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THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR, NO. 1980

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

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NEWS

MPs continue push to confront China's Uyghur persecution as pressure builds for feds to apply genocide label

Bloc Québécois MP Alexis Brunelle-Duceppe says the fact the Canadian government has yet to label China's repression of Uyghurs as a genocide is a concern for the Uyghur community at home and abroad.

BY NEIL MOSS

With mounting evidence that China's persecution of Uyghurs in Xinjiang amounts to genocide, Canadian Parliamentarians are pushing for more action, including through legislative initiatives currently before the House of Commons.

Liberal MP Sameer Zuberi (Pierrefonds-Dollard, Que.) and Bloc Québécois MP Alexis Brunelle-Duceppe (Lac-Saint-Jean, Que.) joined a collection of survivors, international politicians, advocates, human rights lawyers, and academics in Brussels, Belgium, earlier this month to organize next steps to confront

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Liberal MP Sameer Zuberi, left, and Bloc Québécois MP Alexis Brunelle-Duceppe attended the International Uyghur Forum on Nov. 9-10 in Brussels. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

NEWS

Tories' dominant fundraising pattern looks stable enough to weather looming recession, say politicians

BY STUART BENSON

The Conservative Party continues to defy even its own strategists' fundraising expectations, raising more than \$3.9-million last quarter from its army of donors. But as a potential recession looms large, analysts predict 2023 will determine if the Tories can continue to stoke their base's anger

and insulate themselves from the potential wallet tightening.

Despite a leadership election diverting millions of dollars and fundraising energy away from the party towards the individual candidates, the Conservatives still hold a commanding lead over the other federal

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NEWS

Mounties' union calls on feds to reconsider removal of 'less-lethal intervention options' from RCMP toolkit, citing safety concerns

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

The union representing RCMP members is raising concerns over the federal government's push to reduce the number

of non-lethal intervention options available to officers, arguing that it should reverse its proposal to limit options such as the

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Mike Lapointe

Heard On The Hill

Hill Times contributor Cardozo one of three new Senators named

There are three fewer vacancies in the Red Chamber with Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** having announced the appointment of a trio of new Senators on Nov. 21, including *Hill Times* contributor and Pearson Centre president **Andrew Cardozo**.

Cardozo has been appointed to represent Ontario, as have the other two new Senators: Dr. **Sharon Burey**, a behavioural paediatrician from Windsor, Ont., and Rear-Admiral **Rebecca Patterson** of the Canadian Armed Forces.

"I know that their rich experiences, diverse perspectives, and passion for public service will help them be strong voices for all Ontarians," said Trudeau in a press release.

All three were recommended by the Independent Advisory Board for Senate Appointments.

Cardozo, a longtime guest columnist for *The Hill Times*, has been president of the Pearson Centre for Progressive Policy since 2013. He previously taught at Carleton University, as part of its School of Journalism and Communication, and is also a former executive director of the Alliance of Sector Councils and of the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, and is an ex-commissioner of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission.

As flagged in the PMO press release, Burey was the first woman of colour to serve as president of the Pediatricians Alliance of Ontario. She's also recently been a member of the Ontario Medical Association's health policy committee and previously was a member of the OMA's women's physicians committee, among other past roles. "Dr. Burey has dedicated her career to equality and justice for those living in poverty, visible minorities, and other marginalized communities," reads the release.

Patterson has been a member of the CAF for more than three decades, having enrolled as a critical care nursing officer in 1989. Most recently, she's been busy as director general for culture change and chief professional conduct and culture for the Armed Forces, through which



Pearson Centre president Andrew Cardozo has been appointed to the Senate. *The Hill Times* file photograph

she's been responsible for co-ordinating "the whole-of-Defence policy approach to support Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security," as well as supporting "departmental efforts to transform culture, eliminate harmful behaviours, and re-establish public trust in the institution," notes the PMO press release. Patterson is an officer in the Order of Military Merit and recipient of the Governor Gen-

eral's Meritorious Service Medal, among other honours.

With these appointments, 12 vacancies remain in the 105-seat Senate, including two in Ontario. There are currently another two vacancies each in Alberta, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, plus one each for Saskatchewan and Newfoundland and Labrador.

Former Quebec senator Lapointe dies

Former Quebec senator **Jean Lapointe** died on Nov. 18 at the age of 86.

Lapointe was appointed to the Senate by then-Liberal prime minister **Jean Chrétien** in 2001 and represented Saurel, Que., until his retirement in 2010.

Before taking a seat in the Red Chamber, he rose to fame as an actor, singer, and comedian, including performing as part of the stage duo, Les Jérolas, alongside **Jérôme Lemay**. The pair

combined music and humour, performing on a range of stages, including on *The Ed Sullivan Show*.

Lapointe, who also had a successful solo career in music and comedy, was awarded a



The late Jean Lapointe was a Liberal Senator for Quebec from 2001 to 2010. *The Hill Times* file photograph

Félix for concert of the year in 1981. The former senator's acting credits date back to the 1960s, and Lapointe won a Genie Award and a Jutra prize for his performance in the 2004 Québécois crime drama, *Le dernier tunnel*, directed by **Érik Canuel**.

Among other accolades and honours, he was named to the Order of Canada in 1984 and became an officer of the National Order of Quebec in 2006.

Lapointe, who spoke publicly about his battle with alcoholism, founded the non-profit addiction treatment centre, La Maison Jean Lapointe, and the Jean Lapointe Foundation.

"We mourn the passing of Jean Lapointe, a man celebrated for his numerous contributions to the Canadian arts community, his philanthropy, and his service to Canadians as a former senator," read a statement from Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau**, who called Lapointe's performances "ahead of their time."

In a French tweet, Bloc Québécois Leader **Yves-François Blanchet** mourned the death of the "great, touching and handsome" former senator: "Bon voyage to his laughter and his tears."

May, Pedneault to co-lead Green Party

Veteran Green Party MP **Elizabeth May** will once again take the party's helm, this time alongside **Jonathan Pedneault** as co-leader.

"A great many thanks to the @CanadianGreens for putting their trust in @ElizabethMay and I," tweeted Pedneault on Nov. 20. "To all members: we are humbled by your commitment to this party and we look forward to working with you all to advance Green policies throughout Canada!"

May has represented Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C., for the Greens since 2011 and previously served as leader of the party from 2006 until stepping down in 2019. Since then, she has served as the Greens' parliamentary leader in the House of Commons. Pedneault, 32, is a journalist and human rights activist from Quebec.

May clinched the leadership win on the sixth and final ballot with 4,666 votes, while Pedneault finished in third (though the two campaigned on a joint leadership pledge, party rules required them to run separate campaigns).

Six candidates threw their hats into the ring in this year's lead-



Jonathan Pedneault, left and Green Party MP Elizabeth May. The two will work as co-leaders in the party following the results of the leadership contest on Nov. 19. *Photograph courtesy of Twitter*

ership contest. Along with May and Pedneault, **Anna Keenan**—who finished second with 3,089 votes—ran on another co-leadership pledge with **Chad Walcott**, while **Simon Gnocchini-Messier** and **Sarah Gabrielle Baron** ran as individuals.

As reported by CBC News, a little more than 8,000 people cast a ballot in this most recent leadership election, far below the almost 24,000 people who turned out to vote in the 2020 race that saw **Annamie Paul** elected as leader. Paul, who had spoken out about racism and

sexism she said she experienced from within the party as leader, stepped down in November 2021, after failing to win a seat in that year's federal election. Former 2020 leadership candidate **Amita Kuttner** stepped in as interim party leader following Paul's resignation.

The Green Party's constitution will have to be amended to allow for a co-leadership model between May and Pedneault, with May saying she hopes conversations around amending the constitution can begin soon, according to *The Toronto Star*.

Hubley spirit carries on

The presence of **Tracey Hubley** is still being felt on the Hill. On Nov. 17, a new award was handed out in memory of the late Summa Strategies president who died suddenly in March 2020, this time carrying the torch Hubley had for those who've served in the Armed Forces.

The inaugural Tracey J. Hubley Memorial Award was among those presented at the Celebration of Service on the Hill, which was hosted by Liberal MP **Marc Garneau**, Conservative MP **Erin O'Toole**, and New Democrat **Daniel Blaikie**. The Wellington Building reception celebrated the country's veterans and recognized Canadian employers with innovative veteran employment programs.

Among those was Team Rubicon Canada, which took home the Hubley honour in recognition of being a leading organization contributing to veteran purpose. Team Rubicon is a "veteran-led humanitarian organization that serves global communities before, during, and after disasters and crises," according to its website.

"Tracey was known to be a fierce advocate for veterans and spoke passionately about the importance of those leaving the military continuing to have purpose in their lives," Team Rubicon CEO **Bryan Riddell** said in a statement. "At Team Rubicon, our volunteers get to continue the mission while helping their fellow citizens in their hour of need. We will continue the mission for Tracey, for the people who need our help, and for the thousands of volunteers who find purpose in our humanitarian response efforts."



Paul McCarthy, vice-chair of Team Rubicon Canada, left, and Bryan Riddell, Team Rubicon Canada CEO, accepted the inaugural Tracey J. Hubley Memorial Award in Ottawa on Nov. 17. *Photograph courtesy of Paul McCarthy*

The award held extra significance for Team Rubicon vice-chair **Paul McCarthy**. "Tracey was one of the first people I met when I moved to Ottawa 22 years ago," he said. "A well-known entity in Ottawa, Tracey was a no-nonsense operator who you wanted on your side. But behind the tenacity, she was kind and cared deeply about those who were lucky enough to call her a friend. I can't think of a better wind to have in our sails than the memory and spirit of Tracey Hubley."

The award joins the Tracey J. Hubley Scholarship for Community Leadership, which was first handed out in 2021 at Hubley's alma mater, the University of Prince Edward Island.

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News

Tories' dominant fundraising pattern looks stable enough to weather looming recession, say politicians

Pollster Nik Nanos says party fundraising is entering a 'holding pattern' as donors await looming recession and a potential two-year gap before the next election.

Continued from page 1

parties, raising \$3,925,351—an average of \$130 from 30,161 individual contributors—according to the party's third-quarter financial return released by Elections Canada on Nov. 1.

That total—which covers July 1 to Sept. 30—is down slightly from the more than \$4.4-million that the Conservatives raised in the second quarter of 2022, and more than \$1-million less than the \$4,991,683 raised in the first quarter of this year. However, when combined with the \$1.9-million the party received in leadership election transfers—raising the Conservative



Party's third-quarter total to a little more than \$5.8-million—the Tories have already brought in slightly more money by the third quarter than by the same period in the 2020 fiscal year.

Trailing by a little more than \$700,000, the Liberal Party raised \$3,196,181 in the third quarter, averaging \$112 from 28,456 donors, followed by the NDP in third with \$1,174,832 from 16,164

donors, for an average of \$73 per donation.

Green Party fundraising dropped slightly again this quarter to \$347,733, averaging \$65 from 5,362 individual donors, which is less than both its \$437,835 in the previous quarter and \$419,405 in the first quarter. However, the Greens did slightly improve their overall contributor total in third quarter compared to the previous two.

The Bloc Québécois had the most generous donors in third quarter, with 721 individual donors contributing an average of \$151 each for a total of \$108,668.

Yaroslav Baran, managing principal for Earncliffe Strategies and former spokesperson during the party's 2022 leadership election, told *The Hill Times* the Conservatives' third-quarter fundraising totals were surprising given that the majority of Tory fundraising had been directed toward leadership campaigns, noting that even the \$1.9-million in transfers was a fraction of the money raised by the individual candidates.

According to the Conservative Party's second-quarter financial returns, which cover April 1 to June 30, MP Pierre Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.), who won the leadership race, raised a little more than \$4-million from 36,804 individuals—more than the rest of the leadership candidates' fundraising totals combined. Poilievre's total was also nearly three times the amount raised by his closest competitor, former Quebec premier Jean Charest, who brought

in roughly \$1.4-million from 5,523 donors during the same period.

Based on official Elections Canada numbers, Poilievre's fundraising for the second quarter of the year trailed the Conservative Party's total haul for the same period by just \$400,000, but he attracted close to 200 more donors.

While Baran said he is accustomed to the Conservatives having stronger fundraising results than the rest of the federal parties, he told *The Hill Times* he was struck not just by the total amount of dollars raised by the large pool of donors, but also the low average amount of donations.

"This is not a small number of big-ticket donations, it's a broad, broad swath," Baran said, noting that at \$130, the Conservatives' average donation was only slightly higher than the Liberals' \$112.

"There's no argument that this is deep-pocketed people," Baran added, saying these are the highest "number of people donating the most funds."

Nik Nanos, founder and chief data scientist for Nanos Research, predicted that the Conservatives will stay the course they've been on since before Poilievre's Sept. 10 election as party leader.

"I would suspect that they're going to continue to have, what I will call, a strident communication strategy, focused right now on raising funds," which Nanos said will mean the Conservatives will continue to throw "red meat" to their base by attacking the media, the Liberals, and "the establishment" any chance they can.

While the next election might not happen until 2025—assuming the Liberal and NDP supply-and-confidence agreement holds together—Nanos said the Conservatives' fundraising totals tell him the party is "firmly focused" on keeping their supporters motivated and rebuilding their war chest.

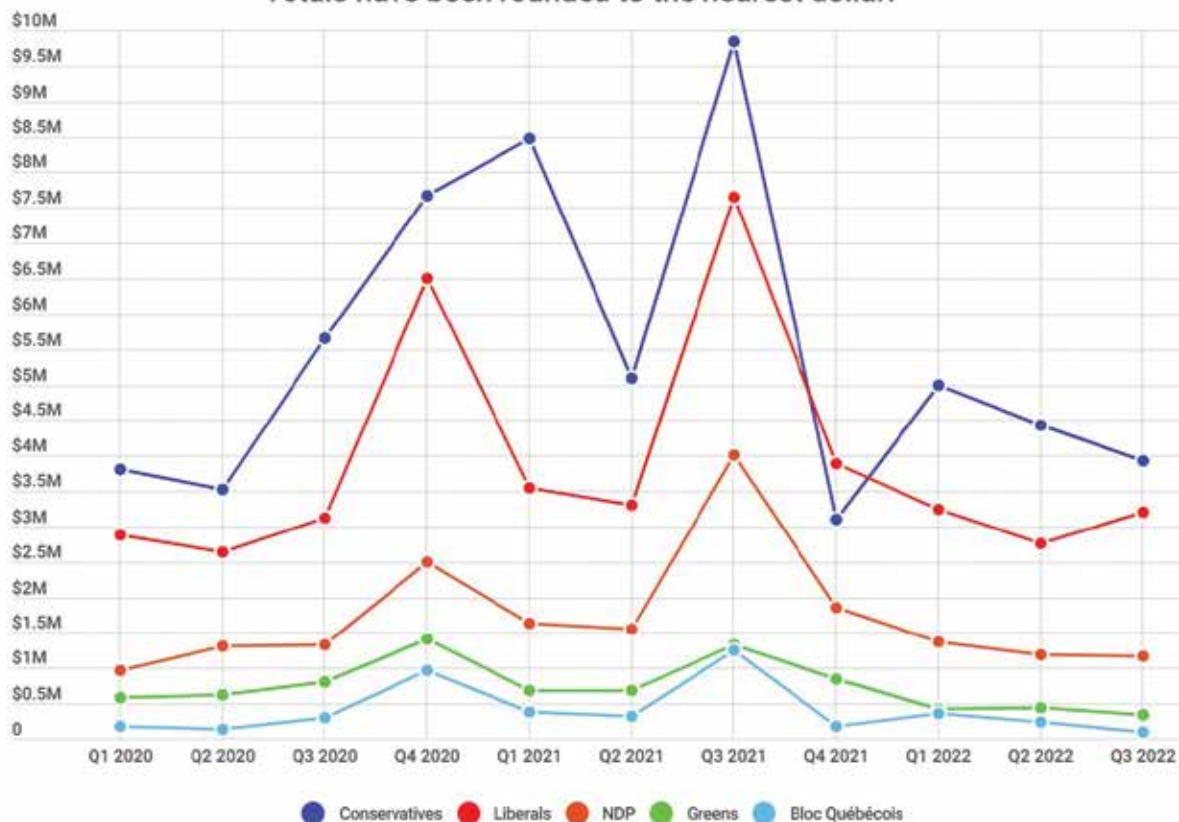
Looking at the parties' fundraising totals over the past three quarters, Nanos said he sees the parties entering into a "holding pattern," with none of them showing any signs of breaking out of their individual fundraising trends.

Unless the Liberals' supply-and-confidence agreement unravels or they face some "groundbreaking new controversy," Nanos said he expects that pattern to hold for at least the next year.

While the biggest uncertainty over the next year will be when the looming recession finally hits the Canadian economy, Nanos said the Conservatives would

Quarterly fundraising, 2020 to 2022

Totals have been rounded to the nearest dollar.



Source: Elections Canada. Graph courtesy of Infogram

Continued on page 28

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News

Mounties' union calls on feds to reconsider removal of 'less-lethal intervention options' from RCMP toolkit, citing safety concerns

According to the RCMP's police intervention option reports for the years 2010–2021, there was an overall 43 per cent decline in the application of police intervention options during that time period.

Continued from page 1

carotid control technique, sponge-tipped rounds, and tear gas for the sake of both public and police safety.

Both the prime minister's mandate letter to Public Safety Minister Marco Mendicino (Eglinton-Lawrence, Ont.) and a separate mandate letter from Mendicino to RCMP Commissioner Brenda Lucki outline the government's move to reform the RCMP in part by "prohibiting the use of neck restraints in any circumstance and the use of tear gas or rubber bullets for crowd control alongside developing national standards for the use-of-force."

"We think that with a new and modernized set of policies around use of force by the RCMP, that it can serve as a role model for other law enforcement branches across the country," said Mendicino in a May 26 interview with CBC News.

In an explanatory video produced by the National Police Federation (NPF), which represents RCMP members and reservists, the carotid control technique is described as a physical control technique that applies pressure to the carotid arteries, temporarily reducing blood flow to the brain.

According to the union, it is neither a chokehold nor a neck restraint, and does not restrict breathing or airways. Furthermore, the union says current RCMP training and policy limits the use of the technique to times when an officer assesses risk of "grievous bodily harm or death for themselves or any other person."

John Sewell, who was Toronto's mayor from 1978 to 1980 and is a member of the Toronto Police Accountability Coalition, said the default position of police forces in Canada and in the western world is "the more force we have, the safer society we're going to have."

"They're always going to say, 'I have to have more force. I have a gun, but you've got to give me



National Police Federation president Brian Sauv , left, and RCMP Commissioner Brenda Lucki. The NPF is calling on the federal government to reconsider the potential removal of a number of 'less lethal intervention options' available to officers. Photograph courtesy of the National Police Federation, The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

a Taser. And I have to have body armour. And I have to have a baton," said Sewell, who authored *Crisis in Canada's Policing: Why change is so hard, and how we can get real reform in our police forces* in 2021.

Sewell said with those options available, "chances are if you get scared, you're going to use them."

"[They're] not very well trained on how to do it, and that's a problem, so the only people who should have options to use that kind of violence should be members of the Emergency Task Force—very, very specialized people," he said.

Greg Brown, who became a professor at Carleton University after a 28-year career in policing, said legally, carotid restraints are entirely appropriate if you're facing grievous bodily harm or death—as is shooting somebody or using a vehicle to do "whatever you have to do to preserve your life."

"My objection to the carotid restraint, or any other technique that involves the neck at a threshold less than grievous bodily harm or death, is that officers just don't receive enough training to be able to do those techniques effectively," said Brown. "If you don't provide the proper training, maybe just take it out of the arsenal altogether. Of course, all that is off the table with that sort of confusing scenario around grievous bodily harm or death."

Former RCMP officer Alain Babineau agreed the training, rather than the technique, is the problem. If the carotid control technique "is applied in the way it's supposed to be applied," he said, then it's not going to choke the person and will instead block flow of blood to the brain and "temporarily puts the person out."

"I don't think that the technique is bad in and of itself,

but it's like anything else, it's a perishable skill," said Babineau, who noted that the RCMP used to teach how to use a "straight-up chokehold" in addition to carotid restraints, but they've done away with the former.

In a May 2020 CBC News interview, Rosemary Barton asked Lucki about the carotid hold after the chokehold and knee hold had long been removed from the tools available to police. Lucki said the carotid technique is at "the very end of the continuum for the most lethal part of the [RCMP's] intervention model."

"We will definitely review it, because I know what I heard in the media in the United States, they will definitely be reviewing that as well," said Lucki.

After former Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin was caught on video in May 2020 pressing his knee into George Floyd's neck for nearly nine minutes, there was a push both in the United States and Canada to address illegal police tactics in an effort to mitigate police violence. Chauvin was convicted in July 2021 for the murder of Floyd, a 46-year-old African-American man.

"We live in a society where inequalities persist, and police are part of that society, so we absolutely have the responsibility to examine the ways in which as an organization can do better and look at racism within our organization," said Lucki.

Tear gas not used on lawful or peaceful assemblies, says National Police Federation president

NPF President Brian Sauv  said in Canada, tear gas is not used on lawful or peaceful

assemblies, but rather in unlawful or riot situations, and only by specially trained teams.

"Tear gas and sponge-tip rounds are very specialized, with tear gas specifically [potentially] being used by an emergency response team with a barricaded subject inside the house where they'll fire it into a window to have them come out," said Sauv . "That happens on a relatively frequent basis in Canada for those high-risk calls, but the minister is not speaking about those uses of tear gas. What he's speaking about is crowd control."

The use of tear gas also has to be authorized by an incident commander and only when there's a clear escape route for the public. In that case, it can be a tool to move a crowd to a certain area so that an unlawful assembly or riot quells down and order can be restored—as was seen in the 2011 Vancouver Stanley Cup riot for example, said Sauv .

"There's a whole bunch of tick boxes that must be met for that intervention option to be used," said Sauv . "Taking that away reverts us to how you move a crowd when they are unlawfully assembled, when they are riotous in nature, which usually means people are ready to fight."

"Now, the riot squad is moving in with riot shields and batons to push people physically, so it makes the situation more dangerous for our members, more dangerous for the crowd," said Sauv . "And there are people who get caught up inside an unlawful assembly who don't want to be there who are trying to find a way out, they might get injured or hurt."

In the union's video, Cst. Jason Spielman of the RCMP Emergency Response Team explained how

less-lethal devices can help police as a prevention technique to stop behaviours and "prevent stuff from happening."

"If these tools are removed, you are really starting to handcuff the police and their ability to do their jobs safely and effectively," he said. "If you leave a lethal option as the only option for a police officer, then you are going to end up with a lot more injured or killed Canadian citizens at the end of the day."

Union says use of any force occurs in fewer than 0.1 per cent of all calls for service

According to the NPF, the RCMP responds to an average of three million calls every year, and the vast majority—99.9 per cent of these calls—are resolved through communication and de-escalation techniques.

The use of any force, including less-lethal and lethal intervention tools and techniques, occurs in fewer than 0.1 per cent of all calls for service, according to the union.

Robin Percival, spokesperson for the RCMP, said the RCMP acknowledges the union's position on less-lethal intervention options, and said the safety of police officers and the public they serve remains its top priority.

"We continue to report publicly on our use of police intervention options, including the carotid control technique and the 40mm Extended Range Impact Weapon that fires sponge-tipped rounds, not rubber bullets," said Percival in a statement to *The Hill Times*. "It's important to note that the carotid control technique is not a chokehold. Chokeholds, respiratory restraints, and the use of a knee on the neck are not taught, trained, or endorsed by the RCMP."

According to the RCMP's police intervention option reports between 2010 and 2021, there was an overall 43 per cent decline in the application of police intervention options. The overwhelming majority of police occurrences (99.9 per cent) continue to be resolved without the application of a police intervention option.

Public Safety Canada did not respond to multiple requests for comment from *The Hill Times* before press deadline.

Policing expert calls for more training on carotid control technique

Brown, who also works as a consultant for clients in law en-

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COP 27 and a glass half full

After the inevitable all-night negotiations at the United Nations climate conference, countries managed to agree on a new fund that will recompense poor countries that suffer 'loss and damage' from extreme climate events.

Gwynne
Dyer

Global Affairs



LONDON, U.K.—As after every climate summit, the air is filled with shouts of rage and despair. What was agreed was unclear and inadequate, and what was left undecided or simply ignored was vast and terrifying. For example, they still haven't managed to agree that the world needs to stop burning fossil fuels.

What? Isn't that what this whole traveling circus is about? The climate is getting hotter because we're burning fossil fuels for energy. Soon, people will die in large numbers, and in 20 or 30 years, entire countries will become uninhabitable, so stop! Alternative energy sources are available! Act now, or a global disaster will happen!

Yes, that's what it's about, and every year tens of thousands of politicians, experts, campaigners, and lobbyists trek to a different location—last year in Glasgow, Scotland, COP27 this year in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, next year the United Arab Emirates—to debate and decide how to deal with this existential threat.

And in all those 27 years, they haven't even managed to mention the name of the threat? No, they haven't. Last year, for the first time, they actually inserted the word "coal" into the final report—we will eventually "phase it down" (not "out"), they said—but the words "gas" and "oil" are still taboo.

This is what you get when a global institution is ruled by consensus. Everybody has a veto, including the coal-, gas-, and oil-dependent countries—and the short-term interests of some (money and rapid fossil-fuelled economic growth) clash with everybody's long-term interest in not experiencing a massive population die-back and civilizational collapse.

Oh, well. This is the price you pay for belonging to a species still emerging from a long tribal past that had developed a high-tech, high-energy civilization before it was culturally equipped to manage it. Do the best you can, and hope that it will be enough.

So much for the philosophy. What actually happened at Sharm el-Sheikh?

After the inevitable all-night negotiations (two all-nighters, in fact), they managed to agree on a new fund that will recompense poor countries that suffer "loss and damage" from extreme climate events. The money will come from the developed nations whose historic and current emissions are the reason for the damage.

Pakistan's catastrophic floods made it this year's poster child. Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif told the conference: "De-

spite seven times the average of extreme rain in the south, we struggled on as raging torrents ripped out 8,000 kilometres of [paved] roads, damaged over 3,000 kilometres of railway track, and washed away standing crops on four million acres.

"We became a victim of something with which we had nothing to do, and of course, it was a man-made disaster. ...How on Earth can one expect from us that we will undertake this gigantic task on our own?"

"Loss and damage is not charity; it's climate justice," said Pakistan's climate envoy Nabeel Munir, and this time the message got through. That's about par for the course: if you bring up the same obvious injustice at the climate summits every year for a decade or so, eventually those who did the harm and should pay the price will admit that you have a case.

It should now take only two or three more years to set up the new "loss and damage" agency and agree on the rules for who pays how much into it each year, and exactly what qualifies as climate-related damage eligible for compensation.

The biggest remaining question by far is: what about China? It is still classed as a developing country and, therefore, automatically a victim, but it is a middle-income country and the world's single biggest emitter of carbon dioxide. It's bigger than all the rest of the developed countries together and almost three times bigger than the United States.

Should it be paying into the "loss and damage" fund, rather than claiming money from it? And how about India? It's only third in total emissions, after the United

States, but it will also probably overtake America in the next 10 years.

So the titanic struggle over who pays for the climate-linked loss and damage inflicted on the poorest countries will continue, but at least the next climate summit can also focus on other things. Just as well, because stopping at the "aspirational" target of no more than a 1.5°C rise in average global temperature is probably a lost cause by now.

The "never-exceed" hard target is no more than two degrees Celsius, because after that, we lose control. The heating we have already caused will trigger warming "feedbacks" in the system that we cannot turn off, and away we go into the nightmare future.

So it's good to see them getting a little more reasonable each year at these summits. There's still a very long way to go, but at least we're moving in the right direction.

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

The Hill Times

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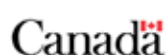


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Editorial

Something’s got to give

The House of Commons is primed to hold late-night sittings in the final stretch before it rises for the winter break next month, after a motion was passed with Liberal and NDP support on Nov. 15.

Enabling the House to debate late into the night is an ordinary move for the final weeks of any sitting, be it fall or spring, with governments eager to make progress on their legislative priorities before a weeks-long recess.

But these are not ordinary times. Two years of hybrid proceedings have changed the game for parliamentary support resources, in particular when it comes to the Translation Bureau’s interpretation service—an essential service for a bilingual institution.

MPs continue to debate the merits of hybrid proceedings at the Procedure and House Affairs Committee, and opinions over making hybrid a permanent option remain divided. But what isn’t debatable is the effect hybrid proceedings have had on interpreters, who began raising concerns over the added strain experienced by the workforce amid hybrid as far back as May 2020. As recently as last month, an interpreter experiencing acoustic shock was sent to hospital after witnesses before a Senate committee were allowed to testify without proper microphone equipment.

Today, as a result of workplace injuries and workforce attrition, the bureau’s capacity is diminished. And its ability to replenish is finite—interpret-

ers, we’re told, are in short supply not just in Canada, but globally.

We saw the impact of that last spring—even before that season’s late-night sitting final push—with a higher rate of committee cancellations across the board as a result of a lack of available support resources, namely, interpretation.

Despite the summer launch of a pilot project testing (in part) the use of House-attained external freelance interpreters, those problems have continued this fall.

When Chamber sitting hours are extended, committee meeting hours are cut back.

This impact on committee work was flagged by both Bloc and Conservative MPs in arguing against the government’s motion to extend hours. (Procedural delay tactics by the opposition also contribute to later sitting hours and the need for them. But again: that’s fair play in normal circumstances.)

Investments have been made to improve the technology being used to transmit sound, but that’s only one element of the audio-quality ecosystem. Parliamentarians themselves have a part to play: that means using the right equipment and hard-wired internet connections if they can’t take part in person.

And as we enter the end-of-year final push, it should also mean making considered choices about how Parliament’s limited resources are being used—because something’s got to give.

The Hill Times

Letters to the Editor

Ford is underfunding Ontario’s public schools, says letter writer

In the recent fall fiscal update, the Ontario government is handing out hundreds of millions of dollars in tax giveaways to corporations.

The Financial Accountability Office of Ontario estimates a surplus for this year. That surplus is expected to grow to \$8.5-billion by 2027-28, and that’s on top of \$44-billion in unallocated contingency funds.

The surplus is a result of Ontario Premier Doug Ford shortchanging our public schools. In fact, the Fiscal Accountability Office says public education is being underfunded by \$6-billion over the next six years. And our kids are paying the price.

Don’t believe Ford’s spin about the historic investments he’s making. The reality is he’s making historic attempts to privatize public education by making small payments to parents and deep cuts to our public schools.

Our schools need investment and students need smaller classes, more supports for special educational needs, and better access to mental health supports.

When it comes to budgeting, it’s all about priorities and choices. It’s clear Doug Ford is choosing to underfund our public schools.

Linda Cunningham
Ottawa, Ont.



Ontario’s estimated surplus is a result of Premier Doug Ford shortchanging our public schools, writes Linda Cunningham. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Two reasons to support a boost to international aid: reader

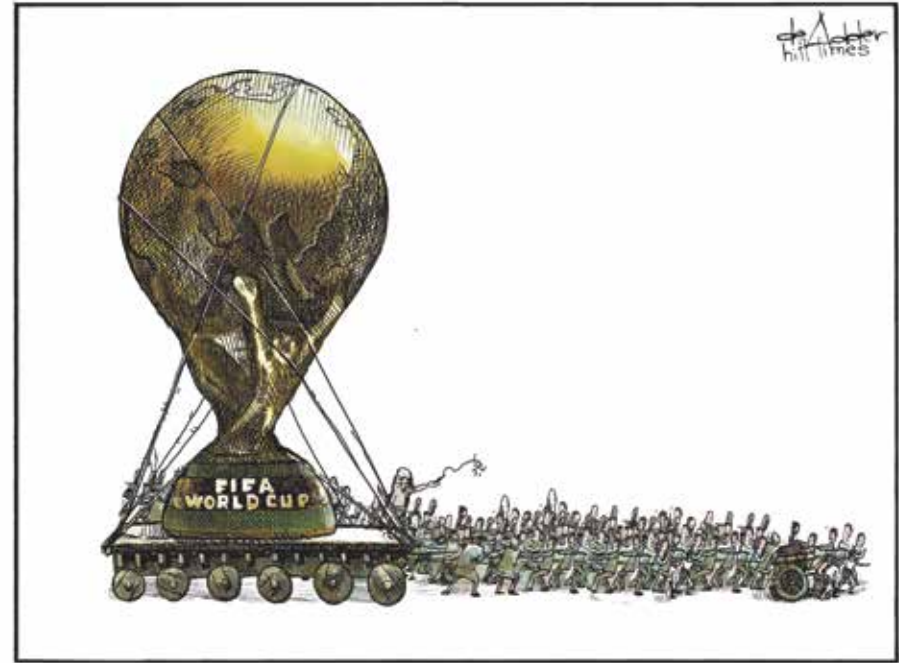
It’s important for Canadians to support an increase in Canada’s International Assistance Envelope (IAE) to reach a minimum of \$10-billion annually in the 2025-26 federal budget. The reasons I think the increase is important boil down to two.

First, the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic remain deep and wide. The progress the world made in the last decade to fight poverty in all its forms has been reversed in the last few years. The baseline for the continued increase in the IAE needs to be the current budget, not a pre-COVID number. This baseline better reflects the ongoing need to undo COVID effects.

Second, there is a growing hunger crisis that most of us are unaware of. According to the UN World Food Program, the number of people facing acute food insecurity is almost 350 million. Risks that increase the potential for the worsening of the crisis are the conflict in the Ukraine, which primarily impacts the distribution of grain to Africa, and the pending global recession.

We can’t afford to be so wrapped up in our own increasing prices—and they are a real concern—that we ignore the plight of others.

Randy Rudolph
Calgary, Alta.



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Reaction to Trudeau-Xi exchange shows partisanship trumps all, even our national interest

Rather than see it for what it really was, right-wing media, politicians, and commentators couldn't resist the opportunity to portray Canada's leader as weak and chastened.

Les Whittington

Need to Know



OTTAWA—The responses to Chinese President Xi Jinping's high-handed outburst toward Prime Minister Justin Trudeau at the G20 summit say it all about politics in 2022.

Rather than see it for what it really was—a bullying complaint from Xi about letting the world know what the two men discussed in a brief meeting earlier at the summit—right-wing media, politicians, and commentators couldn't resist the opportunity to portray Canada's leader as weak and chastened.

Britain's *Daily Mail* bleated "President Xi humiliates" Trudeau, whom the paper described as "increasingly awkward-looking" as he withstood the rant caught on video. According to the *Washington Times*, Canada's prime minister was "dressed down" by his Chinese counterpart.

Canadian media couldn't seem to cope with the unusual pyrotechnics. CTV News, for instance, quoted a former Canadian ambassador to China saying it shows Xi views Canada and Trudeau as small-time and unimportant. Then it had a think-tank executive saying it all demonstrated the Chinese leader's disrespect for the prime minister.

Conservatives echoed Xi's meaningless allegation that Trudeau had "leaked" details about the two men's discussion, and former Conservative MP Bob Saroya tweeted, "Politics aside it is tough to see the PM run backstage after getting publicly humiliated by President Xi."

The readiness to take the side of a dictator in a dispute with Canada's prime minister is an indication of how partisan dislike for Trudeau, the Liberals, and anything progressive has reached the point where it tops every-



For anyone who appreciates the importance of openness and bottom-up buy-in politics, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau came off as the better of the two during the now-famous exchange with Chinese President Xi Jinping at the G20, writes Les Whittington. Screenshot courtesy of Twitter

thing—even our national interest—in today's vicious, divisive political climate.

These Trudeau critics seem to have forgotten that the Chinese government is seen by many security experts as the most serious threat to the democratic, rules-based global order. Xi is the leader of the autocratic forces working to chip away at western democratic ideas, and probably bears a great deal of responsibility for Russia's invasion of Ukraine. It seems unlikely that Russian President Vladimir Putin would have launched the unprovoked attack that is a proxy for

conflict with NATO and the West without the quiet backing of his ally, Xi, who has yet to come out against the invasion. In addition, Beijing's short-term decision to build more coal plants is making a joke of the latest international efforts to fight climate change on an urgent basis.

And that's not to mention China's hostage-taking of two Canadians after Ottawa, following international law, detained a Chinese Huawei executive.

Xi's videotaped harangue of Trudeau was in any case disingenuous. "Everything we discuss has been leaked to the paper;

that's not appropriate," Xi told Trudeau through an interpreter.

"That's not ... the way the conversation was conducted. If there is sincerity on your part—" Xi said.

The Chinese leader is of course well aware that in international settings countries routinely provide briefings and readouts to the media to relay what they want highlighted from one-on-one private talks among leaders. When Xi met U.S. President Joe Biden, for instance, the Chinese foreign ministry released a readout on the private discussion that went on for hundreds of words.

What seemed to bother Xi with regard to Trudeau was that the information that came out of their talk was not just some anodyne remarks about discussing climate change, or Ukraine, or that nuclear war would be bad, but something Beijing doesn't want to see broadcast on the world stage. Namely, that Trudeau raised concerns about China's interference in Canadian political affairs, an accusation that emerged from a media report that Beijing apparently provided covert funding for 11 candidates in the 2019 Canadian election.

For anyone who appreciates the importance of openness and bottom-up buy-in politics, Trudeau came off as the better of the two during the now-famous exchange. Breaking into Xi's harangue, Trudeau said, "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." He was then interrupted in turn.

Interestingly, the globally watched exchange has rated no coverage in China and the foreign ministry excluded references to it in its published transcript of a later briefing where it came up numerous times, according to Reuters.

The day after the incident, a Chinese spokesperson said allegations that Beijing interfered in the internal affairs of other nations was "complete nonsense." And, in an apparent attempt to take the rough edges off of the display of anger from Xi—whose public appearances are usually carefully orchestrated—the spokesperson said the conversation with Trudeau was "quite normal and should not be interpreted as President Xi criticizing or blaming anyone."

Canada's ties to China have a hit low point and are not likely to improve any time soon. If anything, Trudeau should be criticized for not being tougher on the Communist regime in Beijing.

Les Whittington is a regular columnist for The Hill Times.



Russian President Vladimir Putin and Chinese President Xi Jinping meet ahead of an Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit in November 2014. Photograph courtesy of the Kremlin

Comment



Apparently, Elon Musk isn't the genius weird nerds purported him to be, and now he's single-handedly destroying one of the most connective platforms on the internet, writes Erica Ifill. Photograph courtesy of Flickr/NVIDIA Corporation

Twitter may be ailing, but Mastodon is no remedy

Mastodon is fundamentally different from Twitter in that it's a decentralized platform. And therein lies the problem: Mastodon is a gatekeeper's paradise.

Erica Ifill

Bad+Bitchy



OTTAWA—If Twitter is a city that's burning, Mastodon represents the suburbs. Digital white flight has seen white liberals leave downtown Twitter to flee to the gated, segregated communities of Mastodon.

As I wrote last week, Twitter is ostensibly circling the bowl due to a crisis of leadership. Apparently, Elon Musk isn't the genius weird nerds purported him to be, and now he's single-handedly destroying one of the most connective platforms on the internet. I'll return to the importance of this centralized, connective structure

later. However, back to Musk, who must be the worst employer and manager of all time. Not surprising, since he almost ran PayPal into the ground and there are greater implications to his takeover of Twitter: labour rights. The bourgeoisie have always aimed to reduce the labour rights of workers, and they have had successive liberal and conservative governments to help them.

Musk is only the latest to reconfirm that you can't run a company by treating employees like hot garbage. The knee-jerk response is to leave; however, not all employees can do that easily. Those on H-1B visas only have 60 days to look for other work when laid off, so those who can't will have to remain at Twitter and take Musk's documented abuse. And abusive he is. According to *Wired*, his rampages were legendary: "One manager had a name for these outbursts—Elon's rage firings—and had forbidden subordinates from walking too close to Musk's desk at the Gigafactory out of concern that a chance encounter, an unexpected question answered incorrectly, might endanger a career." In the latest news that demonstrates his racist management style, former employees at Twitter Africa are suing Musk for discrimination over their severance terms, as CNN reports: "Laid-off employees at Twitter's Africa headquarters are accusing Twitter of 'deliberately and recklessly flouting the laws of Ghana' and trying to 'silence

and intimidate' them after they were fired." He was so racist to Black employees at Tesla that the State of California sued him, *The Guardian* tells us: "California's Department of Fair Employment and Housing (DFEH), which alleges that Black workers in the company's Fremont factory experienced 'rampant racism' that the company left 'unchecked for years.'"

A genius, indeed.

What is clear is that labour issues will always affect the quality of the product. On the night of Nov. 20, full-length movies began appearing on the platform, most notably *The Fast and the Furious Tokyo Drift* and *Hackers*, as users noticed that Twitter's copyright strike system was down. And since Musk's genius management style has driven most of his employees to quit, only a skeleton crew remains to manually take down copyright-infringed content, rather than an automated system that usually handles these things. It's like 2010 YouTube again. And while Twitter continues to function, even amid a World Cup, there is a countdown happening to when we all open that app and it's lights out.

In response, many people are fleeing to Mastodon, where white liberals have set up shop. But Mastodon is fundamentally different from Twitter in that it's a decentralized platform. This means that every "instance," which is a community that hosts a server, is run by its own moderators who decide on the instance's terms of

use. Twitter, on the other hand, is a centralized platform, where terms of use were determined by the board of directors (when Twitter was a public company), and now that the platform is private, by Musk himself. As Neiman Lab explains, "Each instance has its own vibe, standards for admission, and content rules. Each server can block communications from other servers if they don't appreciate their style."

And therein lies the problem: Mastodon is a gatekeeper's paradise. In my use of the platform (I am on the largest instance, Mastodon Social), I have noticed that liberal, white fragility reigns. Saba Eitizaz of *The Toronto Star* tweeted: "Mastodon has been reportedly blocking content and suspending accounts of racialized women or anyone who's talking about social justice/equity/race and asking for 'trigger warnings' on issues that are a core part of BIPOC lives. Some instances are being run like fiefdoms." Mastodon's federated structure creates a larger echo chamber because the moderators can limit your speech if it makes them uncomfortable—and we know that when white people feel uncomfortable, they gatekeep, meaning that Mastodon is more exclusionary than Twitter. There have been reports of BIPOC women, especially, experiencing the silencing, dismissal, and hostility of these white spaces that claim to be better because they claim to restore the "civility" lost on Twitter. No-

table tweeter and astrophysicist Chanda Prescod-Weinstein talked about her experience on Mastodon, of being called the n-word multiple times and how vulnerable she feels because Mastodon doesn't have a block button. She must rely on the moderators of the instance to do the right thing, giving moderators on the platform outsized power to ignore the racism she received.

As I've written before in this paper: "Liberal and progressive spaces, while claiming to be inclusive, are abusive to racialized people," and Mastodon is no different. Jeremy Littau, professor of journalism at Lehigh University, quote tweeted me with this: "There are a *lot* of people in the Black community here on Twitter telling us Mastodon has a real white-flight feel. After a couple weeks there, I'm not sure how much intentionally choosing diversity there can fix it. Don't dismiss the critique with tech Utopianism. Sit with it."

Black and brown people in the digital gated white communities of Mastodon are even more vulnerable than they would be on Twitter because they don't have their communities to fall back on when things inevitably go awry. And that's why the solution is not just to change instances; communities are not easily replicated and replaced. They represent years of the work of consistent communication and mutual support that has sustained a lot of us. When I was being targeted by the far-right, my Twitter and real-life communities came through with massive support. I would never have gotten that on Mastodon, since that's not the vibe. Me leaving somewhere due to bad management and abusive leadership? Babe, I live in Ontario.

Erica Ifill is a co-host of the *Bad+Bitchy* podcast. *The Hill Times*

Silver lining in divided reactions to Maisonneuve's Vimy Gala tirade



The division sown at the Vimy Gala in reaction to retired lieutenant-general Michel Maisonneuve's speech did not remain within the exhibition hall at the Museum of History, writes Scott Taylor. Photograph courtesy of the CDA Institute's Twitter

It is heartening to see that there are two separate camps. While some still pine for the dinosaur era, there are progressives in the military community who get the fact that the times have changed.

Scott Taylor

Inside Defence



OTTAWA—On Nov. 9, the Conference of Defence Associations Institute hosted its 30th annual Vimy Gala Dinner at the Museum of History in Gatineau, Que.

In its promotional material, the institute billed this event as “one of the most exclusive formal dining evenings in the country which unites the defence and security community.”

Indeed, the Vimy Gala did bring out more than 600 attend-

ees, including Richard Wagner, the chief justice of the Supreme Court of Canada; Jody Thomas, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's national security adviser; a bevy of senior military officers; and the majority of the Ottawa Service Attaché Association (OSAA).

So far, so good.

Then, retired lieutenant-general Michel Maisonneuve took to the podium to give his acceptance speech as this year's recipient of the Vimy Award. The CDA Institute selection committee sought to honour Maisonneuve for his life-long contributions in defence, including his work on military education, support for veterans, and his commitment to bilingualism.

Fair enough. Maisonneuve served in the Army for 35 years before retiring in 2007 at the esteemed rank of lieutenant-general.

However, rather than simply accepting his kudos, Maisonneuve chose to climb onto his soapbox to rail against everything from cancel culture to climate change.

He prefaced his speech with a recap of Canada's past military victories, which oddly enough included the recent war in Afghanistan. Note to the good general: we lost that one.

His segue into crapping on the current state of affairs rang an eerily Trump-like tone. “Canada was a great nation and though we are

faltering today, I believe we can be great again,” stated Maisonneuve. Then his tirade began.

His first target was social media and the rise of cancel culture. Then, he turned to the state of actual journalism. “The line between ‘news’ and op-eds has blurred and too often we are subjected to sermons written not by seasoned journalists, but by first-year graduates of woke journalism schools,” claimed Maisonneuve, adding that “unbiased reporting seems to have died with Christie Blatchford and Matthew Fisher.”

For the record, both Blatchford and Fisher were both unrepentant cheerleaders of all things Canadian military.

It should also be noted that in attendance that evening were the CBC's seasoned defence reporter Murray Brewster and Global News' Mercedes Stephenson, who was recently recognized for her investigative reporting on senior-level military sexual misconduct. They are both very much alive.

On the topic of climate change, Maisonneuve pulled no punches. “Canada's prosperity is being sacrificed on the altar of climate change, as opposed to being used to help the world transition to clean energy,” said Maisonneuve. As for those who protest climate change, Maisonneuve opined they should “be punished, not celebrated.”

On the topic of formal apologies to various groups for historical wrongs, Maisonneuve believes that “the phenomenon for collective apologies flourishes in our country” and that “individuals and groups fight over who gets to wear the coveted victim's cloak.”

Even more specifically, Maisonneuve took issue with Chief of Defence Staff General Wayne Eyre's recent changes to the military dress code. “I see a military ... where uniforms have become a means of personal expression rather than a symbol of collective pride and unity: uniforms are no longer uniform.”

Not unsurprisingly, Maisonneuve's words were a tonic to the old guards' ears and the crowd rewarded him with a standing ovation.

However, the sentiment was not unanimous, as was admitted in a subsequent statement from Youri Cormier, the executive director of the CDA Institute. “Many attendees were offended by LGen (ret'd) Maisonneuve's speech. His remarks do not reflect those of the CDA Institute.”

Unfortunately for the CDA Institute and Maisonneuve, the division sown at the Vimy Gala did not remain within the exhibition hall at the Museum of History.

Ottawa Citizen reporter David Pugliese soon broke the story of the standing ovation by serving

officers for Maisonneuve's anti-government policy remarks.

As one would expect, Maisonneuve's stance served as a lightning rod to polarize the defence community. Many felt that the general was speaking truth to power, while many felt just as strongly that Maisonneuve is out of touch with the current social climate.

National Defence Minister Anita Anand and Lt.-Gen. Jennie Carignan, the Canadian Armed Forces' chief of professional conduct and culture, both publicly criticized the speech after the *Citizen* article published.

It should be noted that Lt.-Gen. Carignan was in attendance at the Vimy Gala when the remarks were made.

That said, if the CDA Institute truly thought this dinner would “unite” the defence and security community, they could not have picked a worse candidate to give the keynote speech.

As a positive take on this incident, it is heartening to see that there are two separate camps. That means that while some still pine for the dinosaur era, there are progressives in the military community who get the fact that the times have changed.

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

The Hill Times

Comment

Trudeau right to avoid *Rock 'em Sock 'em* approach to foreign diplomacy



Listening to some of the critiques of how Prime Minister Justin Trudeau failed to stand up to Chinese President Xi Jinping made me think those critics would have opted for a *Don Cherry's Rock 'em Sock 'em Hockey* approach, writes Tim Powers. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade and courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

Give the government the gears on having no clear Canadian-Chinese strategy, question the prime minister on his past comments about accommodation with China—the list goes on, but give him marks for the ‘Bali Encounter.’

Tim Powers

Plain Speak



OTTAWA—Let me start with my statements of fact. No doubt they will be startling to you. I am neither an expert in international affairs, nor do I possess state-of-the-art body

language analysis skills. But I do have one tool kit honed on George Street in my hometown of St. John's, N.L.: I have advanced experience as night club bouncer. Notably, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has also earned his stripes as a doorman.

That preamble was necessary, not to walk down an old, romanticized lane to my George Street days, but to set up a frame to talk about the over-discussed and much-observed testy exchange between Chinese President Xi Jinping and Trudeau at last week's G20 summit in Bali, Indonesia.

You know the one, conveniently caught on camera for the globe to see, where the Chinese leader goes out of his way to scold our prime minister about what Xi said was the leaking of information from an earlier private meeting between the two of them. Trudeau stood ramrod straight and listened while Xi had his mini rant, then offered a temperate response about how Canada will always speak up for human rights. Thereafter, a few more words were exchanged and the leaders shook hands.

Before diving into the “Bali Encounter,” it is important to state the obvious: there are volumes of criticism that can be levied at the Trudeau government for the way it has managed Canada's relation-

ship with China. From a failure to end the incarceration of two Michaels in an expeditious manner, to a lack of consistency on managing China's industrial strategy in Canada. But the hysteria around the “Bali Encounter” and criticism of the prime minister is over the top and off the mark.

Listening to some of the critiques of how Trudeau failed to stand up to Xi made me think those critics would have opted for a *Don Cherry's Rock 'em Sock 'em Hockey* approach. Remember those old classic videos by Cherry, the ones where, when a player on the ice is slighted or wounded by another player, he starts a fight with his antagonist? The bloodier the battle, the better. No one is happy until you have utterly kicked the bejesus out of your opponent.

Even those who might not have been firm adherents to the Don Cherry school of diplomacy probably still might have preferred if the prime minister had grabbed Xi by the lapels and shook him for a bit. Roughhousing of some sort was the overriding expectation of those who felt Trudeau was timid to the tongue of Xi.

Back to being a bouncer. As the prime minister knows from his days in the trade, you start off by dealing with all situations the

same way: not by throwing the first uppercut, but by looking to de-escalate the circumstances. So, in this case, that meant listening to Xi, no matter how off-base he was in his words. Yelling and screaming back at him or telling him to do the physically impossible might have made for an entertaining video or felt good, but it would have only taken circumstances to the next level.

Responding firmly but politely as Trudeau did was the right call rather than going all James Dalton from *Road House* on the Chinese first minister. If you don't know the reference, just flip on AMC anytime and you'll find the classic bouncer movie. I can guarantee it is a better use of your time than weighing into the “Bali Encounter,” plus you'll get to hear old Jeff Healey tunes.

Give the government the gears on having no clear Canadian-Chinese strategy, question the prime minister on his past comments about accommodation with China—the list goes on, but give him marks for the “Bali Encounter.” He managed that well.

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

The Hill Times

News

Mounties' union calls on feds to reconsider removal of 'less-lethal intervention options' from RCMP toolkit, citing safety concerns

Continued from page 6

forcement, government, and private security, said policy experts are not swayed by public opinion or poll numbers.

“What we look at is what is best for the police and what is best for citizens that they interact with and the use-of-force transactions,” said Brown, adding he is troubled by political actors trying to take tools away from frontline officers.

Babineau said if all intermediary tools are taken away, leaving police officers with a gun, then it might end up making matters worse, with the gun as the only tool available to subdue someone.

The political events of the day can start the conversation, noted Sauv .

“If there is an evidence base for changing how we do business, then let's look at it, but I don't think there's any evidence that justifies ... what's being proposed to be done,” he said, adding he didn't think use-of-force decisions in policing should be guided by political events.

But Sewell said any time politicians move to limit the amount of violence that police officers can use, the safer society will be and the fewer people will be injured by police officers.

Although he said politicians shouldn't be allowed to make operational decisions about who is going to be targeted, politicians should set the operational policies very clearly.

“That's just been one of the great stumbling blocks that police organizations put up—they can't interfere with us, we know what we're doing,” said Sewell. “Politicians should be making operational policy, that's exactly what they should be doing.”

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News

MPs continue push to confront China's Uyghur persecution as pressure builds for feds to apply genocide label

Bloc Québécois MP Alexis Brunelle-Duceppe says the fact the Canadian government has yet to label China's repression of Uyghurs as a genocide is a concern for the Uyghur community at home and abroad.

Continued from page 1

China's mistreatment of Uyghurs during the International Uyghur Forum on Nov. 9 and 10.

Both Zuberi and Brunelle-Duceppe are members—chair and a vice-chair, respectively—of the House Subcommittee on International Human Rights. They sat on the subcommittee during the 43rd Parliament when it concluded that China's persecution of Uyghurs amounted to genocide.

Following the subcommittee's March 12, 2021, report on the repression of Uyghurs, the House of Commons voted unanimously to recognize that China has "engaged in actions consistent" with actions under the Genocide Convention in October 2021. Cabinet abstained from the vote. On Oct. 25, 2022, the Commons once again voted unanimously to concur in a report of the House Committee on Citizenship and Immigration that noted a genocide was "ongoing" and called for the federal government to provide special immigration measures for Uyghurs. Cabinet also abstained from the concurrence vote.

Brunelle-Duceppe said he continues to hear from members of the international Uyghur community who are puzzled by Canada's seeming unwillingness to call China's persecution of Uyghurs an act of genocide.

"There's a lot of concern with Canada's position on the Uyghur situation. It was around all the talks about why Justin Trudeau and the Government of Canada are not using the word

genocide when it comes to talk about the Uyghur situation," he said. "At this date, Justin Trudeau has not used the word genocide, which is very frustrating for all the Uyghur communities, especially the Uyghur community in Canada."

"You have to name things if you want to fight them," he said. "If you don't have the courage to name it, then it's easy for the other part—the other part is China for the moment—it's easy for them to say, 'Well, you don't say there's a genocide so there is no genocide' ... if you use the word then there is courage."

The Chinese government has rejected all arguments that a genocide is taking place.

Brunelle-Duceppe said there is a need to put principles over electoral objectives.

"Sometimes you have to be ready to pay a political price," he said. "If you do politics, you do politics for principles. You have to be on the good side of history, not on the good side of elections and that's a big difference."

The Bloc MP said recognizing the situation as a genocide is the top priority for the Uyghur community.

For both Brunelle-Duceppe and Zuberi, it was their second time participating in the International Uyghur Forum. Politicians from 22 countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany, attended the forum held at the European Parliament.

Zuberi said he spoke with two Uyghur survivors at the forum who had testified virtually in front of the subcommittee in 2020.

Speaking to detention camp survivor Gulbahar Jelilova, Zuberi said he explained to her that her testimony had been the most impactful during the subcommittee's study.

"For her, talking about the crimes against humanity she witnessed and the acts that constitute genocide are deeply emotional," said Zuberi, co-chair of the Canada-Uyghur Parliamentary Friendship Group. "She cannot talk about them from an emotionally distant perspective, but she still needs to talk about them ... it's still important for her to communicate it."

Zuberi said the words another survivor, Omar Bekali, spoke during a panel at the forum stuck with him: "my body is living in

the free world, but my soul is suffering."

Motion aims to offer special immigration avenue

Zuberi has tabled a private member's motion, M-62, to provide special immigration measures to allow 10,000 Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims to enter Canada over two years. The non-binding motion calls for the government to table a refugee resettlement plan within 120 sitting days.

The motion was first debated in the House on Oct. 26 and no MPs opposed it. Zuberi said he expects the motion to come to a vote in the new year.

"I am very hopeful it will pass," he said. "There is very broad support, as can be seen, but I never take anything for granted until it's done."

He said the motion created buzz at the conference in Brussels and was one of the top issues being discussed.

"It has been looked at by the entire Uyghur community internationally, they are looking at this with hope," said Zuberi.

Brunelle-Duceppe said he supports the motion, but will seek to amend it to expand the number of Uyghurs coming to Canada to 15,000, and decrease the time for the government to respond with a plan.

Asked whether he would support raising the threshold to 15,000, Zuberi said he put forward his motion in the context of knowing that 10,000 is the threshold that will "meet the moment of those desperately in need and was done with full consideration of all circumstances."

"I stand by what I presented," he said.

Uyghur Rights Advocacy Project executive director Mehmet Tohti, who attended the forum in Brussels, said he is happy with M-62, but said action needs to come quicker.

He said the 120-sitting days for the government to table a plan might mean that one isn't actually brought forward until 2024.

"This is really frustrating me," said Tohti, noting that he wants to see a similar pathway as was used to help Ukrainian refugees be employed to help Uyghur refugees.

Amid Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the Canadian government created a special immigration program to fast-track visas and offer temporary residency to which an unlimited number of Ukrainians and their families can apply.

Zuberi said there needs to be time for the government to formulate a plan.

"This is a complex endeavour, and we need to do this right," he said. "Things need to be put in place for the government to act."

Speaking to another bill that could help address China's persecution of Uyghurs, Tohti said Canada's efforts to tackle forced labour in its supply chains needs to be improved.

Alongside mass arbitrary detention and surveillance, allegations of China's repression of Uyghurs includes forced labour and employment schemes tied to detention camps, especially in cotton and tomato exports.

Bill S-211, which was introduced by ISG Senator Julie Miville-Dechêne (Inkerman, Que.) and seeks to enact a reporting mechanism to "prevent or reduce the risk" of forced labour being used in Canada's supply chains, has passed the Senate and is currently before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

"It is not the bill that can do the job to prevent any products from the use of forced labour in Canada," Tohti said.

He said Canadian law should be compatible with American law, which has a reverse onus on importers to prove that goods created in Xinjiang were not made with forced labour. He added that a reverse onus system also takes the burden off the Canada Border Services Agency, which doesn't have the capacity to deal with forced labour, citing the agency's inability to stop shipments into Canada.

Zuberi said trying to amend Bill S-211 to transform its proposed reporting scheme to a reverse onus obligation would be problematic, as it would transform the bill from what it was created to do, requiring it to be sent back to the Senate.

"It's basically [like] you are trying to make a Honda Civic a Mercedes Benz," he said.

"We cannot stop ourselves to move forward because we aim for perfection alone," said Zuberi. "The question we need to ask ourselves is: does this legislation put us in a better place and make progress on the situation? If it does, and the progress is marked and substantive, then it is something that we should get behind."

He noted that, without amendments, Bill S-211 can become law "very quickly."

'You have to speak out'

Margaret McCuaig-Johnston, a former senior government official and an expert on the Canada-China relationship, said the International Uyghur Forum was an opportunity for advocates to come together to look at the priorities for the coming year.

"It's just tragic that people have gone through this [abuse in detention camps] in 2022," said

McCuaig-Johnston, who attended the forum earlier this month.

"Anyone who hears these personal stories, sees what is happening to the people, sees their scars, has to speak out—there's no other option. You have to speak out, even if it's only going to have a very minor impact on the situation."

Following a Nov. 13 visit to a museum remembering the Cambodian genocide of the 1970s, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) was asked about the Canadian government not labelling China's persecution of Uyghurs as a genocide.

"The word of genocide [and] acts of genocide are things to be taken incredibly seriously as a world," he said during a press conference in Phnom Penh. "We have objective historical, expert processes to put in place those words and those designations. We continue to call out vicious human rights abuses around the world, including against the Uyghurs in Xinjiang by the Chinese government. But designations of genocide need to be made by proper international authorities."

Tohti said Trudeau's words are a "little troubling," as it is undermining the credibility of Parliament, and the subcommittee's study and assessment of genocide.

Zuberi said Canada doesn't need to determine that genocide is occurring before its Genocide Convention obligations are set in motion.

"I would suggest that the obligation has been triggered with the UN Human Rights Commissioner Michelle Bachelet report that there are possible international crimes, including crimes against humanity. The moment she said that—at that point in time—a trigger has been pulled [with] an obligation by states to respond to that," he said.

Bachelet's report, released at the end of her term this past summer, found that "serious human rights violations have occurred" in Xinjiang and that allegations of "torture or ill-treatment, including forced medical treatment and adverse conditions of detention, are credible, as are allegations of individual incidents of sexual and gender-based violence."

International law experts have previously told *The Hill Times* that Canada has a "positive obligation" to prevent genocide as a party to the Genocide Convention, and that the obligation doesn't begin when an international body makes a declaration.

Winnipeg-based human rights lawyer David Matas, who attended the forum, said alongside legislative action to address the situation through combating forced labour and increasing immigration measures, there is also a need to ban forced organ harvesting.

Bill S-223, which was introduced by Conservative Senator Salma Ataullahjan (Toronto, Ont.) and seeks to create new criminal offences for human organ trafficking, has passed the Senate and is currently before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

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Military recruitment and retention crisis requires addressing low morale, housing availability, say Tory, NDP critics

Facing a shortfall of approximately 10,000 unfilled positions, the Canadian Armed Forces needs expedited training for personnel and more affordable housing access, say opposition MPs.

BY JESSE CNOCKAERT

Solving a critical staffing shortage within the Canadian Armed Forces will require addressing low morale, and providing military personnel with greater access to affordable housing and medical needs, according to opposition MPs.

“Thousands have walked away from the Forces because of low morale ... and that has impacted the ability to have that middle-management tier of people that can go out there and train these new recruits,” said Conservative MP James Bezan (Selkirk–Interlake–Eastman, Man.), his party’s defence critic. “Right now, I’m hearing it’s taking years, not months, to get people through basic training so that they can start moving forward on their military careers.”

The Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) is facing a shortfall of approximately 10,000 unfilled positions



Conservative defence critic James Bezan says ‘thousands have walked away from the [Canadian Armed Forces] because of low morale.’ *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

as of Oct. 31, according to figures shared with *The Hill Times* on Nov. 21 by the Department of National Defence (DND) and the CAF.

Chief of the Defence Staff Gen. Wayne Eyre issued a directive on Oct. 6 stating that the COVID-19 pandemic has aggravated pre-existing shortfalls in the CAF’s intake of new members, and warned the military will experience higher-than-normal attrition and lower-than-normal recruiting without implementation of “appropriate professional culture and personnel management modifications.”

Bezan described the recruitment and retention situation facing the CAF as a catastrophe. He said ways must be found to expedite the basic training process, and to also address low morale, which is causing experienced personnel to leave the service.

“We need to retain that corporate knowledge that we have within the Canadian Armed Forces,” said Bezan. “There is the need to make sure that people are treated with respect, that people have a safe work environment, [and] that the leadership understands how valuable each and every member of the Armed Forces is.”

The Hill Times reached out to Defence Minister Anita Anand (Oakville, Ont.) to ask how the Liberal government can support recruitment and retention. Daniel Minden, press secretary to Anand, shared a transcript of the minister’s responses on that subject in recent media interviews.

On Nov. 18, Anand told Global News that the Liberal government is very focused on recruitment and retention, and “will continue to ensure that the Canadian Armed Forces has the resources they need to continue to serve this country at home in forest fires and floods as well as internationally.”

“There are a number of tangible items that we are undertaking at the current time. For example, maximizing the personnel in staffing recruitment centres across the country. For example, temporarily shortening the time period of basic training,” Anand said in the Global News interview.

Anand released a retention strategy for the CAF on Oct. 6, which identified the culture of the CAF as a driving force for effective retention of personnel. There has been a call for the CAF to undergo a significant cultural change to eliminate harassment, discrimination, and sexual misconduct, according to the strategy. Efforts must also be made to ensure the CAF is a welcoming and inclusive space for underrepresented populations, such as women, Indigenous Peoples, LGBTQ2+ individuals, and persons with disabilities, according to the report.

A report examining the culture of the CAF was released on May 20 by former Supreme Court of Canada justice Louise Arbour. The highly anticipated Independent External Comprehensive Review (IECR) said that the military “has failed to keep pace with the values and expectations of a pluralistic Canadian society.”

The report included 48 recommendations, including a call for all Criminal Code sexual offences in the CAF to be exclusively investigated and prosecuted by civilian authorities instead of military investigators, and that all charges be laid in civilian courts. This recommendation is an expansion of a similar interim recommendation issued by Arbour in October 2021. The interim recommendation was “accepted in full” by Anand on Nov. 4, 2021, as reported in Global News.

On June 3, CBC News reported that military police in Canada had tried to transfer 62 sexual assault cases to civilian police forces since last fall, but about half of those files were declined and sent back. CAF Provost Marshal Brig.-Gen. Simon Trudeau said that the transfer and referral of cases raised a wide range of complex issues, and that “some agencies were not ready to accept investigations for reasons that reflect the diversity of law enforcement contexts in Canada,” in



Defence Minister Anita Anand has previously said there are ‘a number of tangible items’ the Liberal government is undertaking related to recruitment and retention within the Canadian Armed Forces. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

a statement from National Defence on June 3.

“What I’m hearing from very frustrated victims of sexual misconduct within the Canadian Armed Forces is that their cases have still not been moved into civilian courts,” said Bezan. “There has to be a more aggressive referral of these cases to specific police agencies to investigate ... and if it can’t happen, then they need to increase the capability within the military justice system to handle these investigations and prosecutions.”

Megan MacKenzie, the Simons Chair in International Law and Human Security at Simon Fraser University, told *The Hill Times* that an issue with transferring sexual offence cases from military investigators to civilian authorities is that civilian authorities may already be overwhelmed. She said she can

understand the frustration, but that she doesn’t know if “just simply saying we need faster results” will help in effectively transferring these cases.

“I do understand that there needs to be a little bit of time to figure out how the process of handover is going to happen in this interim period where you have some cases that are sorted,” she said. “I don’t know that there’s actually lots of options.”

MacKenzie said there are some important details that have yet to be worked out regarding the transfer of sexual offence cases from the CAF to civilian courts, such as whether victims will have the opportunity to appeal cases through the civilian system.

“I think we have many examples of cases that didn’t even make it to trial—cases where local command-

ers didn’t classify an incident as a crime, and cases where victims didn’t feel that they were able to pursue justice within the military justice system and didn’t have alternatives,” she said. “If they now really have more access to the civilian justice system ... it would be interesting to know if they can seek appeals of decisions that were made in the military justice system, through the civilian system. That could be complicated, but I think it’s an important thing to offer service members in order to move forward with a cultural change and a sense of justice.”

As part of efforts to address sexual offences in the CAF, Anand announced on Oct. 24 the appointment of Jocelyne Therrien, a former executive from the Office of the Auditor General of Canada, as an external monitor. Therrien’s role as external monitor is to oversee the DND’s and the CAF’s efforts to implement the IECR’s recommendations, and to provide the defence minister with regular reports.

“Through the pandemic, climate-related disasters, and international deployments, I thank our Canadian Armed Forces and the civilians who support them for their vital work to protect Canadians. It is our most basic responsibility and top priority to ensure that they serve in an institution where everyone feels safe, protected, and respected,” said Anand in a National Defence press release. “The Independent External Comprehensive Review outlines several culture change reforms needed to help us get there, including the recommendation that we are delivering on today to appoint an external monitor.”

On June 5, Anand said Ottawa had begun work on 17 of the recommendations in the IECR related to addressing sexual misconduct, and she would report to Parliament before the end of the year on how the government will implement the rest of the recommendations.

NDP MP Lindsay Mathysen (London–Fanshawe, Ont.), her party’s national defence critic, told *The Hill Times* that more still needs to be done to address the sexual misconduct crisis. She said that Parliament is “waiting and waiting and waiting” to hear from the defence minister on what can be accomplished regarding sexual misconduct, and “this could have been done much sooner.”

“It’s disturbing [that] women and men are suffering through that, and then, of course, that leads to retention and recruitment issues,” she said. “People want to know that they’re going to be safe in their workplace.”

Besides a cultural shift, another way to increase recruitment and retention in the CAF could be to address basic housing and medical needs of military members, according to Mathysen.

“We’re starting to hear that a lot of Canadians are worried about the inability to afford housing [and] finding a family doctor,” said Mathysen. “People are talking about the cost of housing, they’re talking about the cost of living going up, they’re talking about the need for family doctors and that access to their medical needs, and that sort of assistance.”

On April 14, Eyre said that a lack of affordable housing and growing difficulties making ends meet are among the top concerns from Armed Forces personnel, as reported in the *Toronto Star*. On Oct. 3, figures provided to the Canadian Press showed nearly 4,500 Armed Forces members and their families were on a Canadian Forces Housing Agency waitlist as of July.

“Now that cost of housing is so prohibitive,” said Mathysen. “Now, depending on where you’re coming from and where you’re going to, those housing prices can be so drastically different. That puts an additional strain and stress on that entire family.”

The CAF has personnel deployed across Canada and around the world, with approximately 2,500 people currently deployed on more than 20 different operations, according to a DND and CAF statement emailed to *The Hill Times* on Nov. 21.

The CAF and DND recognize that recruitment and retention are serious issues, which is why undertaking reconstitution efforts is a critical priority, according to the statement.

“We are working on a variety of wellness and retention initiatives, and, at the same time, building the structures, competencies, and capabilities necessary to defend and protect Canadians in an increasingly dangerous world. Most importantly, it’s something we’re doing to make us a stronger and more effective institution,” reads the statement. “We will do this thoughtfully, ensuring we maintain the wellness of our current team, as well as our treaty and national security obligations, and our role as the force of last resort for help-



NDP national defence critic Lindsay Mathysen says ‘it’s disturbing [that] women and men are suffering through [sexual misconduct],’ in the CAF. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

ing out Canadians here at home. We will take the time, energy and funding that we save by putting aside unnecessary elements, and putting those resources into work that serves the larger purpose of getting the armed forces up to the strength Canada needs it to be, now and into the future.”

To help address sexual misconduct in the CAF, the 2022 federal budget promised \$100.5-million over six years, with \$1.7-million in remaining amortization and \$16.8-million ongoing to strengthen leadership in the Canadian Armed Forces; modernize the military justice system; bring into force the Declaration of Victims Rights as set out in the National Defence Act; undertake engagement and consultation on culture change; and enhance restorative services, including dispute resolution and coaching services.

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The Hill Times

Canadian Armed Forces statistics

- The 2021 Census of Population counted 97,625 members of the military currently serving in Canada.
- Of the currently serving members counted through the census, nearly one in five (19.3 per cent) were women. Compared with most other industries, the share of women in the military is relatively low. In 2021, according to the Labour Force Survey, women accounted for almost half (47.3 per cent) of the employed labour force. Two sectors had fewer than one-in-five women among their employed labour force: construction (13.2 per cent) and forestry, fishing, mining, quarrying, oil and gas (18.5 per cent).
- Compared with other countries, the share of women in the CAF is relatively high. According to DND’s online statistics of women in the Canadian Armed Forces, 16.3 per cent of currently serving military members were women. This suggests that Canada exceeds the 15 per cent target for 2028 set out by the United Nations for the share of women in the military. In the most recent Summary of the National Reports of NATO Member and Partner Nations, Canada ranks among the top five countries with the highest percentage of full-time military women in 2019, along with Hungary, Greece, the United States, and Bulgaria.
- According to the census, four-in-five currently serving members of the military were cisgender men (80.5 per cent) and nearly one in five (19.1 per cent) were transgender women.
- The share of military members who were transgender men and transgender women was the same as that of the total population aged 17 and older (0.1 per cent, respectively). An additional 0.2 per cent of military members were non-binary, which is higher than the share of non-binary individuals in the total population (0.1 per cent).
- Source: On guard for thee: serving in the Canadian Armed Forces, released on July 13, 2022, by Statistics Canada
- In 2018, 1.6 per cent of Regular Force members—approximately 900 individuals—reported that they were victims of sexual assault in the military workplace or outside the workplace involving military members in the 12 months prior to the survey.
- The prevalence of sexual assault in 2018 for both the Regular Force and the Primary Reserve was similar to what was observed in 2016, when 1.7 per cent of Regular Force members and 2.6 per cent of Primary Reservists reported being victims of sexual assault. Sexual assault includes sexual attacks, unwanted sexual touching, or sexual activity where the victim was unable to consent.
- In 2018, the proportion of women in the Regular Force who were sexually assaulted (4.3 per cent of the population) was about four times higher than that of men (1.1 per cent). Similar results were found in 2016.
- The prevalence of sexual assault was almost six times higher for women in the Primary Reserve in 2018 (seven per cent) than for men in the Reserves (1.2 per cent).
- Most victims of sexual assault in the Regular Force (57 per cent) said that the incidents did not come to the attention of anyone in authority. One-quarter (25 per cent) stated that someone in authority found out about the incident in some way, while 17 per cent did not know if anyone in authority found out. These proportions were similar to the 2016 results.
- Source: Sexual Misconduct in the Canadian Armed Forces, 2018, released on May 22, 2019, by Statistics Canada

Defence Policy Briefing

Canada is working with allies to strengthen our defence

While our women and men in uniform serve in Latvia, Romania, and elsewhere with their NATO counterparts, we are also building bridges between Canada and our NATO allies right here at home.

Bryan May

Opinion



Like many Canadians, when I look at what's going on around the world today I see both reasons for worry, and reasons for hope.

Technology is advancing at a breakneck pace. New and emerging threats in cyber, space,

and information domains are being exploited by state actors. Climate change continues to pose an existential threat to operational capabilities. And with Russian President Vladimir Putin's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, we have seen a direct attack on our rules-based international order.

But in this world of increasing disruption, Canada and its allies are more united than ever before. We are working hand-in-hand with our closest friends to strengthen our defences. Canada, which maintains the sixth-largest defence budget in NATO, has been working on land, in the air, and at sea to ensure the protection of our allies—and we're doing even more by deploying more troops to the enhanced Forward Presence Battle Group in Latvia, which we have led for more than five years. NATO brings together a diverse coalition of countries to defend the rules-based international order, and we will always remain ready to protect every inch of allied territory.

While our women and men in uniform serve in Latvia, Romania, and elsewhere with their NATO counterparts, we are also building bridges between Canada and our NATO allies right here at home.

Last weekend, I was delighted to be at the Halifax International Security Forum, where Defence Minister Anita Anand discussed our intent to host NATO's Defence Innovation Accelerator for the North Atlantic, or DIANA, here in Canada. DIANA is a groundbreaking initiative that will bring together innovators, tech companies, academics, and researchers from throughout the NATO alliance to explore how technology can solve critical defence and security challenges. DIANA will enable the best and brightest on both sides of the Atlantic to foster and advance innovation so we can meet those challenges—and stay one step ahead of our competitors.

DIANA's work will concentrate on emerging technologies such as artificial intelligence, quantum-enabled technologies, biotechnology, and space, ensuring a well-equipped alliance for the future. This cross-industry collaboration will act as a catalyst for industrial policy to drive the development and commercialization of research and innovation.

At the same time, Canada will continue to provide comprehensive military aid to Ukraine. Just last week, Prime Minister Trudeau

announced that Canada will supply an additional \$500-million in military aid for Ukraine, bringing our total commitment to more than \$1-billion since February. We have provided M777 howitzers, artillery ammunition, anti-tank weapon systems, specialized drone cameras, armoured combat support vehicles, and more.

Canada is also an integral member of the Ukrainian Defense Contact Group—a forum of more than 50 countries led by U.S. Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin, who visited Canada last weekend.

At the group's most recent meeting last week, Minister Anand announced \$34-million in military aid for Ukraine—including drone cameras, satellite services, and more winter clothing. With harsh winter months around the corner, we have already signed 11 contracts with Canadian industry for 55,000 pairs of winter combat boots, 15,000 winter parkas, 44,000 pairs of winter gloves, and more.

Thanks to the hard work of our Royal Canadian Air Force, we have now delivered more than five million pounds of Ukraine-bound military aid donated by Canada and our allies.

But perhaps our most important and internationally recognized

contribution to Ukraine's defence has been our people and training. Since 2015, the Canadian Armed Forces have provided training to more than 34,000 Ukrainian military and security personnel.

We are training Ukrainian combat engineers in Poland and new Ukrainian recruits in the United Kingdom—and the prime minister confirmed last week that U.K.-based training will continue into the new year and until at least March 2023. Canada's support has been recognized by Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Defence Minister Oleksii Reznikov, and most importantly, by regular Ukrainian people who want and deserve independence, freedom, and decency.

As the world grows darker, and as we are faced with emerging and disruptive threats, Canada chooses the path of freedom and democracy. We choose to protect and defend the rules-based international order.

And, with DIANA coming soon to Canada, we will harness the expertise of Canadian industry and reinvigorate our domestic industrial competitiveness.

Canada will continue to stand with our NATO allies, our Ukrainian friends, and our partners around the world as we work to bolster the norms and rules that keep our country safe every single day.

Bryan May was first elected as the Liberal MP for Cambridge, Ont., in 2015. He is currently parliamentary secretary to the Minister of National Defence.

The Hill Times

Developing Canada's critical minerals crucial for national security

Canada should work with the U.S. to leverage government procurement and regulatory protocols to require that critical minerals, when possible, be sourced from within North America.

Gaphel Kongtsa & Jordan Miller

Opinion



It may not be readily apparent, but critical minerals are essential for a wide variety of goods that Canadians enjoy everyday.

Critical minerals can be found in most consumer electronics,

semiconductors, critical infrastructure, defence, security, and space-based technologies and systems. Critical minerals also play a significant role in renewable energy and clean technology, such as advanced batteries, magnets, wind turbines, solar panels, and modular reactors.

Given Canada's deep expertise in mining and manufacturing ingenuity, as well as our plentiful natural resources, we are very well positioned to lead in the critical minerals sector across myriad parts of the value chain.

In the current international security environment, however, it is becoming increasingly clear that critical minerals are not solely a significant economic opportunity for Canada, they are also integral to our national security and the security of our allies. This is particularly apparent in light of the emerging continental defence challenges that Canada and the United States are facing together.

Canada and the U.S. have a close and interdependent relationship, including shared culture, economic, political, and national security and defence interests. This defence and national secu-

ity interdependence accelerated after the Second World War, including the integration of our defence industrial bases to the extent that Canada's defence industrial base is considered vital to America's national security. Our shared role in defending the maritime and aerospace approaches to North America through NORAD was vital to our national security during the Cold War and is seeing a renewed sense of urgency in the face of state-based threats.

As new threats emerge in the form of new hypersonic weapons and advanced cruise missiles, the modernization of continental defence has become a greater priority for Canada and the U.S. This means investing in new radar systems, space systems, communications systems, ground-based support infrastructure, and command and control systems—all of which require critical mineral inputs.

Additionally, recent major supply chain disruptions, coupled with growing concerns stemming from China's present dominance of the critical minerals market, have caused many of our allies to reassess the vulnerability of their supply chains. Notably, the U.S.

Department of Defense's June 2021 review of U.S. critical minerals supply chains found that Canada has substantial resource potential for more than 20 critical mineral products that are important for meeting their defence needs.

As global demand for critical minerals is projected to increase significantly in the coming years, Canada has the opportunity—and perhaps even responsibility—to leverage our competitive advantage in natural resources by bolstering our critical minerals capacity. Canada can serve as a reliable source of critical minerals for our own domestic use, as well as for the use of our allies and the broader international community.

Achieving this, however, will require a concerted, whole-of-government approach to critical minerals.

As part of this effort, the government should help bolster the demand for Canadian critical minerals to ensure a sustained supply for today and options for expansion tomorrow. In particular, Canada should work with the U.S. to leverage government procurement and regulatory protocols to require that criti-

cal minerals, when possible, be sourced from within North America. Strengthening cross-border supply chains will help to ensure there is a secure, reliable supply of critical minerals for the Canada-U.S. defence industrial base, especially for high-priority programs like NORAD modernization and space capabilities.

The government's forthcoming review of Canada's defence policy, *Strong, Secure, Engaged*, should also address the significance of Canadian critical minerals for our national defence priorities. Given their role as vital inputs required to deliver on continental defence modernization objectives and space program investments, as well as the major role they play in the Canada-U.S. defence industrial base, critical minerals should be integrated into Canada's overarching defence strategy.

If we are prepared to seize it, Canada's critical minerals opportunity will play a vital role in preserving our national security, as well as strengthening Canadian leadership on the international stage as a reliable partner for our allies.

Gaphel Kongtsa is a policy adviser at the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. Jordan Miller is the global defence marketing lead for Calian Group and a member of the Canadian Chamber's Canada-U.S. Council. Learn more: OurTradingFuture.ca

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Defence Policy Briefing



Researchers with the NASA-funded ICESCAPE mission examine melt ponds in the Arctic Ocean in July 2011. The most pressing threat in the Arctic region is climate change, writes NDP MP Lindsay Mathysen. Photograph courtesy of Flickr/NASA Goddard Space Flight Center

Serious investments needed for Canada to defend against Arctic threats

By investing in northern jobs and infrastructure, we can fight climate change, end the water crisis, and bring smart solutions to domain awareness.

NDP MP
Lindsay
Mathysen

Opinion



When Canadians say “the True North strong and free,” so many of us believe in what that phrase means, but not necessarily what it takes to keep it that way—and one could argue consecutive federal governments have also

forgotten to act to keep it that way.

As we think about NORAD modernization, we need to ensure that any spending and policy in the area protects Arctic sovereignty and national security, while also serving northern development. To frame these investments, we need to differentiate between threats through, to, and in the Arctic region.

And as part of that process, we need to make sure we’re investing in needed infrastructure and in creating jobs in the area to support these goals.

Recent conversations about Canadian military policy have been dominated by Russia’s illegal invasion of Ukraine and growing concerns about the economic appeal of the Arctic to China. New Democrats understand entirely the weight of this situation—my colleague, NDP MP Heather McPherson, moved a motion in the House of Commons in April to recognize the Russian aggression in Ukraine as an act of genocide, and our entire

caucus has been pushing this government to do more to support Ukrainian refugees.

But alongside increasing supports for Ukraine in this critical moment, we have seen certain Members of Parliament calling for a drastic militarization of our Arctic region to prepare for potential “threats” through the Arctic region. We have seen calls for Canada’s participation in American anti-missile defence systems. We have heard escalating language about an existential threat to Canadian security posed by the Russian military’s Arctic presence, despite a consensus among experts that we do not face an immediate threat of invasion.

There is, however, an existential threat to Canada’s Arctic that requires immediate investments. The most pressing threat in the Arctic region is climate change.

The Arctic region is warming at up to seven times the speed as the rest of the world. The United Nations estimates that by 2050 up to 70 per cent of Arctic infrastructure will be at risk from loss of

permafrost. This is not only a major threat to our military presence in the Arctic, but also an existential threat to Inuit and northern Canadians.

A history of neglect by consecutive federal governments have left northern communities unequipped for the impacts of climate change. Last month, Iqaluit barely averted a water-shortage crisis for the winter. The Apex River was at a 40-year low, causing a deficit of more than 500-million litres of water in Lake Geraldine this year. We know that climate change means these crises will be happening at increasing pace and represents the largest threat to the Canadian Arctic.

Without real steps taken to prepare northern communities for the impact of climate change, Canada’s arctic sovereignty is at risk. Last month, my colleague, Nunavut MP Lori Idlout, called out the Liberal government, saying “they need to do better for Arctic sovereignty, not just by providing military resources, but actually investing in the people and the resources that are needed to keep a community going.”

With climate change, we also face an increase of concerns in the Arctic region. Melting ice is opening up the region as an increasing hub for economic activity. New sea lanes through the Arctic could cut two weeks off travel from Asian to European markets, and the rapidly changing ecosystem will bring major shifts in fish populations. Rapid climate change is also increasing the viability of accessing the Arctic’s massive oil reserves, natural gas, and precious minerals.

In the short term, this could pose major risks to Canadian sovereignty. We have already seen the number of voyages in Cana-

dian Arctic waters triple in the last three decades. On Nov. 15, the federal auditor general reported that Canada is woefully unprepared for the domain awareness, enforcement, and search-and-rescue challenges we currently face, let alone future increases.

The auditor general noted that misguided, uneven investments in the region by Liberal and Conservative governments alike have left us with a growing risk of Arctic infrastructure retiring before replacements are provided. This poses a major risk to the sovereignty of Canada’s Arctic, when climate change exacerbates friction among countries vying to benefit from the Arctic’s natural resources.

The Canadian Arctic needs serious, immediate investments to defend against Arctic threats. While the Liberals and Conservatives escalate rhetoric on the militarization of the North, New Democrats understand we need to synchronize geopolitics with geophysics. While we support modernization of NORAD, we cannot afford misguided sabre-rattling investments that focus on threats through the Arctic while we face existential threats to and in the Canadian Arctic.

New Democrats call on this government to use funding allocated for NORAD modernization to create good-paying jobs that will defend Arctic security. By investing in northern jobs and infrastructure, we can fight climate change, end the water crisis, and bring smart solutions to domain awareness.

Lindsay Mathysen is an NDP MP who has represented the riding of London-Fanshawe, Ont., since 2019. She is the NDP’s critic for national defence.

The Hill Times

Trudeau government is lapsing on prioritizing national defence

The Liberals have lapsed defence spending every single year since 2017, despite their 2015 platform promise to quit short-changing national defence.

Conservative MP
James Bezan

Opinion



Today, we can watch in real time Russia's barbaric war in Ukraine, Beijing's aggression against Taiwan, North Korean missile tests, and Iran's brutal crackdown on peaceful protestors. That sobering news should have served as the biggest wake-up call ever.

But Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Defence Minister Anita Anand continue to massively underspend on defence, dither on buying new fighter jets, ignore the urgency of upgrading our critical NORAD

infrastructure, and are forcing their Liberal political agenda on our Canadian Armed Forces, all the while demoralizing our forces and allowing our troop strength to crash to historic lows. If the plan was to chase away as many Canadians as possible from recruiting offices, the Liberals' plan is working.

Since the Liberal defence plan, *Strong, Secure, Engaged*, began, Trudeau has racked up billions in lapsed defence spending. In the last year alone, a whopping \$2.5-billion went unspent in our defence budget. In fact, the Liberals have lapsed defence spending every single year since 2017, despite their 2015 platform promise to quit short-changing national defence.

The result of this irresponsible gouging is now clear. We have a catastrophic personnel crisis at a time when war has returned to Europe with Russian President Vladimir Putin's illegal and bloody invasion of neighbouring Ukraine. At least one retired general has gone on the record saying our troop deficit is close to 50 per cent. And yet, the Liberals refuse to cut the red tape to fast track recruiting and drop policies that divide and alienate those meant to fight together for Canada.

Putin's expansionist ambitions won't stop at Ukraine's borders. Our adversar-

ies have the capability to strike any city in Canada in minutes of launch, and yet Canada has no ballistic missile defence, and our ability to detect threats coming over our Arctic is diminishing with archaic equipment.

According to the federal auditor general's Nov. 15 report, our maritime domain awareness is wholly insufficient to detect potential threats until they are close enough to shore for Canadian Rangers to spot them visually.

Our NORAD North Warning System (NWS) is antiquated and in dire need of replacing with an all-domain awareness system, which the United States is eager to work with us on for our collective security.

Unfortunately, the Liberals haven't prioritized national defence or supplied the political leadership to get money out the door. Trudeau's disinterest in modernizing NORAD, upgrading our NWS, and investing in our northern capabilities in a reasonable time does not bode well for when our Arctic sovereignty is challenged.

The chief of defence staff, General Wayne Eyre, recently told the House of Commons Defence Committee that Canada's ability to defend our sovereignty at the extremities of the North is questionable. It is only a matter of years before adversaries

begin to poke around to work out just how weak our defences truly are.

In fact, this is likely happening already in the sea. However, we can't say for certain because underwater sensors to detect foreign submarines and maritime drones infringing on our territory is not something Trudeau thinks we need to worry about.

Even if we had these sensors, we have no under-ice capable submarines, and the submarines we do have can't do the job. The Victoria Class fleet spends more days in dry dock for repairs than in the water. Over the last five years, our subs spent an average of 16 days annually per ship in the water. That is a pathetically small number for a country with three coasts to defend. But we shouldn't be surprised.

Trudeau and his Liberal elites like sticking their heads in the sand when it comes to new and emerging threats to Canada. They are living on a peace dividend that has already evaporated, and not even war in Europe is enough to convince them of it.

I'm proud to serve as shadow minister for national defence under Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre. He is a leader who is not afraid to fire the gatekeepers insisting big defence projects can't get done on time and on budget, and understands our allies depend on us as much as we do on them.

Canada is facing growing threats, and the very existence of our forces are being threatened by the Trudeau government. It's time for a new government.

James Bezan is the Conservative critic for national defence and has served as the Member of Parliament for Selkirk-Interlake-Eastman, Man., since 2004.

The Hill Times

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Defence Policy Briefing



A Canadian Armed Forces soldier instructs members of the Security Forces of Ukraine on the Next Generation Light Anti-tank Weapon as part of Operation Unifier in the U.K. on Oct. 1. Canada supports Ukraine because if Ukraine succeeds, we all succeed, writes Liberal MP John McKay. *Canadian Armed Forces photograph by Cpl. Eric Greico*

What more can Canada do to support Ukraine?

Talking a good sanctions game is not enough. We must execute sanctions as precisely as we do when shipping equipment or training soldiers.

Liberal MP
John McKay

Opinion



The short answer is that there is always more to do. We can always be more effective, and Canada must do more to support the people of Ukraine against the murderous thug, Russian President Vladimir Putin.

To that end, I welcomed the government's Nov. 14 announcement that Canada will be helping Ukraine with an additional \$500-million dollars in aid. This is not an insignificant contribution, and will help

Ukraine finish the fight against Russia's illegal invasion.

Support has now approximated \$4.5-billion in financial, humanitarian, development, military, and diplomatic aid. For the purpose of this article, I will focus on the military aid.

The \$626-million of military aid to date includes: M-777 artillery guns, with which the Canadian Forces are training Ukrainian soldiers; 155mm ammunition; 39 armoured combat vehicles; drone cameras; Roshel smart-armoured vehicles; de-mining equipment; and satellite imagery.

While sophisticated weaponry is welcomed, well-trained soldiers not only need to know how to use it, they also need to know the latest in battlefield tactics.

Putin invaded with a much larger force and probably thought that taking Kyiv was merely a matter of marching. Quite quickly, he found out that a huge number of poorly trained, reluctant conscripts are no match for a smaller, well-trained, highly motivated volunteer force.

Part of the reason for the effectiveness of the Ukrainian army has been the training they received from the Canadian military since 2017.

Some years ago, I was privileged to watch some live-fire

exercises outside of Lviv. My impression was that the Ukrainians were tough, brave, and eager to learn. That training provided by Canada and others has paid off in spades.

The 35,000 soldiers we trained are in and of themselves force multipliers, as they pass along their skills to new recruits. Knowing how to wage a war, how to get on and off the battlefield, how to care for the wounded, and how to advance so that gains are not squandered are skills and knowledge imparted to Ukrainians by Canadians.

Simultaneously, Canadians have learned from the real battlefield experience of their trainees, now their peers.

This commitment continues in the United Kingdom, with 225 soldiers to help train new recruits. In addition, Canada has deployed 150 engineers in Poland.

This steady stream of well-trained Ukrainian soldiers is in contrast to Putin's young conscripts forced to go to the front lines to be fed into a war machine not of their making, that has no interest in their well-being let alone their training. Needless and pointless death awaits many of these young men, and they know it.

The other line of effort has been making our Hercules transport planes available for transporting military equipment, supplies, and personnel to Ukraine—moving more than five million pounds to date.

While military transport, well-trained soldiers, top-of-the-line equipment, and significant amounts of cash are all very important and the core of our efforts, this war does not end unless we continue with sanctions, humanitarian aid, and round-the-clock diplomacy.

Ukrainians will only accept one outcome, and that is the complete removal of Russia from all occupied areas of Ukraine. It's not obvious that there is any acceptable solution other than the forcible removal of the occupiers.

We support the Ukrainians, not only because every nation is entitled to its territorial integrity, but also because it is in Canada's interest for Ukraine to succeed. Murderous thugs only take lessons from resolute responses.

Putin is not the only dictator watching western resolve. Others in China, Iran, and North Korea—to name a few—may have had thought that lands and territories they coveted would be easy pickings. Maybe there will

be second thoughts as Putin has ironically revitalized and expanded NATO, and put the United States back into a position of world leadership.

The military line of effort cannot be, nor should it be, the only line of effort. It's therefore important that we listen to friends who critique our efforts, particularly over sanctions.

Canada is a prosperous G7 country with an open rule of law-based society. It has been an attractive investment location for Russian oligarchs and others who have supported the suppression of human rights.

In the last few weeks, Bill Browder, the father of the Magnitsky sanctions law, has been critical of Canada's lax enforcement. He said much the same thing when he was in Ottawa last month.

Talking a good sanctions game is not enough. We must execute sanctions as precisely as we do when shipping equipment or training soldiers. Otherwise, one line of effort undercuts the other. All lines of effort need to be working effectively toward the same goal.

A military response can never be the only response, but without a strong military response no other response is possible. Canada supports Ukraine because if Ukraine succeeds, we all succeed.

John McKay is the Liberal Member of Parliament for Scarborough-Guildwood, Ont., and chair of the House National Defence Committee. He previously served as parliamentary secretary to the minister of finance from 2003 to 2006.

The Hill Times

NORAD modernization urgently needed for Canada to maintain competitive edge in the Arctic

Canada now has an unprecedented opportunity to modernize urgently needed defence infrastructure in the Arctic—but many observers are already saying that more investments will be needed.

ISG Senator
Tony Dean

Opinion



Canada's Arctic is under threat—from climate change and the belligerence of Russia and China, both of which share an interest in the region's energy resources, rare and highly prized minerals, and seafood. Russia's massive build-up of military bases on its Arctic shoreline and its occasional probing of North American defence systems sits uncomfortably alongside China's efforts to style itself as a "near Arctic state."

These are multiple wake-up calls for Canada and its NORAD partner, the United States. A 2021 NORAD/U.S. Northern Command strategy paper was blunt in stating that, "The American and Canadian people are safe and secure today but, without intentional efforts to counter our competitors' fast-paced advances, our competitive advantage will erode."

Canada's defence modernization strategy was outlined by Canada's Minister



A CF-188 Hornet fighter jet lands on the runway at Iqaluit Airport in Nunavut as part of Exercise Vigilant Shield 16 in October 2015. Investments in defence capabilities also have mutual benefits for social infrastructure, writes ISG Senator Tony Dean. *DND photograph by MCpl Pat Blanchard*

of National Defence Anita Anand in June 2022 in an announcement of new funding for NORAD infrastructure: \$4.9-billion for the first six years, with \$38.6-billion allocated over 20 years. The announcement was an outgrowth of Canada's 2017 vision and plan for defence modernization, *Strong, Secure, Engaged*.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has been a further wake-up call and adds to the urgency of re-evaluating our defence capabilities in the North. Canada now has an unprecedented opportunity to modernize urgently needed defence infrastructure in the Arctic—but many observers are already saying that more investments will be needed.

Part of the need for investments comes from the sheer scale and characteristics of Canada's Arctic. It represents 40 per cent of Canada's land mass, 75 per cent of its coastline, and a population of around 140,000, representing 0.3 per cent of Canada's population in 72 communities. This alone makes defending the Arctic a significant challenge.

The Standing Senate Committee on National Security, Defence, and Veterans Affairs selected Arctic Security as a priority for study in 2022. Having heard from scores of witnesses, the committee travelled to the Arctic in October—visiting Iqaluit and Cambridge Bay in Nunavut, as well as Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk and Yellowknife in the Northwest Territories. The committee met with members of the Department of National Defence, the Canadian Armed Forces, the Canadian Coast Guard, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the Canadian Rangers, as well as Indigenous leaders, government representatives, and local and regional political leaders.

Senators heard about the need for updated defence infrastructure, as well as personnel to manage new equipment. They also saw first-hand some of the aging infrastructure that will attract new funding and much-needed upgrades.

One of these locations included the North Warning System (NWS) in Cambridge Bay, which contains 30-year-old technology that was not designed to detect

modern weapons such as long-range cruise and hypersonic missiles. The update to the NWS will include an Arctic over-the-horizon radar system that would provide early warning radar coverage and threat tracking from the Canada-U.S. border up to the Arctic Circle.

This would work hand-in-hand with upgraded space-based surveillance that would allow the CAF to significantly expand overall situational awareness and improve Canada's current capacity to monitor ships approaching Canadian waters. Other important updates include modernizing communications and internet connectivity to improve the efficiency and range of communication between CAF stations and members in the field. All of this is in a context in which Canadian ground forces are likely to transition away from developing more fixed facilities on the ground, and towards agile and rapid fit-for-purpose deployment based on situational needs—be that in terms of defence capacity or search and rescue.

In addition to updating defence infrastructure, Senators heard about the positive impact that new investments could bring to Indigenous communities. We have seen an example of this already with the Inuit majority-owned firm Nasittuq winning a seven-year contract for the maintenance and operation of the North Warning System, valued at \$592-million.

Investments in defence capabilities also have mutual benefits for social infrastructure. Indigenous leaders told Senators that they believe new investments would create collateral opportunities for economic and social infrastructure in northern communities—particularly in critical areas such as cleaner energy and water, resilient broadband, roads, and airport facilities. These types of investments are also key in ensuring security and sovereignty in the Arctic.

Moving forward it will be important to identify, as much as possible, the social and economic benefits that will realistically accrue from security and defence spending, and to make these a priority in collaborative planning and decision-making, as well as in execution.

Tony Dean was appointed to the Senate of Canada as an independent Senator in November 2016. He is the deputy facilitator of the Independent Senators Group and currently serves as the chair of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security, Defence, and Veterans Affairs.

The Hill Times



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Defence Policy Briefing

In Canada-U.S. defence trade, the status quo is a losing proposition

Unless we take the initiative, Canada's decreasing relevance in Washington will result in growing headwinds for binational Canada-U.S. defence trade.

Nicolas Todd

Opinion



Canada has enjoyed a unique bilateral defence trade relationship with the United States for 75 years, spelled out in various agreements. However, this relationship is at risk today without concerted efforts by Ottawa to revive it in light of the current continental and international security environment.

In October, Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland delivered a speech in Washington, D.C., that set out the concept of "friend-shoring." The idea is simple: democratic countries sharing Canada's values would buy exclusively from each other, particularly goods and technologies vital to each nation's national security and resiliency.

While this might be a new "doctrine" for some, to Canada's defence industry it's old hat. Canada and the U.S. have practiced friend-shoring since the Ogdensburg Agreement of 1940 establishing the joint defence of the continent, if not earlier. It's also a foundational element of NORAD—and it is indivisible from the integrated continental defence industrial base that supports it.

What is new is Washington's assessment of the current global threat environment—particularly the threats posed by China and Russia—as set out most recently in the U.S. National Security Strategy and National Defense Strategy. The Americans see the threat as larger in scale, more immediate, and leaving them with less and less time to deter, defend, and respond. The U.S. also has a growing expectation, rooted deeply across political parties, that its allies will play a more active role in collective defence and deterrence, be it in the Indo-Pacific (for Australia), Europe (for NATO nations), or continentally (for Canada). Turns out, alliance burden-sharing is not a new concept, either.

Continuing a binational defence trade agenda with the U.S., anchored in the status quo, is not going to cut it with our closest security partner. We will continue to lose influence, prompting the U.S. to turn to allies that agree with the magnitude and urgency of the threat landscape and have the political will to act—particularly our Five Eyes partners, Australia and the United Kingdom.

Congress added both countries to the U.S. National Technology and Industrial Base (NTIB) in 2017, which allows their resident companies to be treated as U.S. firms for defence acquisition purposes. Previously, only Canada enjoyed this privileged access. We have also seen the U.S., Australia, and the U.K. launch AUKUS, which is much more than a submarine deal and will facilitate the collaborative development of Emerging and Disruptive Technologies (EDTs). These countries are turning this new approach to defence trade from words to government policy.

It's time Canada did likewise. Unless we take the initiative, Canada's decreasing relevance in Washington will result in growing headwinds for binational Can-

ada-U.S. defence trade. So far, rampant American protectionism under both the Trump and Biden administrations has spared Canada's defence industry. Yet, over the next decade, or sooner, we may be approaching an inflection point driven by AUKUS, and the U.S. will begin spending its time and energy on key allies willing to co-develop technologies and align regulatory frameworks to transfer them.

Canada must therefore push to revitalize the NTIB framework, ensuring we are at the table instead of passively allowing allies to create new fora under the AUKUS umbrella without us.

Practically, this means working through the NTIB to adopt common standards and approaches to industrial security—particularly when it comes to cybersecurity standards, export controls for EDTs, critical minerals, and sharing information on questionable sources of foreign investment.

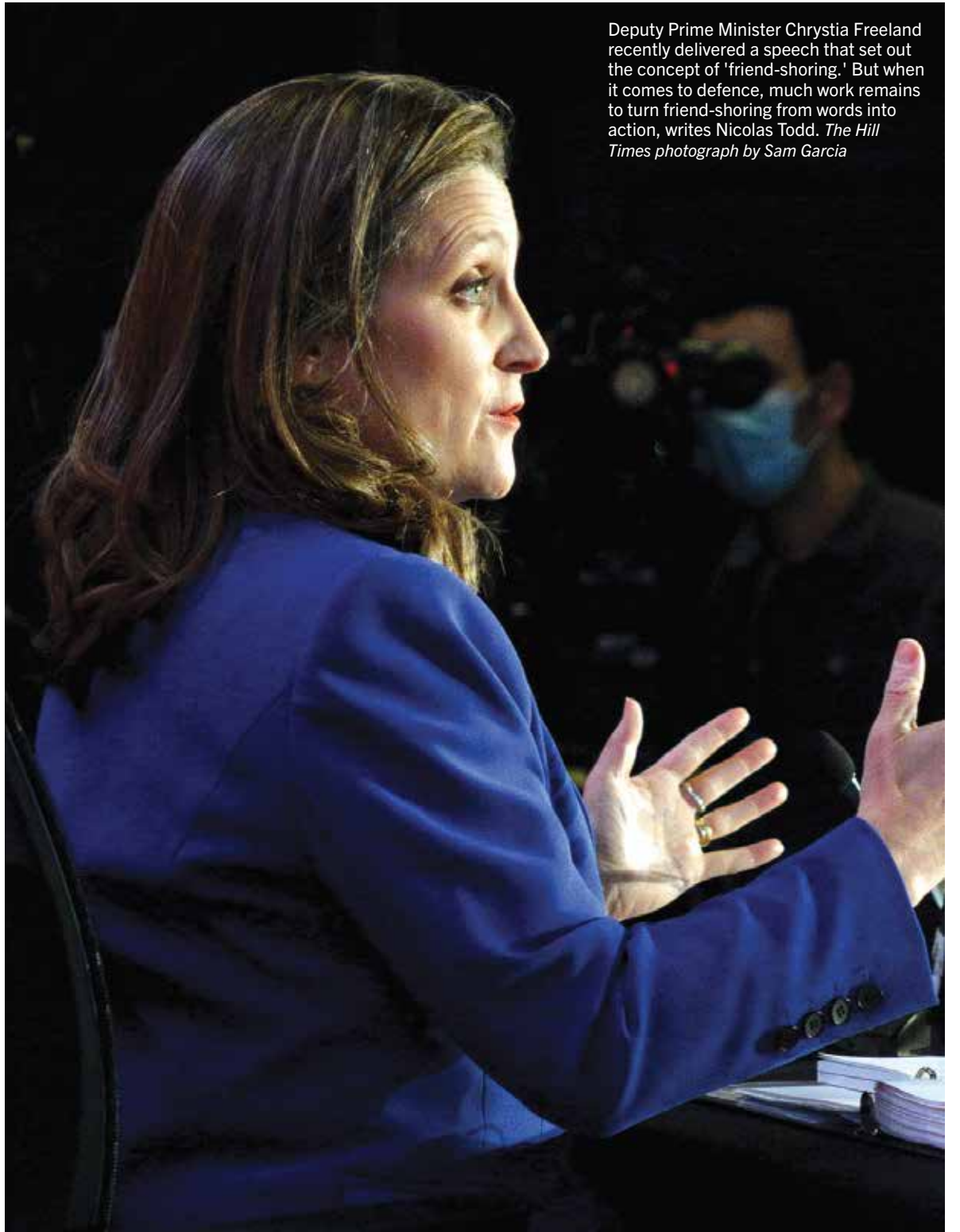
It also means using the NTIB to create high-trust communities

of interest for the collaborative R&D and production of EDTs like quantum, cyber, and artificial intelligence.

But perhaps the most immediate opportunity for Canada to capitalize on—if not the litmus test for Canada's relevance—is NORAD modernization and continental defence. This remains the most significant chance to engage, re-energize, and modernize continental defence industrial co-operation and demonstrate the value Canada brings to U.S. security.

Ottawa's much-hyped NORAD pronouncements have not garnered much attention in Washington. There was no industry engagement before the Canadian government's summer NORAD announcement, and none since. The Canadian government and the Canadian Armed Forces continue to treat this as a series of individual procurement projects, missing the bigger picture and opportunity, as detailed in a May 30 op-ed in *The Hill Times*.

Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland recently delivered a speech that set out the concept of 'friend-shoring.' But when it comes to defence, much work remains to turn friend-shoring from words into action, writes Nicolas Todd. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia



Beyond the strategic, Canada struggles with the basics. NORAD recently hosted a briefing session and *Dragon's Den*-style "pitch day" for companies at a classified level. Some Canadian firms couldn't get the needed security clearances from the Canadian government in time to attend, and there was no co-ordinated government or CAF support or participation. American officials reportedly took notice.

Clearly, much work remains to shore up Team Canada, co-ordinate our limited resources across government, and begin meaningful dialogue between government and industry. Only then can we turn friend-shoring from words into action.

Nicolas Todd is vice-president of policy, communications, and government relations with the Canadian Association of Defence and Security Industries, which represents the interests of more than 650 defence, security, and cyber companies across Canada. *The Hill Times*

Reservists, military families must be front and centre in defence policy review



Reservists from the 35 Canadian Brigade Group arrive at the Saint-Jean Garrison in Quebec for geriatric care training as part of Operation Laser in May 2020. In recent years, reservists have been called upon to serve in ways we couldn't have comprehended just a few years ago, writes Gregory Lick. *DND photograph by Aviator Zamir Muminar, 2CDSG, Saint-Jean-Montreal Imaging Section*

The failure to address issues impacting CAF personnel and their families can quickly snowball, having the potential to impact recruitment and retention, and eventually national security.

Gregory Lick

Opinion



“Call in the military” has become a common refrain when Canadian municipalities and provinces have faced unforeseen challenges.

Our Reserve Force members are often called upon to respond to these requests. And in recent years, they have been called upon to serve in ways we couldn't have comprehended just a few years ago: responding to floods, forest fires, and calls for pandemic assistance in long-term care homes.

Reservists show up and perform, no matter what they are asked to do. And with reconstitution efforts underway, they will be asked to do more to fill in the gaps within the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF).

It's not my place to comment on whether the role of our reservists is to respond to ever-increasing domestic missions. But I can help to ensure that when they serve, the CAF and the Department of National Defence (DND) treat them fairly in return. This responsibility also includes provinces and territories, and the health-care systems that are within their domain.

We must make sure that DND and the CAF take care of our Reserve Force members, and that when they sign up, reserv-

ists know they'll be cared for as long as they serve.

I recently released a report card on the recommendations related to the Reserve Force that my office has made since 2015. While certain recommendations are “partially implemented,” none have been fully implemented by DND and the CAF. This is unacceptable by any standard.

To fully build the CAF, we must get the foundation correct. And the treatment of our Reserve Forces is a good place to start. For instance, better communications with our reservists on the benefits and services available to them, as well as regular health-care assessments, would be positive first steps.

We must ensure they receive proper medical care for any injuries they suffer while on duty or that arise because of their service. Our previous reports note that these medical services must be properly resourced to support our reservists.

To further explore access to mental health care provided to reservists, my office recently launched an investigation. While all investigations we undertake are complex in nature, it boils down to one essential question: do Reserve Force members have access to mental health resources following domestic operations? This investigation is in the very early stages, and I look forward to making it public in 2023.

Earlier this month, I wrote a letter to the minister of national defence outlining several ways that she can help address challenges facing military families. Regardless of being a regular force member or a reserve force member, a well-supported family is essential to allowing a member to focus on their daily undertakings.

I encouraged the minister and senior leadership to focus on the following key initiatives:

- Raising the level of political involvement between federal ministers and their provincial/territorial counterparts. This is critical to breaking down the obstacles that military families face in accessing provincial/territorial services—particularly health care.
- Examining funding mechanisms for initiatives in support of the Comprehensive

Military Family Strategy, an initiative that shows great promise for comparatively low investment.

- Increasing focus on military spousal employment and childcare access.
- Continuing to address issues and challenges facing members as they transition from military to civilian life, including implementing outstanding recommendations made by our office.

Many benefits available to CAF members and their families fall under the authority of the Treasury Board. Government expenditures of any kind must face central agency

scrutiny. While a necessary step to ensure fiscal accountability, the process can be lengthy and shackle the agility of DND

and the CAF to respond to the needs and exceptional circumstances often faced by CAF members and their families. One such area that has been highlighted is the volatile cost of living and the fact that some allowances are out of sync with the reality of military family expenses.

These delays in responding to the needs of the CAF are not conducive to the recruitment and retention of CAF members and ultimately to the operational effectiveness of the CAF. The CAF, DND, and the Treasury Board must establish a dialogue to better articulate these needs, and the potential consequences of not “getting it right.” Military operations are not run by outside civilian agencies, and the management of military personnel and their families must be considered differently, with greater responsibility placed in the hands of those who understand the military.

As I and my predecessors have articulated on many occasions, the failure to address issues impacting CAF personnel and their families can quickly snowball, having the potential to impact recruitment and retention, and eventually national security.

Gregory Lick is the National Defence and Canadian Armed Forces Ombudsman. He has held the position since October 2018, and previously spent 33 years in the Canadian Coast Guard and 17 years as a naval reservist.

The Hill Times

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Opinion



U.S. President Joe Biden, left, Chinese President Xi Jinping, and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. The Biden administration has been at pains to demonstrate its commitment to the Indo-Pacific region, including meeting with the Xi on the margins of the G20 in Indonesia last week, writes Deanna Horton. Photographs courtesy of Wikimedia Commons and The Hill Times photograph by Sam Garcia

Long-awaited Indo-Pacific strategy key to Canada being seen as a partner at the table

Canada's Indo-Pacific strategy needs to attract our southern neighbour's attention, and will have to make every effort to ensure that its engagement is meaningful and sustained in order to cement partner relations in Asia.

Deanna Horton

Opinion



A recent presentation by the U.S. State Department official responsible for Asia, Daniel Kritenbrink, said it all. In a wide-ranging tour d'horizon

of American policy in Asia, including on engagement with partner countries, Canada was not on the list. Similarly, the press briefing for U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken's October visit to Canada does not mention Asia.

The Biden administration has been at pains to demonstrate its commitment to the region, and will make every effort to continue along this path, even in strained political circumstances. The president has reinforced the Quad (the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue between the United States, Japan, India, and Australia); gathered 12 countries for the initial meeting of the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF); and cemented bilateral ties through visits with the leaders of South Korea, Japan, Australia, and Southeast Asia, and most importantly, with Chinese President Xi Jinping on the margins of the G20 in Indonesia last week.

Canada's long-anticipated Indo-Pacific strategy needs to attract some attention from our neighbour. But Canada will also have to make every effort to ensure that its engagement is meaningful and sustained in order to cement partner relations in Asia.

Canada (and the United States for that matter) has a role to play, not only in joining with our like-minded friends, but also in encouraging others to join by pushing for an adjustment of the rules-based order to be more inclusive and to reflect the fact that the world's economic centre has shifted to Asia.

Canada has an advantage through its participation in the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP). It seems to be popular—even China has indicated an interest in joining—but there seems to be little likelihood that the United States will join anytime soon, if ever.

For its part, the United States has its IPEF, which covers some aspects of CPTPP but is not a trade agreement per se. The IPEF was initially dismissed as a Congress workaround (the administration has no trade promotion authority which would allow it to negotiate trade agreements) and likely not of interest to countries who would be looking for improved access to the U.S. market. Canada's skepticism has turned to pushing for entry. Partner countries in Asia seem to be happy that the U.S. is exercising leadership.

The wild card, of course, is China, and much of what has evolved with the CPTPP and IPEF is directly related to the China challenge. China has been both a major beneficiary of, and major contributor to, globalization, and is seeking to increase its participation in multilateral organizations and have greater influence overall.

Depending less on Chinese inputs and finished products in advanced technology sectors probably makes sense, but there is little evidence so far that decoupling from China is working.

The Biden administration's approach to China, summed up as "invest, align, compete," has implications for all of Asia and beyond. On the "invest" side, while stressing that the United States is not looking for a new Cold War, in fact, the domestic innovation element of the country's China strategy harkens back to that era. Canadians should take heed, including to the second tenet of the policy, "align." The focus is also on domestic initiatives to sharpen America's competitive edge and promote supply chain resilience, another element relevant to Canada.

The U.S., like Canada, has lessened its investment in

research and development, and China has surged ahead. America's China policy focuses not only on the development of technologies, but also shaping how these technologies are used, "rooted in democratic rather than authoritarian values," according to Blinken in a recent speech. This would not only make the U.S. stronger, it would also "make us a better ally." The focus on supply chain resilience (including critical minerals and semi-conductors) and the digital economy (including standards-setting) is an important part of the Biden administration's vision for the Indo-Pacific—where goods, ideas, and people flow freely, including across cyberspace. In folding the discussion of the China policy into these larger frameworks, Blinken's not-so-implicit message to China was America's commitment to expanding alliances and frameworks.

However, the key to engaging with Asia for the United States—and by extension for Canada as well—is to acknowledge that Asian countries do not wish to choose. As Blinken stated, "we don't expect every country to have the exact same assessment of China as we do," recognizing that economic ties with China are vital to others' (and America's for that matter) interests—trade and investment with China is the largest slice of bilateral commercial relations for most of the countries in the region.

Canada's Indo-Pacific strategy will promote diversification, but according to data on Canadian company locations in Asia assembled at the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, China is the largest destination. And Canadian tech companies, particularly in advanced manufacturing, software, and analytics, are active in China.

The "align" aspect of America's policy is an acknowledgement that the U.S. cannot go it alone—Canada should be seen as a partner, along with key U.S. allies in Asia such as Japan and South Korea, and Australia.

For all of these like-minded partners, the scale and scope of dealing with China will test the strength of diplomacy. The United States is building a "China house" within the U.S. government to co-ordinate U.S. policy across a wide range of issues. Investing to build China competence in Global Affairs Canada will be an objective of the Indo-Pacific strategy.

The pandemic and the implications of China's ascent to become the world's second-largest economy will challenge open market economies in the Indo-Pacific. Building market resilience, from vaccine to micro-chip production, should be at the top of the agenda. Canada can lead and build partnerships in this region—home to 60 per cent of the world's population and GDP—which will be critical to the country's future.

Deanna Horton is a fellow at the Canadian Global Affairs Institute and a senior fellow at the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy.

The Hill Times

New immigration targets essential for Canada's economic prosperity

Immigration is the only way Canada can address the growing demographic and economic pressures it is facing.

Michael Adams
& Lisa
Lalande

Opinion



Canada is breaking records on immigration. The federal government recently announced increased targets for the next two years, with the intention to welcome a record 500,000 new permanent residents in 2025. Statistics Canada's latest release from the 2021 census shows immigrants now make up a greater share of the population than at any point in our history as a country. The latest Focus Canada survey report breaks a record of a different kind: Canadians have never been more supportive of immigration than they are today, showing Canada truly stands out for its openness to diversity and change.

These points also suggest an awareness of the vital contribution immigrants make to the country's social and economic fabric. That may in part explain why Canadians have grown more open to immigration and multiculturalism, not less. The Focus Canada survey report found 70 per cent of Canadians support current immigration levels—the largest majority to do so in more than four decades of polling.

Similarly, there is also growing public support for accepting refugees, not only from Ukraine, but also from countries such as Afghanistan. Three-in-four Canadians now agree we should accept more newcomers from parts of the world experiencing major conflicts—twice the proportion that held that view 20 years ago.

This is remarkable at a time when nationalism, populism, and anti-immigrant sentiment are on the rise globally. But while Canada has been more welcoming than most nations, support for immigration in this country cannot be taken for granted. As the country wrestles with rising inflation, housing affordability, a strained health-care system, and an increasingly toxic political environment, support for immigration could erode.

Our research shows concerns about immigration have to do with how quickly newcomers integrate into Canadian soci-



New Canadians at a citizenship ceremony in Ottawa in October 2018. The support Canadians show for immigration should provide our elected leaders with the political courage required to invest in attracting more newcomers to Canada, write Lisa Lalande and Michael Adams. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

ety. Canadians are fairly evenly divided as to whether there are too many immigrants coming to Canada who are not adopting our values. But the proportion who disagree has also never been as high as it is today. Indeed, the survey found nine in 10 of us now see multiculturalism as important to Canadian identity, and a steadily growing majority of Canadians are rejecting the attitude that Canada accepts too many immigrants from racialized cultures.

Our research also provided some interesting regional insights. In Quebec, where immigration was a campaign issue in the provincial election, our research confirmed Quebecers are no less

supportive of immigration and no less welcoming of refugees than Canadians elsewhere in the country. Quebecers are especially sensitive to potential threats to language and culture, but like other Canadians, Quebecers recognize the benefits immigration brings to our economy and society.

The insights into Canadians' attitudes toward immigration and immigrants are invaluable at this juncture in our history. Our population is aging, our work forces shrinking, the demand for skilled labour growing more acute, and our birth rate is at its lowest in more than 100 years. This is creating demographic

pressure we must address if we want to sustain the quality of life we've grown accustomed to and want a prosperous future for the country's next generations. Immigration is the only way we can address the growing demographic and economic pressures we're facing. The support Canadians show for immigration should provide our elected leaders with the political courage required to invest in attracting more newcomers to Canada.

Naturally, challenges remain. We do not always deliver on the promises we make to newcomers. Many face barriers—whether in the form of prejudice, or red tape—as they try to put the skills they bring with them to work. Immigrants, and especially the children of immigrants, expect not only public attitudes to change, but also the policies and practices of public institutions, such as the health-care system and our police forces.

The fact remains that these challenges are much more likely to be met when the public is solidly onside—meaning we can face them together. We are no utopia. But whatever issues may divide Canadians today, immigration is not one of them. In this sense, the country has never been more united. That's an advantage and an opportunity that we, as a country, can't afford to ignore—our economic future depends on it.

Michael Adams is the founder and president of the Environics Institute for Survey Research. Lisa Lalande is the CEO of Century Initiative, a non-partisan charity aimed at increasing Canada's population to 100 million by 2100. *The Hill Times*

Canada's national parks must be kept accessible for all

Who is and isn't getting an opportunity to enjoy and engage with Canada's most beloved protected areas is important data to collect, but Parks Canada only includes a count of the number of cars that pass through park gates.

Debbie
Harksen

Opinion



Banff National Park's surprise move to include a separate visitor management plan in its final draft of the 2020 Park Management Plan causes considerable concern for recreationalists, businesses, and other users of the mountain national parks.

Imposing restrictions on access will create exclusive experiences only for a small subset

of visitors. The Association for Mountain Park Protection and Enjoyment (AMPPE) believes there is a better way that finds sustainable solutions to manage visitor experience while preserving these iconic landscapes. AMPPE agrees that we must protect parks for future generations, but urges Parks Canada to take a broad view and consider the unintended consequences in the current proposed approach.

Parks Canada already limits visitors in select areas. For example, at Lake O'Hara in Yoho National Park, Parks Canada implemented a reservation system to assign day-use bus reservations. It would be interesting to

know which people successfully obtained these coveted spots. Understanding basic demographic information would be important in deciding if or when to assign management strategies.

Banff, Alta., has already successfully reduced traffic through a new intercept parking lot and expanded its transit service. On Oct. 20, the *Rocky Mountain Outlook* reported that the town had experienced a "mode shift." This was the first summer that private vehicle occupants accounted for fewer than 70 per cent of people crossings across the Bow River—a prime bottleneck area. This is evidence that current management strategies are starting to work.

This summer, the town also saw a corresponding increase in transit ridership, so much so that the local transit service, ROAM, has received approval for a budget increase that will see positions added and a jump in service hours.

Like many other towns, Banff experimented with creating a pedestrian zone on its main street.

Even with a major road closed to traffic this summer, the town had nine days with travel times over 15 minutes, versus 15 days in 2019.

Our mountain parks need to be inclusive. The National Park Service in the United States prepared a study linking its 2010 census data to park visitation. They found that, compared to the general public, national park visitors in the U.S. were more educated, reported higher income levels, and were overwhelmingly white. It would be an easy assumption to make that similar trends could exist in Canada. By contrast, publicly available data from Parks Canada currently only includes a count of the number of cars through the park gates.

Using demographic data, such as the U.S. Parks Service collects, could be a good starting point for understanding more about our visitors. Even better would be to employ and expand the use of existing Government of Canada tools and tactics to understand who is and who isn't getting an opportunity to enjoy and engage with Canada's most beloved protected areas.

As the Canadian population grows (mostly through immigration), we must continue to invite (new) Canadians to connect with parks, which necessitates access.

Parks Canada has made a positive shift in the last couple of years to offer shuttle buses. A great starting point would be to increase investment in local and regional transit. This would achieve climate goals by limiting vehicles traveling to and from the parks, and improve equity for underrepresented demographics. Parks Canada and essential stakeholders like guides, businesses, and environmental groups all share the same priorities—healthy and inclusive parks that balance visitor experience with sustainability. Innovative projects and enhanced visitor offerings can ensure a healthy mountain park network that can be enjoyed by future generations and is not off-limits to various demographics.

Through the pandemic, we learned how important parks and natural areas are to the health and well-being of Canadians. People are important for parks as well. Connecting people to nature through meaningful experiences creates a culture of long-term environmental stewardship.

Debbie Harksen is the director of communications and engagement for the Association for Mountain Parks Protection & Enjoyment.

The Hill Times

News

Tories’ dominant fundraising pattern looks stable enough to weather looming recession, say politicians

Continued from page 4

be far less vulnerable to an economic downturn.

“Because of the profile of their donor base being more numerous and more focused on small individual donations, [the Conservatives] might be a little more resilient in an economic downturn compared to the rest of the parties,” Nanos said.

Over the next six to eight months, an impending recession may begin to affect the flow of donations to political parties and charities as the economy becomes increasingly more difficult for Canadians, agreed Tim Powers, vice-chairman of Summa Strategies and managing director of Abacus Data. However, he added that the longer the Conservatives remain in opposition to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s (Papineau, Que.) Liberal government, the more motivated the party’s donors are.

“The Conservative fundraising machine, which amazes me all these years later, is still very attuned to picking the issues that get people to open their wallets,” Powers told *The Hill Times*. “Can that go on forever? I don’t know, but that [supply-and-confidence agreement] and Trudeau seem to really irk Conservative donors.”

Powers added that he expected the new members Poilievre was able to attract during the leadership race would continue to open their wallets to the party, noting that the enthusiasm they demonstrated during Poilievre’s campaign has yet to show signs of dissipating.

“There’s probably some more enthusiasm in the broader donor base, too, sensing that Poilievre has a decent opportunity at winning whenever an election comes,” Powers said.

On the flip side, former NDP staffer Cam Holmstrom, founder and principal



Yaroslav Baran says the third-quarter Conservative party fundraising totals and large number of smaller contributions during a simultaneous leadership election were surprisingly strong. Photograph courtesy of Earnscliff

of Niipaawi Strategies, had previously voiced concerns to *The Hill Times* that the supply-and-confidence agreement with the Liberals could have a negative impact on the New Democrats’ ability to fundraise as an opposition party.

“At the end of the day, it’s like they’ve taken their foot off the gas,” Holmstrom explained. “You take away that urgency.”

Fortunately for the NDP, Holmstrom said he views the party’s consistent fundraising numbers as a vote of confidence from their base that they were on the right track.

“The fact that people have still been giving without that sword of Damocles hanging over their head speaks to two things,” Holmstrom explained. “[The NDP] have got a nice resilient donor pool, but people are also happy with what they have been doing, because if they weren’t, they wouldn’t be giving.”

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The Hill Times

Migrant rights advocates bristle at calls to fill labour shortage in construction with temporary foreign workers



The construction industry is calling on Immigration Minister Sean Fraser, seen here on Sept. 15, to make significant changes to Canada’s immigration system to help address labour shortages. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

The Canadian Construction Association has called for greater access to temporary foreign workers, but rights groups warn that expanding this program without a genuine offer of permanent residency will lead to greater exploitation of migrants.

BY KEVIN PHILIPUPILLAI

Migrant rights advocates are pushing back against the construction industry’s call for the government to expand access to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program to help address labour shortages in construction.

The Canadian Construction Association (CCA) held a lobby day on Parliament Hill on Nov. 15 to call on the federal government “to modernize Canada’s immigration policy and update the Temporary Foreign Worker Program [TFWP] in order to address the most severe labour shortage Canada has faced in more than 50 years.”

CCA president Mary Van Buren said in a written statement released before the lobby day that “it is vital that we turn to immigration and temporary foreign labour to help alleviate the choke points created by the workforce shortage.” The Nov. 14 statement added that the construction industry is currently struggling to fill more than 81,000 jobs across the country. The association, which represents more than 20,000 member firms, said the industry as a whole employs more than 1.4 million people and contributes 7.5 per cent of Canada’s GDP.

The call for more temporary foreign workers raised red flags for migrants’ rights advocates. Syed Hussan, executive director of the Migrant Workers Alliance for Change, told *The Hill Times* that “the

Continued on page 29

Fundraising over first three quarters, 2022

Party	Q1 2022	Q2 2022	Q3 2022
Conservatives	\$4,991,683	\$4,431,464	\$3,925,351
Liberals	\$3,230,198	\$2,760,803	\$3,196,181
NDP	\$1,373,179	\$1,182,169	\$1,174,832
Greens	\$419,405	\$437,835	\$347,733
Bloc Québécois	\$353,077	\$248,252	\$108,668

Source: Elections Canada

Fundraising over first three quarters, 2020 to 2022

Party	2022	2021	2020
Conservatives	\$13,001,354	\$23,420,710	\$13,348,498
Liberals	\$8,614,900	\$14,493,057	\$9,187,181
NDP	\$3,595,325	\$7,178,660	\$3,730,180
Greens	\$2,016,528	\$2,686,255	\$1,204,973
Bloc Québécois	\$615,587	\$1,948,221	\$954,406

Source: Elections Canada

Continued from page 28

very fundamentals of the temporary foreign worker program are wrong” because it creates a class of indentured workers who are tied to one employer for their legal status as well as their livelihood.

Citing accounts his organization has gathered from migrant construction workers in the last month, Hussan called the temporary foreign worker program “effectively a blank cheque to employers to exploit people.”

“We need to ensure that migrant workers come to this country with permanent resident status, because that is the only way for them to have access to equal rights,” said Hussan.

NDP MP and immigration critic Jenny Kwan (Vancouver East, B.C.) told *The Hill Times* that successive Liberal and Conservative governments have relied on the temporary foreign worker program, “even though they know it subjects people to exploitation and abuse.”

Kwan said the government should instead return to an earlier approach to immigration. “Canada used to have an immigration stream that brought in the full range of workers. And over time that has been changed to the point where now the focus is on what [Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada] deems high-skilled workers,” which Kwan said has led to labour and skills shortages in sectors that were not a priority under the new criteria.

Immigration Minister Sean Fraser’s (Central Nova, N.S.) new targets, announced on Nov. 1, aiming to bring in 500,000 newcomers a year by 2025, also continue the trend of relying heavily on temporary foreign workers to address labour and skills shortages, she said.

The TFWP began as a way for the government to bring in workers who did not want to stay in Canada, she noted, such as visiting doctors, professors, and film crews, but grew over the years into something completely different.

Kwan said she met with construction industry representatives on Nov. 15 and asked whether they really wanted more temporary foreign workers. Kwan said the industry representatives agreed with her on the need to address labour and skills shortages with a permanent program for immigrants, and not a temporary program.

“More and more, I am hearing from industry that they want to see people who will come into Canada with permanent status, because they want them to come to make Canada their home,” said Kwan.

There is a perception that the TFWP can fill labour shortages more quickly than the regular immigration system, but Hussan said this is the result of operational and policy choices, such as the number of government officials assigned to work on each stream, and caps on the number of immigrants who can receive proper status.

“First you speed up one road, the one that has more exploitation. And then you say, ‘Well, now we have to use that road because that road is faster,’” said Hussan. He pointed out that temporary foreign workers also have to pass security and medical checks.

IRCC spokesperson Jeffrey MacDonald said in an email that the government approved 3,967 labour market impact assessments within the construction industry in 2021-22, for a total of 7,711 temporary foreign worker positions. MacDonald added that the government has introduced several measures since 2020 to improve the program’s flexibility and reduce the administrative burden for employers, while also introducing regulatory amendments on Sept. 26 that sought to protect workers. These include banning employers from charging recruitment fees. MacDonald



NDP MP Jenny Kwan, seen here at a committee meeting in 2018, says the Temporary Foreign Worker Program has grown far beyond what it was first set up for. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

added that Fraser spoke at a CCA reception on Nov. 14.

Conservative MP and immigration critic Tom Kmiec (Calgary Shepard, Alta.) declined to comment due to a scheduling conflict.

Government expanded access to Temporary Foreign Worker Program in April

The TFWP allows employers to apply for permission to bring in migrant workers when they are not able to find workers in Canada to fill open positions. The program has become critical to industries such as agriculture. Many migrant farm workers have been returning to Canada every year for more than a decade, spending months away from their families and living in shared housing provided by their employers.

The government announced in April that it was expanding access to low-wage temporary foreign workers for seven sectors with demonstrated labour shortages. For one year beginning on Apr. 30, these employers would be able to hire up to 30 per cent of their workforce through the program, instead of the usual 10 per cent.

In response, the NDP said in a press release that, by increasing Canada’s reliance on temporary foreign workers, the government had “chosen to perpetuate a system that favours abuse and exploitation.”

The statement went on to describe “a power imbalance” in the TFWP that has led to migrant workers being exploited, “including being subject to wage theft and poor working conditions.” At the time, the NDP called for the immigration minister to expand entry for permanent residents instead.

Representatives of other industries have also lobbied the federal government regarding access to temporary foreign workers. *The Lobby Monitor* reported in May that the Alberta Hotel and Lodging Association had registered to lobby the government regarding the program, among other things. A search of the federal lobbyist registry shows that representatives of the agriculture, food processing, tourism, entertainment, and hospitality industries, as well as unions, have registered to discuss the TFWP with government departments.

Hussan also questioned the talk of large-scale labour shortages in the construction industry, pointing out that changing house prices and unpredictable weather have created volatility that leaves temporary foreign workers especially vulnerable.

“Across the country, as winter approaches, we have seen construction workers who are temporary foreign workers being laid off,” said Hussan. “We are

supporting a dozen in New Brunswick just this week who are going through this.”

These workers’ immigration status is tied to a single employer, which means once they lose their jobs they become undocumented. They are not legally allowed to work anywhere else, and they do not have access to basic worker protections such as employment insurance.

Hussan said temporary foreign workers pay an average of approximately \$8,000 in recruitment fees, and sometimes more in airfare and other travel expenses, just to get to Canada. “And people aren’t able to make back that money, and then they are laid off.”

“The flexibility that is being championed in the temporary foreign worker program is only for the employer,” said Hussan.

Migrant rights organizations call on government to grant permanent residency to undocumented workers

Hussan said the government recognized the abundance of undocumented workers in the construction industry when it launched a temporary program to allow up to 500 undocumented construction workers and their family members in the Greater Toronto Area to apply for permanent residency. The application deadline has been extended to January 2023, or until 500 undocumented workers apply and are granted permanent residency, whichever happens first.

Fraser’s December 2021 mandate letter includes an instruction to build on such pilot programs and “further explore ways of regularizing status for undocumented workers who are contributing to Canadian communities.”

Migrants’ rights groups, supported by 483 civil society organizations, wrote to Fraser in August asking him to launch a universal regularization program that would provide all undocumented people and all migrants in Canada with legal immigration status, authorization to work, and full access to basic entitlements such as employment insurance.

Kwan said she raised the topic of regularization in her conversation with construction industry representatives on Nov. 15. “We have over half a million people here in Canada who have temporary status or who are undocumented,” said Kwan, adding that many people who have employer-specific work permits lost their jobs and therefore their immigration status because of the COVID-19 pandemic.

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2022-522



Laura Ryckewaert Hill Climbers

New boss, new chief: changes in Tory whip, House leader offices

Sean Murphy, who was previously chief of staff to the Conservative whip, has left the Hill and is now a senior consultant with Earncliffe Strategies.

New Conservative House Leader **Andrew Scheer** and Conservative Whip **Kerry-Lynne Findlay** have settled into their new roles, with staffing changes to note in both offices.

Scheer and Findlay were appointed to their respective roles by new party leader **Pierre Poilievre** on Sept. 13, with Scheer replacing Conservative MP **John Brassard** as House leader and Findlay replacing Conservative MP **Blaine Calkins** as whip.

It will likely come as no shock to seasoned Hill denizens that Scheer has brought over his longtime right-hand aide, **Kenzie Potter**, to once again serve as chief of staff in his office as House leader.

Potter has been working for Scheer since 2011, when she was hired as chief of staff in Scheer's then-new office as Speaker of the House of Commons, a role the Saskatchewan MP served in from June 2011 until December 2015. Scheer was subsequently made House



Kenzie Potter is now chief of staff in the Conservative House leader's office. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

leader under then-interim Conservative leader **Rona Ambrose**, bringing Potter over to continue running his office. After Scheer exited that office in 2016 ahead of his run for party leadership, Potter briefly worked in his Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask., constituency office. Following Scheer's election as party leader in 2017, Potter, who'd worked on his leadership campaign, joined the official opposition leader's office (OLO) as principal secretary. Scheer resigned as leader after the 2019 federal election, and in turn, Potter switched over to lead his MP office on the Hill.

Potter has been a Hill staffer since 2005, starting as an assistant to then-Conservative Senator **Anne Cools**. She switched over to the House side of things in 2006, when she was hired as a committee co-ordinator to then-Conservative government whip **Jay Hill**. She followed Hill when he

was named government House leader in 2008, becoming director of parliamentary affairs. She exited that office in the summer of 2010 to join then-transport minister **Chuck Strahl**'s office as director of parliamentary affairs and issues management—her last role before being hired by Scheer.

Potter replaces **Nathan Ellis**, who served as chief of staff in the House leader's office under Brassard. Ellis has switched over to serve as chief of staff to Findlay as Conservative whip—more on Ellis and that team shortly.

Aside from Potter's addition and Ellis' departure, the rest of the House leader's office is unchanged.



Nathan Ellis is now running the Conservative whip's office. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

Prest has been working on the Hill for four decades. Starting as a janitor while still a student, his first political gig came in 1982 when he was hired as an aide to then-Progressive Conservative whip **Bill Kempling**. Prest went on to work for then-PC Whip **Jim Hawkes** before moving over to the PC party's House leader's office. He's worked for every Conservative House leader since the party was formed in 2003.



Colin Thackeray remains in the Conservative House leader's office. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

senior adviser in the office in 2016.

Church, who has a background in law, has been working on the Hill since 2009, first as a senior adviser to then-public safety minister **Peter Van Loan**. He did the same in Van Loan's subsequent office as

Veteran staffer **David Prest** leads the parliamentary affairs team, which also includes senior advisers **Colin Thackeray** and **Adam Church**. **Leah Young** is a senior adviser for both parliamentary affairs and communications.

then-international trade minister and was chief of staff to Van Loan as government House leader from 2011 to 2015. He's been a senior adviser in the office ever since.

Young, meanwhile, joined the team more recently, having been hired in her current role under then-House leader Brassard this past spring. Before then, she was an assistant to B.C. Conservative MP **Brad Vis**, and spent a little more than a year working in then-party leader **Erin O'Toole**'s OLO, ending as a junior writer.

Jumping to Findlay's office as whip, Ellis brings roughly five years of experience working for Conservative House leaders to his new chief of staff role. A former assistant to then-Conservative MP **David Sweet** during Sweet's time as caucus chair, Ellis joined then-House leader **Candice Bergen**'s team as a senior adviser in 2017.

Previously, **Sean Murphy** was chief of staff in the whip's office. He has left the Hill, and announced his new role as a senior consultant with Earncliffe Strategies on Twitter on Nov. 8.

"After over a decade on Parliament Hill, I'm crossing the street to check out the view from the other side of Wellington St.," he wrote, referring to the downtown Ottawa street that lines Parliament Hill.

According to his bio on Earncliffe's website, he'll be focused on parliamentary affairs, government relations, and campaign organizing.



Sean Murphy is now working for Earncliffe Strategies. *Photograph courtesy of Twitter*

manager of parliamentary affairs, and was promoted to chief of staff by then-whip **Blake Richards** in the fall of 2020. (For every role he's held in the whip's office, Murphy's LinkedIn profile refers to his relevant skills as "herding cats.")

Along with Ellis, three other staffers have joined the whip's office since Findlay took over the role in September.

Wade Myall and **Nick Drain** have been hired as committee co-ordinators.

Myall joined the office at the beginning of November and was previously working as a Hill assistant to Alberta Conservative MP **Chris Warkentin**. He's also a former aide to then-Alberta Conservative MP **Rob Anders** and then-Conservative Senator **Lynn Beyak**, and worked as a committee co-ordinator for Senate Conservatives during the Harper government years.

Drain was hired to the whip's office in October and is a former assistant to B.C. Conservative MP **Dan Albas**. He's also previously worked for then-Alberta Conservative MP **Gerald Soroka**.

Francesca Desaulniers, who was previously working for Findlay as the MP for South Surrey-White Rock, B.C., moved over to her whip's office as a senior administrative assistant in September. Desaulniers graduated from Carleton University with a master's degree in political management in 2021 (having completed her degree while working on the Hill), and earlier earned a bachelor's degree in political science and government from the school.

Kelly Williams, who's been in the whip's office since 2010, continues as a senior ad-



Francesca Desaulniers has joined the Conservative whip's office. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

ministrative assistant. She's a former assistant to then-justice minister **Rob Nicholson** and then-Ontario Conservative MP **Greg Rickford** (who's now Ontario's minister for Indigenous affairs).

Saica Pierre-Louis remains an administrative assistant. A former administrative assistant and office manager for the federal Conservative Party, she's been in the whip's office since 2020.

Sébastien Togneri remains lobby co-ordinator to the Conservative whip. A former Harper-era cabinet staff, he's been in the office since returning to the Hill in 2018. Togneri first became a federal political staffer in 2004, starting as an assistant to then-Alberta Conservative MP **James Rajotte**. He spent time as a lobby co-ordinator in Hill's office as chief government whip between 2007 and 2008 before landing a job as director of parliamentary affairs to then-public works minister **Christian Paradis**. He worked for Paradis until 2010, ending as head of parliamentary affairs in his office as natural resources minister. Before his return in 2018, Togneri worked in a range of roles, including as an executive assistant to B.C.'s then-Liberal energy and mines minister and as a legislative co-ordinator for the United Conservative Party caucus in Alberta.

Matthew Senft is a senior committees adviser. A former assistant to Alberta Conservative MP **Shannon Stubbs**, he's been with the whip's team since 2020, starting as a committee co-ordinator.

Senft began working on Parliament Hill back in 2006, starting as an intern before being hired as an assistant to then-B.C. Conservative MP **Ron Cannan** (who recently got elected to Kelowna, B.C., city council). He, too, later worked for Hill as then-chief government whip (as a committee co-ordinator) between 2007 and 2008, and went on to work for a number of Harp-



Sébastien Togneri is the Tory whip's point-person in the opposition lobby. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

er-era ministers, including then-heritage minister **Josée Verner**, then-citizenship and immigration minister **Jason Kenney**, then-labour minister **Lisa Raitt**, then-human resources minister **Diane Finley**, for Paradis as then-international development minister, and for then-trade minister **Ed Fast**. Between 2015 and 2018, Senft was an assistant to Alberta Conservative MP **Rachael Thomas**.

Finally, **Emily Thibert** continues as a committee co-ordinator. She first joined the whip's office in 2019 under then-whip **Mark Strahl** and is a former assistant to Ontario Conservative MP **Marilyn Gladu**.

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The Hill Times

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

Transport Minister Alghabra to talk air sector recovery Nov. 24



Transport Minister Omar Alghabra is hosting a National Summit on the Recovery of the Air Sector on Nov. 24. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 23

IRPP Anniversary Gala—The Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP) is hosting a gala fundraising celebration to mark its 50th 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/

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 Métropolitain 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. 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 at the Canada School of Public Service in Ottawa from 10 a.m.-1 p.m. on Nov. 24. Focused on post-pandemic recovery, lessons learned over the summer, and ways to improve air travel, the roundtable will include air industry leaders and stakeholders.

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 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.

THURSDAY, DEC. 1

All Hands on Deck: Building an Ontario that Works for Everyone—Join us for lunch and a keynote address with Monte McNaughton, Ontario's minister of labour, immigration, training and skills development. Get your tickets today at canadianclubottawa.ca. Thursday, Dec. 1. Doors at 11:30 a.m. Program begins at noon sharp. Program ends at 1:30p.m.

Journalists and Online Hate—Public Safety Minister Marco Mendicino will take part in a panel discussion on "Journalists and online hate: What to do when the battlefield is everywhere." Other panel participants include *Hill Times* columnist Erica Iffill, *Toronto Star* reporter Raisa Patel, and *The Narwhal's* Fatima Syed. The event will take place on Dec. 1 from 6-8:30 p.m., at Carleton University in Room 2220, Richcraft Hall, 1125 Colonel By Drive. For further details, visit events.carleton.ca.

FRIDAY, DEC. 2

15th Annual European Union Christmas Concert—The Delegation of the European Union to Canada and the diplomatic missions of EU member states

are hosting an evening of European Christmas carols and songs, featuring performances by the Ottawa Catholic School Board Choir, Ottawa Children's Choir, Ottawa Gay Men's Chorus, Chorale Lyrica, Ottawa Four Seasons Brass Ensemble, and guest performer soprano Solomia Chabursky. Music will be performed in 25 different European languages. The concert will take place in Ottawa on Dec. 2 at the Notre Dame Cathedral Basilica, 385 Sussex Drive. Doors open at 7 p.m., and the concert begins at 7:30 p.m. The event is free. Register online at eventbrite.ca. For more information, call the EU Delegation at 613-668-9434.

MONDAY, DEC. 5

Institute of Public Administration of Canada Holiday Celebration—The Institute of Public Administration of Canada, National Capital Region, hosts an in-person gathering on Dec. 5 to mark the holiday season for members and friends to meet fellow colleagues interested in public administration. Either come dressed in your holiday best or to increase your chances of winning a door prize, come with your ugliest and tackiest holiday sweater. Register at <https://ipac2022iapc.eventbrite.ca>

MONDAY, DEC. 12

Northwest Territories Municipal (hamlets) Election—Voters in the Northwest Territories' hamlets will elect leaders in the territory's municipalities on Monday, Dec. 12.

TUESDAY, DEC. 13

Party Under the Stars—To the Stan and Back presents Party Under the Stars. MPs from all parties will convene to support post-combat wellness programs, with 100 per cent

of all net proceeds going to the cause. Canadian Country Music Award winner Jason McCoy will perform. Join us for an open bar, prizes, silent auction, and great food. Tuesday, Dec. 13, 5:30 p.m., at Ottawa City Hall. Tickets are \$40, available through Eventbrite. Contact Cheri Elliott at 343-297-5582 for further information.

TUESDAY, JAN. 17— WEDNESDAY, JAN. 18, 2023

Crown Corporate Governance—Hosted by CI, Crown Corporate Governance returns for another exciting year with curated programming that will address the most critical challenges, create solutions, and provide guidance for decision-makers of crown corporations and public sector entities. This year's co-chairs include Teresa Woo-Paw, chair at Canadian Race Relations Foundation; Colleen Ouellette, deputy secretary and director corporate secretariat at Export Development Canada; and Thomas Yeo, partner at Torys LLP. Among the speakers are Anne-Cecile Lequain, general manager, employee services and diversity at Canada Post; Chantal Guay, CEO at Standards Council of Canada; Frederic Duguay, general counsel and corporate secretary at Canada Infrastructure Bank; and other key stakeholders. Join the chairs and board members of leading federal and provincial crown corporations, as well as government and public sector executives, as they share insights and practical solutions on obstacles and challenges impeding board directors today. Jan. 17-18, 2023. Save 10 per cent with the Hill Times Publishing promo code: D10-999-HILLTIMES. For more, visit: bit.ly/3S9nsc4, email: customerservice@canadianinstitute.com, or call 1-877-927-7936.



THE NORTH

How has climate change impacted infrastructure in and around northern communities? How can the federal government ensure a strong supply chain in the north?

What are the opportunities for scientists in the Canadian Arctic? How can Canada be positioned as a global leader in Arctic science?

What can the federal government do to renew the nation-to-nation relationship with Indigenous peoples, who make up

more than half of the 200,000 inhabitants of the Canadian Arctic? What challenges face Indigenous peoples in the north?

How can Canada ensure arctic security? How has security in the Arctic region been impacted by potential threats from Russia or China?

What is the current situation regarding availability of housing in northern Canada? What federal policies can address public housing in the north?

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