video, word-by-word



"I was raised in a General Motors family, my dad worked there for over 30 years. I represent a riding of auto workers—one that depends on manufacturing for its prosperity. And I have to say, things are not okay. Thousands of auto workers have been laid off. Hundreds of thousands of energy workers, forestry workers, have lost their jobs. Too many people are living on the brink, living in quiet desperation. For them, there isn't a lot to celebrate this Labour Day.

"Part of the problem is big government, one that signs bad trade deals with the U.S. and countries like China, or that kills entire industries by saying they're going to phase out the energy sector. But part of the problem is big business, corporate and financial power brokers who care more about their shareholders than their employees. They love trade deals with China that allow them to access cheap labour.

"Under my leadership, Conservatives will introduce a Canada First economic strategy, one that doesn't cater to elites and special interests, but fights for working Canadians.

"I believe that GDP growth alone is not the end-all-be-all of politics. The goal of economic policy should be more than just wealth creation, it should be solidarity, and the wellness of families—and includes higher wages.

"My name is Erin O'Toole, I grew up in Bowmanville, Ontario, and I'm here to fight for you and your families."

Source: Conservative Party of Canada

## HILLIMES **CLASSIFIEDS**

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

#### HOUSES FOR RENT

COZY HOME AWAY
FROM HOME
ONE BEDROOM HOME in
Chelsea, QC. Renovated, lightfilled, wood stove, walk-in ready
furnished, beach. Sept. 2020, 3K/
month. Chris @ 873-355-0011.

#### FINANCIAL SERVICES

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

#### FINANCIAL SERVICES



#### \$\$ CONSOLIDATE YOUR DEBT NOW \$\$ HOME OWNER LOANS FOR ANY

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

#### FINANCIAL SERVICES



#### LOWER YOUR MONTHLY PAYMENTS AND CONSOLIDATE

YOUR DEBT NOW!!!

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

#### **BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY**

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

Ontario FREE Inventor's Guide!!

#### **EMPLOYMENT**

#### DAVISON INVENTORS WANTED! Do you have a new product idea, but you're not sure where to start? CALL DAVISON TODAY: 1-800-256-0429 OR VISIT US AT: Inventing.

Davison.com/Ontario and get your FREE Inventor's Guide!!

#### ARTICLES FOR SALE/WANTED

#### WANTED: OLD TUBE AUDIO EQUIPMENT.

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



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

Advertise them in The Hill Times

For information contact Kelly: kmore@hilltimes.com • 613-232-5952

#### **Opinion**

### We may never get the full story on WE



Conservative MF Pierre Poilievre, his party's finance critic, pictured on Aug. 19, 2020, showing a heavily redacted document that the government sent the House Finance Committee about its interactions with the WE Charity regarding a huge student grant program. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Limitations on the Access to Information Act and government heel-dragging could make it difficult to ever see the full truth behind the WE Charity controversy.



Ken Rubin

OTTAWA—Ottawa hung around in August for some 5,000 pages of information on the controversial WE Charity potential student grant program.

The released records produced a few tidbits about the rushed start up and now cancelled student grant program. But about one-third of the produced records were blanked out, mostly excluded as cabinet

NDP MP Charlie Angus said he believes the documents that were released help show that the failed program was not driven by government officials, but by cabinet with pressure from WE Charity.

Though all relevant documentation has not been provided, the severed records released do hint at the buddy relationships of officials and ministers with WE Charity's Kielburger brothers. Only byists, after some of their representations came to light because of the released documents.

The House of Commons law clerk indicated that the the records were excessively redacted and not complete enough. That's because the response received did not respect the House of Commons Finance Committee's order for the production of records that supersedes Access to Information's claimed exemptions.

Some opposition MPs are calling this ignoring of Parliament's wishes a coverup.

Conservative MPs, after Trudeau prorogued Parliament, called upon the WE Charity to release additional records that the Kielburgers said they would hand over during their committee testimony. WE Charity lawyers only said to wait until Parliament comes back in late September.

The records released to date, for instance, do not show any knowledge of WE Charity payments involving the Trudeau and Morneau families.

Much too could have been conveyed orally or via private emails between WE Charity's Kielburger brothers and officials from the PM down.

One of the involved federal agencies, the Privy Council Office, indicated that providing notes about their interactions with the WE Charity between 2017 and 2020, as well as more clarity on the documents released to the Finance Committee, would take at least five months.

The current government has refused to put the Prime Minister's Office and cabinet under the scope of access-to-information legislation, and does not want a strong review of the duty to document its opera-

Many other access-to-information requests can result in receiving thousands of pages heavily redacted, months or years

Proroguing Parliament for a month cut off the investigations by the House Finance Committee, but Parliament will return, and investigations by the committee, the ethics commissioner, the RCMP and others, likely including the Canada Revenue Agency, will continue. However, challenging the completeness of the records provided about the cancelled student grant program will be difficult

It's ironic that Parliament itself and its committees are not fully transparent on their affairs either, as they are not covered as part of a strengthened Access to Information Act. Yet they want more data from the government.

Thank goodness that the media dug around to get a better, more transparent picture of the WE Charity practices not found on the WE Charity's website or public commentaries.

Still, we are left with a sinking feeling that much may never become public.

One final note: over two years ago, I was approached for input by a WE Charity ghost writer who was putting together a Kielburger column on transparency. That column never appeared.

Ken Rubin can be reached at kenrubin.ca. The Hill Times

## Parliamentary Calendar



#### MONDAY, SEPT. 14

The Public Service of the Future—The Pearson Centre will host this webinar on Monday, Sept. 14, 2 p.m.-3 p.m. COVID-19 has highlighted the tremendous work of public ser vants in all orders of government. Throughout the pandemic, the federal government and public service have pivoted at high speed to design and deliver major new programs. New methods of service delivery were formulated and enacted in weeks—and all in the remote workplace environment. In this time of unprecedented and expedited change, what comes next? What does this mean for the short term and long term of government operations? How does this change the expectations of the public service? And could this change how those joining the public service view it? Join Linda Silas, president of the Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions and Dave Bulmer, president/CEO AMAPCEO-Ontario's Professional Employees in conversation with Andrew Cardozo, president of the Pearson Centre. Register online: https://register.gotowebinar.com/register/2633512177441677071.

The Recovery Summit—Canada 2020,

Global Progress, and partners in The Recovery Project will host The Recovery Summit, a virtual world-wide conference Sept. 14-17, 2020. Bringing together a dynamic group of progressive leaders and stakeholders, the Summit will address five themes in the context of recovery, each chaired by a prominent progressive leader: Democracy and Institutions, chaired by Helle Thorning-Schmidt, former prime minister of Denmark; Global Public Health, chaired by Dr. James Orbinski, director of the Dahdaleh Institute for Global Health Research at York University; Shared Prosperity, chaired by Anne McLellan, former deputy prime minister of Canada; Sustainability, chaired by Frans Timmermans, first vice-president of the European Commission; and, Inclusive Societies, chaired by Sadiq Khan, mayor of London. Register at recoveryproject.ca.

Rebuilding Better: Delivering a More Equitable and Resilient Canadian Economy—Dr. Joseph Stiglitz, winner of the Nobel prize in economics, and other internationally renowned economists address Canadian Parliamentarians on the recovery. This first webinar of the "Path towards relaunching the economy and protecting the health of Canadians series," also featuring Dr. Cameron Hepburn of Oxford University and Dr. Peter Victor of York University, will include a Q&A session. It is a one-time only event that will not be recorded and for which spaces are limited. For parliamentary officers and key government officials only. Organized and moderated by ISG Senator Rosa Galvez (Quebec). Monday, Sept. 14, 1-2:45 p.m. ET. Register at https://rosagalvez.ca/en-webinar-registration/ to reserve your place. For any questions, reach out to stephane.laviolette@sen.parl.gc.ca.

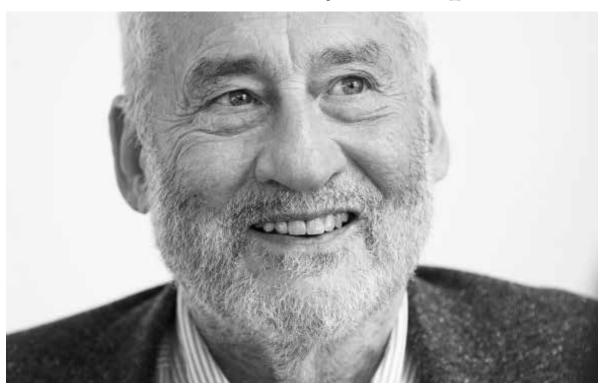
#### TUESDAY, SEPT. 15

International Day of Democracy—According to the United Nations, the International Day of Democracy provides an opportunity to review the state of democracy around the world.

Assault on Press Freedom Threatens Democracies—This live virtual event with victims and advocates is hosted by the Canadian Committee on World Press Freedom. featuring a keynote address by Philippine journalist Maria Ressa who has been threatened and jailed by President Rodrigo Duterte and is now battling legal charges related to critical investigative journalism in her online publication Rappler. She will then be joined by Irwin Cotler, former justice minister and chair of Montreal's Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights and Rachel Pulfer, executive director of Journalists for Human Rights, for a discussion of possible responses by democratic governments. Tuesday, Sept. 15 at 10:30 a.m. ET. To join the event, register worldpressfreedomcanada.ca.

Reversing the Shecession and Rebuilding the Canadian Economy—The Canadian Club of Toronto hosts a virtual event: "If I Had a Billion Dollars: Reversing the Shecession and Rebuilding the Canadian Economy." Former Ontario premier Kathleen Wynne; Tina Lee, CEO of T&T Supermarkets; Ken Boessenkool, partner at KTG Public Affairs Ltd.; and Dawn Desjardins, deputy chief economist, RBC, will discuss how they would each use \$1-billion to support safe returns to school, increase

## Stiglitz, other internationally renowned economists to address Canadian Parliamentarians on economic recovery on Sept 14



Dr. Joseph Stiglitz, pictured, winner of the Nobel prize in economy, will address Canadian Parliamentarians on the recovery, along with other internationally renowned economists. This first webinar of the 'Path towards relaunching the economy and protecting the health of Canadians series,' also featuring Dr. Cameron Hepburn of Oxford University and Dr. Peter Victor of York University, will include a Q&A session. It is a one-time only event that will not be recorded and for which spaces are limited. For parliamentary offices and key government officials only. Organized and moderated by ISG Senator Rosa Galvez (Quebec). Monday, Sept. 14, 1-2:45 p.m. ET. Register here to reserve your place. For any questions, reach out to stephane.laviolette@sen.parl.gc.ca. *Photograh courtesy Commons Wikimedia* 

the accessibility of childcare, institute tax rebates, and more, in order to take care of women in this unprecedented financial crisis. Tuesday, Sept. 15, from noon to 1 p.m. Tickets available at canadianclub.org.

#### WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 16

Donner Prize Presentation—The winner of the 2019/2020 Donner Prize for Public Policy will be revealed during an online program at 11 a.m. ET on the Donner Prize YouTube channel and Facebook page. The prize was created to honour the best public policy thinking, writing, and research by a Canadian. The 2019/2020 shortlist titles were chosen from a field of 74 submissions. The winner receives \$50,000, while each other nominated title receives \$7,500. Cybersecurity for the Remote Workplace:

Security in the Time of COVID-19 and Beyond-In our increasingly digital world, cybersecurity challenges for workplaces and private citizens have grown in recent decades, as bad actors continue to grow in numbers and sophistication. With rapid digital advancements due to COVID-19, this challenge has grown at an exponential rate. As the cyber workplace has intertwined the personal and professional lives of many, cybersecurity concerns on these fronts have been combined as well. Join us as we discuss the challenges we face and the possible solutions needed today and tomorrow. Hosted by the Pearson Centre, it will also discuss how cybersecurity concerns impact Canada internationally and how this may impact security in new areas in the years to come. Join John Menezes, president and CEO of Stratejm Inc. and Liberal MP John McKay in conversation with former New Brunswick

premier Brian Gallant, who's on the Pearson Centre's advisory board. Wednesday, Sept. 16, 2 p.m.-3 p.m. Register: https://register.gotowebinar.com/register/2649811337717190927.

#### THURSDAY, SEPT. 17

Racism, Anti-oppression, and International Affairs—The Balsillie School of International Affairs hosts a webinar on "Racism, Anti-oppression, and International Affairs," part of its Global Insights series. A yet-to-be-announced panel of experts will discuss how the study of politics and international affairs have come under scrutiny for their racialized assumptions and biases, and the new opportunities arising for self-examination, structural reform, reconciliation, alliance, and justice. Thursday, Sept. 17, from 11 a.m. to noon. Register at balsillieschool.ca.

For a Healthy Canada: Benefits of a Clean and Sustainable Recovery For Canadians' **Health**—The second webinar of the "Path towards relaunching the economy and protecting the health of Canadians" series will feature Dr. Kristie Ebi, Dr. Trevor Hancock, and Dr. Flaine McDonald. It will focus on the links between environmental protection and human health and include a Q&A session. It is a one-time only event that will not be recorded and for which spaces are limited. For parliamentary offices and key government officials only. Organized and moderated by Senator Rosa Galvez. Thursday, Sept. 17, 1-2:45 p.m. ET. Register at https:// rosagalvez.ca/en-webinar-registration/ to reserve your place. For any questions reach out to stephane.laviolette@sen.parl.gc.ca.

Anti-Black Racism in Canadian Government and Politics—The University of Ottawa hosts a

webinar on "Anti-Black Racism in Canadian Government and Politics." Speakers include Mary Anne Chambers, former Ontario Liberal cabinet minister; Richard Sharpe, Federal Black Employee Caucus; Debra Thompson, professor of political science at McGill University; and Karine Coen-Sanchez, PhD candidate in sociology at the University of Ottawa. Thursday, Sept. 17, from 4:30-5:30 p.m. Register for the free webinar via Eventbrite.

A National Project: Syrian Refugee Resettlement in Canada—The Balsillie School International Affairs hosts the launch of a new book. A National Project: Syrian Refugee Resettlement in Canada. The book's editors and immigration experts will discuss the experiences of refugees and receiving communities during Canada's Operation Syrian Refugee from 2015-2016. They also offer key lessons to be learned from Canada's program. Speakers include Leah Hamilton, associate professor, Bissett School of Business, Mount Royal University: Luisa Veronis, associate professor and research chair in immigration and Franco-Ontarian communities, University of Ottawa; and Margaret Walton-Roberts, professor of geography and environmental studies. Wilfrid Laurier University, and the Balsillie School of nternational Affairs. Thursday, Sept. 17, from 5:30-7 p.m. Register via Eventbrite.

The Future Of Canada-U.S. Trade—The Canadian International Council's Edmonton chapter hosts a webinar on "The Future Of Canada-U.S. Trade," featuring Dr. Greg Anderson, professor in political science at the University of Alberta; Carlo Dade, director of the Trade and Investment Centre at the Canada West Foundation; and Dr. Meredith Lilly, associate professor at Carleton University. Thursday, Sept. 17, from 6-7 p.m. MDT. Members can register for the

free event online at https://thecic.org/event/cic-edmonton-the-future-of-canada-u-s-trade/.

#### FRIDAY, SEPT. 18

National Forum on Canada-China Economic Policy—The University of Alberta's China Institute hosts its 10<sup>th</sup> National Forum on Canada-China Economic Policy on the theme "50 Years of Evolving Economic Relations." Speakers include (among others) Peiwu Cong, China's Ambassador to Canada; Dominic Barton, Canada's Ambassador to China; Lloyd Axworthy, former Canadian foreign affairs minister and current chair of CUSO International; and Guy Saint-Jacques, former Canadian ambassador to China. Friday, Sept. 18, from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. EDT. Register via Eventbrite.

#### SUNDAY, SEPT. 20

Noopiming: The Cure for White Ladies with Leanne Betasamosake Simpson—Acclaimed Algonquin Anishinaabe novelist Karen McBride talks with Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, the award-winning Nishnaabeg storyteller and writer. Her latest book, Noopiming: The Cure for White Ladies, is a bold reimagination of the novel, one that combines narrative and poetic fragments through a careful and fierce reclamation of Anishinaabe aesthetics. The free, pre-recorded event is Sunday, Sept. 20, at 2 p.m. RSVP at writersfestival.org.

#### TUESDAY, SEPT. 22

Hong Kong—A Way Forward: How the Free World Will Respond to Beijing's Crackdown China's 'National Security Law' imposed over Hong Kong eliminated the territory's freedoms. The question is how will Western nations work together to respond? Whether through legislation, sanctions, or diplomacy, policy-makers must coordinate their efforts n order to pressure Beijing to reverse course. MLI is hosting a webinar to bring together some of the world's leading voices to provide insights on the situation facing Hong Kong and what the democratic nations of the world should do to push back. Tuesday, Sept. 22, 10 a.m.-11:30 a.m. Registerat https://www. macdonaldlaurier.ca/event/webinar-way-forward-hong-kong/?mc\_cid=b8c75bddd7&mc\_ eid=38a00fb976 for the event.

#### WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 23

Return of Parliament and Speech from the Throne—The House of Commons will return from the first mid-mandate prorogation called by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau on Aug. 18. The government will lay out its priorities in a throne speech.

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 Intimi dation 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

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.

## PARIJAMENT NEW

#### **Easy Parliamentary Tracking**

With the sheer magnitude of information coming out of Parliament Hill every day, it can be hard to sift through it all to find what you need. Parliament Now is the service that will help you sort out your government affairs.

Check out the list of tools included with a Parliament Now subscription:

#### Legislation:

- Follow bills through Parliament
- Receive email alerts when your bill changes status



#### Committees:

- Follow both Senate and House committees
- Get email alerts for upcoming committee meetings and past meeting minutes



#### **Press Releases:**

 Trimmed-down versions of press releases, featuring only the pertinent information on federal issues



#### **Event Calendar:**

- A curated list of government-related events from a wide variety of sources
- Updated daily



#### **Forecast:**

 A daily look ahead of what's going on in Canadian federal politics for the next day



#### **Regulations:**

 The nitty-gritty of regulations of laws enacted after legislation



#### **Directory:**

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



#### **QP Report:**

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



#### In Parliament:

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



#### Contact Lakshmi Krishnamurthi for a trial.

Lakshmi Krishnamurthi, Subscriptions and Licensing Executive 613-263-3013 • Ikrish@hilltimes.com