

What midterm crisis? p. 19



Exclusive news inside

Is Canada trying to outdo U.S. hostility to China? p. 18



COP27 news p. 22

Foreign policy inside

Global population eight billion and counting p. 14

Lobbying news p. 21



# THE HILL TIMES

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR, NO. 1979

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 2022 \$5.00

NEWS

## Rouleau Inquiry lifts lid on 'federal, provincial, municipal dysfunction in crisis management and policing,' say politicians

Testimony from federal officials shone light on the earliest and final days of the Freedom Convoy protests, discussions around the potential for 'serious violence' leading up to the first-ever invocation of the Emergencies Act, and why the federal government needed to step up.



Police, pictured Feb. 17, 2022, beginning to remove Freedom Convoy protesters from downtown Ottawa. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

Political insiders say the Public Order Emergency Commission has demonstrated dysfunction at all levels of government, and that the commission's findings will be used

by the opposition to attack the prime minister and the federal government, and by both the opposition and the government to drive a wedge between the feds and some provinces. Geoff Norquay, principal at Earncliffe Strategies, said that

"so far, the commission, in my view, is delivering a master class on federal, provincial and municipal dysfunction in crisis management and policing."

Continued on page 26

Stephen Harper's global director Shuvaloy Majumdar said to be eyeing coveted Calgary Heritage seat

BY ABBAS RANA

Shuvaloy Majumdar, a former senior Conservative ministerial staffer who now works for Stephen Harper's high-profile international consulting firm Harper & Associates, is testing the waters to run in the true-blue Conservative riding of Calgary Heritage, Alta. In the past, former prime minister Harper and Preston Manning, former leader of the now defunct Reform Party, have both represented the safe Conservative seat.

Majumdar, who worked as a policy adviser to then-foreign affairs minister John Baird from 2011 to 2015, did not return calls from *The Hill Times*.

Garry Keller, former chief of staff to Baird, confirmed that Majumdar is seriously considering a run for the nomination.

"He has to talk to people in Calgary and people in the Conservative movement in Calgary," said Keller, vice-president of Strategy Corp., in an interview with *The Hill Times*. "In order to be a successful nomination candidate, you have to do the heavy-lifting ahead of time, the behind-the-scenes talking to people before making a decision officially one way or another."

Keller said last week that Majumdar was in the process of doing his due diligence and

Continued on page 20





Mike Lapointe

## Heard On The Hill

# Tiff Macklem beats out top federal politicians in *Toronto Life* magazine's list of most influential Torontonians



**Toronto Life's top influential people 2022:** Tiff Macklem, left, Doug Ford, Chrystia Freeland, Anita Anand, Jagmeet Singh, and Jenni Byrne all ranked in the top half of *Toronto Life* magazine's 50 most influential list for 2022. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade and courtesy of Twitter

**T**oronto *Life* magazine published its annual ranking of the 50 most influential Torontonians for 2022 last week. The theme for the list is regional, and includes celebrities, actors, writers, journalists, bureaucrats, business tycoons, game show winners, and more.

Taking the No. 2 spot, just under Canadian actor-turned-mega-

star **Simu Liu**, was Bank of Canada Governor **Tiff Macklem**, "for keeping inflation in check."

Ontario Premier **Doug Ford** ranked third below Macklem. His ranking was attributed to his recent majority win. "You have to hand it to the guy: he guided the province through the worst public health crisis in a century and

earned many Ontarians' trust in the process," the blurb reads.

Finance Minister **Chrystia Freeland**, who represents the Toronto riding of University-Rosedale, Ont., took the fourth spot, beating out **Drake** who sits at No. 5.

"Is there any challenge Freeland can't meet?" *Toronto Life* asked,

before referencing the rumour that Freeland could be in the running for NATO's next secretary general.

Freeland's cabinet colleague Defence Minister **Anita Anand**, who represents Oakville, Ont., sits at No. 7 for her even-keeled handling of "a thorny portfolio that keeps getting thornier."

"She's a calm, pragmatic prob-

lem solver. And you know what happens when you keep getting the job done: they give you bigger, trickier jobs, which is why she's being eyed as leadership material for when the biggest job in the Liberal Party opens up," *Toronto Life* writes.

Rounding out the top 10 are **Lisa LaFlamme** at No. 8—"a broadcast icon with or without a network"—and **Jagmeet Singh** at No. 9—"Ottawa's unlikely kingmaker."

"This year, despite the NDP holding fewer seats than every other major federal party, Singh totally reshaped Parliament Hill," *Toronto Life* penned.

Notably absent from the list are Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** and Conservative Leader **Pierre Poilievre**. But Trudeau and Poilievre aren't Torontonians.

While Poilievre wasn't featured, his "secret weapon" **Jenni Byrne** was at No. 21.

"When Poilievre launched his leadership bid, he called his former girlfriend Jenni Byrne, a cutthroat mastermind who has orchestrated the rise and fall of Canada's most powerful conservative politicians," *Toronto Life* writes. Up next for Byrne: "Finishing the job. Byrne is expected to be the party's national campaign director when Poilievre attempts to unseat Trudeau in 2025."

Another backroom strategist to make the cut: **Nick Kouvalis** ranked in at No. 34, for running Ford's and Toronto mayor **John Tory**'s campaigns.



## Monday's photo

### Into the spotlight:

Treasury Board Mona Fortier, centre, with Transport Minister Omar Alghabra, left, Housing and Diversity Minister Ahmed Hussen, and Indigenous Services Minister Patty Hajdu, right, on Nov. 15, 2022, talking to reporters in the House of Commons Foyer after the auditor general's reports were tabled in the Commons.

*The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Continued on page 29

# DIGITAL FIRST CANADA

Honourable Senators,


We are the Digital Creators of Canada. With grit, creativity and commitment, we’ve leveraged the opportunity of digital platforms to create sustainable and successful businesses. It’s allowed us to create uniquely Canadian stories, and share them with the world, at the touch of a button. When our businesses grow, we put money back into the creative ecosystem, so that we can hire, build and cultivate the next generation of Canadian creators.

But right now, **our livelihoods are at risk. Bill C-11 could deeply impact how our content is discovered, and how we earn revenue.** Earlier this year, over 40,000 creators and users raised our voices in the House of Commons to defend our digital businesses against these changes. We were ignored. We now ask the Senate to protect the thousands of digital creators across the country by **removing discovery obligations and carving out user-generated content.**

We understand that this bill needs to be updated for the digital age. Our hope is that it doesn’t destroy the success of so many digital businesses in the process.

Signed by:


  
**Amanda Lee**  
2.1 Million YouTube

  
**Dan Hammill**  
Greenskull / ReadyUpLive  
400k TikTok

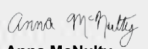
  
**Jamie Milne**  
Everything Delish  
2.5 Million TikTok


  
**Jamie Hobson**  
Hacksmith  
13 Million YouTube


  
**Morgan Vera**  
6 Million TikTok

  
**Robert Randall**  
Young Actors Project  
2 Million YouTube

  
**Max Taylor**  
Max Emerson Taylor  
1.2 Million Tiktok

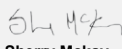
  
**Anna McNulty**  
3.2 Million YouTube  
8 Million TikTok


  
**Darcy Michael**  
3 Million TikTok


  
**Jessika Harling**  
900k TikTok


  
**J.J. McCullough**  
850k YouTube


  
**Morghan Fortier**  
Super Simple Songs  
36 Million YouTube

  
**Sherry McKay**  
500k TikTok

  
**Robert Manchurek**  
**Manchurek Triplets**  
11.7 Million TikTok  
5.7 Million YouTube


  
**Ashkan Karbas**  
WatchMojo  
24.4 Million YouTube


  
**Elijah Woods**  
Elijah Woods Music  
1 Million TikTok

  
**Julie Nolke**  
1 Million YouTube

  
**Maan Yousuf**  
800k YouTube

  
**Nichelle Laus**  
1 Million TikTok

  
**Ssonia Ong**  
Ong Squad  
8.5 Million TikTok


  
**William Li**  
3.5 Million TikTok

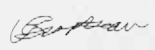
  
**Celina Horvath**  
Celina Spooky Boo  
26 Million TikTok


  
**Gregor Reynolds**  
500k TikTok

  
**Kelsey MacDermaid**  
**Rebecca Wright**  
The Sorry Girls  
2 Million YouTube

  
**Matthew Bandeira**  
Matt TV  
3.2 Million TikTok


  
**Peter McKinnon**  
5.8 Million YouTube

  
**Vanessa Brousseau**  
Resilient Inuk  
100k TikTok


  
**Lewis Hilsenteger**  
**Will Du**  
Unbox Therapy  
18.2 Million YouTube

  
**Chris Hau**  
Know Hau Media  
570k YouTube

  
**Ivo Coia**  
Thundermist Lures  
100k YouTube

  
**Laura Coia**  
SewVeryEasy  
420k YouTube

  
**Corey McMullan**  
McMullan Appliance  
400k TikTok

  
**Linus Sebastian**  
**Colton Potter**  
Linus Tech Tips  
14.8 Million YouTube



## News

# Canada lags behind its peers on foreign interference legislation: former CSIS officer

China's involvement in Canadian politics has been going on for decades, sometimes in subtle ways, says former senior intelligence CSIS officer Michel Juneau-Katsuya, who served as chief of the agency's Asia-Pacific division.

BY CHRISTOPHER GULY

Global News reporter Sam Cooper dropped a bombshell on Parliament Hill earlier this month when he reported that Canadian Security Intelligence Service officials warned the prime minister and several cabinet ministers in January about "a vast campaign of foreign interference" by China in the 2019 federal election.

The revelations in Cooper's story have made shockwaves in Canadian politics and abroad, with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) and People's Republic of China President Xi Jinping clashing at the G20 summit in Bali, Indonesia, after it was reported that Trudeau brought up the interference in a previous private meeting with Xi.

Also at the G20, Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly (Ahuntsic-Cartierville, Que.) told reporters that "we won't accept any form of meddling in our governments, in our elections, and we won't tolerate any form of foreign interference in Canada."

But if the federal government is serious about preventing foreign entities from interfering in Canadian democracy, it should table legislation in Parliament, said national security specialist Michel Juneau-Katsuya, who served as a senior intelligence officer at CSIS from 1984 to 2000, and who on Nov. 29 will testify before the Procedure and House Affairs Committee on Chinese foreign election interference.

"We do not have a foreign-interference law that other countries, like the U.S., the United Kingdom, and Australia have that allows them to investigate and prosecute the people involved," he told *The Hill Times*.

As reported by Global News, the interference included the funding of at least 11 candidates running for both the Liberal and Conservative parties in 2019. About \$250,000 was transferred through an unidentified member of Ontario's legislature and a



Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Dominic LeBlanc, left, Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly, and Jody Thomas, the prime minister's national security adviser, have been summoned to appear before the House Affairs Committee over their knowledge of China's interference in the 2019 federal election. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

federal election candidate staffer, through a "clandestine network" affiliated with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and directed by China's Toronto consulate, according to the Global News report.

Further, CSIS warned about the placement of Chinese agents into MPs' offices to "influence policy," as well as "mounting aggressive campaigns to punish Canadian politicians" whom the Chinese government views as threats to its interests.

the Prime Minister's Office in the past—prior to the Trudeau government, and particularly during Stephen Harper's Conservative government, he said, without providing any further details.

China's involvement in Canadian politics has been going on for decades, sometimes in subtle ways, according to Juneau-Katsuya, who, when he served as chief of the Asia-Pacific division at CSIS, helped write a report that

residents can make a contribution to a registered political party.

He said he is aware of Chinese Canadians who claim to have been followed, and had photographs of them and personal details about them posted online by Chinese agents, particularly diplomats with the Chinese consulate in Toronto.

## CSIS confirms foreign interference by China is a 'threat to the security of Canada'

In an email to *The Hill Times*, CSIS spokesperson Brandon Champagne said that the national intelligence agency "is committed to protecting Canada and Canadians from national security threats, including foreign interference and espionage. We take any allegation of FI [foreign influence] very seriously and will not hesitate to use the full mandate of the CSIS Act in order to investigate, advise the government of Canada, and take measures to reduce these threats."

He said that "CSIS has identified FI in Canada and targeting of Canadians by the PRC and the CCP as a threat to the security of Canada."

"To be clear, the threat does not come from the Chinese people," wrote Champagne. "Rather, it is the CCP that is pursuing a strategy for geopolitical advantage on all fronts—economic, technological, political, and military—and using all elements of state power to carry out activities that are a direct threat to our

national security and sovereignty."

He said that CSIS will also "continue to observe pervasive, persistent, and sophisticated state-sponsored threat activity targeting Canadian democratic institutions at all levels of government (federal, provincial/territorial, municipal, and Indigenous) and see[s] a rise in its frequency and sophistication."

"FI involves foreign states such as the PRC [People's Republic of China] or Russia attempting to covertly influence decisions, events, or election outcomes to better suit their strategic interests. In order to influence political outcomes, they may exert pressure on communities, use covert funding, or leverage foreign language media outlets."

Juneau-Katsuya said that while China is not the only country involved in foreign interference in Canada, "the Chinese are formidable opponents, and the efforts that they deploy are constant and phenomenal."

"It's the size of their deployment that is surpassing everybody," said Juneau-Katsuya, who now runs an Ottawa-based consulting firm specializing in counterintelligence assessment called The Northgate Group Corp. He added that the concept of developing agents of influence "has been with the Chinese forever because they wrote the book on it more than 2,000 years ago with *The Art of War* by Sun Tzu."

The Chinese Embassy did not respond to a request for comment.



Conservative MP Michael Cooper called an emergency meeting of the Procedure and House Affairs Committee to discuss the revelations of China's interference in the 2019 election. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Juneau-Katsuya said that no efforts are being made to stop Chinese diplomats from "bullying" members of the Chinese-Canadian community, or from conducting "intelligence operations to recruit and develop agents of influence, who are Canadian and who intentionally or naively are assisting China."

That activity has extended to agents of influence working in

emerged from "Project Sidewinder," a 1997 study by the RCMP and CSIS on China's activities in Canada.

Part of that investigation revealed that the Chinese embassy in Ottawa had given money to both the Conservative and Liberal parties, "which is against the law," said Juneau-Katsuya, referring to the Elections Canada rule that only Canadian citizens or permanent



**Embassy of Italy  
Ottawa**

## **THE EMBASSY OF ITALY IS RECRUITING TO FILL ONE LOCALLY-ENGAGED, FULL-TIME AND PERMANENT POSITION:**

A translator/interpreter/communications officer.  
Candidates should be fluent in Italian, English and French,  
both oral and written.

Selection by competition – to participate in selection  
process candidates must:

- Have turned 18 years old by October 26th, 2022;
- Have a high school diploma or equivalent;
- Have been residing in Canada for at least two years.

**Deadline: November 25th, 2022.**

**Additional information and application form available on the  
Embassy Website (<https://ambottawa.esteri.it/>),  
Twitter (@Italyincanada), and Facebook (ambottawa).**



## News

# Distrustful of each other, Liberals and Conservatives preparing for potential spring showdown

The Liberal Party wants to be ready whenever the next election comes, says Matteo Rossi, director, projects and strategic communications of the Liberal Party.

BY ABBAS RANA

The internal deadline of March 1, 2023, for incumbent Liberal MPs to meet nomination conditions without facing a challenge for the next election is making Conservatives nervous, and causing them to make their own preparations just in case the Liberals surprise them with a spring election, say some Liberal and Conservative insiders and MPs.

The Liberals, however, say they are making these preparations to be in a position of strength during “silly season,” which occurs every spring prior to the summer recess when political brinksmanship amongst parties is at its peak.

“I can only guess that things start to get heated up in May, June, or July, most years,” said eight-term Liberal MP Judy Sgro (Humber River-Black Creek, Ont.) in an interview with *The Hill Times* about why her party has set the March 1 deadline for incumbent MPs to meet nomination conditions, when there are no signs of an imminent election. “Maybe they thought the government [might be defeated by opposition parties] by that time. Who knows what might happen?”

On Nov. 1, the federal Liberal Party sent out new nomination rules for incumbent MPs if they want to run unchallenged for the nomination. Under these rules, each candidate should have at least 65 per cent of the anticipated expense limit in their electoral district association bank account by March 1; have at least 40 more Victory Fund members compared to the number they had in July 1, 2022; and attempt to knock on at least 3,500 door knocks or make 7,500 phone calls together with their team of volunteers.

In unheld ridings, the Liberal Party has started to accept requests for nomination packages from potential candidates.

“For whenever the next campaign eventually arrives, the Liberal Party of Canada is ready to re-elect our dedicated Liberal team in Parliament, and continue

to elect even more talented, diverse, and hardworking community leaders as new Liberal MPs,” said Matteo Rossi, director of projects and strategic communications for the Liberal Party, in an email to *The Hill Times*.

Meanwhile, some Liberal MPs interviewed for this article said that their party has set the March 1, 2023, deadline to be able to run the minority government from a position of strength, because they don’t want to be pushed around by the opposition parties.

“It’s like the silly season [a couple months before the summer parliamentary break], when you are in a position of strength, your negotiations with the opposition are completely different,” said one Liberal MP who declined to speak on record in order to offer their candid views.

to hold indoor fundraisers in the coming winter months. They also said in the winter months, and on the heels of the provincial and municipal elections in some provinces, people don’t necessarily want to hear any partisan talk. Going door-knocking is “not a great idea” in the next couple of months, said some Liberal MPs.

“These conditions are exacting,” said one Liberal MP who declined to have their name published.

“It’s challenging to do this work in wintertime,” they said. “You can do that in the summertime, go around when it’s warm. And when it’s winter, it’s hard to get those type of numbers [door knocks] unless you’re very much urbanized, like dense apartment building space. Nobody’s gonna open up the door in the middle of

Liberal MP Kevin Lamoureux (Winnipeg North, Man.) also described the criteria for Liberal MPs as fair, and said he would have no problem in meeting this deadline.

“At the end of the day, if a Member of Parliament wants to get that nomination by doing this, they’re actually having to ensure that you’re doing some work that’s going to keep them in touch with their constituents [that] they represent,” said Lamoureux, parliamentary secretary to the government House leader, in an interview with *The Hill Times*.

“So, it just provides that additional motivation to get out there, and given that by doing that, you’ve secured the nomination, I see [that] as a good thing.”

Rossi did not say if the party has any plans to extend

is 18-24 months, and March will be the 18-month mark for Justin Trudeau’s (Papineau, Que.) current minority government. Currently, the Liberals and the NDP are working under a confidence-and-supply agreement which will allow the Liberals to govern until the next scheduled election in 2025 in return for progress on key NDP priorities like dental care and pharmacare, among others.

This is the third time under Trudeau’s leadership that Liberal MPs have been given specific conditions to meet to avoid nomination challenges. Usually, party leaders use this incentive to maintain loyalty in caucus. However, critics of this policy say that if an MP is not confident enough to win a nomination contest in their own riding, they shouldn’t be expected to win in a general election.

The Liberals’ plan to acclaim all incumbent MPs by March 1—and the ensuing media coverage—is raising questions about its motives. This has created a flurry of activity on the Conservative side, some of whom interpret this as a Liberal plan to pull the plug in spring like they did last year. Even before the Liberals put out their nomination rules, the Conservatives had been preparing in case a snap election is called.

The Conservatives feel that the next election is theirs to lose, and the Liberals know that a fourth election for a governing party is usually a change election, making them anxious about the possibility of a defeat.

As recently as late last month, riding association presidents in unheld ridings had been told by party officials to look for candidates “ASAP,” according to Conservative sources.

Like the Liberals, the Conservatives have also set a criteria for their incumbent MPs for acclamations. In March, the national council advised Conservative caucus members that if they each raised \$15,000 annually and donated a combined \$3,350 to the riding and the party, they would be shielded from nomination challenges.

MPs who fail to meet any of the fundraising and donation conditions would have to go through a nomination process, in which anyone can challenge them.

According to Elections Canada rules, the maximum individual donation limit is \$1,675 annually to a registered party, \$1,675 to a riding association, and \$1,675 to a leadership contestant.

If the next election happens after the redistribution of electoral boundaries, Conservatives could change these conditions.

To reflect population changes across Canada, Elections Canada reconfigures boundaries every 10 years. This time, according to Elections Canada, four new ridings will be added to the 338-member House. Of these, Alberta is getting three more, and Ontario and British Columbia get one more seat each.

According to Elections Canada, the new ridings are expected to be in place in April 2024.

arana@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, left, and Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre. Conservatives are interpreting the Liberal Party’s March 1, 2023, deadline for incumbent MPs to secure their nomination for the next election as an indication that the governing party could pull the plug in spring. But Liberals say they’re just being prepared. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

“The opposition has to be kept in check from a strategic point of view. The minute the opposition thinks they have an advantage, they pull the plug. If the opposition comes to the realization that the Liberals are more organized and ready to go, you’ll see less demands and more co-operation.”

However, some Liberal MPs are unhappy with the nomination rules, because they think the March 1 deadline is too tight, and that the party should have given them until July of next year to meet all the conditions. Or, the party should have informed them about these conditions a couple of months ago. They explained that now that COVID numbers are going up significantly, it could become next to impossible for them

winter. Nor does anybody want to go walking door to door from your car to somebody’s front door in the middle of winter.”

Sgro described these concerns as “justified,” but she said MPs can rely on phone or online tools to reach out to constituents to raise funds. She said that these conditions are reasonable and MPs should be able to achieve the given targets.

“The fundraising can be done by mail, it can be done by phone for that part of it,” said Sgro.

“Just utilize technology, make the phone calls. ... It would have been better had they said first of July, would have been a little bit easier for people. But, that’s not the way it was done. So I’m fine with the first of March,” she said.

the deadline because of rising COVID numbers or what will happen if an MP fails to meet all the conditions by deadline. But a Liberal source said that if an MP needs an extension, they could reach out the party office to request one.

“Our updated nominations process was launched this month after extensive consultation with grassroots Liberals, and will help achieve important new engagement in every part of the country,” Rossi said. “As always, the health of all Canadians we engage with is a top priority for our party, and we’ll continue taking the steps necessary to keep up our democratic engagement in safe ways.”

The average age of a minority government in Canada





## Thank you for meeting with us!

Last month 400 REALTORS® from across the country met with more than 130 Members of Parliament to advocate for solutions to addressing Canada's housing crisis through:

- creating a permanent national housing roundtable; and
- leverage bilateral infrastructure agreements to increase housing supply.

**Learn more about our recommendations at [REALideas.ca](https://www.reallideas.ca)**

REALTOR®. Member of The Canadian Real Estate Association and more.



# Editorial

Editor Kate Malloy  
Managing Editor Charelle Evelyn  
Digital Editor Samantha Wright Allen  
Executive Editor Peter Mazereeuw  
Deputy Editors Laura Ryckewaert, Chelsea Nash  
Assistant Deputy Editor Abbas Rana  
Publishers Anne Marie Creskey,  
Jim Creskey, Leslie Dickson, Ross Dickson  
General Manager, CFO Andrew Morrow

## Editorial

### Trudeau might actually be having a successful tour abroad, for once

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has a bad habit of sticking his foot in his mouth when travelling abroad. There was the infamous India trip in 2018, the thought of which likely still makes many PMO staffers cringe. More recently, Trudeau took heat for belting out Queen’s *Bohemian Rhapsody* in a hotel lobby while visiting London for the Queen’s funeral. There are almost always domestic media reports about the cost of every trip he makes, which, in a time of economic duress, hit a little harder (What he spends on a few nights in some hotel rooms amounts to more than some people’s rent).

Most people understand that international travel is a necessary part of the government’s job, but from a political perspective, it is difficult to get it to play well in the domestic arena. Plus, it’s much easier for the opposition to score on an empty net.

However, Trudeau’s confrontation with Chinese President Xi Jinping in Bali last week offered up a chance for Trudeau to score some domestic points. When Xi tried to tell Trudeau off for the topics of their prior meeting having been “leaked” to the press, Trudeau cut him off, stepped towards him, and rebutted: “We believe in free and open and frank dialogue, and that is what we will continue to have. We will continue to look to work constructively together,

but there will be things we will disagree on, and we will have to...”

It was Xi’s turn to interrupt, and he said, curtly via translator, “Let’s create the conditions first.” The two leaders shook hands before Trudeau abruptly walked away.

The moment probably won’t make a huge difference in terms of swaying any voters. But in an international arena that is apparently full of potential blunders for the prime minister, this can be considered a rare win. He appeared to stand up for Canadian values (“we believe”) against a state known for its propaganda, its control of information, and as we now know, its interference in Canadian elections.

Trudeau is always better when captured in moments of candour. He’s always struggled with authenticity, so when he’s forced to go off book, and loses some of the rehearsed quality of his speech, he gains from it.

To boot, it will be nearly impossible for the opposition to find fault with Trudeau’s handling of the situation without appearing pro-China. Should he keep his head down and fulfill his duties for the rest of his tour without unnecessary pomp and circumstance, he might actually get to come home to a slightly kinder political atmosphere for once.

The Hill Times

## Letters to the Editor

### Thank you for your service Deena Hinshaw, writes Alan Levy

Imagine working night and day to protect the health of the people of Alberta and then being publicly dismissed because of ideology and political game-playing by the premier of the province. Dr. Deena Hinshaw, who served as Alberta’s chief medical officer and who was replaced Nov. 14 by Dr. Mark Joffe, an Alberta Health Services vice-president, does not deserve to be treated in

this fashion. She worked tirelessly during the COVID-19 period the last two years. It amazes me they can find such brilliant hard-working doctors to fill such positions. We owe her a big thank you for being the guardian angel looking after the citizens of Alberta during the pandemic. Thank you, Dr. Hinshaw.

Alan Levy,  
Winnipeg, Man.

### Canada needs a windfall profits tax to help fund real climate solutions: Walsh

The climate crisis is fundamentally unjust. Those who bear the least responsibility are bearing the brunt of climate chaos. To right this wrong, climate action must be rooted in justice. That means holding the fossil fuel companies accountable and making polluters pay their fair share to fix the problem they created.

The Trudeau government can make progress towards this goal by introducing an oil and gas windfall profits tax. The fossil fuel sector is Canada’s largest and fastest-growing source of greenhouse gas emissions, and after a year of skyrock-

eting prices they’re swimming in record profits. But instead of using that excess cash to deliver on their net-zero promises, they’re lining the pockets of executives and shareholders. Let’s put the money to better use.

Thousands of people across Canada are coming together to demand action from Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. Through the #TaxBigOil campaign we’re showing how a windfall profits tax can fund real climate solutions that protect communities over corporate profit.

Lia Walsh  
Ottawa, Ont.

### Canada needs to tax big oil, writes Ottawa advocate

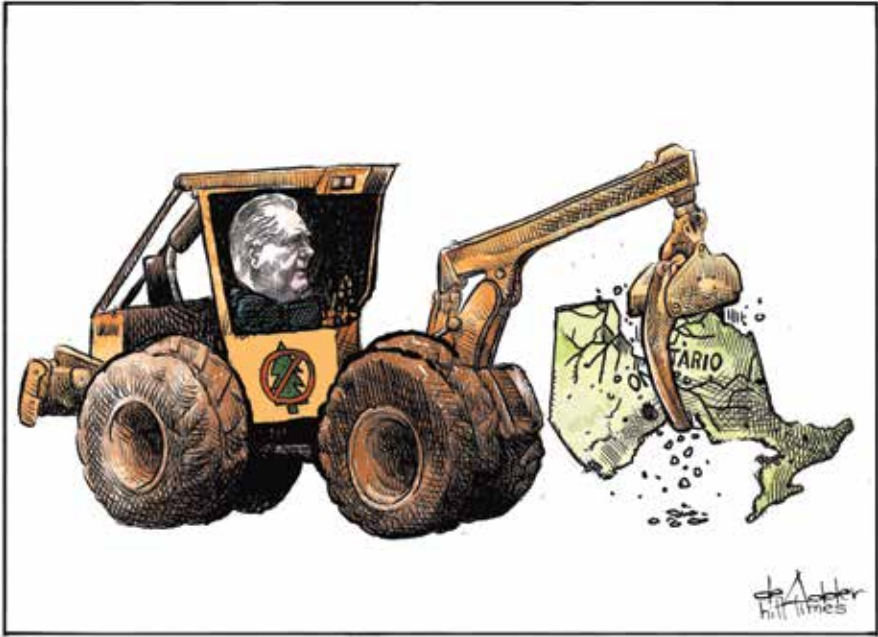
In a recent speech, United Nations Secretary General António Guterres tore into oil and gas companies for “feasting on hundreds of billions of dollars in subsidies and windfall profits while household budgets shrink and our planet burns.” Then he called on rich countries like Canada to tax the fossil fuel sector’s excess profits to fund support for working people struggling with the skyrocketing cost of living and the effects of the climate crisis.

Canada’s response to Guterres’ impassioned plea? Crickets. Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault immediately dismissed the possibility of implementing a

Windfall Profits Tax here. This is in a year when Canadian oil and gas companies are expected to make \$152-billion and reports show they’re spending basically none of those record profits on keeping their emissions reduction promises.

We know Big Oil can’t be trusted to invest in real climate solutions and green job creation. Let’s do it for them. I’m proud to be involved in 350 Canada’s campaign for an oil and gas windfall profits tax. Together, we’re building pressure on Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Guilbeault to reconsider their opposition.

Matthew Levin  
Ottawa, Ont.



#### EDITORIAL

NEWS REPORTERS Stuart Benson, Ian Campbell, Jesse Cnockaert, Mike Lapointe, Neil Moss, and Kevin Philippillai  
COPY EDITOR Christina Leadlay  
PHOTOGRAPHERS Sam Garcia, Andrew Meade, and Cynthia Münster  
EDITORIAL CARTOONIST Michael De Adder  
COLUMNISTS Andrew Caddell, Andrew Cardozo, John Chenier, Sheila Copps, David Crane, Jim Creskey, Murray Dobbin, Gwynne Dyer, Michael Geist, Dennis Gruending, Michael Harris, Erica Ifill, Joe Jordan, Amy Kishek, Rose LeMay, Alex Marland, Arthur Milnes, Tim Powers, Susan Riley, Ken Rubin, Evan Sotiropoulos, Scott Taylor, Nelson Wiseman, and Les Whittington.

#### ADVERTISING

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

#### PRODUCTION

DIGITAL AND PRODUCTION MANAGER Joey Sabourin  
SENIOR GRAPHIC DESIGNER Serena Masonde  
GRAPHIC DESIGNER Neena Singhal  
WEB DESIGNER Ian Peralta

#### CIRCULATION

MARKETING MANAGER Paul Goubko  
SUBSCRIPTIONS AND LICENSING EXECUTIVE Lakshmi Krishnamurthi  
CIRCULATION MANAGER Stephanie Ramirez

#### ADMINISTRATION

HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGER Tracey Wale

#### DELIVERY INQUIRIES

circulation@hilltimes.com  
613-688-8821



Published every Monday and Wednesday by Hill Times Publishing Inc.

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

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

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





# Trudeau's international travel seems to be beset with problems

Foreign trips usually build a politician up. When they don't, the Prime Minister's Office needs to know why. Justin Trudeau's international planners should hit the reset button.

Sheila Copps

Copps' Corner



OTTAWA—Foreign travel is usually an opportunity for political leaders to escape the daily partisan political attacks that dog them.

On the international scene, hobnobbing with other leaders to entertain issues of global importance usually lifts a leader's spirits and poll numbers.

A lengthy international tour can also be the sign of a long goodbye.

If a leader knows they won't be running again, the automatic post-travel criticism of budget items and hotel room costs doesn't really matter.

In the case of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, he has already told his caucus that he has no intention of leaving.

So recent international travel should have been an opportunity to improve his domestic standing in the polls.

Instead, it seems the more he travels, the more negative media is generated.

Just examine the latest political kerfuffle involving a staged, public prime ministerial rebuke by Chinese leader Xi Jinping.

Canadian diplomats and foreign policy experts were quick to parse the dressing-down in the margins of the G-20 Bali meeting. They saw it as a sign of China's disregard for Canada's role on the world scene.

It was testing ground for the Chinese leader. He has already managed to assume complete control in his own country. There is no doubt he possesses a certain authoritarian streak.

Will that streak be extended to Chinese international relations?

A hit on Canada is a quick place to start. Former Canadian diplomat Charles Burton told the CBC that the Chinese leader would never have spoken to American president Joe Biden in that way.

He characterized the Chinese comments as "dismissive and threatening."

Burton may think that the Chinese president would never treat Biden like that. But look at the recent public embarrassment reserved for Xi's immediate predecessor former Chinese president Hu Jintao at the closing ceremony of the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China last month.

Chinese news reports said the former president was helped from his seat for health reasons.

But video footage, and subsequent lip reading published in a Japanese newspaper, provided a different version of events.

Allegedly the former president was tussling over a red folder of documents which included the names of the top party officials. The former leader's chief protégé was not among them.

Instead, Xi replaced Hu supporters with his own loyalists.

When Hu was escorted from the meeting, not a single one of the 37 people he passed even acknowledged him.

If that kind of public repudiation can be delivered openly at a party meeting, why would anyone expect something different in the international context?

As China experiences increased international economic power and influence, their leader will be emboldened.

Chinese diplomats have subsequently issued a statement denying the Trudeau dressing-down. But the video footage is as clear there as it was at the party's five-year gathering.

Just as one picture is worth a thousand words, one film clip is worth a dozen verbal denials.

While Canadian coverage of Trudeau's international visit is focused on the dressing-down, the bigger story is the increased foreign influence that China is experiencing.

But Trudeau's foreign travel seems to be beset with problems.

The most famous foray that still dogs him is the trip to India in 2018, where he and his family were photographed in multiple examples of unique Indian vestments.

Many Canadians might roll their eyes when they see the photos, but for millions of Indo-Canadians, the clothing shows respect for their culture.

The bottom line is that his foreign trip planners should have limited the multiple photo opportunities in different garb on the India trip.

His recent voyage to the United Kingdom was beset with problems that started in a piano bar where famous Quebec crooner Gregory Charles led a prime ministerial group in singing Queen's *Bohemian Rhapsody*.

Trudeau was once again caught on camera, joining in the levity, which made embarrassing fodder for the British tabloids on the eve of Queen Elizabeth's national funeral.

Trudeau should have understood that hanging in a hotel bar on the eve of the burial of the world's most famous monarch is a political non-starter.

As a politician, the buck stops with him.

But his travel organizers must bear some responsibility for putting him in these embarrassing situations. If anything, a private gathering with a piano in his suite would have prevented the problem.

Foreign trips usually build a politician up. When they don't, the Prime Minister's Office needs to know why.

Trudeau's international planners should hit the reset button.

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

The Hill Times

# Freeland's self-sabotaging comment

Chrystia Freeland's apology essentially informed Canadians that she really isn't like 'us,' that she doesn't understand our economic problems. That's about as close to self-sabotage as a politician is ever going to get. Still, Freeland can recover. But she needs to talk more like us and less like them.

Gerry Nicholls

Post Partisan Pundit



OKAVILLE, ONT.—In the political game of "Us vs. Them,"

politicians must follow one key rule: they should always identify with "us."

That's because voters like and trust "us," but they don't necessarily like or trust "them."

Yet, sometimes politicians unwittingly break that rule.

Case in point, Canada's Finance Minister, Chrystia Freeland, recently made the mistake of talking like she was one of "them."

I'm referring, of course, to her infamous Disney+ comments.

By now, everybody knows that particular story, right?

A few weeks ago, after delivering her fall economic update, Freeland appeared on a news program to talk about Canada's finances.

During the course of the conversation, Freeland noted how her government would need to cut its costs and to help make that point she mentioned how her own family had cut costs by cancelling its subscription to Disney+.

That simple analogy, as inoffensive as it might seem on the surface, set off a storm of outrage.

Indeed, Conservative Party finance critic Jasraj Singh Hallan thundered, "The finance minister, just like the prime minister, is out of touch with the realities of the



Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland, pictured recently on the Hill. In the political game of 'Us vs. Them,' politicians must follow one key rule: they should always identify with 'us,' writes Gerry Nicholls. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

hardships they have caused and continue to cause for Canadians. Many Canadians are cutting back on basic necessities and don't need a tone-deaf lesson from the finance minister on how to stretch a dollar."

Not to be outdone, NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh declared, "It is clearer than ever that Minister Freeland and her government don't understand what families

are going through. Asking families to cut costs, instead of asking billionaires to pay what they owe, shows how out of touch the Liberals are with Canadians."

Mind you, given the context of what's going on in Canada these days, it's easy to see why opposition politicians were quick to jump on Freeland's remark.

After all, according to a recent Abacus poll, "Inflation is making life difficult for millions and is the No. 1 political issue in the country. The biggest impacts are felt in food, but millions are also finding it difficult to cope with their energy and housing costs."

In other words, Freeland came across like a politician who didn't fully appreciate the economic anxiety currently plaguing Canadians. So yes, her Disney+ comment was certainly ill-advised.

But I'd argue she made an even bigger error when she tried to apologize.

In an attempt to put controversy behind her, Freeland told the media "I am a very privileged person, for sure. Like other elected federal leaders, I am paid a really significant salary. I really recognize that it is not people like me, people who have my really good fortune, who are struggling the most in Canada."

Do you see why this apology only makes matters worse?

For one thing, Freeland openly admits she's a "very privileged person" and that she's paid a "really significant salary."

Basically, with her own words, she's saying to Canadians, "I'm not one of you. I belong to the elite upper classes."

In short, instead of making us believe she's one of "us", she's bragging about being one of "them."

On top of that, she let everyone know that rich people like her (once again separating herself from regular Canadians) are not struggling economically like "us."

To sum up, Freeland's apology essentially informed Canadians that she really isn't like "us," which is why she doesn't understand our economic problems, which is why she mentioned her family cutting off its subscription to Disney+.

That's about as close to self-sabotage as a politician is ever going to get.

Still, Freeland can recover.

But to do so, she needs to talk more like us and less like them.

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant.

The Hill Times



# Politics



Donald Trump, Mike Pence, and Ron DeSantis. Trump clearly feels the threat to his delusions of a second term in the White House. Channeling his inner viper, Trump has already begun to attack the man he has dubbed Ron 'DeSanctimonious,' writes Michael Harris. Photographs courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

the same program, there was a reference to Pence "surrendering his testicles" to Trump over the course of his four years as vice-president. Out of the mouths of comics.

The truth of Kimmel's ribald reference was echoed in a more sedate arena, a televised town hall featuring Pence and CNN's Jake Tapper. If ever there was living proof that the heart of a bureaucrat, not a leader, beats in Pence's chest, the CNN broadcast provided it. Although Pence had a ringside seat on Trump's moral demolition of the GOP, he could not bring himself to say that his former boss should not be president.

Tapper later reported on a CNN news show that Pence seemed to think that everything was alright with the Trump presidency until the Jan. 6, 2021 riot at the Capitol Building.

Remember the roving band of Trump supporters who wanted to lynch Pence because he intended to confirm Joe Biden's 2020 election victory that day? Pence admitted that he was angry about that, particularly since his wife and daughter were exposed to the mayhem.

But then, according to Pence, his Christian values kicked in and he realized that however reckless the president's words had been on Jan. 6, it was not right to remain angry. The two men patched things up and ended on an amicable note.

So here's the question: where were Pence's Christian values when Trump became the first serial liar to hold the U.S. presidency? I'm pretty sure the Ten Commandments cover that territory.

Where were Pence's Christian values when Trump spoke up for white supremacists in Charlottesville, Virginia?

And where were the vice-president's Christian values when Trump's personal lawyer, Michael Cohen, laid out in detail how he paid hush money to porn star Stormy Daniels to keep her affair with Trump quiet? Pence says he found the Lord in university. He apparently lost him at the White House.

Besides DeSantis and Pence, there are a lot of other former Trump supporters sniffing the political wind. That group includes former UN ambassador Nikki Haley, former secretary of state Mike Pompeo, Senator Ted Cruz, former New Jersey governor Christie, and even Fox News host Tucker Carlson, who is, after all, already in politics.

No matter who ends up leading the GOP in 2024, the bottom line is this: on his way out the door of the White House, Trump decamped with classified documents; on his way out the door as top dog of the Republican Party, he will make sure there is not much of a party left to lead.

Michael Harris is an award-winning author and journalist.

The Hill Times

## Now that Trump's been roasted, who will be the Next One?

No matter who ends up leading the GOP in 2024, the bottom line is this: on his way out the door of the White House, Trump decamped with classified documents; on his way out the door as top dog of the Republican Party, he will make sure there is not much of a party left to lead.

**H**ALIFAX—Now that Donald Trump, like most weenies, has been roasted, the burning question south of the border is who will be the Next One.

Why roasted?

Simple. Trump has proven himself to be a Losing Legend. First the House and Senate in the 2018 midterms, then the White House after one term, and finally the debacle involving his hand-picked candidates in the midterms of 2022. And don't forget that his big-ticket donations, like Lake Mead, are drying up. No small development, since money is the mother's milk of politics.

When you are expecting a feast and get a pie in the face, as the GOP did in the Nov. 8 midterms, anger and disillusionment are inevitable. In the first real sign of Trump fatigue from both rank-and-file Republicans and Conservative news agencies, like Fox News and the *New York Post*, number junkies are reflecting growing support for Ron DeSantis. Coming off a blow-out re-election, Florida's governor has a lead in the polls over the Orange One for the party's presidential nomination in 2024.

Trump clearly feels the threat to his delusions of a second term

in the White House. Channeling his inner viper, Trump has already begun to attack the man he has dubbed Ron "DeSanctimonious." First Trump gives you a nickname, then the claws come out. Without Trump, the ex-president claims, DeSantis would never have become governor of Florida. And as governor, he has been just "average"—a classic example of damning with faint praise.

At first, DeSantis took the shots from his former mentor without even putting up his guard, let alone throwing a punch. Then he directed a zinger of his own at Trump: "Go check out the scoreboard," a pointed reference to the GOP's dismal showing in the midterm elections. You may be sure Trump is already sticking pins in a DeSantis doll.

The main reason DeSantis' political star is in the ascent for now is that he appears to be Trump without the baggage. He has the same sort of bristling conservative values, but no porn stars or state secrets in the closet. This is a man who fought against mask mandates and pushed hard to reopen schools closed during the pandemic. DeSantis used the re-

strictions imposed during COVID to bludgeon Joe Biden, referring to the president's creation of a "biomedical security state." Almost 83,000 Floridians died from COVID.

DeSantis also scored points with Trump supporters, and earned catcalls from human rights activists when he chartered two planes and sent unwanted Venezuelan immigrants from Florida to Martha's Vineyard.

And then there was the governor's promise to make Florida "the freest state in the United States." Did Pierre Poilievre copy this guy's homework? Canada as the "freest" country in the world?

Incredibly, it also looks like former vice-president Mike Pence is looking for Trump's old job. His new book, *So Help Me God*, will doubtless appeal to the Republican Party's God Squad. And he may have something to say about the Florida governors messianic inference that on the eighth day God created Ron DeSantis.

Comedian Jimmy Kimmel devoted a segment to what he called, Pence's "stocking stuffer" book. "Hang it on the mantle, just like Pence almost was." On

Michael  
Harris

Harris





# NOVEMBER 23

6:30 pm to 8:30 pm  
3 Brewers  
240 Spark Street, Ottawa



## BOOK LAUNCH EVENING

with a panel discussion and press conference

Optimum Publishing is pleased to present, in partnership with the Canada-Uyghur Parliamentary Friendship Group Benedict Rogers author of *The China Nexus* along with Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute, Chair of USCIRF, and author Nury Turkel.

### ITINERARY

- ★ Opening remarks and book reading by Benedict Rogers
- ★ Panel discussion on Human Rights in China, hosted by Garnett Genuis, MP and Sameer Zuberi, MP

### PANEL GUESTS

Benedict Rogers, Author & CEO Hong Kong Watch ★ Nury Turkel, Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute and Chair of USCIRF ★ John McKay, MP ★ Goran Samuel Pesic, CEO Samuel Group of Companies



# NOVEMBER 24

11:00 am to 12:00 pm  
180 Wellington Street, Ottawa, Room 320

## PARLIAMENTARY BOOK LAUNCH

with a panel discussion and press conference

Optimum Publishing International is pleased to present Benedict Rogers author of *The China Nexus* along with Senator Leo Housakos and Uyghur human rights leader, Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute and Chair of USCIRF, author Nury Turkel.

### ITINERARY

- ★ Introduction from Dean Baxendale, publisher of Optimum Publishing International
- ★ Book reading from Benedict Rogers
- ★ Discussion panel on the human rights tragedy in China and neighbouring countries, moderated by Dominic Cardy, New Brunswick MLA & former Education Minister

### PANEL GUESTS

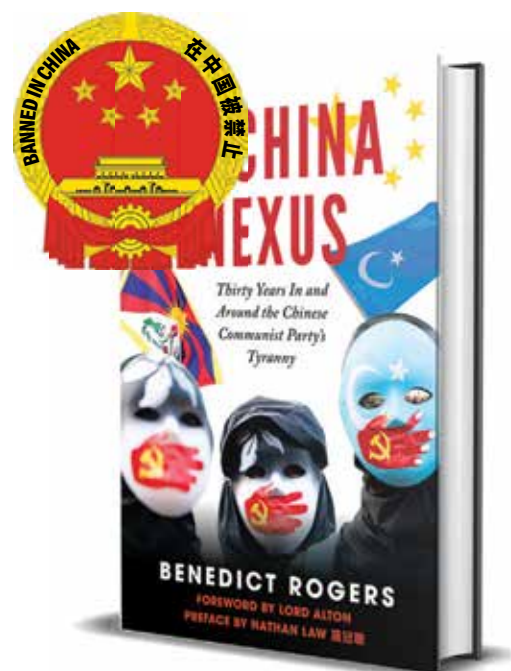
Benedict Rogers, Author & CEO Hong Kong Watch ★ Nury Turkel, Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute and Chair of USCIRF ★ Senator Leo Housakos

## REGISTER ONLINE TO ATTEND:

[www.chinanexusbook.com/events-1](http://www.chinanexusbook.com/events-1)

# THE CHINA NEXUS

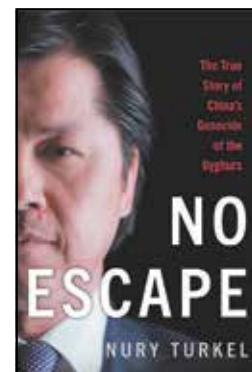
OTTAWA BOOK LAUNCH EVENTS



## NOVEMBER 23 & 24

Author **BENEDICT ROGERS**, founder of Hong Kong Watch is joined by **NURY TURKEL**, Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute, Chair of USCIRF, and author of

**NO ESCAPE:**  
The True Story of China's  
Genocide of the Uyghurs



OPTIMUM PUBLISHING INTERNATIONAL  
LONDON | MONTRÉAL | TORONTO



## Opinion

# The green way forward, and a 1,000-year plan



Natural Resources Minister Jonathan Wilkinson, pictured recently on the Hill. As Canada's federal energy minister, Wilkinson should be aggressively exploring new environmentally friendly sources of energy for Canada, suggests former Environment Canada senior scientist Tom McElroy. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

able to try and predict the probable outcome of observations we have not yet made or ones that we didn't make or ones between observations that we did make. This process is called interpolation or extrapolation (estimating what would have been the results of observations between or beyond the observations we have actually made.)

This is where we look to find physical principles or correlations that will allow us to understand the relationship between the physical properties of the world and the aspects of it that we are observing. It can be a bit of a trial-and-error process, but testing the relationship across a broad range of observations provides confidence that the relationships (called 'models') are robust and can be trusted to predict future outcomes based on currently observed conditions. If one makes a prediction and then finds a favourable comparison between the predicted outcome and the actual outcome, it is considered a strong indication—proof—of the value of the 'model'—the method for calculating the outcome—that is being tested.

This is particularly true when the predicted outcome is considered to be very unlikely, but turns out to be right. But as new 'theories' or hypotheses are developed, sometimes the predicted outcome does not agree well with the actual, subsequent observations. At that point, the discrepancy must be carefully examined, and possibly, a more complex or innovative theory will emerge.

If all this seems a little too abstract, it is important to remember that all of the 'high-tech' stuff we are using in our current world has evolved using this process, called the 'scientific method.' In particular, a large number of very important scientific advances have led to the application of very abstract, theoretical physics discoveries to medicine, which have had a profound impact on the quality of life and even our life expectancy. These developments are often applied in very short order after their discovery. Some examples include the X-Ray, the MRI, CAT Scans, blood oxygen monitors, ultrasound, and many more. The rejection of the scientific method, or the marginalization of scientific research, is a dangerous and retrograde action which, as a society, we must avoid.

I know many people who are scientists and who are also religious. Religious belief, of itself, is not at odds with science, it is the tendency to make a comfortable attachment to dogma of centuries ago which creates the problem. No scientist of any merit will purport to 'prove' your God doesn't exist.

But he or she will have trouble accepting tracts written centuries ago in an unenlightened age that do not square with observation.

*Tom McElroy is a professor emeritus and senior scholar at York University in Toronto. He's also a former senior scientist with Environment Canada, co-inventor of the UV Index and a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.*

*The Hill Times*

I know many people who are scientists and who are also religious. Religious belief, of itself, is not at odds with science, it is the tendency to make a comfortable attachment to dogma of centuries ago which creates the problem. No scientist of any merit will purport to 'prove' your God doesn't exist, writes Tom McElroy.

Tom McElroy

Opinion



TORONTO—We have to find synergies between how we do things now and the way we need to do them.

Think about a 1,000-year plan. How must we live now if the human race is to still be here in 1,000 years? If a way forward doesn't open the door to the 1,000-year plan, it isn't a good one. It doesn't mean we do it all now, rather it means we don't slam doors like we have done in the past for paths forward that can be successful. Do you want to have great-grandchildren or great-great-grandchildren? And in what kind of world?

I don't see our conventional nuclear power as a long-term solution, but I see it playing an important part in handling increasing load from electric vehicles and growing population for the next 50 years. And I consider the Alberta, New Brunswick, and Ontario mini-reactor thing as a dangerous scam.

Instead of building more and more lanes on Highway 401, let's put a multiple-track, high-speed rail system with plenty of parking along the way and multiple types of service. This would include a high-speed service between Toronto, Montreal, and Ottawa, eliminating the need for two local airports or at least rationally repurposing them.

Energy storage is a must. I back hydrogen for this because it provides a system that decouples the load need from the storage requirement. It also makes large amounts of hydrogen available for other developments, like electric cars, lift trucks, long-haul trucks, and trains.

As I explained to Jim Prentice's Alberta government—and which was implemented by Rachel Notley's government—the way to do this is by using the strength of the capitalist market system. Get engineering firms to compete to provide units of energy. As successive contracts roll out, the costs will drop.

We need to think differently about energy sources. Coal, oil, and gas are 'free'—they are just latent energy sources waiting to be picked up and used—but are not sustainable even on the human timescale. The cost to the consumer is the infrastructure expense to get the stuff out of the ground and process it to a state where it can be consumed as an energy source, plus the profit of the supplier. The exact same situation exists for so-called 'green energy.' Solar, wind, water, tidal power, geothermal, etc., all have infrastructure costs—and long-term maintenance and replacement costs—associated with them. There is, however, a dramatic difference between these energy sources and fossil fuels.

In addition to destroying the environment, fossil fuels become increasingly more difficult to bring to market.

In contrast, the infrastructure for many 'green' sources of energy are relatively simple and robust. The energy source will continue in the same form far into the future. In fact, the costs of delivering green energy will likely continue to drop as competition

and economy of scale affect the energy marketplace. And much of the raw materials needed to secure the green energy supply, moving forward, are likely to be recyclable.

A loosely linked but definitely related issue is the role of science and technology in the governance process controlling our society. In a democratic society there has to be a 'buy-in' by most people and an agreement to leave things alone by those who aren't necessarily on board with the decisions.

In 1987, when I returned to Toronto after two years teaching in Denver, Colorado, the minister of the day at Eastminster United on the Danforth asked me to give a talk on the ozone depletion. When it was over, he came to me and said—and this is a university-educated guy with a degree in divinity—'Why should we listen to you people?' I was totally shocked.

So here's my little homily about the nature of science.

Science is NOT a belief system. Those who have beliefs about the world want to think that, but it is not true. Science is the observation of the world as it is and an attempt to analyze and order those observations. We observe and collect information based on those observations. But is it of any use? Only if we can use it to make life better. Observations are essentially a measure of the state of the world at the time we observe it. It is the way it is. To be useful, however, we need to be



# Canada lags behind its peers on foreign interference legislation: former CSIS officer

Continued from page 4

## Canada has allowed China to have an advantage: Juneau-Katsuya

Juneau-Katsuya said that 10 years ago, when the Harper Conservatives were in power, the federal government green-lit a US\$15-billion takeover of Calgary-based, gas-and-oil company Nexen Inc. by the state-run China National Offshore Oil Corp.

"We're not even capable of buying a corner store in China. This lack of reciprocity is a problem," said Juneau-Katsuya, who was an RCMP officer from 1979 until the force's security service was folded into the new entity called CSIS in 1984.

Last week, Cooper reported further that Wei Chengyi, a prominent businessman in Toronto's Chinese community, is the subject of two separate investigations involving foreign interference.

Cooper wrote that CSIS has investigated Wei—owner of the supermarket chain Foody Mart—for his alleged role facilitating large transfers of funds "meant to advance Beijing's interests in Canada's 2019 federal election."

According to Cooper's RCMP sources, national security investigators are also probing Wei for "possible links to several properties in Toronto and Vancouver allegedly used as so-called Chinese government 'police stations'; which are believed to secretly host agents from China's Ministry of Public Security."

## PROC to hear from ministers, national security adviser

The revelations about China's interference in the 2019 election have already led to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs (PROC) last week to adopt a motion calling on two key cabinet ministers—Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Dominic LeBlanc (Beauséjour, N.B.) and Joly—as well as national security adviser to the prime minister Jody Thomas to testify about what they know.

On Nov. 14, Conservative MP Michael Cooper (St. Albert-Edmonton, Alta.) requested an emergency meeting of the House Affairs Committee.

MP Cooper presented an initial motion to invite testimony from LeBlanc, Joly, Thomas, as well as Thomas' predecessors Vince Rigby and David Morrison; former CSIS officer Dan Stanton; David Mulroney, former Canadian ambassador to China; and former CSIS analyst Dennis Molinaro.

MP Cooper's motion would have had the committee order the production of "all relevant briefing notes, memorandums and documents presented to the prime minister and members of cabinet referred to in the report."

Liberal MP Greg Fergus (Hull-Aylmer, Que.), another member of the House Affairs Committee and parliamentary secretary to both the prime minister and Treasury Board President Mona Fortier (Ottawa-Vanier, Ont.), presented an amended motion that was adopted and

which reduced the list of MP Cooper's witnesses to LeBlanc, Joly, and Thomas, and reworded his production order to read: "all relevant briefing notes, memorandums and documents which are in the possession of the relevant government departments and agencies, provided that the departments and agencies tasked with gathering these documents apply redactions" under the guidelines of both the Access to Information Act and the Privacy Act.

MP Cooper's motion proposed that the House law clerk and parliamentary counsel make the redactions.

"At issue here is the fact that we had this massive interference and the prime minister and several of his ministers were briefed by CSIS on this in January of this year, and 10 months later, seemingly nothing has been done about it," MP Cooper said in an interview. "No arrests, no charges, no one has been expelled, there doesn't appear to be an investigation—but for the Global News report, we wouldn't have even known about the sophisticated interference campaign by the Chinese."

"It raises questions about what is it that the prime minister and his ministers are hiding? So it smacks of a cover-up on the part of the Liberals."

Conservative MP Michael Chong (Wellington-Halton Hills, Ont.), who serves as his party's shadow minister for foreign affairs, spent last week inside and outside the Commons calling on the government to identify the 11 election 2019 candidates cited in the CSIS report and whether or not they were elected as MPs.

In the House last week, Jennifer O'Connell (Pickering-Uxbridge, Ont.), LeBlanc's parliamentary secretary, reminded Chong that his party's former leader, Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ont.), removed Conservative members from the all-party National Security and Intelligence Committee of Parliamentarians, which she said "would provide the information [Chong was] looking for."

MP Cooper said that China's alleged interference in the 2019 federal election continued into last year's campaign when "Chinese Communist [Party] media platforms and Chinese social media were spreading disinformation, targeting Conservative candidates in the 2021 election."

Appearing on Liberal MP Nathaniel Erskine-Smith's (Beaches-East York, Ont.) Uncommons.ca podcast in June, O'Toole said his party "lost eight or nine seats to foreign interference from China."

"We have an antiquated legislative regime as far as the act that governs CSIS, which was passed in 1984," said MP Cooper.

However, at an event earlier this month in Laval, Que., the prime minister responded to reports of 2019 election interference and told reporters that "there are already significant laws and measures that our intelligence and security officials have to go against foreign actors operating on Canadian soil."

In April 2021, Kenny Chiu, then-Conservative MP for the British Columbia riding of Steveston-Richmond East and an outspoken critic of Beijing's crackdown on dissent in his native Hong Kong, tabled a



Former Conservative leader Erin O'Toole has previously said he thought his party had lost eight or nine seats to Chinese interference. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

private member's bill (C-282) that would have created a foreign influence public registry requiring individuals "acting on behalf of a foreign principal to file a return when they undertake specific actions with respect to public office holders."

The bill never made it past first reading. Chiu lost his House seat in the federal election five months later.

He told Global News' Cooper that he believes Chinese agents succeeded in smearing him as a racist in WeChat and Mandarin-language media reports, and that the CPP "tried to kill my political career."

Juneau-Katsuya is hoping that Canada will view China with clearer eyes when the federal government unveils its Indo-Pacific strategy in December. Joly previewed the strategy in Toronto earlier this month at an event hosted by the Asia Pacific Foundation and the Munk School of Global Affairs & Public Policy, where she said her govern-

ment "will do more to tackle foreign interference," and that "we won't let any foreign actor meddle in our democracy—period."

Another hopeful sign, in Juneau-Katsuya's view, is the recent order by Innovation, Science and Industry Minister François-Philippe Champagne (Saint-Maurice-Champlain, Que.) to three Chinese resource companies to divest their interests in Canadian critical mineral firms.

In her Toronto speech, Joly made clear Canada's future—and tougher—approach to China.

"We are investing in deepening our understanding of how China thinks, operates and plans," she said.

"Key embassies across our network will have dedicated experts to deepen our understanding of the challenges that China poses and the opportunities that it pursues. That will become a focus of our diplomatic effort."

*The Hill Times*

**Did you know that the government contracts charities and nonprofits to deliver services, but often doesn't pay them enough for program staff to have decent wages or benefits?**

**Better is possible.  
Let's work together.**

**IMAGINE**  
CANADA



## Global

# Global population is eight billion and counting



The recent article about falling sperm counts in the journal *Human Reproduction Update* offers hope from an unexpected source. The rate of decline has been speeding up since 1973, and is now more than 2.6 per cent per year. The average sperm concentration, for men all over the world, is now less than half what it was in 1973. It's clearly an environmental issue. Is the planet trying to tell us something, writes Gwynne Dyer. *Pexels/Rebecca Zaal*

else. The 'stabilization' in 2086 is just the point at which the falling populations in most other parts of the world cancel out the still-rising populations in most of Africa.

A few countries, like Morocco and South Africa, will only add 10 or 20 million people between now and the end of the century, but most African countries will at least double their population and many will grow threefold or fourfold.

The African continent now contains about 18 per cent of the human population. By 2100 it will host 40 per cent of the world's people: about 4.2 billion human beings. If that prediction comes true, then a great many of them will still be poor, and some will also be very hungry.

They will still be poor because, although most of their economies are growing, their populations are growing almost as fast (or, in a few cases, even faster).

And many will be hungry because, while Africa could probably feed twice its present population with the right investment (and no climate change), it couldn't feed three times as many. Moreover, the investments are not being made and droughts, floods, and cyclones are already devastating much of the continent.

Predictions about the scale and speed of climate change are estimates of probability, not precise forecasts. Similarly, predictions about both demography and economies grow increasingly unreliable as the time span lengthens.

Nevertheless, the UN Population Division's forecasts make grim reading, especially if you read between the lines. We are probably way past the long-term sustainable carrying capacity of our planet in terms of both population numbers and per capita energy use, and yet they will still be going up for most of this century.

So the recent article about falling sperm counts in the journal *Human Reproduction Update* offers hope (of a sort) from an unexpected source. The rate of decline has been speeding up since 1973, and is now more than 2.6 per cent per year. The average sperm concentration, for men all over the world, is now less than half what it was in 1973.

It's clearly an environmental issue. Is the planet trying to tell us something?

Gwynne Dyer's new book is *The Shortest History of War*.  
*The Hill Times*

The UN Population Division's forecasts make grim reading, especially if you read between the lines. We are probably way past the long-term sustainable carrying capacity of our planet in terms of both population numbers and per capita energy use, and yet they will still be going up for most of this century.

Gwynne  
Dyer

Global Affairs



LONDON, U.K.—I must have missed the memo, because there was no newborn baby picked out at random on Nov. 8 to be the designated eight billionth

human being. Perhaps they finally realized how tacky that journalistic device was, or maybe they just got tired of nagging us. Anyway, happy Eight Billionth, whoever you are.

After a long, bad patch, the population news is getting a bit better. For the past 60 years, the world's population growth has been accelerating: it took 14 years to go from three billion to four billion people (1960-74), only 13 more years to get to five billion

(1987), and a mere 12 years to six billion (1999).

It also took 12 years to reach seven billion (2011), but here we are at eight billion, and that has only taken 11 years. Nevertheless, it really is going to slow down now: it will be a full 24 years before we reach nine billion (2046), and another 25 years before we hit 10 billion (2071).

Ten billion. That's insane: a fivefold increase in the number of human beings in little more than one century. But it was probably inevitable.

Simple public health measures (more babies surviving) and better medicine and diet (longer lifespans) were bound to lead to a couple of generations of high-speed population growth. Then women's education, birth control technologies, and urbanization slowed it down again.

In fact, the United Nations Population Division's latest forecast is that the world's population will stabilize at 10.4 billion people

in 2086. It probably won't start going down significantly until the end of the 21<sup>st</sup> century or later, but at least the direction of travel is changing.

Two-thirds of the global population lives in countries where 'lifetime fertility' is already below 2.1 births per woman, the level at which there is zero growth of population. It takes a decade or so for this to show up in the gross population figures, but 61 countries will have declining populations by 2050.

India's population, now 1.4 billion, will peak around 1.8 billion in 2063, and will be back down to 1.5 billion by the end of the century. China's population, now also 1.4 billion, officially starts falling next year—some say it has been falling for years already—and it will be down by at least half by 2100.

However, the global figures conceal an alarming discrepancy between the African continent and almost everywhere



# Canada doesn't understand the Indo-Pacific



Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly has promised to finally release Canada's policy on the 'Indo-Pacific' upon her return from the G20 and APEC conference. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Seeing the world entirely through the lens of Canada-U.S. relations is a mistake Canada often makes.

Shaun Narine

Opinion



Last week, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Global Affairs Minister Melanie Joly were in the Asia Pacific, attending regional multilateral institutional meetings related to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the G20 and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation. When she returns, Minister Joly has promised to finally release Canada's policy on the "Indo-Pacific." However, recent speeches by Minister Joly, Minister of Finance Chrystia Freeland, and Minister of Innovation, Science and Industry François

Philippe Champagne foreshadow that policy, and indicate that Canada has chosen to make China an adversary.

This decision illustrates how little independence Canadian policymakers feel they have from the United States. But it also illustrates how little Canada understands the Indo-Pacific region.

Canada aligns with the U.S. insofar as both countries portray China as a "disruptive" influence which must be contained. This objective is opposed by most Asian states. In 2019, ASEAN issued its "ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific", in which it emphasizes the Asia Pacific as a region of co-operation and mutual benefit.

Southeast Asia is not anti-Chinese. Indeed, regional states are telling Australia that it is going too far in its hostility to China. Southeast Asian states are wary of China's size and power. They are concerned by China's excessive claims in the South China Sea. They want the U.S. to balance China. However, they understand that China will always be their neighbour. Wariness of China does not mean they see it as a "threat." They do not want to take sides in any competition between the two superpowers. America's increasingly aggressive and provocative attacks on China

seem designed to force a confrontation. America's ideological rhetoric—which Canada has adopted—is alienating regional states.

Minister Freeland's recent speech at the Brookings Institution in New York rejected the liberal international economic order. According to her, this order had failed to produce the peace and political transformation it was supposed to, so Canada must now "friend-shore" critical industries and supply chains. This position accords with that of the U.S., which is undermining the global economic system it built. However, Asia Pacific states remain committed to the economic order that helped create regional peace and prosperity. Historically, the U.S. gained influence by opening its economy. Today, the U.S. is erecting economic walls.

By contrast, China is doubling down on free trade. Southeast Asia is eager to go along. ASEAN-China trade was \$878-billion in 2021. The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) is the world's largest trade bloc. It is pursuing the deeper integration of supply chains, regional connectivity, and infrastructure. All the multilateral meetings Canada is attending in Asia are promoting greater economic and political co-operation.

The American effort to cripple China's economic and technological development may be economically harmful to many Asia Pacific states. However, it will spur an explosion of Chinese investment in high technology. The spillover effects will pull Southeast Asia more firmly into China's embrace.

Canada wants to invest more in Southeast Asia and India. How Canada's "friend-shoring" will square with its regional free trade agreements, and the fact that most of Asia remains committed to deeper

integration with China remains to be seen. Canada's increasingly hostile rhetoric against China puts it at odds with the Asia Pacific states with which it supposedly wants to improve economic relations.

Canada's attitude to India illustrates Canadian ignorance of Asia and the selective application of "Canadian values." Joly has encouraged Canadian businesses to invest in India, while ignoring the Indian government's ethno-religious discrimination. She also ignores that India has bluntly rejected Western calls to sanction Russia, and is consuming ever more Russian oil and gas. The Western priority, after all, is cornering China. But India has no interest in seeing the world run indefinitely by the U.S. or the West. India is only interested in fortifying its own position.

Seeing the world entirely through the lens of Canada-U.S. relations is a mistake Canada often makes. Canada went into Afghanistan with no knowledge of that country, motivated by the desire to support the U.S. The result was a disaster. Canada is parroting U.S. talking points and policies on the "Indo-Pacific" without appreciating how the countries affected define their own interests or view Western efforts to exacerbate conflict.

Asian states want to build economic and technological bridges between their region and the world. By contrast, the US is sowing international division as it strives to hold onto global domination. In going along with this, Canada is circumscribing a smaller, meaner role for itself in the world.

Shaun Narine is a professor of international relations at St. Thomas University. His primary area of interest is the Asia Pacific region, but he has also published and taught on Canadian foreign policy. *The Hill Times*



ottawa.ca  3-1-1  
TTY/ATS 613-580-2401



## Got containers? Hand them over!

No toys, no batteries, no cables.  
The blue bin is for empty and clean household containers only.



ottawa.ca/wasteexplorer

2022-522



## Opinion



If Justin Trudeau's Liberals are unable to produce results after seven years in government, maybe we should look to the Conservatives and their new leader, Pierre Poilievre, writes Bhagwant Sandhu. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

are equal to 60 million metric tons each year. Belcher has documented that “in 2017, the U.S. military bought about 269,230 barrels of oil a day and emitted more than 25,000 kilotons of carbon dioxide.” Since 2001, the United States’ military has been gobbling up 77-80 per cent of all the U.S. government’s energy consumption.

Now add in fossil fuel consumption of the armies of India, China, Pakistan, Russia, France, Egypt, Israel, Nigeria, South Africa, and Brazil, and the planetary picture becomes quite bleak. It is not just the big industrial polluters or everyday consumers filling up their gas tanks that are poisoning the atmosphere, it is also the militaries of the world, literally flying quietly under the radar of public and political scrutiny.

There is one country, however, that produces no military-related greenhouse gas emissions: Costa Rica. It abolished its permanent army in 1949. Perhaps there is no direct causal link, but in 2019 the United Nations presented its “Champions of the Earth” award to Costa Rica. Costa Rica’s ambition isn’t just to be net-zero, it also plans to completely decarbonize its economy by 2050. In 2017, it ran solely on renewable power for a record 300 days and expects to be 100 per cent on renewable electricity by 2030. Then there is Iceland. It, too, has no standing army; not since 1869. And, it is a full member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, like Canada.

This is not to suggest that Canada become like Costa Rica or Iceland. But we ought to require our military to do its part to curb carbon emissions. Professor Neta C. Crawford of Boston University suggests we could consolidate facilities and bases, decrease the size and scope of military exercises, increase the use of fuel-efficient military vehicles, decommission older gas-guzzler models of ships and submarines, and make procurement decisions that favour lower emissions. We could also require the military to report all of its fossil fuel consumption and attach carbon mitigation plans in its annual budgetary submissions.

Stronger oversight will allow Parliamentarians to better assess and direct the military’s performance on carbon emissions; and, as such, start treating it like any other major polluter, be it in industry or in the oil sands. A fulsome menu of accountabilities even has the potential to spur innovation and advances in green technology among the suppliers and vendors of Canada’s military equipment.

It’s too late for COP27, but by including the military as a target for climate change, Poilievre could upstage all his political peers when they gather once again on Dec. 7, for the United Nations’ COP15 biodiversity conference in Montreal. The truth regrettably is that Poilievre won’t go anywhere near the military. Why should he? Trudeau hasn’t done it, and he’s been our prime minister for seven years now.

*Bhagwant Sandhu is Canadian foreign policy commentator and author. He retired as director general from the federal public service. The Hill Times*

# Military must do its part to curb carbon emissions

It is not just the big industrial polluters or everyday consumers filling up their gas tanks that are poisoning the atmosphere, it is also the militaries of the world, literally flying quietly under the radar of public and political scrutiny.

Bhagwant Sandhu

Opinion



OTTAWA—Aside from sending one of the largest delegations of around 335 climate activists and policy-makers, Canada did not have much to showcase at COP27 climate conference in Egypt. There’s a reason for that. At 15.43 metric tons, our per capita rate of carbon emissions in 2019 is the worst in the G20. It’s worse than China, India, and the United States, and it is at least three times worse than the global average of 4.47 metric tons.

If the Trudeau Liberals are unable to produce results after seven years in government, maybe we should look to the Conservatives and their new leader, Pierre Poilievre. The problem there is that aside from scrapping the carbon tax, Poilievre has no real plans of his own. The usual talking points of carbon capture and green technologies will not cut it anymore. The Liberals have already employed policies for small nuclear reactors, wind, solar, electric cars, and are heavily funding the commercialization of carbon sequestration systems.

With little policy room to manoeuvre, and inevitable pressures to convince us that he is serious about addressing global warming, Poilievre perhaps could

tackle something that the Liberals have never touched: the carbon footprint of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF).

In Canada, as in most countries, the military is exempt from emissions targets. Yet our military, as an institution, is by far the biggest culprit. In 2020-21, of the total 1,071 kilotons of heat-trapping carbons released from all federal government activities and operations, a full 495 kilotons came from National Defence. That’s nearly 50 per cent.

Yves Engler, a senior fellow with the Canadian Foreign Policy Institute, notes in his book *Stand on Guard for Whom?* that “during the six months of bombing in Libya in 2011, a half dozen CAF jets consumed 14.5 million pounds (8.5 million litres) of fuels.” Imagine the greenhouse gas emissions when we account for all the helicopters, jeeps, tanks, trucks, and marine vessels used in training exercises, airshows, and in the routine operations and ongoing upkeep of a national standing army.

We don’t have all the data. But we can extrapolate. An F-35 combat aircraft, for example, emits one ton of greenhouse gases for every 50 miles it is in flight. Our prime minister has ordered 88 of these beasts for a total cost of \$19-billion, a big increase from the 65 that then-prime minister Stephen Harper, Justin Trudeau’s Conservative predecessor, had committed to purchasing in 2010. The emissions math for these F-35s is not good.

The United States does have the data. Oliver Belcher, professor at Durham University in England, calculates that “if the U.S. military were a country, its fuel usage alone would make it the 47th-largest emitter of greenhouse gases in the world, sitting between Peru and Portugal.” Its gas emissions



# Will Canada be the last fossil funder standing?

It is critical that Canada follow through on its pledge and reorient public finance from all fossil fuels to clean-energy solutions. Let's not be the last to turn our words into action.

Julia Levin & Bronwen Tucker

Opinion



When it comes to ending fossil financing, "slow and steady" will not win the race. Tackling the climate crisis requires rapidly phasing out fossil fuels while managing an equitable transition to 100 per cent renewable energy. This will

require massive investments in clean energy solutions—and public finance has a critical role to play. Unfortunately, governments continue to use their public spending power to prolong the fossil fuel era.

This is changing. Last year, at COP26 in Glasgow, U.K., Canada joined 39 other countries and institutions—including the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany—in signing a landmark agreement to end international public finance for fossil fuel projects and prioritize support for clean energy by the end of 2022, known as the Glasgow Statement.

The Glasgow Statement signatories account for \$28-billion a year in overseas public finance for oil and gas. If that were redirected, it could more than double their international clean-energy finance.

The Glasgow Statement is historic. It is the first international diplomatic effort aimed at ending public financing of oil and gas. It sends a clear message: the age of oil and gas is over. And it's working! Many signatories have come



COP27 is the perfect opportunity for Canada, represented by Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault, to release its fossil-fuel financing policy. It's not too late for Canada to take advantage of a key moment to demonstrate that they are taking the climate crisis seriously, write Julia Levin and Bronwen Tucker. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

out with strong policies—and in those countries there have been real drops in fossil fuel finance. But Canada is dragging its feet.

Canada is the top fossil-fuel financier of the Glasgow signa-

tories. We rank among the worst in the G20 for providing public financing to oil and gas companies and average \$11.3-billion CAD annually through crown corporation Export Development Canada. By comparison, Cana-

da's support for clean energy is a meagre eight per cent of its total energy finance.

What does that look like? For example, Export Development Canada routinely provides government-backed loans to Parex Resources for fracking in Colombia—despite allegations of human rights abuses.

Denmark, the United Kingdom, Sweden, France, and many other signatories have produced strong policies well ahead of the Glasgow Statement deadline—giving themselves time to actually manage the phase-out of their financing. Meanwhile, Canada is at risk of continuing its shameful pattern of making climate pledges and failing to meet them, as the government has yet to release its policy.

COP27 is the perfect opportunity for Canada to release its policy. It's not too late for Canada to take advantage of a key moment to demonstrate that it is taking the climate crisis seriously and to give the federal government enough time to ensure the policy actually gets implemented before the end of the year.

It is critical that Canada follow through on its pledge and reorient public finance from all fossil fuels to clean-energy solutions.

Let's not be the last to turn our words into action.

Julia Levin is with Environmental Defence Canada and Bronwen Tucker is with Oil Change International.

*The Hill Times*

# Why is Ontario turning its back on low-cost, low-carbon power?

We need climate-smart electricity solutions now, not decades from now, writes Angela Bischoff, director of the Ontario Clean Air Alliance.

Angela Bischoff

Opinion



The Doug Ford government's perplexing approach to keeping the lights on in Ontario took another bizarre turn recently when it tore up an energy co-operation agreement with Quebec.

This agreement was a way for Ontario to access the low-cost clean water power that Quebec



Ontario Premier Doug Ford, pictured in Ottawa. The Ford government's approach to energy in Ontario is 'perplexing,' writes Angela Bischoff. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

has in abundance. Quebec is a green-energy superpower. Ontario, not so much.

Our province plans to ramp up its use of gas plants by more than 600 per cent and build the equivalent of three new gas plants. If this occurs, we will lose half the greenhouse gas pollution reduction benefits we achieved by phasing out our dirty coal plants.

While the federal government struggles to display our green credentials at COP27, Ontario could blow a hole through federal climate targets in one fell swoop.

Ontario Energy Minister Todd Smith says he wants to ensure future energy deals are made through competitive processes. That is, unless they involve unproven new nuclear reactors, or hideously expensive nuclear rebuilds. Then, just send the bills to the government and it will pay whatever is required, no questions asked.

Choosing the highest cost and slowest options available is a strange way to meet a promise to lower electricity bills. Meanwhile, Ontario covers its eyes and ears

and refuses to work with its power-rich neighbour, turning away offer after offer for power that is a fraction of the cost of new or even existing nuclear.

But isn't Quebec about to run out of power? No. Would a province that is running out of power to export be fighting tooth and nail to build new transmission lines to the northeast states?

Ontario could double power imports from Quebec today using existing transmission lines, and could double them again by building new lines through existing transmission corridors, at a fraction of the cost of building new reactors, saving Ontarians billions of dollars.

Quebec's own power demand will likely rise, but here's the thing: Quebec can free up power for export by improving its rock-bottom energy efficiency levels. One study found that Quebec could free up 30-billion kWh for export by taking cost-effective steps to improve its energy efficiency. As well, Quebec's wind power potential—that is, its ability to build new wind projects in easy reach of its existing trans-

mission lines—is double Ontario's total electricity consumption. Its solar power potential is equally vast. And power from both sources can be stored in Quebec's giant hydro reservoirs—a natural battery—which Ontario could also benefit from.

The federal government could use a little of its own power to encourage greater co-operation between Canada's two largest provinces. By passing strong Clean Electricity Regulations that ban the construction of new gas plants effective immediately and require Ontario to phase-out its existing gas plants by 2030, the feds can give Ontario a strong incentive to import power from its next door neighbour. If the feds don't act to prevent Ontario from cranking up the gas, it could be 10 straight misses on achieving national climate targets.

We have just seven years to prevent global temperatures from hitting levels we simply can't live with. You're not going to see a new nuclear reactor come online in the next seven years. We need climate-smart electricity solutions now, not decades from now. One of those solutions lies in bringing provinces together to collaborate on building a smart green energy future. The Trudeau government must make it happen, if Ontario won't.

Angela Bischoff is director of the Ontario Clean Air Alliance.

*The Hill Times*



## Opinion

# Is Canada trying to match or outdo American hostility to China?

As Pierre Trudeau said in 1968, ‘many of the major world issues will not be resolved completely, or in any lasting way, unless, and until an accommodation has been reached with the Chinese nation.’ That is even truer today. Why doesn’t Ottawa get it?

David  
Crane

Canada &  
the 21st Century



TORONTO—Is Canada trying to match or outdo American hostility to China? Government actions point to such an ill-considered approach. Rather than seeking to develop a more constructive relationship, while defending our values, the Trudeau government seems to be going

out of its way to engage in its own Cold War with China.

In a recent speech in Washington, D.C., Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland endorsed U.S. President Joe Biden’s plan for “near-shoring,” which means prioritizing imports from friendly allies rather than China. But it’s also a new form of protectionism that will fragment, at great expense, existing supply chains and result in higher prices for many products. While we must avoid dependence on one country for products critical to national security, that should be a very small list.

Freeland’s visit to Washington was quickly followed by that of Industry Minister François-Philippe Champagne where he, reportedly, promised to reduce Canadian imports from China, a lose-lose scenario since China could reduce imports from Canada. Returning to Canada, Champagne then ordered Chinese investors to sell their shares in three Canadian junior mining companies, because, he claimed, they threatened Canadian national security even though two of them were pursuing projects in Chile and Argentina, not Canada. The order may have had more to do with accommodating U.S. efforts to reduce China’s presence in Latin America.

Asked to explain, Industry Canada said “the government has concluded that a lack of secure access to critical minerals found

and developed both within and outside of Canada, by Canadian firms, is a source of national security risk for Canada.” This is a dramatic shift from January when the government approved the \$960-million takeover of Neo Lithium Corp., a Canadian company developing a lithium mine in Argentina, by a Chinese state-owned enterprise. The new policy will hurt small Canadian mining companies seeking capital and could weaken Canada’s role as the world’s leading financing centre for junior mining companies.

Following the Freeland and Champagne visits to Washington, U.S. Secretary of State Tony Blinken came to Ottawa. In an embarrassing joint press conference, Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly gushingly welcomed Blinken, declaring, “it’s really a pleasure to welcome you, secretary—well, my dear Tony, mon cheri Tony.” While we should be gracious in welcoming foreign visitors, our foreign affairs minister is expected to act in a professional manner. This is especially important at a time when the United States is pressuring Canada with heavy-handed protectionism, from softwood lumber to the increasingly tough Buy-America provisions on more than US\$1-trillion of U.S. infrastructure spending that will block Canadian exports. These are more costly to Canada than anything China is doing to us.

Joly told the joint press conference that the two had discussed “deepened engagement in the Indo-Pacific region” and “we agreed to hold the first Canada-U.S. Strategic Dialogue on the Indo-Pacific to further align our approaches.” Canada, she added, would also seek membership in the U.S.-led Indo-Pacific Economic Framework, which includes 12 Asian members, but deliberately excludes China, which Blinken said the United States would support.

Alignment with American policy appears to be central to Canadian foreign policy. As Roland Paris, former foreign policy adviser to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, recently wrote in *The Globe and Mail*, fear of further U.S. protectionism was the reason. “By embracing the geopolitical worldview now dominant in Washington and emphasizing Canada’s importance to U.S. economic security, the two ministers were effectively telling their American audience that Canada is part of their economic homeland and vital to their security—so if the U.S. is considering any new trade restrictions, don’t impose them on us.”

But German Chancellor Olaf Scholz felt no need to act like an American poodle, when he recently visited China and it is unlikely that French President Emmanuel Macron will when he visits China next year.

Moreover, there was nothing constructive in the speech earlier this month by Joly, setting the stage for Canada’s promised Indo-Pacific strategy. She showed little interest in seeking to develop a better working relationship with China. “China is an increasingly disruptive, global power,” she said. “It seeks to shape the



U.S. Secretary of State Anthony Blinken, left, and Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly, pictured Oct. 27, 2022, at a joint press conference in Ottawa. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

global environment into one that is more permissive for interests and values that increasingly depart from ours,” adding that “we will challenge China when we ought to. We will co-operate with China when we must.” And she warned Canadian businesses about doing business with China, declaring “there are geospatial risks linked to doing business with that country.” Like Freeland and Champagne, she seemed to say we should reduce trade with China. It was not a constructive speech.

We clearly have different interests and values with China and must defend these. But the goal should be to develop a constructive relationship. We all inhabit the same planet.

In a new book on Canadian strategies for the Indo-Pacific region, two Canadian academics—Meredith Lilly and Amily Li—argue that “there can be no Canadian Indo-Pacific strategy in isolation from Canada’s trade and economic relations with the United States.”

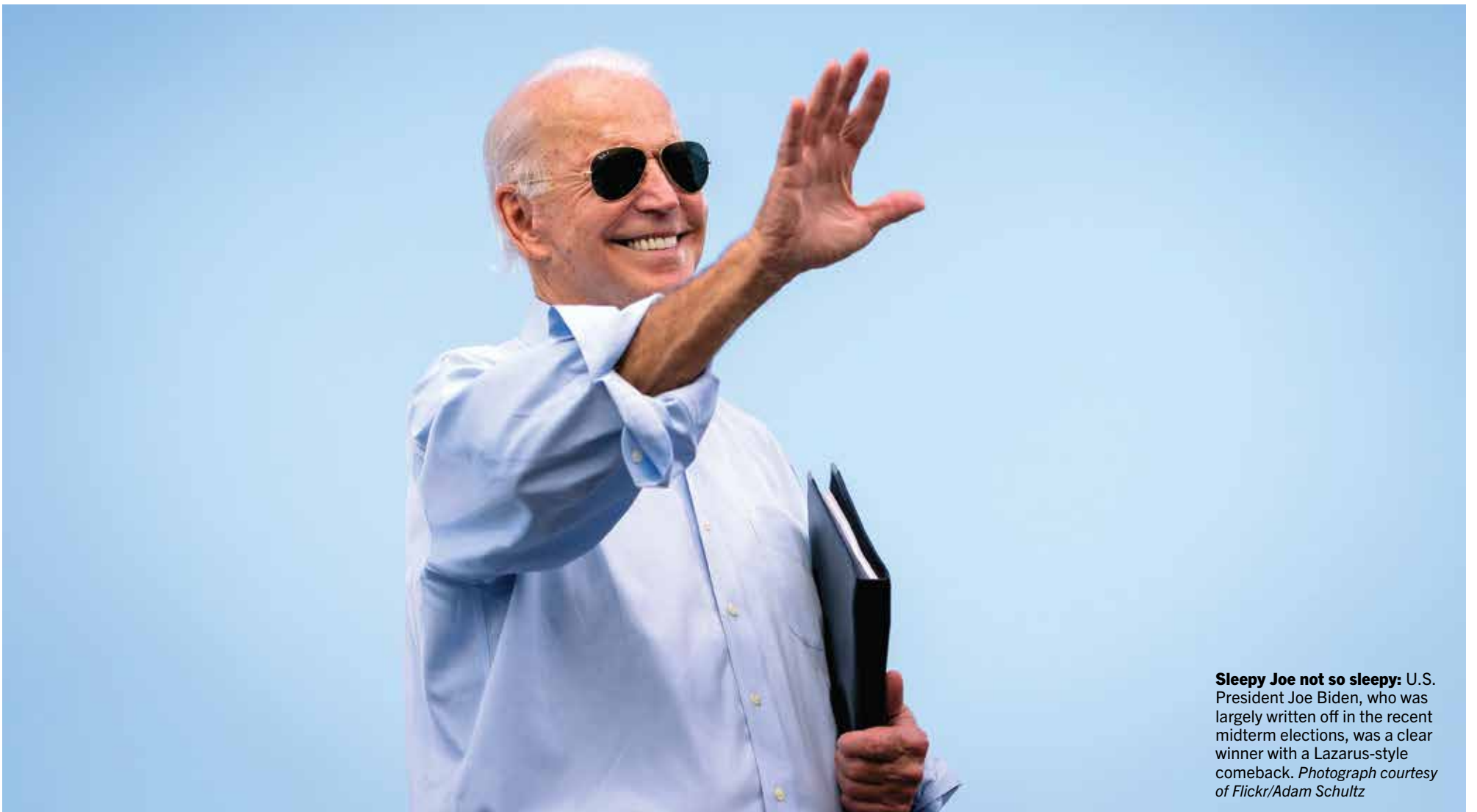
Yet as Jeff Nankivell, president of the Vancouver-based Asia-Pacific Foundation, argues

in the same book, there can be no serious Indo-Pacific strategy that seeks to exclude or decouple from China. Decoupling, Nankivell warned, would mean that Canadian exporters would be shut out of opportunities in one of the world’s biggest and fastest-growing economies, Canadian universities and colleges would see a serious drop in enrolments of Chinese students, there would be a loss of some of the highest-quality graduate students and researchers in the world, there would be less investment to grow the Canadian economy and Canadian tech companies could lose access to needed components.

In 1968, as then-prime minister Pierre Trudeau was moving to establish diplomatic relations with Beijing, he observed that “many of the major world issues will not be resolved completely, or in any lasting way, unless, and until an accommodation has been reached with the Chinese nation.” That is even truer today. Why doesn’t Ottawa get it?

David Crane can be reached at [crane@interlog.com](mailto:crane@interlog.com).  
*The Hill Times*





**Sleepy Joe not so sleepy:** U.S. President Joe Biden, who was largely written off in the recent midterm elections, was a clear winner with a Lazarus-style comeback. Photograph courtesy of Flickr/Adam Schultz

# What midterm crisis?

For Canadian politicians, the lesson out of the U.S. midterms is that extremism on the right or left is not the answer for the majority of voters.

Kevin Lynch  
& Paul  
Deegan

Opinion



The pollsters, pundits and Twitter blue-check intelligentsia got the U.S. midterms wrong, big time. They were not attuned to the ordinary Americans who went out, did their democratic duty, and rejected extremism. The issues that attracted and repelled voters have implications for politics and policy, not only in the United States, but also for Canada.

U.S. President Joe Biden, who was largely written off, was a

clear winner with a Lazarus-style comeback. Despite soaring inflation and worries around the economy, the Democrats pulled off a strong performance in midterm elections which typically auger poorly for the president's party. They held the Senate, and lost just a handful of seats in the House. To put this in perspective, the Republicans lost 26 House seats in 1982 under Ronald Reagan, the Democrats lost 54 House seats in 1994 under Bill Clinton and 63 under Barack Obama in 2010. Beyond the Beltway, Democrats exceeded expectations at the state level as well.

Make no mistake: Trumpism isn't dead, but Donald Trump was the biggest loser coming out of the midterm elections. His brand of politics and his ilk unnerved a majority of voters.

The question is: what fuelled this reversal of fortune?

This should have been a cakewalk for the Republicans; a James Carville, "It's the economy stupid," election. Instead, liberals, who were deeply outraged by the Supreme Court's abortion ruling and by Trump's efforts to overturn the 2020 presidential election, were highly motivated, and came out to reject extremism at the ballot box. The election itself became

a choice about values, rather than a referendum on Biden's handling of the economy. Swing voters rejected Trump candidates and many election deniers were trounced.

The Washington quagmire will continue in 2023, but control of the Senate affords Biden and the Democrats a strong defensive position against House Republican attacks, and provides the ability to move appointments forward. The bipartisan consensus on Ukraine and Russia should be largely unaffected, notwithstanding some loud outliers, as should the recent aggressive approach to China.

Looking ahead to the 2024 presidential contest, Republicans will face a fascinating choice between the now declared candidate, Donald Trump, and the big Republican winner coming out of the midterms, Florida Governor Ron DeSantis, who had a landslide win. DeSantis, who proved to be a capable chief executive during Hurricane Ian, was able to appeal not just to Cuban-Americans who tend to vote Republican, but also to the wider Latino community, who traditionally side with the Democrats. His focus on faith, family values, and a free market economy resonated with these communities, and broad-

ened his base and his national appeal.

The big question on the Democratic side is who their candidate will be in 2024, with President Biden turning 80 this month.

For Canada, it's clear that we need to know DeSantis better, and our consulate in Miami can play an important role. Fifteen per cent of foreign direct investment in Florida comes from Canadian-owned firms and employs 54,000 Floridians. To put that in perspective, that's way more than the Japanese, Mexicans, Brazilians, Chinese, and Israelis combined. According to the Florida Chamber of Commerce, Canada is Florida's biggest international economic partner, with US\$7.7-billion in bilateral trade. Our snowbirds have residential real estate holdings of US\$60-billion in the state. They can be a powerful soft lobby for Canada in the event of a DeSantis presidential bid. To seize on the under-tapped relationship and build bridges, we should be organizing Team Canada trade missions to the Sunshine State.

At the same time, we should be seeking areas of common ground with the Biden Administration, and with the new Congress. While the Democrats need to address urgent econom-

ic issues at home, as do we, the administration also needs allies to help curb Russian aggression and Chinese adventurism. The policy alignment is clear, but its delivery means being a stronger NORAD partner, a larger commitment to NATO, and a bigger contributor to Asian security. We can also be better aligned with the Americans on the challenge of energy transitions and energy security, as well as on enacting a global minimum corporate tax rate.

For Canadian politicians, the lesson out of the U.S. midterms is that extremism on the right or left is not the answer for the majority of voters. Economic issues in volatile and uncertain times, such as today, typically dominate voter concerns, unless trumped by extreme views and rhetoric. What plays well to a party's base does not necessarily translate to broad voter appeal, as the Republicans so convincingly demonstrated. The best elections are about competing views on visions of the future, why they matter, and the policies to get from here to there.

Kevin Lynch was clerk of the Privy Council and vice-chair of BMO Financial Group. Paul Deegan was a public affairs executive at BMO and CN and served in the Clinton White House.

The Hill Times



## News

# Stephen Harper's global director Shuvaloy Majumdar said to be eyeing coveted Calgary Heritage seat

Prior to outgoing Conservative MP Bob Benzen, former prime minister Stephen Harper and elder statesman Preston Manning represented Calgary Heritage.

Continued from page 1

consulting people in the riding and other senior Conservatives outside the riding. Keller said he has also had some conversations with his former colleague.

"My advice would be the same to any candidate and that is talk to the [riding] board of directors: talk to the people who've been the volunteers in that riding," said Keller. "Obviously, there are people to talk to, people who served as the [past] Members of Parliament for Calgary Heritage, and, really, build the network on the ground to try to win, and it's all about selling memberships, and getting out existing members. That's what it's all about in any nomination race. And so my advice would be the same to any candidate."

Majumdar has been working for Harper & Associates for more than six years. At the same time, he's also been working as director of the Foreign Policy and National Security Program and Munk Fellow at the Macdonald Laurier Institute. Before starting as director of policy in Baird's office, Majumdar served as a ministerial staffer for then-international trade minister Bev Oda. Prior to that, he was a visiting foreign policy scholar at the Liu Institute for Global Issues at the University of British Columbia. And from 2006 to 2010, he worked for the International Republican Institute as resident director and country director in the Middle East & North Africa division, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Before that, he worked for the Manning Centre for two years, and the Office of the leader of the official opposition for three years.

Three-term Liberal MP Bob Benzen, 63, who has represented the riding since 2017, announced on Oct. 20 that he would be stepping down at the end of De-



Former senior ministerial staffer Shuvaloy Majumdar, left, is considering seeking his party's nomination in the safe Conservative riding of Calgary Heritage, Alta.. Outgoing Conservative MP Bob Benzen, centre, succeeded former prime minister Stephen Harper as the MP for this riding in 2017. Photographs courtesy of Twitter, House of Commons website and *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



cember. He succeeded Harper in 2017 winning the byelection with 71.1 per cent of the votes. He was re-elected in 2019 with 70.7 per cent of the votes, and in 2021 with 57.7 per cent. Benzen won all three elections by whopping double-digit margins, including the

forward to return to his private business and family life.

"When I first announced my intention to seek the Conservative Party nomination in Calgary Heritage in 2016, our party was struggling following a national election loss," Benzen stated.



Garry Keller, former chief of staff to John Baird, says that Shuvaloy Majumdar is consulting people in Calgary Heritage before officially declaring his intention to run for the Conservative nomination in Calgary Heritage. *The Hill Times* file photograph

2021 election by 40 per cent, the 2019 election by 56.7 per cent and the 2017 byelection by a margin of 49.7 per cent of the votes.

In his statement announcing his retirement plans, Benzen, a businessman, said "it was never my intention to become a career politician" and is now looking

"As I prepare to leave today, there is no question that our party is rejuvenated and ready to lead Canada once again. Pierre Poilievre will be our next prime minister and we can count on him to safeguard our freedoms and restore prosperity.

"Mr. Poilievre's strong leadership gives me confidence that

now is the right time to 'hand off the baton' as the Conservatives prepare to form the next government," Benzen stated.

Early this year, Benzen openly supported the Freedom Convoy truckers' protest that jammed up the streets around Parliament Hill for about a month. He also publicly went after then-party leader Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ont.) for not doing the same. The Freedom Convoy protesters were forced to leave at the end February after a police action following the federal government's controversial invocation of the Emergencies Act.

Benzen, who had supported O'Toole in the 2017 and 2020 leadership elections, wrote two open letters in late January and early February to his caucus colleagues asking for a leadership review of O'Toole. In that leadership review, the Conservative caucus voted out O'Toole in February, triggering a leadership election culminating in the Sept. 10 election of Pierre Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.) as the new party leader.

"Mr. O'Toole campaigned in the leadership contest as a principled conservative voice that would unite the party," wrote Benzen in his Jan. 31 letter.

"However, since Mr. O'Toole assumed the position of leader, there have been numerous instances of flip-flops and questionable judgement on Mr. O'Toole's part, including: the adoption of

a de-facto carbon tax policy in April 2021, despite clear directions from our members who are opposed to a carbon tax, and despite his campaigning against such a tax during the leadership contest; the pressuring of MPs to support the entirety of the 2021 Conservative platform, on penalty of expulsion from the party or removal as a candidate, while subsequently flip-flopping on the platform promise to repeal the May 2020 firearms order in council during the campaign; and failure to clearly stand up for the Charter rights of Canadians during the pandemic."

Benzen did not respond to interview requests from *The Hill Times*.

The nomination will be held on Dec. 31 and several candidates have expressed interest.

"That [to publicly announce the names of potential candidates] would be up to our board to say. There's been a few, but I mean, I can't give you those names," said Conservative riding association president Philip Dippenaar, in a brief interview with *The Hill Times*.

It remains to be seen if the Conservatives will elect their candidate through a nomination contest or if the leader will appoint one.

Despite campaigning on the idea of "removing gatekeepers" during the leadership election in which he signed up a record number of candidates, Poilievre appointed a hand-picked candidate in the first byelection right after winning the party's top job. Poilievre appointed Ron Chhinzer, a Peel region police officer, for the Mississauga-Lakeshore, Ont., byelection.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) also appointed a candidate, former Ontario finance minister Charles Sousa. Trudeau had also promised free, fair, and open nomination contests in his 2013 leadership election, but since then has appointed numerous candidates.

"I would assume a nomination [election]," said Dippenaar, when asked if the candidate would be elected through a nomination or be handpicked by an appointment. "I'm not too sure, I don't know. It's just we're still working out [the details of nomination]. The MP has not even retired yet. So we will cross that bridge when we come [to it]."

Alberta is the bedrock of the Conservative base and where nominations are the real elections. Anyone who wins a nomination contest in the province is virtually guaranteed a seat in the House for as long as they want to represent the riding.

Conservative MPs from Alberta jokingly say that they don't campaign in their own ridings during general elections because if they do, they lose votes. Most Alberta Conservative MPs during general elections will travel across the country as part of the secondary tour of the leader to help out Conservative candidates in tight races. Of the 34 seats in Alberta, the Conservatives currently hold 30, and the Liberals and the NDP two each.

arana@hilltimes.com  
*The Hill Times*





Housing, Diversity and Inclusion Minister Ahmed Hussen, pictured in a Hill scrum, said, 'Every Canadian deserves a safe and affordable place to call home,' in an Infrastructure Canada press release on Nov. 15, in response to a report on chronic homelessness released by Auditor General Karen Hogan earlier that day. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

# Affordable shelter, fertilizer emissions, and tourism topped lobbying issues in busiest October since 2018

YWCA Canada is calling for increased funding under the National Housing Strategy for a grants-based system to fully fund shelters that are specifically dedicated to women and gender-diverse people.

BY JESSE CNOCKAERT

**A**ffordable gendered housing and concerns related to the federal government's fertilizer emissions reduction target were among the top advocacy issues last month, which was the busiest October for federal lobbying since 2018.

YWCA Canada, one of Canada's largest providers of housing and shelter services for women, was the most active advocacy organization in October, and filed 57 communication reports for the month, based on a search of the federal lobbyists' registry on Nov. 17. The organization's engagement with designated public office holders peaked on Oct. 5 when its representatives were on Parliament Hill calling for government action to address a housing crisis facing women and gender diverse people.

"Women and gender diverse people are the population that

is experiencing the most core housing need in Canada," said Amanda Arella, YWCA Canada's director of public policy, advocacy and strategic communications. "We also know that the homelessness shelter system doesn't have enough beds for women, and really none [are] dedicated to gender diverse people."

One in four women-led, single-parent households live in unsuitable, inadequate or unaffordable housing, and domestic violence shelters turn away nearly 1,000 women and their children every night due to lack of space, according to a YWCA Canada press release from Oct. 5.

During the day on the Hill, YWCA Canada's representatives called on the federal government to recommit to a promise in the National Housing Strategy (NHS) intended to support housing for women. The 2022 federal budget, released on April 7, promised \$1.5-billion to extend the Rapid Housing Initiative, a program under the NHS, to create at least 6,000 new affordable housing units, with at least 25 per cent of funding going towards women-focused housing projects.

YWCA representatives are calling for increased funding under the NHS for a grants-based system to fully fund shelter, transitional housing, and permanent affordable housing that is specifically dedicated to women and gender-diverse people, according to Arella.

The organization is also pushing for the federal government to develop a national definition of homelessness that reflects the unique needs and experiences

of homelessness for women and gender-diverse people, she said.

Women and gender-diverse people often have "hidden forms of homelessness," according to Arella. Those groups are more likely to engage in couch-surfing or staying with friends and family, which makes the true scale of the gendered housing crisis unknown, according to the YWCA Canada press release.

"[Women and gender-diverse people] are not showing up in the traditional shelter system, which makes the barriers that they have to accessing housing and the full scope of women and gender-diverse people's homelessness very hard to track," said Arella.

During the advocacy event, YWCA Canada members communicated with Families Minister Karina Gould (Burlington, Ont.). The YWCA Canada representatives also communicated with MPs including Lindsay Mathysen (London—Fanshawe, Ont.), the NDP's deputy critic for women and gender equality; and Peter Fragiskatos (London North Centre, Ont.), the parliamentary secretary to Minister of National Revenue Diane Lebouthillier (Gaspésie—Les Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Que.).

YWCA Canada is represented on the registry by interim CEO Raine Liliefeldt. The organization is also represented by Temple Scott Associates consultants Damian Chiu, Sabrina Daniele, Don Moors, and Kristina Proulx.

Auditor General Karen Hogan released a report on chronic homelessness on Nov. 15, which stated that Infrastructure Canada and Employment and Social Development Canada do not

know whether their programs are actually improving the housing outcomes for people experiencing homelessness.

Minister of Housing and Diversity and Inclusion Ahmed Hussen (York South—Weston, Ont.) said the federal government will be studying the findings and recommendations in the report closely, in a Nov. 15 press release from Infrastructure Canada.

"Every Canadian deserves a safe and affordable place to call home, but for too many, including those experiencing or at risk of homelessness, Indigenous peoples, persons with disabilities, and veterans, this still isn't a reality," said Hussen in the press release. "Homelessness is a top priority for our government to address, and it has therefore committed to continuing to work with partners and communities to prevent and reduce homelessness across the country."

Last month was the third-busiest October on record, with 3,054 communication reports filed, based on a search of the federal lobbyists' registry on Nov. 17. The only Octobers which accumulated more communication reports were October 2018 (which had 3,262 communication reports filed) and October 2017 (3,145).

Close behind YWCA Canada in October was the Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities (SARM), which filed 56 communication reports. SARM representatives were also on the Hill for an advocacy event, which was held between Oct. 25 and Oct. 27.

Topics discussed during the advocacy event included the federal government's target for reducing fertilizer emissions, according to Ray Orb, SARM's president.

The Liberal government released a discussion paper on March 4 which included a target of reducing absolute levels of greenhouse gas emissions related to fertilizer by 30 per cent below 2020 levels by 2030. A public consultation process to gather input on how to reach that target was conducted, and ended on Aug. 31.

Farmers are doing their part to make their farming practices more efficient and reduce emissions, but the current emission reduction target may be so high that it will leave many farmers with no alternative but to reduce the amount of fertilizer they use, according to Orb.

"Our farmers are really concerned about [the fertilizer emission reduction target]. We have a lot of negative feedback from our members," said Orb. "If farmers have no choice ... farmers may have to actually reduce the amount of fertilizer they put on their crops. That will reduce the yields and farmers will produce less food. Global food insecurity is a big issue."

SARM communicated with Agriculture Minister Marie-Claude Bibeau (Compton—Stanstead, Que.) on Oct. 27 and with Transport Minister Omar Alghabra (Mississauga Centre, Ont.) on Oct. 26.

SARM is represented on the registry in-house by its executive director, Jay Meyer, and nine members of the organization's

board of directors. Also representing the organization on the registry is Crestview Strategy consultants Ashton Arsenault and Gerassimos Pepelassis.

The environment was listed as a topic of discussion in 30 of SARM's communication reports for October. The topic of the environment led the way in October as the most popular subject in federal lobbying for the ninth consecutive month, and featured in 563 communication reports.

Behind environment in October was energy (which appeared in 473 communication reports), economic development (428), and health and climate (tied with 344 reports each), according to a search of the federal lobbyists' registry on Nov. 17.

Following SARM in October, in terms of communication reports filed, was the Tourism Industry Association of Canada (TIAC). Representatives for TIAC were on the Hill last month for the organization's first in-person advocacy event in two years, which started with a reception at the Wellington Building in downtown Ottawa on Oct. 20. More than 60 TIAC members gathered with 50 parliamentarians and other government officials during the event, according to a TIAC press release from Oct. 20.

"Tourism, in particular, is a people business. The fact that we were meeting face-to-face with federal officials ... reinforces the people side of our business," said Marc Seguin, TIAC's vice-president of policy and government affairs.

The tourism industry was growing fast prior to 2020, before being crushed by the COVID-19 pandemic, according to Seguin.

On Aug. 4, TIAC released a submission with recommendations for how the federal government can support the tourism industry. One priority included in the submission is attracting and retaining a sustainable workforce to the tourism industry. Seguin told *The Hill Times* that the federal government could help address the labour shortage in the short term by streamlining the temporary foreign workers program to make it easier for foreign workers to come to Canada.

"We clearly recognize that recovering growth of tourism largely hinges on our ability to address a significant labour shortage and tourism," said Seguin. "It takes people to run businesses, and we need growth in the sector to be able to attract more people. There's an interesting symbiotic relationship there."

In the submission, TIAC recommended that a target for total tourism spending in Canada be set at \$134-billion by the end of 2030, and that a total labour target be set at 2.5 million workers by the end of 2030.

TIAC communicated with Rural Economic Development Minister Gudie Hutchings (Long Range Mountains, Nfld) on Oct. 21. The organization also communicated with Rachel Bendayan (Outremont, Quebec), parliamentary secretary to Tourism Minister Randy Boissonnault (Edmonton Centre, Alta.) on Oct. 20.

jcnockaert@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times



## News



Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault, seen here in Ottawa in June 2022, is attending his 20<sup>th</sup> COP conference. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

# Key climate justice discussions go down to the wire at COP27

Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault has been involved in discussions aimed at salvaging an agreement on funding for climate-related loss and damage, a key source of division between the Global North and Global South.

BY KEVIN PHILIPUPILLAI

Developing countries and especially the ones vulnerable to climate-related disasters are expressing frustration with what they have described as delay tactics from richer nations at the United Nations Climate Conference in Egypt on the key question of an international fund to help poorer countries recover after disasters. The disagreements on key loss and damage negotiations set the stage for a tense overtime weekend.

Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault (Laurier-Sainte-Marie, Que.), who has attended 20 COP conferences, met with European Commission vice-president Frans Timmermans, COP26 president Alok Sharma, and COP27 president Sameh Shoukry on

Nov. 17 as part of an attempt to salvage the talks, which were in danger of ending without a clear agreement.

Guilbeault said in a written statement that Canada has been “a leading voice on bringing together support for the world’s most vulnerable who are dealing with the loss and damage of climate change,” and his office told *The Hill Times* that Canada’s focus at COP27 has been on getting loss and damage onto the main agenda for the first time, and on ensuring there are robust discussions.

But a spokesperson for Guilbeault, speaking on background, also said Canada’s position is that COP27 is only the beginning of a high-level political conversation on loss and damage, and that the target date for a resolution is 2024. This runs contrary to demands from climate-vulnerable nations for something more concrete to be set up at the end of COP27.

Guilbeault’s spokesperson also re-affirmed the minister’s Nov. 9 statement that Canada will not accept any loss and damage deal that would make Canadian (and American and European) taxpayers liable for climate-related damages, and warned that framing the conversation in terms of liability would not be the most effective way for vulnerable countries to secure funding from developed countries.

Environmental activists and representatives of vulnerable loss

and damage negotiations as a question of climate justice and of reparations for countries that have done little to contribute to the climate crisis, but which are most vulnerable to its effects. The World Bank estimated in mid-October that months of unprecedented flooding in Pakistan has caused approximately US\$40-billion in damage, but the ad hoc emergency assistance provided by Canada and other countries only runs to the hundreds of millions of dollars.

An agreement on loss and damage has been described as the key litmus test for COP27, but environmental groups are also watching to see if Canada and other high-income countries follow through on last year’s commitment to phase out public financing for international fossil fuel projects.

Bronwen Tucker, public finance co-lead for the advocacy group Oil Change International, told *The Hill Times* her organization has been tracking the progress of Canada and other signatories on last year’s Glasgow Pledge, which she described as “one of the bright spots” of last year’s conference in Scotland.

Canada was one of 16 high-income countries—and by far the largest provider of public funding for fossil fuel projects—to sign the pledge. But eight of those countries, including Canada, have not yet followed through on the commitment to publish implementation plans by the end of 2022.

Given that the main negotiations tend to move slowly, said Tucker, having a smaller group of countries agree to do something material on a shorter than usual timeline was a “helpful precedent” and an example of “positive peer pressure.” But for the Glasgow Pledge to build momentum toward broader reductions in public funding for fossil fuels, Tucker said the “club of first movers” that signed the pledge have to meet their commitments.

After attending the climate conference in person in previous years, Tucker followed COP27 remotely from Toronto, supporting colleagues who made the trip to Egypt.

## Low-lying island states decry efforts to ‘stall progress’ on loss and damage fund

The Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) released a statement on Nov. 16 saying it and other developing countries were “gravely concerned” with the lack of movement on funding arrangements for loss and damage. The statement quoted AOSIS chair Molwyn Joseph of Antigua and Barbuda saying that “some developed countries are furiously trying to stall progress” on his group’s top priority.

Eddy Pérez, the international climate diplomacy director for Climate Action Network Canada, told *The Hill Times* before the conference began that he was looking for Canada to break away from the United States’ traditional opposition to a loss and damage fund, and provide progressive leadership on the issue.

Richer countries have historically been wary of a loss and damage fund that falls within the United Nations framework, which would be accountable to developing countries, and have instead proposed more limited financing vehicles or insurance programs. They have also insisted that China be a contributor to the fund.

Pérez said during a Nov. 17 press conference in Egypt that some developed countries had shown a willingness to soften their earlier positions against a loss and damage funding mechanism within the United Nations framework, but the United States remained fiercely opposed.

Pérez also pointed out that things would be changing in the following days, as discussions and plenary sessions extended beyond the initial Nov. 18 end date for the conference.

## Advocates call for Canada to follow through on last year’s commitment to phase out financing for international fossil fuel projects

Over the past year, Oil Change International has been tracking each of the signatories’ progress to see which have developed policies that would actually implement this commitment on public financing for international fossil fuel projects.

Tucker said six of the 16 high-income signatories, including the United Kingdom, France, and Denmark, have released policies that end all or almost all fossil fuel funding. Two more signatories, Belgium and the Netherlands, have released policies that “still need some work,” she said. But Tucker said the remaining eight high-income signatories, including Canada, Germany, and Italy, have not yet released their policies.

Tucker said the cost of living crisis and Russia’s war in Ukraine have created a very different energy narrative for 2022, which explains why European countries such as Italy and Germany are “dragging their feet” on any retreat from natural gas. But, for Canada, she said the main issue is that the government is looking to “fudge the distinction” between international and domestic fossil fuel funding.

In the absence of a clear update from the Canadian government, Tucker said she is concerned by the fact Export Development Canada (EDC), Canada’s export credit agency and “by far the main agency giving this support,” looks to have increased its financing of oil and gas projects in 2022.

Export Development Canada’s net zero policy update from summer 2022 says the agency supports the Canadian government’s Glasgow Pledge commitment, and it “will no longer provide new direct financing to international fossil fuel companies and projects by the end of 2022.”

Tucker disagreed with this characterization, saying EDC plans to continue financing Canadian companies for international oil and gas projects, while classifying these activities as domestic financing.

In the bigger picture, said Tucker, these battles over definitions are not a great use of time and money. “It doesn’t matter for the climate if this financing is domestic or international,” said Tucker. “We would prefer a full exclusion across EDC.”

Bloomberg News reported on Nov. 17 that India and some developed countries were unhappy to see the first draft of the cover text made no mention of the Glasgow Pledge’s overall phase out of public funding for all fossil fuels, and instead focused on phasing out coal.

Guilbeault’s spokesperson suggested that India, which relies heavily on coal for its energy mix, might be engaging in some gamesmanship. By protesting the omission of language around phasing out oil and gas funding, the suggestion was, India might be hoping to force a compromise where any language about phasing out coal would also be scuttled.

Tucker said that kind of gamesmanship runs both ways, with Canada, which has long been criticized for dragging its feet on the call to phase out oil and gas, winning points over the years as a long-term advocate of phasing out coal.

kphilipupillai@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times



**Become an insider**

The Hill Times shines a light into  
the rooms where decisions are made

**Giving you the tools to  
make better policy,  
implement more effective  
legislation, and transform  
the country for the better.**

Subscribe to The Hill Times today  
[www.hilltimes.com](http://www.hilltimes.com)



## News

# ‘Remarkable showing of co-operation’ from MPs on amendments to create ‘historic’ National Council for Reconciliation



Liberal MP Marcus Powlowski, left, NDP MP Lori Idlout, and Conservative MP Gary Vidal are members of the House of Commons, which is studying Bill C-29, an act to create a National Council for Reconciliation. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

Native Women’s Association of Canada president Carol McBride says she received a personal phone call from Minister Marc Miller telling her that an amendment had passed which would give her organization a seat on the council’s board.

BY IAN CAMPBELL

Liberal MP Marcus Powlowski said the first day of clause-by-clause consideration for a bill to create a National Council for Reconciliation was a “remarkable showing of co-operation between the parties,” as many amendments passed with all-party support.

The amendments passed at the Nov. 14 House Indigenous and Northern Affairs Committee meeting primarily focused on the composition of the board of directors. MPs across party lines previously stressed governance laid out in C-29 as a primary area that needed improvements, based on testimony they heard from witnesses throughout the fall.

An amendment brought forward by the Conservatives on economic reconciliation failed to gain support by a slim margin, but many others sailed through unanimously, including a much-anticipated proposal to add a representative from the Native Women’s Association of Canada (NWAC) to the council’s board.

Carol McBride, president of NWAC, told *The Hill Times* that she received a personal phone call from Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister Marc Miller (Ville-Marie-Le Sud-Ouest-Île-des-Sœurs, Que.) following the meeting, telling her that the amendment had passed.

“When I got the call from Minister Miller, I was so happy,” said McBride in an interview with *The Hill Times*. “To me it was a step in the right direction for the women across Canada—for the Indigenous women across the country.”

The amendment, moved by NDP MP Lori Idlout (Nunavut), passed without debate. Both the Liberals and Conservatives had drafted “identical” amendments that were not debated in light of the NDP motion passing.

NWAC—whose board of directors will have the task of choosing a representative to send to the council if the bill becomes law—does advocacy work with Indigenous women and families on issues like training, education, and missing and murdered Indigenous women. It also collects statistics about status and non-status Indigenous women, said McBride.

“This is going to enable us to be a full participant to bring those issues to the table,” she said.

While McBride said her organization “should have been called upon ... right from the start,” she praised the committee process that saw NWAC gain a seat.

“The committee was very open to what we had to say,” she said. “They made me feel that I was being heard. They made me feel that they were really, really listening to the issue.”

## Congress of Aboriginal Peoples gets a seat

Granting the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples (CAP) a seat on the board was another amendment that sparked division but ultimately passed.

Conservative MP Gary Vidal (Desnethé-Missinippi-Churchill River, Sask.), who moved the amendment, said it would “ensure that we have urban Indigenous people represented consistently at this table.”

Liberal MP Jaime Battiste (Sydney-Victoria, N.S.) opposed the move, preferring the approach of setting aside seats for the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), and Métis National Council (MNC), which were already to be on the board, noting that was “consistent with the constitution of Canada.” He added including the spot for NWAC was important “in the age of murdered and missing Indigenous women.” However, with CAP, he said “there is no real definition for who they represent.”

“We don’t know who we’re giving a seat to,” said Battiste.

He said in witness testimony CAP stated it represented non-status Indigenous people, but “that could be just about anyone,” and “without further definition of who they represent,” giving them a seat with the “constitutionally recognized groups” was “inconsistent.”

The amendment passed 6-4 with support from Idlout and Bloc Québécois MP Marilène Gill (Manicouagan, Que.), while all Liberal members opposed it.

## Territories gain seats on the board

After some questions from Gill, a motion by Liberal MP Michael McLeod (Northwest Territories) passed, which ensured there were at least two representatives on the board from the Yukon, Northwest Territories, or Nunavut.

Gill asked if regions like Nunavik, located in northern Quebec, should be included in this amendment, since it has “the same realities” as the territories.

However, McLeod replied this was the exact concern his amendment was trying to address, noting there was potential that the ITK would send representatives from Nunavik or Labrador instead of the territories. Meanwhile, said McLeod, the MNC has no presence in any of the territories and the AFN has no presence in Yukon.

Gill said it was also possible that Nunavik could have no representation on the board, but said she could “compromise” and the amendment passed unanimously.

## Liberal MPs split on failed economic reconciliation amendment from Tories

Another proposed amendment drew greater discussion, but ultimately failed to pass.

Vidal proposed a representative on the board focused on economic reconciliation. He said this was “imperative” because poverty is a “fundamental cause of many of the issues” facing Indigenous people, and the committee had heard “how important economic reconciliation is going to be for the future of our relationship.”

Many of the MPs from the other parties were skeptical of the motion.

“I find the reasoning that Gary just mentioned quite different from the text of the amendment,” Idlout told the committee. “If the Conservatives are really concerned about addressing poverty, why wouldn’t they suggest organizations addressing poverty specifically?”

“As of yet, I don’t know what economic reconciliation means,” she added. “So it’s a strange concept, and I’m struggling to support this amendment.”

Vidal said the amendment did not list specific organizations because he did not want to “be prescriptive,” but pointed to the First Nations Financial Management Board, which had testified at committee, as an example of an organization that could fill such a seat.

Harold Calla, executive chair of the board, a not-for-profit organization that helps First Nations governments plan and secure funding for economic projects, said he felt it “wouldn’t hurt” if that amendment has passed, but he is “more concerned about the scope of the work that the council will do—that it be required to consider economic reconciliation—not that the one individual on the board is going to have that responsibility.”

“You don’t achieve reconciliation unless you have economic development,” Calla told *The Hill Times* by phone after the meeting. “Pre-contact, we had economies, we had governments, we had self-esteem as a result of who we were. That was all taken away from us as a result of actions of government, and in some cases through legislation.”

Calla, who called the creation of the council “historic,” said he believes the best approach would be for the bill to better define the term reconciliation, and include economic reconciliation as part of that definition.

Powlowski (Thunder Bay-Rainy River, Ont.), the sole Liberal to vote in favour of the amendment, told *The Hill Times* he supported it because he sees economic prosperity as being “at the heart of reconciliation.”

However, he said some of his Liberals colleagues may have seen the motion as Conservatives trying to bring a more “pro-business” approach to the economic issues to a bill that “was supposed to be about reconciliation.”

“I absolutely believe that the single most important factor that the governments in Indigenous communities want to address in order to improve those communities is economic development,” said Powlowski. “You bring economic prosperity to communities, and you solve so many of the societal problems when there’s money in the community.”

The amendment failed 6-5.

## Idlout passes amendment to make monitoring of Indigenous rights ‘non-partisan’

Idlout told *The Hill Times* she was “grateful that the committee accepted” her proposal to “ensure that the council is given the signal to take an Indigenous rights-based approach to their work.”

Idlout’s amendment makes the council responsible for monitoring government progress on Indigenous rights as defined in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Idlout previously told *The Hill Times* that it is more difficult for her to play a watchdog on this matter because of her partisan role.

“For too long Indigenous rights have been violated. Indigenous peoples are deprived of their rights, including to housing,” she said.

“Incorporating my proposal will ensure there is a non-partisan approach to monitoring the protection of Indigenous peoples’ rights.”

The committee completed most amendments at its Nov. 14 meeting, but will return to finish clause-by-clause consideration on Nov. 17.

icampbell@hilltimes.com  
*The Hill Times*



# Canadian response to U.S. Inflation Reduction Act should seek to boost ‘certainty’ for investors, says advocacy group

The new American law could ‘attract a lot of capital’ that ‘might otherwise go to Canada,’ because it offers companies investing south of the border a much clearer picture of what incentives are available to them, says Canadians for Clean Prosperity.

BY IAN CAMPBELL

The landmark United States Inflation Reduction Act poses economic challenges and opportunities for Canada, say observers, but a chief response to the American law incentivizing industrial decarbonization must be to address the investor “certainty” it creates in contrast to the Canadian regime.

Michael Bernstein, executive director of Canadians for Clean Prosperity, said the certainty the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) provides is “one of the most significant” ways the act could “attract a lot of capital, both money and people ... to the U.S. that might otherwise go to Canada or stay in Canada.”

“It’s not that Canada isn’t spending a lot of money on climate or doesn’t have some strong economic incentives,” said Bernstein, whose organization advocates for a market-based approach to climate policy. “But the U.S. policy is designed in a way that provides a lot of certainty to investors, and clarity to investors on what funding or what support they’re going to get by investing in decarbonization.”

MPs discussed the Canadian government’s response to the IRA at a Nov. 15 House International Trade Committee meeting, questioning witnesses on the advantages the act gives American companies in fields related to decarbonization, such as manufacturing batteries for electric vehicles.

NDP MP Taylor Bachrach (Skeena-Bulkley Valley, B.C.) asked if Canada needed “a concerted strategy around the zero-emission vehicle and battery supply chains” given incentives offered in the act for the production of batteries for electric vehicles.

Conservative MP Tony Baldinelli (Niagara Falls, Ont.), said the IRA “takes an enabling approach” to decarbonization through incentives, while he characterized Canada as “having more of a carrot and stick approach.”

Rachel Samson, an economist who serves as vice-president of research for the Institute for Research and Public Policy, told *The Hill Times* that on issues where Canada believes the IRA may put it at a disadvantage, “it’s very difficult to change things in the U.S. at this stage.” She said the best strategy may be for Canada “to be more generous” on some credits and subsidies “to attract that investment,” since that is the aspect Canadians lawmakers have more control over.

The impact, said Bernstein, is that “for investors who are considering where to locate a hydrogen project ... the American package of incentives is likely to look more attractive than the Canadian one.” He pointed to low carbon mining projects as another type of decarbonization investment that lacked the same certainty.

Some recent new investment credits announced by Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.) in the Nov. 3 fall economic update help to “close a good portion of the gap,” but he said there are two further steps the Canadian government could take to respond to the IRA.

While the current carbon pricing system “has the potential to generate a lot of the value and a lot of the business case for

is a lot lower than what you have in the U.S.”

These types of incentives and subsidies, Samson added, are a necessary next step in addition to carbon pricing as industrial economies like Canada and the United States look to decarbonize.

“I’m not sure the carbon price was ever going to address some of the challenges ... particularly when we’re talking about really big expensive capital investments,” she said. “The carbon price on its own does not provide sufficient incentive to make those large investments, particularly when there’s huge market risk and there isn’t a global carbon price.”

That’s why, said Samson, the government needs to take a role “if we want those new sources of jobs and growth to take place in Canada.”

## Opportunity with critical minerals requires ‘political will’

Maryscott Greenwood, a partner at Crestview Strategy based in Washington, D.C., who also serves as the CEO of the Canadian American Business Council, told *The Hill Times* the IRA presents both opportunities and challenges for Canada. Critical minerals could present one of

The issue also arose at the Nov. 15 House committee meeting. David Billedeau of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce told MPs “it takes an average of 15 years to move mining projects from discovery to first production” in Canada.

Baldinelli asked witnesses, in light of these timelines, “how are we going to be able to compete to draw those critical minerals?”

Samson cautioned that a balanced approach was needed.

“We have to remember that, in our enthusiasm for getting ahead in these markets, we don’t create other problems,” she said. “Mining projects have a history of not doing very well, particularly in terms of Indigenous communities. So if there’s a way to both move fast and do better on the environmental front, with respect to Indigenous rights and hopefully involving Indigenous communities in some of the financial benefits of those projects, that would be a positive development.”

Bernstein agreed critical minerals present “huge opportunities” because “there’s just not going to be enough critical minerals over the long term to supply the needs of a low carbon energy system.” He said one of the ways to address the regulatory challenges in a safe but expedient way would be to invest more in the regulatory agencies tasked with assessing such projects.

“One of the answers is to provide more funding to the agencies that regulate and permit these sites so that they actually can have people who are truly experts in different kinds of mines,” he said.

## Canada, U.S. can find common ground on economic issues

Bernstein and Greenwood both noted there are reasons for the United States and Canada to find common cause on the economic issues related to the IRA.

“Critical minerals are essential, not only to the electric vehicle supply chain, but also in the defence industry and consumer industry,” said Greenwood. Noting that, presently, “China owns 85 per cent of the world market” when it comes to processing critical minerals, she said, “that’s a problem that everybody’s trying to solve.”

She pointed to a defence production sharing agreement struck between Canada and the United States in the 1950s, when the United States needed steel and aluminum, as an example of a successful continental approach policymakers could look to in the face of any trade irritants posed by the IRA.

Bernstein added, when it comes to critical minerals, “there is an interest for Canada, the U.S. and for much of the Western world to have a supply chain that is resilient to the whims of dictators and non-democracies.”

Samson noted that the United States economy is the largest market for Canadian exports, and that Canada should also look at diversifying its exports to strengthen its position.

icampbell@hilltimes.com  
*The Hill Times*



Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland walks with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau on her way to give the fall economic statement on Nov. 3. While the federal government took some steps to respond to the U.S. Inflation Reduction Act, there are more policy measures they can implement, says Canadians for Clean Prosperity's Michael Bernstein. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Under the new American law, a company investing in a green hydrogen project powered by solar or wind energy would know it was going to receive precisely US\$3 per kilogram of hydrogen produced by the project, said Bernstein, noting that’s an example of the increased certainty the IRA provides.

“So when you’re thinking about whether you should make this investment, that number goes in the spreadsheet with 100 per cent confidence – or at least 98 per cent confidence,” said Bernstein.

He said in Canada “there are ways to make a hydrogen project attractive,” such as selling carbon credits or using the Net Zero Accelerator Fund—an \$8-billion federal government pot focused on large-scale investments to create a net-zero economy—but the exact amount of money the company would receive “is a lot less certain.”

decarbonization investments,” Bernstein said the government could provide greater certainty by guaranteeing a certain price point at which it will buy carbon credits from industry, or by committing to offer a top up to a certain price point if companies sell carbon credits to another buyer for less than the guaranteed price.

Second, he suggested Ottawa look at specific industries where tax credits could be improved, noting that, for some sectors, the Canadian government is nearly on par with the United States in terms of incentives, while in others there is a large gap to address.

“I’m thinking, in particular, of direct air capture and traditional carbon capture where the U.S. is providing US\$180 ... for a plant that pulls carbon out of the air through a direct air capture process,” Bernstein said. “And we just don’t have an equivalent in Canada. We do have an investment tax credit, but the economic incentive

the best chances for growth, she said, noting they are needed for a number of decarbonizing technologies such as electric vehicle batteries. But, Greenwood said it will take “political will” to seize the opportunity.

“If it works quickly enough ... [Canada] could become a supplier of choice for the production of critical minerals,” she said. “That’s one area that I think Canada needs to really focus on.”

While much focus may be on subsidies, she said equal attention must be paid to the regulatory framework.

“One of the challenges with a good industrial policy and subsidies is, if you don’t also have appropriate speed on the regulatory front, the subsidies don’t help you very much or the tax policy doesn’t help you very much,” she said. “So there’s going to have to be a look now at regulatory efficiency, without sacrificing, in any way, safety.”



## News

# Rouleau Inquiry lifts lid on ‘federal, provincial, municipal dysfunction in crisis management and policing,’ say politicians

Continued from page 1

“This dysfunction left the capital city of Canada paralyzed, and basically without the rule of law for several weeks last winter,” said Norquay, a veteran Conservative strategist, who said the events did not go unnoticed by a number of Canada’s G7 allies.

According to testimony heard last week, more than 1,000 RCMP officers were eventually brought in from across Canada to finally help clear the occupation of downtown Ottawa, including the Parliamentary Precinct.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) invoked the Emergencies Act for the first time in Canada’s history on Feb. 14 to bring an end to the weeks-long occupation by protesters railing against pandemic restrictions. Diesel fumes and flags of various stripes filled the air for days as trucks and cars jammed the streets in front of and around Parliament and the Prime Minister’s Office. It took police two days to clear protesters out of downtown Ottawa. The declaration was revoked on Feb. 23.

Norquay said he believes the commission will make a “major contribution in sorting out what actually happened,” in terms of the Ottawa Police Service (OPS) response and what happened with the allocation of tow trucks.

“What are citizens supposed to do when institutions they trust to do their jobs abandon their citizens and do not fulfill their mandate to protect the public?” said Norquay.

“From the specific to the general, is that whatever the commission concludes, I think it will serve a very useful purpose if it provides advice on whether the Emergencies Act, as currently written, is fit for purpose,” he said. “In other words, does the Emergencies Act provide proper guidance for what the federal government should do in cases when public institutions fail miserably in doing their jobs and refuse, for whatever reason to fulfill their mandates?”

Norquay noted that he couldn’t help but think that the federal

government reached the point where there was a realization that “everything else has failed, and we’re still paralyzed here, and nobody seems prepared to act.”

Sheamus Murphy, a former senior Liberal staffer at the federal level and in Ontario, and now a partner and federal practice leader at Counsel Public Affairs, said what’s been heard so far has been “eye-opening in terms of just how ill-prepared Ottawa police were.”

“What you’re hearing is that federal officials [never] thought they’d need to do this or that they weren’t prepared to do this,” said Murphy. “Why? Because it wasn’t their responsibility to clean up this mess.”



Sheamus Murphy, partner and federal practice leader at Counsel Public Affairs, says steps were taken against a ‘hardened group of extreme people who exploited a weakness in the preparedness of the municipal and provincial police.’

Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

“When they saw the disarray in terms of the municipal and provincial governments and their failure to act, the federal government felt they had to show leadership and get in and clean up this mess, and they’re happy to tell the story,” said Murphy.

Murphy said as this process has unfolded, he thinks the decision made by the prime minister and by cabinet to act has been supported.

“What you see are officials at various levels doing their best within their job description and within the powers that they have to try to resolve a little piece of

the puzzle, and not being able to do it,” he said. “It just validates the ultimate decision that was made here.”

Murphy said he believed the vast majority of Canadians watching the Public Order Emergency Commission hearings see that it was the right thing to do to invoke the Emergencies Act, and to take the steps that had to be taken against a “hardened group of extreme people who exploited a weakness in the preparedness of the municipal and provincial police.”

Bridget Howe, senior consultant at Crestview Strategy, who previously worked as the campaign manager for Liberal MP Ryan Turnbull (Whitby, Ont.) as well as in the Liberal Research Bureau, said the potential political implications reach well beyond just the incident itself.

“This is being used as a political tool for opposition to attack [the prime minister] and those closest to him, it’s being used by both government and the opposition to drive a wedge between the Ontario provincial and federal governments,” said Howe in an email to *The Hill Times*.

Howe said she was hoping to get greater insight into how cabinet made their considerations to invoke the Emergencies Act.

“Was it done so in a way that had the best interests of Canadians in mind or were there further political considerations that went into the decision making process?” said Howe. “Given that this was the first time this act was used, it is worthy of an inquiry to ensure that it is not misused in the future, unlike how the notwithstanding clause is being misused by Conservative provincial governments, like Ontario.”

When asked about the level of interest her clients have in the proceedings, Howe said that although many she works with are not directly impacted by the inquiry, they are interested in the larger political implications.

“It gives us some insight into how the new opposition leader and his team will position themselves against the Trudeau government, particularly on these



Rob Stewart, deputy minister of Public Safety, left, and Dominic Rochon, formerly the senior assistant deputy minister of the Public Safety’s national and cyber security branch, appear as witnesses before the Public Emergency Order Commission on Nov. 14, 2022. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

controversial issues under which the Liberals are trying to frame the Conservatives as being sympathetic to far-right ideologies and conspiracy theorists,” said Howe, adding that it also impacts the relationship between the federal and provincial governments, given tensions around health care and health-care transfers.

Howe also said she found the differences between the legal interpretations offered by CSIS versus the interpretations by cabinet interesting, and that this has resulted in different approaches and opinions on whether or not the Emergencies Act should have been invoked.

“It is interesting to consider when elected officials and leaders should be making interpretations and considerations which go beyond some of the strict legal parameters that other bodies are restricted to, and when this becomes an overreach of power,” said Howe.

Pollster Greg Lyle, president of Innovative Research Group, released public opinion research on Nov. 15 that found although fewer Canadians are paying as close attention to the government’s use of the Emergencies Act than they were back in February, Conservatives at this point are paying the closest attention.

The poll also found that support for the use of the act has remained steady from February through to November, increasing from 21 per cent net support to 25 per cent, but that strong opposition to the use of the act has subsided.

## ‘One of the concerns at the time was the potential for serious violence’

A long list of top federal officials who testified at the Rouleau Commission last week indicated concerns over a potential escalation in protester violence leading up to the invocation of the Emergencies Act, increasing pressure on the RCMP to put an end to the protests, and reputational risk to Canada’s economy.

Top bureaucrats at Public Safety, Finance, Transport and

the RCMP, in addition to the prime minister’s national security adviser, testified at length about the days leading up to, during, and the close of Freedom Convoy protests that blocked border crossings across Canada and occupied downtown Ottawa during a string of frigid weeks in January and February in early 2022.

Serious consideration of the use of act began in the latter part of the week of Feb. 6, and became a matter for discussion and decision after that, said Rob Stewart, deputy minister of public safety, during his testimony on Nov. 14.

“We were having a discussion around the pros and cons of using the Emergencies Act, and one of the concerns that I had at the time was of the potential for serious violence,” said Stewart, recollecting some of the discussions leading up to the eventual invocation of the Emergencies Act. “One of the reasons to invoke the act was also a concern in terms of what happens when you invoke it.”

“If it were to lead people to become violent, then that would be an undesirable outcome, so that was just one of the many considerations we were discussing,” he said.

Stewart told the commission that “you want to try and discourage people from staying in a protest if enforcement is going to occur, because it’s going to get tough.”

Stewart also noted that there was already a “history in discussions rooted in the pandemic” surrounding the act where at one point, the federal government conducted consultations on whether it would be a useful tool to help address the COVID-19 health crisis.

“At the time, it was determined that that was not the case,” said Stewart. “So it was always sort of in the back of people’s minds, and it came up in meetings along the way and as something that we should bear in mind.”

Continued on page 27



Continued from page 26

## City of Ottawa, federal government leaned on RCMP as numbers grew 'exponentially'

Former Ottawa mayor Jim Watson, in a Feb. 7 letter to the prime minister and the public safety minister, described a situation where what was initially described as a peaceful protest "has now turned into a siege of our downtown area," and said there were between 400 and 500 trucks occupying the city's downtown core.

"Given the scope and scale of the armada of large trucks that are now occupying our downtown core, we are writing to you today to ask that you work to help the city secure 1,800 officers to quell the insurrection that the Ottawa Police Service is not able to contain," according to the letter posted on the commission's website.

The mayor's ask included resources needed "on an urgent basis," including 1,000 regular officers, 600 public order officers, 100 investigative officers, and 100 civilian staff.

In her testimony on Nov. 15, RCMP Commissioner Brenda Lucki told the commission that as time went by, resources started to increase, and the RCMP not only had to increase front-line resources, but also had to increase resources at the National Capital Region Crisis Command Centre, a central facility under the direction of the RCMP to handle decision-making and response co-ordination for major events and emergencies. It includes representatives from local police and other agencies.

"Our goal, especially from my point of view, was how we can help Ottawa Police Service succeed in this occupation of downtown," said Lucki, in regards to the second weekend of the protest. "There's not much we can do during that weekend because the numbers have grown exponentially."

Lucki said people assumed the convoy would come into town, follow their agenda, and would leave.

"When that didn't happen and we got into the second weekend, from my point of view, we weren't expecting them to stay that long, and now they are creating infrastructure, they're disabling vehicles, so now they are there for what appears to be a longer term," she said.

One of the main goals during protests is "reducing the footprint," said Lucki, so that if enforcement action is taken, it can be done in the safest way possible using the least amount of resources.

"It was increasing exponentially, so of course, people are losing confidence in the OPS' ability to deal with the situation," said Lucki.

When asked about some of the logistical challenges encountered in trying to mobilize resources to assist in Ottawa or otherwise in Ontario, RCMP Deputy Commissioner Mike Duheme told the Public Order Emergency Commission that when resources are requested from other jurisdictions, including Quebec and Ontario, "the RCMP still has a mandate to fulfill in those provinces."

"We have ongoing investigations that we cannot stop," Duheme said, who is responsible for federal policing, including overseeing the enforcement of federal laws, collection of criminal intelligence, and ensuring the safety of major events, state officials, dignitaries, and foreign missions.

"So it's finding that right balance of how many resources can we release to make sure we keep the lights on to ensure that we are still on mandate on what we're doing in the respective provinces," said Duheme.

The two officials were asked how they expected the event to unfold prior to the arrival of trucks and protestors. In early discussions with the OPS on the matter, Duheme said "there seems to be no concerns whatsoever, [there were] good relationships with the organizers, and there is no need for us to question the relationship they had with them."

"And we felt comfortable—I felt comfortable that the Ottawa Police Service had things well in

Jody Thomas, National Security and Intelligence advisor to the Prime Minister, appears before the Public Order Emergency Commission on Nov. 17, 2022 to provide testimony about the 2022 Freedom Convoy occupation of Ottawa. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



hand negotiating with the organizers and having a discussion about how this would unfold in downtown Ottawa," he said.

By the closing days of the protest, Duheme said the total number saw an excess of 1,100 people dedicated to either OPS assistance or their protective mandate, the latter ensuring the safety of high-level government officials and dignitaries.

"A little over 650 police officers assisted the OPS and close to 210 [were used] to assist us in our protective mandate," said Duheme.

## 'It was going to be big, it was going to be complex,' says PM's national security adviser

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's national security adviser Jody Thomas, who testified on Nov. 17, acknowledged that Ottawa is a "city of protests," and that the OPS is experienced in collaborating with other agencies in terms of managing protests.

"The early reporting was that this would be a normal protest. Arrive, disrupt, spend some time here in Ottawa and then leave," said Thomas. "We were seeing just on Twitter feeds, your own Twitter feed indications that perhaps this was going to be something more."

"But the information we had at that point in time, from the accountable agencies, was that they had it managed, it was going to be big, it was going to be complex, but they wouldn't be able to handle it in the way they have handled so many other protests," she said.

Employees were told to stay home over the weekend and to avoid coming into the office if they could, and arrangements were made to brief ministers on what was known at that point, according to Thomas.

"The original response of every day, the question was, when is this going to end? What are we doing to end it?" said Thomas. "There's absolutely no doubt that having it end was the priority."

"In the immediate there seem to be quite a bit of activity

between OPS and RCMP to understand the magnitude of this," said Thomas, who also said that behaviour on the street showed that protestors would be settling in for quite some time.

In regards to the eventual decision to invoke the Emergencies Act during a Feb. 13 cabinet meeting, "a key moment in the events," according to Shantona Chaudhury, co-lead in the commission counsel, Lucki had testified previously in the week that she was never asked to speak either at the Incident Response Group meeting or at the cabinet meeting.

Thomas said she was not aware at the time of Lucki's view that law enforcement had not yet exhausted all of its tools, and said that in regards to the highest-level meetings, "if there is useful information or critical information, it needs to be provided, whether you're on the speaking list or not."

## 'Not necessarily looking at one specific threat' when it comes to national security

Dominic Rochon, now the associate deputy minister of transport, who at the time was working as the senior assistant deputy minister of Public Safety's national and cyber security branch, elaborated on Nov. 15 on how intelligence is gathered and how the process unfolded during the protests.

"Intelligence, with regard to the federal family, you have collectors of intelligence, you have assessors of intelligence, and you have consumers of intelligence," said Rochon, noting that Public Safety is a consumer.

"When it comes to national security, we're not necessarily looking at one specific threat, a terrorism threat, but rather the impact on Canada's ability to maintain the security of its institutions, its democracy, its people, its economy, the resilience of all of these things," said Rochon, who said it was "fair" to draw a distinction between national security and threats to the security of Canada, as defined in the CSIS Act.

"Intelligence is not an exact science, and it's not foolproof," he said. "Just because you have a piece of evidence, or a piece of intelligence doesn't mean that you have the full picture," adding that there's a challenge involved in pulling together intelligence from CSIS, police forces, and Canada Border Services Agency.

## Canadian economy at a 'very fragile moment' as protests ramped up, said deputy minister of finance

Deputy Minister of Finance Michael Sabia, along with departmental colleagues Isabelle Jacques, assistant deputy minister of finance, and Rhys Mendes, assistant deputy minister of economic policy, testified before the commission on Nov. 17.

Their testimony provided insight into some of the economic implications of the protests, specifically at border crossings, most notably about worries around general business confidence in Canada as well as bilateral trade with the United States.

In January and February 2022, Canada's economy was just exiting from COVID-associated lockdowns, with Sabia saying the government was very concerned with the extent and pace of the recovery and how fast lost output could be recovered.

With pressure on supply chains, concerns over the then-future war in Ukraine, inflation on the rise, and worries over business investment, Sabia said "and then these disruptions come along, and they obviously contribute to the extent of the concern that we have, because the Canadian economy in our view, at the time was at a very fragile moment."

Prior to the possibility or likelihood that the government would invoke the Emergencies Act, Sabia said that in his meetings with Canadian bank CEOs and the business community, there was an acknowledgement that "this is a serious issue and a threat to Canada's economy, so what can we do to help?"

"So there was an openness on the part of the bank CEOs to work with us to try and find solutions that would bring a peaceful end to what was a difficult circumstance," said Sabia.

Sabia noted that the governor of Michigan at the time was "very active and very critical" of what was happening, there were multiple comments in the public media from other members of Congress, and there was concern within the American federal government within the White House.

"This was not a second-tier issue," said Sabia. "We were subsequently able to negotiate an arrangement with the Americans on electric vehicles, but there was no doubt that these disruptions coming when they did, in that process, brought with them the risk that we would not be able to get the North American treatment that we were eventually able to negotiate with the Americans with respect to electric vehicles."

—With files from Jesse Cnockaert  
mlapointe@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times



RCMP commissioner Brenda Lucki arrives at the Public Order Emergency Commission at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa on Nov. 15, 2022. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



## News

# ‘A quiet killing of the Charter’: experts debate spirit and letter of notwithstanding clause’s pre-emptive use



Ontario Premier Doug Ford, left, with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. Ford used the notwithstanding clause in back-to-work legislation to prevent thousands of Ontario education workers from going on strike. After backlash, the government repealed the anti-strike law. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Despite the federal government’s rhetoric, the Liberals may be reluctant to seek limits on the section’s pre-emptive use and leave Ottawa ‘out of a tool,’ says law professor Howard Kislowicz.

BY IAN CAMPBELL

Legal and constitutional experts are split on the pre-emptive use of the notwithstanding clause, with some saying it represents “a quiet killing of the Charter,” while others said the practice goes against neither the spirit nor the letter of the section granting that power.

The issue has drawn attention in recent weeks following the pre-emptive invocation of Sec. 33 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in the Ontario legislature by Premier Doug Ford’s Progressive Conservative government. In Quebec, François Legault’s CAQ government has also pre-emptively used the clause on its controversial language and culture bills C-21 and C-96 during its time in office.

While Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que), has been largely silent on the Legault government’s use of Sec. 33 in

this way, he issued a sharp rebuke to Ford over his government’s most recent preemptive use of the notwithstanding clause.

“Using the notwithstanding clause to suspend workers’ rights is wrong,” Trudeau told reporters on Nov. 1, a message he reiterated to Ford in a Nov. 2 telephone call.

The Ford government had included the notwithstanding clause in Bill 28, its back-to-work legislation to prevent thousands of Ontario education workers represented by CUPE from going on strike. The bill passed the legislature on Nov. 2. Still, CUPE members walked off the job for two days in defiance of the law before the Ford government reversed its position in response to public backlash and revoked the legislation containing Sec. 33.

Trudeau and his Justice Minister David Lametti’s (LaSalle—Émard—Verdun, Que.) condemnations of the use of the clause sparked suggestions the federal government may want to seek a Supreme Court reference on the pre-emptive use of the clause. Experts consulted by *The Hill Times* noted it is not apparent what the Supreme Court would find in such a case or even if the federal government would truly want to seek such an outcome.

Howard Kislowicz, an associate professor of law at the University of Calgary who teaches constitutional law, said though only provincial governments have used the clause to date, the federal government may be reluctant to give up the ability to also use it pre-emptively—despite the prime minister’s rhetoric on the issue.

“It would be in any government’s interest—provincial or federal—to preserve all of their jurisdiction, to leave all of their options open,” said Kislowicz. “It’s one thing to take a position in the media. And it’s another thing to take a position before the courts and potentially have the courts agree with that position—and now you’re out of a tool.”

## Experts mostly in agreement on the letter of the law, but divided on its spirit

If the government were to seek a reference on the issue, experts

were divided on the spirit of Sec. 33 regarding pre-emptive use.

Errol Mendes, a University of Ottawa law professor who researches constitutional law and human rights, said pre-emptive use “absolutely goes against the spirit” of the Charter, and represents “a quiet killing of the Charter.”

Pre-emptive use of the Charter may have a “devastating impact on whether or not people actually are willing to even promote their rights under the clause,” said Mendes, who argued that if its use becomes too common, people may be less likely to advocate for their Charter rights.

He said if a federal government were to seek a Supreme Court reference to limit pre-emptive use, there is no guarantee the court would deliver such an outcome.

Mendes said a “common sense interpretation of Sec. 33 seems to be saying,” as long as a legislature expressly declares it is invoking the clause, “it doesn’t say anything about ‘Well, you have to wait first for a court to rule on it.’”

However, Mendes said for those who would like to see the use of the clause limited, there may be some viable legal arguments. Mendes had used these options as an intervenor in another case when the Ford government used the notwithstanding clause, dealing with the size of Toronto city council.

“Sec. 33 cannot be held isolated from other parts of the constitution of Canada and, in my view, there are parts of the constitution of Canada, including the unwritten parts of the constitution,” that could limit the use of the notwithstanding clause, said Mendes.

“Some of the women’s groups, for example, are saying, ‘Sec. 33 cannot be looked at in isolation from another section of the Charter,’ which is section 28. Which says that all the rights in the Charter are guaranteed equally to men and women,” he said. “The fundamental point that seems to be lost is that all parts of the Constitution are equal to each other.”

Dave Snow, an associate professor of political science at

the University of Guelph who studies constitutional law and federalism, said pre-emptive use does not violate the spirit of the notwithstanding clause.

He noted that despite recent attention on the matter, it is not a recent phenomenon.

Snow, who is currently researching the Supreme Court of Canada’s jurisprudence on reasonable limits on Charter rights, recently published a research paper examining the 23 past uses of the notwithstanding clause.

His study found 19 of the 23 uses had been pre-emptive. Of the five that were reactive, only one came after a law had gone to the Supreme Court.

“I don’t think the pre-emptive use is against either the letter or the spirit of the law,” said Snow. “I think that the letter of the law is quite clear.”

He added that in the most recent court case in which the Supreme Court explored the use of Sec. 33—a 1988 case called *Ford v. Quebec*—“the decision was quite clear, and in my view, correct,” in saying there were no restrictions on its use beyond what is written down in Sec. 33.

Snow said the issue comes down to a disagreement on who should have the final say on placing the Charter’s “reasonable limits” on rights.

In the case of the Ontario education workers, Snow said the courts have already explored the issue, particularly in a 2015 ruling that found the right to freedom of assembly included the right to strike.

With that precedent meaning it was likely the back-to-work legislation could have been struck down, he said for those who believed keeping students in the classroom was a priority, the pre-emptive use of the clause was the only way for it to have an impact. Otherwise, students would have already missed months of class by the time the clause would be used in reaction to a court ruling.

“In this instance, if we had to wait until it went through the courts, especially through the Supreme Court of Canada, to have a full hearing, then there just wouldn’t be an opportunity to use the notwithstanding clause to get students back in the classroom,” said Snow.

Kislowicz agreed there are competing arguments on pre-emptive use, but when a case is not explored in court, a downside is “we potentially lose access to the court’s insights on a particular set of facts.”

Kislowicz said if a federal government ever were to seek a Supreme Court reference on pre-emptive use, new legal issues could emerge and lead to surprising outcomes.

“We haven’t had word from the Supreme Court of Canada on Sec. 33 since 1988,” he said. “The law in the Charter has changed dramatically since then, so we might expect that this section is subject to those same kinds of surprises. But until it’s argued, we don’t know.”

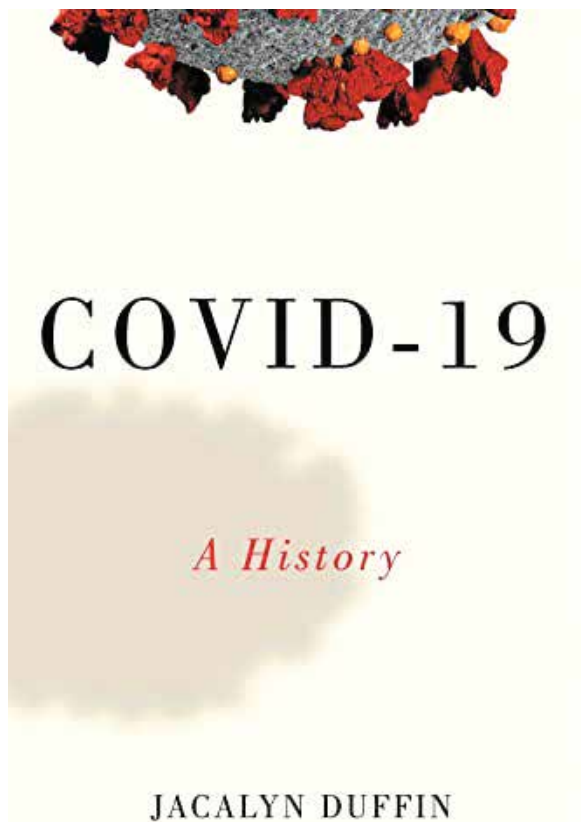
icampbell@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times



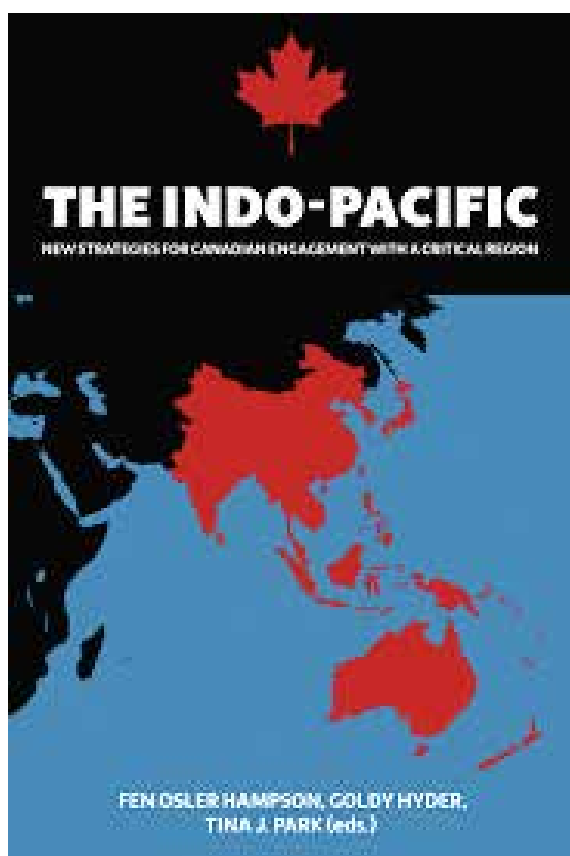
Prime Minister Justin Trudeau condemned the Ford government’s recent use of the clause. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



# Tiff Macklem beats out top federal politicians in *Toronto Life* magazine's list of most influential Torontonians



This just in: COVID-19: A History, by Jacalyn Duffin, published by McGill-Queen's University Press, hits the streets. Image courtesy of McGill-Queen's University Press



Good read: The Indo-Pacific: New Strategies for Canadian Engagement with a Critical Region, edited by Fen Osler Hampson, Goldy Hyder, and Tina J. Park, and published by Ken Whyte's Sutherland House Books, is also out. Image courtesy of Sutherland House Books

Continued from page 2

## COVID-19: A History hits the streets

Jacalyn Duffin, a physician, professor emerita at Queen's University, and co-editor of *SARS in Context: Memory, History, and Policy*, has authored a new book, *COVID-19: A History*. This timely, 220-page book, published by McGill-Queen's University Press, looks at the first waves of the global pandemic. "This well-written and engaging book is the most detailed historical overview to date on the first waves of the pandemic in Canada and around the world," writes Catherine Carstairs, who's with the University of Guelph and author of *The Smile Gap: A History of Oral Health and Social Inequality*.

## The Indo-Pacific: New Strategies for Canadian Engagement with a Critical Region is out

Attention foreign policy wonks: there's a new book out, *Indo-Pacific: New Strategies for Canadian Engagement with a Critical Region*. Edited by Fen Osler Hampson, Goldy Hyder, and Tina J. Park, and published by Kenneth Whyte's Sutherland House Books, this slim, 226-page book offers 15 essays from top experts urging Canada to make a renewed effort in the Indo-Pacific region, which is also home to 60 per cent of the world's population and about 60 per cent of the global GDP. Hampson is the chancellor's professor at Carleton University and president of the World Refugee and Migration Council. Hyder is president and CEO of the Business Council of Canada and chair of the Asia Business Leaders Advisory Council. Park is the CEO of The Park Group and vice-president of the NATO Association of Canada. The contributors include: Derek H. Burney, Meredith B. Lilly and Amily Li, Leonard Edwards, Michael Small, Jeff Nankivell, Jean Charest and Wayne C. Farmer, Ian Burney, Nadir Patel, Martha Hall Findlay, Deanna Horton, and Jim Mitchell. "Navigating unfamiliar waters requires a strategic approach. Economic growth in the Indo-Pacific means that this is 'where the puck is going to be.' This study is not only timely, but necessary," writes John Manley, former foreign affairs minister, on the book's jacket.

## Labrador Liberal MP Jones takes leave from her job to undergo breast cancer surgery

Labrador Liberal MP Yvonne Jones, 54, announced last week on Twitter that she's taking a leave of absence to undergo surgery for breast cancer, which she said has returned after 12 years of remission. Jones, who was first elected in a byelection in 2013, tweeted a video message on Nov. 10 from her Ottawa office on YouTube explaining her situation to her constituents.



Liberal MP Yvonne Jones tweeted a YouTube video message on Nov. 10 announcing that she would be taking a leave of absence from her job to undergo surgery for breast cancer. Screenshot courtesy of YouTube

"I do regular mammography screening, it's a priority for me, and because of that there was early detection, as it was in my previous bout with breast cancer," she later told CBC's *Power & Politics*. "Because of that early detection, I know that I can fight this, and with treatment and surgery, I will do fine at the end."

Jones, who won the last election with 43 per cent of the vote, is a former provincial MHA, a former provincial cabinet minister, and a former leader of the official opposition. She was first diagnosed with breast cancer in 2010 and pushed to reduce the recommended age for breast cancer screening to include women in their 40s. She resigned her position as provincial Liberal leader in August 2011 because of her breast cancer, and was re-elected as the MHA for Cartwright-L'Anse au Clair in October 2011 with more than 71 per cent of the vote. Jones told CBC that she's preparing for a full recovery.

"This time around, I've been down that road, I know of what to expect, I understand it more, I've learned a lot, but with that also comes a tremendous amount of stress and anxiety in knowing what's coming up next," she told CBC. "This is a bump in the road, I've had many challenges in my life and in my political career, this is just one more challenge."

"There are men and women across our country every day who battle cancer, who battle tremendous sickness and illness and rise up at the end of the day and continue to live a very full life. I intend to do just that and I have every intention of running in the next election," Jones told CBC's *Power & Politics*.

## Friends, family honour Sherring with The Susan Sherring Fund

Family and friends of the late Susan Sherring, a former veteran *Ottawa Sun* columnist and reporter who died in July at the age of 63, are launching The Susan Sherring Fund for Nelsen House, the Ottawa shelter for women experiencing domestic violence. Ottawa lobbyist Isabel Metcalfe, who was a friend of Sherring's, held a reception at her house on Nov. 18, to honour Sherring's legacy and to officially launch the fund. Sherring, who graduated from Carleton's school of journalism in 1982, joined the *Ottawa Sun* in 1984 and retired in 2016. She ran unsuccessfully for a city council seat in 2014.



Susan Sherring died at the age of 63 this past July. Handout photograph

"Sue Sherring was a friend of mine. I campaigned for her when she ran. So much fun! Like many, I was stunned when she died. Some of her friends in Nepean and Barrhaven are launching The Susan Sherring Fund for Nelsen House. I cannot think of a better legacy," said Metcalfe.

mlapointe@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times





Stuart Benson

## Party Central

# Haisla revitalization with bison burgers on the side and the Hill comes alive with SOCAN music

The First Nation Education Foundation reception celebrates Indigenous Language Revitalization and SOCAN showcases new Canadian talent.

While Ottawa's first snowfall of the year may have been the perfect excuse to bundle up with some hot cocoa, neither snow, nor slush, nor cold of night could keep **Party Central** from his appointed rounds.

Despite the colder temperatures, Parliament Hill's social calendar continues to heat up ahead of the Christmas season, and luckily for **Party Central**, the First Nations Education Foundation's (FNEF) Indigenous Language Revitalization reception in the Wellington Building on Nov. 16 was just a short walk from the LRT station.

Hosted by the Progressive Contractors Association (PCA) and the Christian Labour Association of Canada (CLAC), the reception was a celebration of the efforts made by FNEF in collaboration with the Haisla community of Kitimaat, B.C., to preserve their language using a unique curation methodology called "rapid word collection."

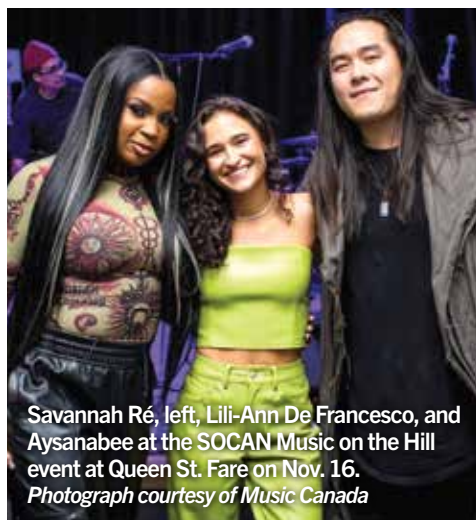
Arriving shortly before 5 p.m., **Party Central** was given a nametag and a QR code to scan which linked to a short documentary film created by Might for Right Productions featuring interviews with Haisla elders who worked with FNEF executive director **Scott Jeary** to create a "talking dictionary," to preserve their language and their knowledge and ensure it never disappears.

Before the speeches got underway, **Party Central** had a chance to mingle and do some investigative reporting on what is now a contender for a top-three spot as best appetizer spread since the beginning of this reporter's tenure.

Avid readers of this column will already know **Party Central**'s proclivity for seafood, so you can imagine my joy seeing a table of freshly shucked oysters, next to which Nova Scotia Liberal MP **Jaime Battiste** told **Party Central** about a community in his riding trying to develop a strain of bacteria-resistant oysters after a shipping boat contamination caused a mass die-off a few years ago.

Green Party MP **Elizabeth May**, and Interim Leader **Amita Kuttner** also made brief appearances to take a breather from the final week of the Green Party's leadership election.

The party's largest contingent were the Conservative MPs in attendance, including **Martin Shields** and his moustache, **Arnold Viersen**, **Glen Motz**, **Frank Caputo**, **Tako Van Popta**, **Ron Leipert**, and **Ted Falk**.



Savannah Ré, left, Lili-Ann De Francesco, and Aysanabee at the SOCAN Music on the Hill event at Queen St. Fare on Nov. 16. Photograph courtesy of Music Canada

CLAC executive director **Wayne Prins**, Jeary, and PCA president **Paul De Jong** all gave speeches on the importance of preserving Indigenous language and culture.

Filling in for the newly elected Pauquachin First Nation Chief **Rebecca David**, Deline Got'ine Government and band member **Jessica Ivason** spoke about the urgency of the work her community has been doing with FNEF to preserve their language.

Following the speeches, **Party Central** went back for more bison sliders—which, to be honest, this entire column could have been dedicated to how good they were—and thanked the fine people from Maple Leaf Strategies.

After an introduction by **Vanessa von Finckenstein** to MFRP founder, executive producer and director of the FNEF documentary **Kelly Steele**, the MLS crew including Senior Consultant **Phil Trinh** and Partner **Gordon Quaiattini** headed over to Queen St. Fare for the SOCAN (Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers of Canada) Music on the Hill event and brought **Party Central** along for the ride.

Unfortunately, **Party Central** arrived just as Heritage Minister **Pablo Rodriguez** was finishing his speech, and completely missed **Aysanabee** performing songs from his debut album, *Watin*. However, while waiting for Juno award-winning **Savannah Ré** to take the stage fresh off the release of her debut EP *Opia*, **Phil von Finckenstein** was nice enough to introduce **Party Central** to Music Canada CEO **Patrick Rogers**.

Once **Lili-Ann De Francesco**—the final act of the night—took the stage, performing her new single *Touch* for the first time ahead of its release on Nov. 23, both **Party Central**'s phone and social battery were running out of juice, so it was back out into the cold and toward the warmth of the LRT.

sbenson@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times

The Hill Times photographs by Stuart Benson & courtesy Music Canada



Vanessa von Finckenstein, left, and Might For Right Productions founder and director Kelly Steele.



Conservative MP Frank Caputo, left, and Paul de Jong, president of the Progressive Contractors of Canada.



A selection of Indigenous charcuterie at the First Nation Education Foundation's Indigenous Language Revitalization reception on Nov. 16.



PCA senior vice-president Shawn Jubinville, left, Conservative MP Tako Van Popta, and Darrel Reid, vice-president of policy and advocacy at PCA.



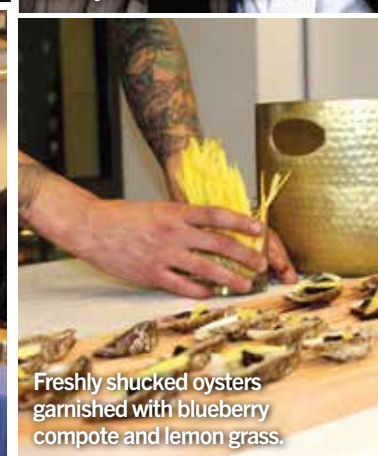
Deline Got'ine Government and band member Jessica Ivason, left, FNEF executive director Scott Jeary, CLAC executive director Wayne Prins, and PCA president Paul De Jong.



Aysanabee and Minister of Heritage Pablo Rodriguez at the SOCAN Music on the Hill event on Nov. 16 at Queen St. Fare. Photograph courtesy of Music Canada



Darrel Reid, left, vice-president of policy and advocacy at PCA; Maple Leaf Strategies principal Alik Angaladian; Vanessa von Finckenstein, and her husband Phil von Finckenstein.



Freshly shucked oysters garnished with blueberry compote and lemon grass.



# Public Order Emergency Commission wraps up historic hearings this week in Ottawa



The Public Emergency Order Commission will be wrapping up its hearings this week in Ottawa. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

## MONDAY, NOV. 21

**House Sitting**—The House is sitting on Monday, Nov. 21 and will sit for the next four straight weeks, Nov. 21-Dec. 16, every weekday. And that will be all for the House calendar for 2022.

**Public Order Emergency Commission Hearings**—The Public Order Emergency Commission, headed by Paul Rouleau, began on Oct. 13, and will run until Nov. 25. The hearings will take place every weekday at 9:30 a.m. ET and may run until 6 p.m. or later if required. For more information: [publicorderemergencycommission.ca/public-hearings/](http://publicorderemergencycommission.ca/public-hearings/) And for general inquiries about the commission's mandate, please contact [info@poe-cedu.gc.ca](mailto:info@poe-cedu.gc.ca).

## MONDAY, NOV. 21—FRIDAY, DEC. 2

**Pearson Centre Fall Conference**—Former New Brunswick premier Brian Gallant and Linda Silas, president of the Confederation of Nurses' Unions, will co-host the Pearson Centre's fall conference, headlined "The Urgent Challenges." The conference, which will take place from Nov. 21-Dec. 2, will address economic and social policy issues and will involve leading experts, and business, labour and associations and elected decision-makers, the Pearson Centre says. Over the two-week conference, the experts will talk about the economy; the future of work and post-pandemic and long-term challenges; the challenges of making e-vehicles a reality; the challenges of health care; the challenges of addressing the polarization in society and politics; and the challenges of Canada's innovation and

space agenda. For more information: [thepearsoncentre.ca](http://thepearsoncentre.ca) or [info@thepearsoncentre.ca](mailto:info@thepearsoncentre.ca)

## TUESDAY, NOV. 22

**Financial System Update and Fireside Chat with Carolyn Rogers**—Bank of Canada Senior Deputy Governor Carolyn Rogers will take part in a fireside chat on "Assessment of risks to the stability of the Canadian financial system," hosted by Young Canadians in Finance. This event will take place at the University of Ottawa, Desmarais Building, 55 Laurier Ave. E. Tuesday, Nov. 22, 12-1 p.m. Visit [ycif.org](http://ycif.org) to register.

**Canadian Essentials Book Launch**—McGill-Queen's University Press and the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada host the launch of two new books: *COVID-19: A History*, by Jacalyn Duffin, and *Canada and Climate Change*, by William Leiss. The "Canadian Essentials" series arms politically active readers with the understanding necessary for engaging in—and improving—public debate on the fundamental issues that have shaped our nation. This event will take place at the Faculty Club, 3450 rue McTavish, Montreal. Tuesday, Nov. 22, 4-6 p.m. Register via Eventbrite.

**Making Markets Better**—Canada's capital markets are among the best in the world—an engine of growth and opportunity. As we move to address significant global economic challenges, it is critically important to ensure Canada's public markets remain vibrant and globally competitive. Join us for a conversation with John McKenzie, CEO of TMX Group on the future growth of Canada's economy. A reception will be

held from 5:30-7:30 p.m. on Tuesday, Nov. 22 at the Métropolitain Brasserie. RSVP to [Ottawa.RSVP@hkstrategies.ca](mailto:Ottawa.RSVP@hkstrategies.ca).

**Lebanon Independence Day**—The Canada-Lebanon Parliamentary Friendship Group will hold a reception to celebrate Lebanon's Independence Day on Tuesday, Nov. 22, at 6:30 p.m. in Room 100, Sir John A. Macdonald Building on 144 Wellington St. Invitation only.

## WEDNESDAY, NOV. 23

**IRPP Anniversary Gala**—The Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP) is hosting gala fundraising celebration to mark its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary. The event will feature a panel discussion, a networking cocktail, a keynote address, and a sit-down dinner. Funds raised will support a new BIPOC research fellow at the IRPP. Wednesday, Nov. 23, with events starting at 4:30 p.m. National Arts Centre, 1 Elgin St., Ottawa. For details, visit: [irpp.org/irpp-event/50th-anniversary-gala/](http://irpp.org/irpp-event/50th-anniversary-gala/)

**Bon Voyage Evan Solomon**—Join the CTV Ottawa Parliamentary News Bureau as they bid farewell to Evan Solomon. After almost seven years in the CTV Ottawa bureau hosting *Question Period* and *Power Play*, and 14 years on the Hill with the Parliamentary Press Gallery, Evan is jetting off to New York City. Before he makes the big move to the Big Apple we would like to send him off in true Ottawa style. Wednesday, Nov. 23, 6:30 p.m. at Metropolitan Brasserie, 700 Sussex Dr., Ottawa.

**Parliamentary All-Party Diabetes Caucus**—The Parliamentary All-Party Diabetes Caucus is holding a reception on Nov. 23 from 5 p.m.-7 pm in Room 325 of the Wellington Building

in Ottawa. As part of this event, members will celebrate the recent tabling of the Framework for Diabetes in Canada—after five years of hard work and collaboration across all parties—and hear from representatives from Diabetes Canada and people living with diabetes about the important next steps to implement this Framework. Please confirm your availability to attend this reception to [sonia.sidhu@parl.gc.ca](mailto:sonia.sidhu@parl.gc.ca). Invitation only.

## THURSDAY, NOV. 24

**National Summit on the Recovery of the Air Sector**—Transport Minister Omar Alghabra will host a National Summit on the Recovery of the Air Sector. Details to follow.

**Canada's Banks: Building on our Past, Shaping our Future**—The Canadian Club of Toronto hosts a luncheon presentation on "Canada's Banks — Building on our Past, Shaping our Future." Anthony G. Ostler, president and CEO of the Canadian Bankers Association, will discuss how banks are leading in cybersecurity and digital privacy, their paths to net zero, and the commitment to leading on diversity, equity and inclusion among Canada's financial institutions. This event will take place at the Fairmont Royal York Hotel. Thursday, Nov. 24, 11:45 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. Visit [canadianclub.org](http://canadianclub.org) for tickets.

**Blood and Soil: The Far Right in Canada**—Queen's University hosts a lecture on "Blood and Soil: The Far Right in Canada," featuring Carleton University associate professor Stephanie Carvin. This event will take place in Kingston Hall, Room 101, Queen's

University campus. Thursday, Nov. 24, 2:30-4 p.m.

**The Shifting Landscape of Faith in Canada**—Cardus hosts "The Shifting Landscape of Faith in Canada," the final event in its "Why the Faith?" nationwide tour. New polling from the Angus Reid Partnership will be released, and questions will be asked including how are religious communities addressing political differences, and do we still rely on religious communities to care for refugees and immigrants? For caring for the poor? This event will take place at Cardus, 8th floor, 45 Rideau St., Ottawa. Thursday, Nov. 24, 7-8:30 p.m. Register via Eventbrite.

## TUESDAY, NOV. 29

**Canadian Port Authorities Reception**—The Association of Canadian Port Authorities is pleased to invite Parliamentarians and staff to a holiday reception on Tuesday, Nov. 29, at the Métropolitain Brasserie starting at 5 p.m. Canada's Port Authorities will be in Ottawa and the reception will serve as an opportunity to celebrate the critical role our ports play in the Canadian economy and in ensuring our goods reach their destination. As we look to the future and ensuring Canada's supply chain remains resilient, Canada's ports and their leadership look forward to hosting you.

## THE HILL TIMES CLASSIFIEDS

Information and advertisement placement:  
613-232-5952 •

[classifieds@hilltimes.com](mailto:classifieds@hilltimes.com)

## CONDO FOR RENT



## LINDENLEA/NEW EDINBURGH

2 fabulous 1 bedroom plus den furnished condos, each with large terraces. Quiet well established building. Terrific location near transit and shopping. Immediate occupancy Call Mary Jane McKendry, Sales Representative, Engel & Volkers Ottawa Central Brokerage, 613-422-8688 or email: [maryjane.mckendry@evrealte.com](mailto:maryjane.mckendry@evrealte.com)

**Do you have a house to rent or sell?**

**Items or products to sell?**

**Advertise them in The Hill Times' classifieds section.**

[classifieds@hilltimes.com](mailto:classifieds@hilltimes.com)

613-232-5952

The Parliamentary Calendar is a free events listing. Send in your political, cultural, diplomatic, or governmental event in a paragraph with all the relevant details under the subject line 'Parliamentary Calendar' to [news@hilltimes.com](mailto:news@hilltimes.com) by Wednesday at noon before the Monday paper or by Friday at noon for the Wednesday paper.



# AEROSPACE

The aerospace industry's contribution to the Canadian economy decreased by \$6.2-billion in GDP between 2019 and 2020, and the sector lost 27,900 jobs, according to a 2020 report jointly issued by the Aerospace Industries Association of Canada and the federal Department of Innovation, Science, and Economic Development. What can the federal government do to support economic prosperity and job growth in the aerospace industry?

As we emerge from the COVID-19 pandemic, what are the opportunities for Canada to keep its aerospace industry competitive on a global scale? Does Canada need a national aerospace strategy? What could such a strategy involve?

How can the federal government support green aerospace technology? Where does Canada fall globally when it comes to sustainable aviation fuel, electricity, and hydrogen in the aviation sector?

How are aerospace executives rethinking their supply chain strategies in response to the war between Russia and Ukraine? How can the federal government ensure supply chain resiliency for the aerospace sector?

What are the current challenges and opportunities facing Canada's space sector? What does Canada's space sector need to be globally competitive?

**REACH THE POLITICAL DECISION MAKERS WHO WILL RECEIVE THIS REPORT BY RESERVING AD SPACE WITH US TODAY!**

