











Michael Harris p.10

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NEWS

With O'Toole behind in polls, U.K. consultants unlikely to be helpful for Conservatives, say some politicos

BY ABBAS RANA

hile Erin O'Toole is running behind Justin Trudeau with

wide margins in polls, the U.K. political consultants hired by the Conservatives for the next election campaign are unlikely to be

of any help, say some politicos, but others say they have a recent proven track record of winning high-profile campaigns and

would prove to be enormously effective.

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NEWS

Public Service Employee Survey results show increase in job satisfaction, awareness of mental health supports amid COVID-19 pandemic



Treasury Board Board Jean-Yves Duclos pictured speaking with reporters on Nov. 27, 2020 in Ottawa. Mr. Duclos said the government wants any back to workplace process to be 'fully collaborative and fully adapted again to the realities of department, the realities of community, public servants themselves.' *The Hill* Times photograph by Andrew Meade

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

anada's federal public service Cemployees reported higher levels of job satisfaction, meaningful recognition for their work. and psychological health in the workplace last year, according to results from the 2020 Public Service Employee Survey.

And with new questions added around flexible work hours, mental health supports, and perceptions of anti-racism efforts, the annual survey has helped paint a

picture of how the federal public service adapted to the upheaval of the COVID-19 pandemic.

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NEWS

So far, 18 incumbent MPs not running again, could make difference between minority, majority, or government flipping, says pollster Nanos

BY ABBAS RANA

With the next federal election expected in the August-October window, at least 18 MPs have so far announced they won't seek re-election which means the ridings will be in play in the next election, say political players.

"We're in a minority government, every party has an interest in trying to hold on to as many seats as they can," said Nik Nanos, chief data scientist and president of Nanos Research. "If someone won the election in the last round, then there's probably a reasonable likelihood that they could succeed [again], assuming that there's no controversy. So the way I look at it in a tight race, these 18 seats could make the difference between someone winning a minority or a majority or the government flipping.

Of the 18 MPs, seven are Liberal, six Conservative, three NDP, and two Bloc Québécois MPs. Of these, nine are from Ontario, two from Quebec, and one each from New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia. Saskatchewan, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Nunavut. The total strength of the House is 338.

Two Independent MPs-Yasmin Ratansi (Don Valley East, Ont.) and Marwan Tab-Ont.)—could also announce they won't run in the next election. Both were elected as Liberals in the 2019 election, but now are sitting as Independents.

Ms. Ratansi, a long-time Liberal MP, resigned from the Liberal caucus late last year after a CBC report revealed that, in violation of parliamentary rules, she had

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Alice Chen Heard On The Hill

Grenier leaves CBC; Petty to guest host *Power* & Politics this summer: Al-Mehdar joins The Hill Times' news team







This just in: Zainab Al-Mehdar, left, has joined The Hill Times, while Kathleen Petty will guest host Power & Politics this summer, and long-time polls analyst Éric Grenier left CBC's parliamentary bureau with nary a peep about what comes next. Photographs courtesy of Linkedin and CBC

Eric Grenier, the popular polls analyst who still goes by @EricGrenierCBC on Twitter, left the CBC's parliamentary bureau last week and was mysterious about what's next. "After nearly seven years working with the CBC in parliamentary bureau as the CBC's polls analyst, I've decided it is time to move on and do something different," he tweeted on June 14. Mr. Grenier, who launched ThreeHundredEight 13 years ago, said he will keep running the Poll Tracker for the CBC for the next election, but is working on a new project. Mr. Grenier has written for The Globe and Mail, Huffington Post Canada, The Hill Times, Le Devoir, and L'actualité.

Kathleen Petty, executive producer of CBC New in Calgary and host of West of Centre political podcast, will be guest hosting CBC's Power & Politics this summer. "So—it's been 15 years since I've hosted/ anchored on TV. This ol'gal is getting dusted off. Power and Politics has decided I'm not (hope springs eternal) too rusty to take a crack at hosting their program this summer," Ms. Petty wrote on Facebook last week. The former host of CBC Radio's The House and former host of CBCNN, will guest host Fridays beginning J then two full weeks starting Aug. 23 and will be on until Sept. 3. "If speculation is to be believed—a federal election campaign could kick off while I'm in the chair. I will be doing this from Calgary. Wish me luck!!"

In other shakeups, a new reporter has come to join the small but mighty team at

Zainab Al-Mehdar, an Algonquin College journalism graduate who was most recently interned at the Global News, entered the new room as an online reporter on June 14, and has hit the ground running.

"A byline third day on the job ... my life is pretty awesome," said Ms. Al-Mehdar.

She said her tenure at Global News "spurred" her interest in covering federal politics, and while she expected to do it later in her career, she took the opportunity of the new job when given. She's most excited for the meaning her stories could have.

"I [want] to learn more about different aspects of government and get to report on really powerful stories.'

She's replacing Palak Mangat, who's been with us since 2019 and is leaving for a start-up called Politics Today, covering Parliament Hill.

Both have a strong passion for journalism. For Ms. Al-Mehdar, the fun is in the process of unravelling something and capitalizing on

her "knack for exploring different topics."
For Ms. Mangat, the joy comes from talking to smart, insightful, and candid

And the pair also shares a grateful attitude. Ms. Mangat said she loved the funny and supportive team at The Hill Times and the focus on diverse voices. She called it a 'bittersweet departure."

And Ms. Al-Mehdar said she is simply tnanktul for everyone who helped her along

"My program coordinator and everyone who I worked with [at Algonquin Collegel were super supportive and I feel like they've given me the confidence to pursue a career in journalism."

Senator Bernard and Supreme Court judge among those given honorary degrees from Carleton

Seven honorary degrees will be given as Carleton University approaches its upcom-

ing virtual graduation ceremony for more than 5,600 up-and-coming students.

Included in these recipients is Senator Wanda Thomas Bernard, political journalist Chantal Hébert, and Supreme Court Judge Sheilah Martin.

Sen. Bernard has a long history working in mental health at a provincial level and as a professor at the Dalhousie School of Social work, where she also served as a director for 10 years. Her other work includes serving with community organizations to bring diversity in political processes, and she was one of the founding members of the Association of Black Social Workers. She was appointed to the Senate







Senator Wanda Thomas Bernard, political journalist Chantal Hébert, and Supreme Court Judge Sheilah Martin. The Hill Times file photographs

Ms. Hébert started her career in Radio-Canada in Toronto, before moving on to cover provincial politics at Queen's Park, then eventually federal politics before working as a bureau chief for Le Devoir and La Presse. She's currently a national affairs writer with the Toronto Star.

Lastly, Ms. Martin comes from a background of civil law and common law education from McGill University. She's worked as a researcher and law professor at the University of Calgary, and has practiced criminal and constitutional litigation in the area. She was appointed to the Supreme Court in 2017.

Other degree recipients include Harriet Burdett-Moulton, Stephen Jarislowsky, Monique Leroux, and June Pimm.

These seven will be delivering graduation addresses via video to be released on

"We look forward to celebrating the accomplishments of all our graduating students, and I know they will appreciate the words of wisdom offered by our honorary doctorate recipients,"university president Benoit-Antoine Bacon said in a June 10

Project marks decade since Layton's passing

With the 10-year anniversary of his death looming, **Jack Layton**'s family, friends, and colleagues have launched a project aiming to commemorate the former NDP leader's life and impact on Canada.

The former NDP leader died in August 2011, at the age of 61, a few short months after the May election that catapulted his the first time and shortly after receiving a second cancer diagnosis (he had previously been diagnosed with prostate cancer in 2010).

The June 15 launch of the Layton Legacy project marked the opening of applications for a new scholarship and a pair of new awards to be given out in Layton's name.

It was an initiative that culminated from a January meeting where Olivia Chow, Layton's widow, and others "put a team in place that would ensure the 10th memo-

rial anniversary of Jack's passing had a positive impact and reminded Canadians of his message," according to the project's

Co-chaired by Ms. Chow and Brad Lavigne, who was national campaign director for the NDP during the 2011 Orange Wave, the Layton Legacy Committee members include Mike Layton, Sarah Layton, Libby Davies, Brian Topp, Josh Bizjak, George Soule, Anne McGrath, Genevieve Kleefisch, Bob Gallagher, Tania Lui, Nathan Rotman, Laura Ziemba, Jeff Slater, and Tyler Johnson.

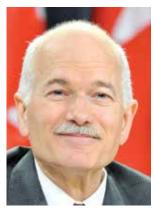
The project will hand out \$5,000 to a group engaging in some sort of activism and another unspecified award to specifically spotlight Indigenous activist leadership. A new Jack Layton Scholarship will also be handed out in honour of the former university professor.

These awards will be given out during a free, virtual event-promising "an incredible line-up of passionate advocates, talented artists and many special guests—on Aug. 22, the anniversary of Layton's death.

Former Harper staffer Bonokowski joins Ottawa Crestview team

A former senior Harper aide will be adding her insider experience to the Crestview Strategy team.

Erin Bonokowski has joined the firm's Ottawa office as a senior campaign strategist, Crestview announced in a June 17 press release.



The family and friends of the late Jack Lavton. the former leader of the NDP, have launched a memorial project to commemorate the 10th anniversary of his death. The Hill Times photograph by Cynthia Münster

"As a former political staffer, she brings political insight and first-hand experience working across all government departments to influence decision makers and implement results driven campaigns," Joseph Lavoie, Crestview's national practice lead for digital, campaigns, and mobilization, said in the release.

Ms. Bonokowski spent roughly five and half years on the Hill, beginning in then-transport minister John Baird's office in May 2010 before moving up to **Stephen** Harper's Prime Minister's Office in November of that same year, starting as a communications special assistant and ending as director of strategic communications. She also served as manager of operations for the Conservative Party leader's tour during the 2015 election.

Before joining Crestview, Ms. Bonokowski was most recently the director of communications and public affairs for Health Standards Organization and Accreditation Canada, both health care notfor-profit organizations.

I am thrilled to be joining Crestview Strategy and look forward to bringing my extensive public and private sector experience together to implement results driven campaigns," Ms. Bonokowski said in a LinkedIn post.

> achen@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

7 WAYS AMICA THE GLEBE ELEVATES SENIOR LIVING IN OTTAWA







Imagine sipping coffee on the patio overlooking Bank Street, looking forward to a fresh morning stroll, participating in an engaging workshop with friends, dropping by the spa and then enjoying dinner prepared by a Red Seal-certified chef. Discerning seniors will have all of this and more when Amica The Glebe opens in early 2022.

"You can't beat the location, because you have access to all the downtown shops and restaurants, and you're two blocks away from the Rideau Canal," says General Manager Peter Kocoris. "Amica also offers an unparalleled level of care and service, from the concierge greeting you in the lobby to the wellness team to the professional servers in our dining rooms."

1. PREMIUM AMENITIES, DESIGN AND LOCATION

Amica The Glebe truly has it all, with refined amenities such as a pub, private dining room, craft kitchen, fitness centre, home theatre, hair salon and spa, gardens and multiple terraces. So you don't need to leave the residence to host a family celebration, exercise, or meet a friend for dessert. With tasteful décor in colours inspired by the natural stone and lush greenery of the region, the residence features Amica's signature elegant-yet-accessible design. Dow's Lake, the Ottawa Farmer's Market, Lansdowne Park and other Ottawa hotspots are all within easy reach.

2. EXCEPTIONAL DINING

Choose from a menu of delicious, balanced meals prepared daily by our culinary team using fresh local ingredients. You decide what, when and where you'd like to eat: in the dining room, on the patio, in the bistro or in your suite.

3. STAYING CONNECTED AND EMPOWERED

Each day, you'll have the opportunity to socialize with like-minded peers at activities such as walks, wine tastings, fitness classes and eco-living or wellness talks. There's plenty of choice because at

Amica, you're in charge of your life and your schedule. You're not losing your independence — you're gaining a premium lifestyle with more time to do what you love most.

4. EXCEPTIONAL SAFETY

Amica The Glebe residents can enjoy life together in a safe, vaccinated space: we follow enhanced COVID-19 safety protocols and protective measures that exceed industry requirements.

5. BEST-IN-CLASS CARE

Amica's personalized, professional care and 24/7 on-site nurses offer peace of mind. You'll have a choice of Independent Living, Assisted Living and Memory Care at Amica The Glebe.

"That continuum and level of care is unique, and it means you don't have to move if your needs change," says Kocoris. Even with different care needs, couples can continue to live together.

6. A CARING, LOCAL TEAM

Amica The Glebe is Canadian-owned and operated, and led by an experienced team. General Manager Peter Kocoris offers extensive expertise in retirement living. Community Relations Directors LA Palamar and Sarah Moriarty are already well-known in the neighbourhood and come with backgrounds in both hospitality and senior living. Through partnerships with well-known local organizations, as well as our very own Amica Helping Hands Charity, Amica The Glebe has helped raise funds for those in need and has strong ties to the community.

7. LIVING WITH OPTIMISM

It's easy to look ahead with possibility when you're safely enjoying each day thanks to excellent amenities, dining and services in one of Ottawa's best neighbourhoods.

Be among the first to see our model suites this fall. Learn more at amica.ca/theglebe



News

'Parliament is a high court, it is the grand inquest of the nation': PHAC president ordered to appear before Commons

The rare order followed two others this year, dating back to March 31, when the House **Special Committee** on Canada-China Relations made the first such request.

BY CHRISTOPHER GULY

rarely used parliamentary A procedure will play out in the House of Commons at 3 p.m. on Monday if the head of the Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC) complies with an order to stand before the brass bar of the Chamber and agree to transfer confidential records to the law clerk about the dismissal of two scientists at the agency's National Microbiology Laboratory (NML) in Winnipeg in 2019 and the transfer of viruses from the lab to China's Wuhan Institute of

On June 16, Conservative House Leader Gérard Deltell (Louise-Saint-Laurent, Que.) presented a point-of-privilege motion to find PHAC in contempt of Parliament and for Iain Stewart, the agency's president, to "receive, on behalf of (PHAC), an admonishment delivered by the Speaker' for failing to deliver documents the House ordered on June 2.

The motion passed by a vote of

The order followed two others this year, dating back to March 31, when the House Special Committee on Canada-China Relations made the first such request.

PHAC failed to comply with that order. The committee then issued a second order, on May 10, which compelled its chair, Liberal MP and former Commons speaker Geoff Regan (Halifax West, N.S.), to report the government's failure to comply with the

The motion, adopted by the Commons, was the fourth order for PHAC's documents.

House Speaker Anthony Rota (Nipissing-Timiskaming, Ont.) ruled that the government providing the more than 250 pages of documents to the three-year-old National Security and Intelligence Committee of Parliamentarians—from which Conservative Leader Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ont.) pulled Conservative members in protest last week—breached parliamentary privileges since the committee is not one of Parliament.

All four House and committee orders "are the same as a court order," said Conservative MP Michael Chong (Wellington-Halton Hills, Ont.), his party's shadow minister for foreign affairs and a member of the Canada-China Relations Committee. "Parliament is a high court. It is the grand inquest of the nation.'

Parliament has the power to issue warrants, he added, noting that the last time that happened was in 2007, when then-Speaker Peter Milliken ordered German-Canadian businessman Karlheinz-Schreiber transferred from jail in Toronto, where he was awaiting extradition to Germany, into the custody of the Sergeantat-Arms to appear before the Commons Ethics Committee regarding the Airbus affair.

The Trudeau government is undermining the rule of law in its flagrant disobedience of these orders," said Mr. Chong.

We have given the government two-and-a-half months to comply with the original order and it has yet to do so.

Mr. Chong said he believes the government is stonewalling Parliament because of "some serious breaches" at the Winnipeg lab, and has "failed to protect the safety and security of Canadians" and "that there were lapses in policy at that lab that led to the termination of two government scientists.'

In July 2019, Xiangguo Qiu and her husband, Keding Cheng, a biologist, were removed from the lab and officially fired in January of this year. The couple is also reportedly under RCMP investigation.

PHAC has explained their removal as involving a "policy breach" and "possible breaches of security protocols."



Conservative House Leader Gérard Deltell presented a point-of-privilege motion to find PHAC in contempt of Parliament and for Iain Stewart, pictured, the agency's president, to 'receive, on behalf of (PHAC), an admonishment delivered by the Speaker' for failing to deliver documents the House ordered. Photograph courtesy of ParlVu



The committee issued an order, on May 10, which compelled its chair, Liberal MP and former Commons speaker Geoff Regan, pictured June 14, to report the government's failure to comply with the House. Screen capture courtesy of ParlVu



Health Minister Patty Hajdu, pictured testifying remotely before the Canada-China Relations Committee on June 14, 2021 Photograph courtesy of ParlVu

In May, The Globe and Mail reported that CSIS recommended the withdrawal of security clearances for the two scientists on national security grounds, and expressed concern over the nature of the information that Ms. Qiu, who formerly headed the NML's vaccine-development and antiviral therapy program, shared with the Wuhan facility.

Mr. Chong said he would like PHAC to explain why the two walked out" of the NML by RCMP officers on July 5, 2019, and also why a Chinese military scientist was granted access to the lab.

The Globe reported that Feihu Yan of the People's Liberation Army's Academy of Military Medical Sciences worked at the Winnipeg facility. Seven NML scientists have conducted experiments and co-authored studies on infectious diseases with Chinese military researchers.

Last month, U.S. President Joe Biden gave his country's intelligence community 90 days to "redouble" its effort to determine whether COVID-19"emerged from human contact with an infected animal or from a laboratory accident"

The virus was first detected in Wuhan in late 2019, and President Biden has also asked that inquiry include "specific questions for China."

Mr. Chong told *The Hill Times* that there is no evidence that the coronavirus associated with CO-VID-19 originated in Canada, but noted that other infectious viruses were shipped from Winnipeg to

'What we don't know is the extent of that cooperation, and the cooperation between Winnipeg and the People's Liberation Army," he said.

"One of the government scientists escorted out and subsequently fired went to Wuhan to train

technicians and scientists at the Institute of Virology to a level-4 standard, allowing that lab to handle the world's most dangerous viruses and pathogens."

The NML is Canada's only level-4 security lab equipped to handle the world's most infectious diseases.

Mr. Chong said that if the U.S. administration concludes that an accident at the Wuhan lab was the most likely source of the COVID-19 pandemic,"then the exact relation ship between the Winnipeg and Wuhan labs becomes very material."

"That would mean we need a whole lot more government oversight of these level-4 labs in order to ensure that we never again have a global pandemic that emerges from one of those labs,"he added.

Christopher Guly is a freelance journalist for The Hill Times and a member of the Parliamentary Press Gallery.

Pandemic reveals Canada's access-to-information system in 'a critical state,' and need for 'urgent' resources, says top watchdog

Canada's information commissioner dealt with a third fewer complaints due to COVID-19, even as some departments stopped fulfilling their legal obligations under the access act.

BY ZAINAB AL-MEHDAR

Canada's already "archaic" access-toinformation system proved to be inefficient throughout the pandemic revealing gaps that should be urgently addressed, according to a new report by the office that oversees the system.

Departments and agencies across government relied on outdated software and "bureaucratic processes that have not kept up with the times," a reality made worse amid COVID-19, according to the Office of Information Commissioner (OIC), which released the 2020-21 report on June 15.

With the introduction of remote work, employees not only dealt with the difficulties of that transition, but also with preexisting problems such as "chronic underresourcing" that created backlogs long before the pandemic, the report said.

"What the pandemic has shown is that our system is very archaic, that a lot of institutions are still very paper-based," said Information Commissioner Caroline Maynard in an interview with *The Hill Times*. Her office conducts investigations into departments, provides recommendations, and issues orders in service of information rights guaranteed under the Access to Information Act.

That system is in a "critical state," Ms. Maynard said in her report, and called for increased transparency, especially in releasing "an open and complete public record of decisions and actions taken" during an "extraordinary period in our history."

The impact of the pandemic drove some departments to pause or halt all access requests, it found. In December 2020, the commissioner launched a complaint against Canadian Heritage, for example, after it "suspended" processing of access requests between March 16 and July 10, 2020. That was contrary to its legal obligations set out in the act, which had not been similarly suspended.

The OIC began investigations covered in the report (between April 2020 to March 2021) during the first wave of COVID-19 and quickly adjusted to the changing reality of remote work. Much like the OIC, many departments responding to requests also felt the effects of staff working from home, who often couldn't access hard copies of files. Many departments were still using software that had not been updated for years. In Canadian Heritage's case, the department acquired a new server following Ms. Maynard's investigation.

The strain on some offices "deeply" involved in the government's COVID-19 response efforts saw some hold off on

responding to access requests amid the increased workload. Still, the office suggested that choice may "stem from complacency in the area of access."

"This culture of complacency is characterized by the view that responding to access requests is a distraction from employees' day jobs, rather than what it actually is: a core part of their responsibility as public servants," the report said.

Under the act, government institutions have 30 days to respond to a request unless they seek an extension. That time limit "is not merely a suggestion," the report stated plainly. "It is the law."

One of the challenges with remote work is access to adequate information management systems–knowing where information is being stored, what needs to be stored, and how to retrieve it, Ms. Maynard explained.

"So basically, an institution has to really quickly react to the pandemic and see how they could change the technology and how they could do their process electronically," Ms. Maynard told *The Hill Times*, which she said many were unable to do.

Her comments are echoed in the report, which observed "the failure to adopt proper information management practices may have also resulted in some records that are of public interest never having been created in the first place, while documents not being sorted or organized properly may have led to a lack of relevant records."

The report also said there's "an urgent government-wide need to adequately invest in human resources in the field of access to information, by creating pools, hiring sufficiently qualified staff, and developing appropriate ongoing training for employees." Ms. Maynard's office has its own backlog and received a recent bump of \$3-million in permanent funding, which she said would be used to hire 25 new investigators to help support her team.

The report revealed the office received 34 per cent fewer complaints (4,060) than in 2019-20 (5,528). That report attributed that decrease to fewer complaints being filed due to the pandemic. That's a fraction of the tens of thousands of requests made to the government, she noted, with complaints historically representing about two per cent of the total.

Of those 4,060 complaints, the office determined 643 were "well-founded," representing 16 per cent of the total in 2020-21. That's up from 11 per cent (597) the previous year. When asked if she saw a trend or a concerning uptick in founded complaints, Ms. Maynard said that it's within the norm and the office typically sees an average of 15 per cent of cases that are well founded.

As remote work continues to be the norm, the OIC said it plans to adopt, where possible, flexible work, electronic investigations, and a paperless approach. Ms. Maynard said she wants institutions to springboard off of this difficult year and use it to enhance and further improve the systems in place.

"I'm really hoping that these lessons that we've learned in the last year, they're going to build on that and they're not going to just want to go back to normal,"Ms. Maynard said. zalmehdar@hilltimes.com

The Hill Times







WE'RE HERE FOR YOU, CANADA!

Thanks to support from the Government of Canada, Government of Saskatchewan, City of Saskatoon, and private donors, the Vaccine and Infectious Disease Organization (VIDO) at the University of Saskatchewan is becoming **Canada's Centre for Pandemic Research.** This National Centre will ensure Canada is at the forefront of scientific research and vaccine development and will help protect Canada and the world from emerging infectious diseases like COVID-19. Together we are building a healthier world.

NOUS SOMMES LÀ POUR VOUS, CANADA!

Grâce au soutien du gouvernement du Canada, du gouvernement de la Saskatchewan, de la ville de Saskatoon et de donateurs privés, la Vaccine and Infectious Disease Organization (VIDO) de l'Université de la Saskatchewan devient le Centre Canadien de Recherche sur les Pandémies. Ce centre national garantira que le Canada est à l'avant-garde de la recherche scientifique et du développement de vaccins et aidera à protéger le Canada et le monde contre les maladies infectieuses émergentes comme la COVID-19.

Ensemble, nous construisons un monde plus sain.

Sincerely/Sincèrement,

Volker Gerdts
VIDO Director and CEO





News

Centre Block reno, welcome centre construction pegged at upwards of \$5-billion by PSPC, to finish by 2030-31



pit where the future visitors welcome centre will be constructed in front of the Centre Block, pictured on June 16. 2021. Public Services and Procurement says COVID-19 has had virtually no impact on overall plans for the massive renovation of Centre Block. The Hill Times photograph by







While PSPC anticipates construction work will be complete by 2030 or 2031, assistant deputy minister Rob Wright on June 17 noted it will be another year after that before the building is ready to be reoccupied.

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

The massive project to restore and modernize Parliament Hill's focal point building, the Centre Block, and build a new underground welcome centre complex is expected to cost between \$4.5- and \$5-billion in all, and be completed by 2030-31, according to long-awaited cost and time estimates released by Public Services and Procurement Canada on June 17.

"The foremost building in Canada's Parliamentary Precinct holds special meaning to Canadians, visitors, and Parliamentarians as a symbol of Canada's democracy. It is a national icon that needs to be protected so that it can continue to serve our parlia-

mentary democracy into the next century," said PSPC Minister Anita Anand (Oakville, Ont.) during a press conference.

Public Services and Procurement Canada (PSPC) is the department responsible for overseeing Hill renovations.

While PSPC anticipates construction work on the project will be complete by 2030 or 2031, assistant deputy minister Rob Wright on June 17 noted it will be another year after that before the building is ready to be reoccupied.

Centre Block hasn't undergone a whole-scale renovation since its construction roughly 100 years ago. By the time it was emptied for renovations, beginning in December 2018, the building's systems had reached a critical state, with corrosion to its steel structure from leaks—as a result, in many ways the building will"quite literally have to be rebuilt," said Mr. Wright. The work to renovate it is the largest heritage restoration project in Canadian history, he noted.

Demolition, abatement, and excavation work has been ongoing since December 2019, continuing through the pandemic as PSPC worked to finalize design plans. Mr. Wright said so far, COVID-19 has had "really no impact on progress on site," including costs and schedules, as such work is "not really all that sensitive to supply chain issues." But, he said, the "real risk is in the future," noting that while it's expected to

decrease, the cost of labour and construction materials is currently "elevated." That uncertainty is a key reason why PSPC has presented a cost range, said Mr. Wright, as it's "very difficult to forecast escalation rates at this point."

Completion of the new Parliament Welcome Centre complex, which will serve as the public's access point to the Hill, is part of the Centre Block project.

A June 9 report from cost management firm Turner and Townsend, released by PSPC on June 17, specifies that, based on 90 per cent complete schematic design plans, it projects a "hard construction" cost of \$2,999,991,632 for the Centre Block building itself, with another \$732,706,530 estimated for "hard construction" of the final phase of the underground Parliament Welcome Centre complex.

"The only two caveats to this assessment are major scope changes driven by a significant change in functional requirements, or extreme rates of escalation," reads the report.

Renovations to Centre Block are focused on three main goals: modernizing it with new building and technology systems and spaces for Parliamentarians, along with bringing it up to modern fire and accessibility codes; making the building more environ-

Continued on page 7



A drawing of what Centre Block will look like; the fifth floor of Centre Block; scaffolding; the massive pit in front of the Centre Block where the visitors welcome centre will be built. *The Hill Times photographs by Sam Garcia*

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Continued from page 6

mentally friendly, with the goal of making it a carbon-neutral facility (enclosing the building's internal, open-air courtyards with glass is a major element of this effort); and restoring the aging heritage structure.

That restoration will involve extensive masonry rehabilitation, with roughly one-third of the 400,000 stones on Centre Block's exterior expected to be removed and replaced as part of this work. The building's entire roof needs to be replaced and fully insulated, and PSPC has indicated 1,600 windows also need replacing, as do all of the building's systems-electrical, IT, broadcasting, water, and HVAC.

Demolition and abatement work inside Centre Block is now estimated to be about 50 per cent complete. So far, roughly 4.5-million kilograms of asbestos has been removed from the building as part of abatement work, out of an anticipated nine million kilograms in all.

The costing report estimates the Senate Chamber and its galleries will cost around \$60-million to renovate. Along with restoration, including to its suspended plaster ceiling, the Red Chamber—as with the House of Commons Chamber to its westwill see modern technology (including for broadcasting) installed, and its galleries brought up to modern accessibility codes.

On top of this work, on the House side, seating within the Chamber will have to be revamped, as planners have been charged with finding space to accommodate more MPsthe number is expected to jump from 338 to 460 in the next 50 years—within the Chamber's existing footprint. A decision on the exact layout in the Chamber is still to come. In all, renovations for the House are estimated

at \$113-million, according to the report.

The government and opposition lobbies that flank the House Chamber will see significant work. They're set to be turned into two-storey spaces, extending down into Centre Block's first floor. The two floors of lobby space will be connected by new stairs and elevators, with Chamber support space (an equipment room, a multimedia room, a food service facility) and new common space (including genderneutral washrooms, meeting rooms, a coat room, family and quiet rooms) to be built between them. No specific cost estimate for this work was attached to the report, nor were any costs specified related to the planned construction of a new infill above the Hall of Honour that will connect to floors four through six.

Work to Centre Block's previously unused eastern and western courtyards, which will both be enclosed with glass and see new elements constructed, is estimated to cost around \$22-million each. Both courtyards will serve as circulation routes for visitors entering and leaving the building via the welcome centre, featuring new stairs and elevators, and a partial infill is also planned for the Senate's eastern courtyard.

For the welcome centre, plans released by PSPC on June 17 show that the foundation of the Peace Tower and Confederation Hall (also known as the Rotunda) will appear as a large, central pillar in the main area of this new underground complex, around which visitors to the Hill will flow after passing through security screening on their way into the building.

The welcome centre will also include: skylights, a multi-purpose room for the Senate, the new Charles Lynch room for media briefings, a parliamentary cafeteria and a cafe for the public, security screening, public tour facilities (including classrooms, a multi-purpose theatre, exhibition space, and a boutique-all coming under the Library of Parliament's purview), offices for the administration, and storage space.

lryckewaert@hilltimes.com The Hill Times









Centre Block's historic Room 253-D, top; scaffolding in the main hallway to the Library of Parliament; the stairway in the Senate; and up close and personal with the Senate Chamber's ceiling. The Hill Times photographs by Sam Garcia



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Editorial

The day NDP MP Mumilaaq Qaqqaq got Canada to wake up and listen

NDP MP Mumilaaq Qaqqaq didn't think anyone was listening to her, but they are now. In fact, the entire country is. The 27-year-old MP, who has represented Nunavut since 2019, delivered one of the most searing and compelling farewell speeches in the House of Commons and it will go down in the political history books as one of the most pivotal and important.

Ms. Qaqqaq captured more national attention in a 10-minute speech than most MPs have in their entire political careers, and she has now forced the country to wake up and look at the critical issues facing Inuit in Nunavut.

In her speech, which she delivered remotely to the House of Commons, she highlighted the poor housing and living conditions in Nunavut, the high suicide rates in the Arctic territory, how the federal government has blood on its hands in its treatment of Indigenous people, and she revealed how she herself, as a young Inuit woman, felt in the world of federal politics in Ottawa. She didn't feel good or welcomed. In fact, she said she felt afraid, unsafe, and racially profiled.

Since being elected, I expect to be stopped by security at my workplace. I have had security jog after me down hallways, nearly put their hands on me and racially profile me as a Member of Parliament," Ms. Qaqqaq explained in her speech. "As a brown woman, I do not move too quickly or suddenly, do

not raise my voice, do not make a scene, maintain eye contact, and do not hide my hands."

Unfortunately, Ms. Qaqqaq is not seeking re-election and won't be around in the next Parliament to continue to fight for better living and social conditions for the people of Nunavut, but she has definitely reignited awareness and has hopefully forced government action to improve the living, social, and housing conditions in Nunavut. She has also definitely influenced how young MPs of colour will be treated in the world of federal politics and Parliament Hill now, and in the future.

The legacy this institution continues to not only maintain but to build and fuel is nothing to take pride in. People in power have choices and consistently choose priorities that uphold systems of oppression, leaving babies sick in mouldy homes and parents missing their passed-on children because these powerful individuals do not think change is worth the money," she said.

In her short time in federal politics, Ms. Qaqqaq has left an influential mark. By speaking up so powerfully, she will forever be known as the MP who forced Parliament and the government to really see what's happening to Inuit in this country and to really see how young, diverse MPs are treated in federal politics.

The Hill Times

Letters to the Editor

Canada needs to step up its human rights, with shift to emerging energy technologies and Canadian extractive sector: KAIROS Canada

Re: "Canada better step up its game on battery-powered electric vehicles," (*The Hill Times*, June 7.) Canada does need to step up, but on human rights, with the shift to emerging energy technologies, especially as it is poised to benefit from them. With the demand of "sustainable" technology, like electric vehicles, expected to rise, Canada is already presenting itself as a primary source of minerals needed for their development. The Canadian extractive sector, however, is mired by allegations of human rights and environmental abuses

'Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls' confirms that extractive projects contribute to gender-based violence. The installation of man camps introduces a host of social, economic, health, and political issues in Indigenous communities. What is more, Indigenous women. gender diverse people, and children are particularly impacted by environmental damages linked to extractive companies, such as water and soil pollution and destruction of habitats.

The Government of Canada must address the differential impacts of resource extraction. This can be done through the implementation of the calls for justice, particularly the calls for extractive and development industries, and respect for free, informed, and prior consent as outlined in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. In addition, government and companies must ensure that Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people are present at decision-making tables and all levels of Canadian government must stop criminalizing women environmental rights defenders for their non-violent defence of land and water.

Gabriela Jiménez Latin America partnerships coordinator at KAIROS Canada Toronto, Ont.

Cancel Canada Day this year, writes Algonquin Anishinaabe Lynn Gehl

Choose right initiatives to end forced labour in

There is a call to cancel Canada Day this year. It has become obvious that Canada's nation to nation framework is a perpetuation of Canada's evergreen genocide through obfuscating rhetoric, policy, law, and a national action plan that fails missing and murdered Indigenous women. What is more, the genocide sits right on top of Parliament Hill. Although Canada, the nation state's parliamentary base illegally squats on Algonquin Anishinaabeg tradi-

tional territory, inclusive of its House of Commons, Senate Chamber, the governor general, the prime minister's residence, and the Supreme Court of Canada, very few Canadians know who the Algonquin Anishinaabeg are. We are still here. Instead of Canada Day, Google 'Cancel Canada Day' and witness Canada's Algonquin genocide.

Lynn Gehl Algonquin Anishinaabe Peterborough, Ont.



plish. While Bill S-216 is being touted as a move towards eliminating modern slavery, it would not actually require that companies take steps to ensure that their supply chains are free of forced or child labour. We wish it would. Instead, Bill S-216 would require that large companies publish a report each year describing actions they've taken, if any, to"prevent and reduce the risk"that forced, or child labour, is used in making the goods they import into Canada. A firm could be fined for failing to report or for giving false information, but not for knowingly profiting from forced and child workers.

Furthermore, the law doesn't provide for liability or remedy to victims if companies

make use of child or forced labour. Canadian lawmakers should build on best practice that has emerged from European supply chain legislative initiatives. These initiatives require that companies identify and prevent human rights abuses throughout their global operations and supply chains, and hold companies legally accountable when they're linked to harm. This type of law, often referred to as "human rights due diligence"legislation, already exists in France, is under development at the European Union level, and is being studied and debated in parliaments and governments

Senator Miville-Dechêne and MP McKay argue that Canada has "some catching up to do"to end forced labour in our global supply chains. Let's choose the right initiatives to

> **Karen Hamilton** Interim director at Above Ground Ottawa, Ont.



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Green Party debacle has done irreparable damage to its chances across the country

Annamie Paul could survive by recanting the threats tweeted by her former staffer. But it is hard to see how the internal strife is going to do anything but consign the Greens to the scrap heap of political history.





Internal party battles are the ugliest **▲**part of politics. And when they spill out into the open, everyone gets hurt.

The current debacle in the Green Party may fatally damage the leadership of Annamie Paul.

She could survive by recanting the threats tweeted by her former

But it is hard to see how the internal strife is going to do anything but consign the Greens to the scrap heap of political history.

One of the most important jobs of a leader is to keep their caucus happy.

In Paul's case, she only had three members to worry about and last week she lost one of

But instead of standing down and spending some time in personal reflection on what went wrong, she concocted a crazy theory that it was Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, the anti-feminist, who worked against her to convince Fredericton Green Party MP Jenica Atwin to cross the floor to

Meanwhile, the two remaining MPs did not back Paul when the fight went public, with former leader and Green dean Elizabeth May calling on Paul to apologize to the floor crosser.

After a fiery press conference in which Paul blamed the internal turmoil on racism and sexism within the Green Party national executive, not a single caucus member came to her defence.

According to Paul, it was a busy day.

But the party executive decided that Paul's only path to survival is to organize a joint press conference with British Columbia Green MP Paul Manly, in which she repudiates attacks on caucus members by her former chief adviser Noah Zatzman

Zatzman is seen to have played a crucial role in Atwin's defection, having responded to her pro-Palestinian tweet with a Facebook accusation of anti-Semitism against unspecified Green MPs.



Green Party Leader Annamie Paul, pictured March 11, 2021, on the Hill. One of the most important jobs of a leader is to keep their caucus happy. In Ms. Paul's case, she only had three members to worry about and last week she lost one of them, writes Sheila Copps. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Zatzman vowed in a post on Facebook to defeat them and replace them with "progressive climate change champions who are antifa and pro-LGBT and pro-Indigenous sovereignty and Zionists.

The substance of his tweet should have been raising eyebrows even before Atwin bolted the tiny caucus.

Most Canadians currently believe that a vote for the Greens is a way of putting climate change at the forefront of the political agenda.

But when it is mixed with antifa and Zionism, the message gets a lot more muddled. And those Canadians who might have cast their ballots in principle for the Greens will likely decide to park their votes elsewhere in the next election.

If Paul cannot even manage a caucus of three, how can she possibly expect to run the country?

Instead of following the advice of elder Green statesman May by trying to get Atwin back into the fold by apologizing, Paul simply dropped another verbal bomb, accusing members of her own national executive of racism and sexism.

Two Atlantic Green national council members resigned last week. In a written statement to The Globe and Mail, departing Nova Scotia representative Lia Renaud said the subject of the national council meeting was "Annamie Paul's leadership approach and relationship building skills.'

Renaud called the claims of sexism and racism against council members as "just another example of the toxic relationship and work conditions.

There is no doubt that as a black Jewish woman, Paul is facing the kind of scrutiny that would not have been levelled at a middle-aged white man.

In Paul's own words, the Green party's historic vote for her leadership was intended to change the current Canadian gender and race dynamic.

Even if Paul is successful in repairing the recent damage done to the party's reputation, how will she respond to her own accusations of Green Party racism and sexism?

With an election expected within the next two months, this fight has done irreparable damage to Green chances across the country

And environmental supporters who previously parked their votes with the Greens will definitely be looking elsewhere.

According to an Abacus poll published last week, the Green Party is sitting at six per cent. The front-running Liberals are at 34 per cent with the Conservatives closing in at 29 per cent.

The New Democratic Party, following a Prairie uptake, is sitting at 21 per cent.
The Conservatives are not

likely to benefit from this Green implosion. A fragmented status quo on the left is their path to victory.

The majority of loose Green votes could deliver a majority government to the Liberals.

Atwin's move could prove

Sheila Copps is a former Jean Chrétien-era cabinet minister and a former deputy prime minister.

The Hill Times

Doug Ford takes the easy way out

While gagging unions might make things simpler for Doug Ford, it also makes it harder to safeguard democracy.



OAKVILLE, ONT.—Maybe the official motto for Canada's conservative political parties should be, "We Like to Take the Easy Way Out."

After all, it seems to me conservative politicians in this country prefer to avoid tough battles.

Consider, for instance, how federal Conservative Party Leader Erin O'Toole recently performed an "if you can't beat them join them"tactical manoeuvre when he opted to meekly drop his fight against Liberal-style carbon taxes.

Or if you want an even more egregious example of a Conservative politician taking the easy way out, there's Ontario Premier Doug Ford, who, rather than battling his opponents, fair and square, decided instead to silence them, using the heavy-handed power of

You know what I'm talking about here, right?

Ford's recent controversial decision to invoke Sec. 33 of the Charter (the notwithstanding clause) to override a court ruling on the province's campaign finance law.

That law, which I like to call a 'gag law," basically imposes strict limits on how much money "third parties" can spend on political advertising for a full 12 months before an election.

In short, it infringes on free

Certainly, a group of unions believed it constricted their Charter-guaranteed right to free speech, which is why they challenged it in the courts.

And a few weeks ago, they won: an Ontario judge ruled the gag was unconstitutional.

Now before I go on, let me say this legal battle never should have occurred in the first place.

I say that because Ontario has a conservative government and one of the things conservatives are supposed to stand for is individual freedom, including the to free election spe rıgh

My point is, as a good conservative, Ford should have voluntarily repealed Ontario's gag law on principle; he should have let freedom reign.

But he didn't.

Indeed, the Progressive Conservative government actually made the gag law stricter—as originally written by the preceding Liberal government, spending limits were to be imposed for six months before an election, not twelve.

Anyway, as noted earlier, after the court ruled against the gag law, Ford hastily invoked the notwithstanding clause to nullify

Of course, Ford's supporters might argue his zeal to save the law merely reflects his principled desire to keep special interest group money from "unduly" influencing elections.

Who knows, maybe, that's

But much more likely in my view, is that Ford turned to the notwithstanding clause simply if unions were free to express themselves, they'd launch massive anti-conservative media campaigns.

And yes, they probably would, given that in the past unions spent millions and millions of dollars to defeat PC candidates.

But so what?

Democracies are supposed to be arenas where various competing ideas duke it out, aren't

Besides, the Ontario PC party is flush in resources, surely, it has the means to fend off union attacks.

As a matter of fact, a smart conservative politician can turn the enmity of unions into a political advantage.

Keep in mind, there's lot of voters in this country who don't like unions.

All Ford would have to say is something along the lines of, "Big public sector union bosses are trying to stop me because they know I'll stand up for taxpayers!"

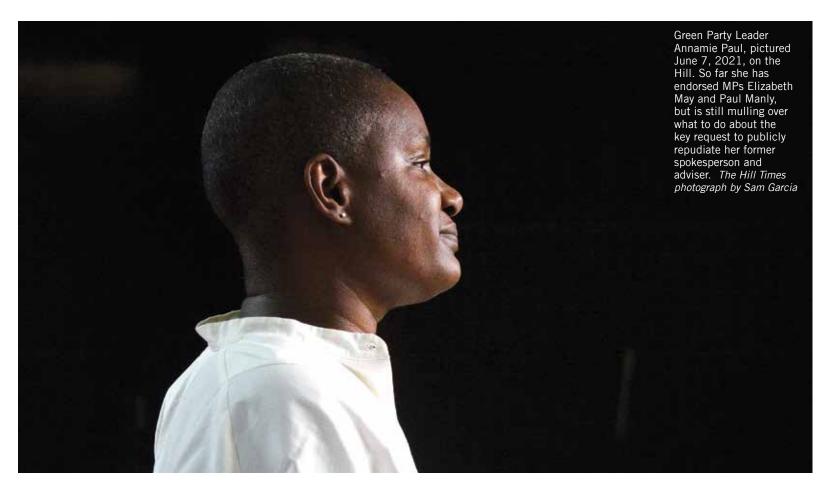
count on friendly conservative advocacy groups to come to his aid.

Still, I suppose, it's far easier just to squelch your opposition than it is to dig down in the trenches.

Alas, while gagging unions might make things simpler for Ford, it also makes it harder to safeguard democracy.

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant.

Opinion



Green Party of Canada: is its current crisis growing pains, or shrinking pains?

So far, no one knows. That's because, so far, it has played out along the lines of a political soap opera. Lots of slagging, hyperbole, and evasion. Some coverage has even referred to the possible leadership review of Annamie Paul as an attempted 'coup.'





Halifax—"Appalling anti-semitism and discrimination from a range of political actors, beginning with Jagmeet Singh and Dimitri Lascaris, and many Liberal, NDP, and sadly, Green MPs. We will work to defeat you." Noah Zatzman, former adviser and spokesperson for Green Party Leader Annamie

The Green Party of Canada: is its current crisis growing pains, or shrinking pains?

So far, no one knows. That's because, so far, it has played out along the lines of a political soap Lots of slagging, hyper bole, and evasion. Some coverage has even referred to the possible leadership review of Annamie Paul as an attempted "coup."

Very strange language, since the process for such a review is detailed in the party's own constitution. I think people might agree that there is no such thing as a constitutional coup.

It ought to be remembered that trouble in a party is not exactly an item for pay TV. In fact, it's a

pretty common occurrence. Transitions from a longstanding leader to a newbie are usually difficult.

Anyone who remembers how the Liberals were seriously split between the Chrétien and Martin forces in that famous power struggle will know exactly what I mean. The bitterness changed the party. When Paul Martin finally took over the reins, some of the wind went out of the Liberal Party's sails. The membership was simply not pulling on the same oar anymore.

Annamie Paul's slagging of the Liberals because of Jenica Atwin's decision to leave the party is equally unremarkable. MPs often change their dancing partners, making the receiving party happy, and the losing party upset. The Greens were on the fuzzy end of the deal this time around, and have reacted accordingly.

The same dynamic played out when NDP MP Bruce Hyer joined the Greens to become deputy leader, after sitting for two years as an Independent. The Greens celebrated and the NDP tossed the usual mud-pies.

They claimed that Hyer had broken faith with his voters and demanded that he resign and run as a Green in his riding of Thunder Bay-Superior North. Hver shot back that then NDP leader Tom Mulcair was controlling, muzzling, and undemocratic. He, Hyer, nad joined the party of Jack Layton, he said, and the NDP were no longer the party of Jack Layton.

Other floor-crossers from Belinda Stronach to David Emerson were subjected to the same partisan attacks for the same reasons. When you lose an MP to a rival, it is beyond tempting to portray them as turncoats with ulterior motives. Pollsters remind us that Canadians don't like political changelings.

So there is nothing particularly out of the ordinary that Annamie Paul accused Atwin, now a Liberal, of "manufacturing" the reason for her departure—an alleged difference of opinion over the Israeli/Palestine issue in the wake of the latest major bombing of Gaza.

Paul painted a picture of an MP who had been flirting with the Liberals for some time. The public record clearly shows that she was indeed talking to them. The Green leader also accused PM Justin Trudeau and Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland of tampering with the Green MP.

All, some, or none of that might be true. But the handy benefit of Paul's approach is that it shifts the blame for the loss of one-third of the Green caucus away from the leader and onto the usual suspects. That's politics.

What makes the current Green leader's situation more unusual is that when challenged on various items of her leadership style, including an alleged aloofness, Annamie Paul denounced the questioners rather than answered their questions.

She accused members of the Green Party's own national council of being racists and sexists. In any party, but especially in the Green Party, that is the equivalent of bringing out the heavy artillery. And so far, without proof.

At some point, Annamie Paul is going to have to open up and address the issues raised about her leadership. And there may well be very good answers. For example, Paul's mother was very ill during a part of the time some have said she didn't communicate with them or attend every meeting. Anyone who has ever spoken to the Green leader knows how very, very devoted she is to her mother. In my books, that's a

Part of the cruelty of politics is that it demotes a politician's personal life and obligations to second place. That will never happen in Annamie Paul's case. But when there are public claims that the new leader isn't connecting with her own caucus, there is also an understandable desire for Greens to get the facts. This is how former Green leadership candidate Amita Kuttner put it a week ago on a Facebook post, just after Atwin joined the Liberals: "For a month, there has been a lack of clarity out of the leader's office, leaving the implication that the leader is comfortable and supportive of the dissolution of our caucus. The words of her adviser and spokesperson said as much and she has not disavowed them publicly. I am heartbroken that our hardworking MPs would be put in this position."

Kuttner ultimately wants some answers to specific questions about the circumstances of Jenica Atwin's decision to leave the Green caucus and join the Liberals. Atwin herself has said that she would still be with the Greens if the leader had only communicated with her.

Here is part of what Kuttner had to say in her lengthy post: "I am troubled by the rumours that the leader had not spoken to Jenica in weeks. I would like to know: when was the last time that the leader had direct communication with Jenica? What were the internal efforts at peacemaking and collaboration? If it is true that the leader had not had direct communication across weeks during a period of crisis in the party, that is a clear failure of leadership.... I worry from the messages I have been receiving, and the public discourse, that the leader has lost the confidence of the membership. Whether this is indeed the case or not, we have the right to know...."

The national council, essentially the board of directors of the GPC, has set Paul two conditions to end this contretemps, or face a non-confidence vote next month: she must repudiate Noah Zatzman's offensive comments about the party's own MPs; and express full support for the remaining two MPs in the Green Party parliamentary caucus.

So far she has endorsed MPs Elizabeth May and Paul Manly, but is still mulling over what to do about the key request to publicly repudiate her former spokesperson and adviser.

The candidate who came second to Paul in the Green leadership race, Dimitri Lascaris, had some advice for the leader. Speaking to the National Observer, Lascaris said, "II Annamie is serious about courtesy and mutual respect, then she should have unequivocally rejected what [Zatzman] said and identified that as an example of how not to communicate when we have sharp differences of opinion about policy."

She might. So far though, crickets.

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

Vaccines for the world: charity or self-interest?

Nobody is safe until everybody is safe. Relative safety would require having 40 per cent of the world's population vaccinated by January, and 60 per cent by mid-2022—at a total cost, according to the International Monetary Fund, of around \$50-billion.



L ONDON, U.K.—At the recent G7 summit, U.S. President Joe Biden promised to distribute 500 million doses of COVID-19 vaccines free to the

poorer countries by the middle of next year. That's more than a drop in the bucket, but not much more. A tablespoon in the bucket, perhaps.

And the other six 'Gs' (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom) have pledged around the same number of free jabs for poor countries on the same timetable. So around a year from now the seven richest Western countries will have given out around one billion free doses of COVID vaccines. Pretty generous, no?

No. China leads all the G7 countries combined in the number of doses it has delivered to poorer countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Most are sold at close to cost price, and sometimes, for the poorest, with cheap credit as an added attraction. Around half of all the doses going to the less-developed countries are Chinese.

China is not sacrificing its own people for this: it has already vaccinated about 40 per cent of its population, roughly the same ratio as the United States. Yet its share of the vaccines used in developing countries is likely to rise even further.

Well, good for China. Sure it's buying influence with its generosity, but what's wrong with that? If the G7 coun-

tries want to counter it, they shouldn't resort to cheap propaganda about Chinese vaccines being ineffective (they're not), and they shouldn't claim that they have to vaccinate all their own people first. Instead, try being equally generous.

But 'generous' is actually the wrong word. 'Self-interested' is a better word, because leaving large populations unvaccinated anywhere guarantees that new variants will arise, some of them more infectious and/or more deadly, and will spread into the countries that think they have made themselves safe.

Take India, for example. It had a quite good 'first wave,' with apparently low COVID casualties. Everybody knew that there was some undercounting of fatalities, but the worst-case estimate was that the real Indian death rate might be five times higher—which would still be no worse than France.

Only three per cent of Indians are vaccinated, but Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government got so cocky that it authorized all sorts of crowd events like election campaigns and religious festivals—and then in early 2021 the 'Indian variant' arrived. (Modi doesn't like that phrase, so we're now supposed to call it 'Variant D'.)

ipposed to call it Variant D'. The new variant swept through India like a scythe, with daily death tolls as high as Brazil or the United States in their worst moments. But of course India has four times as many people as the United States, so it wouldn't really be all that extraordinary even if its true death toll from CO-VID-19 were up to five times higher.

Recently, however, an enterprising Indian data journalist called Rukmini S., writing for online news site Scroll.in, checked out the official statistics in the state of Madhya Pradesh. It turned out that total recorded deaths from all causes, known, or unknown, had tripled in April and May.

Since there was no war, no natural disaster, no other plague striking Madhya Pradesh at that time, it makes sense to assume that the huge surge in deaths was mostly due to COVID-19. But on that assumption, COVID deaths in Madhya Pradesh in May were not five times higher, but up to 42 times higher than the recorded COVID mortality figure.

Rukmini S. did a similar investigation for the state of Andhra Pradesh, and got similar results (34-fold higher). This is what happens when you have a still largely unvaccinated population and you take your eye off the ball. The

virus mutates, and it spreads like wildfire.

Even a half-vaccinated population is not safe. The first 'Variant D' infection was only detected in England in April, but it already accounts for 90 per cent of new infections there, and the U.K. has just extended its lockdown measures for another month.

Only 10 per cent of infected Americans have the Indian variant, but that just means they are six weeks behind the British. And while this variant, though much more infectious, is only a bit more lethal, other mutations of the virus may be less accommodating.

Nobody is safe until everybody is safe. Relative safety would require having 40 per cent of the world's population vaccinated by January, and 60 per cent by mid-2022—at a total cost, according to the International Monetary Fund, of around \$50-billion.

The billion doses promised by the G7 for mid-2022 just don't cut it, and even an extra billion from China is not enough. Two doses each for five billion people is what's needed. Or we can choose to live with the killer variants instead.

Gwynne Dyer's new book is 'Growing Pains: The Future of Democracy (and Work)'.

The Hill Times

Lead international Magnitsky sanctions for Tigray

For a nation that prides itself on being committed to human rights, silence in the face of a devastating and worsening conflict is insufficient. Leading on Magnitsky sanctions will be an important first step, both to show solidarity with the Tigray community, and to impose real consequences against those committing atrocity crimes against them.

Maria Reisdorf
& Sarah
Teich
Opinion

Awar is raging in Ethiopia's northern-most province of Tigray. Fighting between the Ethiopian military and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) has now been going on for six months, creating instability in the strategic Red Sea region.

The Ethiopian military, backed by Eritrean forces,

has also been accused of committing war crimes and crimes against humanity against Tigray civilians. There is evidence of mass extrajudicial killings; rape is used pervasively as a weapon of war; millions of Tigrays have been displaced; and the region is facing an imminent and disastrous famine as humanitarian aid remains blocked by Ethiopian forces. Some are calling this genocide.

Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed is quickly losing international credibility as atrocities mount. After winning the 2019 Nobel Peace Prize for facilitating peace and international cooperation, the Nobel Committee rebuked his actions in Tigray in November of last year.

Aiming to avoid international criticism, Abiy promised to protect civilians and increase access to humanitarian aid. He also promised that Eritrean troops would withdraw from the conflict. These promises were not kept, and in fact, the unfolding human rights crisis in Tigray is only worsening as the violence rages on.

In the United States, the Biden administration has committed US\$305-million in humanitarian aid, suspended economic and security assistance to Ethiopia, and applied visa restrictions to individual Ethiopian and Eritrean officials. On May 26, U.S. President Joe Biden called for a ceasefire and the withdrawal of troops.

There are growing calls for the Biden administration to impose Magnitsky sanctions (or sanctions that target specific individuals responsible for atrocities) on individual Ethiopian and Eritrean officials responsible for these human rights violations, in addition to the visa restric-

tions already imposed. In this, Canada can provide leadership.

Magnitsky sanctions impose visa bans, asset freezes and block properties. Targeted Magnitsky sanctions feature an added benefit of raising awareness against the perpetrators of human rights crimes, naming and shaming them.

Magnitsky sanctions are internationally lauded as an important and effective human rights measure. As the power of international institutions like the UN Security Council to impose sanctions for human rights abuses wane, domestic Magnitsky laws now adopted across Europe and North America provide opportunity to deter against human rights violations.

Ottawa should answer the call for collective action that its Ambassador to the United Nations Bob Rae has made by imposing Magnitsky sanctions on individual Ethiopian and Eritrean officials responsible for the ongoing atrocities in Tigray, and empower its diplomats across Western capitals and institutions to follow suit.

Canada has taken only limited action so far to combat the situation in Tigray. In Novem-

ber, Canada provided Ethiopia with \$3-million in humanitarian aid. In February, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau spoke with Abiy and "welcomed efforts" to expand humanitarian assistance access and protect civilians. In March, Minister of Foreign Affairs Marc Garneau expressed concern when speaking with Ethiopia's deputy prime minister and welcomed their efforts to improve the situation in Tigray. Yet amid growing international condemnation, Canada has remained relatively silent.

For a nation that prides itself on being committed to human rights, silence in the face of a devastating and worsening conflict is insufficient. Leading on Magnitsky sanctions will be an important first step, both to show solidarity with the Tigray community, and to impose real consequences against those committing atrocity crimes against them.

Maria Reisdorf is a recent Queen's law graduate. Sarah Teich is an international human rights lawyer, a senior fellow at the Macdonald-Laurier Institute, and a legal adviser at the Canadian Coalition Against Terror.

Opinion

NDP MP McPherson outclasses Alberta Conservatives every day in Commons

Alberta's lone NDP MP Heather McPherson has become a chief nemesis of Alberta Premier Jason Kenney and also has a federal minister dancing to her tune.



DMONTON—You might think Ethat Alberta's 33 Conservative MPs would overwhelm the NDP's Heather McPherson, the only non-Conservative Alberta MP, but it's quite the other way around. McPherson not only out-classes the Conservatives every day in the Commons, but has become a chief nemesis of Alberta Premier

Jason Kenney and also has a federal minister dancing to her tune.

McPherson was only elected in 2019, but already she's a star parliamentarian, and it's little wonder the other parties have virtually conceded her the Edmonton-Strathcona seat in the coming election. In the 2019 election, she collected 47 per cent of the vote, 10 points ahead of her Conservative opponent.

I take a particular interest in Edmonton-Strathcona because that's the seat I was first elected to 49 years ago-1972, the year McPherson was born. However, no one should think this is a just piece about a friend of mine. I've met McPherson a few times, but do not belong to her party nor do I live in her constituency. But I know a political stand-out when I see one.

On June 16, Environment Minister and Climate Change Minister Jonathan Wilkinson announced that all new coal mines and mine expansion projects will have to undergo a federal environmental impact assessment. Hitherto, they could escape such environmental reviews by limiting the output of coal mines. Wilkinson's action was a direct

response to McPherson's tabling of a private member's bill (Bill C-308) targeted at reining in coal companies.

Even though the bill's chief aim has been accomplished, McPherson will push the measure forward to ensure the policy change is embedded in law. "We can't trust Jason Kenney to protect the Rocky Mountains and Eastern Slopes," she says. "Albertans need federal oversight.'

Kenney is a target of McPherson's wrath, as she eloquently displayed in a May 6 emergency debate that she called for in the Commons on Alberta's then soaring number of COVID-19 cases. "If you want to know why it is so bad in Alberta, why other provinces have withstood the third wave better than my province, the answer is clear: it is Jason Kenney," McPherson said. She accused the premier of ignoring the evidence of science and the pleas of doctors, downplaying the seriousness of COVID-19, belittling efforts to control the spread and, even as the crisis deepened, taking only "half measures" to impose public health restrictions while blaming everyone but himself for the problem. "Jason Kenney has been an unmitigated disaster for Alberta."

When their turn came to speak, some of the Alberta Conservative MPs merely harrumphed over the role of their premier, but none dared lay a glove on Kenney. Nor do they on other aspects of Kenney's erratic leadership, which has resulted in the tanking of Kenney's poll numbers and resurrected prospects of Rachel Notley's NDP regaining the provincial government in the next election.

There's much more to McPherson than fire and fury. On Aug. 12, 2020, she obtained unanimous consent of the House for a motion calling on the federal government to provide an additional \$2-billion in funding for affordable childcare programs and back-to-school safety measures. In addition to the \$2-billion in new funding for accessible childcare, the motion also committed the government to increasing transfers to provinces and territories to support a safe return to school and to ensuring that the federal funds provided are dedicated to the health and safety of children across the country and not diverted for other needs.

Albertans are facing a crisis in affordable childcare and this is impacting our economic recovery and the ability of women in particular to rejoin the workforce" McPherson said.

As a mother of two students in Edmonton public schools, I share the same concerns as other parents with Alberta's school reopening plan," she added. Jason Kenney's government

has failed to offer support to schools and teachers, and many parents, like me, are rightfully worried about our children's safety. Now, we have a commitment that the federal government will step up to help."

It is an incredible achievement for a private Member of Parliament to get the government to commit any money-let alone \$2-billionfor any purpose no matter how worthy. McPherson moves easily from domestic to international issues. She has teamed up with Senator Marilou McPhedran to advance understanding among all Parliamentarians of the new Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

McPherson has a fair amount of international experience. She came to Parliament from her job as executive director of the Alberta Council on Global Co-operation. She has a master of education from the University of Alberta and has taught around the world.

McPherson has a natural leadership ability, a quality that seems to have been discerned early by her own party, which named her deputy House leader. Her boss, Peter Julian, the NDP House leader, hails McPherson's "passion with which she defends her constituents and her home province. I think all Albertans and all Canadians thank her."

Those 33 other Alberta MPs are in the shade.

Former Senator Douglas Roche served as an Edmonton MP from 1972 to 1984. His latest book is Recovery: Peace prospects in the Biden Era.

Canadian Parliament should pass UNDRIP, let's not make the same mistakes as in the past

There will always be some disagreements about how we move forward with economic development projects in Canada. But if we get it right, Bill C-15 can set us the right path to create the partnerships between First Nations, governments and investors that will help make reconciliation a reality.



By passing legislation that would breathe life into the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), Canada would be taking a step forward on the bumpy road toward reconciliation.

However, some investors, political, and business leaders are uneasy about Bill C-15 and the implications of harmonizing Canadian laws with UNDRIP. They worry that requiring Indigenous people's "free, prior and informed consent" could lead to a veto over resource and other economic development projects.

The assumption here appears to be that Indigenous peoples are opposed to resource development in their territories. This is wrong. They are opposed to projects in which they have no say, that destroy the environment, defile their sacred places, and deny them their fair share of the employment opportunities and revenues that such projects bring.

The reality is that Canada has Indigenous peoples when it comes to resource development on their lands. The result has been a lack of trust, prolonged litigation, and some high-profile projects have been stymied or stalled. Failing to get agreement on how to proceed on these projects benefits no onenot industry, not Canada, and certainly not Indigenous peoples.

Now that we know what has not worked, it is time to embark on a new approach that will remove

rather than increase uncertainty and spark the kind of collaboration that will make progress possible.

So, we need to ask ourselves, will more of the same lead to better outcomes? Or can the implementation of UNDRIP become the basis for the new and evolving fiscal relationship between Canada and Indigenous Peoples. A relationship that recognizes Indigenous peoples as partners in progress and share in the revenues that will flow from the economic development taking place in their territories.

I believe that if done correctly, the UN declaration can be a key tool in reaching the government's goal of reconciliation and improving quality of life for First Nations, Inuit, and Métis

Even before Canada decided to adopt UNDRIP, in many ways it had already laid the groundwork to support its implementation by creating three Indigenous financial institutions to promote sound gove good management and economically viable nation rebuilding among First Nations and potentially other indigenous groups.

I believe that our organization, the First Nations Finance Authority (FNFA) embodies the spirit and vision of UNDRIP. Created by an Act of Parliament in 2005, we are Indigenous governed and designed to provide First Nations with access to capital markets to rebuild their economies, infra-

structure, and financial management capacity in ways that align with their inherent rights.

To date, FNFA has financed more than \$1.3-billion in loans on global capital markets to First Nations to support upgrades to water treatment systems, new housing, roads, schools, as well as health and wellness centres. These loans, which First Nations repay using their established own-source government revenues, have also helped to fund economic development projects such as a wind energy centre that is currently powering 100,000 Ontario homes while creating jobs and millions of dollars in revenues on and off reserve.

In making the case for Bill C-15, Justice Minister David Lametti told a parliamentary committee that the legislation will offer hope to Indigenous youth who, "see a future in which strong, self-determined Indigenous peoples thrive and are and where, "Indigenous-Crown relations are truly nation-to-nation, reflecting equality and respect, and not colonial attitudes.'

But if the next generation is to escape poverty, we must close the \$30-billion infrastructure gap between First Nations and the rest of Canada. At this point, First Nations' own-source revenues and government grants are not sufficient to prevent the gap from widening even further.

In addition to federal transfers, First Nations need broader access to capital markets so they can borrow funds needed to finance their futures just like any other level of government in Canada and globally. This is a key step in closing the gap once and for all.

It is also part of the larger process of nation rebuilding as First Nations move beyond the Indian Act to the enhanced autonomy envisioned by UNDRIP where Indigenous peoples have, as Article 4 states, "the ways and means to finance their autonomous functions."

A coalition of Mi'kmaq First Nations in Atlantic Canada used a \$250-million loan from FNFA to help purchase a 50 per cent stake in Clearwater, one the largest seafood companies in the world.

We need to do more of these kinds of deals so that First Nations become active owners rather than bystanders to create wealth, build critical infrastructure and eliminate the poverty that has scarred our people.

There will always be some disagreements about how we move forward with economic developget it right, Bill C-15 can set us the right path to create the partnerships between First Nations, governments and investors that will help make reconciliation a reality.

Ernie Daniels is president and CEO of the First Nations Finance Authority. He is also a CPA-CGA and certified aboriginal financial manager who hails from the Salt River First Nation near Fort Smith in the Northwest Territories.

Why Pride still matters

If we want to turn the tide on the troubling statistics, our words and actions matter too. This Pride month let's be mindful of the importance of calling out bullying and discrimination in all its forms.



OTTAWA—Like many boys who grew up in the Ottawa Valley, I loved hockey. During the NHL playoffs, I remember racing down to the kitchen table in the morning to check the scores from the night before. Regardless of what shift my dad was working, he always wrote down the scores for me as my bedtime was well before the time the late games ended.

When my brother and I weren't playing mini sticks with aluminum foil balls on the kitchen floor destroying the oven door, we could be found playing hockey in our

Playing minor hockey, I was average at best and was quite fine with that. I so enjoyed being at the rink and on the ice with my friends.

That all changed when I was 14. A new guy joined our team and he decided early that I would be his target. He was relentless in referring to me as "Nighbor girl." I knew I was different, but this was the first time I realized someone else noticed it too. I played it cool, but it cut me every time he said the words. He had the most hateful laugh. I kept the sadness to myself, too embarrassed to tell my parents or coaches. After months of verbal abuse, it would be my last year playing minor

As a gay kid growing up in a Catholic home and living in a rural area through the 1980s and early 1990s, I suppressed my sexuality. I would go to the library to find whatever books I could on homosexuality and was sure to find a corner to hide in so no one saw me reading them. I wouldn't dare sign them out.

I was often on edge. It wasn't uncommon for me to wake up to find chunks of hair on my pillowcase that I had pulled out of my head in the middle of the night. I threw myself into schoolwork, my job at the Algonquin Cinemas in the Pembroke Mall, and spent lots of time with my grandparents.

I lived in constant fear that someone would find out I was gay, my parents wouldn't love me anymore, and I would have

At university things got a bit better. In my first year, I had the best floormates at Wilfrid Laurier University's Willison Hall. I sometimes wonder how different my life would've been without those guys.

But I continued to carry with me a tremendous amount of guilt as I lived a

I fell into the darkest place during my third year at university. It was the second time I recall wanting to kill myself. I called my mom and will never forget what she said to me, so calmly and softly, "Derek, why



top centre in 1986-87, with his hockey team in Pembroke, Ont. 'I lived in constant fear that someone would find out I was gay, my parents wouldn't love me anymore, and I would have no friends. It was an exhausting existence,' he writes. Today, Mr. Nighbor is now married to his husband Joey Taylor and is president and CEO of Forest Products Association of Canada in Ottawa. Photograph courtesy of Derek Nighbor

Derek Nighbor, pictured

I share my story from a position of privilege. My experience pales in comparison to the unnecessary loss of too many lives and the heartbreaking discrimination, hate, and violence far too many still face in Canada and around the world just because of who they are and who they choose to love. We have come a long way but there is

much more work to do: nearly one million

Canadians aged 15+ identify as being part of a sexual minority group; another 75,000 Canadians identify as transgender (Statistics Canada, 2018); LGBTQ2+ Canadians are almost three times more likely than heterosexual Canadians to be victims of physical or sexual assault (Statistics Canada, 2018); the majority of hate crimes based on sexual identity are violent, with 65 per cent involving physical assault, threats, or criminal harassment (Statistics Canada, 2018); 25-40 per cent of homeless youth identify as LGBTQ2+ (Egale Canada; egale.ca); and 52 per cent of LGBTQ2+ seniors fear being forced back 'into the closet' in residential care (Egale Canada; egale.ca).

This is why Pride still matters. If we want to turn the tide on the troubling statistics, our words and actions matter too. This Pride month let's be mindful of the importance of calling out bullying and discrimination in all its forms.

One person at a time, building loving, accepting, and inclusive families and communities is fully in our control.

Derek Nighbor will always call Pembroke home, but now lives in Ottawa with his husband Joey Taylor. He is president and CEO of Forest Products Association of Canada, president of the International Council of Forest and Paper Associations, and chair of the National Strategic Planning Committee for Ronald McDonald House Charities Canada. He still loves hockey and is an avid Ottawa Senators fan.

don't you tell me what's really going on. You might be very surprised by how I'll handle it." This was my opening. Despite my closeness with my parents, they had no idea how badly I was struggling. My mom saved me that day. She told me how much she and my dad loved me, talked things through with me, and helped me develop a plan to share my news with other family members. I could not be more grateful for her unconditional love and my family's incredible support.

As I embarked on my career path, I found a home in Renfrew County politics. Between 1995-2002, I spent time volunteering and working for Sean Conway, one of Ontario's best MPPs and the mentor of all mentors. When Sean announced he would not be seeking re-election in 2003, I was encouraged by some local community leaders to seek the nomination to succeed him. Tempering my excitement was the realization that my sexuality would be an issue as I considered a run in one of Ontario's most socially conservative ridings.

Although many at party head office didn't want me to win the nomination it was what happened on nomination day that I wasn't prepared for. When I arrived that morning at Fellowes High School in Pembroke's east end, my main rival had her Liberal Thinking, Traditional Values signs throughout the gymnasium. They might as well have said, "Nighbor girl." After a good cry in my parents' car, I told myself I had to be tougher. I went back inside, huddled with our campaign team, gave the speech of my life, and convincingly won the nomination on the second ballot. I've never felt a greater sense of accomplishment. To this day I am so grateful for those who stood with me. I could not have done it without them.

We headed into the 2003 general election hoping for the best, expecting the worst. Same-sex marriage was a big issue that year. Although it was a federal issue, it bled deeply into provincial politics and onto church pulpits in rural Ontario. The last couple weeks of the campaign were dominated publicly and privately by questions and comments on gay marriage and my sexuality. I dodged and skirted the always regret. Although I lost the election by just under 600 votes, I am forever grateful to the 18,629 people who were prepared to take a chance on 28-year-old me. I wish I could hug every single one of them.

Nearly 18 years later, with the support of my family, some incredible allies, and because Canada's forest sector leaders believed in me, I find myself in a job that I absolutely love—working in service to over 230,000 forestry workers and contractors across Canada to create opportunities for them and their families.

HILLTIMES CAREERS



Wine Growers Canada (WGC) is the national voice of the Canadian wine industry, representing a diverse membership that represents over 92% of all wine produced and

At WGC, our dedicated team coordinates and conducts the research, policy development and advocacy necessary to work with all levels of government, liquor boards and related stakeholders in pursuing the best interests and growth of the entire Canadian wine industry.

The Association is seeking a candidate for the position of Director, Policy and Government Affairs

This position is suited to an individual who is dynamic, confident, experienced and well positioned to help support industry through planning, creating and implementing WGC's policy and government relations strategy.

Reporting to the President & CEO, this individual will also work closely with the Board of Directors and WGC Committees on the implementation of strategies, designed to build consensus and positive outcomes.

Interested candidates should submit their resume and covering letter in confidence by July 6, 2021, to the attention of Dan Paszkowski, President & CEO, Wine Growers Canada by email at wgc@wgcanada.ca

An ideal candidate will have:

- University degree and/or equivalent experience in a related field
- 3-5 years experience in government, a trade association, or experience on Parliament Hill
- Knowledge of government and the federal legislative process
- Strong English language skills, both written and oral. French is an added asset.
- Understanding of the wine and beverage alcohol sector is an asset

Full details can be found here:

https://www.winegrowerscanada.ca/about-us/press/

Only candidates considered for an interview will be contacted.

News











NDP MP Mumilaaq Qaqqaq, pictured June 15, 2021, delivering her farewell speech remotely to the House of Commons. Screen capture images: courtesy of House of Commons

NDP's Qaqqaq says nearly two years as MP an 'isolating' experience, did not 'belong'

In her June 15 farewell speech, Mumilaaq Oaggag castigated the House of Commons, calling the institution one that was 'created off the backs, trauma, and displacement of Indigenous people.'

BY ZAINAB AL-MEHDAR

When NDP MP Mumilaaq Qaqqaq delivered her farewell speech remotely to the House of Commons on June 15, she called out Canada for its treatment of Indigenous communities, saying the country's history"is stained with blood" and urged immediate

"It is the blood of children, youth, adults, and elders. It is time to face the scales of justice," said Nunavut's lone MP and one of 12 MPs who delivered their goodbyes before the House is scheduled to adjourn on June 23 for the summer and in the face of a potential fall election. "On one side we have a mountain of suffering, and whenever the government gives us a grain of sand of support, it seems to think the trauma from our past has been rectified and that somehow it deserves a pat on the back."

On May 20, after less than two years representing Nunavut, Ms. Qaqqaq announced that she would not be running in the next federal election. Ms. Qaqqaq was a platform advocating for climate action, and affordable housing in the region. But the Inuk MP said she never intended to join federal politics and was asked by the NDP in late August 2019 if she would be interested, just a few months before the October election. "People like me do not belong here in the federal institution. I am a human being who wants to use this institution to help people, but the reality is

that this institution and country have been created off the backs, trauma and displacement of indigenous peoples.

"It took me a while [to get comfortable] and that's noticeable throughout my time in politics," said Ms. Qaqqaq in an interview with The Hill Times on June 16.

But she never truly felt comfortable in the House of Commons, she said. Life as a politician was "isolating" for her and it became difficult to form friendships, she said.

'I'm not happy. I want connectivity, I want conversations, I want to not live life through a screen, and I want to wake up every day feeling happy and proud of myself and my life," she told The Hill Times."I realized in this position, I've never had the right to self-determination, and for the first time in 27 years I'm going to do the most selfish thing in my life, and go and find what I love doing."

During her time as an MP, Ms. Qaqqaq put a spotlight on the dire housing conditions in Nunavut. Last summer, she visited several communities in the vast Arctic territory in order to highlight the conditions her constituents face. After her visit, she released a report titled, 'Sick of Waiting,' detailing the mould-ridden homes and poor housing conditions the communities face.

Following that tour she took two leaves of absence, most recently in late April, where she took a two-week leave that she said was due to extreme burnout, depression, and anxiety.

She found it hard to fit in as an MP, she told *The Hill Times* and felt that meant she wasn't seen as on "the same equal playing field" as her colleagues.

i don't quote, unquote iook like a politician, but that doesn't mean I'm not and I shouldn't be treated like one just because I show up in my sneakers.

Not only was she fighting to be heard, but as a woman of colour, she said she often felt racialized and targeted.

"Since being elected, I expect to be stopped by security at my workplace. I have had security jog after me down hallways, nearly put their hands on me and racially profile me as a Member of Parliament," Ms. Qaqqaq explained in her speech."As a brown woman, I do not move too quickly or suddenly, do not raise my voice, do not make a scene, maintain eye contact, and do not hide my hands."

Ms. Qaqqaq also told her colleagues about how isolating it felt to navigate through her job, being seen as naïve or underqualified.

"Even if we are told we should run, we still face huge barriers. Young people have been told they are not experienced enough, not ready to lead. Women have been told to sit pretty and listen. Disabled individuals have been shown they are not even worth the conversation. Inuit kill themselves at the highest rate in the country. We are facing a suicide epidemic and this institution refuses to care," she said on June 15.

"During my time in this Chamber, I have heard so many pretty words, like reconciliation, diversity and inclusion. I have been called courageous, brave and strong by people outside of my party. How-ever, let me be honest, brutally honest. Nice words with no action hurt when they are uttered by those with power over the federal institution who refuse to take action. The legacy this institution continues to not only maintain but to build and fuel is nothing to take pride in. People in power have choices and consistently choose priorities that uphold systems of oppression, leaving babies sick in mouldy homes and parents missing their passedon children because these powerful individuals do not think change is worth the money," she said.

Though she never felt safe in the House of Commons, she said that wasn't the case as a member of the New Democrats, and she could not imagine being part of another caucus.

"I don't think there's any pride whatsoever to take in being involved in any other party," said Ms. Qaqqaq. Though she said she was supported by the NDP, that still wasn't enough to convince her to stay and run for re-election.

Throughout her speech, Ms. Qaqqaq offered a damning assessment of the federal government for its failure to adequately support Inuit and to right historic wrongs.

"People in power have choices and consistently choose priorities that uphold systems of oppression, leaving babies sick in mouldy homes and parents missing their passed-on children because these powerful individuals do not think change is worth the money.'

She told The Hill Times she hopes her presence in the House, "crack[s] the foundations of this very federal institution that started colonizing Inuit barely 70

Although her time as an MP has come to an end, she said she does not want her decision to deter another Inuk from considering federal politics.

'... Think about it intensely, because it's an intense job," she recommended. "But if it's something you want to get into and do for the right reasons, power to you and I'll be there to support you the entire way. It's just not for me."

'This Chamber is a place of history and of decisions, good and sometimes not so good': 12 MPs deliver farewell speeches to House

A dozen MPs opted to say goodbye now with the threat of a fall election making it unclear if Parliament will resume before a contest is called and their terms end.

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

With federal political careers spanning two to nearly 28 years, 12 MPs who don't plan on running for re-election offered their thoughts on the institution on June 15.

The dozen MPs gave their final goodbyes amid the waning days of the sitting, with rumours of a fall election prompting many to take the possible last chance to make their verbal mark. Some noted the approach was "odd" and cited the whispers of a campaign as their reason to give an official goodbye.

The MPs who stood in the Chamber—or sat, virtually—were spread across the official parties, with five of the 155-strong Liberal caucus, three of 24 NDP MPs, two of the 119 Conservatives, and two of the 32 Bloc Québécois.

Here's a snippet of what some of their 10-minute addresses:

Liberal MP Wayne Easter Malpeque, P.E.I.

Elected in 1993

Noting it's strange to be giving his personal send-off from a virtual stream rather than the Chamber he stood in for nearly 28 years, Mr. Easter peppered his speech with his characteristic good humour.

The third-longest serving MP described the Chamber as at once intimidating and inspirational, but said it was his "privilege" to serve under three Liberal prime ministers: Jean Chrétien, Paul Martin, and Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.)

"This Chamber is a place of history and of decisions, good and sometimes not so good, that have built this country to what it is today, a country that is recognized as one of the best places in the world in which to live," said Mr. Easter, who chairs the House Finance Committee and co-chairs the Canada-U.S. Inter-Parliamentary Group.

Having seen most of Canada, he offered a bit of parting advice to the room

"Members of Parliament have to know this country, and we are



MP Wayne Easter, known as a straightshooter, is retiring. Screen capture photograph

a little too restrictive on the travel that MPs are allowed to do. When I first started, before there was the internet, members were able to take tours of the country. We could see it, meet people on the ground, understand it and see their lives in real life. This place has to get back to that again to

Conservative MP Bruce Stanton Simcoe North, Ont. Elected in 2006

give MPs the opportunity to know their country,"he said.



Conservative MP and Deputy House Speaker Bruce Stanton, left, pictured on Dec. 7, 2017, is not running again. The Hill Times file photograph

Since 2011 Mr. Stanton has been a regular speaker in the House, but many of his debate contributions came from his vantage in the chair, noted Mr. Stanton, who is deputy Speaker of the House.

The five-term MP will end his 15-plus-year career when the next election is called, opening the door in Simcoe North, Ont., for the fifth MP in history to represent the riding.

sent the riding.

Like most of the speakers, he thanked his family, constituents,

and staff, and he also offered kind words to the clerks, pages, interpreters, sergeant-at-arms, and the many others who support the operations of the Parliamentary Precinct, and who help "make this a safe and proficient workplace, even when the unusual or the perilous threatens to disrupt our work," said Mr. Stanton, who also noted he now speaks French because of federal politics, after taking language courses for two hours a week since 2006.

He ended with a nod to his caucus, Conservative Party Leader Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ont.) and his recent predecessors, "who leave no task wanting when it comes to keeping our rather intricate Conservative coalition united and ready to serve as Canadians call upon us to do."

Bloc Québécois MP Louise Charbonneau Trois-Rivières, Que. Elected in 2019



Bloc Québécois MP Louise Charbonneau is not running again. Photograph courtesy of Facebook

The rookie MP's first two years in politics have been dif-

eral
Wayne
ter,
wn as

ficult, learning the ropes in the
midst of the onset of COVID-19,
which took her sister's life and
kept her away from her family.

"Because of the pandemic and the adjustments required, as a result, this term will certainly have been one of the most extraordinary in recent years. I would even say that this term will go down in history. I am very proud to have been able to help many of my constituents before and during the pandemic," said Ms. Charbonneau, who described herself as "a 70-year-old novice."

It meant learning to use the technology for Parliamentarians to sit and vote virtually.

"None of this is easy at my age. Because of COVID-19, I will miss out on the experience of typical parliamentary life on the Hill, which I must admit is something I will regret," said Ms. Charbonneau, who said being an MP was one of her "biggest" dreams.

Despite the "very difficult context," Ms. Charbonneau said she's witnessed "wonderful things," including the "considerable strides" women have made in politics.

Leaving the federal sphere was not about a desire to leave politics, where she said her "passion" remains, but instead about the "many dreams" she still wants to fulfill.

"I still have tremendous energy that I will use in other areas of life. Thus, the reason behind this decision not to pursue a second mandate is an urgency to live."

NDP MP Jack Harris St. John's East, N.L. Elected in 1987-1988, 2008-2015, 2019-



NDP MP Jack Harris is not running for re-election. *The Hill Times file photograph*

With no election called, Mr. Harris noted the MP statements seem "a little funny or odd" and represent an "in case" speech should the campaign kick off in the fall.

It's a "noble calling" to work in politics he said, and it's important for MPs to remember "we are here to serve our people, that we have a role to play, that it is an important one and it is a big honour to do that." Mr. Harris also served for 25 years in the Newfoundland and Labrador House of Assembly.

Parliament "is not perfect," he acknowledged.

It will take a lot of work, but it's "a great system for the voices of the people to be heard, to work together with other Parliamentarians to try to make things better," said Mr. Harris, a lawyer who is his party's public safety critic and vice-chairs the House Canada-China Relations Committee.

He ended by encouraging young people thinking about politics to "carry the torch" and do the job.

"It is a noble calling. It is worth doing and it is a worthy way to work to make our country better and to try to make the world better and safer. There are plenty of things to do and not enough people to do them, so please take up the cause."

Liberal MP Navdeep Bains Mississauga-Malton, Ont. Elected in 2004-2011, 2015



Navdeep Bains, pictured with David Lametti, testing out an electric care on the Hill on June 7 2017. The Hill Times file photograph by Jake Wright

The former federal innovation minister, who stepped down in January after five years in the role, spoke of the path his parents took from a small village in India to arrive in Canada with little spoken English and a few dollars to their name.

"When my parents immigrated to Canada in the 1970s, they could never imagine in their wildest dreams that their son would end up here," he said, noting his mother worked the night shift at a cookie factory so she could help her two boys get ready for the day in the morning.

"My parents instilled in me at an early age the understanding that this country has been so good to us that we must give back to it," he said.

Early in his political career, he recalled being warned not to put his picture on a campaign

Opinion

Canada's public service employee survey 2020 says: employees happier and former top agencies still on top

The COVID-19 pandemic, while affecting everyone in Canada, might also have given many employees a better sense of the value of their service to Canadians. Whatever the reason, they are a happier bunch.



he latest annual Public Service Employee Survey (PSES) was carried out in 2020 with results published in May. The most obvious result? Employees are measurably more engaged at work than they were a year ago and perhaps ever. Working from home appears to be a significant morale booster for most employees. The COVID-19 pandemic, while affecting everyone in Canada, might also have given many employees a better sense of the value of their service to Canadians. Whatever the reason, they are a happier bunch.

Certain of the top-rated federal agencies continue to receive top marks from their employees. They provide excellent examples of "how to do it" for other agencies and departments. Their employees tend to readily extol their employers, their immediate supervisors, and their senior managers. While the PSES results show promising improvements for many agencies, there are others whose employees are clearly not as engaged, not as happy, and likely not as productive. Some of these low-rated agencies are not being idle, however, instead taking positive steps to improve the work life of their employee consequently, the effectiveness of their organization.

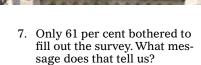
While COVID-19 has thrown a curve ball into most Canadians' lives, it has had a rather unexpected, positive effect on Canada's public service. A little extra digging into the PSES results (provided by a public servant who must remain nameless) tells us that those working from home are quite measurably more happy than those who worked in the

office. Now there's something to think about. While telecommuting has long been touted as a good idea for many reasons, including environmental benefits, it has often been resisted by management. Perhaps it's time to consider working from home as a perma-

nent option. As with all these surveys that I have been reporting on since 2008, there are many results with both explicit and implicit messages that seem to go unnoticed or perhaps ignored. Those "missing links," with a little more digging, can reveal much more key information that could help Canada's public service significantly improve itself. The results clearly identify many areas where improvements are needed and provide good examples, by way of several progressive agencies, where workers are quite engaged and motivated. Finally, with a little analysis that is not part of the official reports, we can identify which of those agencies are the best ones to work for, which ones that face challenges, and a lot of good suggestions for senior leaders to consider.

Here are some of the worrisome unreported messages:

- Only one-third of employees really feel they get proper training to do their job. (Q4)
- 2. Only one-third feel fully recognized for good work done. (Q8)
- Only just over one-third have a lot of confidence in their senior management. (O32)
- Only a quarter think information flows well from senior management down. (Q34)
- Just over one-quarter think they get much career development support. (Q44)
- Just over one-third feel their workplace is psychologically very healthy. (Q78)



Is there a serious effort to look into these issues and take steps to improve? Based on conversations with some current employees, it appears that survey results do receive some attention, but that does not appear to lead to commensurate, follow-up actions. Many of the lower ranked agencies continue to stay where they are, year after year. There were exceptions though. I did communicate with one of the lower ranked agencies, the National Film Board. Officials from that agency appeared to acknowledge the low 2019 PSES results and did manage to improve those results for 2020. That agency has an initiative underway to improve morale amongst its employees. Its latest scores do indicate some positive movement.

Let's look at the up front, good news from the survey. The top-rated agency on my list of larger agencies (with 150-plus employees) is Western Economic Diversification Canada. It does a number of noteworthy things to maintain and improve the workplace for its employees, things that most other agencies could readily emulate. From what I have learned, and starting from the top, its leader, Deputy Minister Dylan Jones, recently constituted a "Learning on the Edge Award," a rather unique initiative new things, but fail. He feels that more learning comes from failures than successes and uses the award to push the organization's culture to embrace innovation without fear. The agency also had an Employee Innovation Fund aimed at encouraging new ideas from all staff (this is one of my favourite ways to bring the best out of employees). Speaking with Patrick Faulkner, head of human resources at WD, I learned about a new, simplified one-page

performance appraisal that apparently employees love. This seems like one organization where great care is taken to listen to, appreciate and excite the employees. Looking for an example of how best to run a public service organization? WD might be your first call—they are willing to share their story.

The results of the PSES

provide a rich source

of information that, if

properly assessed and

for the employees and

to serve, writes former federal public servant

Canadians they are there

Jake Cole. The Hill Times

photograph by Sam Garcia

subsequently for the

acted on, can result in positive changes

There is another, very good federal agency out there. It's the Supreme Court of Canada, No. 2 on my list this year. Its adminis-



Another lawyer, Joe Friday, head of the PSIC, describes his organization as 'a highly participatory democracy,' where different perspectives are valued. Clearly, the employees enjoy the participation and they stand as another example of motivated and engaged public servants. The Hill Times file photograph by Jake Wright

trative head, now retired, Roger books in caring for and energizing employees at all levels in that organization. The current acting head, David Power, may have big shoes to fill, but he does appear to be following the successful style of his predecessor as he refers to the organization as "Like a big family."What a perfect way to refer to your employees.

There is one more federal agency that is most worthy of mention, actually two of them. Tied for

top ranking in the "micro" category are the Military Police Complaint Commission and the Office of the Public Sector Integrity Commissioner of Canada. These workplaces happen to be the highest rated of all the agencies, big and small. The MPCC's director general is Julianne Dunbar, a lawyer. Speaking with her, she comes across as the ideal public service leader. It is clear that the MPCC executive team does many things that excite, encourage, and engage their employees, too many to list here. However, she is willing to share her insights and her

successes with others.
Another lawyer, Joe Friday, head of the PSIC, describes his organization as "a highly participatory democracy" where different perspectives are valued. Clearly, the employees enjoy the participation and they stand as another example of motivated and engaged public servants.

What to do now? The results of the PSES provide a rich source of information that, if properly assessed and acted on, can result in positive changes for the employees and subsequently for the Canadians they are there to serve. Those agencies at the top of my list provide ready examples of how to do it right. Those at or near the bottom of the list should first acknowledge, and then, like the NFB, search for answers to their respective shortcomings. Every agency can improve itself and if such improvement was a required outcome of these surveys, then it could happen. While there are countless consultants who could offer guidance for such an effort, I am a firm believer in first tapping into the capacity already existing in the public service, perhaps the simplest of all solutions. I am quite convinced that just by honestly and openly listening to their own employees and acting on their input, agencies can come up with solutions and achievements that can lead to both immediate and long lasting advancements.

What about other resources? There are many good books on the subject of raising employee morale and engagement. An old favourite of mine is 1,001 Ways to Reward Employees, by Bob Nelson. A very recent one, with an apropos title, is Retain and Gain: Career Management for the Public Sector Playbook, by Lisa

I have said this before: I believe that every federal public servant in Canada goes to work with the willingness to do his or her best for Canadians. I also think the public service has an obligation to provide a workplace that not only allows but openly encourages that to happen. The Public Service Employee Survey results provide a ready roadmap to create such a workplace and to continuously improve it. Let's build on what the survey is telling

That's what I want to see. That's why I do this.

Jake Cole spent 34 years in Canada's public service working in six different agencies. He can be reached at colejster@gmail.

Here are, according to the employees, the best (down to the worst) places to work in Canada's public service (agencies with 150-plus employees). Scores are out of 100.

- Western Economic Diversification Canada 73
- Supreme Court of Canada 71
- Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency 70
- Canadian Human Rights Commission 67 Communications Security Establishment
- Canada 65 Canadian Radio-television and Telecommu-
- nications Commission 62 Canadian Heritage 61
- Office of the Auditor General of Canada 59 Natural Sciences and Engineering Research
- Council of Canada 59 Administrative Tribunals Support Service of
- Canada 59 11. Federal Economic Development Agency for
- Southern Ontario 58
- 12. Canadian Transportation Agency 57
- 13. Department of Finance Canada 55
- 14. Canadian Space Agency 55
- 15. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer 54
- 16. Impact Assessment Agency of Canada 54 17. Financial Consumer Agency of Canada 54
- 18. Canada Revenue Agency 53
- 19. Privy Council Office 5320. Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages 53
- 21. National Research Council Canada 53
- 22. Statistics Canada 52
- 23. Transport Canada 52
- Veterans Affairs Canada 52
- 25. Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada 51
- 26. Employment and Social Development Canada 50
- 27. Transportation Safety Board of Canada 50 28. Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission 50
- Public Services and Procurement Canada 49
- Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada 49
- 31. Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada 49
- 32. Health Canada 47
- 33. Environment and Climate Change Canada 47
- Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat 47 Canadian Institutes of Health Research 47
- Canadian Grain Commission 46
- Infrastructure Canada 46 38. Natural Resources Canada 45
- 39. Public Service Commission of Canada 45
- Parks Canada 45
- Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada 44 42. Royal Canadian Mounted Police 42
- 43. Department of Justice 42
- 44. Department of National Defence 41 45. Fisheries and Oceans Canada 41
- 46. Shared Services Canada 41
- 47. Public Health Agency of Canada 41 48. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada
- 49. Public Prosecution Service of Canada 40
- Canada Energy Regulator 40
- Canadian Food Inspection Agency 38 Indigenous Services Canada 37
- 53. Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions 37
- 54. Library and Archives Canada 37
- 56. Public Safety Canada 36
- 57. Canada School of Public Service 36
- 58. Courts Administration Service 34 Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern
- Affairs Canada 33 60. Women and Gender Equality Canada 32
- 61. Global Affairs Canada 30
- 62. National Film Board of Canada 28
- 63. Canada Border Services Agency 27
- 64. Office of the Secretary to the Governor General 24
- 65. Correctional Service of Canada 21
- 66. Canadian Security Intelligence Service 21

Public Service Employee Survey results show increase in job satisfaction, awareness of mental health supports amid COVID-19 pandemic

Treasury Board President Jean-Yves Duclos says he believes the government will emerge from the pandemic with a 'stronger and even more diversified' public service that will be better able to reach out to Canadians and Canadian workers.

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In a wide-ranging interview with The Hill Times earlier this month, Treasury Board President Jean-Yves Duclos (Québec, Que.) said the performance of the public service throughout the pandemic was one of "agility and resilience," alluding to the push to set up thousands of workers to work remotely, the adjustment to dramatic changes in the tools needed for workers to perform their jobs, and to developing and deploying the Canadian Emergency Response Benefit in a matter of weeks as the Employment Insurance system quickly became overwhelmed.

But Mr. Duclos also said that like so many other Canadians, the day-to-day lives of public servants changed not only professionally, but personally, with young children unable to go to daycare and students of all ages stuck at home as schools shifted to online learning as public health measures evolved.

But it appears that despite the upheaval, public service workers reported higher levels of employee engagement and job satisfaction than in 2019, with 83 per cent of employees indicating they liked their iob—up two per cent from last year—with 78 per cent of employees reporting they got a sense of satisfaction from their work, also up two per cent.

Some 69 per cent of employees also said they received meaningful recognition for their work, up from 65 per cent in 2019, with 77 per cent of employees indicating they received useful feedback from their immediate supervisor on their job performance, up from 74 per cent the year prior.

Some 71 per cent of employees also felt encouraged to be innovative in their work, up three per cent from 2019, and with 75 per cent of employees saying they had the support at work to provide a high level of service, also up three per cent.

Focus on awareness of mental health support in the workplace

Early in the pandemic, Mr. Duclos said the Treasury Board Secretariat worked with the public service unions representing tens of thousands of workers to expedite and simplify access to mental health resources, "because from the start, we knew that mental health would become an issue."

'It was really a matter of being both sensitive and adaptive to the wide variety of circumstances and mental health needs that public service workers were having," said Mr. Duclos.

A number of new questions were added to the 2020 survey to gauge public service workers' perceptions of the workplace within the context of the pandemic, including questions about mental health and physical health, as well as on communication from the government.

70 per cent of employees indicated that senior managers in their department were taking adequate steps to support their mental health during the pandemic, with 84 per cent saying their department or agency was effectively communicating the mental health services and resources available.

There was a seven per cent uptick in workers who indicated that their workplace was psychologically healthy, at 68 per cent in 2020 compared to 61 per cent in 2019. 81 per cent of workers also indicated that their department or agency was more effectively raising awareness of mental health in the workplace, up from 73 per cent the year prior.

78 per cent of workers said information received from their department or agency about the understand, 76 per cent saying it was provided in a timely manner, and 74 per cent saying it was relevant to the work that they do.

On March 13, 2020, Mr. Duclos issued a directive from the government asking deputy heads, heads of agencies and HR heads to make arrangements to allow telework for employees whenever possible. as reported in The Hill Times.

Following some initial departmental and union confusion around what constituted "critical"versus"essential"work, the federal government's chief human resources officer Nancy Chahwan issued another new message to all deputy ministers and heads of human resources on March 21, 2020, defining a "critical service" as one that "if disrupted, would result in a high or very high degree of injury to the health, safety, security or economic well-being of Canadians, or to the effective functioning of the Government of Canada.

Many workers at frontline agencies, like the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) and the Canadian Food Inspection Agency (CFIA) continued to report to worksites throughout the pandemic, but most public servants were told they would be working remotely "for the foreseeable future" eight months later in October 2020, as reported by The Hill Times.

The third wave of the pandemic, which saw COVID-19 case counts shoot up across many parts of the country in March and April 2021 after restrictions were loosened following the second wave, served to extend the time millions of Canadians would continue to work from home.

New questions were also added to the most recent edition of the survey surrounding worklife balance and workload as a function of the pandemic, with 83 per cent of employees saying that their immediate supervisor supported the use of flexible hours and 39 per cent of employees saying they requested flexible work hours since the beginning of the public health crisis.

Return to office to be 'fully collaborative'

When asked about the government's plans surrounding bringing thousands of public service workers back to the physical workplace after so many months working from home, Mr. Duclos called it a "legitimate question" and one that many public ser-

Mr. Duclos said the government has started to discuss the issue with unions, as any return to workplace plan is "a matter of collaborative work."

We want to see this return to the office-not return to work, because public servants have been working—but we want the exercise to be fully collaborative and fully adapted again to the realities of each department, the realities of community, and the reality of

public servants themselves," said Mr. Duclos.

Mr. Duclos also said he believes the government will emerge from the COVID-19 crisis with a "stronger and even more diversified public service" with a greater diversity of working conditions adapted to the particular circumstances of people, but also a public service that will be better able to reach out to Canadians and Canadian workers.

The adoption of technology, the smaller reliance on office work; that is likely going to lead the ability of the public service to hire and therefore benefit from the talents and work of Canadians who may not necessarily live close to big departmental offices such as those in our city," said Mr. Duclos.

Questions added on perception of antiracism in the workplace

In other new additions to the survey, questions were added to measure perceptions of anti-racism in the workplace.

Although 79 per cent indicated that they would feel free to speak about racism in the workplace within their work unit without fear of reprisal and 79 per cent said that they felt comfortable sharing concerns about issues related to racism in the workplace with a person of authority, only 10 per cent of workers who had experienced discrimination based on race said they felt satisfied with how concerns or complaints about racism in the workplace were resolved.

"From my perspective and the perspective of the government, diversity and inclusion are key priorities for the prime minister in all of its dimensions," said Mr. Duclos. "Diversity and inclusion within the public service is an obvious consequence of that broad mandate at the government level."

Mr. Duclos also said that the survey has provided the government with a better picture of representation gaps in the public service, which "helps us be more ambitious" in reducing those gaps, achieving targets for employment equity, including employment retention and career fulfillment.

"It's not just about recruiting people, it's about retaining them, and promoting them through a career that is fulfilling to themselves, and therefore is of greater value for the government and for Canadians," said Mr. Duclos.

There were 300,450 employees in the federal public service in March 2020, up from an average of 276,736 employees from March 2016 to March 2020, according to the government.

The survey was conducted from December 2020 to January 2021. 87 departments and agencies participated, with more than 311,000 employees invited to respond. Just over 188,500 responses were received, for a response rate of 61 per cent—down one per cent from the year prior.

The survey is led by Ms. Chahwan's office and the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, and was administered by market and social research firm Advanis.

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'I was not going to hide my identity': 12 MPs deliver farewell speeches to House

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brochure as a Sikh man-advice he rejected.

'I was not going to hide my identity or conceal who I was," said Mr. Bains, who said he was "acutely aware" of holding the industry minister post as the first person of colour.

...I was absolutely determined to leave the door open wider for others. While there were many initiatives that we took to create jobs and accelerate science and innovation, I am most proud of speaking up for equality and equity among decision-makers."

Conservative MP David Sweet Flamborough-Glanbrook, Ont. Elected in 2006



Conservative MP David Sweet, pictured Sept. 30, 2020, on the Hill. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

After nearly 16 years in Parliament, Mr. Sweet said it was time for him to leave because he is not "fully well," and then urged others to get the help they need. He said that since January, when he made the decision not to run for a sixth term, he's thought long about the cause of his "mental health jaundice."

"I do not know if it was the four years of incarceration in a juvenile institution when I was 12. It may have been when I was attacked by a knife-wielding assailant in Lockport, New York; or the betrayal of business partners when I was a young businessman; or losing two children, one who died in my hands while I was trying to deliver her and another who took her own life. Maybe the terrorist attack here on Parliament Hill played a role and the too-many funerals I planned, because I was always looked to as the guy who could handle it,"

"The 15 years of hearing the worst stories of human suffering in the human rights committee, I know, played a role. Likely, the entire lot played a role as did the current draconian lockdowns. We should all respect that everyone has a limit, and that it is different for everyone," said Mr. Sweet, who used the occasion to thank those serving in the Canadian

People should consider what their limits are before they become "crippling," and he said he's doing that, and others "need not feel any shame" if that is their experience, too.

Earlier in his speech, he entreated MPs to reflect on the "magnitude of responsibility" they hold and that's, in part, "to guard this cherished institution," he said, because it's where "critical issues" are "debated and resolved" that affect Canadians.

'There were many poignant times in my career that were transformative and gave me a deeper clarity regarding the magnitude of our responsibilities, but sustaining our troops in one of the most dangerous areas of Afghanistan, areas other countries had abandoned, was the most sobering."

Liberal MP Pat Finnigan Miramichi-Grand Lake, N.B. Elected in 2015



Liberal MP Pat Finnigan says his voice in the House represented rural, hard-working people. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Mr. Finnigan focused much of his words on what he felt was achieved for his riding during his nearly six years in office: securing and stabilizing the payroll centre, which he acknowledged was "dysfunctional"; a list of investments that upgraded townhalls, arenas, and the new Miramichi Airport terminal; and dollars to support the region's forestry sector.

Mr. Finnigan said he offered a different perspective as an MP.

The voice I brought to this House was not one of an acclaimed politician or one with tremendous legal or political science background, which I respect and admire, and such expertise is absolutely necessary in the House. No, my voice, which I believe is just as important, was one of rural, smart, hard-working people, including our vibrant Indigenous communities.'

Bloc Québécois MP Simon Marcil Mirabel, Que. Elected in 2015

The two-term MP spent his speech countering what he said



Québécois MP Simon Marcil, pictured in 2015 not long after his election. The Hill Times file photograph by Jake Wright

were long-held claims Canada makes, which he said were ultimately hypocritical.

"Canada claims to be a champion of human rights. It boasts all over the world about saving widows and orphans, but it is not even capable of providing clean water for the Indigenous communities it is responsible for within its own borders. There are third-world conditions right here on Canadian soil. It is happening right there in front of them and they do not even see it," said Mr. Marcil, who also attacked the country's record on peacekeeping, democratic rights, workers' rights, and unity. Ultimately, Canada's identity is "fragile," he said, likening it to a "giant with feet of clay" with too many regional distinctions.

He ended his speech saying Canada is not his country.

I have been a separatist all my life. I want Quebec to be its own country. Vive le Québec libre."

Liberal MP Paul Lefebvre Sudbury, Ont.



Liberal MP Paul Lefebvre pictured in 2018 with then Natural Resources Minister Amarjeet Sohi. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Mr. Lefebvre said he's leaving the House with plenty of hope, particularly thanks to the Liberal government's achievements since being elected in 2015.

"To me, the role of the House and members is to listen to Canadians, to work, and find the best way to help them. Having listened to Canadians and because of the changes that have been made since 2015, I have a lot of hope for Canada," he said.



NDP MP for Nunavut, Mumilaaq Qaqqaq says that being an MP was an 'isolating' experience. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

NDP MP Mumilaaq Qaqqaq Nunavut

Elected in 2019

Ms. Qaqqaq told her colleagues she never felt safe or protected on Parliament Hill and that she was a target of racial profiling, often by security. She repeatedly said she didn't feel like she belonged and told The Hill Times in an interview on June 16, that being an MP was an "isolating" experience.

'People like me don't belong here in the federal institution," she said during her speech, and the "reality" of the institution is it was "created off the backs, trauma, and displacement of Indigenous people.'

She called on those in power to leave the "pretty words" behind and offer action instead, also noting those in power continue to uphold systemic oppression.

"There's nothing, nothing to take pride in, in the legacy this institution continues to not only maintain but to build and fuel," she said. "When we tell you to act now, you need to act now."

Liberal MP Kate Young London West, Ont. Elected in 2015



Liberal MP Kate Young offered sobering words on two recent tragedies in her goodbye address. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

The last six years have been a "blur of highs and lows," complete with pride in accomplishments and "bitter heartache," said Ms. Young.

The latter has especially been the case in the wake of the "horrific murder" of four of her constituents, the Afzaal family, who she noted were "killed while walking along a street in London West on a Sunday night, killed simply because they were Muslim," said Ms. Young in reference to the June 6 vehicle ramming, which has resulted in terrorism charges laid against the suspect.

It's been an "incredibly tough" time across Canada, said Ms. Young, who addressed the unmarked graves of 215 Indigenous children found at a former residential school in Kamloops, B.C.

These children were taken from their families and never came home. Our hearts ache as we are reminded, once again, of our callous disregard for Indigenous people," said Ms. Young, who has recently served as the parliamentary secretary to Economic Development Minister Mélanie Joly (Ahuntsic-Cartierville, Que.)

"I cannot sit in the House without feeling the weight of decisions made by members who sat here in the past, who somehow thought they were doing the right thing, taking children away from their families to force them to be assimilated to our way of thinking because they believed they were right, and they were so very wrong. What a shame, what a national shame, and I am so very sorry."

NDP MP Scott Duvall Hamilton Mountain, Ont. Elected in 2015



NDP MP Scott Duvall says during his six years in as an MP, he's focused on fighting for workers. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

The "proud steelworker" with roots in the labour movement said "protecting workers" has been his priority since he joined the House of Commons six years ago.

"What we have seen in the House shows why we need a strong voice fighting for workers and for labour. We have seen several efforts by the government to legislate striking workers back to work and damage their ability to hargain for a fair deal with their employers,"he said.

"We have seen the government refuse to act on scab labour. We have seen the government refuse to protect the pensions of workers during bankruptcy and insolvency, and instead, put big banks and investors at the top of the list. This is why it is so important that we continue to fight for workers in this place."

swallen@hilltimes.com The Hill Times



Some 18 MPs are so far not running in the next election, including clockwise from upper left NDP MP Scott Duvall, Liberal MP Kate Young, Bloc MP Simon Marcil, Conservative MP David Sweet, Liberal MP Wayne Easter, NDP MP Mumilaaq Qaqqaq, and Liberal MPs Paul Lefebvre, and Navdeep Bains. The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade

So far, 18 incumbent MPs not running again could make difference between minority, majority, or government flipping, says pollster Nanos

Another reason political observers expect the election to happen this fall is the wide-ranging Bill C-30, the Budget Implementation Act, and a clause which calls on Parliament to extend the COVID-19 stimulus to continue until Sept. 25, 2021, and gives government the power to extend it until Nov. 30.

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hired a sibling to work in her constituency office. Last week, Ethics Commissioner Mario Dion issued a report finding Ms. Ratansi in violation of Parliament's conflictof-interest code. She did not respond to an email from The Hill Times in response to a question whether or not she has any plans of running in the next election.

Mr. Tabbara stepped back from the Liberal caucus last year, after he was charged with assault, break and enter, and criminal harassment. The legal proceedings are still on going.

"I haven't made a decision quite yet, I should have my decision by mid-summer," said Mr. Tabbara in an email to The Hill Times last week.

In the 2019 federal election, 47 MPs chose not to run again; in 2015, 55 MPs did not run, and in 2011, 17 MPs did not seek reelection.

It's not known when the next election will happen, but a number of Liberal insiders are expecting it to be called in August with the election date to be in the last two weeks of

According to the parliamentary calendar, the House of Commons is scheduled to rise upcoming summer adjournment on Sept. 20. However, on June 3, MPs agreed to hold a special debate in the Commons for MPs who were not running in the next election, and wished to make farewell remarks, suggesting they did not expect this Parliament to last until late September. On June 15, a dozen MPs offered their goodbye speeches in the House or remotely because of the pandemic.

Another reason political observers expect the election to happen this fall is the wide-ranging Bill C-30, the Budget Implementation Act, a clause of which calls on Parliament to extend the COVID-19 stimulus to continue until Sept. 25, 2021, and gives government the power to extend it until Nov. 30. Moreover, veteran political insiders and Liberal MPs say that the vaccination campaign is progressing well, the Liberals are in potential majority territory in national public opinion polls, and things could start to get back to normal in the weeks ahead. The government's stimulus spending is still flowing and strictly from a strategic point of view, it's better for the Liberals to go to the polls while Canadians are still receiving the stimulus money than after it stops.

"Bill C-30 includes a political Trojan Horse on not just the extension to September but the ability of the Liberals to further Nanos. "This effectively widens a window for a potential election."

But the key caveat in this scenario is that the Liberals should have a reasonable expectation that they could win a majority government in the next election.

"In my experience, the whole election call is almost a dayto-day, week-to-week type of calculation, where the parties prepare for the election, and then if you're the government,

you become either more bullish or less bullish on having an election, depending on if something happens," said Mr. Nanos. 'And let's just use an example: if there's any new controversy, the government can be ready to want to trigger an election, and think that the numbers are good. And then a controversy could happen and it will basically extinguish the chance of an election, if that controversy is seen as undermining the winnability of the government of the day. So think of it this way: it's kind of like Groundhog Day, governments wake up and if they, depending on whether they see their shadow or not, go back into the hole, or they come out of

Earlier this month, the Liberal Party had triggered the "electoral urgency" clause in the party's constitution, which allows the leadership to amend the nomination rules as they see fit in order to speed up the nomination process when an election is coming. As of last week, the party had nominated candidates in 161 of 338 ridings across the country.

Based on the fixed date election law, the next election is scheduled to take place on Oct. 16, 2023. But the law permits the prime minister to request an early election from the governor general. Also, the opposition parties could defeat the government. Considering the current political scenario, political insiders said they believe Mr. Trudeau will trigger the next election to capitalize on his popularity in the polls because of how he's handled the pandemic, which has so far gone over well with Canadians for the most part.

In 2019, the Liberals won 157 seats, the Conservatives 121, the Bloc Québécois 32, the NDP 24 seats, Green Party three seats, and one Independent MP was elected. To win a majority in the next election, the Liberals would need to keep the 157 seats they won in 2019 and add 13 more to get the 170 seats needed for a majority.

Meanwhile, Mr. Nanos said that incumbency is a very powerful factor in winning a seat for a party as it provides name recognition and the ability to raise funds to the incumbent MP compared to a neophyte. Also, in an environment where no party leader is an inspirational figure and there's not a lot of enthusiasm for one political party, the quality of local candidates will be a key factor in the outcome of local election campaigns.

What we usually see is that incumbents generally have a tendency to win, except if there's incumbents can be a positive draw, for parties that want to hold on to seats."

Outgoing Liberal MP Bob Bratina (Hamilton East-Stoney Creek, Ont.) said that he won the riding twice but it's a competitive seat and the Liberal Party's chances of winning this seat again will depend on who the candidate is to succeed him.

"Well, it depends, I suppose, on who comes forward as the candidate," said Mr. Bratina. "And I don't know right now who that is."

Compared to the 2019 and 2015 elections, the number of MPs who have so far announced that they're not running is relatively low and it could be because a significant number of MPs won't be eligible for pension until Oct. 19 of this year.

According to a report by CBC, 142 MPs who were elected in the 2015 election and are still serving in the House will complete their six years of service to be eligible for pension on Oct. 19, 2021. If the next election is called before that date and some of those MPs lose their seats, they will not qualify for their pensions. Of these 142 MPs, 92 are Liberals, including 23 cabinet ministers; 31 Conservatives, nine Bloc, seven NDP and three Independents, according to CBC. Every MP who completes six years of service in the House is eligible to draw a pension of \$32,000 at the age of 65 but this amount goes up with more years of service.

"Members of Parliament are like many other individuals, if they put the appropriate time in to be able to have the benefit of the pension that they would be entitled to," said Mr. Nanos. "So in my experience, leaders usually call an election or trigger an election when they think that they can win. They don't think about the potential pension implications for individual MPs, because the leaders are thinking about what's in the best interest of the party, politically. So [in case of] an early election [call], all those Members of Parliament that are short will be the first financial casualties of an earlier election call.

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MPs Not Seeking Re-election and Votes Obtained in 2019

- Liberal MP Navdeep Bains Mississauga-Malton, Ont. 31.7%
- Liberal MP Bob Bratina Hamilton East-Stoney Creek, Ont. 38.6%
- Liberal MP Wayne Easter Malpeque, P.E.I.
- Liberal MP Pat Finnigan Miramichi-Grand Lake, N.B. 36.8%
- Liberal MP Paul Lefebvre Sudbury, Ont.
- Liberal MP Geoff Regan Halifax West, N.S.
- Liberal MP Kate Young London West, Ont.
- Conservative MP Peter Kent Thornhill, Ont. 54.6%
- Conservative MP Tom Lukiwski Moose
- Jaw-Lake Centre-Lanigan, Sask. 71.1% Conservative MP Phil McColeman
- Brantford-Brant, Ont. 40.3% · Conservative MP Cathy McLeod Kamloops-
- Thompson-Caribou, B.C. 44.7%
- Conservative MP Bruce Stanton Simcoe North, Ont. 43.4%
- · Conservative MP David Sweet Flamborough-Glanbrook, Ont. 39.2%
- Bloc MP Louise Charbonneau Trois-Rivières, Que. 28.5% Bloc MP Simon Marcil Mirabel, Que. 51.1%
- NDP MP Scott Duvall Hamilton Mountain,
- Ont. 36.1% • NDP MP Jack Harris St. John's East, Nfld.
- and Labrador 46.9% • NDP MP Mumilaag Qaggag Nunavut

With O'Toole behind in polls, U.K. consultants unlikely to be helpful for Conservatives, say some politicos

But others say the U.K. consultants have won highprofile campaigns in the recent past and will provide useful insights and a fresh perspective to the Conservative campaign in Canada.

Continued from page 1

"It's good to have [the U.K. consultants] when you're in a tight race, and you want to get an edge," said Ekos Research president Frank Graves, in an interview with The Hill Times."I understand the motivation. Do I think it'll be successful? Most likely, not."

The Toronto Star reported late last month that the Conservative Party hired consultants from the "advanced analytics" firm Stack Data Strategy in the U.K. that helped British Prime Minister Boris Johnson win a majority government in 2019 and also were the key strategists behind the Vote Leave" side of the Brexit referendum in 2017. Since September, these consultants have been providing advice to the party on social media messaging and big data analysis. The Star reported that the firm is advising the Conservative Party to plot strategy for the next election. Stack was formerly part of the London-based Hanbury Strategy, a boutique political consulting firm.

The paper also confirmed that the Conservatives have also retained the services of Topham Guerin, a digital consultancy firm that is operating in the U.K., Australia, and New Zealand to help the party with its social media

Cory Hann, spokesperson for the Conservative Party, told The Hill Times last week that the party has hired the U.K. consultants because Mr. O'Toole (Durham, Ont.) wants his party to have the cutting-edge and "most innovative" campaign techniques to win the next election and form the government. He, however, did not say specifically what the new consultants were doing for the Conservative campaign.

"Erin O'Toole is determined that the Conservative Party be best-in-class in every sense and embrace the most innovative and modern techniques which successful parties \bar{a} round the world use to win elections," said Mr.

Hann in an email. "To that end, the Conservative Party identified Hanbury/Stack Data and Topham Guerin as among the best and most successful firms in the world to provide tactical data analysis and social media advice.'

It's not unusual for Canadian or other western parties to bring in consultants from other countries for advice on how to run winning campaigns. Every time a political party wins a national campaign in a country, political parties from other democracies consult them to learn what techniques they used and which ones were more effective than the others. In the past, there have been numerous instances when the fed-

1,200 Canadians was conducted from June 7 to June 14 and had a margin of error of 2.8 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

Mr. Graves said that if the Conservatives want to win the next election, they need to make a turnaround of at least around 15 points. With this much ground to make up, the U.K. consultants are unlikely to be helpful, he said, as they can be helpful where the margin is in the low single digits.

Getting better analytics, having better voter information, those are all good things to have,' said Mr. Graves. "But I just don't see them helping them climb out of this pretty significant hole they're in right now."

But, he said, there are always risks associated with external consultants, for example if they have been engaged in questionable campaign activities in the past. He said that Canadians don't care whom a specific party is getting advice from or hiring to run their campaigns. It becomes an issue only if those consultants have been involved in any unsavoury or unethical campaign tactics. Also, opposition parties will use this as ammunition.

Jenni Byrne, former campaign director and deputy chief of staff in the Stephen Harper PMO, said that it depends on why the Conservatives have hired the British strategists. It might be helpful if



Erin O'Toole's Conservatives have hired the U.K. consultants behind Prime Minister Boris Johnson's winning campaigns to advise them for the next federal election, but political insiders are divided on how successful this will be is going to be for the Canadian Tories. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade and Flickr

eral Liberals or New Democrats have consulted American political consultants from the Democratic Party or from other western countries, and the Conservatives have tapped U.S., Australian, and British consultants for their advice on how to run effective campaigns.

Most recent polls in Canada are showing the Conservatives trailing the Liberals, in some cases by double-digit margins.

A recent rolling poll by Nanos Research suggested that the Liberals had the support of 37.4 per cent of Canadians, the Conservatives 26.3 per cent, the NDP 17.4 per cent, and the Greens seven

The poll of 1,000 Canadians was released on June 11 and had a margin of error of plus or minus 3.1 percentage points, 19 times

And a poll by Ekos Research published June 16 suggested that the Liberals were leading the pack with the support of 35 per cent of Canadians, the Conservatives were at 26 per cent, the NDP 17 per cent and the Green Party was at eight per cent. The poll of

But pollster Nik Nanos said that when a political party is behind with double-digit margins, they need to shake things up significantly to make a comeback, and, for that, outside consultants could be enormously helpful.

"If you're behind in the double digits, you have to basically be prepared to think outside of the box," said Mr. Nanos, chief data scientist and founder of Nanos Research. "In order to change the environment, the one way to do that is to bring in outside consultants. So yes, they can make a difference in a very close campaign. But at the same time, if you need to shake the cobwebs off of the campaign team and try to reinvigorate the campaign, one of the easier ways to do that is to bring in an outsider.'

Mr. Nanos said that every party wants to have the best and brightest minds on their campaigns and if the Conservatives could have found someone inside Canada who could do what these external consultants can do, Team O'Toole would not have retained outside strategists.

the idea is to learn new campaign tactics, but less so if they are brought in to advise on strategy. She said that these strategists did well in Britain because they understand the country, but in Canada they may not be as helpful as they don't fully understand the dynamics and regional issues in different parts of the country. She also questioned why, if these strategists have been advising the party since September, some of the Conservative caucus members like Michelle Rempel Garner (Calgary Nosehill, Alta.) and Pierre Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.) are doing much better than Mr. O'Toole on all metrics on social

"Here, an NDP riding in Hamilton is a lot different than an NDP riding in Thunder Bay and a lot different than an NDP riding in the Lower Mainland [of B.C.]," said Ms. Byrne on the popular Herle Burly podcast on May 25. "So if you don't actually know the nuances of the country or know anything on the ground, it's actually very hard to drive the strategy. So if they are just using

these companies for tactics, it's one thing, but if they're using that for strategy, it's a mistake.'

But Mr. Nanos said that the British consultants have likely been brought in for their specific technical expertise. Using an example, he said, if they've been hired for the social media campaign, the consultants would execute the social media strategy to optimize the message but the party strategists would put together the content of the message.

'The external consultant would have the toolkit on how to deploy the social media campaign, but the home-grown team would identify the content, and the diversity of content, and the geography of where the content is delivered," said Mr. Nanos.

Greg Lyle, president of Innovative Research agreed: "If they're brought in as mechanics, as opposed to drivers, they just need to build the car, they don't need to drive it, Canadians can drive the message.'

Tim Powers, a veteran Conservative political insider, told The Hill Times that the consultants hired by the party have a proven track record in winning some high-profile campaigns and they would share that knowledge with the party. He said that Mr. Johnson's successful campaign was able to get support from voters who have not been traditionally part of the Conservative base and Mr. O'Toole is hoping to emulate the same strategies in Canada. Politics is like business where companies around the world learn and pick up techniques from each other that are successful in getting the best results, Mr. Powers added.

"They're going to bring knowledge and skills in developing a winning campaign for Conservatives among themes that aren't always common for Conservatives, like an appeal to a union, appealing to people who aren't your traditional Conservatives, they were successful in doing that for Boris Johnson," said Mr. Powers, chairman of Summa Strategies. "O'Toole hopes that some of that [U.K. campaign] knowledge will be applicable to what he is trying to do.'

Ipsos Public Affairs CEO Darrell Bricker said that every successful election campaign in any country always comes up with new winning ideas, insights, and new technologies and it's critical for other political parties to learn from these experiences. He said that in Canada, it's hard to name even a handful of political consultants who earn their living full time from political consulting as most work with different companies and this is another key reason why Canadian political parties look to other countries where hundreds of people do political consulting full time.

"Any political campaign would like to get some challenging insights about its assumptions and you never know who's going to bring a new idea," said Mr. Bricker.

That's what Boris Johnson did: [he] attracted a different group of voters, built a different coalition than what his previous Conservative parties had in the U.K.'

arana@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

Western 'leadership' over past 30 years has been a disaster for much of the world

Now, it seems, the G7 answer is to blame many of the world's problems on China with the U.S. pushing G7 partners to become allies in a costly and dangerous new Cold War. The challenge is for the G7 to lead by example, not self-serving xenophobia or nostalgia, boastfulness or protectionism.



TORONTO—The recent G7 leaders' summit in the U.K. should be viewed as a lost opportunity. It failed to deliver on what's needed to bring the world out of the pandemic, or to set the world on course for a worldwide green economic recovery. While there were some potentially hopeful advances what was perhaps most remarkable was that much of what the G7 countries did commit to was to correct for

world over the past three decades.

If the G7 had implemented the Kyoto
Accord that was adopted in 1997, the world
would have gotten off to a much earlier
start to addressing climate change.

the damage they have done to much of the

If the G7 had rejected the excessive free-market ideology and its related em-

brace of unfettered globalization of earlier decades, the world today would have less inequality, with more inclusive and stronger economies, and better social protection for those at the bottom.

We would have avoided dangerous populist politics and Donald Trump as well. We likely would have avoided the 2007-08 global financial crisis with the huge cost it imposed on individuals and economies worldwide, which only added to the plight of what economist Jeff Rubin has called "the expendables."

And if the G7 had not let its guard up after the SARS threat abated, we would have been better prepared for the CO-VID-19 pandemic, whose worldwide death toll is probably much higher than the official three million estimate.

Western world "leadership" over the past 30 years has been a disaster for much of the world. Now, it seems, the G7 answer is to blame many of the world's problems on China with the U.S. pushing G7 partners to become allies in a costly and dangerous new Cold War. The challenge is for the G7 to lead by example, not self-serving xenophobia or nostalgia, boastfulness or protectionism.

Looking back we can see how G7 nations let down their guard once the SARS threat—which appeared in 2003—quickly disappeared. Yet scientists warned that future threats were inevitable. Nonetheless, Canada cut back on its pandemic threat surveillance. No provision was made for future vaccine production in Canada to deal with SARS-type viruses. Masks and other supplies that would be needed in an emergency were allowed to deteriorate in warehouses. We seemed to assume a SARS-type event couldn't happen again.

The G7 response has been underwhelming. As former British prime minister Gordon Brown has observed, the G7 commitment of an additional one billion vaccines for the developing world falls far short of the 11 billion doses that will be needed if all countries are to achieve the same protection as the West. "Without that world-



Prime Minister Boris Johnson, pictured June 11, 2021, walking with German Chancellor Angela Merkel, followed by France's President Emmanuel Macron, U.S President Joe Biden, and Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, during the G7 Leaders Summit in Carbis Bay, U.K. *Photograph courtesy of Flickr/Simon Dawson/No. 10 Downing Street*

wide coverage, the disease will continue to spread, mutate, and return to threaten even the vaccinated,"Brown warned."It is an undeniable fact that all of us will live in fear until no one lives in fear."

Climate change is another area where we are playing catch up from last failures. In 1997, Canada signed the Kyoto Protocol, pledging to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions in 2012 to six per cent below the 1990 level. Canada did little to follow up. In 2011, then prime minister Stephen Harper withdrew Canada from the accord, the only country to officially withdraw. In 2012, our emissions were about 60 per cent higher than in 1990, not the six per cent reduction we had promised.

If we had kept our Kyoto promise, we would not have overbuilt the tar sands industry, we would have built offices and homes that were energy-efficient, we would have built more green infrastructure and developed new technologies needed for green infrastructure. We would have had many more innovators developing next-generation green technologies. Instead, we are now in a desperate race to make up for our past failure to act.

But it is the poorer countries that will pay much of the price for the G7 failure to seriously embark on measures in the late 1990s to significantly reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Yet the recent G7 summit failed to deliver on urgently needed financial help for the poorer countries to address climate challenges even though it is the G7 world that has put their societies and people at grave risk. What we are seeing is tokenism.

Likewise, the G7 over the past 30 years also inflicted bad economic policies on the rest of the world. In embracing free-market globalization, the G7 countries brought

about huge inequality because it paid little attention to the hugely uneven distribution of the benefits. In a paper for the G7 leaders written by Nicholas Stern, a leading British economist best known for showing how in moving to a low-carbon economy the benefits hugely outweigh the costs, called for a genuine "build-back-better" strategy for the world.

The world, he said, faced what he called an interwoven series of challenges: The devastating health and social costs of the pandemic; the diminished prospects for economic growth and employment against a backdrop of rising public debt; the mounting threats of climate change, environmental degradation and biodiversity loss; growing inequality that has been exacerbated by the pandemic; and disrupted education for 90 per cent of the world's children." But, he argued, with major increases in investment in physical, human, natural, and social capital, the transition to a net-zero emissions world represented "the greatest economic, business and commercial possibilities in modern times."

While the G7 communiqué noted Stern's report, it fell far short of what Stern was advocating. Instead, we are seeing more protectionist thinking, as G7 countries retreat from openness.

So while we should welcome the small steps taken by the G7, we should recognize that what the world needs most is bold and ambitious leadership along with the political will to deliver. Meanwhile we continue to stumble along in a two-steps-forward, one-step-backwards kind of world. This is why the G7 summit is another lost opportunity.

the G7 summit is another lost opportunity.

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interlog.com.

The Hill Times

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Hargreaves exits as chief of staff to Associate **Finance Minister Fortier**



Associate Finance and Middle Class Prosperity Minister Mona Fortier, pictured during a press conference on 2021 pre-budget consultations on Jan. 25. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

ssociate Finance and Middle Class A Prosperity Minister Mona Fortier's senior-most aide, chief of staff Lucy Hargreaves, recently bid Parliament Hill farewell after five years of federal political

Ms. Hargreaves started out as a constituency office manager to now-Infrastructure Minister Catherine McKenna, running her MP's Ottawa Centre riding office in 2016. A year later, she joined Ms. McKenna's office as then-minister for the environment and climate change as director of operations and planning, staying there through to the 2019 federal election. During that race, Ms. Hargreaves ran Liberal MP Irek Kusmierczyk's successful campaign in Windsor Tecumseh, Ont.,—ultimately, the first-term MP won the seat with 33.4 per cent of the vote, by a margin of just 629 votes over then-NDP candidate Cheryl Hardcastle. After the election, Ms. Hargreaves became chief of staff to Ms. Fortier. She marked her last day on the job on June 11.



Lucy Hargreaves, pictured speaking with her now-former boss. Associate Finance and Middle Class Prosperity Minister Mona Fortier. Photograph courtesy of Twitter/Alex Tétreault

Before her work in federal politics, from 2009 to 2016, Ms. Hargreaves was a senior manager with the Aga Khan Foundation Canada. She's also a former senior adviser with Ontario's Ministry of the Environment, Conservation, and Parks, and a former sustainable development consultant with the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development and UNESCO.

"Making this move has been a hard decision, but I am proud of what we have accomplished together and excited for what comes next. The last half decade has been an amazing journey and immense privilege. Getting into politics was one of those delightful surprises in life that happened when I was 37, with three kids under the age of three," Ms. Hargreaves wrote in a recent LinkedIn post.

In it, she "in particular" thanked Ms. Fortier and Ms. McKenna "for the trust they placed in"her, as well as the "tireless" work of public servants "behind the scenes" and the many political staff she's worked with, who she said "are some of the hardest working and relentlessly entrepreneurial people I know and have dug particularly deep over the last year in a very challenging circumstances to continue to deliver."

"Thank you, to all of you. This is a chapter of my career I will never forget," she wrote.

Ms. Hargreaves announced that she's set to become co-founder and managing partner of a new venture capital fund, which is set to focus on "investing in and building successful Canadian cleantech companies," and will launch in early July.

In Ms. Fortier's office, director of policy Elizabeth Cheesbrough has stepped in as acting chief of staff.

Staff changes for Sajjan, Garneau, and Freeland

National Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan said goodbye to three members of his ministerial team in May, including his executive assistant, Sarah Jackson, who marked her last day on the job on May 21.

Ms. Jackson, as recently reported now executive assistant to PMO chief of staff Katie Telford. She'd been Mr. Saijan's executive assistant since February 2020.

Special assistant for Ontario regional affairs Jack Davidson left Mr. Sajjan's office, with May 27 as his last day. Mr. Davidson had been working for the defence minister since February 2020 and had been Mr. Sajjan's assistant as the Liberal MP for Vancouver South, B.C., for almost a year before that. He's also a former strategic research and policy analyst with the Ontario Liberal caucus service bureau.

A new Ontario desk has yet to be hired in Mr. Sajjan's office, but stay tuned to Hill Climbers for an update.

Rounding out the list of recent exits is that of policy adviser Ozren"Oz"Jungic, whose last day after two years on the job in Mr. Sajjan's office was May 21.

Mr. Jungic hasn't gone far and on May 25 marked his first day as a senior policy adviser to Foreign Affairs Minister Marc



Oz Jungic has joined Foreign Affairs Minister Marc Garneau's team. Photograph courtesy of Rémi Thériault

Before joining Mr. Sajjan's office, he'd tackled cyber security issues in the public service. Since 2016, he's been an external contributor to the U.K.-based Economist Intelligence Unit. Mr. Jungic is also a former research fellow with the University of Toronto's Bill Graham Centre for International History and previously worked in the prosecutor's office of the UN's International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague. Mr. Jungic had left Bosnia for Canada in 1992 during the break up of Yugoslavia. He has a bachelor's degree from Simon Fraser University, where he was active with the Young Liberals of Canada, and went on to get a master's degree and a doctorate degrees from the University of Oxford.

Countering these exits, Mr. Sajjan welcomed Jeremy Bruce to his office as a policy adviser on June 10.



Jeremy Bruce is now a policy adviser to the defence minister. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Mr. Bruce has spent the last three years working as a consultant for Summa Strategies Canada in Ottawa, having been hired there in the spring of 2018 after four months working on results and delivery for Global Affairs Canada. He has a bachelor's degree in political studies and history from Queen's University and a master's in global affairs from the University of Toronto.

"I'm delighted to be joining the minister's team. There is a tremendous amount of important work to be done in the months ahead, and it is an honour to serve the minister and join such an incredible team," said Mr. Bruce by email.

George Young is chief of staff to Mr. Sajjan, while Tania Belisle-Leclerc is director of policy.

In Mr. Garneau's office, along with Mr. Jungic, in late April, the minister welcomed Emily Desrochers to his team as a special assistant for communications and social

Ms. Desrochers is already well familiar with the foreign affairs file. She was a 2018 summer intern in the office under thenminister Chrystia Freeland, after which she was hired on as a special assistant, focused on parliamentary affairs.

She left in 2019 to pursue a master's degree in international conflict and security, with a specialization in human rights law, at the University of Kent's Brussels School of International Studies in Belgium. Ms. Desrochers returned on contract as a special assistant to then-foreign affairs minister François-Philippe Champagne last summer, and now, having graduated, has returned full-time. She's also a former 2017 summer intern in then-international development and La Francophonie minister Marie-Claude Bibeau's office and has a bachelor's degree in political science from the Université de Sherbrooke.

Daniel Lauzon is chief of staff to Mr. Garneau.

Meanwhile, Julie Savard-Shaw has returned to the Hill, stepping in as a new policy adviser to Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland as of June 14 after three years away.



Julie Savard-Shaw is back on the Hill. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

A former special assistant for policy and research in Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's office as the then-third party Liberal leader, Ms. Savard-Shaw became a policy adviser to then-infrastructure minister Amarjeet Sohi after the Liberals first formed government at the end of 2015. By September 2016, she'd found her way to Mr. Trudeau's office as prime minister serving as a policy adviser responsible for the immigration, international development, and gender equality in foreign affairs files (and, briefly, the heritage file), while there, as noted on her LinkedIn profile.

Ms. Savard-Shaw left the Hill in early 2018 to work for the Canadian Partnership for Women and Children's Health (Can-WaCH) as director of strategic partnerships for Women Deliver 2019 Mobilization Canada. CanWaCH received federal funding to support its role as secretariat for the 2019 Women Deliver conference, which took place in Vancouver.

More recently, since the end of 2020, Ms. Savard-Shaw was busy doing advocacy and government relations work for the Canadian Teachers' Federation.

On the flip side, senior policy adviser Amitpal Singh has left Ms. Freeland's team.

He'd been handling policy files for the finance minister since August 2018, starting under then-minister Bill Morneau. Mr. Singh got his start on the Hill as a policy intern in the PMO over the summer of 2017, after which he was hired on there full-time as a special assistant for policy.

Leslie Church is director of policy to Ms. Freeland, while Tyler Meredith is director of strategy and Mary-Rose Brown, Aneil Jaswal, and Bud Sambasivam serve as senior policy advisers.

Jeremy Broadhurst is chief of staff to the deputy PM.

lryckewaert@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

An Indigenous

2021. leads a

pictured June 1,

drumming circle

at the Centennial

Parliament Hill

in memory of the

215 Indigenous

found last month

Kamloops Indian

Kamloops, B.C.

The Hill Times

photograph by

Sam Garcia

children whose

remains were

at the site of

the former

Residential

School in

woman.

Flame on

The Parliamentary Calendar is a free events listing. Send in your political, cultural, governmental event in a para graph with all the relevant details under the subject line 'Parliamentary Calendar' hilltimes.com by Wednesday at noon before the Monday paper or by Friday at noon for the Wednesday paper.

Monday, June 21, is National Indigenous Peoples Day in Canada

MONDAY, JUNE 21

It's National Indigenous Peoples Day-June 21 is the national 25th anniversary of celebrating heritage, diverse cultures, and outstanding achievements of First Nation Inuit, and Métis peoples.

Issues for urban Canada—A conversation with Don Iveson. mayor of Edmonton, who will reflect on his eight years as mayor and his leadership of the Big City Mayors Committee of the FCM. Hosted by the Pearson Centre, 11 a.m. to 11:45 a.m. ET Register through www. thepearsoncentre.ca

House Sitting—The House is sitting in a hybrid format during the pandemic, with most MPs connecting remotely. It's scheduled to sit every weekday until Wednesday, June 23, and will then break for three months, until Monday, Sept. 20. In the fall and winter, the House is scheduled to sit for 11 weeks over September, October, November, and December. It will sit Sept. 20-Oct. 8; Oct. 18-Nov. 5; and Nov. 15-Dec.

Canada's Foreign Policy Priorities—Foreign Affairs Minister Marc Garneau will take part in a French-language discussion on "Canada's Foreign Policy Priorities" in a webinar hosted by the Montreal Council on Foreign Relations. Monday, June 21, 12-12:30 p.m. Register at corim.qc.ca.

University of Saskatchewan

hosts a webinar on "Finding the

Right Balance: Equalization in

Canada," a panel discussion on

the history, formula, and policy

plan. Participants include Mary

around Canada's equalization

Janigan, journalist, historian,

author of The Art of Sharing:

The Richer versus the Poorer

Provinces since Confederation;

Haizhen Mou, professor at the

Trevor Tombe, associate profes-

of Calgary, and research fellow

at The School of Public Policy.

Tuesday, June 22, 10:30 a.m.

to noon, CST. Register at scho-

Pathways Towards A Just Transi-

NDP MP Leah Gazan will take

part in a webinar: "Guaranteed

Liveable Income: Pathways to-

wards a just transition," hosted

by The Jesuit Forum for Social

ticipants include Jessie Golem.

the Ontario Guaranteed Livable

Income Pilot Project; Dr. Evelyn

Medical School and author; and

Sr. Elizabeth Davis RSM Th.D.,

Faith and Justice. Other par-

a recipient and facilitator of

Forget, professor of econom-

ics at University of Manitoba

Congregational Leader of the

Sisters of Mercy, and former

Commission on Renewing and

Strengthening Newfoundland

Tuesday, June 22, 5-7 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23

Breathing Easier—The Cana-

dian Lung Association and Aba-

Register via Eventbrite.

and Labrador's Place in Canada.

commissioner of the Royal

tion—ISG Senator Kim Pate and

Guaranteed Liveable Income:

olofpublicpolicy.sk.ca.

Johnson Shoyama Graduate

School of Public Policy; and

sor of economics, University

Filling Gaps in Canada's Ailing Long-Term Care System with Cash-For-Care Benefits-The Institute for Research on Public Policy hosts a webinar on "Filling Gaps in Canada's Ailing Long-Term Care System with Cash-For-Care Benefits.' University of Ottawa professor Colleen Flood will discuss her recent IRPP study on the potential advantages of cash-for-care benefits for improving long-term care in Canada. She will be joined by Ito Peng, professor of sociology and public policy, University of Toronto; and Isobel Mackenzie, seniors advocate of British Columbia. Monday, June 21, 3-4:15 p.m. Register

MONDAY, JUNE 21— WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23

Memory Institutions as Equitable, Diverse and Inclusive Places—Library and Archives Canada hosts the third edition of the LAC Forum with University Partners: "Memory Institutions as Equitable, Diverse and Inclusive Places." LAC's university partners and a wide range of participants will discuss the question of equity, diversity and inclusion, including current EDI issues and challenges facing libraries, archives and museums. Register by June 20 at bac-lac.gc.ca.

TUESDAY, JUNE 22

Finding the Right Balance: Equalization in Canada—The



cus Data invite you to a panel discussion to address the growing concern of air quality and climate on the health of Canadians. The event will present new polling data on the impacts on lung health and what Canadian's feel is important to make a difference. A distinguished panel of experts across a variety of fields and industries will discuss how we can move the dial to create real change for a Canada where we can all breathe with ease. June 23, at 12 p.m. EST. To register for the free event go to: https:// us02web.zoom.us/webinar/ register/WN_f_DceiOuTHivgVeF-

THURSDAY, JUNE 24

St. Jean Baptiste Day—Fête Nationale du Québec, also called Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, official holiday of Quebec Canada. Observed on June 24, the holiday marks the summer solstice and honours the patron saint of Jean Baptiste, John the Baptist.

A Conversation with Stephanie Kusie-Conservative MP Stephanie Kusie will discuss the current status of the regional transportation sector and the potential issues affecting businesses in a webinar hosted by the Halifax Chamber of Commerce. Thursday, June 24, 2-3 p.m. AT. Register at business. halifaxchamber.com.

FRIDAY, JUNE 25

HarperCollins/UBC Best New Fiction Prize. Hosted by the Pearson Centre, 12 noon to 1 p.m. ET Register through www. thepearsoncentre.ca

TUESDAY, JUNE 29

The State of Politics in Canada—A conversation with outgoing Liberal MP Geoff Regan, 36th Speaker of the House of Commons, former fisheries minister and long-time MP. Hosted by the Pearson Centre, 12 noon to 1 p.m. (ET). Register through www.thepearsoncentre.ca

THURSDAY, JULY 1

Canada Day—For the second year in a row, in light of the current and ongoing COVID-19 pandemic and the

government's priority of keeping Canadians safe. Canada Day will bring all Canadians together and allow them to express their national pride and honour for others in a virtual environment. On July 1, at 8 p.m. (ET), Lights on Canada which is the two-hour evening program, will be hosted by Jully Black and Véronic DiCaire. Showcasing artists and artisans in the entertainment industry across the country, highlighting the excellence of their work, the show will feature: Jann Arden, Les Trois Accords, JP Saxe, Lara Fabian, Johnny Orlando, Les Hay Babies, Tyler Shaw, Damien Robitaille, Jessia, Gurdeep Pandher, Mélissa Bédard, Terry Uyarak, Paper Lions, Irish Mythen, Inn

Jobin, Naya Ali, Prado Monroe, Begonia, Sebastian Gaskin, Boogey the Beat, Major Funk, Boréalis Soul, Lawrence Nayally, Séan McCann, Albert Dumont, and Josée. It will be broadcast on CBC television and ICI Radio-Canada Télé, as well as on Canadian Heritage's YouTube channel. During commercial breaks on Canadian Heritage's YouTube channel, ioin Anne-Marie Withenshaw as she takes you on a tour behind the scenes at the studio, chats with the industry's craftspeople, and checks out the artist rehearsal.

SATURDAY, AUG. 21

65th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference—One of the largest annual gatherings of Commonwealth Parliamentarians will take place in Aug 21-27, 2021, at the 65th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference (CPC) hosted by the CPA Canada Region in Halifax. The annual flagship event will bring together over 500 Parliamentarians, parliamentary staff, and decision makers from across the Commonwealth for this unique conference and networking opportunity. The conference will be hosted by the CPA President (2019-2021), Anthony Rota, MP, Speaker of the House of Commons. All eligible CPA Branches will be contacted with further information and

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 29

Energy Storage Canada Conference—As the Voice of the Energy Storage sector in Canada, our virtual Annual Conference will be held on Sept. 29-30, 2021. This year's theme is "Charged & Ready" featuring keynote speakers, informative panels, and virtual tours and workshops. Ticket information can be found

The Hill Times

at energystoragecanada.org/

A Dialogue on Diversity: A Conversation about Reconciliation with Michelle Good, author of Five Little Indians, her first novel, which won the Echo, Madison Violet, Shawn



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