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News

Lambropoulos' comments could be used against Grits in next election, say Liberal insiders, pollsters, and MPs

BY ABBAS RANA

Quebec Liberal MP Emmanuella Lambropoulos' recent remarks questioning the decline of the French language in Quebec could be used as political ammunition against the federal Liberals in the next election, say Liberal insiders, MPs, veteran political organizers, former senior ministerial staffers, and pollsters.

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News

'That's a tough one': potential prolonged delay in COVID-19 vaccine for Canadians will be politically 'explosive' for Trudeau Liberals, say politicians

News

Race to replace MP Kent as Thornhill's Conservative on the ballot a chance to 'bring Conservatives back into the fold', sign of 'generational shift', say early candidates

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

The race to replace veteran MP and former journalist Peter Kent as the Conservative Party's federal election candidate in Thornhill, Ont., offers an opportunity for the party to provide "Conservatives who have left the movement a reason to come

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News

Feds need to flex creative muscles in pandemic messaging, say experts

BY BEATRICE PAEZ

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's resumption of the near-daily briefings that were a feature of the pandemic's first wave symbolically telegraphs the severity of the situation, say political

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Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured Nov. 24, revealed last week that Canadians will be behind other countries such as the U.S., the U.K., and Germany in getting their COVID-19 vaccination. Now, the opposition parties are blasting the federal government for lagging behind in accessing the vaccine. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

BY ABBAS RANA

If there's a prolonged gap between when Americans and Canadians get the COVID-19

vaccine, it would become a politically "explosive" issue for the Liberals, raising serious questions about the basic competence of the Trudeau

government, potentially costing it the next federal election, say political players.

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News

MPs, experts paying close attention to housing supply after very strong year of sales, despite COVID-19

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

During a time in which Canada could be looking at a "photo finish" for a record year in home sales as historically low interest rates prevailed throughout the pandemic, both MPs and experts say they're keeping a close eye on

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HEARD ON THE HILL

by Palak Mangat

‘Our goal is to deconstruct the language of Canadian politics’: former Liberal MP Campbell publishes online dictionary of ‘unique Canadian political words, terms, phrases’



‘Parli is a live experiment in language, ebbing and flowing between the serious and the absurd, the outrageous and the comical, and the historical and the contemporary,’ writes Barry Campbell. Image courtesy of Parli

Have you ever wondered if there was an online dictionary of unique Canadian political words, terms, and phrases? Well, you’re in luck, because former Liberal MP **Barry Campbell**, who represented St. Paul’s, Ont., from 1993-1997, and may also be remembered as finance minister **Paul Martin**’s parliamentary secretary, has what he calls “the world’s only online dictionary” of federal political Canadiana. It’s called-Parli, published by Campbell Strategies, and it’s at <https://parli.ca>

“Our goal is to deconstruct the language of Canadian politics, demonstrate the contemporary use of this language and, and demystify this language. In short, Parli is for political junkies and those who wish to become one,” wrote Mr. Campbell in an email to *The Hill Times*.

“Parli is a live experiment in language, ebbing and flowing between the serious and the absurd, the outrageous and the comical, and the historical and the contemporary. Our recent entries include “Just Watch Me” and “October Crisis” to coincide with the 50th anniversary of those seminal events. We’ve also been writing about “Trudeau’s rose and his son’s socks” and “Speaking Moistly”. We tweet regularly about our entries and related events to an expanding list of Twitter followers.

It’s alphabetized, so under “A,” you can look up when and why **Jean Chrétien** said “A proof is a proof,” or under “B,” find out when and why then Liberal staffer **Scott Reid** got hammered by the Conservatives during the 2005-2006 election campaign for his “beer and popcorn” remark on national

television; or under “C,” why **Brian Tobin** was called “Captain Canada” in the early 1990s, or under “I,” who said “I’m entitled to my entitlements.” It’s also searchable by category and by terms and it covers all political parties in Canadian political history.

Mr. Campbell says he’s looking for new entries. As enticement, he says anyone who does submit will receive a Parli coffee mug and his “deep appreciation for adding to both Parli and the political discourse our dictionary helps reflect.”

This just in: *Hill Times*’ Hot Room podcast attracting listeners

The Hill Times has a new podcast and last week it reached the 20,000 download milestone. *The Hill Times*’ Hot Room, hosted by deputy editor **Peter Mazereeuw** (with an occasional guest host appearance from reporter **Aidan Chamandy**), gives listeners the best of what *The Hill Times* has to offer. It goes behind the scenes of federal politics and government policy. Want to get into the weeds on the latest piece of legislation? Want to better understand emerging trends in Canadian politics and society? Want to know how the federal government in handling the pandemic? Anyone with an appetite for Canadian politics and policy will benefit from tuning in.

The Hill Times’ deputy editor Peter MazerMPs and Senators have been on the podcast, including Senator **Gwen Boniface**, NDP MP **Jenny Kwan** and Conservative MP **Gerard Deltell**, along with former parliamentary budget officer **Kevin Page**,



The Hill Times’ deputy editor Peter Mazereeuw, left, hosts The Hill Times’ Hot Room podcast, while Hill Times reporter Aidan Chamandy edits and helps host. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade and graphic by Joey Sabourin

former Liberal MP **Andrew Leslie**, world-renowned epidemiologist **Steven Hoffman**, *Hill Times* columnists **Rose LeMay**, **Erica Ifill**, and **Tim Powers**, former Canadian ambassador to the United Nations **Paul Heinbecker**, and more.

HT’s Sam Garcia designs medal celebrating 100 years of Canada-Costa Rica official relations



Hill Times photographer Sam Garcia, pictured second from right, on Nov. 25, 2020, with *Hill Times* publishers **Leslie Dickson**, left, **Anne Marie Creskey**, **Jim Creskey**, Costa Rica’s Ambassador **Mauricio Ortiz**, Mr. Garcia, and the Royal Canadian Mint’s **Meredith Anglin**. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

To mark the centennial of Canada-Costa Rica official relations, *Hill Times* photographer **Sam Garcia** designed a coin representing the past, present, and future of Ottawa-San José ties.

Costa Rican Ambassador **Mauricio Ortiz** presented *Hill Times* publishers **Jim Creskey**, **Anne Marie Creskey**, and **Leslie Dickson** with one of the commemorative medals on Nov. 25 to honour the work the newspaper has done with the diplomatic community.

The medal was designed by Costa Rica’s Embassy in Ottawa as well as its consulates across Canada with the support of Mr. Garcia.

The medal is printed to mark the 100th anniversary of relations between 1920 and 2020. It includes national symbols of the two countries—the Canadian maple leaf and the Costa Rican national flower, the guaria morada.

It also shows a series of birds flying from one side of the coin to the other. The petroglyphs of the birds come from an unidentified bird from Peterborough Provincial Park and a hummingbird, which is part of a series of engravings found on a pre-Columbian stone which was located in the Guanacaste Volcanic Mountain Range in Costa Rica.

The Costa Rican Embassy sent a medal to the Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau**, as well as Governor General **Julie Payette**.

Mr. Garcia said he was approached by Mr. Ortiz to design the medal after overhearing him explain to the ambassadors of Serbia and Slovakia at a diplomatic event that his background was not in photography, but in designing of executive documents and coins.

Mr. Garcia and Mr. Ortiz incorporated the past, the present, and the future for both countries in the medal’s design.

Mr. Ortiz said Mr. Garcia spent many “hours” and “days” looking over each part of the medal.

The medal was designed with the cooperation of the two countries’ foreign ministries, as well as the Costa Rican Gold Museum and the Royal Canadian Mint.

Lanstman wants to run in coveted Conservative riding, Thornhill

Melissa Lantsman, a former Conservative Hill staffer and strategist who has worked on nearly every national Conservative campaign since 2006 and is a current pundit, announced last week that she wants to run for the federal Conservatives in the Thornhill, Ont., in the next election. Conservative MP **Peter Kent**, who has represented the riding since 2008 and won the last election with 54.4 per cent of the vote, recently announced that he won’t be running again. But Ms. Lantsman will have to fight for the nomination. Progressive Conservative MPP **Gila Martow**, who has represented the riding provincially since 2014, wants to run federally as well. *The Toronto Star*’s **Robert Benzie** described the nomination race last week as “a titanic battle ... pitting key allies of Premier Doug Ford against one another.”



Melissa Lantsman says Thornhill, Ont., needs ‘a fresh voice and bold leadership.’ Image courtesy of Melissa Lantsman’s campaign website

The Toronto Star also reported that Ms. Lantsman, who is married and openly gay, would be the first lesbian Conservative MP, if elected. For her part, Ms. Lantsman said on her campaign website that she wants to help grow her party by representing “a fresh new face in Canada’s Conservative Party,” and said she can broaden the party’s base: “I’m a principled Conservative. I have fought my entire life for things I don’t see us fighting enough for. I’m a first generation Canadian, a young female executive and an unrelenting community activist. I was born and raised in Thornhill and I want to continue fighting for you and represent the people honourably like Peter Kent has done over the last 12 years.”

Ms. Lantsman worked in the federal Conservatives’ national campaign war rooms under Stephen Harper in 2008, 2011, and 2015, and in 2018, was the youngest female to ever run a winning war room for the Progressive Conservatives in Ontario. Between 2007 and 2015, she worked for a number of federal cabinet ministers, including finance, foreign affairs, trade, and environment. She’s fluent in English, French and Russian.

Ms. Lantsman received lots of high-profile nods on Twitter after she tweeted her intentions to run, including from former Harper-era cabinet minister **John Baird**, Conservative MP **Michelle Rempel Garner**, and from Liberals **David Herle** and **Michele Cadario**.

pmangat@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times



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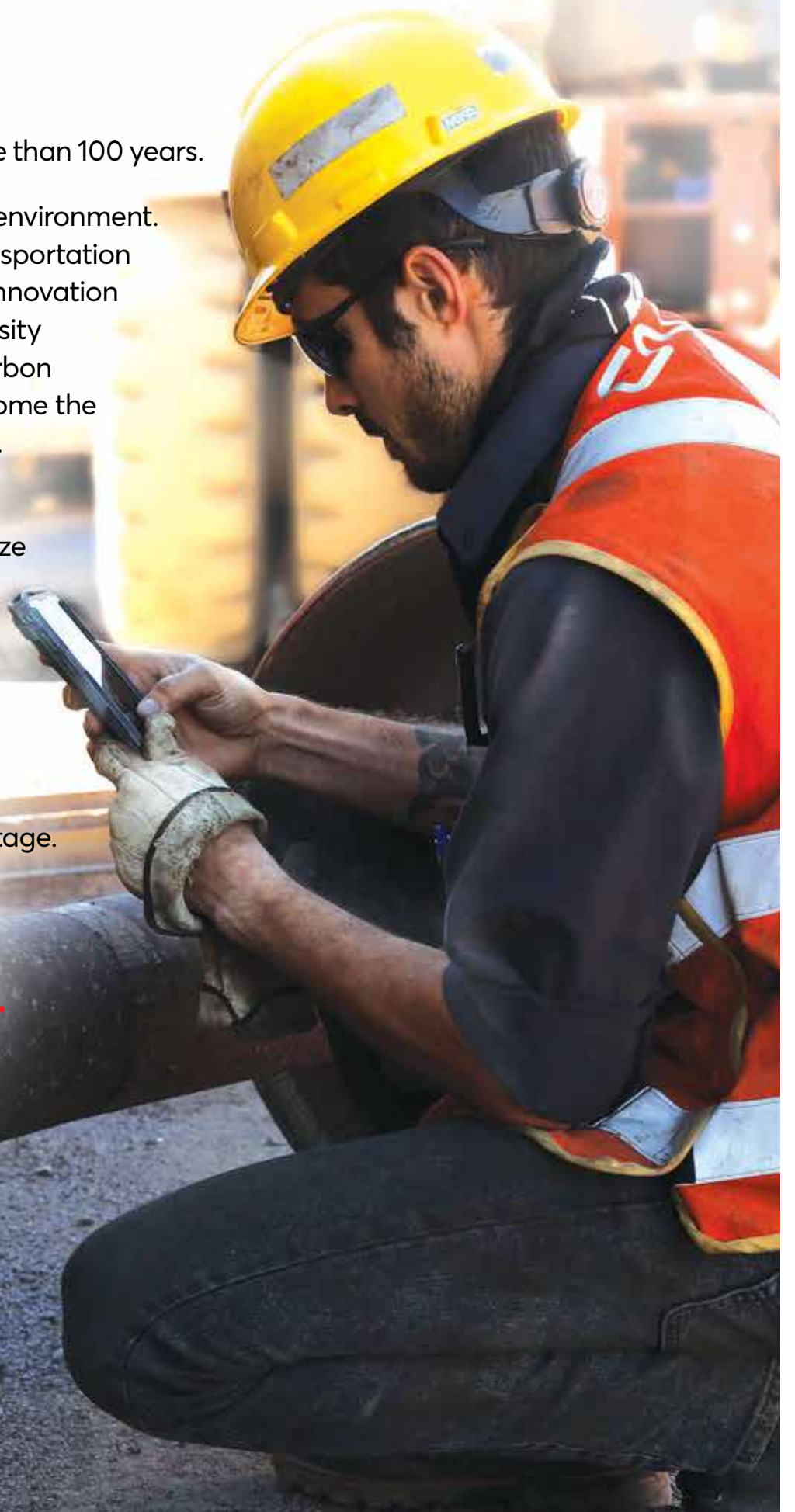
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Opinion

When knowing a little about a lot goes wrong

Five years into reconciliation, and the government hasn't added reconciliation nor personal learning for cultural competence as basic knowledge requirements in job descriptions nor performance reviews.



Rose LeMay

Stories, Myths, and Truths

OTTAWA—There was a day and age when the federal government hired public health policy experts for the Public Health Agency of Canada, adult educators for the Canada School of Public Service, financial experts for Finance Canada, and well-being and benefits experts for Veterans Affairs Canada.

Then something happened about three decades ago in the

business sector. Human resources business theorists raved about the “generalist manager,” who adds value in a generic way doing generic tasks and managing generically. It was called the Russian doll model of management: a manager’s job from lower to higher levels is really the same role, just with a wider scope at higher levels.

Much study and theory on the benefits of the generalist manager was internal to an organization or sector, focused on the vertical climb of this manager in say, finance. Few of the studies were horizontal across sectors, such as, can a generalist manager in accounting move into, say, oil tanker management? Some have hypothesized that the Exxon Valdez disaster was complicated by the generalist manager model, along with other issues, like a glaring lack of ethics.

The business sector, for the most part, dropped this model in the 1990s as too simplistic and potentially leading to corporate governance failures. This was just about the time that the federal government picked it up and went completely overboard with the Universal Classification Standard (since abandoned in 2003).

Given the wide variety of the federal government activities, it’s not clear how this generalist model could have ever worked out well. Nuclear safety, to climate change tracking, to park tourist management, to mental health policy, the federal government is really a small city with a jaw-dropping breadth of work. Government is not really a sector

by itself, it is a conglomerate of a number of sector-specific organizations, albeit with a similar logo.

There are so many risks in the generalist model. It boils policy down to a simplistic cost-versus-outcome model, or, even worse, a political model of quick announceables coupled with an aversion to risk. It is unable to appreciate the history of the department and policy development and has no idea of its unique strengths and risks in the policy area. The time it takes to build a manager’s background in the new policy sector slows down the work of the team and often the department.

It doesn’t seem controversial to expect that the people who make sure nuclear power plants are safe be led by experts in nuclear power safety. Or that the adult educator experts in the Canada School be led by an experienced adult educator. Or that reconciliation and culturally competent experts in partnership at Indigenous Services Canada be led by experts in building relationships. Full disclosure: at one time, I worked at PHAC and at Indigenous Services Canada.

However, it seems this is just not the case. Recently, a CBC story was written about a certain regional executive in Indigenous Services Canada who was accused of not having the basic commitment to reconciliation to do the job well. Five years into reconciliation, and the government hasn’t added reconciliation nor personal learning for cultural competence as basic knowledge



Indigenous Services Minister Marc Miller, pictured at a Hill press conference on Oct. 30, 2020. A recent story about a regional executive in Indigenous Services Canada who was accused of not having the basic commitment to reconciliation to do the job well showcases why the generalist manager theory fails us in knowledge-dependant departments, writes Rose LeMay. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

requirements in job descriptions nor performance reviews.

In another still breaking story, the Public Health Agency of Canada is accused of not hiring public health experts in leadership roles. Obviously, we need the PHAC to be managed and led by public health experts. It’s only the lives of Canadians at stake.

Departments which succeed or fail on sector-specific knowledge need to get back to hiring sector-specific expertise in leadership. Build leaders from within, with those who have deep knowledge of the sector, and value their

unique experience and expertise. Cheaper in the long run, much more organizational effectiveness, stronger teams, what’s not to like?

Rose LeMay is Tlingit from the West Coast and the CEO of the Indigenous Reconciliation Group. She writes twice a month about Indigenous inclusion and reconciliation. In Tlingit worldview, the stories are the knowledge system, sometimes told through myth and sometimes contradicting the myths told by others. But always with at least some truth.

The Hill Times

New privacy law gives Canadians more control and greater transparency

The Consumer Privacy Protection Act (CPPA) legislation will provide world-leading privacy and data protection for Canadians. It balances our drive for innovation with increased protection of Canadians’ online life, ensuring that all can benefit from the new resources of our digital world.



Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains

Opinion

The digital transformation is completely changing the way that Canadians access informa-

tion, buy goods and services, connect with each other, and live in our communities and cities. The ongoing global pandemic has only accelerated this transformation, as we see more small businesses and more individual Canadians moving their activities online and participating in the digital economy.

To be productive, competitive, and innovative—and to recover from the economic effects of the pandemic—we must harness the power of this data and digital economy.

Canadians are sharing more data online than ever before, and

they’re anxious about how digital technologies and data will affect their lives. We know that Canadians will continue to use digital services that use their personal data—there is no going back.

For Canadians to prosper and benefit from the digital economy, we need to ensure that Canadians can have confidence that their data is safe and trust that their privacy is being respected.

That is why our government has introduced the Consumer Privacy Protection Act (CPPA), legislation that will provide world-leading privacy and data protection for Canadians. It balances our drive for innovation with increased protection of Canadians’ online life, ensuring that all can benefit from the new resources of our digital world.

With the CPPA, Canadians will have more control and greater transparency over how companies handle their personal information. Canadians will have the freedom to move their information from one organization to another and be able to demand that

their information be destroyed. We are also making it simpler to give informed and meaningful consent about how your data will be used, through terms and conditions that use less jargon and more plain-language.

The CPPA includes the highest fines among G7 privacy laws. For the most serious contraventions, companies would face fines of up to five per cent of global revenues or \$25-million, whichever is higher. For other contraventions, non-complying companies would be subject to penalties of up to ten million dollars or three per cent of their global revenue.

To protect Canadians’ privacy, the CPPA requires that automated decision-making systems—like algorithms and artificial intelligence—must be transparent about how they use data to make predictions. Individuals will also have the right to request that businesses explain how a prediction, recommendation, or decision was made by an automated decision-making system and explain how the information was obtained.

We will also make it easier to share de-identified information between the private and public sector, facilitating research on our most important challenges in fields as diverse as public health, infrastructure and environmental protection.

But we also recognize that privacy laws can’t overburden small businesses and the more than one million Canadians who operate them. The CPPA will help small businesses prosper by ensuring the rules around data and privacy are fair, clear and enforced, and flexible enough to meet the needs of smaller organizations. The CPPA embodies the principles-based approach of Canada’s Digital Charter by striking the right balance between strengthening trust and empowering innovation in our evolving economy.

Our government is building a Canada where citizens have confidence that their data is safe and privacy is respected, while unlocking innovation that promotes a strong economy.

This is one important step, with many more to come, in our holistic approach to protecting Canadians’ digital identities.

Navdeep Bains is the federal minister of innovation, science and industry and represents Mississauga-Malton, Ont.

The Hill Times

Langues officielles vs Langues nationales : La confrontation de deux visions du Canada

Alexandre Cédric Doucet

Alexandre Cédric Doucet est le président de la Société de l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick (SANB), l'organisme porte-parole des Acadiens, Acadiennes et francophones au Nouveau-Brunswick.

Le 28 octobre 2020, après une rencontre avec le commissaire aux langues officielles du Canada, Raymond Thériault, l'honorable Erin O'Toole a tweeté : « La vitalité de nos deux langues nationales est primordiale. [...] » Le 25 novembre 2020, il a prononcé un discours en français à la Chambre des communes sur l'importance de moderniser la Loi sur les langues officielles (LLO) et il a encore une fois mentionné les « langues nationales ». Rappelons que l'expression consacrée depuis soixante ans est « langues officielles » pour parler de l'anglais et du français, qui sont en principe égaux. Pour la SANB, ce changement terminologique soulève de nombreuses questions. Tout d'abord, est-ce que l'usage de l'adjectif « nationales » représente :

- 1) Un simple choix de mots différents, pour se distancier du discours du premier ministre Justin Trudeau ?
- 2) Un changement de cap idéologique par rapport au statut juridique du français et de l'anglais ?
- 3) L'indication d'une vision binationale du Canada en rupture avec le multiculturalisme, voire avec la reconnaissance des peuples autochtones du Canada ?
- 4) Une simple extension de la reconnaissance de la nation québécoise au sein du Canada, au détriment des autres communautés francophones en situation minoritaire ?

Lorsque l'on parle de « langues officielles », le français et l'anglais ne sont pas sur le même pied d'égalité et le français exige des efforts de promotion et des mesures de protection particulières. De la même manière, quand il est question de « nations canadiennes » d'expression française noyées dans le multiculturalisme, l'Acadie se tient debout pour faire valoir ses titres et ne renonce à rien.

La SANB se demande : en quoi le PCC propose-t-il un nouveau « contrat linguistique » aux Canadiennes et aux Canadiens ? Ce dernier inclura-t-il les langues des peuples autochtones ? Et quelle reconnaissance pour l'Acadie comme nation francophone au Canada ? Certes, le Québec possède un statut particulier, et la langue française y est aussi en recul, malheureusement... Mais le Nouveau-Brunswick, où se trouve la plus grande part des Acadiennes et des Acadiens, possède-lui aussi un statut particulier dans la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés en tant que seule province officiellement bilingue. La modernisation de la Loi sur les langues officielles ne peut se faire sans la reconnaissance de la spécificité acadienne, notamment au Nouveau-Brunswick.

La ministre responsable du dossier des langues officielles, l'honorable Mélanie Joly, a effectué une tournée pancanadienne de consultation sur cette modernisation en 2019, après un travail de fond effectué par le Comité sénatorial des langues officielles présidé par le sénateur acadien indépendant René Cormier et le dépôt de plusieurs mémoires dont celui, très étoffé, de la Fédération des communautés francophones et acadiennes du Canada (FCFA). Dans son plus récent Discours du trône, le premier ministre a d'ailleurs parlé de « renforcement » au lieu de modernisation. De plus, la ministre Joly parle désormais de préparer un livre blanc. Cette valse-hésitation, ces faux-fuyants aux relents électoralistes nous inquiètent vivement. Nous sommes donc très ouverts, à la SANB, au changement de ton de la part du PCC, que ce soit dans les discours de M. O'Toole ou de son lieutenant Alain Rayes. La lutte contre la pandémie, outre qu'elle a mis en lumière les dangers que courent les francophones au pays en période de crise (ce qu'a dénoncé le Commissaire aux langues officielles, M. Raymond Thériault), ne peut justifier le report de la modernisation de la LLO encore et encore.

Les termes employés pour parler des enjeux linguistiques du Canada au 21^e siècle, que ce soit « langues officielles » ou « langues nationales », ne doivent pas prêter à confusion ni n'être que des paroles en l'air. Si l'on veut se distancier du multiculturalisme libéral du dernier demi-siècle, en offrant un nouveau cadre conceptuel dans lequel affirmer la valeur culturelle et historique des langues officielles, la SANB aimerait y voir autre chose que la résurrection du biculturalisme de l'antique Commission Laurendeau-Dunton.

Le Canada ne peut plus se permettre de traiter les peuples autochtones (Premières Nations, Inuit et Métis) comme si leurs langues n'étaient pas « nationales », voire avec condescendance et ambiguïté, sans action concrète. Le Canada ne peut plus se permettre non plus d'opposer le Québec au reste du pays, comme si cette province était une anomalie dérangeante pour son rêve « postnational », bilingue sur papier et multiculturel d'un océan à l'autre. L'Acadie est une nation qui s'identifie ainsi depuis la première Convention nationale de 1881, et qui est reconnue comme telle sur la scène internationale depuis au moins les ententes signées avec le Général de Gaulle en 1969, voire avec l'entrée du Nouveau-Brunswick dans les États membres de l'OIF aux côtés du Québec.

Depuis l'élection du nouveau chef du Parti conservateur du Canada (PCC), l'honorable Erin O'Toole, celui-ci parle de « langues nationales » en référence à l'anglais et au français, plutôt que de « langues officielles », ce qui est un changement majeur. Mais de quelle nature ? La SANB désire des éclaircissements. Elle désire aussi rappeler que le terme de « nation » ne peut s'appliquer qu'au seul Canada en tant que pays bilingue ni à la seule nation québécoise. L'Acadie représente une des nations d'expression française qui sont nées sur le continent américain. Elle est riche de son histoire, de sa culture, de ses institutions, de ses symboles et de sa réalité propre au sein du Canada. Sa forte présence au Nouveau-Brunswick a permis à cette province d'obtenir un statut particulier dans la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés et sur la scène internationale. En outre, il nous apparaît essentiel de rompre avec le passé colonial en reconnaissant les droits linguistiques des peuples autochtones au Canada (qui peuvent être déduits de l'Article 35 de la Constitution, selon certains chercheurs) et de traiter avec ceux-ci « nation à nation ».

M. O'Toole : nous sommes prêts à entendre ce que vous avez à dire sur le sujet. Que voulez-vous dire par « langues nationales » ? Que proposez-vous ?



Alexandre Cédric Doucet, président

Ce texte est une version abrégée d'un document de réflexion plus approfondi sur la question de l'évolution terminologique du PCC en matière de langues officielles. Pour lire le document dans sa version longue, rendez-vous au <https://www.sanb.ca/fr/rapports-et-etudes>.



Opinion

Something is afoot in the Indigenous world



The goal for this embryonic 'movement' is not a one-off cheque to sign off on land claims, or a better deal from what, in effect, is the Big Indian Agent in Ottawa. It is to take control of what was taken away centuries ago by generations of colonizers from Europe. It is sovereignty. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

The phenomenon of Indigenous peoples striving to take back their land is a continent-wide phenomenon.

The original tribe that dined with the Pilgrims, and who lived in Massachusetts and eastern Rhode Island for 12,000 years, finally got 300 acres of land to call their own in 2015. It was a long and bitter struggle for the Mashpee Wampanoag tribe, who were only recognized by the U.S. federal government in 2007.

Sadly, subsequent court action took the land out of trust, with the absurd finding that the Indigenous People who broke bread with the Pilgrims didn't meet the legal definition of a "tribe." As CNN recently reported, the Mashpee Wampanoag are again "in limbo."

The story was somewhat happier for the Wiyot People of Duluwat Island on Humboldt Bay in northern California. After 100 years of being dispossessed, the Wiyot reclaimed almost all of their ancestral island in 2019.

It is worth noting that it was not part of a land claims settlement. It was brought about as a matter of conscience by a member of the Eureka Town Council. Kim Bergen had heard the story of how white settlers had taken over the island in 1860, after slaughtering Wiyot women, children and elders during their annual world renewal ceremony. Bergen merely did the "right thing."

Will the Government of Canada do the right thing?

Former prime minister Paul Martin openly wondered why the only place the Honour of the Crown could be found was in court. His observation is still highly appropriate. One thing is getting clearer in the epic struggle by Indigenous peoples to attain justice. The old approaches with the usual cast of players is giving way to something new.

The goal for this embryonic "movement" is not a one-off cheque to sign off on land claims, or a better deal from what, in effect, is the Big Indian Agent in Ottawa. It is to take control of what was taken away centuries ago by generations of colonizers from Europe. It is sovereignty. A lot of Indigenous communities appear to be taking the advice of Arthur Manuel to heart. Manuel was one of the two founders of the Land Back Movement. Those words, as reported in *The Globe and Mail*, are a harbinger of things to come.

"You have to quit crying on the shoulder of the guy who stole your land."

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

Back in 2015, a campaigning Justin Trudeau promised that he would end all long-term boil water advisories on reserves across Canada within five years. He has had the five years, and nothing has changed on Neskantaga First Nation. Twenty-five years after the boil-water advisory came into force, it is still in place.



Michael Harris

Harris

HALIFAX—If you listen carefully, you can hear the distant beat of war drums.

Something is afoot in the Indigenous world, as it was a few years back with the Idle No More movement. It is as if governments have finally worn out the astonishing patience of a people who have been waiting for justice long enough to know they will probably never get it unless they take action.

It is not an accident that the Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia are aggressively laying claim to their

own fishery, one where they issue the licences, and regulate the effort. They know that others fish as a privilege; they fish as a constitutional right. The ghost of Donald Marshall Jr. hovers over their cause.

So the Mi'kmaq are taking back their place on the water, expanding into the corporate fishery as owners, and calling for the resignation of a federal fisheries minister who may not yet understand that the age-old substitution of rhetoric for justice no longer works with First Nations.

It is no accident that James Smith Cree Nation in Saskatchewan doesn't want the benevolent paternalism of Indigenous Services Canada, or its downright colonialism. It wants to be master in its own house.

Chief Wally Burns has laid down a marker in dozens of letters to federal politicians and bureaucrats, including the prime minister. Among other things, his people want to administer their own response to the COVID-19

pandemic, and not be dictated to by Ottawa.

The chief still remembers that during a past flu epidemic in 2009, First Nations in Manitoba had been expecting supplies to fight the outbreak; instead, Health Canada also sent them body bags—and then an awkward apology.

This time around, the chief says it is useless blue tents, which he calls "big body bags," that were bought for his people without consultation. This summer, Chief Burns registered his unhappiness with Indigenous Services Minister Marc Miller. He wrote: "Our solution has always been a First Nations solution led and run by First Nations for First Nations.... We have presented you with proposals backed by the research from the WHO, CDC, UN, and Canada's own chief medical officer that PPE is the best viable solution for First Nations to stop the spread of COVID-19.... You have refused to fund this critical and lifesaving personal protective equipment, yet you are more than willing to fund many things that we do not want and did not ask for, including 'blue tents.' You only must remember the body bag fiasco during the swine flu outbreaks to recall how damaging that was for the government of the day and the setbacks for Crown-Indigenous relations."

It is no accident that Neskantaga First Nation in northern Ontario is asking for the removal of ISC's regional director general for what they are calling an irrevocable loss of trust.

Chief Chris Moonias has made clear that no federal bureaucrat should be forced on his community who perpetuates paternalistic and colonial ideas. Whether it will last or not, the regional director general has been replaced. Chief Moonias was supported in his demand for an investigation into the affair by Grand Chief Alvin Fiddler of the Nishnawbe Aski, which represents 49 First Nations.

Back in 2015, a campaigning Justin Trudeau promised that he would end all long-term boil water advisories on reserves across Canada within five years. He has had the five years, and nothing has changed on Neskantaga First Nation. Twenty-five years after the boil-water advisory came into force, it is still in place.

A sign on the reserve, reported by the CBC's Olivia Stefanovich, drives the point home: "Dear Mr. Trudeau, Come live here for two weeks, then you will know what our people face."

Can anyone imagine a white community in Canada where a whole generation of kids never had clean drinking water, and the problem still wasn't fixed?

It is no accident that "Land Defenders" in British Columbia recently blocked the intersection of East Hastings and Clark Drive, cutting off an access route to the Port of Vancouver. They don't want the Trans Mountain pipeline in their territory, and are asking the federal government to cancel the project.

Eight months into the pandemic, we're no longer pulling together

The clearest culprit in the current mess is an ideology—the neoliberal preference for small government, the stubborn and wrong-headed belief that private sector is always more efficient, a distrust of science and experts.



Susan Riley

Impolitic

As the prospect of a dim and diminished Christmas approaches, social cohesion is fracturing. Like hostages trapped in the same room for too many months, people are lashing out—at politicians of all stripes, at once-revered public health officials, at partying young folk, at anti-maskers, at the big-box stores that profit while local restaurants and shops are forced to close.

It is dispiriting and understandable at the same time, especially for those who have lost loved ones to the pandemic, or have been denied entry to their parents' long-term care homes. Again. The majority who are following the rules see cases continue to climb and the happy prospect of a vaccine clouded by harsh partisan rhetoric and uncertainty about when it might be available. And who will get it first.

The unsatisfying truth is that blame for the worsening second wave—the delays in testing, confusing messages, inability or unwillingness of governments to enforce proven public health measures; the inexcusable failure to protect the elderly—is widely shared. And the responsibility falls not only on those in power, but on many governments that preceded them. We are seeing the results of years of neglect of public health and elder care.

Uproar over Canada's inability to produce a vaccine for domestic distribution is the latest stress point. Conservative MP Michelle Rempel Garner, with her usual understatement, accused Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of "gross incompetence" for allowing our bio-manufacturing sector to dwindle to almost nothing.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's government says the vaccines should start arriving in January, although shots will likely not be widely available for months after that. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Because there are few vaccine-makers left in this country, and none with the capacity to produce novel and various COVID vaccines on short notice, we are mainly reliant on American, German, and British pharmaceutical giants to provide the 400 million doses the government has prudently ordered. But the medication will only be available to us after the manufacturing countries' populations have been served.

Despite that, the Trudeau government said vaccines should start arriving in January, although shots will likely not be widely available for months after that. And the new vaccines still haven't been cleared by Health Canada regulators, who have been notoriously slow to approve rapid testing already widely in use in other places.

If Rempel Garner means to argue that Trudeau has had nearly six years to correct the mistakes of previous Conservative governments, and hasn't acted, she has a point—but not, perhaps, the point she intends. In fact, Canada's once-thriving and world-leading laboratory sector has been incrementally privatized, sold off, and off-shored, mostly by conservative-minded governments over decades.

In 1986, Brian Mulroney's government off-loaded Connaught Laboratories, an iconic Canadian company that pioneered and produced drugs to fight diphtheria, diabetes, and polio, among others. The company has long since been absorbed by a French company based in Paris. The privatiza-

tion continued apace under the Harper government, as other drug manufacturers left this country for more congenial locales, leaving us with no publicly owned, non-profit drug manufacturing facility. There are a couple of plants left—one in Quebec, one in Saskatchewan—with the ability to make vaccines, but neither has the capacity, or infrastructure, to produce COVID-19 doses in sufficient volume.

The Trudeau government is playing catch-up now, dedicating millions to help Medicago in Quebec and VIDO-InterVac in Saskatchewan gear up for future vaccine production, but the rebuilding will take a year or more. In the prime minister's words, "we never want to be caught short again." It is perhaps a quibble to wonder if, or why, he only discovered this glaring gap in Canada's pandemic readiness in recent months.

In Ontario, meanwhile, Premier Doug Ford's folksy charm is wearing thin as his government's miscues, dithering, policy reversals, and reluctance to limit commercial activity have fed spiralling case numbers. In the words of provincial Auditor General Bonnie Lysyk, Ontario's response has been "slower and more reactive" than that of other provinces.

She presents a damning case against Dr. David Williams, the colourless chief medical officer for Ontario, who often stands silently behind Premier Ford at daily news conferences. Williams is accused of fatal delays in im-

posing masking requirements on workers in long-term care homes, of providing little coherent advice to the province's scattered local health care units, and of deferring important decisions—like making masks mandatory in workplaces—to his political masters. She draws an unfavourable comparison with British Columbia's Dr. Bonnie Henry, who, she said, in her explosive report, "has made decisions throughout the pandemic."

As for Ford, because of his business background and political leanings, he has been very reluctant to close the province's bars, restaurants, gyms, and small retailers out of misplaced empathy for owners and their employees. But his failure to clamp down on economic activity earlier in the game has only made the situation worse for the province's small businesses as they lose customers by attrition. Nor does it make economic, or public health, sense to shut down the local bike shop and allow Costco and Walmart to continue welcoming pre-Christmas hordes.

But again, today's problems are also rooted in history—short-sighted reductions in inspections of long-term care homes by the Ford government in 2017; staffing shortages in medical labs as a result of a decision from the Mike Harris era to reduce training programs from 12 to seven, in the mistaken belief the work would soon be automated. That said, the subsequent Liberal governments of Dalton McGuinty and Kathleen Wynne did little to address the

shortages, or restore the provincial public health agency to fighting form.

Ford, of course, is not alone in publicly deferring to the "health experts," then cherry-picking their recommendations according to his own philosophical bent. Recent secret recordings of conversations among Alberta public health officials reveal a constant tussle between Dr. Deena Hinshaw and Premier Jason Kenney's cabinet team, who appear more intent on protecting the economy and safeguarding Albertans personal liberties than imposing shutdowns to contain the spread.

And spread it has, with Alberta numbers skyrocketing in recent weeks. Despite that, Kenney insisted last week he wouldn't "bow to ideological pressure" and impose mandatory masking. That would only provoke rural residents to deliberately reject masks, or turn "tens of thousands of people into law-breakers," he said.

This isn't to suggest Liberal, NDP, and Conservative governments are equally culpable of neglecting the public health infrastructure that is suddenly crucially important. Conservative governments, whatever the label, are far keener on handing expensive responsibilities, like caring for the elderly, to the private sector, then turning their backs.

The clearest culprit in the current mess is an ideology—the neoliberal preference for small government, the stubborn and wrong-headed belief that private sector is always more efficient, a distrust of science and experts in favour of, in Kenney's words, "common sense." With old-fashioned populists, like Doug Ford, it is also manifest in a sentimental attachment to small business and a human reluctance to impose short-term pain on the already struggling sector.

Meanwhile, Kenney's libertarian reluctance to enforce mask-wearing and contact tracing for fear of trampling on personal liberties and the right to privacy, only looks short-sighted, selfish, and even foolish, as daily cases in Alberta eclipse numbers in larger provinces.

The federal government will be releasing an economic update on Nov. 30 that is expected to contain measures to address infection control in long-term care homes—a small part of a problem that is actually a provincial responsibility. There will be other money to help women get back into the workforce, apparently.

The ambition and scope of the measures will be telling, as will reaction from the official opposition.

If this crisis—the most serious this generation has experienced—produces a better funded and staffed public health network, a robust, domestic pandemic-readiness capacity, and long-term care homes as good as those in British Columbia, across the country, it will have been worth the sacrifice. If none of these things happen, there will still be plenty of blame to go around.

Susan Riley is a veteran political columnist who writes regularly for *The Hill Times*.

The Hill Times

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Editorial

It’s critical for parliamentarians to prepare themselves properly for standing committee work

Most Parliamentarians soon learn that committee work is the heart and soul of their responsibilities as lawmakers. Committees are where MPs and Senators review, examine and debate legislation and policy that affects the lives of millions of Canadians. Most know that to provide useful input, MPs and Senators put in an enormous amount of time and effort into learning as much as they can about the subject and then conduct further research to see if there is room for improvement. Throughout this process they have the assistance of their research staff and caucus research bureaus, and most importantly, the Library of Parliament. Failure to do the expected due diligence or to adequately prepare for the committee discussions can easily lead to embarrassment and unwanted media attention for themselves and their party.

And this is exactly what happened to Quebec Liberal MP Emmanuella Lambropoulos during the Official Languages Committee meeting on Nov. 13, when she expressed skepticism about the decline of the use of French language in Quebec.

“We hear, I don’t want to call it a myth, I’ll give the benefit of the doubt, but we hear that the French language is in decline in Quebec,” said Ms. Lambropoulos, rolling her eyes, while questioning the Official Languages Commissioner, Raymond Theberge. “I need to see it to believe it.” When she asked this question, Ms. Lambropoulos smiled and used air quotes when she used the word “decline” leading some to interpret her tone as condescending.

This triggered an immediate backlash, on social media and in the print and electronic media, not only against Ms. Lambropoulos, who represents the multicultural and safe Liberal riding of Saint-Laurent, but against the federal Liberal Party as well. Within

hours, she withdrew her comment, apologized for this “insensitive” remark, promised to promote the French language in her home province and across the country, and, finally, resigned from the committee.

For days, prior to this committee meeting, a significant number of news stories in the Quebec media highlighted the well-established fact that the French language was in decline in the province. It appears she did not do her homework before participating in the committee meeting. Otherwise, there is no known information in the public domain that would make her raise this question.

The embarrassment caused by this incident for her party, whose chief rival in Quebec is the sovereigntist Bloc Québécois is particularly exasperating for Liberals. Liberal insiders told *The Hill Times* last week that Ms. Lambropoulos’ remarks have given ammunition to the Bloc Québécois narrative of Liberal hypocrisy when it comes to protecting the interests of Quebecers. Now, the Bloc says, this is what the Liberals really think about the French language. The Conservatives also piled on, taking shots at the Liberals for this incident. The opposition parties will likely use the video clip of Ms. Lambropoulos in their attack ads in the next election.

Internally, the Liberals are understandably upset with their own MP for causing this uncalled for and unneeded trouble for them. Some told *The Hill Times* it’s affecting their fundraising and has put their potential gains in the next election in question. Instead, they may lose some of the ridings that they won in 2019 with close margins, including those of two senior cabinet ministers.

One can only hope that a lesson will have been learned from this incident, and that it will encourage Ms. Lambropoulos, to better prepare for her real parliamentary work.

The Hill Times

Letters to the Editor

Business leaders committed to making Canada the best country in the world: Goldy Hyder

Re: “Where are the serious leaders from Canada’s business community, the big-picture thinkers about the country’s future?” (*The Hill Times*, Nov. 23, by David Crane). I was disappointed to read David Crane’s opinion column in your Nov. 23 edition. Mr. Crane suggested that Canada’s business leaders are not “big-picture thinkers.” The leaders with whom I work every day care deeply about Canada and Canadians and are focused on building a stronger and more vibrant country.

Business leaders recognize that innovation is essential to Canada’s long-term economic health, which is why they are investing in research and development. From agriculture to digital infrastructure, from transportation to environmental science, businesses across the country are focused on building a future that will benefit all Canadians.

These investments and innovative thinking facilitated quick responses during the COVID-19 emergency enabling work-from-home models to keep employees safe, retooling factories to produce essential medical supplies, protecting workers while delivering essential services to Canadians, and donating hundreds of millions of dollars to local charities to help those in greatest need.

Throughout the pandemic we have worked closely with the government and other groups to preserve jobs and help businesses of all sizes—especially small businesses—survive economic shut-downs.

When it comes to climate policy, Canada’s leading businesses are not waiting for government-imposed targets. Instead they are taking aggressive steps themselves to achieve net-zero emissions. They are champions of climate innovation, developing new technologies that will help Canada and the world transition to a carbon-neutral future.

On diversity and inclusion, business leaders have taken the lead to ensure greater representation in board rooms and executive suites across the country. That includes implementing mentorship programs, leadership training and targeted recruitment strategies.

Mr. Crane asserts that the Business Council “offers no new ideas on how we can improve training and re-skilling.” In fact, we offer several new ideas in our report “Powering a Strong Recovery: An Economic Growth Plan for Canada.” Those ideas build on an initiative the Business Council launched in 2015: the Business + Higher Education Roundtable, which brings together business and post-secondary leaders to help young people transition to rewarding careers.

The business leaders I work with are committed to making Canada the best country in the world in which to live, work, invest, and grow.

Goldy Hyder
President and CEO, Business Council of Canada
Ottawa, Ont.

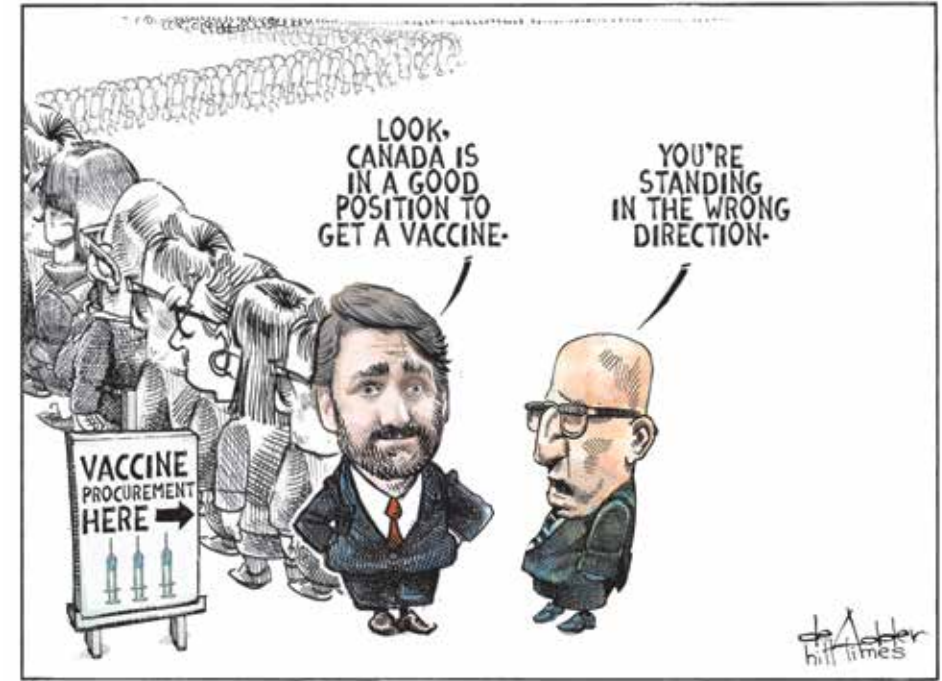
Pembroke must stop perpetuating the colonial settler story: Mackey

Pembroke and all of Renfrew County must stop perpetuating the colonial settler story of nature as property or resource. Pembroke must actively and always share stories rooted in relationships that honour nature’s complexity rather than diminish it. Pembroke community builders must learn from Indigenous stories about seeing nature as close family, rather than object, and meaningfully include Indigenous peoples in all land and water use decision-making processes throughout the area.

It is astounding how most settler communities cling to a destructive 20th century colonial and capitalist ethic that directly contributes to accelerated climate breakdown, racism, and classism. How one can occupy a community leader position and dismiss their own moral imperative and sacred duty to seriously address our dire climate situation is a devastating mystery.

Change arrived in Pembroke with the great Ottawa River flood of 2019. This new decade will present hardship and challenges demanding a new way of seeing our natural world, social issues, economies, interpersonal relationships, and basic standard of living. As a pandemic-ridden 2020 comes to a close, I’m urging all to act as they should have long ago by intensely taking care of their immediate environment, rejecting all fossil fuels, respecting the sentience and inherent rights of other animals, and thinking heavily on how decisions made today will impact the next seven generations of plant and animal species which includes Renfrew County citizens. This is the first step for securing a stable climate decade for everyone. Act now for a livable future.

Mike Mackey
Pembroke, Ont.



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We need a made-in-Canada pandemic strategy, stat!

Putting Canadian jobs first would also ensure that when it comes to vaccines, we are not at the back of the line.



Sheila Copps

Copps' Corner

Now that several vaccines are on the horizon, there is hope in sight for an end to this global pandemic.

But Canadians are now learning that we might have to wait longer than other countries to be vaccinated since there is no domestic manufacturer.

The government was quick off the mark to sign agreements securing multiple potential vaccines as soon as international universities and companies began researching vaccines. Canada has already stockpiled enough syringes to vaccinate every single citizen.

But the material used to go into the syringe is not so easy to obtain.

Without a made-in-Canada vaccine, we are being forced to line up behind other countries that understandably want to protect their own citizens first.

Outgoing president Donald Trump launched Operation Warp Speed with the intention of securing enough vaccines as quickly as possible, strictly for American citizens.

Early on in the pandemic, he made it very clear that any personal protective equipment manufactured in the United States would be staying there. At one point, he even made it illegal to export 3M protective masks to Canada, even though Canadian pulp was imported to form the basis of the masks he was refusing to share.

In the end, the Canadian government partnered to open a 3M factory in Canada, the only way to guarantee security of supply of the medical-grade masks.

So why hasn't the government done the same thing for vaccines?

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau says the country does not have the capacity to produce vaccines. Its strategy, instead, was to sign as many vaccine deals as possible so that Canada would be in a position to secure vaccines from multiple sources.

That strategy does not explain why the government did not secure domestic licensing

agreements during the advance purchase negotiations.

Many other countries have those licensing agreements and are already beginning production in anticipation of an approval by the American Food and Drug Administration or the European certifying authority. Unlike many countries, Canada does not accept health certifications from other jurisdictions, and carries out its own analysis.

That gives most of us a sense of security that we are not simply mimicking approvals from elsewhere.

But to those familiar with the system, Health Canada approval delays are actually restricting the development of a robust domestic pharmaceutical industry.

In the interest of full disclosure, I am currently working to assist a number of Canadian companies selling PPE and/or developing tests to help in the global pandemic fight.

One such company in the Toronto area, BTNX, has been making Health Canada-approved test kits for drug testing, strep throat testing, pregnancy and others for more than 20 years.

In the early stages of the COVID outbreak, it started working on the development rapid antigen and antibody tests.

The tests were approved in Europe last spring, and are currently sold in the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Spain, Brazil, Peru, and with a partner in the United States.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured on Nov. 24, 2020, walking back into the Rideau Cottage after holding a press conference. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

But its test kits in Canada are still awaiting approval. Not only can the test kits not be sold in our country, according to Health Canada regulations, kits cannot even be exported for sale in countries that have already approved it.

So, the Canadian company, located in the riding of the minister for small business, was forced to set up its COVID manufacturing facility in the United Kingdom. That country has already approached the company, offering financial assistance to move the balance of its operations there.

But even though its test was included in the Regeneron drug protocol given to Trump, it is still awaiting Canadian approval.

Meanwhile, the Canadian government last week announced the purchase of 20 million similar test kits from a foreign competitor, despite the fact that the Canadian test kit was better ranked by the World Health Organization.

Purchase orders from major Canadian airlines remain unfilled while those airlines secure test kits from foreign companies.

Another Canadian company, again with deep roots in the testing area, has developed a saliva test that it expects to be approved in Europe and the United States in January. When asked about expected Health Canada approval dates, the company sarcastically suggested it might come in 2031.

But if the vaccine delay shows us anything, our country must have a made-in-Canada pandemic strategy.

A good start would involve prioritizing domestic pharmaceutical companies in testing and purchase of COVID-fighting tools.

Putting Canadian jobs first would also ensure that when it comes to vaccines, we are not at the back of the line.

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

COVID could trigger an outbreak of protectionism

If the economy goes into a tailspin, will Justin Trudeau and Jagmeet Singh follow Erin O'Toole's lead?



Gerry Nicholls

Post Partisan Pundit

OKVILLE, ONT.—The old expression, “the more things change, the more they stay the same,” sometimes applies to the world of politics.

Consider, for instance, how soon-to-be U.S. President Joe Biden—who many hoped would reverse President Donald Trump's economic protectionism—has made it known that he will implement what he calls a “Buy American” policy.

Sounds familiar, doesn't it?

Surely, as a slogan, “Buy American” seems to hit the same protectionist chord as Trump's “Put America First.”

Mind you, it could very well be that Biden's policy will be more symbolic than real, but the fact that he feels the need to employ Trump-style protectionist rhetoric suggests he understands the strong emotional appeal which nationalism exerts on the general population.

Or more precisely, he understands how, in the minds of many Americans, economic policy is inexorably linked to patriotism, meaning it should be focused on protecting American jobs and American industry.

Any American politician who ignores that connection, does so at his or her electoral peril.

What's more, if the COVID lockdowns trigger an American economic recession, it means protectionist sentiment in America could surge; in times of crisis the default position for voters is usually, we must “look after our own.”

So, it's possible, Biden, anticipating an economic turnaround, is already laying the groundwork for a plan to protect American jobs.

If this is true, it makes one wonder if Canada's political leaders are also anticipating a faltering economy and, if so, will they take a page from the protectionist playbook?

Up until now, of course, the Liberals and New Democrats have more or less resisted the urge to fully embrace economic protectionism.

Yes, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau sometimes played the protectionist card during his trade

skirmishes with Trump, and yes, he's a nationalist when it comes to protecting Canadian culture, but overall, he's a strong proponent of globalization and freer international trade.

Meanwhile, while NDP leader Jagmeet Singh has promoted enacting certain protectionist-style laws and regulations designed to keep Canadian jobs in Canada, he hasn't exactly advocated for the sort of economic protectionist policies that were popular with left-wing Canadian politicians back in the 1970s and 80s, i.e., nationalizing industries, restricting foreign investment and opposing free trade with the U.S.

If anything, Singh seems to prefer focusing on cultural issues rather than economics.

Ironically, it's Erin O'Toole and the Conservatives who have moved ever so slightly in the direction of economic nationalism.

I say “ironically” because, since at least the 1980s, Canadian conservative parties—the Progressive Conservatives, the Canadian Alliance,

the Conservative Party—have been seen as pro-American, pro-business, pro-free trade—all stances which have created the perception that they're anti-nationalistic.

How many times have you heard Conservatives accused by their political opponents of “wanting to sell out Canada” to the Americans?

O'Toole wants to change this perception, which likely explains why he's blaming big corporations, Ottawa elites, bad trade deals and Chinese communists for Canada's economic woes.

So, the question is, if the economy goes into a tailspin, will Trudeau and Singh follow O'Toole's lead?

Interestingly, we're already seeing signs that Canadians might be ready for a nationalist message.

A recent Bloomberg poll, for example, indicates only 17 per cent of Canadians support the Liberal government's plan to bring 1.23 million immigrants into Canada by 2023, while 36 per cent believe Canada should lessen the number of immigrants.

This mindset, I'd argue, is brought on by fear that immigrants will “steal Canadian jobs.”

So, don't be surprised if in the not-so-distant future, the Liberals, Conservatives and New Democrats all come up with economic policies that essentially say: “Buy Canadian.”

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

Opinion

Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland's forthcoming fiscal report is an opportunity for the federal government to set out the overarching enabling framework for a successful reset. So far, the government's actions have been mixed, with both successes and failures, weakened by a lack of transparency behind its policies and a woeful absence of analytical support for its innovation, climate change, and other structural policies, writes David Crane. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Post-pandemic world will be different

In both the public and private spheres, including our universities, we are doing far too little to understand this new world, and to pro-actively prepare for it. The rest of the world may not care about Canada's future, but we must—and must do it now.



David Crane

Canada & the 21st Century

TORONTO—At a time when Canada faces such big and difficult challenges, you'd think MPs and commentators would have something better to do than spin out paranoid conspiracy fantasies from what should be seen by rational people as a couple of non-controversial sen-

tences by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

In a speech to the United Nations in September, Trudeau simply said, "this pandemic has provided an opportunity for a reset." And it has—the pandemic showed how vulnerable Canadians were and how much the workings of society depended on millions of low-paid front-line workers. It also exposed underlying weaknesses in the economy that existed even before the pandemic hit.

These breakdowns in our society had been largely unaddressed before the pandemic—growing inequality, increasing reliance on gig economy jobs, rising deaths from the drug of despair (opioids), rising household debt, housing prices escalating beyond the means of many families, a corporate community which was failing to invest in Canada's future, a growing threat of ecological disaster from climate change and a fracturing in the social contract as we shifted from community values to excessive individualism.

But they can be ignored no longer. Canada needs a reset that would create a fairer, greener, and more innovative future, based on a new social contract.

It is a stretch to see this as a radical socialist agenda, but for the paranoid conspiracy types, this was seen as the threat of a socialist global government controlled by elites that would subject everyone else to a life of servitude and lost freedom. It was even stated that these elites had created the pandemic to seize world power.

And so Trudeau's comments were quickly put onto social

media where they generated a global frenzy. In Canada, right-wing conservatives, including Maxine Bernier and Ezra Levant, joined by various columnists in the *National Post*, worked quickly to escalate the paranoia. Even the Conservative Party's finance critic, Pierre Poilievre joined in, posting on his MP's website a petition calling on Trudeau to "end plans to impose the 'Great Reset'." At the end of the day, though, it is Poilievre, not Trudeau, who looks foolish.

The Great Reset is really about a transition from shareholder capitalism, in which increasing shareholder value is the single-minded focus of the corporation, to stakeholder capitalism, where the interests of employees, communities, the environment, and society, more broadly, as well as shareholders, must influence corporate decision-making and actions. This shift is being driven both by investors and by a younger generation of workers who are bringing ethical, environmental, and social values to their jobs.

Under shareholder capitalism, corporations raised dividends for shareholders and boosted executive compensation while forcing employees to accept pay cuts and loss of benefits or see their jobs go to Mexico, and funded "think tanks" that discredited climate change science, or opposed social advances, such as an expanded Canada Pension Plan, higher minimum wage or better working conditions.

Stakeholder capitalism recognizes that businesses are social as well as economic creations that depend on the rule of law and a wide range of public goods—from education, public investment in research, infrastructure, and

broader rules of the game for their success—and have broader responsibilities since their actions impact the wider community.

One sign of this is the call by Canada's eight largest pension funds, which collectively manage \$1.6-trillion in assets, for broader corporate responsibility, for corporations to do a much better job of disclosing their environmental and social impact by adopting more transparent and standardized ways of reporting risks, commitments, and impacts.

Another is the growing concern among younger workers over the activities of their corporate employers. In Canada, the consultancy Deloitte this summer hosted a virtual symposium with students and young leaders from across Canada. In its report—*Catalyst: Canada at 2030*—it found that young Canadians looking to 2030 "see Canada as the world leader in clean energy and sustainable agriculture," with mandatory environmental audits of corporations, view innovation as "key to securing Canada's future" and look to "creative public-private partnerships" to make Canada "the most inclusive place in the world."

Defining how we would achieve a reset—since it's clear we won't return to the pre-pandemic economy—is really the key challenge.

Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland's forthcoming fiscal report is an opportunity for the federal government to set out the overarching enabling framework for a successful reset. So far, the government's actions have been mixed, with both successes and failures, weakened by a lack of transparency behind its policies

and a woeful absence of analytical support for its innovation, climate change, and other structural policies.

But business also has to do more and do it better. As the Deloitte report says, "business investment in Canada is nearing record lows not seen since the Great Recession" with businesses failing to replace capital stock and "continuing to fall behind globally." In 2019, business investment was 10.4 per cent of GDP, among the lowest in the developed world. The Deloitte report also pointed to weak investment by Canadian business in R&D and to a poor record of boosting innovation. Likewise, it said, "for at least the last decade, Canadian employers have spent less than their counterparts in the U.S. on training employees." All of this weakens Canada's future growth and job-creation prospects.

Unfortunately, we are not seeing leadership coming from the business community. The recent report from the Business Council of Canada, which represents Canada's largest corporations—*Powering a Strong Recovery*—was a mediocre effort lacking in substance or critical thinking and analysis. If that's the best the corporate world can do, we are in trouble.

The post-pandemic world will be different. In both the public and private spheres, including our universities, we are doing far too little to understand this new world, and to pro-actively prepare for it. The rest of the world may not care about Canada's future, but we must—and must do it now.

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

The Hill Times

The United States is in deep trouble, but democracy isn't

The United States is the oldest democracy, but it's a pretty primitive one. Consider the antique and ridiculous electoral college, or the rudimentary social welfare system, or the fact that it has the most gerrymandered electoral districts on the planet.



Gwynne Dyer

Global Affairs

LONDON, U.K.—There's no hurricane coming, but the windows of downtown Washington, D.C., are covered with plywood. They were initially boarded up due to fear of street violence during the election, but that fear lingers three weeks after the vote, because the restaurateurs and shop owners (whose premises remain open behind the plywood) think the violence could still happen.

They know their town; they may be right. It's clear that outgoing President Donald Trump's Infinitely Extendable Last Stand is making people nervous.

Even Judge Matthew Brann, a former Republican Party official, lost his cool. Rejecting Trump's plea for seven million Pennsylvania votes to be set aside last Sunday, he called the case a Frankenstein's monster "haphazardly stitched together," which presented only "strained legal arguments without merit and speculative accusations ... unsupported by evidence."

Some senior elected Republicans are also losing their patience. Former New Jersey governor Chris Christie called the president's legal team a "national embarrassment." They claim fraud outside the courtroom, he pointed out, "but when they go inside the courtroom they don't plead fraud and they don't argue fraud." That's because there weren't any.

The view from abroad is scathing, with an undertone of panic.



President Donald J. Trump, pictured Nov. 24, 2020, pardoning 'Corn' as the 2020 National Thanksgiving Turkey, during the annual pardoning of the National Thanksgiving Turkey in the Rose Garden of the White House. Polarization of the kind America is experiencing now is disruptive and tenacious, but it tends to be intergenerational (this episode certainly is), and generational turnover usually erases it in 10 or 20 years. The sixties passed, and, in all likelihood, so will this, writes Gwynne Dyer. *Official White House Photograph by Shealah Craighead*

Scathing, because in German or Japanese or even Russian eyes American democracy is simply falling apart. Panic-stricken underneath, because all of them (even the Russians) secretly see the United States as the flagship democracy. If that goes under, what hope is there for the rest of us?

The anxiety is all the greater because other populist snake-oil salesmen, mini-Trumpes, have been coming to power by electoral means in other countries recently: Bolsonaro in Brazil, Johnson in Britain, Orbán in Hungary, Duterte in the Philippines. You could even include Modi in India, except that he has much better manners. It's a political pandemic, and we're all doomed.

So I have been summoned, at considerable expense, to soothe the collective fevered brow. My message is simple, but strangely reassuring. The United States is in deep trouble, but democracy isn't.

The United States is the oldest democracy, but it's a pretty primitive one. Consider the antique and ridiculous electoral col-

lege, or the rudimentary social welfare system, or the fact that it has the most gerrymandered electoral districts on the planet, or that there is literally no limit on how much money American politicians can spend on getting elected or whom they can take it from.

But if somebody came running up and told you that Brazil, Hungary, and the Philippines had ultra-nationalist populists in power, would you panic? Thought not.

Adding India would furrow your brow a little, perhaps, but the Chinese regime is a shameless dictatorship, and we don't see that as putting democracy in danger.

Britain in the hands of reckless populists would be more worrisome if it were a precedent of some sort, but the UK hasn't been a serious country for quite a while now. Brexit, remember?

When we get right down to it, it's only the fate of democracy in the United States that worries you, isn't it? Well, stop worrying, because the U.S. is neither the

custodian nor the guarantor of democracy.

There was a time, when the world seemed at risk of being overrun by fascists or communists, that the military and industrial strength of the United States was very important, but the real issue in those Europe-centred confrontations was "balance of power," not political philosophy.

In Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America, the United States has been instrumental in crushing democracy just as often as it has saved it. The U.S. is not evil, but it's just another great power—and when it comes to safeguarding democracy, we're all on our own.

That's no cause for despondency, because democracy is not a fragile flower. It is the default political system of the modern world, spreading relentlessly since the first democratic revolutions more than two centuries ago.

It has swept all other political ideologies aside almost everywhere except in parts of East Asia and the Middle East. Even most

dictators feel obliged to hold fake elections every few years to show their "legitimacy." It has universal appeal because it best reconciles the core human values of freedom and equality. It will survive—and don't even write off American democracy yet.

Donald Trump has been defeated, although he continues to deny it. He has done much damage to the United States and he will probably yet do more, because the current charade is designed to set him up as the "king over the water," the legitimate monarch wrongly exiled (if only to Mar-a-Lago). But he is not immortal, and the country effectively is.

Polarization of the kind America is experiencing now is disruptive and tenacious, but it tends to be intergenerational (this episode certainly is), and generational turnover usually erases it in 10 or 20 years. The sixties passed, and, in all likelihood, so will this.

Gwynne Dyer's latest book is *The Future of Work (and Democracy)*.

The Hill Times



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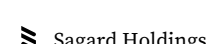
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AEROSPACE

P O L I C Y B R I E F I N G

Aerospace in Canada

Air transport system's road to recovery will be long and challenging. The International Air Transport Association estimates the aviation sector will require a cash infusion of up to \$200-billion. Government financial support programs will be needed for airlines, OEMs and their suppliers in the aircraft production ecosystem. And the future must be leaner and greener, by **Nadia Bhuiyan** p. 23

Aerospace industry looks to government for help as pandemic grounds a once high-flying sector,
by Aidan Chamandy
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Feds have failed to champion Canada's aerospace sector, and not just during COVID-19,
by Conservative MP Matt Jeneroux
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Canadian aerospace is at the crossroads,
by Kimberley Van Vliet
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Renewed hopes for humanity in space, by
Kuan-Wei Chen p. 20

Aerospace Policy Briefing

Federal government has failed to champion Canada's aerospace sector—and not just during COVID-19

A national aerospace strategy is needed to address the challenges faced by the Canadian aerospace sector before the pandemic struck, and the novel challenges that have arisen due to COVID-19, writes MP Matt Jeneroux.



Conservative MP Matt Jeneroux

Opinion

We have an industry that is punching above its weight—ranked fifth in the world as an aerospace nation—but too little has been done to champion this accomplishment. The government has also not responded to calls from the Aerospace Industries Association of Canada (AIAC) and the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAMAW) to implement a national aerospace strategy that focuses on space, aviation and defence, the three components of the industry.

In May 2018, I wrote to Navdeep Bains, then the minister of innovation, science and economic development, to request more information on the long-awaited Canadian space strategy. The government had first committed to producing a long-term space strategy in December 2016, promising to release details by June 2017. That deadline came and went. There was no funding in budget 2018 to address a space strategy. Eventually the government published its long-term space strategy in March 2019, almost two years after the promised date and almost a year after my letter was sent.

During that time, the Canadian aerospace and satellite sector shed talent; the government approved the sale of Ontario-based space firm COM DEV to the American company Honeywell in 2016. The following year, Honeywell announced it was laying off 35 per cent of COM DEV employees. Also in 2017, MacDonald, Dettwiler and Associates Ltd. (MDA) announced its intent to rebrand and incorporate as an American company called Maxar Technologies. MDA is famously known for creating the Canadarm and RADARSAT-2, two projects Canadians take great pride in and supported with their tax dollars. Finally, Canada was forced to pull out of the high-profile Wide Field Infrared Survey Telescope (WFIRST) project led by NASA, citing lack of funding. Our space sector took an economic hit as well as a reputational one on our ability to fulfill international commitments.

When finally revealed last year, the long-awaited plan pledged \$2-billion in new funding over 24 years, dedicated to building a next-generation artificial intelligence (AI) robotic system. The plan was criticized for the long gestation period, which would amount to just under \$80-million a year, not enough to be competitive.

Then COVID-19 hit. This virus has upended every facet of our lives, and Canada's aerospace sector is no exception. Canada's airline industry has most been in the news, first with the refusal to give refunds to customers who had travel cancelled due to the pandemic. Then, job losses began and airline routes were cancelled. The government acknowledged



Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains, pictured Nov. 17, 2020, on the Hill. Canada's aerospace industry is a huge economic driver—in 2018, the industry had \$31-billion in revenues and supported more than 200,000 jobs, writes Conservative MP Matt Jeneroux. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

almost nine months after the pandemic began that the airline sector couldn't respond to the year's challenges on its own.

In April, just about a month-and-a-half into the pandemic, the U.S. Treasury Department pledged \$25-billion in support to struggling American air companies. Why did it take so long for Canada to even enter discussions with our airlines? While the industry waited, airline revenues fell by \$14.6-billion when compared with 2019.

Canada's aerospace industry is a huge economic driver—in 2018, the industry had \$31-billion in revenues and supported more than 200,000 jobs. Negative economic impacts to this industry will be felt all over

Canada. As we work to get our economy back on track, we must prioritize Canada's aerospace sector. Other countries around the world have been monitoring this file and providing support from the very beginning of the pandemic. It's embarrassing that Canada took nine months to respond to the dire calls for help from the sector, but not surprising given how they failed to prioritize our country's aerospace sector when times were good.

Matt Jeneroux is the Conservative Member of Parliament for Edmonton Riverbend and a member of the parliamentary aerospace caucus.

The Hill Times

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Policy Briefing Aerospace

Aerospace sector looks to government for help as pandemic grounds once high-flying industry

The aerospace industry is a big contributor to Canadian GDP and employs hundreds of thousands of Canadians. Many of Canada's biggest competitors in the space, like France, have already doled out billions in sector specific relief. Some in the industry fear this is a make-or-break moment.

BY AIDAN CHAMANDY

The Canadian aerospace sector and parliamentarians are calling on the government to help the once-mighty industry ahead of the Nov. 30 fiscal update, as the pandemic has slashed revenues, jeopardized jobs, and has cast a dark shadow on the medium- and long-term prospects for a return to some kind of normalcy.

But even before the novel coronavirus spread around the world, the industry was warning of a decline caused largely by increased competition from other countries with a strong aerospace sector, and those governments willing to support their domestic producers above and beyond what the Canadian government offered.

"We felt like we were falling behind before COVID-19," said Jim Quick, president and CEO of the Aerospace Industries Association of Canada (AIAC), in an interview with *The Hill Times*.

"Now with COVID-19, I think we're really falling further behind. There needs to be some strategic investment by the government so that industries like ours ... can survive," he said.

"We're very hopeful that when the economic update comes out, there will be some signals from the government that they're willing to work with the aerospace industry in Canada to help with the economic recovery," Mr. Quick said. "We want to take a leadership role in that."

The AIAC, with the help of global consulting firm Roland Berger, recently drafted a report for the future aerospace industry in Canada. The AIAC has been using it in discussions with government, said Mr. Quick.

It sets out a three-pronged approach. First, it wants to launch a new set of funding partnerships focused on innovative technologies and new products to reduce

the industry's carbon footprint and bring some of the most cutting-edge manufacturing technologies to the Canadian industry.

"There are emerging technologies out there that we can be the best in the world at. With some strategic investment in green aviation and next generation technologies, that could be very helpful," Mr. Quick said.

Second, it wants to streamline the export permit process because 93 per cent of Canadian aerospace companies are exporters, which is 44 per cent higher than the manufacturing average, according to a 2019 joint report by the federal government and AIAC.

Third, it wants to create demand through measures like accelerating procurement in defence and space.

"I think there's a wonderful opportunity here for the federal government to use the defence procurement system to help kick off economic recovery," Mr. Quick said.

The Roland Berger report is the latest "ask" from the aerospace industry, which has been loudly calling for help since the pandemic began.

Earlier in the year, the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAMAW), a union that represents thousands of aerospace workers in Canada, worked alongside the AIAC to present a united front to the government. In June, the IAMAW and AIAC co-signed a letter to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) and Innovation and Industry Minister Navdeep Bains (Mississauga-Malton, Ont.) calling for a national sectoral strategy to "make aerospace a key part of our nation's economic recovery plans," the letter reads.

The letter asked the government to develop a plan that would allow for people to begin flying again, draft a job retention program, and introduce more liquidity measures, increase support for the decarbonizing of the industry, establish an investment bank to "support and foster essential manufacturing supply chains" ahead of likely continued disruptions in the market, and use procurement to stimulate the industry and the Canadian economy.

"It's a rare time in history when you have both unions and business on the same side agreeing on what their recommendations are," said Ivana Saula, research director of the IAMAW.

Since the pandemic started in March, Mr. Quick has lobbied ministers, other parliamentarians, and federal government officials 22 times, according to the federal Lobbyists Registry. He met with Transport Minister Marc Garneau (Notre-Dame-de-Grâce-Westmount, Que.) on April 24, Procurement Minister Anita Anand (Oakville, Ont.) on March 24, and Mr. Bains on April 9, and Sept. 13.

The AIAC held its annual lobby week over Zoom from Nov. 17-20, and featured appearances from a number of ministers and parliamentarians, including Mr. Garneau, Mr. Bains, Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan (Vancouver South, B.C.), NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh (Burnaby South, B.C.), Bloc Quebecois Leader Yves-François Blanchet (Beloeil-Chambly), and more.

NDP MP Brain Masse (Windsor West, Ont.), his party's industry critic, said he isn't confident that the government will be forthcoming with support. Conservative MP Matt Jeneroux (Edmonton Riverbend, Alta.), also a member of the Parliamentary Aerospace Caucus, said he too isn't holding out hope because the government hasn't heeded the industry's calls for help in the past.

Other countries with a strong aerospace sector competitive with Canada's industry have announced specific support measures.

The U.S., China, France, Germany, and the U.K. have implemented a mix of measures, including direct wage support, state loans packages, research and development funding, tax relief and more, according to the Roland Berger report and global media reports.

The French government launched a USD\$17-billion plan primarily aimed at greening the country's fleet in June.

The Canadian government hasn't done any specific aerospace sector support to date, with supports coming in the form of economy-wide measures like the Canada Emergency Wage Subsidy (CEWS).

Mr. Jeneroux said "if we're trying to compete with these other countries" that are "going way above and beyond" there has to be some kind of support, otherwise "a lot of these companies I'm sure are going to make choices and say, 'We could stay here in Quebec, Ontario, or Calgary, or we could move to France or the U.S. or the U.K. and feel like we're wanted and supported.'"

"It's really an industry that could be a real shining light for Canada," he said.

A once-mighty industry

In 2018, the aerospace sector directly contributed more than \$20-billion in GDP, invested \$1.4-billion in research and development, and employed more than 160,000 Canadians across the country, according to a 2019 joint report by the federal government and AIAC. When the report factored in indirect economic contributions, such as consumer spending by associated employees, the industry was responsible for over \$25-billion in GDP and around 213,000 jobs.

The report splits the industry into manufacturing and maintenance, repair, and overhaul (MRO).

The bulk of the manufacturing is concentrated in Quebec and Ontario, where 51 and 30 per cent of the manufacturing jobs are located, respectively, according to the 2019 report. Western Canada is responsible for 14 per cent of aerospace manufacturing jobs, while Atlantic Canada is responsible for five per cent. The report says manufacturing is directly indirectly responsible for over \$16-billion in GDP, and over 131,000 jobs.

Aerospace MRO jobs are more spread out. Western Canada leads with 41 per cent of MRO jobs, with Ontario coming in second at 25 per cent, Quebec with 23 per cent, and Atlantic Canada with 11 per cent. MRO is directly and indirectly responsible for over \$9-billion in GDP, and nearly 82,000 jobs.

Ms. Saula said she fears the downstream effects of a sustained downturn in the industry, particularly what it could do to towns like Arnprior, Ont., where Arnprior Aerospace is located, that rely heavily on aerospace jobs.

"It's not just the loss of jobs to members. In towns that heavily depend on aerospace for employment, and good employment with benefits, this is going to impact the community as well," she said.

Troubling signs prior to pandemic

Before the pandemic struck, both the IAMAW and AIAC were warning that trouble was on the horizon and asked the government to step in and help.

On the industry side, their concerns primarily revolved around increased competition from pre-existing aerospace giants like France and emerging markets like India that were investing more in their domestic sectors than the Canadian government. Since 2012, employment in Canadian aerospace manufacturing dropped by five per cent, and aerospace's contributions to Canadian GDP dropped by four per cent, according to a 2019 AIAC report by Jean Charest titled Vision 2025.

"Canada's aerospace industry is not an island unto itself. It is part of a deeply integrated global supply chain of manufactured goods, expertise and software. Within that supply chain, competition occurs between countries, between firms, and even between the different parts of individual companies that operate in multiple jurisdictions. The most successful aerospace sectors exist where industry, workers, academia and governments work hand-in-hand to achieve a common goal," reads Vision 2025, which argued for a more cohesive and collaborative approach to the sector.

The 2019 report made many of the same recommendations as

the more recent Roland Berger report, including beefing up support for green technologies and using procurement to stimulate the industry. It also called for more support for skills training in an aging workforce.

The average age of the Canadian aerospace worker is 54, according to AIAC statistics, and the IAMAW estimates in a 2019 report titled Grounded Potential that one-third of the workforce will retire in five years. The IAMAW report says it takes anywhere from two to four years to train an aerospace worker, and without a comprehensive skills training program "the industry will simply not be able to exist."

Ms. Saula said she fears that if support isn't forthcoming and certain companies have to close up shop, the industry will never be able to recover.

"Once these places shut down, all of that skill and knowledge base is lost," she said. "Then when everything ramps up again, we will need a skilled workforce. If we continue on this path, I don't think we're going to be ready for that when the time comes."

Parliamentary study planned

The House Industry Committee, meanwhile, agreed to study the impact the pandemic has had on the aerospace sector, but Mr. Masse and Conservative industry critic and vice-chair of the committee James Cumming (Edmonton Centre, Alta.) told *The Hill Times* it is unlikely the study will get underway before the Christmas recess and will likely have to wait until the new year.

Liberal MP Sherry Romanado (Longueuil-Charles-LeMoyne, Que.), chair of the House Industry Committee, told *The Hill Times* that the current study on accessibility and affordability of telecommunications services will likely take all the remaining time in the calendar and that it's up to committee members to decide what to study next.

Mr. Masse said he thinks the aerospace study is important and that he "wouldn't be surprised to get that wrapped up early in the new year."

Ms. Romanado said the committee wants to hear how COVID-19 has impacted the industry and what government can do to help.

"We know that they're hurting. Like so many industries, they've been impacted greatly," she said. Ms. Romanado stressed the importance of putting forward solutions as opposed to just hearing about problems.

"What are some potential solutions? It's not just a question of explaining the situational analysis, we're really looking forward to hearing possible solutions," she said.

achamandy@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

The Science of Climate Change

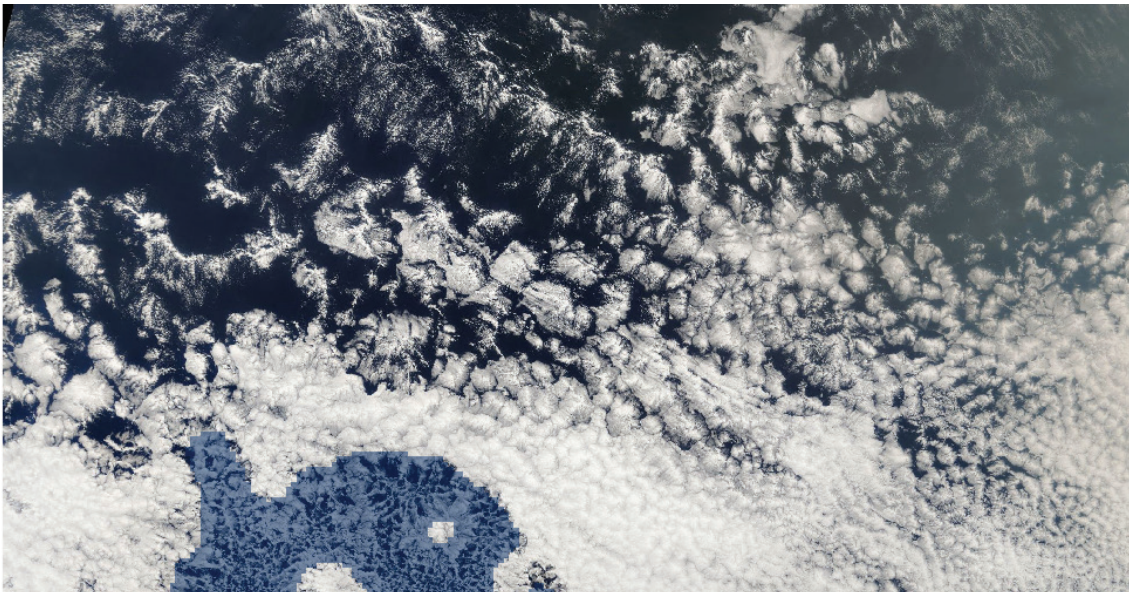
By Dr. Werner Vogels, CTO of Amazon

As the COVID pandemic continues to sequester many of us to our homes, our everyday behaviours have come mostly to a collective halt. The immediate effects are obvious, as cities, roads, and public spaces have emptied. Reports of nature intermingling with spaces once claimed by humans have amazed audiences worldwide. Coyotes casually strolling by the Golden Gate Bridge and through the streets of San Francisco, the canals of Venice running clear and teeming with fish, and the Himalayas visible from India for the first time in three decades are just a few of the examples made famous by popular culture.

At the same time, with tragic wildfires ravaging the Pacific Coast and a record-setting 2020 Atlantic hurricane season, many are feeling a pull towards action for the environment. The topic of climate change is constant, though action isn't as swift. As scientists try to understand and untangle the complicated web of cause and effect unfolding across the planet, technology can help.

Historically, the classical approaches to studying climate change required a lot of tedious manual labour. These methods typically involved differential equations, calculus, chaos theory, and butterfly effect, all of which have been used to try and understand the changes in our environment and possible causes or contributing factors to those effects.

With all these methods, and especially when used within the context of climate science, they require a massive amount of data. Gathering this information from myriad sources, and labeling a high-quality dataset, was elusive in some cases or overwhelming in others. In some instances this data was relatively static, such as ocean



D Watson-Parris and NASA Worldview

surface temperatures, whereas others are more dynamic, like ocean current changes, adding even more interesting and possibly valuable insights to the study. However, storing this massive amount of data was prohibitively expensive for all but the most well-funded organizations and institutions, and that's just the beginning of the process. Building from this foundation of high quality data, taking the next step in climate science is incredibly computationally intensive.

Solving large scientific and engineering problems, like predicting the weather or modeling ocean currents, requires researchers to harness massive computing power. Such huge quantities of compute is unattainably expensive for most organizations, and even for those with the means to afford it, running High Performance Computing (HPC) clusters on-premises required considerable upfront capital expenditure, lengthy procurement cycles, and regular hardware refreshes to avoid obsolescence. Today, the cloud is making HPC more accessible and affordable.

For example, Maxar Technologies—a space technology company specializing in manufacturing communication, Earth observation, and on-orbit servicing

satellites, satellite products, and related services—uses AWS to deliver weather forecasts 58 per cent faster than NOAA's supercomputer. While weather prediction models traditionally run on large, on-premises, high performance computers, Maxar developed a suite of architectures that resides in the AWS Cloud and allows scientists to run weather forecasting models in a much more nimble, scalable manner.

Maxar runs a numerical weather prediction (NWP) application on AWS cloud computing resources. The success of the program relies on Maxar being able to run its NWP application faster than NOAA does on its supercomputer because that is what will allow Maxar to deliver the weather forecast generated by the NWP application to clients with greater lead times, guiding more informed and timely decisions.. This program contributes to how Maxar monitors climate change, joining efforts such as measuring air pollution, understanding the destruction of hurricanes, assisting wildfire response efforts, and more.

AWS provides the most elastic and scalable cloud infrastructure to run HPC applications. With virtually unlimited capacity, engineers and researchers can innovate beyond the limitations of on-premises HPC infrastructure.

Paired with HPC, machine learning (ML) enables scientists to look at climate data flexibly, adapting analysis of data based on past events to more accurately model the future. This approach can help researchers grapple with the tremendous complexity of climate systems, and help them better understand the connections between the many subtle interactions that influence weather. ML models can also be helpful to fill in some of the noisy spots or holes in the data—called multiple imputation—to create similar data or synthetic data and accelerate climate science even further when some pieces of information are either too difficult or impossible to retrieve. In short, ML can make predictions about things that are unknown, accelerating our understanding of climate science and producing more accurate models.

The burgeoning marriage of ML and climate science is evident in the research efforts of those at University of Oxford, including Philip Stier, a professor of atmospheric physics, and Duncan Watson-Parris, a post-doctoral researcher. Stier and Watson-Parris are focused on understanding how aerosols affect clouds—what kind of clouds they affect, which regions these changes occur (and, just as importantly, which regions they don't), and how prevalent they are.

One way they are quantifying this is through ship tracks—cloud brightening due to the aerosols emitted by a ship while passing underneath a cloud deck. While there is normally a lot of variability in the affect of aerosols, ship tracks form due to a well-defined pollution source in a space where there is little other pollution, allowing them to better isolate how a certain amount of pollution causes certain cloud changes to develop and evolve over time.

Using satellite imagery, and thousands of hand-logged instances of ship tracks, they are training ML models to find ship tracks in other satellite imagery, and, down the line, will use this well-defined scenario to

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create a global mean effect and scale up beyond ship tracks. Stier and Watson-Parris are also using machine learning techniques to detect and understand the effects of pockets of open cellular structure in clouds.

Climate change is one of the most difficult issues of our time, and if we don't find meaningful solutions, the consequences can have repercussions for our and our children's future. Delivering change in this arena will require a collective effort across academia, government, industry, nonprofits, and society. It will require ingenuity, innovation, and scale. High power computing and machine learning on the cloud will be the key to unlocking scientific insights into understanding and combating climate change.

At Amazon, we stand ready to support customers like Oxford and others to tackle this evolving challenge. And we are committed to addressing climate change through renewable energy such as the AWS

Region in Montreal that is almost entirely powered by hydropower, and continue to invest in energy projects around the world, including solar farms and wind farms. These projects will help supply clean energy to our data centres, which power Amazon and millions of AWS customers globally.



Dr. Werner Vogels is Vice President & Chief Technology Officer at Amazon where he is responsible for driving the company's technology vision, which is to continuously enhance the innovation on behalf of Amazon's customers at a global scale.

Prior to joining Amazon, he worked as a researcher at Cornell University where he was a principal investigator in several research projects that target the scalability and robustness of mission-critical enterprise computing systems. He has held positions of Research Engineer, VP of Technology and CTO in companies that handled the transition of academic technology into industry.

Vogels holds a Ph.D. from the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam and has authored many articles for journals and conferences, most of them on distributed systems technologies for enterprise computing.

You can catch Werner's keynote on December 15th at the AWS re:Invent Virtual Conference (reinvent.awsevents.com)

Aerospace Policy Briefing



Finally, after 50 years of relying on broad, Cold War-era rules, Canada and other nations are taking serious steps to establish a modern framework to govern activities in space. Earlier this year, NASA announced the development of the 'Artemis Accords,' a set of operational principles to guide the American-led initiative to return humanity to the Moon, seeking input and involvement from other countries. *Image courtesy of Pixabay*

Canada and Artemis Accords drive Soviet-era space rules into the 21st century

Canada has a role to play in bringing like-minded nations into the Artemis Accords, the new framework established to govern activities in outer space.



Andrej Litvinjenko

Opinion

Finally, after 50 years of relying on broad, Cold War-era rules, Canada and other nations are taking serious steps to establish a modern framework to govern activities in space. Earlier this

year, NASA announced the development of the "Artemis Accords," a set of operational principles to guide the American-led initiative to return humanity to the Moon, seeking input and involvement from other countries.

The multilateral effort is far from achieving international consensus with Russia expressing American-centric concerns and China preferring a UN brokered approach. Ill-founded criticisms have also re-emerged alleging that the U.S. is acting contrary to the 1979 Moon Treaty—a defunct agreement of no force except on the few countries who have signed it (which does not include any major space-faring nation),

and that the Artemis Accords are a subversive American attempt to facilitate annexation of territory in space.

These concerns are unwarranted. Our southern cousins are not trying to pull off a "land grab." The simple fact is that space-faring nations have outgrown the international rules set out in the 1967 Outer Space Treaty (OST). Created at the height of the Cold War, these rules were more focused on preventing nuclear proliferation in outer space than facilitating civil and commercial exploration and development. The OST's high-level and broadly worded rules worked well when space was the exclusive domain of major national space

agencies and their allies. The landscape has shifted dramatically: from 15 in 1990, there are now well over 60 space-faring nations. Unsurprisingly, the space sector's annual growth has, even by conservative estimates of six per cent, doubled the global average and, per Morgan Stanley's assessment, is on track to nearly triple from US\$350-billion currently to \$1-trillion by 2040.

Yet, despite these successes, the world remains held back by outdated rules that leave private investors uneasy and render it difficult to hold states accountable for polluting (e.g., satellite and rocket debris). The lack of clarity around what exactly constitutes "national appropriation" of territory, which the OST prohibits, also creates discomfort every time a major power like the U.S., Russia, or China announce plans to

establish a lunar base. The silver lining to states trying their best to coordinate and keep transparent all this new activity is that their experiences and lessons learned have been consolidating into clear, tangible areas where practice can be translated into new norms and voluntary frameworks. The Artemis Accords are the resulting proactive effort to begin formalizing these practices and create momentum towards a modernized international understanding.

NASA unveiled the accords on Oct. 13, with Canada, Australia, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, and the United Arab Emirates as initial signatories. Ukraine joined earlier this month and NASA has noted ongoing discussions with additional nations that may join. Notable absences so far include France, Germany, and New Zealand. Russia's skepticism is more rooted in saving face than substantive opposition to the accords' principles and China's ever tactful refusal is a trap for Western space powers.

The accords feature 10 non-legally binding principles that are expressly stated to be implemented in compliance with the OST. They are intended to be "guidelines, and best practices to enhance the governance of the civil exploration and use of outer space with the intention of advancing the Artemis Program."

1. Peaceful exploration
2. Transparency
3. Interoperability
4. Emergency assistance
5. Registration of space objects
6. Release of scientific data
7. Preserving heritage
8. Space resources
9. Deconfliction of activities
10. Orbital debris

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Not only has Russia not meaningfully contested any of these principles, it has openly affirmed the importance of interoperability and clearly left the door open to joining the accords by signalling its price of participation as collective decision-making, akin to the International Space Station (ISS) model. Outer space has again become a platform for superpower posturing and prestige. The ISS is a genuinely collaborative effort between the U.S., Russia, and the Europeans.

The Artemis program, by contrast, is an unequivocally American venture, and the accords are technically executed through bilateral agreements with the U.S. We can expect Russia to remain on the periphery to safeguard its international standing, at least until its own lunar ambitions mature and there is an opening to formally consolidate norms into a larger multilateral framework.

China's opposition was predictable as, due to its continued disregard for intellectual property rights, it remains prohibited from scientific collaboration with the U.S., a prohibition that also extends against collaborating with other nations, if those nations wish to continue partnering with the U.S. Accordingly, China remains banned from the ISS for good reason.

The Middle Kingdom's gesture towards multilateralism through the UN is an attempt to trap the U.S. and its allies in an increasingly contested forum. The trillions invested through China's Silk Road Initiative and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank are not only securing critical trade junctures and assets across Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America, but are also exerting indirect pressure within the UN General Assembly.

The accords do not expand the scope of the OST, but rather provide more technical guidelines to its existing parameters. With the utmost respect, negotiating technical guidelines, rooted in first-hand experience, with non-space faring nations may not be an appropriate or practical endeavour—especially with China in the wings.

The accords' bottom-up approach toward modernizing the international framework is not new. The U.S. and United Kingdom employed the same strategy to first bilaterally establish civil aviation standards and rules between themselves before other nations joined as they too developed aviation capacity. As I previously proposed in Princeton's International Relations and Affairs Review, a limited multilateral approach like the Artemis Accords that initially consists of like-minded partners can meaningfully consolidate best practices to-date. Just as importantly, it can orient subsequent negotiations away from unproductive concerns such as those based in the 1979 Moon Treaty.

Much of the accords are uncontroversial and welcome. Developing technical standards, particularly concerning fuel, docking, communications and life support will better ensure continued momentum and collaboration. Commitments to implement orbital debris mitigation efforts and clearer rules assigning liability will further contribute to ef-

forts to reduce the build-up of space junk that is endangering all nations' access to space as well as the critical Sat-Com infrastructure we all rely upon. Transparency and information-sharing commitments will help preserve space as a primarily peaceful, scientific, and commercial domain. These commitments will all further serve to proliferate successful technologies and reduce the entry costs to other nations with space ambitions of their own.

Two of the accords' principles have created controversy. However, much of this consternation is dispelled by a better understanding of international space law, and international law, in general. These are the principles concerning "deconfliction of space activities" and "space resources."



The world remains held back by outdated rules that leave private investors uneasy and render it difficult to hold states accountable for polluting (e.g., satellite and rocket debris). Image courtesy of Needpix.com

The deconfliction principle sets guidelines for states to temporarily declare and regulate reasonable "safety zones" around their space operations that other signatories will respect so as to prevent "harmful interference." Critics are concerned that this amounts to appropriation of territory in space and point to the OST's prohibition. Whether safety zones constitute appropriation requires a contextual analysis. Under the OST, states can neither directly or indirectly (e.g., through private companies) appropriate territory anywhere in outer space—whether a particular satellite orbit or area on a planet, moon, or asteroid. This is further reinforced by the binding principles of international law that require states to fulfill their obligations in good faith.

For example, suppose country A claims

a large safety zone on the Moon and begins ice extraction in earnest (ice can provide vital hydrogen for fuel as well as water and/or oxygen for life support). Country B claims a cluster of safety zones and sets up similar mining operations but only runs them at half capacity. Country C claims a large safety zone for research but its experiments actually only need a fraction of the area claimed for safety purposes. The activities of both countries B and C would amount to de facto appropriation of territory and be inconsistent with good faith adherence to their international obligations. These countries would need to cease their activities or face international censure, legal or otherwise.

country would take this as Canada staking a claim in the column of water or seabed from where these resources derived.

In stark contrast is the framework, contemplated by the Moon Treaty, which designates all of outer space, including resources, as the "common heritage of [hu] mankind" and requires the establishment of some kind of international authority to distribute the profits resulting from these resources. Only a handful of states are party to this agreement, none of which are major space-faring nations. Put another way, introduced by the UN in 1979, it was too socialist for even the Soviet Union to support. The UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) has yet to declare support for these controversial aspects and the U.S. remains a persistent and vocal objector.

Australia's participation is curious as it has ratified the Moon Treaty. However, it seems to be qualifying its support holding that it does not believe it prohibits appropriation of resources so much as it concerns a different management regime. The U.S., as well as Luxembourg, have openly recognized private property rights in space resources and have taken steps to establish regulatory frameworks to give the private sector confidence.

As more space-faring nations join the accords, admittedly in large part to secure lucrative partnerships with the Lunar Gateway and other Artemis projects, we can expect these principles to further coalesce into clearer guidelines and frameworks that will eventually be brought to COPUOS to proliferate internationally.

Last year, I proposed that the immediate need for modernizing international space rules was a significant and timely opportunity for the federal government to act upon its "Canada is Back" rhetoric and facilitate rapprochement between the U.S., Russia, Europe, and China, while also bringing many other actors to the table. Russia, China, and other nations desire clearer rules, but are ever wary of American strong-arming, perceived or otherwise. Canada, on this and many other issues, remains uniquely positioned to diffuse what may seem like American unilateralism.

Although the U.S. has seized the initiative and put its cards on the table, Canada may still play an important role in bringing more like-minded nations into the Artemis Accords and working behind the scenes to streamline the path for their international proliferation. Facilitating such a feat would not only garner respect from allies and rivals alike, but also earn well needed leverage with the U.S., who, since the 2007 recession, has been increasingly taking positions against Canada's energy, environmental, trade, and Arctic interests.

Andrej Litvinenko is the former vice-president of policy for the Canadian Space Commerce Association and adviser to the former chair of the Parliamentary Aerospace and Space Caucuses. He is a lawyer with Litvinenko Law, a senior adviser to the Canada Infrastructure Bank, and a member of the board of governors at the University of Ottawa.

The Hill Times



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Aerospace Policy Briefing

Renewed hopes for humanity in space



NASA astronauts Shannon Walker, Victor Glover, and Mike Hopkins, and astronaut Soichi Noguchi of the Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency—who constitute the crew of NASA's Crew-1 mission—inside SpaceX's Crew Dragon spacecraft. Photograph courtesy of NASA & SpaceX

Enlightened leadership, guided by commonly agreed laws and practices that have served states and peoples for decades, and a recognition that we share a fragile global commons like outer space as custodians, not just for ourselves but for future generations, is, frankly, the only realistic way forward for the sake of humanity.

BY KUAN-WEI CHEN, STEVEN FREELAND, & RAM JAKHU

The successful launch of NASA's SpaceX Crew-1 mission to the International Space Station on Nov. 15 is a symbolic milestone that should be celebrated. Onboard the commercial launch vehicle were American and Japanese astronauts, who joined the other Russian and American crew already residing in the International Space Station, itself a remarkable example of the power of cooperation in space among many countries around the world. As the Falcon 9 soared into space, the collaborative, cooperative and commercial nature of space was once again clear for all to see.

However, behind these positive examples of how we interact with space lie some underlying tensions and worrying developments. In 2018, the United States committed to 'American dominance' in space. Upon the establishment of the much-touted U.S. Space Force, it was asserted 'space is the world's new war-fighting domain,' much to the worry of other space-

faring nations and those who fear the acceleration of an arms race in outer space. NATO's 2019 Space Policy explicitly recognized space as a 'new operational domain,' while earlier this year, Japan underlined the necessity to defend itself against threats in cyberspace, electromagnetic interference and to "secure superiority" in outer space. Not surprisingly, at the latest meeting of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (UNCOPUOS), states noted with alarm that 'preventing conflicts in outer space and preserving outer space for peaceful purposes' is more imperative than ever before. Threats to space assets, real or perceived, should be identified and eliminated through diplomatic negotiations and the adoption of international agreements, and space activities must be conducted in accordance with the international rules-based global order.

For these reasons, the words and actions of U.S. president-elect Joe Biden and vice-president-elect Kamala Harris hint at a positive change in approach. A

recommitment to multilateralism, and an expressed willingness to more openly work with international partners present opportunities for important leadership when it comes to U.S. policy and presence in outer space. Indeed, the incoming administration appears much more cognizant of the challenges of climate change, pandemics and other pressing issues that affect all of humanity. Such concerns and issues exist on Earth, as well as in space, and a carefully calibrated space policy can do much to address these 'terrestrial' concerns and challenges, while still allowing for many positive space activities.

Internationally, after what many have considered as a trend towards unilateralism, increasingly shared concerns about the fragile state of space security and the sustainability of future space activities may encourage all countries to further realign with the interests of the global community. Embedded in the Outer Space Treaty, to which virtually all of the space-faring nations are party, are universally accepted and fundamental principles that, for over half a century, have both ensured that we have not had a military conflict in space and required that the exploration and use of space is to be undertaken "for the benefit and in the interests of all countries."

Any other alternative vision of the future is dreadful to even ponder. If anything, the dangerous self-perpetuating rhetoric surrounding the inevitability of "war in space" only serves to heighten the dangers of an unsustainable future and a situation akin

to a "tragedy of the commons" in space, by evincing similar responses and alarming demonstrations of counter-space capabilities. There will be no clear winner in any 'space war'. Instead, cool heads must prevail and recognize those commonly agreed rules that have been relevant to this day will remain even more so into the future.

In the complex space domain, a global commons where the activities of one state potentially have an adverse impact on the interests and activities of other states, it is important that states continually abide by accepted rules of the road and established practices. For the long-term sustainability of commercial, scientific and cooperative ventures in outer space, it is vital that all space actors remain open to dialogue and are transparent about their objectives and intentions. Rather than asserting the goal of space dominance, with its scientific and technological advantage, as well as the support of its robust and competitive commercial space sector, the U.S. can instead demonstrate real space leadership and serve the world (and itself) by harnessing space for the benefit of all humankind. Indeed, in light of the outbreak of the novel coronavirus, the contributions that space has provided in response to global health crises and emergencies have been well demonstrated.

At the national level, it is promising to see that, besides ensuring gender equity, the NASA review team of the incoming administration is composed of an outstanding group of space scien-

tists, an academic in astrophysics, and a former astronaut. The re-establishment of the National Space Council, which is chaired by the U.S. vice-president, has reinvigorated American investment and leadership in space exploration, made headways in streamlining commercial space regulation, and propelled ambitious plans to return to the moon through the Artemis Accords. These feats are impressive and will encourage and inform important multilateral discussions on the way forward. Given that the vice-president-elect hails from California, where many commercial aerospace ventures and several NASA research facilities are based, it is hopeful that space exploration, and the development of space technology intended to open up further possibilities, will continue to be priorities for the new administration.

As this year's great COVID-induced humanitarian crisis has shown, we all feel the devastating impact of the tremendous loss of life, and near-complete shutdown of our fragile economies and communities. Imagine if, through irresponsible behaviour, misunderstanding and miscalculation, the equally fragile and shared domain of outer space were to become an arena for conflict. The rules that apply to any military uses of space need to be understood, respected and further complemented. The potential devastation, and ensuing disruption and impact on civilian lives that would flow from our failure to do so—particularly for those states whose economies and societies are heavily dependent on space infrastructure—would be unimaginable.

No doubt, space is a "congested, contested and competitive" area where scientific, commercial, economic, and geopolitical, as well as military and national security interests converge. In this sense, space is not different from the radio frequency spectrum, which has over decades been successfully regulated and managed under international rules adopted through the International Telecommunication Union, with its 193 member states.

But space is also so much more—it is the most multi-faceted domain that we know of. As the recent SpaceX Crew-1 mission has demonstrated, it is where there are significant tangible and potential benefits when nations come together and cooperate with one another. Enlightened leadership, guided by commonly agreed laws and practices that have served states and peoples for decades, and a recognition that we share a fragile global commons like outer space as custodians, not just for ourselves but for future generations, is, frankly, the only realistic way forward for the sake of humanity.

Kuan-Wei Chen is executive director of the Centre for Research in Air and Space Law at McGill University. Steven Freeland is professor of international law at Western Sydney University and a director of the International Institute of Space Law. Ram Jakhu is acting director of the Institute of Air and Space Law at McGill University.

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Aerospace Policy Briefing



What would help accelerate growth in both the aerospace and space sectors is a national strategy. We need to come together to implement the necessary programs and policies, and this will include putting aside regional, sectarian self-interests and continue the strong levels of collaboration and cooperation, not only across the country, but also across industries. All sectors have technologies that can help the aerospace industry implement a strong COVID-19 recovery plan. Photograph courtesy of Pixabay

Canadian aerospace at the crossroads

The road to post-COVID-19 recovery.



Name Lastname

Opinion

Canada's space and aerospace industries will need special attention in a post-COVID world as they do their part to help jumpstart the Canadian economy. The benefit is that by doing so, Canada can also accelerate its green energy agenda.

COVID-19 has hit the aerospace industry especially hard.

The airline sector has lost about 85 to 90 per cent of its revenue due to the pandemic with so few passengers flying. As it stands right now, there is no expectation that the number

of kilometers travelled by paying passengers (RPK—Revenue Passenger Kilometers) will recover before 2025. This has ripple effects in revenue for airports and even NAV CANADA, Canada's national air traffic controller.

There has never been such a long period of negative growth.

According to the federal government's 2019 State of the Canadian Aerospace Industry, the Canadian aerospace industry contributed over \$25-billion in GDP and invested \$1.4-billion in research and development into the Canadian economy. This is second only to the energy sector at \$219-billion in GDP and \$1.5-billion in research and development.

Aerospace is also a sector that employs a large number of very skilled people, making it critically important for the future of our country.

The sector also has a pan-Canadian presence. While most aerospace manufacturing takes place in central Canada, the Western and Atlantic regions have captured over 50 per cent of maintenance repair and overhaul activities.

What then can be done to save Canada's aerospace industry from this historic free-fall?

A recent report on the aerospace industry by international management consultants Roland Berger looked at the impact of COVID-19 on the aerospace sector and possible ways forward. They recommend three areas which could help improve the sector post-COVID.

The first is to streamline and advance the processing of export permits, helping to solve the problem of a lack of transparency and long backlogs. The second recommendation is to increase spending in defence, which Canada is already working on, such as the Canadian Surface Combatant and the Arctic Offshore Patrol Vessels. Finally, they recommended the adoption of carbon neutral planes, such as green turboprops, to help consolidate supply chains.

Green and clean-tech is a key area for future growth in the aerospace sector. While many countries are now focused on greener technologies with respect to air transportation, this demand will only continue to grow.

Even before the pandemic hit, the aerospace sector was working to decrease greenhouse gas emissions. There is increasing pressure to make real progress on climate change, focusing not only on traditional transport sector areas (cars, trucks, ships, rail) but also on the aviation sector.

Canada can take advantage of this generational opportunity to bolster its climate change efforts and position itself as an international leader.

What of Canada's space sector?

There is good news here, as it will continue to build on the successes of the past 20 years. This sector is well-placed for growth, especially with Canada's involvement with projects like the Lunar Gateway that continue to highlight Canada's expertise in robotics and other related areas.

Space is also an excellent venue for research and development that can have real-world impacts back on Earth. The space industry helps develop GPS, GIS, weather satellites, communication satellites, and Earth observation satellites; infrastructure that can serve alternate purposes on

Earth. Canada's future economy depends on a strong space industry.

What would help accelerate growth in both the aerospace and space sectors is a national strategy.

We need to come together to implement the necessary programs and policies, and this will include putting aside regional, sectarian self-interests and continue the strong levels of collaboration and cooperation, not only across the country, but also across industries. All sectors have technologies that can help the aerospace industry implement a strong COVID-19 recovery plan.

By doing so, not only can we support all regions in Canada, but also protect our supply chain and businesses, be they small, medium or large.

Kimberley Van Vliet is the founder and president of WaVv Inc. and was named one of the Top 20 Women in Defence by *Esprit de Corps* magazine. She is a member of the NATO Industrial Advisory Group and the founder of ConvergeX®, an annual cross-sector business congress.

The Hill Times

Air transport system's road to recovery will be long and challenging

A holistic approach is needed for a long-term aerospace recovery plan, and should include the three pillars of sustainability: economic, social and environmental dimensions, writes Prof. Nadia Bhuiyan.



Nadia Bhuiyan

Opinion

The air transport system was severely hit by the global pandemic due to restrictions on air travel—locally nationally, and globally. While the path to recovery will require diverse measures to safeguard players in the system, sustainability must be top of mind in the process.

The air transport system consists of a number of key players, including original equipment manufacturers (OEM), suppliers, manufacturers, repair and overhaul (MRO) businesses, airline companies, airports, and air traffic managers, while other stakeholders include regulators and passengers. With so many players in this system, the impact of the pandemic is clearly immense.

Prior to the pandemic, the aviation outlook forecasted increased demand and rapid growth for air travel. Estimates suggested that demand for air transport would increase by an average of 4.3 per cent per annum over the next 20 years. In order to comply with global climate policy and accommodate passenger growth forecasts, the industry agreed to significantly reduce emissions, and this was supported with clear goals: by 2050, the industry had set itself the goal of halving carbon dioxide emissions as measured in 2005.

The outlook for the aerospace sector prior to the pandemic was also positive. Industry consensus of global aircraft demand for 2020-2030 was that the market needed around 21,760 new aircraft. This was also supported with clear goals for sustainability, and the sector was working towards a number of objectives: cleaner technologies, lighter



Fighting climate change will remain a high priority for governments around the world. Post-crisis, the industry must recover with a low-carbon future in mind. There is a clear opportunity to rethink its operating model and make sure it is investing in ways that will enable its long-term survival, and this depends heavily on a fully sustainable recovery. *Image courtesy of Pixabay*

aircraft; leaner product design and development; more effective lifecycle thinking approaches, to name a few.

But whether people travel or not is what drives the air transport system. The plunge in global passenger traffic deeply impacted the demand for new aircraft, triggering a reduction in demand, supply interruptions, financial pressure and workforce reduction, resulting in one of the largest global shocks in the industry's history.

The future must be leaner and greener

Fighting climate change will remain a high priority for governments around the world. Post-crisis, the industry must recover with a low-carbon future in mind. There is a clear opportunity to rethink its operating model and make sure it is investing in ways that will enable its long-term survival, and this depends heavily on a fully sustainable recovery. A holistic approach is needed, and should include the three pillars of sustainability: economic, social and environmental dimensions. Undoubtedly, the

social and environmental dimensions will highly depend on the economic ability to implement them, yet the other way around is also true, since the resilience of the industry depends on prioritizing the environmental and social challenges it faces. Reducing costs will be the key to economic recovery, but stakeholders must honour their commitments on climate change.

Certainly there is a lot to do for the economic recovery of the industry, but two approaches seem to be imperative as related to sustainability: financial stimuli and design innovation.

The International Air Transport Association (IATA) estimates the aviation sector will require a cash infusion of up to \$200-billion. Government financial support programs will be needed for airlines and OEMs and their suppliers in the aircraft production ecosystem. While known measures will be taken to prompt economic recovery, some of these must be linked to sustainability, and should come with conditions attached to serve both public and the interests of the planet over the longer term, encouraging the reduction of carbon footprints.

The aerospace sector must also design innovative new systems, processes, tools, and technologies to be inherently better than before, and work towards a sustainability model that meets the demands of the climate challenge. Design innovation investments should take place in several areas. First, major investments should be made in innovative, cutting-edge technologies such as ultra-light and high-performance materials, hybrid and electric aircraft, autonomous vehicles, artificial intelligence and big data. These technologies can help increase safety, efficiency, and sustainability and also improve aviation infrastructure and airspace utilization. Another area of investment is in alternative fuels that have the potential to cut any greenhouse gas emissions to zero. Hydrogen and ammonia appear to be very promising electrofuels to fully cut carbon emissions. And finally, operational advances must be considered: the sector should capitalize on this period to improve operations by deploying digital capabilities and new ways of working to better prepare for the business recovery

in manufacturing, supply chain and MRO.

With the significant impact on all stakeholders in the air transport system, the road to recovery will be long and challenging. It will be of paramount importance to consider environmental impact goals in the economic recovery and in the design of new technology, use of alternative fuels, and operational advances. The current crisis presents the entire industry with an opportunity to rethink its operating model and to ensure that investments made can enable it to meet its environmental goals and create a sustainable future for itself.

Dr. Nadia Bhuiyan is a professor in the department of mechanical, industrial, and aerospace engineering at the Gina Cody School of Engineering and Computer Science at Concordia University. Dr. Bhuiyan served as associate director and director of education of the Concordia Institute of Aerospace Design and Innovation, and director of the master of aerospace engineering program. She currently serves as vice-provost of partnerships and experiential learning.

The Hill Times

News

‘That’s a tough one’: potential prolonged delay in COVID-19 vaccine for Canadians will be politically ‘explosive’ for Trudeau Liberals, say politicians

If Canadians are behind other countries in getting inoculated against COVID-19, the Liberals would not want a spring election, as speculated, since it would mean losing the government, say politicians.

Continued from page 1

“It’s become a national party game to ridicule the United States’ handling of COVID-19, and if all of a sudden it’s safer to live in the States than Canada, that will be a weird and ironic shift for people,” said David Herle, a top Liberal strategist and pollster who has advised former Liberal prime ministers and premiers in the past, in an interview with *The Hill Times*.

On Nov. 24, Prime Minister Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) said that Canadians might not get vaccinated for COVID-19 at the same time as the U.S., the U.K., and Germany inoculate their citizens. Reuters reported the same day that Mexico could also start immunizing its citizens against COVID-19 as early as next month, depending on the approval of the vaccine in the country. Opposition parties went after Mr. Trudeau, questioning why Canada will be behind other countries in accessing the vaccine. They also demanded that the prime minister provide a specific timeline for when Canadians would start to get inoculated against the coronavirus.

Mr. Trudeau said that Canada is behind in getting the vaccine

chiefly because of the lack of domestic production facilities. He said that vaccine doses would start to arrive in the early months of 2021 but did not offer any specific timeline. The government has signed contracts for millions of doses with five foreign pharmaceutical companies. Mr. Trudeau also said that his government has already invested millions of dollars to ensure that Canada will have a domestic vaccine production capacity in the future. In a technical briefing for reporters, Dr. Howard Njoo, deputy chief public health officer, said Nov. 26 that the vaccine supply will be quite limited at the start and will be given only to high-priority groups, including seniors living in long-term care homes, frontline healthcare workers, and those with underlying health conditions, among others. He said if everything worked out as planned, six million doses could become available by March, which he cautioned is an optimistic projection.

In comparison, according to media reports, 20 million Americans are expected to be inoculated next month, and 30 million every month after.

Speaking to reporters on Nov. 27, Mr. Trudeau said there are “very good chances” for most Canadians to be vaccinated by September, “if things go well.” He also announced the appointment of Maj.-Gen. Dany Fortin, the former head of Canada’s NATO mission in Iraq, to lead the country’s vaccine roll-out via a Health Canada National Operations Centre.

After Mr. Trudeau conceded publicly last week that Canadians would not get the vaccination at the same time as Americans, Mr. Herle tweeted: “Every day that a vaccine is being distributed in the U.S. but not Canada will be the worst day of the Trudeau government’s life.”

However, he told *The Hill Times* that this is not a criticism of the government’s procurement policy and is “purely a political observation.” Mr. Herle, who is a



Veteran Liberal political insider David Herle, pictured with Conservative political insider Jenni Byrne. Mr. Herle told *The Hill Times* that the delay in getting vaccination for Canadians would become a serious political headache for the Justin Trudeau government. *The Hill Times* photograph by Aidan Chamandy

host of the popular political podcast called *The Herle Burly*, explained that since COVID-19 hit the country early this year, Canadians are evaluating the government’s performance based on its handling of the coronavirus and, so far, the Liberal have received a positive evaluation. If the U.S. or other countries’ citizens started to get vaccinated before Canadians, it will be seen as a “failure” of the government.

And it will be even worse if “seemingly lesser jurisdictions, like Mexico,” got the vaccine before Canada, said Mr. Herle. He said that with each passing day that other countries have the vaccine and Canada does not, it will build pressure on the Trudeau government.

“This will, rightly or wrongly, fairly or unfairly, be seen as a failure if other jurisdictions have the vaccine before Canada,” said Mr. Herle. “I don’t think Canadians were expecting that, I don’t think they were preconditioned for that. You can’t explain it in an understandable way because even if you say, ‘Well, gee, we just don’t have the manufacturing capacity,’ it just sounds like an admission of failure or defeat.”

Pollster Darrell Bricker agreed.

“They’re gonna have a lot of explaining to do. I mean, if all of a sudden next door to us in the United States, things get back on track as large parts of the population get vaccinated, and we’re still shutting down in major cities like Toronto and Calgary and Montreal, that’s going to be [a serious political headache] unless there’s a really good explanation for it, which I can’t think of right now. The potential for this to be pretty explosive is definitely there.”

Mr. Bricker, CEO of Ipsos Public Affairs, said that the Trudeau government should have alerted Canadians about this months ago. Sharing this “unpleasant surprise” at the last minute will likely cause politically troubling reaction from Canadians.

But, Mr. Herle said that even if the government had broken this news a few months ago, it still would have been politically problematic.

“Well, preconditioning is always, almost always helpful and gives people time to get accustomed to an idea,” said Mr. Herle. “However, I think, had they started to precondition for this months ago, what it would have done is create pressure on them to fix that problem. I don’t think

people would have come to the view of, ‘Well, it’s okay, I guess we’re just going to get it later than Mexico. I think they would have said it’s unacceptable that we’re getting later than Mexico.’”

Pollster Greg Lyle, president of Innovative Research, said that, so far, Canadians have been very forgiving if mistakes were made at the provincial or federal level. But if Canadians were late in getting the vaccine then the public’s reaction would depend a lot on how far behind we are. If it’s a matter of a month or so, it might not make a big difference, but a prolonged delay spanning several months will be a major political headache for the government, he said.



Ipsos Public Affairs CEO Darrell Bricker says it would be politically ‘explosive’ if the Liberals failed to get the vaccination for Canadians at the same time as the U.S., the U.K., Germany, or Mexico. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Also, Mr. Lyle pointed out, it is in the interest of big pharmaceutical companies to not be on the wrong side of this issue with the public as it could hurt their brand. He said these companies should be able to provide an adequate amount of vaccine to cover at least the frontline health care workers and then provide a schedule for when they can provide the balance at the earliest possible opportunity.

Mr. Lyle said even though the government is under pressure from the opposition to provide a firm timeline, they should provide it only if they confident about it.

“That would look like they were already so off the mark and then they messed up again. So the problem is that this becomes

something that is a test of fundamental confidence.”

Spring election likely off the table, say pundits

Before and during the summer months, a number of political heavyweights, including Mr. Herle, were of the opinion that the government should go to the polls this fall, arguing that COVID-19 was a unique circumstance that happened after the 2019 federal election and considering the massive effort that would require recovering from this situation, the government should ask Canadians for a new mandate. Based on the double-digit polling lead that the federal government was enjoying at the time, the Liberals could have won a majority government.

New Brunswick’s Progressive Conservatives and British Columbia’s New Democrats did convert their minorities into majority governments because of the popularity both provincial governments enjoyed in their respective provinces due to their management of COVID-19. At the time, pundits made the point that the level of popularity the federal Liberals were enjoying would be unsustainable because of the possibility of the economy slipping into a recession or a depression and mistakes highlighted by the media in the handling of the pandemic.

They also argued that if the economy is down and the unemployment rate is high next year, or other unknown challenges arose, it would be an uphill battle for any government to secure another mandate.

Now, the revelations that there will be a delay in Canadians getting their COVID-19 vaccine is the first major surprise that’s likely to negatively affect the Trudeau Liberals electoral fortunes in the next election. Depending on the length of the delay, it’s not known how big the impact would be.

“An election is going to happen under one of two circumstances: one in which the Liberals want one, and one in which the opposition, in a unified fashion, wants one,” said Mr. Herle. “So if those are your two choices, the Liberals should have taken it when they wanted it because ... they’re heading into a tough spring. And, again, it’s not a judgment on them. I think every government is heading into a tough spring.”

Up until recently, most political insiders have been of the view that the federal Liberals will trigger an election this spring. But based on the recent development about a potential delay in accessing the vaccine, it’s highly unlikely they would want an election in the spring as it would mean losing the government.

“If they were planning a spring election, and the big story on the front page of *The Hill Times* is ‘Canadians not getting vaccinated because other governments that we consider to be equivalent-type countries are busy using those vaccines on their own populations,’ that wouldn’t exactly be [when the Liberals] would want to go into an election,” said Mr. Bricker. “That’s a tough one.”

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Feds need to flex creative muscles in pandemic messaging, say experts

The feds' television ad campaigns featuring Dr. Theresa Tam don't sufficiently leverage the power of the medium, says Professor Alex Marland.

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communication experts, even as they say the government needs to flex its creative muscles to reach people beyond the frequent appeals to hunker down as new infections rise to cut through the fatigue.

At the federal level, the job of communicating to the public about the pandemic has largely fallen to Mr. Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) and Dr. Theresa Tam, Canada's chief public health officer, the face of the government's pandemic advertising campaigns and news conferences.

Heid Tworek, associate professor of history and public policy at the University of British Columbia, said the routine briefings don't have to draw the same level of viewership during the height of the pandemic to have an impact.

"They're a way of telling people that, even if they don't watch them, things are very serious, because otherwise you wouldn't have a daily press conference. It's an indicator that we're in a different phase of the pandemic," she said.

The peak viewership of the pressers of premiers and Mr. Trudeau was at 2.4 million, garnering the same eyeballs as a prime-time show averages, according to CBC.

Prof. Tworek also noted that routine briefings can be a bulwark against misinformation or disinformation, because "in the absence of information," speculation rises.

Alex Marland, political science professor at Memorial University in St. John's, N.L., said that the pressers can act as a "focusing event," a signal that beckons the media to highlight their importance, but they have their limits. If messaging is inconsistent across different jurisdictions—as many have contended has been the case—that can have the effect of undermining those communication efforts, he said.

"The biggest challenge in all of this isn't that they're repeating the same messages," said Prof. Marland. "It's that the messages are often inconsistent from all the different people who are saying them."

He observed that the multi-partisan cooperation that characterized the first wave has all but eroded. "What's missing is



Back at the podium: Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured Nov. 24, 2020, has restarted his near-daily press briefings as Canada is in the grips of beating back the second wave of the pandemic, which could bring an average of 10,000 new infections a day by December. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

the reaching out to other party leaders. ... We need to be able to promote a united front," he said. "What might be useful is to figure out what are the common messages that 100 per cent of premiers and the prime minister agree on, and opposition leaders agree on."

Prof. Tworek is the lead author of a recent study that examined the pandemic messaging of nine jurisdictions, including the provinces of Ontario and British Columbia. The study concluded that the public is best served when there's a "division of labour" between politicians and public health experts, with elected officials taking on the role of "delivering meaning" to the situation, while scientists focus on communicating the guidelines.

Other jurisdictions have also found success in enlisting civil society leaders or in leaning more on informal forums, where the messaging can be more conversational, as part of their communication effort. She cited New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Arden's use of Facebook Live to virtually sit down with "people from different walks of life," or Senegal's involvement of religious leaders.

"We've seen less than that kind of thing in Canada," she said, while pointing to B.C.'s use of celebrities Ryan Reynolds and Seth Rogen to reach youth. "This isn't just about getting a celebrity to do it, but actually really figuring out well, within the diverse communities in Canada ... who are the people who are influential?"

Appealing to people's emotions

Heather Bastedo, president of Public Square Research, an

expert in persuasion and motivation research and former political science professor at McMaster University, said the credibility of the messenger, the simplicity of the message, and its "appeal to an emotion" is typically what's needed to command people's attention and to motivate them.

Ms. Bastedo said the federal government's communications doesn't appear to be hitting all those notes. "To motivate people, you need an emotive response," she said. "There are reasons why we take action, and that's generally based on an emotion."

Part of the issue, she contended, was the government wasn't able to maintain the same level of connection with the public during the summer, when cases started to ease and the government found itself embroiled in a scandal.

"It was absent for most of the summer, so relationships weren't built, where you saw the premiers building relationships," she said. "We had the WE scandal and pro-roguing, so we didn't really have as much talk like the denouement from the first wave."

B.C.'s chief medical health officer, Dr. Bonnie Henry, was someone who has memorably captured public attention with her simple, enduring catchphrase of "be kind, be calm, and be safe" as a salve against the anxieties triggered by the pandemic. In comparison, the government's messaging has been less than succinct and somewhat clunky.

She noted that the two ad campaigns featuring Dr. Tam sitting solitary at her desk with a bottle of hand sanitizer and a cloth mask—one that launched in the spring and the other in late October—featured a "long laundry list" of messages directed at the public, including a request

to download the feds' COVID-19 alert app.

"Bonnie Henry's was clean, clear, and kind of went to the heart—be kind," she said.

For Prof. Marland, the feds' television ad campaigns, which have run prime time, featuring Dr. Tam don't sufficiently leverage the power of the medium.

"It's bad television to have one person on TV standing up and talking. When you're using television, you're communicating with emotion, and you communicate with moving visuals," he said. "Her voice might be fine. How about sitting at the desk first, but then show us a bunch of pictures or videos? That's how you maximize the medium."

Though the virus has claimed nearly 12,000 people in Canada and more than one million lives globally, for many, he said, it remains somewhat "mystical."

"What's missing is there needs to be images of people who are showing the consequences of what happens when we get COVID, showing the sadness that people experience from losing a loved one," he added.

Prof. Marland noted the government is, to an extent, constrained by a process that screens ads for hints of partisanship, because of the use of public funds. But, he said, he doesn't see a reason why it can't try to connect with people on that level.

The government spent \$30-million in the first iteration

said appeals alone won't be enough to carry people through the second wave that has similar hallmarks to the first.

"If he has nothing to say, it'll definitely add to the fatigue," said Mr. Nanos. "What we know from all the press conferences is that what we need to do is to contain the virus through masks, social distancing, and being very prudent. None of that is new to Canadians. What is new, and what they want to know about, is vaccines."

Government officials involved in the procurement and regulatory process held the first of a series of weekly briefings on the vaccine rollout Nov. 26. They said Canada is on pace to make a decision on Pfizer's vaccine candidate sometime in December, a timeline similar to the United States'. Canada is not, however, expected to start receiving vaccine doses until early 2021, with the government projecting that less than 10 per cent of the population could be vaccinated by the first quarter of the new year.

The government has been under pressure to commit to setting timelines for the vaccine distribution amid reports that the United States, Britain, and Germany are planning for a December launch.

Other experts cautioned against putting too much focus on the rollout and offering concrete targets, with the regulatory process for approving a vaccine underway and months still before Canada expects to get its hands



Dr. Theresa Tam, federal chief public health officer, is the face behind the government's television ad campaigns. The latest campaign, pictured, started its run in October. *Screen capture via YouTube*

of the campaign and is projected to spend about \$20-million in the current run, which ends in December. Discussions are underway about what a future campaign might entail.

Anticipation over the rollout of a vaccine is coinciding with the second wave of the pandemic that could be on track, in Canada, to directly affect an average of 10,000 people a day by December, if recent projections about the trajectory of the virus hold.

Nik Nanos, chief data scientist and founder of Nanos Research,

on the first shipment of an effective vaccine.

Prof. Tworek said the government risks eroding public trust if it commits to hard timelines and is unable to deliver.

"You can end up with people adhering less to guidelines if it appears to be close in sight," she said. "You have to remember how few people will be vaccinated, and so, the vast majority of the population will remain immunologically naive for some months."

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News

Lambropoulos' comments could be used against Grits in next election, say Liberal insiders, pollsters, and MPs

Quebecers are more upset with Liberal MP Emmanuella Lambropoulos' comments about decline of French in Quebec than they were with the WE Charity scandal, says one Quebec Liberal insider.

Continued from page 1

"It made a hole in the armour of the Liberals on the question of French language, which they were owning until now," said Jeremy Ghio, a former cabinet ministerial staffer in Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's (Papineau, Que.), cabinet, who is now working as a director for public affairs firm Tact Conseil in Montreal. "Right now, they are exposed to criticism because of that."

The controversy was triggered on Nov. 13 at a House Official Languages Committee meeting when Ms. Lambropoulos (Saint-Laurent, Que.) questioned recent reports on the decline of the French language in Quebec.

"We hear, I don't want to call it a myth, I'll give the benefit of the doubt, but we hear that the French language is in decline in Quebec," said Ms. Lambropoulos in English and rolled her eyes while questioning the Official Languages Commissioner Raymond Theberge at the committee. "I need to see it to believe it."

The use of the French language in Quebec has been an issue recently. CTV Montreal recently reported that the proportion of Quebecers who speak only French at home declined to 71.2 per cent in 2016 from 72.8 per cent in 2011, according to Statistics Canada, but the percentage of Quebecers who spoke French, but not exclusively, at home rose slightly over the same period.

When Ms. Lambropoulos made the comment, she smiled, rolled her eyes and used air quotes around the word "decline," which has since been interpreted as a "condescending" tone.

Her comments have since raised a firestorm in Quebec. She was blasted across the province, on social media, and in the mainstream radio, TV, and print news outlets. Within hours of the meeting, she walked back her comments, described them as "insensitive," and later resigned from the committee. Ms. Lambropoulos

also apologized and promised to do everything she can to promote French language across the country.

But the incident has given an opening to the Bloc Québécois.

"The member for Saint-Laurent said out loud what Liberals think," Bloc MP Mario Beaulieu (La Pointe-de-l'Île) told reporters. "What's more, she said it in English, which tells you how much importance she accords French."

Ms. Lambropoulos represents the riding of Saint-Laurent, Que., considered a safe Liberal riding. Ms. Lambropoulos, 30, was first elected in a byelection in 2017, after former Liberal leader Stéphane Dion stepped down to take

reaffirmed their government's commitment to protect the French language.

"My position and the position of the Liberal Party of Canada has been clear for a long, long time. ... We will always defend the French fact across the country, including in Quebec," Mr. Trudeau told reporters on Nov. 19. "That is why I renewed our commitment to French in Quebec in the Speech from the Throne. That is the position of the Liberal Party."

But some former Liberal cabinet ministerial staffers went public in expressing their disappointment in Ms. Lambropoulos.

A former PMO Liberal staffer wrote an article in *La Presse*

the language in which the question was asked," said Ms. Mendes in French. "It is perfectly legitimate to ask for facts and statistics, but she did so in a very ironic way, in addition to questioning established findings."

A veteran Liberal insider told *The Hill Times* that, based on his recent interactions with Quebecers, people are more upset about this controversy than they were with the WE Charity scandal. The insider said people are a little shocked because, prior to her comments, the issue of the decline of French in Quebec was a hot topic of discussion for days and yet she stepped into it.

"There's a legitimate way of asking a question without being condescending, and language is a very sensitive issue in Quebec," said the source, who spoke to *The Hill Times* on not-for-attribution basis in order to speak candidly.

"People are more mad in Quebec about Emmanuella than the whole WE Charity scandal. Emmanuella is an MP who probably needs to read a newspaper [and] should have known better. Everyone is talking about it. Now, whether you agree or disagree, [or] you think it's blown out of proportion, it's a different story.



Liberal MP Emmanuella Lambropoulos, centre, pictured with Justice Minister David Lametti, right, and Francesco Sorbara, left, on June 15, 2018, on the Hill. Ms. Lambropoulos landed in hot water two weeks ago when she questioned the decline of French in Quebec. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

a diplomatic post after representing the riding for about 17 years. She won the byelection by a margin of 40 per cent of the votes and by a margin of 41 per cent of the votes in the 2019 election.

Conservative Leader Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ont.) took a shot at the Liberals on twitter: "Next time Justin Trudeau claims to defend the French language, remember the questions he asks his Quebec MPs to ask of the Committee on Official Languages."

A few days after Ms. Lambropoulos' comments, Chelsea Craig, Quebec president of the Liberal Party of Canada tweeted that Bill 101, the French Language Charter, was "oppressive" and has "ruined" English-language education in Quebec. She later deleted the tweet and in a second tweet described Bill 101 as important and conceded that French is in decline in Quebec.

When the controversy started making headlines in the Quebec media, Mr. Trudeau and Official Languages Minister Mélanie Joly (Ahuntsic-Cartierville, Que.)

expressing her surprise about the "stunning ignorance" Ms. Lambropoulos showed when she raised questions about the decline of French in Quebec.

"The Quebec Member, let us remember, spoke of wanting proof of the decline of French in her province by making air quotes and rolling her eyes," wrote Chloé Luciani-Girouard, a former issues adviser to Prime Minister Trudeau, in French in *La Presse* on Nov. 17, who now works as senior consultant with Ryan Affaires publiques in Montreal. "The problem with the Hon. Member's arrogance is that it risks undermining the federal government's credibility in official languages unless it is fiercely denounced by her colleagues."

Liberal MP Alexandra Mendes (Brossard-Saint-Lambert, Que.) was not available for an interview with *The Hill Times*, but she expressed her disappointment, in an interview with *La Presse* two weeks ago.

"I was really amazed at the way she asked the question, and

It's not like someone asked her the question, and she answered, and she made a mistake. She initiated the question."

The source said that the incident has opened up the federal Liberal Party to unneeded criticism from opposition parties especially from the Bloc, the chief opponent of the Liberals in Quebec. The province has been and will be the main battleground for the governing party going forward. The source said that because of this self-inflicted wound, the Bloc is going after the Liberals, accusing them of claiming to fight for the rights of Quebecers including their language rights but failing to deliver on this promise. The source said that it's not only the francophone Quebecers who are upset by these comments but also anglophones, allophones, and new immigrants.

The insider said this could hurt the Liberals all across the province, especially in the ridings where the Liberals won by close margins. Of the 47 ridings across the country decided by

a razor-thin margin of five per cent or less of the votes, 15 are in Quebec. Of the 15 Quebec close ridings, two are held by Treasury Board President Jean-Yves Duclos (Quebec, Que.) and Revenue Minister Diane LeBouthillier (Gaspésie-Les Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Que.).

"She [Ms. Lambropoulos] can say that from the comfort of her thousands and thousands of thousands of votes that she wins in the riding, she could not campaign and win," the source said. "But it's extremely unfair and not worthy of a team member. When you make such a comment, not realizing that everyone outside of the 514-area code, three, four ridings in Montreal also would probably lose on a topic like that. So, it's not being a team player."

Two senior Liberal sources told *The Hill Times* that some party donors have told them they won't donate anymore because of the controversy.

Meanwhile, Mr. Ghio, said if the Liberals want to solve this problem, they'll need to modernize the Official Languages Act as soon as possible.

Electorally, Mr. Ghio, other insiders, and pollsters interviewed for this story said Quebec is critical for the Liberals to winning a majority government next time. In 2019, the Liberals won only 35 of the 78 seats in Quebec, compared to 40 seats that the governing party won in the 2015 election. In 2015, Liberals won a majority government with 184 seats but were reduced to a minority in 2015 with 157 seats, 13 short of forming a majority. "It's crucial, in my opinion," said Mr. Ghio. "I don't see a way to a majority government without Quebec for the Liberals and the best example of that is the election of 2019."

Pollster Frank Graves of Ekos Research agreed, adding that in order to win a majority, the Liberal Party will have to win again the seats in the next election that they won in 2019.

"It's critical, they have to do at least as well as they did in the last election," said Mr. Graves. "And I suspect if they did, they would have a very good shot at a majority. So Quebec is a critical ingredient of any future liberal majority."

Mr. Graves said that so far he has not seen any evidence that would prove that the Liberals are losing popularity because of the controversy. He said this could be because of the COVID-19 pandemic dominating the news cycle or the recent developing story that Canadians might be late to get the coronavirus vaccine compared to the U.S., Britain, Germany or Mexico.

"One of the things that might be going on is this is just a deflection because things are not going great in Quebec in terms of the management of the pandemic," said Mr. Graves. "They've got two-thirds of the deaths in Canada, it looks like it's going up, not down. There's genuine ire amongst the French media, and punditocracy and politicians about [the controversy]. The remarks should have been more carefully phrased and eye rolling and so forth probably was not a great idea."

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Race to replace MP Kent as Thornhill's Conservative on the ballot a chance to 'bring Conservatives back into the fold', sign of 'generational shift', say early candidates

Only two names have emerged stating their intentions of running for the Conservative party's nomination in the riding so far, including long-time Tory staffer Melissa Lantsman as well as Progressive Conservative MPP Gila Martow.

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back," according to long-time Tory staffer Melissa Lantsman who recently announced her intention to run, with Thornhill's provincial MPP Gila Martow saying one of the reasons she's running is because the riding is "tougher to hold federally than provincially" following her announcement to run for the job earlier this month.

Conservative MP Peter Kent (Thornhill, Ont.), who has represented the blue riding in the Greater Toronto Area since his first election in 2008, announced he would not be seeking re-election in the next federal election campaign in a Facebook video on Nov. 19.

As of press deadline, only two names have emerged stating their intentions of running for the Conservative party's nomination in the riding, including Ms. Lantsman as well as Ms. Martow who has represented the riding provincially following a byelection win in February 2014 that she defended in a general election win later that year in June 2014.

Ms. Lantsman, who is vice-president of national public

affairs at Enterprise Canada, was born and raised in Thornhill and has worked with Conservatives at both the provincial and federal levels extensively throughout her career.

"It's a place that shaped who I am, and I've worked in and around and adjacent to politics for my entire adult life and for the Conservative cause," said Ms. Lantsman. "And the truth is, I have fought my entire life for the things I don't necessarily see the Conservative Party fighting for anymore."

"One of the things that is telling in the GTA is how many Conservatives we've lost along the way in the last couple of years, and frankly I want to build that back and grow our party and have a fresh voice for those in Thornhill and in the GTA," said Ms. Lantsman. "I think Conservatives have left the movement and we've got to give them a reason to come back."

When asked what she thought the party needed to do to strengthen their hand in the politically coveted 905-region—as well as in downtown Toronto itself that has heavily favoured the Liberal Party in recent elections—Ms. Lantsman also said she thought the party needed to bring younger Conservatives into the fold.

"That's not to say that those who traditionally vote with us are not an important voice, but we've lost a lot of young people along the way," said Ms. Lantsman. "It's not because Conservative policies aren't popular, I think there is a problem with tone and motive and the way that we communicate, and the things we stopped fighting for."

"We've stopped fighting for an environmental plan, we've stopped fighting for equality, we've stopped fighting for a moral voice on the world stage, and I think that under the leadership of Erin O'Toole, there is a new breath of fresh in the party,

a team approach, and one that brings Conservatives back into the fold and gives us a true vision for a better Canada," said Ms. Lantsman. "A more prosperous Canada, a more secure Canada, and a party that looks like the rest of the country."

Ms. Lantsman said although she supported Mr. O'Toole in the recent leadership race, her involvement in the party nomination depends on decisions made by the members of the Thornhill Conservative Association.

"That's who I'm speaking to right now, but I have the support of some former Harper-era cabinet ministers, [including] our former finance minister Joe Oliver, our former foreign affairs minister John Baird, [former Harper-era minister] Lisa Raitt, [Conservative finance critic] Pierre Poilievre—some party stalwarts have backed me for this candidacy as somebody that can represent Thornhill and play a role in the caucus going forward," said Ms. Lantsman.

Working as an optometrist prior to her time in politics, Ms. Martow said she first became involved with community issues nearly 20 years ago when she spoke at a council meeting regarding traffic issues at Vaughan City Hall.

"Off I went and nobody wanted to speak in the microphone and give a deputation—I didn't even know the term deputation—and lo and behold, I kind of became the spokesperson for the community, I became president of the local ratepayers association and I helped in 2007 on Peter Shurman's campaign," said Ms. Martow in an interview with *The Hill Times*. "I had young children back then, so I was working as an optometrist and helping on his campaign and juggling all the things that come with having four kids in the house, and he asked me to be his riding association president."



Vice-president of national public affairs at Enterprise Canada Melissa Lantsman, left, Progressive Conservative MPP Gila Martow, right, are running for the Conservative nomination in Thornhill, Ont. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn and Twitter

Ms. Martow said she remembered Ms. Lantsman working on that campaign as well in the campaign office.

"The Conservatives sort of attract a lot of different groups and a lot of different interests, and sometimes there's conflict within that, we're all aware of that," said Ms. Martow. "But I think there's always a generational shift."

"I'm 59 years old, Peter Kent is 77 years old, so there's a generation between myself and Peter Kent, and then you can say there's another generation between [myself and] Melissa."

Ms. Martow noted that prior to Peter Shurman's election in 2007, Thornhill was a swing riding.

"Before Peter Kent, it was Liberal, so this has only been a Conservative riding the last decade or so, and it could go Liberal again very easily," said Ms. Martow. "The last election federally, we did not win in a landslide, we got a comfortable win with Peter Kent, a celebrity with multiple terms in office and very well-liked in the community, and it still wasn't as strong a showing in previous years and you can see the Liberals get a lot of votes in the riding."

"I think the community understands that we need somebody to take us into the next election—it's not just about winning the nomination, it's who is going to hold the riding federally, it's been tougher to hold federally than provincially, so that's one of the reasons I'm running," said Ms. Martow.

In the 2018 Ontario election, Ms. Martow won handily with more than 60 per cent of the vote over NDP candidate Ezra Tanen and Liberal candidate Sabi Ahsan following a much closer race in 2014 when she took the riding by a margin of just under 100 votes.

'Canada's democracy is only good when you have two competitive parties'

Sara MacIntyre, who worked as former prime minister Stephen Harper's press secretary from August 2009 to February 2012, told *The Hill Times* that she believes the upcoming nomination race "is what the party needs."

"Canada's democracy is only good when you have two competitive parties on the federal scene, and for a while, say what you will about Andrew [Scheer], he did perform well, but I think he attracted the wrong candidates, he approved the wrong candidates

and set us back a lot," said Ms. MacIntyre. "I haven't worked with Erin O'Toole so I don't know him personally, but I think he's been doing a pretty spot on job most of the time."

Ms. MacIntyre said she thought Mr. O'Toole's acceptance speech was the "harbinger" of this shift to reach out past the base and demonstrate that the Conservatives "are not just a tolerant party, but a welcoming party of all Canadians."

"We're in a spot where Canadians are looking for an alternative to Justin Trudeau," said Ms. MacIntyre. "And it's not the global pandemic—they've been in power for a long time, they've had a long of entitlement scandals, typical Liberal stuff."

Ms. MacIntyre said she thought Thornhill would be well represented by either candidate, but also that the COVID-19 pandemic "has brought us a moment of pause on some of these issues and a moment of reflection around what kind of government we want, and what kind of supports do we want for the people who are the most vulnerable."

Geoff Norquay, principal at Earncliffe and former senior adviser to both former prime ministers Brian Mulroney and Stephen Harper, said that when parties choose constituency candidates, the big question is usually whether or not he or she can win.

"However, when you are replacing an experienced, sitting member who's choosing not to run again, that presents a tremendous opportunity for new blood, for renewal, time for the next generation, etc.," said Mr. Norquay. "In this case, so far, we have two potentially tremendously effective candidates."

"I know Melissa Lantsman a bit, and she's highly qualified for success in electoral politics—she is a skilled and proven communicator with major organizational experience throughout the party, provincial and federal," said Mr. Norquay. "At the same time, Gila Martow is a sitting member of the Ontario legislature so she's already successfully contested and won. I've never met her, but on paper she looks to be a real comer and a great prospect for Cabinet in Ontario if she stays."

"Either way, I think the party is poised to a really excellent candidate in the next election," said Mr. Norquay.

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News

MPs, experts paying close attention to housing supply after very strong year of sales, despite COVID-19

During a banner year for home sales in Canada despite the economic downturn associated with the COVID-19 pandemic, both MPs and experts are watching the country's housing supply carefully in the months and years to come.

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housing supply as well as early data suggesting movement away from urban centres and into more suburban areas.

But although the NDP and Conservative housing critics are giving the federal government solid reviews on the performance of some of its housing policies, including mortgage payment deferrals as well as the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation's rental construction financing initiative, both criticized the federal government's "sluggish-at-best" rollout of the National Housing Co-Investment Fund.

Despite the economic downturn, Canada has not hit the point where most people are faced with a situation where they are not able to meet their mortgage requirements, in part because of measures where people have been able to defer mortgage payments, in addition to CERB, and the Canada Recovery Benefit, according to NDP MP Jenny Kwan (Vancouver East, B.C.), her party's housing critic.

But how the country transitions away from the measures introduced by the government is "going to be a big question mark, and what the recovery plan will really look like in terms of the larger economy will also have an impact on this," said Ms. Kwan in an interview with *The Hill Times*.

Ms. Kwan said the low interest rate environment has helped ensure that people have been able to maintain their mortgage responsibilities, but that she is keeping a close eye on the role of the interest rate on housing markets—particularly "if interest rates go up and the recovery is not there."

"The repercussions would be huge," said Ms. Kwan. "Hopefully it won't, but this is something I'm definitely watching very closely, and worried about for new or longer-term homeowners."

The Bank of Canada recently held the overnight rate at 0.25 per cent, which will likely remain in place until 2023 as the economy

recovers after a decline of about five-and-a-half per cent in 2020.

But Ms. Kwan also pointed to issues surrounding the National Housing Co-Investment Fund, which supports the new and revitalization construction of mixed-income, mixed-tenure, mixed-use affordable housing, according to CMHC, "NGOs that I talk to on the ground have been struggling with that program because the application process is complicated and onerous," said Ms. Kwan. "Not only is it onerous for the non-profit sector to fill out the application, it's onerous for CMHC to process the application, so consequently the government is not meeting their own targeted deadline or timeline to process the application."

Ms. Kwan also pointed to the government's Rapid Housing

"And that's good because we have a deficit of affordable rental housing in Canada, so CMHC playing a role in offering low-interest loans to rental housing providers is a good thing, and I'm very encouraged by the success we've seen in that aspect of the program," said Mr. Vis.

But Mr. Vis echoed Ms. Kwan's concerns around the National Housing Co-Investment Fund, pointing to the recent order paper question from Ms. Kwan that demonstrated British Columbia in particular was underserved by the program.

"That money wasn't going to a part of the country arguably where the housing needs are most acute, so I'm looking very closely at ways we can improve the national co-investment fund,

"You have the tightest market conditions of all time, international immigration is through the roof in recent years—not now, but it's going to come back in a big way—millennials are moving from their 20s into their 30s, household formation is pretty mechanical in those years," said Mr. Cathcart. "These people have to live somewhere. You can't keep bringing in record population growth and continue building cautiously."

Paul Taylor, president and CEO of Mortgage Professionals Canada, said that at a time when the rest of the federal agencies were trying to encourage credit, CMHC was the only one trying to constrain it.

"The Bank of Canada was dropping its interest rates, [there

people to get into the market," said Mr. Taylor.

The social and the fiscal policies are "kind of at loggerheads" in some of the moves that CMHC has taken in the last six months, according to Mr. Taylor.

Early data suggests some movement away from urban centres and into the suburbs

Deputy Chief Economist for the CMHC Aled ab Iorwerth told *The Hill Times* that although the situation is still evolving, certain data points are emerging that show there does seem to be some movement away from urban centres and into the suburbs.

"In places like Toronto, we're seeing some sales activity go up more in the suburban area rather than rural, and it seems that there's more demand for single detached housing, or at least places with larger living places," said Mr. ab Iorwerth. "But then it seems that there are pressure points down in the condo market—I'm not sure that this is solely tied to [people working from home]."

"What I'm a little bit hesitant on is whether people are moving from a condo to a single detached house, or whether they're buying a single detached house in addition to holding on to their condo," said Mr. ab Iorwerth. "There's some evidence of that in Montreal—the people are buying places in the outskirts of the city but hanging on to their condo in Montreal."

"There's something afoot, but it's a little too early to be definitive at the moment," he said.

When asked about any concerns surrounding ultra low interest rates, Mr. ab Iorwerth said it's possible that in this environment, wealthier households will be able to find it easier to acquire additional properties at a time when many people have more discretionary income. "So it does make you wonder whether there will be additional demands for housing," he said.

On Nov. 22, the government announced the launch of the notice of opportunity for the Federal Housing Advocate, something which will help identify systemic housing issues facing individuals and households belonging to vulnerable groups, and will provide an annual report to the minister with recommended measures, according to Jessica Eritou, spokeswoman from the office of Minister of Families, Children and Social Development Ahmed Hussen (York South West, Ont.), who is also the minister responsible for the CMHC.

"The advocate's role is to promote and protect housing rights in Canada and inform government's policies to ensure people and families in Canada have an adequate, safe and affordable place to call home," according to Ms. Eritou.

Work is currently underway to establish the Advocate's office at the Canadian Human Rights Commission, according to Ms. Eritou. Once appointed, the Advocate will be among the ex-officio members of the National Housing Council.

mlapointe@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times



Minister of Families, Children and Social Development Ahmed Hussen. On Nov. 22, the government announced the launch of the notice of opportunity for the Federal Housing Advocate, designed to help identify systemic housing issues facing individuals and households belonging to vulnerable groups. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Initiative launched earlier this fall, a \$1-billion program to help address urgent housing needs of vulnerable Canadians through the rapid construction of affordable housing, designed to build 3,000 new homes for Canadians.

"I've been saying to the government all along, it is not good enough," said Ms. Kwan. "Three thousand new units is not good enough for the needs of the country. In Vancouver, alone, we have over 2,000 people who are homeless, as we speak."

"How can you even come close to addressing the crisis that we're in, especially in the middle of a pandemic," said Ms. Kwan.

Conservative MP Brad Vis (Mission-Matsqui-Fraser Canyon, B.C.), his party's housing critic, said CMHC's rental construction financing initiative, introduced in July and which provides low-cost funding for eligible borrowers during the most risky phases of rental apartment development (construction through to stabilized operations, according to the CMHC's website), has been largely successful.

provide certainty for people trying to access that money, reduce timelines, and have CMHC be a little more transparent about how the program is operated," said Ms. Vis.

Housing supply 'most important part of the conversation', says expert

It's going to be a "photo finish" for a record year in Canada for home sales, said Shaun Cathcart, senior economist with the Canadian Real Estate Association.

"At this point, it's not amid COVID, it's despite COVID, and whether it's a record or not, it's a very strong year, but there's no supply," said Mr. Cathcart. "The limiting factor that's going to make or break a record year for sales is whether there's enough supply of what people are looking to buy right now."

Mr. Cathcart said the supply side of things is often left out of the conversation, at a time when he believes "it's the most important part of the conversation."

was a reduction in] minimum capital requirements for banks which freed up an awful lot of liquidity, deferral programs that were offered allowed banks to not have to categorize what are effectively non-performing loans," said Mr. Taylor.

"I understand that they are concerned about potentially allowing people into a market when they are concerned that prices may fall," said Mr. Taylor. "They don't want people to walk into a loan that's suddenly going to be under water because the property that is securing it is now worth less."

"But to a degree, the loans in the marketplace that will cause them a problem are probably the ones that they took on six months before there was an issue—not the ones they are issuing through this crisis, because lenders are still going to be underwriting to ensure income continuance and job security of those folks, so the horse has almost left the barn on what I would consider to be the portion of their portfolios that they consider to be the riskiest, so now we're just disqualifying

Remembering a trailblazer on giving Tuesday

On the eve of Giving Tuesday, it's only appropriate that we honour Tracey Hubley's generous spirit and keep her legacy of commitment to community going. The Tracey J. Hubley Scholarship for Community Leadership will soon be offered at Hubley's alma mater, the University of Prince Edward Island.



Kate Harrison

Opinion

OTTAWA—If there were a year in need of a “do over” (or skipping altogether), 2020 would be it. A difficult year for most and impossible for some, the pandemic has put into focus the challenges facing families, friends, neighbours, and colleagues.

For the team at Summa Strategies, our 2020 was rocked by more than COVID-19. In March of this year, we unexpectedly and tragically lost our fearless leader and company president, Tracey Hubley. She was a giant in Ottawa's government relations community. With the small-town humility and authenticity of an Islander, she was nothing short of a force to be reckoned with.

The calamity of this year has highlighted the need, and sometimes the rarity, of generosity, authentic kindness, and selflessness. Giving back to those in need and helping others through adversity are always important. But this year, it is imperative.

In Tracey Hubley, all those traits were in abundant supply.

While she would have some choice words about the pandemic (most of which would not be suitable for this publication), those who knew her well know her first instinct would be to help those who needed it.

It was in Hubley's nature to solve problems. No cause was too small and every cause was worth fighting for—be it around the boardroom table or in the community. With Hubley on your side, you were bound to make a difference.

Colleagues, clients, and friends of Hubley saw this community spirit in action on a regular basis. Within days of the devastating earthquake that rocked Haiti a decade ago, she spearheaded efforts to pull together a successful fundraiser on



For the team at Summa Strategies, our 2020 was rocked by more than COVID-19. In March of this year, we unexpectedly and tragically lost our fearless leader and company president, Tracey Hubley. She was a giant in Ottawa's government relations community. With the small-town humility and authenticity of an Islander, she was nothing short of a force to be reckoned with. Photograph courtesy of Summa Strategies

Parliament Hill. It resulted in more than \$32,000 raised to support aid for earthquake victims.

She was the first to offer up generous support for holiday food drives and donations, or to contribute to a colleague's marathon, cycling, or other fundraising initiative. Tracey regularly gave to mental health initiatives and causes. It took some arm twisting, but she even joined friends to perform a song and dance in front of hundreds of people at the Shenkman Arts Centre to raise funds for mental health. This very short list of her charitable pursuits does an injustice to the size of her large heart.

I was not only fortunate enough to witness this charitable spirit in action, but I benefited from it. Hubley took a deeply personal interest in mentoring female leaders and encouraging young people to work hard to make their communities better. Without fanfare, she strove to make

sure the next generation of female GR professionals had her sense of duty and responsibility to their communities and to each other. This was especially important in an industry that still remains dominated by men.

This year has taken so much from many of us. In the case of Summa and Ottawa's government relations community, 2020 took a trailblazer whose can-do spirit remains unmatched. On the eve of Giving Tuesday, it's only appropriate that we honour Hubley's generous spirit and keep her legacy of commitment to community going.

The Tracey J. Hubley Scholarship for Community Leadership will soon be offered at Hubley's alma mater, the University of Prince Edward Island. With support and cooperation from the Hubley family, the scholarship will help a student who reflects the passion for community that Hubley exemplified throughout her life.

The award will recognize a student with

a strong appreciation for the power of public policy to make positive change and who has combined their academic studies and/or varsity sports with a passion for serving their community. We're pleased to share that it is on track to be offered at UPEI, beginning in the fall of 2021.

It's next to impossible to capture the essence of someone so special in one scholarship. But in honouring Tracey Hubley's legacy through the recognition of her three loves—Prince Edward Island, community building and fighting to right a wrong—it's a small way to give back in memory of a person who gave so much.

Kate Harrison is vice-president of Summa Strategies in Ottawa.

For information on how to donate to the Tracey J. Hubley Scholarship for Community Leadership, please contact Kate Harrison (kharrison@summa.ca) or visit www.upei.ca/donate.

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HILL CLIMBERS

by Laura Ryckewaert

This just in: staffing update for Freeland's finance ministerial team

Leslie Church, who was last chief of staff to Public Services Minister Anita Anand, is now director of policy to Chrystia Freeland as finance minister.

It's been more than three months since Deputy Prime Minister **Chrystia Freeland** put on the added hat of minister of finance, and **Hill Climbers** finally has some staffing decisions to report.

The minister's office has for months declined to confirm who is staffing Ms. Freeland in her capacity as finance minister, saying the office was not yet in a position to do so, even after the 30-day deadline set by Treasury Board Secretariat rules for staffing decisions to be made after a shuffle. Ms. Freeland was sworn in as finance minister, replacing **Bill Morneau**, on Aug. 18. Ministerial staff are considered public office holders under the Conflict of Interest Act.

That said, the minister, who is delivering the federal government's much-awaited fall economic update on Nov. 30, has obviously been staffed during this time, and **Hill Climbers** has otherwise confirmed the names of some individuals who are supporting Ms. Freeland as finance minister. (Until now, **Hill Climbers** has largely only reported the names of staff who worked in the office under Mr. Morneau and have since exited, as disclosed through the federal conflict of interest commissioner's public registry.)

Leslie Church was brought on as director of policy to the minister in October, arriving straight from Public Services and Procurement Minister **Anita Anand**'s office where she'd been chief of staff since December 2019.



Leslie Church is director of policy to the finance minister. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

As reported by **Hill Climbers** last month, **Stevie O'Brien** has replaced her as chief of staff to Ms. Anand.

Ms. Church has been working on the Hill since December 2015, starting as chief of staff to then-Canadian heritage minister **Mélanie Joly**. After roughly three years running the heritage minister's office, in January 2019 Ms. Church became chief of staff to Women and Gender Equality Minister **Maryam Monsef**. She's also a former director of communications to then-Liberal opposition leader **Michael Ignatieff**.

Off the Hill, before joining Ms. Joly's office Ms. Church spent three-and-a-half years as Google Canada's head of communications and public affairs. She's also a former executive director of strategy, communications, and external relations for the University of Toronto's faculty of medicine, and a former associate with Torys LLP.

As disclosed to the federal conflict of interest commissioner, Ms. Church is also currently a member of the board of directors for the Empire Club of Canada, a speakers' forum. She's also subject to a conflict of interest screen, set up as a preventative compliance measure under the Conflict of Interest Act in relation to her husband, former Liberal staffer **Sheamus Murphy**'s private interests as a



Tyler Meredith continues to advise the finance minister. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn



Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland, pictured Nov. 23, 2020, during a press conference in the West Block to announce the opening of applications for the new Canada Emergency Rent Subsidy. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

partner for federal advocacy with Counsel Public Affairs. As part of the screen, she has agreed to abstain from any discussions or decision-making related to the government relations firm.

Previously, **Tyler Meredith** was director of policy in the finance minister's office under Mr. Morneau.

Mr. Meredith remains on board as a senior adviser to the finance minister, with his LinkedIn profile indicating he now wears the title of director of economic strategy and planning.

Mr. Meredith was first brought on to run Mr. Morneau's policy shop in December 2019, after having helped pen the Liberal Party's 2019 election platform. Before then, he spent almost a year and a half working out of the Liberal research bureau as a senior policy adviser to the Liberal caucus. He joined the LRB after a little more than two and a half years working as a policy adviser in Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau**'s office (PMO), starting in January 2016.

Before coming to Ottawa to work for the Trudeau Liberal government, he was a research director for the Institute for Research on Public Policy. He's also a former senior consultant with KPMG, amongst other past experience.

Michael Ingoldsby is now also advising Ms. Freeland on finance policy, having already been in place since January as a policy adviser to the minister in her capacity as deputy prime minister. Before joining Ms. Freeland's team at the start of 2020, he'd spent about a year and a half working for Mr. Morneau, ending as a policy adviser.

He's also a former aide to then-science minister **Kirsty Duncan**, starting in early 2017 as a special assistant for parliamentary affairs and ending in August 201 as an issues management adviser.

Aneil Jaswal also continues to work as part of the finance minister's policy team.



Michael Ingoldsby continues to tackle policy for the finance minister. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

He was hired to serve as a senior policy adviser by Mr. Morneau in January and before then had spent roughly two years as a policy adviser with the Privy Council Office. Mr. Jaswal also previously spent two years as an associate with global management consulting firm McKinsey & Company and spent part of 2013 as a researcher for Canada 2020, among other past roles.



Aneil Jaswal has also stayed on board as a finance policy adviser. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Mr. Jaswal has a bachelor's degree in global resource systems from the University of British Columbia, and a master's in global health science and a PhD in public health from Oxford University, the latter as both a Rhodes and Clarendon scholar. While doing his doctorate, he taught courses on global health at the school. According to a write-up on the university's website, his PhD explored "wealth-related inequality in the use of health services in low- and middle-income countries."

Also tackling policy for the finance minister is **Bud Sambasivam**, who, like Mr. Jaswal, had already been in place as a senior policy adviser to Ms. Freeland as deputy prime minister since January. Before joining Ms. Freeland's office, he'd spent more than a year as a policy adviser in the PMO, starting in September 2018.

Mr. Sambasivam is also a former consultant with McKinsey & Company, having worked for the firm between 2013 and 2018. He's also a former consultant with Accenture, a former director with Engineers Without Borders Canada, and a former engineer and group leader with energy producer Encana (now Ovintiv Inc.).

He also has degrees from the other side of the pond. Along with a bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering from the University of Saskatchewan, he studied for a master's degree at the University of Cambridge and a master's in policy at Harvard University.

As reported, **Jeremy Broadhurst** is chief of staff to Ms. Freeland. Stay tuned to **Hill Climbers** for further updates on this office.

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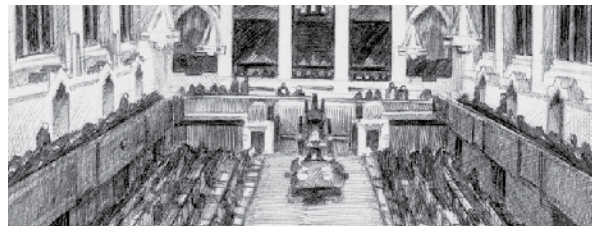
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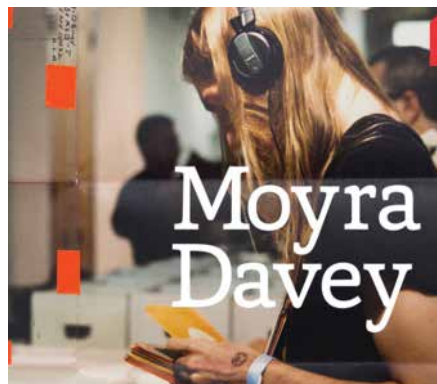
Parliamentary Calendar



Please allow me to introduce myself: O'Toole out on fundraising and meet-and-greet circuit this week, by Zoom



Conservative Party Leader Erin O'Toole, pictured Oct. 28, 2020, on the Hill, will be busy this week as he attends meet and greet functions and party fundraisers. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Moyra Davey: *The Faithful* exhibit is on now at the National Gallery of Canada. Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, his wife Sophie Grégoire Trudeau, and son Hadrien at the Halifax Liberal Convention in 2018. The party has postponed its 2020 convention until April 2021. *The Hill Times* photo by Cynthia Münster

MONDAY, NOV. 30

Finance Minister to Deliver Fiscal Update—Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland will deliver the update on the health of federal finances on Monday, Nov. 30.

Meet & Greet With Erin O'Toole—Shaun Francis will host a virtual meet and greet with Conservative Leader Erin O'Toole about his plans for Canada and to ask questions "about the issues that are important to you." Monday, Nov. 30, 1 p.m. EST. It's a Zoom virtual event. www.conservative.ca/events

Moyra Davey: The Faithful—National Gallery of Canada hosts this new exhibition, *Moyra Davey: The Faithful*, featuring the work of one of Canada's most innovative conceptual artists, on now until Jan. 3, 2021. National Gallery of Canada, 380 Sussex Dr., Ottawa. This new exhibition features 54 photographs and 6 films by Davey, along with more than a dozen works from the Gallery collection. Developed by the artist and curator Andrea Kunard, the exhibition explores the artist's trajectory from early images of family and friends, through portraits of the detritus of everyday life, her mailed photographs, and films examining the work of authors, philosophers and artists. <https://www.gallery.ca/whats-on/exhibitions-and-galleries/moyra-davey-the-faithful>

TUESDAY, DEC. 1

Canada's GDP—GDP numbers for September will be released on Dec. 1.

Q&A Fundraiser With Erin O'Toole—Paul Desmarais III will host another Q&A fundraiser with Conservative Party Leader Erin O'Toole on Tuesday, Dec. 1, at 8 p.m. EST. It's a Zoom virtual event and tickets are \$1,625. www.conservative.ca/events

THURSDAY, DEC. 3

Canada: Isotope Power?—A Pearson Centre webinar with James Scongack, executive vice-president corporate affairs and operational services, Bruce Power; and Paul Lefebvre, parliamentary secretary to the minister of natural resources, along with other panellists. Thursday, Dec. 3, 11:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. (ET) This event will examine the Canadian isotope landscape in the wake of COVID 19, the current uses and applications of isotopes, demonstrate the economic impact of Canadian leadership in isotope production and explore the necessary policy steps to ensure that Canada remains an iso-

tope superpower. <https://register.gotowebinar.com/register/5749786517383703563>

Seeds of a Better Anthropocene With Elena Bennett—This Bacon & Eggheads virtual presentation with Dr. Elena Bennett, Canada Research Chair in Sustainability Science at McGill University, takes place on Thursday, Dec. 3, 12:15 p.m.-1:15 p.m. EST. Creating a sustainable and just future will require a major shift in how humans live in, and interact with, the Earth system. But how this shift will take place and the pathways it will follow remain vague. In this seminar, Dr. Bennett will discuss efforts to develop a suite of alternative, plausible visions of futures that are socially and ecologically desirable by identifying elements of a good anthropocene that already exist, and will show how the science of ecosystem services can be used to assess them. There will be no charge for this virtual event. Registration: please register by contacting Emma Brown, PAGSE manager by email: ebrown@nature.ca or by phone 613-363-7705.

WEDNESDAY, DEC. 9

In Conversation With Peter Mansbridge—A Pearson Centre webinar with Peter Mansbridge about his new book, *Extraordinary Canadians*. Thursday, Dec.

9, 12 p.m.-12:30 p.m. (ET) In his new book, Mansbridge recounts the stories from some of his favourite Canadians —advocates, politicians, doctors, veterans, immigrants, business leaders, and more. After 50 years with the CBC, Mansbridge has anchored some of the most important events in recent Canadian history, from federal elections, to visits from the Queen, and 12 Remembrance Day ceremonies. Hosted by Andrew Cardozo, president, the Pearson Centre. <https://register.gotowebinar.com/register/5131918157198718736>

THURSDAY, DEC. 10

Meet & Greet With Erin O'Toole, Hosted by Jordan Kupinsky—Jordan Kupinsky will host this virtual meet and greet with Conservative Party Leader Erin O'Toole on Thursday, Dec. 10, 5 p.m. EST. It's a Zoom virtual event. www.conservative.ca/events

Meet & Greet With Erin O'Toole, Hosted by Stewart Lyons—Stewart Lyons will host this virtual meet and greet with Conservative Party Leader Erin O'Toole on Thursday, Dec. 10, 6 p.m. EST. It's a Zoom virtual event. www.conservative.ca/events

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

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Setting the record straight on Google and Canadian news publishers

Last month, News Media Canada released a report blaming Google for the decline of their business. We proudly support journalism and publishers in Canada. While we encourage this debate and want to be part of it, there have been a number of assertions made that are either unfounded or incorrect. And we'd like to set the record straight.

Fact: The disruption of the newspaper business model was not caused by Google.

The emergence of the Internet, not Google, disrupted the news industry. Decades ago, non-news content like classifieds, fashion and lifestyle content accounted for the lion's share of legacy media's revenue. The richness of options on the Internet changed our behaviours and changed the business model of publishers, making it more difficult to earn revenue from news. This was the evolution of the marketplace for information, and not due to any one company.

Fact: Google is not “stealing” news publisher content.

News Media Canada has accused us of “stealing” content. We don't. We link to it. It's how the web and all search engines work. Publishers decide to be included in Search because they want to be found by readers. Last year, we sent more than **5 billion visits to Canadian news websites of all sizes** - for free. This helps publishers make money by showing those readers ads or subscription offers. In 2019, this traffic drove an estimated **\$500 million worth of value**. This is in addition to the millions we've already invested in digital transformation programs with news publishers, and the **\$1 billion news licensing program** we launched globally.

Fact: Google believes there is a way forward.

While some legacy media have struggled to adapt their businesses to the Internet economy, other Canadian publishers are leading with innovation. We will continue to build constructive partnerships and drive towards sustainable solutions with publishers. We are optimistic and will continue to work together towards a proud future for Canadian journalism.

Find out more about news across Google at g.co/supportingnews

