



**Feds table billions in spending estimates**

**Tim Powers**  
p. 4

pp. 6-7



**Natural Resources policy briefing**

pp. 15-24



**What could Singh learn from Notley?** p. 12

**Diplomatic Circles**  
p. 29



# THE HILL TIMES

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR, NO. 2031

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7, 2023 \$5.00

## NEWS

Advocates call for feds to provide more detail on response to Uganda's harsh new anti-LGBTQ law

BY NEIL MOSS

Following cross-party condemnation of a new anti-LGBTQ law enacted in Uganda, advocates want to see the Canadian government publicize a plan to help safeguard LGBTQ+ Ugandans and target human rights abusers. Uganda's anti-LGBTQ bill was enacted into law last week following its passage through Parliament last March. It calls for the death penalty to be imposed for some cases of "aggravated homosexuality," as well as a 20-year sentence for those "promoting" LGBTQ issues and a 10-year sentence for same-sex relations, which are already illegal in Uganda.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly (Ahuntsic-Cartierville, Ont.) said in a May 29 statement that Canada is "deeply concerned" about the law being enacted, and called for its repeal.

"Canada stands with the LGBTQ+ community in Uganda and around the world and calls on the Government of Uganda to revoke this law," she said. "We are committed to working with partners in the region that have experience supporting communities

Continued on page 25

## NEWS

# Intel briefings should prioritize digital hygiene, mitigation against foreign interference over specific threats, says former DND analyst

BY STUART BENSON

Amid Parliament's ongoing probe of foreign interference allegations, Canada's intelligence service has been directed to do a better job of informing Parliamentarians of threats and to address the information breakdown in that process. But former defence department analyst Thomas Juneau argues intelligence briefings should focus more on mitigation and good digital hygiene, rather than trying to notify MPs every time a diplomat mentions their name.

Two more MPs—Conservative Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ont.) and New Democrat Jenny Kwan (Vancouver East, B.C.)—came forward last week to reveal the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) had recently briefed them on foreign interference campaigns, raising concerns

Continued on page 26



NDP MP Jenny Kwan, left, and Conservative MPs Michael Chong and Erin O'Toole have all confirmed the Canadian Security Intelligence Service has briefed them about ongoing campaigns allegedly orchestrated by the Chinese government. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

## NEWS

# 'Flurry of activities' won't ensure military culture change, say analysts

BY NEIL MOSS

With a "significant level" of work going on to address the sexual misconduct crisis in

the Armed Forces, experts say the focus needs to shift from activities to outcomes to ensure the military's culture is changed.

Receiving little fanfare, Jocelyne Therrien released the first external monitor status report last month in her role overseeing

the implementation of the 48 recommendations made by former Supreme Court Justice Louise Arbour in May 2022.

The report notes that Therrien has "witnessed a significant level of tangible activity" from the Canadian military as it is responding to the various recommendations from external reviews of its

Continued on page 28



Mike Lapointe

## Heard On The Hill

# ‘Let’s challenge the status quo’: Ottawa Centre MP Yasir Naqvi officially launches Ontario Liberal leadership bid



Liberal MP Yasir Naqvi, pictured at the 2023 Liberal National Convention at the Shaw Centre. The former Ontario cabinet minister has officially launched his campaign for the Ontario Liberal Party's top job. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

After months of preparing for a run at the Ontario Liberal Party's leadership, Ottawa Centre Liberal MP **Yasir Naqvi** has officially thrown his hat into the ring.

"The time has come for us to transform the Ontario Liberal Party and work towards a better Ontario," said Naqvi on Twitter on June 5. "The status quo under [Ontario Premier] **Doug Ford**'s Conservatives is simply not good enough. Join me. Let's challenge the status quo."

Naqvi, who served in a number of provincial cabinet minister roles under then-premier **Kathleen Wynne**—including as labour minister, community safety minister, government house leader, and attorney general—ran for federal politics in the 2021 election.

Naqvi defeated NDP candidate **Angella MacEwen** by just fewer than 9,300 votes in Ottawa Centre following former Liberal MP and cabinet minister **Catherine McKenna**'s decision to step down after her election wins in 2015 and 2019.

Naqvi, who served as parliamentary secretary for both the president of the King's Privy Council as well as the minister of emergency preparedness, stepped away from the roles in mid-March as his early efforts around winning the provincial party's leadership geared up.

The Liberal MP kicked off his "listening tour" in Timmins, Ont., on June 4, tweeting that he wanted to "listen to the challenges you and your family are having and together we'll build the solutions for a brighter future. Stay tuned in for our next stop!"

As reported by the *Toronto Star*, Liberal MP **Nathaniel Erskine-Smith** and Liberal MPP **Ted Hsu** have already entered the race, with Mississauga, Ont., mayor **Bonnie Crombie** and Liberal MPP **Adil Shamji** also exploring bids.

## Canada's first ever chief information officer returns to federal fold in new role

After a number of years working outside of the federal government, **Alex Benay** is headed back into the upper echelons of the public service.

On May 31, Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** appointed Benay as associate deputy minister of public services and procurement (enterprise pay co-ordination), effective June 26.

Benay was named the government's first chief information officer—a deputy minister-level position—in 2017, serving until 2019 before stepping away and heading to KPMG Canada.

Benay then worked as global head of government azure strategy with Microsoft from 2020-2022; vice-chair of the National



Alex Benay, who worked as the federal government's chief information officer from 2017-2019, has been appointed as an associate deputy minister of public services and procurement. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Arts Centre since May 2022; and senior partner with Levio Business and Technology since April 2023.

*The Hill Times* dubbed Benay the government's "disruptor in chief" in 2019 when he was tasked with heading the government's transition to digital service delivery.

In other public service moves, the prime minister appointed **Cynthia (Cindy) Termorshuizen**, currently associate deputy minister of foreign affairs, to serve concurrently as personal representative of the prime minister (sherpa) for the G7 Summit.

**Daniel Rogers**, currently deputy secretary to the cabinet for emergency preparedness and COVID recovery in the Privy Council Office, will stay in the office but shift to the role of deputy national security and intelligence adviser to the prime minister and deputy secretary to the cabinet for emergency preparedness.

**Stephen de Boer** will now be the foreign and defence policy adviser to the prime minister, effective June 12; **Tushara Williams** will be deputy minister of intergovernmental affairs in the PCO, effective June 19; and **Eric Costen** will become associate deputy minister of health, effective June 26.

**Natasha Kim** will also become the associate deputy minister of national defence, as of June 12.

## Pride flag flies outside entrance of Prime Minister's Office; Canada Post launches Pride postmark

Pride Month is now in full gear across Canada, with the Pride flag flying outside the entrance of the Prime Minister's Office and Canada Post unveiling a Pride postmark on its Ottawa headquarters.

"The launch of Pride Month serves as a reminder to all of us that we have a role to play. By ensuring that everyone feels safe, equal and always welcome, at work and in the communities we call home, we are helping to strengthen this country," said **Doug Ettinger**, president and CEO of Canada Post in a release.

"With that in mind, I'm thrilled to unveil our new Pride postmark."



Pride flags fly outside the entrance of the Prime Minister's Office on Wellington Street as Pride Month began at the beginning of June. *Photograph courtesy of Twitter*



Canada Post CEO Doug Ettinger unveiled the corporation's Pride month postmark outside of its Ottawa headquarters on June 1. *Photograph courtesy of Canada Post*

The postmark is a beacon to all who see it that here at Canada Post we do right by our people, and that our allyship with the LGBTQ2S+ community runs strong," said Ettinger. The rainbow-coloured emblem is on the front of the Canada Post building at Riverside Drive and Heron Road.

The Pride flag was first raised on Parliament Hill by the prime minister in June 2016. The prime minister's press secretary **Alison Murphy** confirmed to *The Hill Times* that the Pride flag has also flown outside of the Wellington Street PMO building for a few years now.

## MPs partake as Ribfest descends on Sparks Street

From the big lemon, to live music, to the smell of crackling ribs and pulled pork filling the air, vendors and rib trucks dominated the landscape once again in downtown Ottawa last week for the city's annual Ribfest on Sparks Street.

"What a fantastic success Ottawa RibFest is again this year!" tweeted Liberal MP **Rachel Ben-dayan**, who represents Outrem-

ont, Que., on June 2. "Great to see visitors from near and far come enjoy one of our many festivals."

Liberal MP for Scarborough-Agincourt, Ont., **Jean Yip** also took advantage of the nearby smorgasbord, popping over to the food festival on June 1.

"I enjoyed Billy Bones' Smokey BBQ ribs, Twisted Potato's mac & cheese bites and these local butter tarts," she tweeted.

## The Globe and Mail's CEO Phillip Crawley retiring

After a quarter-century at the helm of the *Globe and Mail*, CEO **Phillip Crawley** has announced he will be stepping away this summer.

**Andrew Saunders**, *The Globe's* chief revenue officer, has been named as Crawley's successor upon his Aug. 31 retirement.

"Andrew is a natural leader who lives and breathes the values of *The Globe and Mail*," said Crawley in a June 1 release. Saunders has been with *The Globe* since 2002. "He believes in fostering a collaborative culture among staff members, recognizing that a highly engaged team is essential to the success of any organization."



*Globe and Mail* publisher Phillip Crawley is retiring after 25 years at the helm of the national newspaper. *Screenshot courtesy of Parlvu*

"He builds relationships with people from all departments, always with an eye towards *The Globe's* long-term growth and success," said Crawley, who joined the paper in 1998.

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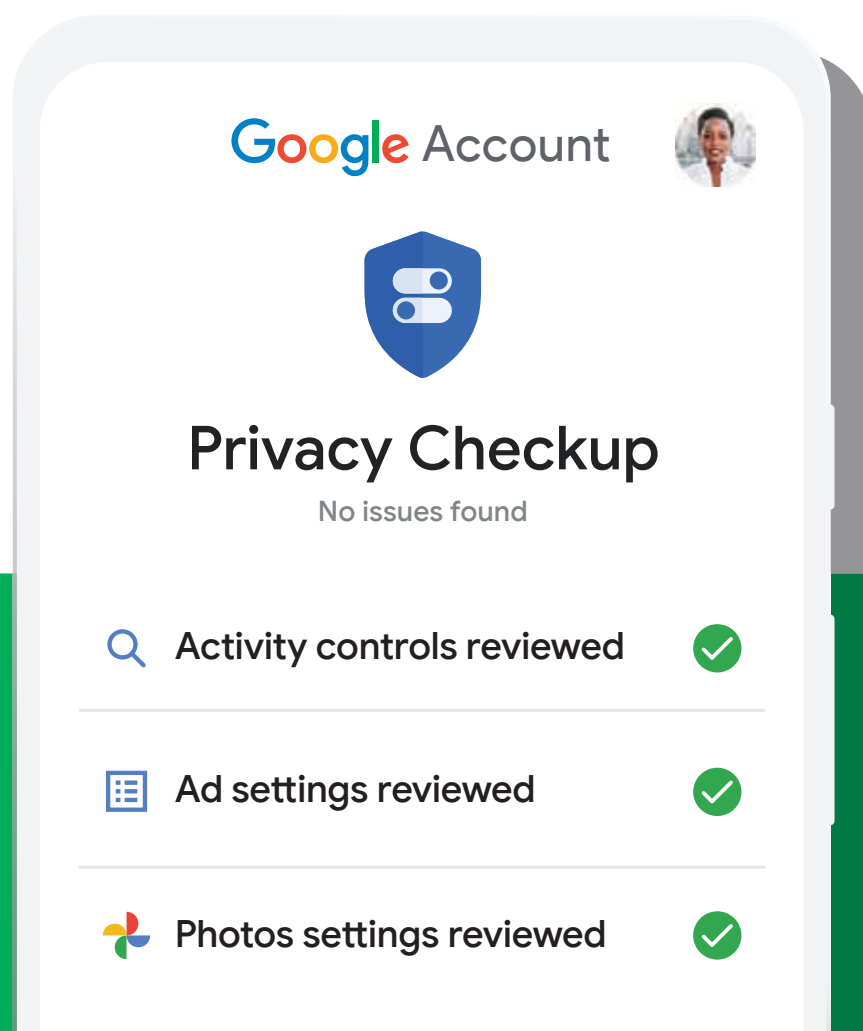


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## Comment

# Attacks on Johnston a politically convenient way to avoid the hard conversations

Despite some public pronouncements, I can't imagine anyone in political Ottawa wants Johnston to step aside. Then, they'd have to talk policy and solutions.

Tim Powers

*Plain Speak*



OTTAWA—Call this a focus group of one from a non-Conservative strategist. Readers of this space and outlet will get the joke. We will see if this column gets a few motivated letters to the editor.

Today is not about putting a stick in anyone's eye, but rather looking at someone who has had sticks thrust at every orifice of his body. Yes, you guessed it: the former governor general and current Special Rapporteur on Foreign Interference David Johnston.

This is being written in advance of Johnston's three-hour appearance before the parliamentary Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs. Others will offer insight on what he says and glean meaning from that. I want to look at how Johnston has become a hot potato of political convenience among the main actors on Parliament Hill.

Let me state again: I think Johnston is a person of great integrity and character. In a way, you must admire his determination to tough it out and finish the job he was assigned, even while he has become the current centrepiece of the foreign interference story. That is some kind of perseverance in the face of the storm of character assault he has been subject to in some quarters. (Note to a certain crisis communication firm that is advising the former GG: you can borrow that narrative if you like. No royalties required.)

However, Johnston is blatantly being used by the Liberals, Conservatives, and New Democrats to suit their own story lines. It would seem no one wants to dig deep into some of the information he has reported on, from foreign interference being real and determined to a government intelligence apparatus that—to be polite—needs work. Talking about systems and processes is less politically opportune for the political players. Spy stories are sexy when they have human elements in them, with simple story lines, conspiracy, cover-up, loyalty pledges, and of course an old James Bond character, like Jaws, Goldfinger, or Pussy Galore. Unfortunately, none of the latter have yet emerged.

The Liberals want the current debate to be about Johnston, his suitability for the rapporteur appointment, and his integrity.



Special Rapporteur David Johnston is blatantly being used by the Liberals, Conservatives, and New Democrats to suit their own story lines. It would seem no one wants to dig deep into some of the information he has reported on, writes Tim Powers. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

As long as they keep discussing Johnston, they avoid having to explain and own real problems in the intelligence system. Less focus falls on areas of their ineptitude, errors of omission or commission. In Johnston, they have a character they can stand behind, despite some current dents in his reputation. They also know, according to polling data, that this is not a stand-alone vote mover.

For the Conservatives, they are just fine to fire away at Johnston and his relationship with the prime minister. It is a great base-holding issue, as Tory faithful love whacking Justin Trudeau on anything, but particularly matters they can connect to Liberal cronyism—as they define it—and something that demonstrates a hesitancy to stand up to China. It also allows them to avoid getting pulled into the messy world of looking at mistakes by past Conservative governments, or what future Conservative policy might look like.

And let us not forget the NDP, the paper tigers of the lot. NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh can say Johnston is a good guy, but he must step down, as per Singh's parliamentary motion last week. Singh can snarl about a coziness and say he tried, while arguing he won't step away from his relationship with the Liberals because he is not sure the election could be run safely. Oh yes, a Royal Commission on Foreign Interference would fix all—or not.

Johnston's determination in staying the course to complete his mission may indeed wound his well earned-reputation, but despite some public pronouncements, I can't imagine anyone in political Ottawa wants Johnston to step aside. They'd have to talk policy and solutions—and who wants to do that and make the scoring of political points harder?

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

*The Hill Times*

## Opinion

# Feds ignoring diaspora communities, stalling on foreign interference

It feels as though at every turn our government has been doing the absolute least to contain the dismay and political consequences.

Henry Chan

*Opinion*



The May 23 report by the special rapporteur on foreign interference, former governor general David Johnston, was, to say the least, disconcerting. Politicians across the board say that they are looking out for the diaspora communities targeted by foreign interference. As a member of the diaspora who has been following these developments, the most benevolent comment I can make is that the government's response so far is merely political lip service without concrete actions.

For so long, the government—successive governments, in fact—dragged its feet on foreign interference for a few pieces of silver. Human rights and democracy were only second on the list. My organization, Saskatchewan Stands with Hong Kong, and I expressed our concerns for four years; for some more seasoned community leaders, it's been even longer. However, little was done.

The lack of action is disgusting. On top of that, for the government to say it is looking out for the diaspora community feels almost like it is taking advantage of those who have been intimidated and harassed by foreign governments in favour of scoring political points.

The government's failure to timely adopt a foreign influence registry act (FIRA), which many of our allies have done, is disturbing. There has been a bill to establish such a registry stuck in the Senate for more than a year. Rather than urgently working together to secure the passage of the bill, our government decided to go for a consultation—an underwhelming consultation that lacked substance and representation. To my knowledge from actively working on the foreign interference file and calling for the passage of the FIRA, only a few select participants were consulted in major cities where the government held seats in the House of Commons.

For someone outside the loop, it may seem that the government is finally taking steps against foreign interference. How-

ever, for someone who has followed the issue, it feels as though at every turn our government has been doing the absolute least to contain the dismay and political consequences. Johnston's report again proved this point.

It's not just that an unconventional position was created without real public power, but the whole exercise—from the registry consultation to the Johnston investigation—shared a similar stalling tactic in favour of managing the political damage. The idea of having a private citizen deciding whether to hold a public inquiry sounded foolish from the get-go. The fact that a public and independent inquiry is the will of the House of Commons, and therefore the nation, makes the whole rapporteur exercise more baseless and the result irrelevant.

All of these, combined with our own experience of being shut out by the government, makes the matter, as I said, disconcerting. Since 2019, our organization, along with various other Hong Kong groups, has attempted to schedule meetings with successive federal ministers. Not only have our requests not been granted, but also letters and emails were not even acknowledged. In the rare chances when we can get meetings with government backbenchers, they were on the verge of confrontational. It is like talking to a wall.

As Parliament is due for summer recess, it seems no concrete action is in sight, at least for many more months. The government will have the summer to cool the discourse on foreign interference and manage its PR crisis. Without concrete and meaningful action, it is hard to prove that our voice and the voices of so many others who put their lives in danger to speak up against a ruthless regime are heard, and that the government is working in the diaspora communities' interest.

There is so much at stake: our democracy, sovereignty, and trust in our institutions. The bare minimum and political expediency just won't cut it. A humble approach that serves to unite and act against attempts to undermine our way of life and democracy is needed, and needed fast. This is the first time in many years Canada's sovereignty and dignity is being attacked by a foreign power.

Henry Chan is the co-director of Saskatchewan Stands with Hong Kong and member of a 33-organization multiethnic coalition concerned about foreign interference in Canada. He has been invited multiple times to testify before Parliament on Hong Kong and Canada-China relations.

*The Hill Times*



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# Feds seek approval for additional \$20.5-billion in spending

Altogether, if approved, federal spending so far this year will reach \$454.8-billion, up 11.7 per cent from the \$407.2-billion in spending approved by the same point last year.

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

The federal government is looking for Parliament’s approval for another \$20.5-billion in spending through this year’s first set of supplementary estimates, including \$4.4-billion to fulfill 15 measures announced in the 2023 budget, as noted by the Parliamentary Budget Officer.

Roughly 61.2 per cent, or \$12.6-billion, of the total spending MPs will vote on in these estimates relates to the implementation of Indigenous settlement agreements, as flagged by the PBO.

The first spending update for the year, the 2023-24 Supplementary Estimates (A) were tabled in the House of Commons by Treasury Board President Mona Fortier (Ottawa–Vanier, Ont.) on May 29. They lay out a total of \$21.8-billion in additional federal spending, of which \$20.5-billion is subject to Parliament’s approval, building on the \$432.9-billion in budgetary spending approved through the main estimates earlier this year.

The 2023-24 main estimates represented an 8.9 per cent increase in federal spending over the 2022-23 mains, and spending in this first set of supplementary estimates is more than double the almost \$9.7-billion laid out in the



Treasury Board President Mona Fortier tabled the first supplementary estimates for 2023-24 in the House on May 29. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

first supplementary estimates for 2022-23. Altogether, if approved, federal spending so far this year will reach \$454.8-billion, up 11.7 per cent from the \$407.2-billion in spending approved by the same point last year.

The largest spending item in the latest estimates supplement falls under Indigenous Services Canada (ISC), which is overall seeking \$4.88-billion in additional funding, of which \$4.87-billion is subject to a vote. Most of that funding—some \$4.4-billion—goes toward implementing the final settlement agreement related to the First Nations Child and Family Services Program, and Jordan’s Principle.

Following a years-long court battle involving multiple orders from the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal, the final, revised settlement agreement to compensate families and survivors harmed by the discriminatory underfunding of the program and the government’s previously narrow application of Jordan’s Principle totals \$23.3-billion, as announced in April.

Along with the settlement agreement, the \$4.4-billion in these estimates will also go toward “the continued delivery of immediate measures required by Tribunal orders and items agreed to as part of the agreement-in-principle on long-term reform of the program and Jordan’s Principle,” as described in the spending document.

The second-largest item in the 2023-24 Supp As is almost \$4.1-billion in funding related to the “expedited resolution strategy” for Indigenous agricultural benefits claims under Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada (CIRNA).

These two items make up the bulk of the roughly \$12.6-billion in spending related to Indigenous settlement agreements.

Under CIRNA, another \$2.5-billion will go toward the Specific Claims Settlement Fund (the fourth-largest spending item in these estimates), along with \$380-million related to the Federal Indian Day Schools settlement (a \$1.47-billion agreement signed in 2019), \$218-million for the Sixties

Scoop settlement (an \$875-million agreement reached in 2018), and \$39-million toward the Indian Residential Schools Day Scholars settlement (a final \$2.8-billion agreement was reached earlier this year). The Supp As also include a total of \$959-million in spending related to out-of-court settlements with Indigenous stakeholders, of which \$134-million is being sought through ISC and the rest through CIRNA.

At \$8.2-billion overall, CIRNA has the largest ask of all departments and agencies in these estimates, followed by ISC.

“Each of these settlements addresses a historic wrong committed by Canada against Indigenous Peoples,” said the office of Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister Marc Miller (Ville-Marie–le Sud-Ouest–Îles-de-Soeurs, Que.) in an emailed statement. “Compensating for wrongs done is just one step on the path to reconciliation, as we continue working with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis partners on other shared priorities to advance self-determination.”

Of the roughly 200 initiatives identified by the PBO in the 2023 budget, 152 involve spending in 2023-24. The latest supplementary estimates include funding for 15 such measures, according to the office, totalling a combined \$4.4-billion. That includes \$2.6-billion being sought by Health Canada to support the new bilateral health-care agreements reached with the provinces and territories—the third-largest spending item in the Supp As overall.

Combined with the main estimates, the Supp As will bring total spending on 2023 budget measures to \$7.2-billion to date, accounting for roughly 40 per cent of all budget-related expenses set out for this year, as noted by the PBO.

Other budget-related items in these estimates include \$469-million for Immigration, Citizenship, and Refugees Canada (IRCC) to fund the Interim Federal Health Program, which “provides limited, temporary health care coverage to specified groups of foreign nationals, including asylum claimants and refugees,” and \$468.3-million for the Canadian Air Transport Security Authority (CATSA) for “critical operating requirements” related to “the delivery of security screening” at the 89 airports across Canada where CATSA operates.

There’s also \$391.2-million under Public Services and Procurement Canada to maintain the government’s pay system resources as it continues to work to fix public service pay issues; \$12.8-million for the renewal of the Canadian Food Inspection Agency’s Daily Shift Inspection Presence program; \$12.5-million for the Department of Justice to increase access to culturally grounded and Indigenous-led victim services, as called for by the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls; and \$16.7-million for the Canadian Transportation Agency’s dispute resolution, and compliance monitoring and enforcement programs, among other items.

IRCC is overall seeking approval for \$590.9-million in spending, including \$101.9-million for “immigration, settlement measures and temporary accommodations for Ukrainians,” as committed to in the 2023 budget, and \$20-million for the resettlement of Afghan refugees.

The Supp As also include funding for a number of 2022 federal budget measures, including: \$996.7-million under the Canada

Continued on page 7

Total budgetary spending, 2016-17 to 2023-24								
	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	2020-21	2021-22	2022-23	2023-24
Main Estimates	\$250.1-billion	\$257.9-billion	\$275.97-billion	\$299.6-billion	\$304.6-billion	\$342.2-billion	\$397.6-billion	\$432.9-billion
Supp As	\$1.3-billion	\$3.8-billion	\$8.1-billion	\$4.9-billion	\$89.96-billion	\$41.2-billion	\$9.66-billion	\$21.86-billion
Supp Bs	\$4.3-billion	\$4.9-billion	\$6.2-billion	\$5.6-billion	\$79.2-billion	\$13.4-billion	\$25.8-billion	—
Supp Cs	\$1.5-billion	\$3.7-billion	—	—	\$7.96-billion	\$17.1-billion	\$10.3-billion	—
Total	\$257.2-billion	\$270.3-billion	\$290.2-billion	\$310.1-billion	\$481.7-billion	\$413.8-billion	\$443.3-billion	—

Source: Treasury Board Secretariat

Continued from page 6

Mortgage and Housing Corporation for the Housing Accelerator Fund, \$4.7-million through the Department of Justice for the Office of the Independent Special Interlocutor for Missing Children and Unmarked Graves and Burial Sites, \$42.2-million for implementation of the Critical Minerals Strategy (\$37.1-million through the Department of Natural Resources, and the rest through CIRNA), and \$8.99-million for the Canadian High Arctic Research Station (\$4.9-million through the corporation itself and the rest through CIRNA).

Other notable items in these estimates include \$464.4-million for the Department of Agriculture and Agri-Food related to the Sustainable Canadian Agricultural Partnership, an agreement between federal, provincial, and territorial governments which overall committed \$3.5-billion over five years, starting in 2023-24. The department is requesting \$1.6-billion through these supplementary estimates—the fourth-highest across all departments and agencies.

The Public Health Agency of Canada is seeking a total of \$547-million through the Supp As, including \$463-million for the procurement of “an emerging COVID-19 treatment under advanced purchase agreements, as well as costs associated with storage, distribution, and deployment.” Fortier and Treasury Board Secretariat (TBS) officials were asked about this item during the House Government Operations Committee’s May 31 review of the supplementary spending estimates, with TBS assistant secretary Annie Boudreau indicating the funds are a reprofiling of unused money from last year, which the department asked be carried forward in order to have continued access.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) is requesting approval for \$459.3-million in funding to compensate its members for “injuries received in the performance of their duties,” including payments to members and their families “in the event of disabilities or death occurring as a consequence of members’ duties.” The agency is seeking approval for roughly \$481.6-million in supplementary spending overall, including \$13.5-million for “aviation safety and security modernization initiatives,” and \$6.7-million toward its “initiative against gun and gang violence.”



Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister Marc Miller speaks with media outside the House of Commons Chamber in the West Block on May 9. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

All of the \$94.7-million in funding set out for the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency in the Supp As relates to the Hurricane Fiona Recovery Fund, of which \$94.2-million is subject to parliamentary approval.

The Supp As for 2023-24 lay out almost \$1.4-billion in statutory spending already authorized through legislation, and therefore not subject to a House vote. That includes a \$737-million increase in interest on unmatured debt due to higher projected interest rates and borrowing requirements, and \$790.3-million in increased contribution payments for AgriInsurance, a cost-shared program between federal and provincial governments and producers which aims to minimize “the economic effects of primarily production losses caused by severe but uncontrollable natural hazards,” as described on Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada’s website. Increases in statutory spending were offset by a \$568-million decrease in Old Age Security payments reflected in these estimates, based on updated numbers (including average monthly rate forecasts and the number of beneficiaries).

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*The Hill Times*

Largest spending items, 2023-24 Supp As

Department or agency	Description	Amount
Indigenous Services Canada	First Nations Child and Family Services Program	\$4.4-billion
Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs	Implementation of expedited resolution strategy for agricultural benefit claims	\$4.1-billion
Health Canada	Improving health care (Budget 2023)	\$2.6-billion
Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs	Specific Claims Settlement Fund	\$2.5-billion
Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation	Housing Accelerator Fund (Budget 2022)	\$996.7-million
Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs	Out-of-court settlements	\$825-million
Finance Canada	Interest on Unmatured Debt*	\$737-million
Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada	Interim Federal Health Program (Budget 2023)	\$469-million
Canadian Air Transport Security Authority	Critical operating requirements (Budget 2023)	\$468.3-million
Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada	Implementation of federal and cost-shared initiatives under the Sustainable Canadian Agricultural Partnership	\$464.4-million
Public Health Agency of Canada	Procurement of additional COVID-19 therapeutics	\$463-million
RCMP	Compensation for RCMP members for injuries received in performance of duties	\$459.3-million

Source: Supplementary Estimates (A), 2023-24  
\* Statutory spending

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## Editorial

### Time get serious about ‘silly season’

The final post-Victoria Day stretch of parliamentary sitting weeks is known in the Ottawa bubble as “silly season.”

Despite its light-hearted and breezy name, it’s not—as Martha Stewart used to proclaim—a good thing.

Instead, just like the thick, smoky air that descended on the National Capital Region this week from ongoing wildfires, the pre-summer stretch in the House of Commons is cloying and irritating.

On June 5, Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre and members of his team proudly stood before the cameras to announce what everyone knew was going to happen anyway, but which usually goes unsaid: not only were they going to oppose the government’s budget bill as it tried to get through the House, but also actively obstruct it. Thus setting the stage for the usual June flurry of superfluous procedural votes, points of order, amendments, and marathon midnight sittings that everyone has come to expect from a Chamber that is incapable of working collaboratively.

One cannot currently set foot outdoors in Ottawa without being reminded of how incredibly pressing the climate crisis is. It’s just one of the many urgent issues MPs have on their plates. These are serious times, with serious repercussions, and politicians should acquit themselves as the “leaders” they purport to be.

Conventional wisdom is not to cave to a toddler throwing a tantrum. So, why is it acceptable that, when June rolls around, the opposition holding the legislature hostage is just seen as a normal part of doing business?

The requirement for seriousness also extends to those already in government. There should be some deep soul and logistics searching going on in the executive offices, because the pattern of the prime minister and members of his cabinet being “shocked” and surprised at every turn when something goes awry has long passed the point of credulousness.

The investigation into allegations of foreign government interference in Canadian democratic institutions has put the problem into very stark relief, but there are far too many examples of the government hand not knowing what the bureaucracy hand is doing.

That’s not to say cabinet ministers should be interfering in decisions in which they have no business meddling, but there needs to be stronger machinery-of-government processes in place so they can stop pulling a “shocked Pikachu” face in front of the press gallery when asked about things they apparently just read for the first time in the morning papers.

The concept of “silly season” shouldn’t be accepted anymore. Not when there’s real work to do.

*The Hill Times*

## Letters to the Editor

### Still waiting for NRCan statement about importing high-level nuclear waste: op-ed authors

Re: “Used nuclear fuel not going to be imported into Canada, says NWMO rep,” (*The Hill Times*, May 30, p. 8).

We’re puzzled why the government relations officer for the Nuclear Waste Management Organization (NWMO), representing the producers of high-level nuclear waste, felt compelled to write a letter denying that it has plans to import high-level nuclear waste into Canada.

The NWMO letter was responding to our commentary (*The Hill Times*, May 25) outlining a new policy opening for importing high-level nuclear waste. We wrote: “What’s needed now is a strong statement from Natural Resources Canada that we will never accept high-level nuclear waste from other countries, and an amendment to the policy to make that permanent.”

In its letter, the NWMO confirms it has no mandate to import nuclear waste into

Canada, and in our commentary, we did not suggest that the NWMO itself would import high-level nuclear waste. So, why did it write the letter? Does the nuclear industry see itself as the proxy spokesperson for the government?

We’re still waiting for a definitive statement from Natural Resources Canada and a commitment that the government will amend Canada’s Policy for Radioactive Waste Management and Decommissioning to forbid the importation of high-level waste. Until that happens, the door remains open.

**Dr. Susan O’Donnell**  
St. Thomas University  
Adjunct research professor  
Fredericton, N.B.  
**Dr. Ole Hendrickson**  
Sierra Club Canada Foundation  
president  
Ottawa, Ont.

### Canada can be a game-changer for developing countries, says letter writer

At the upcoming Summit For A New Global Financing Pact on June 22-23 in Paris, France, Canada needs to reaffirm its commitment to supporting the inclusive global economic recovery needed after the COVID-19 pandemic by increasing the rechanneling of Canada’s Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) to low- and middle-income countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean from 18 per cent to 40 per cent.

Canada also needs to champion the inclusion of natural disaster and pandemic debt-suspension clauses in all-new loans to low- and middle-income countries. We need to invest in and be part of #GameChangers2030. Our country is unlikely to need or use its SDRs as Canada’s international reserves are already well stocked.

Low-income countries, on the other hand, need this international currency to

deal with climate change, pandemics, and other longer-term issues. In October 2021, the G20 countries (including Canada) promised to recycle \$100-billion in SDRs from members to vulnerable countries, a commitment reiterated by the G7 leaders at their May 2023 meeting.

The International Monetary Fund set up two channels for countries to recycle their SDRs: the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility and the Resilience and Sustainability Trust. Most donor countries have redirected portions of their SDRs toward low-income countries. While Canada has thus far redirected 40 per cent of its SDRs (at no cost to taxpayers), more than 20 per cent was loaned to Ukraine. More than 60 low- and middle-income countries are in serious distress, greatly indebted with little, if any, ability to repay.

**Marnie Shaw**  
Calgary, Alta.



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**DELIVERY INQUIRIES**  
circulation@hilltimes.com  
613-688-8821





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

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

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# Trickle-down economics: the hoax that will not die

The trend toward lower taxes has tilted the economy in favour of the well-off and left average people struggling to get by on stagnant wages and diminished prospects.

Les Whittington

*Need to Know*



OTTAWA—As the next federal election draws nearer, Canadians will be hearing a continuing refrain from the Conservatives on the need for tax cuts to reduce the tax burden and help spur economic growth.

Party leader Pierre Poilievre is already playing this card, as has every leader of Canada's main right-wing party going back 40 years. It was in the 1980s when so-called trickle-down econom-

ics—the notion that reduced taxes and benefits for corporations and the wealthy will trickle down and in time benefit everybody—took hold after being championed by United Kingdom prime minister Margaret Thatcher and American president Ronald Reagan.

And, amazingly, it is still prominent today. That's the case despite the fact—as non-rich people in Canada, the United States, the U.K., and many other countries have witnessed for years—the idea has never worked.

In a comprehensive study that attracted international attention, economists at the London School of Economics and Politics recently looked at this issue using data from 18 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries from 1965 to 2015. Their report, entitled *The Economic Consequences of Major Tax Cuts for the Rich*, concludes that tax breaks of this kind across advanced economies have only helped one group: the rich. While the wealthy rack up bigger bank accounts, driving up income inequality, these tax reforms do nothing for the rest of the population because the measures have no significant effect on economic growth or unemployment, the analysts found.

But trickle-down economics continues to have a shelf life because of the massive political strength of those lobbying for tax cuts for business and the rich. And it also appears that voters don't have a handle on how extensive the shift in relative tax contributions has been in advanced economies.

In the U.S., the highest marginal individual income tax rate has fallen more or less steadily from 70 per cent in 1980 to 37 per cent under former president Donald Trump's 2017 tax revisions. In that event, the wealthiest five per cent of households received nearly half—42.6 per cent—of the Trump tax cuts, with the top 0.1 per cent receiving an average tax cut of \$193,380 in 2018, the nonpartisan Tax Policy Center concluded.

And in the U.S., the statutory corporate income tax rate has gradually been reduced from more than 50 per cent in the 1950s to its current 21 per cent today. America's wealthy didn't need more help, but they got it anyway as this lower corporate tax rate disproportionately benefits the rich. As a result, in 2018, for the first time in a century, the 400 richest American families paid lower taxes than people in

the middle class, according to economists at the University of California at Berkeley.

While all this has been going on in recent decades, average people were left far behind. The after-inflation hourly wage in recent years in the U.S. provides about the same purchasing power it had in 1978, according to the Pew Research Center. And, over the same period, the U.S. national debt has grown from \$772-billion (or 33 per cent of GDP) to \$30-trillion (or 123 per cent of GDP).

Reducing corporate income levies has been an international phenomenon fuelled by competitive policies. Between 1985 and 2019, the global average statutory corporate tax rate dropped from 49 per cent to 23 per cent, according to economists.

Canada has been part of this tax-cutting fixation. Since the 1960s, individual tax filers have been contributing an increasing share of the federal tax pie. More recently, the Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin governments and the Stephen Harper government cut the corporate rate cumulatively from 28 per cent to 15 per cent. By 2015, for every dollar corporations anted up in tax, Canadian individuals contributed \$3.50.

And the boom in business investment and productivity that was touted as the reason for reduced corporate taxes has not materialized. Since 2000, corporations have poured more of their profits into dividends while investment in machinery and equipment has hardly grown. This development has created a serious, enduring productivity problem in this country. The OECD forecasts that, because of weak business investment to spur productivity, Canada will have the lowest per capita GDP growth among 38 advanced economies over the next 40 years.

Combined with cuts in social services, anti-union campaigns, and efforts to hold down minimum wages, the trend toward lower taxes has tilted the economy in favour of the well-off and left average people struggling to get by on stagnant wages and diminished prospects.

Amazingly, right-wing politicians have been able to dodge responsibility for this half-century race to the bottom, successfully dumping a lot of—or all of—the blame on their centrist or centre-left opponents. The usual line is that these more progressive political leaders spend too much and undermine the economy when what is needed is government belt-tightening and tax cuts to prompt (trickle-down) economic growth. We'll be hearing a lot of that in the run-up to the election.

*Les Whittington is a regular columnist for The Hill Times.*  
*The Hill Times*

# Do ministers and senior public servants need bodyguards?

The internet has transformed the relation between politicians and the public, and giving fuel to the fire might rebound on those who stoke it.

Andrew Caddell

*With All Due Respect*



KAMOURASKA, QUE.—Last week, a news item emerged about the prospect of the RCMP providing greater security to cabinet ministers and senior public servants. CBC even described it as “new units” being created to

accommodate the demand, when in fact, this will be an expansion of the already long-established VIP section.

I am familiar with “VIP,” as we called it, as I had the pleasure of travelling all over Canada with members of the RCMP when I worked with then-solicitor-general Bob Kaplan in the Pierre Trudeau government. Kaplan was the minister responsible for the Mounties, as well as the Correctional Service of Canada, the Parole Board, and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service. We had protection for prison visits and public events, because after the prime minister, our minister had the largest number of threats against him.

Upon entering a prison, the Mounties had to give up their guns, and one time, the minister tasked me to talk to a very unhappy Québécois inmate in British Columbia, leaving the VIP member with me. The inmate had been denied a weekend pass after using it to win a “toughest guy in town” fight night. I had to calm him

down, and was afraid he might attack me. When I asked my Mountie friend (who was not much bigger than me) what he would have done, he said “I would have stood up and said ‘Go get him, Andy!’”

That said, it was always reassuring to be accompanied by mostly tall men in three-piece suits. I was recently in Toronto, and I counted about a dozen RCMP around the prime minister at the Toronto Convention Centre. He was emerging from a speech to mayors and councillors at the Federation of Canadian Municipalities convention, and the greatest threat to him was that he might be squeezed to death by people wanting selfies.

The idea ministers should get protection is not new. Some of it emanates from the RCMP itself, which wanting not to be blamed (again) for incompetence, would like ministers and senior bureaucrats to be safe. But, being overcautious, they sometimes went overboard.

But there were times they failed, such as when Jean Chré-

tien was the target of an assassination attempt at 24 Sussex. He subsequently took matters quite literally into his own hands by applying the “Shawinigan Handshake” to a protester.

There is a science to personal protection. First of all, any security analyst will tell you threats can be mitigated, not eliminated, and they have to be based on good intelligence, not speculation or fear. Otherwise, you would wrap public figures up in a bubble. And the converse, as Chantal Hébert pointed out on Peter Mansbridge's podcast *The Bridge*, is “if someone really, really wants to hurt someone, that is going to happen.”

As someone who has actually received a death threat many years ago as an elected official in Montreal, I know what it's like. It was odd sitting in a public meeting and wondering who might jump out with a gun. But nothing happened, and that is mostly the case today.

However, while I doubt the threats are as serious as some make them, the internet has transformed the relation between

politicians and the public. Last year's “Freedom Convoy” occupation of Ottawa brought the internet crazy world to life. The prime minister and cabinet ministers, who are constant targets of online vitriol, are unsure how serious the crazies are. So far, the internet dogs have shown more bark than bite. That doesn't mean the threats could not become more serious.

Which brings me to the leader of the opposition. Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre aspires to be prime minister of this country, but he is setting exactly the wrong example. He routinely insults Trudeau and his cabinet and makes groundless personal attacks. This is irresponsible, unbecoming of a national leader, and encourages online extremists.

Anyone who wants to lead this country must set a good example. Giving fuel to the fire might rebound on Poilievre: after all, were he ever to ascend to the country's highest political office, he would automatically be the most prominent target in Canada.

*Andrew Caddell is retired from Global Affairs Canada, where he was a senior policy adviser. He previously worked as an adviser to Liberal governments. He is a town councillor in Kamouraska, Que. He can be reached at pipson52@hotmail.com.*

*The Hill Times*

## Opinion

Canada's emergency plans do not do enough to account for the unique ways diverse women and gender-diverse people experience crises, writes Karen Campbell. *Unsplash photograph by Jason Leung*



# Do emergency plans really protect women?

A nuanced understanding of how human beings in all our diversities live through crises and their aftermath is overdue.

Karen Campbell

Opinion



Unprecedented wildfires in Nova Scotia, more powerful and destructive fires across Canada, and rapidly melting permafrost in the North are vivid reminders that we live in an era of polycrisis.

Perhaps many of us were naïve about it before the early eerie days of the COVID-19 pandemic. Restrictions on travel, shutdowns, stay-at-home orders, and curfews felt apocalyptic. We hung on the words of health officials. We scrolled our feeds for infection and death rates. We rearranged staples of our lives: work, school, holidays, faith gatherings. We

waited on officials to make speeches to reassure us. To at least give us hope things weren't as bad as they seemed.

Some of us feared the worst. We had seen abuse rates spike and inequalities deepen for women and gender-diverse people in previous disasters, especially for the most vulnerable and marginalized.

The 2013 floods in Alberta, the 2008 global economic crisis, the 2016 Fort McMurray fires. These events all led to higher rates of partner abuse, sexual assault, and other pervasive gender-based violence.

Only a month into the 2020 pandemic, UN Women named surging rates of violence against women and girls a global "shadow pandemic." They called on governments to take urgent action.

The Signal for Help, an abuse prevention tool we launched in April 2020 to equip people to reach out for help without leaving a digital trace, went viral almost immediately. People shared it across social media millions of times over, all around the globe.

This worry of rising abuse struck a worldwide nerve—and with good reason.

Within a year, femicide rates in Canada increased by 20 per cent. Calls to police and crisis lines surged. Intimate partner

violence increased in intensity and severity. Those already at higher risk of abuse with lesser access to support such as Black, Indigenous, racialized, lower income, and disabled women and gender-diverse people felt these impacts even more.

To add to the pressures, those in precarious female-dominated service jobs—personal support work, cashiering, cleaning—could not work from home. These often racialized and newcomer workers would have to bear the brunt of greater risk of abuse on top of higher levels of illness and hardship.

The movement of the COVID-19 virus was unpredictable. Its gendered impacts were not.

Canada's emergency plans do not do enough to factor this in, even now. They do not account for the unique ways diverse women and gender-diverse people experience crises.

There's a profound lack of consideration for gendered realities in national, provincial, and territorial emergency and pandemic plans. A review of 28 regional plans found that just two of 28 refer to "gender." Just five mention "women" and only two refer to domestic violence. At the municipal level, where much of the response to disasters occurs, a review of 24 emergency

planning documents found no reference to "women" or "gender" at all.

The omission means that in times of crisis, those tasked with rolling out the emergency response are neither attuned to, nor trained to respond to, shared experiences of more than half the population.

Organizations serving women and gender-diverse people reported that, months into the pandemic when disproportionate gendered impacts were impossible to ignore, local officials pressed for opportunities to consult with them.

But the thick of crisis is the worst time to launch stakeholder consultation meetings. It puts already over-stretched community-based services under inordinate pressure while they scramble to close the gaps of inadequate pre-disaster planning.

Fast-forward to May 2023, when a number of Ontario municipalities declared intimate partner violence an epidemic after several femicides, vowing to marshal funding to victim services. It's an important move, but it's overdue.

Our slowness to manage crisis—before, during, and after—costs lives and leads to untold trauma.

It opens some fundamental questions: who exactly are our emergency plans for? Whose safe-

ty and livelihoods are they really designed to protect?

When we have more than enough evidence to know crisis leads to gendered abuse and hardship, how is it that our crisis plans barely breathe a word for women, girls, and gender-diverse people?

It's about time we answer these questions honestly and transform our approach to emergency management and planning.

The field remains male-dominated. Gender-based expertise is limited to a small pocket of mainly women within it. Consultation and collaboration with everyday women and marginalized people is exceedingly rare in planning processes.

In that light, it can be no surprise that our plans don't reflect reality or that the emergency management experts informing government policy are ill-equipped to represent diverse needs.

Our federal government prioritizes the consideration of gendered realities in financial support for emergency preparedness through its Feminist International Assistance Policy. We need the same kinds of commitments for disaster and emergency response domestically.

A nuanced understanding of how human beings in all our diversities live through crises and their aftermath is overdue. Equitable responses that don't leave anyone behind are the only way we'll be able get through.

Karen Campbell is the senior director of community initiatives and policy at the Canadian Women's Foundation.

The Hill Times

# It may be time to eschew tradition to beef up Canada's military

Given the developments on the battlefield in the ongoing war in Ukraine, maybe it's time the CAF rethinks the structure of our military entirely.

Scott Taylor

*Inside Defence*



OTTAWA—The Canadian Armed Forces are presently facing a personnel crisis, which threatens to hamstring the entire institution.

Out of a combined regular force and reserve strength of 105,000, the CAF are currently short some 16,500 personnel.

The problem is twofold in that the military is challenged to recruit sufficient numbers, while

at the same time the CAF is having difficulty in retaining those already in uniform.

As the overall numbers dwindle, it becomes that much more difficult to maintain the staffing of foreign commitments—like Canada's forward-deployed battle group in Latvia—and simultaneously finding the necessary trainers to create the next generation of soldiers, sailors, and aircrew.

Throw into this mix the constant interruption of training cycles to deploy military personnel to assist with climate-change-related natural disasters such as floods and fires, and it becomes readily apparent that Canada's military is very close to the tipping point.

Thus far, the solutions proposed by the senior leadership of the CAF have been little more than cosmetic tinkering to existing policies.

In order to attract more recruits, the Canadian military has loosened restrictions on dress and deportment, radical hairstyles, facial hair, tattoos, and piercings. They are now allowed without restrictions and while service members still wear uniforms, they are no longer gender specific.

It is also no longer necessary for recruits to be citizens of Can-

ada. Applicants need only have their permanent residency. As for retention, the military hopes to make alterations to the pay and benefits package as an incentive to keep trained personnel in uniform.

Vice-Admiral Angus Topshee, commander of the Royal Canadian Navy, has introduced the Naval Experience Program (NEP), which will allow recruits to join for a 12-month stint.

After a short eight-week basic military training course, those personnel will be posted directly to CFB Halifax or CFB Esquimalt. They will not have any specific trade training so they will be considered "general duty" sailors for the duration of their year of service.

Under the terms of the NEP, those sailors will serve on both coasts, earn \$42,000, with free rations and quarters, and enjoy three weeks of leave.

Topshee ambitiously hopes that after experiencing the Navy's culture and seeing the world from the deck of a warship, 80 per cent of these general duty sailors will elect to extend their career and sign up for a second tour.

Such measures, even if successful, may be a case of "too little, too late."

Given the developments on the battlefield in the ongoing war in Ukraine, maybe it's time the CAF rethinks the structure of our military entirely.

There is no question that the drone has emerged as the queen of the modern battlefield.

Canada has correctly deemed it necessary to invest in a mixed future fleet of armed drones. However, the RCAF has warned that staffing such a new capability will be challenging due to the current staff shortage.

As such, it is being proposed that reservists be activated to operate this future fleet of drones. Which begs the question: why do skilled drone operators need to be uniformed members of the military?

As warfare increasingly becomes a high-tech contest between machines, drone pilots or operators don't need to learn how to march in formation, polish boots, or be able to bench press their own body weight. They would not even have to learn field craft skills as, given the range of these new drones, they could be housed in comfortable lodgings well behind any front lines.

There will always be a need for the traditional warrior,

but perhaps it is time to look at those non-combat support trades to determine whether their role necessitates that they undergo full military training and be subject to the military justice system.

While Topshee's NEP will put general duty, non-trade-trained sailors aboard the Navy's warships, maybe a parallel program could be implemented to hire specialized civilians to support the CAF without having to be in uniform.

I know this will sound like blasphemy to the traditionalists who insist on maintaining the status quo, but desperate times call for desperate measures.

As for the issue of the military being deployed to aid the civilian powers during natural disasters, one short-term solution would be to expand and support the group called Team Rubicon.

Established in January 2010, this is an organization of CAF veterans who volunteer to assist in the aftermath of floods, fires, and earthquakes both at home and abroad.

Expanding Team Rubicon and adding resources to increase their capacity would allow the military community to still reap the goodwill generated through aiding fellow Canadians, without having to strain our already over-tasked serving troops.

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

*The Hill Times*

## Opinion

# How Canada should intervene to protect Ukrainian children

Erik Kucherenko

*Opinion*



On June 1, as Ukraine marked the International Day for the Protection of Children—typically a celebratory day in many post-Soviet countries—10 Russian missiles struck its capital, Kyiv, killing three civilians, including a nine-year-old girl. Another child lost her mother. This is yet another atrocious consequence of the ongoing Russian aggression against Ukraine, which has claimed the lives of at least 500 children.

However, military strikes are not the only cause of children's suffering. For more than a year, Russian occupying forces have been conducting an organized campaign of displacing or "deporting" Ukrainian children to Russia or Russia-controlled

territories in Ukraine. As of mid-April 2023, Ukrainian authorities recorded more than 19,000 confirmed cases of deportation. Meanwhile, Russian officials brag about "taking" more than 300,000 Ukrainian children. The actual figures are difficult to establish given the circumstances of the conflict, but both Ukraine and Russia agree it is happening.

Several international organizations have confirmed this deportation is taking place. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe have recognized and condemned this practice in a resolution and a report, respectively. The International Criminal Court (ICC) has issued an arrest warrant for Russian President Vladimir Putin for the unlawful deportation of children, which is considered a war crime. Finally, transferring children of one national or ethnic group to another group consti-

tutes a material element of the crime of genocide under Article II of the Genocide Convention.

The gravity and scale of this criminal practice pose a threat to the international rule of law, and requires a strong response from the global community. With the comprehensive Bring Kids Back UA plan, unveiled by Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy on May 31, Canada has an opportunity to make its own valuable contribution to saving Ukrainian children from this plight.

## Canada can play a leading role

Canada could join a multilateral effort aimed at verifying available information on displaced children, pressuring Russian authorities to co-operate with the United Nations and other international organizations in providing access to the children, ensuring they have proper living conditions, and organizing their return

to Ukraine. The Bring Kids Back UA plan provides for the creation of a high-level international task force on the topic, in which Canada could play a leading role.

## Develop family-based forms of upbringing

Canada could assist Ukraine in creating a favourable family environment for the upbringing and rehabilitation of children. This part of the plan includes projects supporting adoption procedures, and the construction of residential buildings for families participating in adoption schemes.

## Re-integration of kids returned from Russia

Canada's rich experience in the integration of displaced persons may prove instrumental in the successful rehabilitation of children who have experienced the hardships of Russian deportation, including by providing psychological support and educational initiatives.

## Inter-parliamentary co-operation

The Canadian Parliament could play an active role in

increasing the country's involvement in the implementation of the Bring Kids Back UA plan. As the French Senate did, Canada's Members of Parliament could vote on a resolution to support the plan, and urge the government to join the above-mentioned efforts.

Irrespective of their nationality, children are our common future. Hence, it is our sacred duty as humans to protect them. Children must have the right to unrestrained access to education, food, freedom, and most importantly, a happy childhood with their family. Therefore, Canada should play an active role in putting an end to the plight of Ukrainian children criminally deported by the Russian Federation.

Erik Kucherenko is a Ukrainian international lawyer currently participating an internship with the Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Internship Program at the Parliament of Canada. He advises Ukrainian MPs on matters of international law and policy, and serves as a secretary to the Ukrainian delegation to the Inter-Parliamentary Union. He has also completed an internship in the European Parliament.

*The Hill Times*

## News

# Alberta election shows wooing reluctant Tory voters still a high bar for Singh, says pollster Coletto

The Alberta NDP left too much room for the United Conservative Party leader to define herself, a mistake the federal NDP and Liberal leaders can't make with Conservative Pierre Poilievre, says former NDP comms director Mélanie Richer.

BY STUART BENSON

In the wake of the May 29 show-down between Alberta's United Conservative Party and provincial New Democrats, politicians say the federal Conservatives have much clearer lessons to learn while the province's unique political landscape for those left of centre leaves little room for the federal NDP to replicate their Albertan counterpart's near success.

After a polarizing campaign featuring sustained attacks in both directions—with the United Conservatives questioning NDP



Alberta Premier Danielle Smith, left, lost 14 ridings to the NDP led by Rachel Notley, centre, on May 29, but politicians say there's still a high bar for federal NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh, bottom right, to clear if he hopes to duplicate that success federally, especially if Conservative Pierre Poilievre, top right, is given room to define himself. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade, file photograph, and courtesy of Dave Cournoyer/Flickr



Leader Rachel Notley's record and falsely claiming that federal NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh (Burnaby South, B.C.) was her boss, and the provincial NDP questioning UCP Leader Danielle Smith's trustworthiness, ethics, and controversial past statements—the UCP claimed 49 of the province's 87 seats and 52.6 per cent of the vote. The Alberta New Democrats won 44 per cent of the vote and 38 seats—14 more than in the 2019 election when the UCP was led

by now-former premier Jason Kenney.

Despite the UCP being swept out in Edmonton and defeated in a majority of seats in Calgary, David Coletto, founder and CEO of Abacus Data, told *The Hill Times* he would caution both the federal NDP and Liberals against trying to glean too much from the election results, noting the vast differences in the province's political landscape. While the provincial Alberta Liberal Party exists, it hasn't won a seat in the legislature since 2015 (when it won a single seat).

Coletto explained that while the provincial election

revolved primarily around health care, education, and questions regarding Smith's competency and judgment, at the federal level, energy policy and climate change issues are much more favourable to the Conservatives.

However, the results indicate that despite the province remaining firmly blue—with the most recent Abacus polling showing the federal Conservatives with a commanding 50 per cent of voter intention support and a 27-point lead over the NDP at 23 per cent, followed by the Liberals at 16 per cent—voters in the province's urban areas have shown an increased willingness to vote for a non-Conservative candidate. Unfortunately, Coletto said, the potential centre-left vote split federally in Alberta still leaves a high bar for either the NDP or the Liberals to overcome if they hope to flip a riding.

"The centre-left and centre-right are also consolidated [provincially in Alberta], and it produced a pretty competitive election, so it would still be difficult for either of those [federal] parties to win as long as both of them are competing aggressively for voters," Coletto explained. "I could see the NDP possibly winning one or two more in Edmonton, but that would require the Liberals to be quite weak."

The only other opportunity Coletto sees for the NDP to flip a seat would be from red to orange, pointing to the Edmonton Centre riding of Tourism Minister Randy

Boissonnault, where the difference in the 2021 federal election vote share between the Liberals, Conservatives, and third-place NDP was just 2,389 votes, with the People's Party candidate placing fourth with 2,094 votes.

Former NDP political strategist Jordan Lechnitz also cautioned against extrapolating any direct lessons from the election results, though she does see some areas where the federal NDP and Liberal Party could learn from Notley's team.

"It's not a one-to-one translation because of the different political landscapes, but one of the biggest lessons is that early ground organization really matters," Lechnitz told *The Hill Times*, pointing to several candidates the Alberta NDP had selected more than a year before the election call in certain rural and urban Calgary ridings where the party ultimately won 15 seats.

"That's a takeaway that the federal NDP should look at really carefully," explained Lechnitz, former deputy chief of staff to then-NDP leader Tom Mulcair, adding that the New Democrats had been slow to begin the nomination process ahead of previous federal elections, hampering the eventual candidate's ability to get out into the riding to establish name recognition.

Lechnitz also said that, despite some criticisms from the party's left flank that Notley's moves to the centre to appeal to undecided UCP voters had been

a misstep, the results indicated to her that there was an opportunity for the NDP in the centre. She highlighted that in the five Calgary electoral districts won by the UCP, the NDP only lost by a cumulative 1,866 votes.

Shifrah Gadamsetti, a senior communications adviser on the Alberta NDP's central campaign, echoed Lechnitz's evaluation on getting candidates out into the community early as a key to the NDP's success in several ridings—including Calgary-Varsity, Calgary-Foothills, and Calgary-Glenmore—where the party defeated the UCP by just 30 votes, and the increased NDP vote shares in more rural ridings, where their candidates had spent more than a year before the election getting to know their constituents and making sure they knew them.

"Those connections are really meaningful when voters recognize you as someone in the community who understands the needs of your neighbours," explained Gadamsetti. "You can't expect success with a candidate that's announced a couple of months before the election if you're really trying to flip a seat."

However, Gadamsetti, who took a temporary leave from her position as a consultant with Summa Strategies to work on the campaign, also pointed to the groundwork the party began laying as far back as two years before the election, consulting with Albertans and incorporating that feedback into their campaign and platform commitments rather than assuming what voters wanted.

Gadamsetti said that right up until the platform was released on May 16, she had been involved in stakeholder engagement and incorporating feedback until the last minute. She added she attributes that active engagement with the "robust group of validators" who publicly supported the platform, including a much sought-after endorsement on May 26 from former Calgary mayor Naheed Nenshi.

Mélanie Richer, senior consultant with Earncliffe Strategies and former director of communications for the federal NDP, told *The Hill Times* that in the party's 2019 federal election post-mortem, it had also identified a path to growing its vote share in the province, particularly in Edmonton, and that the provincial election results only further confirm the way forward. To do that, however, the party needs to prove it can govern responsibly.

"That means not promising the world to everyone right off the bat," explained Richer. Instead, she said the NDP should focus on how it can help Canadians in a "responsible and realistic way."

"For example, instead of promising universal dental care tomorrow, the NDP can show how they're going to work to get this many millions of Canadians covered in the next five years," Richer said, adding that while the left flank of the party calling for universal dental care may say that doesn't go far enough, in Richer's experience, being insuffi-

Continued on page 24



Abacus Data's David Coletto says without the centre-left consolidation at the provincial level that benefited the Alberta NDP, it will be a high bar for either the federal NDP or the Liberals to flip any ridings in the next election. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

# Seizing Canada's opportunity in ongoing EV battery negotiations



The federal government should explore a temporary deal with the European Union that would allow electric vehicle batteries made in Canada to satisfy the EU's rules of origin until 2030, write Robert and Gord Dimitrieff. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Stellantis battery plant in Italy won't be operational for another five years).

4. Tariff-free market access to the European Union until 2030 (facilitated by made-in-Canada batteries that satisfy EU rules of origin) would make Canada a highly competitive alternative to the United States for EV battery production, even in the context of the Inflation Reduction Act.

As an immediate next step, the Government of Canada should be carefully considering and discussing the above within relevant departments in Ottawa, as well as with EU counterparts, at the soonest opportunity.

Robert Dimitrieff is the CEO of Patriot Forge Co., Canada's largest open die forging operator. He is a board member of the Forging Industry Association, which represents the forging producers in North America, and a member of the C.D. Howe Institute. Gord Dimitrieff is an entrepreneur in Canada's cultural industries, and a board member of the Worldwide Independent Network, which supports networking, capacity building, and public policy advocacy between 34 trade associations operating in 38 countries around the world.

*The Hill Times*

Canada is in a unique position to solve a market access problem for Stellantis while also solving an economic security problem for the European Union.

Robert Dimitrieff & Gord Dimitrieff

Opinion



Given recent developments regarding Stellantis' use of electric vehicle battery production in negotiations with both Canada and the United Kingdom, it is worth assessing how Canada can best seize opportunities that these developments have enabled.

In Canada, the current situation with Stellantis relates to the level of government funding being offered to subsidize the company's planned EV battery facility in Windsor, Ont.

In the U.K., the situation hinges on post-Brexit market access rules, in which the European Union rules of origin require that 40 per cent of a vehicle's aggregate production value be incurred in the EU and/or the U.K. to avoid a 10 per cent import duty in the European Union. This production quota is scheduled to increase to 45 per cent next year, and Stellantis is arguing that this target will be impossible to meet because EV batteries are primarily manufactured in China and represent such a disproportionately large percentage of an EV's production cost. Stellantis argues that reaching this level of EU/U.K. production will not be possible until more European battery production comes online.

On March 23, 2022, the same day Stellantis announced its Windsor battery

plant, it simultaneously announced that it would be converting its transmission and engine facility in Termoli, Italy, to EV battery production. The plant in Windsor is an entirely new build on a green-field site, which is expected to begin operating in 2024 and reach full production output of 45 gigawatts in 2025. The facility in Termoli, in contrast, will require more effort. Roughly 1,000 workers will be laid off from the facility in 2025 while the factory is reconfigured, then rehired by 2030 when the new EV plant is expected to be fully operational.

This means the Ontario plant will be fully operational five years ahead of its Italian counterpart.

## Opportunities for Canada

The European automotive industry is primarily based in France, Germany, and Italy—three NATO members that are also increasingly under pressure to decrease their economic dependency on China. One can imagine these countries might be looking for quickly achievable initiatives that will demonstrate to the United States and the rest of NATO that they are serious partners in security.

The confluence of these three themes puts Canada in a unique position to solve a market access problem for Stellantis, while also solving an economic security problem for the European Union.

A temporary deal with the EU that would allow EV batteries made in Canada to satisfy the EU's rules of origin until 2030 (when EU battery production will be fully operational) would achieve the following:

1. Stellantis would have an extremely valuable business reason to continue building its Windsor battery plant because these batteries would help it access the EU market. Simultaneously, its rationale for abandoning manufacturing facilities in the United Kingdom would be negated.

2. This would relieve political pressure on the European Union to open the post-Brexit trade agreements with the United Kingdom for renegotiation because the current rules will work post-2030.

3. Furthermore, the European Union (France, Germany, and Italy in particular)

would have a tangible demonstration of their commitment to reducing economic dependency on China at no real cost to their local labour markets (since the

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## News

# Advocates endorse update to Environmental Protection Act, but also call for promised second bill

Independent Senator Stan Kutcher has urged all Senators to adopt the House's version of Bill S-5 'without delay.'

BY KEVIN PHILIPUPILLAI

As Senators decide this week whether to accept the House's revisions of a bill to update Canada's cornerstone environmental protection law, a coalition of environmental and health groups has expressed support for the current update while also putting pressure on the government to follow up with a promised second modernization bill.

The House passed Bill S-5 at third reading on May 30, with the Liberals, Bloc Québécois, and NDP voting in favour, and the Conservatives and Greens voting against. The Senate began debate on June 1 on whether to accept the bill as passed by the House.

A coalition of environmental and health advocates released a statement on May 30 welcoming the bill's passage through the House. The statement from Environmental Defence, Ecojustice, Breast Cancer Action Quebec, the Canadian Association of Physicians for the Environment, and the David Suzuki Foundation called Bill S-5 "the first major update to Canada's most important environmental law in more than two decades," and a major milestone for environmental justice.

Cassie Barker, senior toxics program manager at Environmental Defence, told *The Hill Times* that the Canadian Environmental Protection Act (CEPA) of 1999 is "a massive piece of legislation" that is "unsurprisingly complex to update." She explained that Bill S-5 looks to update "a couple of big pieces" of CEPA, and that even this has been a heavy lift for those involved. Barker said she believes senators who worked on the bill when it was before the Senate in 2022 are prepared to see it passed.

Elaine MacDonald, director of the healthy communities program at Ecojustice, said in the May 30 statement that Bill S-5 introduces "long-overdue updates for the control of toxic substances and dangerous chemicals" and "recognizes the right to a healthy environment for the first time in federal law."

But the joint statement also noted that "MPs rejected many amendments that would have further strengthened" Bill S-5. It



Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault has told environmental groups he plans to table a second bill to address aspects of environmental protection not covered by Bill S-5, but some opposition MPs are skeptical about whether a second bill will actually materialize. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

called on Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault (Laurier-Sainte-Marie, Que.) to follow up on his commitment to introduce a second CEPA modernization bill to address the gaps in Bill S-5.

## House accepts 22 Senate amendments and changes the remaining 17

Speaking in the Senate chamber on June 1, Independent Senator Stan Kutcher (Nova Scotia), the sponsor of the bill, urged all senators to vote to adopt the bill "in the form passed by the other place, without delay."

He described how, in his view, the current version of the bill addresses senators' concerns about ensuring that the bill's promise of a right to a healthy environment is a meaningful one, reducing reliance on animal testing, increasing openness and transparency, and advancing Indigenous reconciliation.

The Senate Committee on Energy, Environment and Natural Resources adopted 39 amendments to the bill during its study. Non-affiliated Senator Marc Gold (Stadcona, Quebec), the government representative in the Senate, informed the Upper Chamber on June 1 that the House had accepted 22 of these amendments and "clarified, further amended or reversed" the remaining 17.

Non-affiliated Cree Senator Mary Jane McCallum (Manitoba) told *The Hill Times* on June 5 that she supports passing Bill S-5 as is instead of seeking to re-open it, even though she has larger concerns about the role that environmental and geographic racism play in determining the

effects that large resource projects have on nearby Indigenous communities.

It was McCallum's amendment inserting a specific reference to tailings ponds—large artificial lakes built to collect toxic industrial wastewater—that led Conservative MPs to withdraw their support for the bill in May. Liberal MPs had initially backed a Conservative motion to remove the reference to tailings ponds, and then voted the other way when the NDP re-introduced McCallum's amendment at report stage in the House.

McCallum took issue with remarks from Liberal MPs in *The*

*Hill Times* on May 29 in which they said her amendment adding an explicit reference to tailings ponds to Bill S-5 was "symbolic," "inconsequential," and "functionally irrelevant" because, in their view, existing legislation already gives the federal government broad power to compel information about the environmental impact of industrial activity.

"I don't understand how the MPs can say that it makes no difference to the actual bill," said McCallum, arguing that the substantial growth of tailings ponds in the two decades since CEPA was first introduced has shown that if the legislation does not explicitly identify the environmental risks associated with tailings ponds and require specific precautions, then governments will choose not to deal with the problem "because it only involves Indians."

"There is environmental racism and there is also geographic racism," said McCallum. "The majority of toxic wastes are around Indigenous communities and affect Indigenous lives. It's out of sight, out of mind for most Canadians. People don't pay attention. But if it was in their own backyard, I'm sure they would raise a ruckus."

## Proposed amendments related to enforcement deemed out of scope

Liberal MP Patrick Weiler (West Vancouver-Sunshine Coast-Sea to Sky Country, B.C.) and NDP MP Laurel Collins (Victoria, B.C.), who voted in favour of the bill in the House, and Green Party Leader Elizabeth May (Saanich-

Gulf Islands, B.C.), who voted against, all told *The Hill Times* before the May 30 vote that they will be looking for the government to address the enforcement section of CEPA, which was left out of Bill S-5.

Weiler said Section 22 of CEPA is the provision that allows the public to hold the government accountable for investigating or responding to offences under the act. "But the way that the provision is listed it has never actually been used. So it needs a full revamp to ensure that we have that accountability," he said.

Collins and May said by leaving Section 22 of CEPA, which deals with enforcement, out of Bill S-5, the government is creating a legislative process in which any proposed amendment to Bill S-5 that dealt with enforcement was likely to be ruled "out of scope" and dismissed.

"Enforcement is such a critical part of all of the other pieces that we are tackling," said Collins. "If we don't have strong enforcement for CEPA, then are we able to actually uphold the right to a healthy environment?"

"I spearheaded a study in the last Parliament on CEPA enforcement, and we heard again and again that Environment and Climate Change Canada had been going after small mom-and-pop dry cleaners instead of the biggest polluters," added Collins.

May added that the Senate committee's report on Bill S-5 highlighted its concern about enforcement measures being ruled out of scope, and recommended that the government bring Section 22 into the bill. "That was a very clear cry for help from a committee that had already studied the bill," said May.

Barker said she has been told the government has a second CEPA bill "in the works." She said there is still work to be done on the regulation of toxic substances, and that the government has also flagged that it is looking at measures to enforce environmental regulations around burning and dumping.

Barker added she would also like to see a second CEPA bill address the labelling of harmful ingredients, which has been a priority in the Liberal election platform and in the health minister's mandate letter. "The government did their own research on this and they have flagged that eight out of 10 people are looking for information on harmful substances in their products," she said, calling this "a piece of the puzzle that's very much left undone in S-5."

Weiler said he would like to see a second CEPA modernization bill address an existing loophole for ocean dumping which allows polluters to avoid liability if they do not "knowingly" spill polluting material from a ship.

But May and Collins both said they were skeptical about whether the government will make a second CEPA modernization bill a priority, with Collins suggesting the promise of another bill "has been used to try and dampen the criticism that they've received for leaving out huge sections of this."

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*The Hill Times*



Senator Mary Jane McCallum says she will support Bill S-5 when it comes up for debate in the Senate this week, but expressed discontent with some Liberal MPs' remarks about her amendment adding a specific reference to tailings ponds. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

# NATURAL RESOURCES

**Free, prior, and  
informed consent  
from Inuit is  
fundamental to  
reconciliation**  
p. 19

**Investing  
in Canada's  
growth includes  
hydrogen and  
precious metals**  
p. 20

**Logging in  
Canada  
is not  
sustainable  
and needs  
to change**  
p. 22

**The clean energy  
transition is  
underway with  
hydrogen  
and  
critical  
minerals**  
p. 23

**Canada can still be a natural  
resource powerhouse in a  
net-zero economy**  
p. 22



## Natural Resources Policy Briefing

# Wildfire crisis indicates need to refrain from new fossil fuel, LNG projects, say environmentalists

Canada must transition off of fossil fuels, which are exacerbating wildfires, according to the David Suzuki Foundation.

BY JESSE CNOCKAERT

Environmental advocates are pointing to the devastating wildfire season in Canada as an example of extreme weather symptomatic of climate change, and are renewing calls for the federal government to transition away from fossil fuels, including refraining from approving any new projects related to liquefied natural gas (LNG).

“Government decisions around LNG expansion are being made under the claim that this is going to help reduce global emissions, yet the science shows the opposite. The science shows that we have to get off fossil fuels, and fossil fuels are exacerbating wildfires,” said Tom Green, senior climate policy adviser for the David Suzuki Foundation.

Canada is on track for possibly its worst fire season ever, with nine provinces and territories contending with blazes that have



Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault's office says liquid natural gas can play a role in a clean and affordable energy future, 'provided new projects demonstrate best-in-class performance that align with Canada's climate commitments and meet economic, environmental, and social expectations.' *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

forced the evacuation of more than 100,000 people across the country since early May, according to federal officials during a June 5 news conference. So far this year, Canada has seen 2,214 wildfires in total, burning an estimated 3.3 million hectares of land, according to Emergency Preparedness Minister Bill Blair (Scarborough Southwest, Ont.).

Green said that the science is clear that higher temperatures result in more evaporation, and hotter and drier conditions can lead to more wildfires.

The David Suzuki Foundation posted an op-ed by John Young, an energy transition strategist, on its website on May 23, which called this fire season a “frightening warning” and argued for a rapid transition away from fossil fuels. According to Young, the federal government is taking a “one step

forward, two steps backward” approach to climate change, because Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault (Laurier-Sainte-Marie, Que.) gave approval for a new LNG facility in British Columbia on March 15.

The Cedar LNG Project is a facility that proposes to produce about three million tonnes of LNG per year, and include storage capacity for up to 250,000 cubic metres of LNG.

The David Suzuki Foundation issued a report on May 25 by Daniel Horen Greenford, a postdoctoral researcher at Concordia University in Quebec, who argued that LNG cannot serve as a “bridge fuel” between more carbon-intensive fossil fuels and renewable energy, as some LNG proponents claim. In the report, Greenford said that recent studies have found that rates of methane loss throughout

the oil and gas supply chain are much higher than previously believed, which erodes the climate advantage of gas over other fossil fuels.

“Methane escapes into the atmosphere throughout the oil and gas supply chain. Methane is often released both intentionally, as in the case of venting from equipment or the release of

unwanted gas, or unintentionally, because of equipment leaks or malfunctions such as unlit or inefficient flares,” reads the report. “Recent studies conducted in the United States and Canada have confirmed that methane losses from oil and gas production occur primarily during irregular events that are not typically reported by bottom-up modelled estimates used by industry and government agencies, such as large emissions that occur when off-gassing or emptying equipment to perform regular maintenance or when equipment is damaged or fails.”

Green argued that moving forward on the Cedar LNG project goes against an International Energy Agency report released on May 18, 2021, which called for no further government investment in new fossil fuel supply projects from the date the report was released, if the world is to successfully transition to a net-zero energy system by 2050.

“We tried to raise the issue of the damage that burning fossil fuels is doing, [and] the extreme weather it’s creating at all times of year in all conditions. We know when people are going through a wildfire that that’s very traumatic. They have to evacuate and they need support. It’s not about tying it to any moment,” said Green. “We just keep getting these different events—extreme weather, floods, droughts, hurricanes—all these reminders that we’re supercharging the climate system [and] adding more energy to it by increasing the amount of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.”

To help address environmental concerns, the Cedar LNG project is legally required to achieve net-zero greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions no later than 2050, according to a March 15 press release from the Impact Assessment Agency of Canada. The project will rely on clean hydro-electric power for the liquefaction of natural gas, and as the primary source of electricity during operations, which is consistent with the principles of the best-in-class GHG emissions performance guidance being developed by Environment and Climate Change Canada for oil and gas projects, according to the press release.

“Our government is working to deliver a clean and affordable energy future. LNG can play a role, provided new projects demonstrate best-in-class performance that align with Canada’s climate commitments and meet economic, environmental, and social expectations,” said a statement from Guilbeault’s office emailed to *The Hill Times* on June 2 by press secretary Kaitlin Power. “The extent to which the project would hinder Canada’s ability to meet its short-term climate change commitments is low. However, the net-zero condition by the year 2050 ensures that projects align with Canada’s longer-term climate goals. Sustainable and competitive LNG projects can create jobs for local communities, Indigenous partners, and Canadians across the country. The upstream gas extracted to supply Canada’s LNG producers will be



Tom Green, senior climate policy adviser for the David Suzuki Foundation, says extreme weather events, including floods, droughts, and hurricanes, are ‘reminders that we’re supercharging the climate system.’ *Photograph courtesy of the David Suzuki Foundation*



Keith Brooks, a program director for Environmental Defence, says that he hopes ‘Canadians can see the linkage between these fires and climate change,’ and ‘that Canadians are then also expecting that Canada, as led by the federal government, will do more to limit climate change.’ *Photograph courtesy of Environmental Defence*

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## Natural Resources Policy Briefing

# Wildfire crisis indicates need to refrain from new fossil fuel, LNG projects, say environmentalists

Smoke from wildfires in Ontario clouds the air in Gatineau, Que., on June 6. An early fire season has led to numerous wildfires burning in many communities across the country. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



wildfire fire-fighting capacity. The federal government is also planning to launch the WildFire-Sat in 2029, which will be a public satellite system purpose-built for monitoring fires. The satellite's mission will be to support wildfire management, provide more precise information on smoke and air quality conditions, and provide accurate measurements of the carbon emitted by wildfires.  
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*The Hill Times*

### Canada liquid natural gas (LNG) statistics

- In 2019, Canada was the sixth-largest producer of natural gas in the world, accounting for 4.3 per cent of global supply.
- Canadian natural gas production averaged 442 million cubic metres per day in 2019 and 2020, declining 2.7 per cent from 2018, but still sitting five per cent above 2015 production.
- Demand for natural gas in Canada has been rising over the past five years, averaging 303 million cubic metres per day for 2020.
- The largest source of demand for natural gas in Canada comes from the industrial sector, which includes electric generation and oilsands production.
- Canada typically exports more than 40 per cent of its marketable natural gas production. In 2020, 43 per cent of the natural gas produced was exported, primarily to the U.S. The U.S. Midwest region is the main export market for western Canadian natural gas, as it is well connected to Canada by pipelines and has a large amount of gas-fired electric power generation. Canada also exports gas to the U.S. Rocky Mountains, the Pacific Northwest, and, to a lesser extent, the U.S. Northeast regions.

—Source: Natural Gas Pipeline Transportation System, Canada Energy Regulator

### Canada climate change statistics

- In Canada, the national average temperature for 2022 was 1.2 C above the 1961 to 1990 reference value, making it the 16<sup>th</sup> warmest year since 1948.
- From 1948-2022, there is a trend in annual average temperature departures, showing 1.9 C of warming over that period.
- Annual average temperatures were consistently above or equal to the reference value from 1997 onward.
- A historic heat wave hit the western parts of Canada in 2021. On June 29, 2021, a new Canadian record high temperature of 49.6 C (nearly 24 degrees higher than normal) was set in the village of Lytton, B.C. The heat dome that affected the country over two weeks was responsible for more than 1,000 new local daily temperature records and contributed to an early and above average wildfire season.
- A new episode of extreme heat was observed in late 2022, expanding into the rest of Canada. Resulting wildfires in Newfoundland and Labrador caused a weeklong state of emergency as essential supply routes were cut off in the communities of Grand Falls-Windsor and along the Bay d'Espoir highway.
- Nine of the 10 warmest years have occurred during the last 25 years, with 2010 being the warmest on record (3 C above the 1961-1990 reference value). Canada's coldest year since 1948 occurred in 1972 at 2 C below the reference value.

—Source: Temperature Change in Canada, Environment and Climate Change Canada

Continued from page 16

subject to upcoming oil and gas cap and methane regulations.”

Keith Brooks, a program director for Environmental Defence, told *The Hill Times* that dry conditions combined with hotter temperatures leading to “fire weather” is becoming all too common in Canada.

“There’s a new branch of science called attribution science, and in this science they can accurately say that certain events would not have happened were it not for climate change. The scientists are now very clearly connecting the dots between climate change and increased forest fires across this country and increased fire risk around the world,” said Brooks. “I hope that Canadians can see the linkage between these fires and climate change, and I hope that Canadians are then also expecting that Canada, as led by the federal government, will do more to limit climate change.”

Brooks said that if LNG ever was a bridge fuel, that bridge burned long ago. He argued that even if an LNG facility produces net-zero emissions, there could still be emission concerns related to the extraction process of oil and natural gas, and later through the combustion of LNG.

“The more we know about gas, the more we understand what a big contributor it is to climate change, in part because we see, routinely, these gas operations

have been underestimating their emissions,” he said. “Just because one piece of the process of liquefied natural gas—of compressing it and putting it into containers—is net zero, that does not mean that LNG is net zero. It still has massive emissions associated on the extraction side and on the combustion side.”

Brooks said that Canada cannot build any new LNG plants if the goal of limiting the global temperature increase to 1.5 C above pre-industrial levels in accordance with the 2015 Paris Agreement is to be reached.

In contrast, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce released a report on April 3 by Eric Miller, president of Rideau Potomac Strategy Group, which argued that natural gas is the cleanest energy option, and emits half the carbon into the atmosphere as coal. Miller is a fellow with the chamber’s Future of Business Centre, and also a fellow with the Canadian Global Affairs Institute, with research focusing on areas including supply chains, the development of advanced technologies, natural resource markets, and North American relations.

In the report, Miller recommends that Canada recognize natural gas as an essential component of a lower-carbon energy mix, and build infrastructure to transport Canadian gas across the country and to global markets.

“As the country with the fifth-largest reserves of natural gas in the world, Canada has enormous potential to grow its LNG production and its exports. I think this is actually a good thing for climate change, because the world used a record amount of coal in 2022, and coal has about twice the per-unit carbon emissions as natural gas,” Miller told *The Hill Times* in a June 1 interview. “What we’ve seen in North America is ... a reduction in emissions, and a big part of that has been a shift from coal to natural gas.”

Miller argued in his report that even if Canada were to leave its resources in the ground, other countries would not produce or consume less energy. Only two of the top 10 natural gas producers in the world—Canada and Norway—have prices on carbon, according to Miller.

“I’m not suggesting that there are no emissions associated with [LNG], but when you’re in a situation where you need to start turning a very large and complex curve in a different direction, you need to start taking big bites out of the problem. If Canada sits back and simply says, ‘look, we’re not going to produce any LNG’ ... that doesn’t mean that Qatar is not going to do it, [or] the United States is not going to do it, [or] the Chinese are not going to do it ... this demand will get met,” he said. “We have, in Canada, a carbon price, which

means that the cost of the externalities are identified and have an economic value associated with them that allow them to be paid for.”

The Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP), a lobby organization with member companies that produce about 80 per cent of Canada’s natural gas and oil, argues on its website that natural gas demand is expected to grow due to population growth and rising standards of living.

“Canada’s standards governing exploration, production, transport, and use of hydrocarbon resources are rigorous—more so than most other natural gas and LNG-producing nations such as Russia and Qatar,” reads the CAPP website. “A thriving LNG industry in B.C. could generate more than \$500-billion in new investment, creating nearly 100,000 jobs across Canada and providing annual tax and royalty payments estimated at \$2-billion.”

Current June projections indicate the potential for continued higher-than-normal fire activity across most of Canada throughout 2023 due to ongoing drought and long-range forecasts for warm temperatures, according to a Natural Resources Canada press release issued on June 5. Efforts undertaken by the federal government to contend with wildfires include working with the International Association of Fire Fighters to advance a pilot project intended to increase Canada’s

# Free, prior, and informed consent from Inuit is fundamental to reconciliation

Protection for our land should not depend on the tireless work of individuals standing up to corporate interests when their government will not defend them.

NDP MP  
Lori Idlout

Opinion



Last fall, I attended the Nunavut Planning Commission Hearing on the draft plan for Nunavut Land Use. During the proceedings, I realized that, despite the promises outlined in the Nunavut agreement, Inuit still do not have to give free, prior, and informed consent when mining companies want to acquire mining rights in Nunavut. After decades of promises for Inuit self-determination in Nunavut, this is an appalling failure.

This is after years of talk from consecutive Conservative and Liberal governments. Despite adopting the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), Inuit still must fight in the harshest of winter conditions to protect their land and the environment against exploitative and extractive projects.

Bill C-326 stems from my work before I became the Member of Parliament for Nunavut. I worked with the hunters' and trappers' organizations, other rightsholders, and stakeholders while the Nunavut Impact Review Board reviewed an application by Baffinland Iron Ore Mines to expand their work in the territory. We worked together to ensure the environment, wildlife, and the communities around the mine were being protected.

I recall, specifically, the activism that Inuit hunters from Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay were compelled to do. They took the drastic action of driving their snowmobiles, while they had been caribou hunting, to the Baffinland Iron Ore Mines' Mary River Project to impede access to the airport. After a long battle, we successfully stopped the expansion of the existing mining operation. But having our voices heard shouldn't have had to be a lengthy fight. This government should live up to the principles of UNDRIP and

ensure Inuit have given free, prior and informed consent before any projects can move forward.

I have sought to change this by introducing a bill in the House of Commons to ensure mining companies obtain the free, prior, and informed consent of Indigenous peoples when acquiring the right to mine in Nunavut.

The fate of our land should not be decided by massive extractive corporations and governments that tilt the scales in their favour. Protection for our land should not depend on the tireless work of individuals standing up to corporate interests when their government will not defend them. The standards established by the duty to consult are not enough.

All levels of government need to work together to ensure there are diverse employment opportunities for Inuit. With more damage to the environment by many of these companies, it will only get more difficult for Inuit to support their families through cultural practices such as hunting and trapping.

While many people say free, prior, and informed consent means a veto power to end projects or that it will kill jobs, I disagree. I believe free, prior, and informed consent means supporting long-term, good-paying jobs with benefits that the community will feel for generations. It will establish an immediate process to engage

Inuit, from the beginning, not towards the end of an environmental assessment process.

Many of these mining projects provide too little local employment with little longevity. Much of the focus of mining companies is to serve their shareholders, who all reside not only outside of Nunavut, but also outside of Canada. Promising employment is not enough—not at the cost of losing access to the land. Reconciliation—through allowing free, prior, and informed consent—and a clean energy transition can happen at the same time. Both provide Indigenous people with long-term employment opportunities as well as respect UNDRIP.

My bill would help to implement Liberal promises. It would put into action what the Liberals said they would do: implementing the principles of UNDRIP. Indigenous Peoples still have their land exploited for the profits of extractive companies. The NDP will keep fighting for genuine reconciliation and to put the power back in the hands of Indigenous communities for once.

Lori Idlout is a Canadian politician who has served as an NDP MP for the riding of Nunavut in the House of Commons since 2021. Before her election, Idlout practiced law in Iqaluit with her own firm, Qusagaq Law Office.

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## Natural Resources Policy Briefing



Almost every job in the existing oil and gas, energy, and mining industries is redeployable to hydrogen and critical minerals, writes Karen Ziegler. Pexels photograph by Pavel Chernonogov

# Investing in Canada's growth includes hydrogen and precious metals

We deserve to be part of the future global economy, and should be doing everything in our control to be actively pursuing it for our neighbours and ourselves.

Karen Ziegler

Opinion



Alberta's recent provincial election will likely make it harder for the federal government to create a meaningful energy transition quickly, but it will by no means stop the transition that is quickly reaching the tipping point globally, including in the heart of the "last barrel produced" in the Gulf Cooperation Council.

The federal government has a strong history of investing in

the next GDP contributor/ economic powerhouse contribution to our young country. Almost 150 years ago, the support came in the form of ship passage, land security (RCMP), and agricultural loan props (in the 1930s) for the families who settled and built-up Canada's agricultural prowess. Next came the Canadian Pacific Railway, which received federal support to the tune of \$1-billion in today's value, followed by the Trans-Canada highway, which is still supported with federal funding today. Then came the automotive industry in the 1960s and the oil industry in the 1970s and '80s.

Almost 50 years ago, taxpayer dollars were invested in Syncrude to ensure the nascent industry had an opportunity to prove itself as an economic contributor and employer of strong middle-class jobs. The \$7.6-billion in taxes (\$1.4-billion in 1975) were invested when inflation was 10.73 per cent, unemployment was less than six per cent, and Canada's population was 23.14 million people. To invest an equivalent dollar per person today in hydrogen and critical minerals amounts to \$12.6-billion in straight cash as a one-time buy-in to one company.

That doesn't count the numerous investments made by provincial and federal governments in oil and gas pipelines, port infrastructure for grain and gold to reach international markets, or tax legislation to support massive capital investment needed to build the strongest-growing G7 economy today.

All of these investments came with controversy and inefficiencies, but all have built out the skeleton on which almost every Canadian is employed today. It behooves the federal government to continue investing in Canada's growth, including in commodities with significant growth potential in the global economy—namely hydrogen and precious metals.

We can all learn from the past, and take a moment to pause and offer a bit of grace to those who are struggling with the changes, but we cannot hold up change for those who do not wish to step out of their great-grandfathers' shadows.

Our grandmothers and our grandfathers worked hard, valued the help that came from the federal government, and used it to build everything we have today. We, as individuals and a country,

have the opportunity to stand in the sun and be counted by doing the same for the generations that will come after us.

Almost every job in the existing oil and gas, energy, and mining industries is redeployable to hydrogen and critical minerals. The electrical engineers, the welders, the operational excellence consultants, the financiers—to name a few—have all proven themselves to be capable of evolving and innovating. They do not need retraining. They need a social safety net to take one of the biggest risks in their careers: leaving a steady-ish paycheck with standard EI support to jump into a company and an industry that, without government financial incentives, may not survive.

The general skilled trades shortage, however, could use a boost in terms of apprentice support, and medical care for repair of wear and tear on the human body from the repetitive strain on skilled trades.

The federal government would do better to address the underlying fear related to leaving the known comfort of oil and gas to join something a lot more dynamic, younger, and intimi-

dating to those of us who have finally gotten our feet under us after 20 years of recessions and market drops. That could look like a carve-out to EI terms for those who take a risk and it doesn't work, or a salary uplift to at least reduce the gap between the salaries offered by incumbent oil and gas companies with billion-dollar profit margins to those companies building from scratch.

I expect our federal government to work collectively to find the means to promote the next major growth market for Canada. In that, I expect the opposition to support good initiatives and offer concrete modifications to make the initiatives even better.

As Canadians, we deserve to be part of the future global economy and should be doing everything in our control to be actively pursuing it for our neighbours and ourselves. And I look forward to seeing a Canadian company show up with a business plan that could put the federal dollars to really good use. But until then, any company willing to create real middle-class jobs for Canadians with the support of federal, and provincial, dollars to build a new economic engine will suffice.

Karen Ziegler is a veteran of the Canadian and international oil and gas industry with more than 20 years of taking complex problems in challenging environments to deliver commercial results. Having worked on global upstream and midstream project developments and operations her focus is on large infrastructure and the surface risks. She has lived in five hydrocarbon-producing countries and guided projects in more than 15 countries, including oil, CCS, LNG, pipelines, and solar projects.

The Hill Times

# What's critical to critical minerals?

This is an opportunity for our country to create generational value while helping solve one of the world's greatest climate challenges.

**Ammar Al-Joundi**

*Opinion*



Infrastructure Minister Dominic LeBlanc arrives at the West Block before Question Period on May 18. Developing mines more quickly also requires more federal investment in infrastructure, writes Ammar Al-Joundi. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

With the accelerating transition to a low-carbon economy, the global race is on to find the minerals that will fuel this shift. Across the world, governments are scrambling to keep up, working to simplify permitting rules, introduce incentives and building the needed infrastructure to kick-start new supply chains.

The good news is that with an abundant supply of these minerals as well as companies with the expertise to develop mining projects in a sustainable way, Canada is well positioned to both contribute to and benefit from this transition. In order to do so, however, it is critical that Canada creates the right policy framework. Recent government efforts have successfully focused on attracting and enabling the

construction of downstream battery facilities and retooling auto plants for electric vehicle (EV) production. While these are big wins for Canada and important components of the EV supply chain and Canadian economy, the upstream component of that supply chain—the mines that provide the minerals—also needs attention.

Canada's competitive advantage is there to be tapped. The first element of building that upstream component must be harnessing and further supporting the skills, experience, and broad existing infrastructure of our established mining industry. Canada is, and has for decades been, world-renowned for our mining industry's

technical expertise, our highly skilled workforce, our capacity for innovation, and our industry-leading focus on sustainable, community-supported mining initiatives.

Our governments must quickly leverage this global competitive advantage through focused and effective support of all the foundational elements that create a competitive mining industry. This means suppliers, contractors, educational institutions, local communities, First Nations, and the mining companies themselves (both established leaders, as well as start-ups). Narrow application of measures and policies to promote critical minerals alone risks overlooking the reality that many mines are polymetallic. For example, Agnico Eagle's LaRonde mine in Quebec produces gold and silver, as well as copper and zinc. Junior companies can play an important role, but building world-class mines (regardless of the metal) requires operators who bring the experience, the capital, and the technical know-how to build and operate—and responsibly close—what are large, complex operations. The best way for Canada to succeed in the race for critical minerals is through policies that support the entire mining sector.

A second element necessary to build our upstream supply chain is to reduce the time required to develop a mine. Currently, it can take as long as 25 years to put a mine into production. At this rate, the world will not have the minerals supply needed in time to meet the commitments of the Paris Agreement. We can accelerate

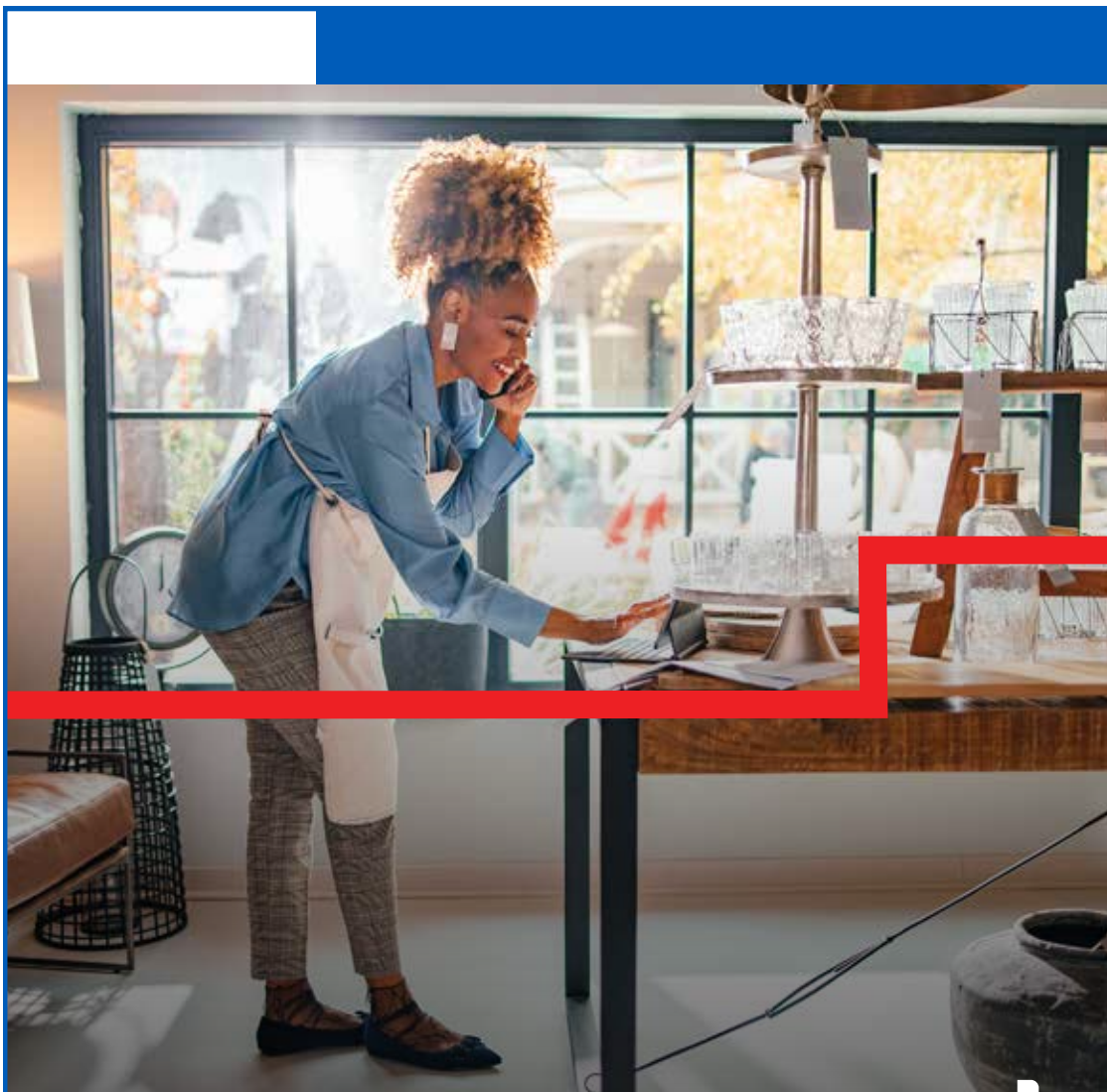
this process without compromising environmental protection, simply by streamlining and harmonizing current regulatory processes.

Developing mines more quickly also requires the Government of Canada to invest more in infrastructure. According to the Mining Association of Canada, the infrastructure gap in Canada's Arctic makes it one of the most expensive jurisdictions for mineral development in the world. The cost of developing an Arctic mine is more than double that in the south.

Finally, the success of a project depends on social acceptability and the ability to build and maintain trusting relationships with stakeholders and Indigenous partners. In the past few decades, Canadian miners have made significant strides in these areas. For example, Agnico Eagle's partnerships in Nunavut are driving Indigenous employment and training, procurement, and entrepreneurship—underpinned by trust and mutual respect. Already one of the largest employers of Indigenous people in Canada, the mining sector is well positioned to drive our country's economic reconciliation.

The Canadian mining industry sets the global standard for sustainability and stakeholder relations. This is an opportunity for our country to create generational value while helping solve one of the world's greatest climate challenges. By leveraging the expertise of all industry players, we can deliver a future in which Canada is a leading and responsible supplier of the minerals deemed critical to the low-carbon economy and clean energy future.

*Ammar Al-Joundi is the president and CEO of Agnico Eagle Mines Limited. The Hill Times*



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## Natural Resources Policy Briefing

# Logging in Canada is not sustainable and needs to change

International markets are increasingly demanding products that do not harm Earth's climate and biodiversity-critical forests.

Michael Polanyi  
& Janet Sumner

Opinion



Industry and government promote the view that logging in Canada is sustainable and good for the climate.

Canada's 2030 Emissions Reduction Plan lists so-called "sustainable forest management" as a nature-based solution, stating that "Canada's forestry sector can contribute to Canada's climate targets."

But a number of recent reports and initiatives are bringing

increased attention to real and significant negative climate and biodiversity impacts of logging.

In April, federal Commissioner of the Environment and Sustainable Development Jerry DeMarco released an audit criticizing Ottawa for not transparently reporting the greenhouse gas emissions associated with logging. He cited a study, prepared by Nature Canada and the U.S.-based Natural Resources Defense Council, which found that net emissions from logging were 75 million tonnes of greenhouse gas in 2020, on par with all emissions from the province of Quebec.

Claims of sustainability are also at odds with the findings in the special report, *Logging Scars*, by Wildlands League, which demonstrated that, on average, 17 per cent of the forest failed to regenerate 30 years after full-tree harvesting, representing a significant *de facto* deforestation.

Failed sustainability is also evident in British Columbia, where tensions are high and old-growth forests are disappearing. Liberal MP Patrick Weiler recently introduced a private member's motion urging the government to stop old-growth logging on federal land and end the export of

old-growth products from Canada by 2030.

And, earlier this year, an international media consortium found significant loopholes in the effectiveness of the third-party certifications that have been central to Canada's claims of the logging industry's sustainability. (The federal Competition Bureau has launched an investigation into greenwashing by the Sustainable Forestry Initiative, one of Canada's largest forestry certification bodies.)

Finally, the government's own evidence shows that logging is threatening the survival of woodland caribou, all while more species are at risk in Canada than ever before.

It is hard to argue that forestry is sustainable when the risks to survival for boreal woodland caribou—an indicator species of overall ecosystem health—are increasing across the country due to increased habitat disturbance.

In sum, forestry policy is at a crossroads in Canada.

The federal government has a choice. It can double down on propagating the myth that Canada's model of clearcutting primary forests is sustainable. Or, it can acknowledge the true

impacts of logging and put in place policies that support the transition to a climate-friendlier forestry industry that can supply the growing global demand for sustainable products.

So far, the government appears to be choosing the former option.

It is refusing to heed the environment commissioner's call to undertake a full review of forest carbon reporting and accounting practices, and to transparently report logging emissions in future climate reports.

It has failed, to date, to issue strong orders to protect caribou in Ontario and Quebec.

It is plowing ahead with massive subsidies for biomass and wood burning.

And it continues to refuse to acknowledge the significant *de facto* deforestation and degradation that is taking place in Canada (forest degradation caused by logging is not mentioned in Canada's most recent State of the Forests report).

However, new government commitments to take action to address biodiversity loss and climate change provide an opportunity to move from denial to action.

Canada's commitment to deliver an action plan to halt and reverse nature loss, as part of the Kunming-Montreal Global Biodiversity Framework, provides a chance for the federal government to acknowledge and address the degradation and destruction of forests.

Recent increases to Natural Resources Canada's budget have the potential to provide more transparency and accuracy on the degree to which our forests are being degraded through finer resolution mapping of human disturbances.

In addition, Ottawa's commitment to identify—and phase out—subsidies that are causing harm to nature as part of the framework creates an opportunity to take a hard look at the true impacts of subsidies to logging and wood combustion.

International markets are increasingly demanding products that do not harm Earth's climate and biodiversity-critical forests.

Now is the time for Canada to develop and put in place policies to support the transition to a truly sustainable and competitive fibre supply sector—so that the government's actions, finally, match its words.

*Michael Polanyi is policy and campaign manager (nature-based climate solutions) at Nature Canada. Janet Sumner has more than 30 years' experience working as an environmental leader. She has been the executive director of Wildlands League since 2003.*

*The Hill Times*

## Canada can still be a natural resource powerhouse in a net-zero economy

This country has long been a significant exporter of natural resources, and the clean energy transition doesn't change that.

Oliver Sheldrick  
& Rachel Doran

Opinion



Canada's wealth, our economic identity, and our financial booms (and busts) have long been tied to the value of natural resources within our borders. We have benefited immeasurably

from the natural wealth of these lands: our vast forests, deep lakes, and of course the reservoirs of oil and gas buried beneath our feet.

As we find ourselves rapidly entering the clean energy transition, and as the superpower economies of the United States and the European Union pivot hard toward a net-zero 2050, an opportunity to transition our own natural resource sectors has emerged.

Climate action is increasingly being delivered through ambitious industrial policy, such as America's Inflation Reduction Act, which is also focused on bringing supply chains back home, and strengthening trade ties with allies and like-minded nations.

Together, these trends present an opportunity to bring about an even more prosperous and sustainable economy for Canada, but it requires us to bet on ourselves. Canada has long been a significant exporter of natural resources, and the clean energy transition doesn't change that.

Quebec, for example, has some of the highest-grade iron ore in the world, making it among the few options viable for the next generation of steel production (using a process known as the direct reduction of iron). Demand for high-quality iron ore is subsequently expected to grow significantly.

Saskatchewan, meanwhile, has long been a major global supplier of potash, a critical fertilizer for agriculture, but with Russia's invasion of Ukraine cutting off supply from the world's second largest source, Canada's exports more than doubled between 2021 and 2022.

These are great examples of growing export opportunities, but perhaps more important is what Canada can achieve by harnessing our natural resources to drive value-added growth and economic development at home. In other words, combining our natural resource wealth with smart industrial policy.

Hydrogen is a great example. Canada has the resources to grow green hydrogen production capacity with access to abundant freshwater and an electricity grid that's already 84 per cent non-emitting. But we don't have to wait for a global market to develop for the resource, as we can use it to grow our export market for low-carbon and next-zero products that *rely* on hydrogen.

Hydrogen is one of the key ingredients in net-zero steel production. It will also be critical in the production of clean ammonia-based fertilizers, methanol, and a host of industrial chemicals



Natural Resources Minister Jonathan Wilkinson arrives for a cabinet meeting in West Block on May 30. To unlock potential, governments need to think strategically about how to best leverage our natural resources, write Oliver Sheldrick and Rachel Doran. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

with growing low-carbon export markets.

Similarly, Canada has many of the key critical minerals needed for electric vehicle (EV) batteries, including lithium and nickel. Not only is demand for these minerals exploding, we can also use them here in Canada as we develop an entire homegrown supply chain for EV batteries, capturing the jobs, intellectual property, and prosperity that goes with it.

But to unlock this potential, governments need to think strategically about how to best leverage our natural resources. Clean Energy Canada has made this case when it comes to batteries, and we have called for net-zero industrial roadmaps for all key

heavy industries that use natural resources.

Canada also can't rest on its laurels when it comes to clean electricity, which underpins our ability to extract and use these resources cleanly. Our lands and shorelines can provide almost limitless clean energy, but only if we ambitiously build out clean generation and transmission. This is why the federal government's forthcoming Clean Electricity Regulation (that would see Canada's power grid achieve net-zero emissions by 2035) is so important. Not only does it stake out our ambition and drive a clear market signal for the energy we need, but it is critical in ensuring we remain competitive with our allies and trading partners, who are similarly prioritizing net-zero electricity grids. Without it, we risk seeing our grid get dirtier as we try to meet demand—and with it, lose our competitive edge.

Natural resources have a bright future in Canada. We can build new trade ties and help our friends and allies fill key gaps in their supply chains. But more than that, our natural resources can be a part of our own story in the new economy, one where we capture all the wealth and opportunity they offer, forming a bedrock for jobs, communities, and prosperity for the decades to come.

*Oliver Sheldrick the clean economy program manager and Rachel Doran is the policy director of Clean Energy Canada.*

*The Hill Times*

# The clean energy transition is underway with hydrogen and critical minerals

Canada can capitalize in the critical minerals market by rapidly implementing a strong hydrogen value chain.

Bruno Pollet

Opinion



We are currently experiencing global climate and energy crises and the world's "hydrogen craze" is not only due to the ambitious decarbonization targets for 2050, but also to a strategic movement towards "energy independence," especially in Europe. Hydrogen represents a potential for reducing greenhouse gases (GHG), and thus many countries are now investing significantly in this booming market.

The clean energy transition is underway. Low-carbon hydrogen and green hydrogen—so-called "renewable hydrogen"—are increasingly seen as key components towards a sustainable energy economy.

Canada is uniquely and excellently positioned for its critical raw minerals (CRM) from exploration, extraction, processing, downstream product manufacturing, and recycling along the renewable energy and energy storage (e.g., battery and hydrogen) technologies value chains that will create wealth and sustainable "good-paying" jobs in the country. Recently, the Canadian government published a report, *The Canadian Critical Minerals Strategy — From Exploration to Recycling: Powering the Green and Digital Economy for Canada and the World*, highlighting opportunities for Canada to grow and build expertise along this green-energy value chain as well as attracting investors whilst respecting the rights of Indigenous Peoples. Amongst the 31 critical minerals highlighted in this report, the government has prioritized six to kick-start the clean energy transition: lithium, graphite, nickel, cobalt, copper, and rare earth elements (e.g., lanthanides—dysprosium, lanthanum, neodymium, etc.).

A multitude of minerals are required in this clean energy transition. Electric cables, transformers/rectifiers/inverters, etc., for wind and solar need aluminium, copper (known as the "metal of electrification"), germanium, iron, and selenium. For energy storage devices such as batteries, fuel cells, and electrolyzers, required minerals include: cerium, cobalt, gold, iridium, lithium, manganese, nickel, niobium, platinum, titanium, vanadium, and zinc, to name but a few. In the case of low-carbon hydrogen, principal minerals are: chromium, cobalt, copper, manganese, molybdenum, nickel, niobium, titanium, tungsten, vanadium, and zinc.

To produce renewable hydrogen, water electrolyzers (devices that convert water into hydrogen and oxygen gases) are needed if powered by renewable electricity. According to the International Renewable Energy Agency, the total installed

electrolyser capacity is expected to reach 5,000 GW by 2050, while the International Energy Agency predicts a capacity of 3,670 GW. This represents a significant increase from the current installed capacity of around 0.6 GW in 2021 and two GW in 2022.

This rapid growth in electrolyser deployment is expected to lead to a huge increase demand for critical raw minerals, particularly for proton exchange membrane water electrolyser (PEMWE) and alkaline water electrolyser (AWE) technologies, which have high CRM requirements. PEMWE contains chiefly iridium, platinum, and titanium, and

currently iridium is very expensive (a roughly 800-1,000 per cent price increase since 2000) and scarce. Iridium is a minor mining byproduct for platinum group metals (PGM), predominantly mined in South Africa and Zimbabwe (iridium typically accounts for up to four per cent of the overall PGM grade in the ore) and its supply is not expected to increase above the current level of around seven to nine tonnes per annum. Thus, efforts to reduce significantly and to recycle these CRM demands will be necessary as PEMWE deployment increases. AWE is the oldest, most mature, most robust, and commercially available technology, and

also has mineral requirements, including nickel, cobalt, and zirconium. Overall, the development and optimization of electrolyser technologies that minimize CRM content will be critical to enabling the growth of the hydrogen sector, together with reducing environmental impacts—GHG emissions and water footprint—from sourcing the CRM needed for clean hydrogen production and utilization.

Currently, the greatest risk on the horizon is the geographic concentration of minerals required for this clean energy transition in China, especially in

Continued on page 24



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## Natural Resources Policy Briefing

# The clean energy transition is underway with hydrogen and critical minerals



Low-carbon hydrogen and green hydrogen are increasingly seen as key components toward a sustainable energy economy, writes Bruno Pollet. *Unsplash photograph by Appolinary Kalashnikova*

Continued from page 23

refining/transformation. Canada needs to seize this golden opportunity. The country is capable of capitalizing in this market by rapidly implementing a strong hydrogen value chain from mineral extraction, mineral transformation to low-carbon hydrogen and renewable hydrogen production, reformer, electrolyser, fuel cell and hydrogen storage manufacturing, hydrogen distribution and utilization. Canada has the prospect to become not only a domestic consumer and an exporter of CRM, but also a producer and an exporter of hydro-

gen technologies. However, for this to happen, there is still a great need for further investment at federal, provincial, and industrial levels, from research and development to technology development and product manufacturing.

*Bruno G. Pollet is co-director of the Institute for Hydrogen Research at the University of Quebec at Trois-Rivières. He holds two Research Chairs (NSERC CRC and Innergex) in Green and Renewable Hydrogen Production with a strong focus on the next generation of electrolyzers and low-carbon hydrogen-generating technologies.*

*The Hill Times*

## News

## Alberta election shows wooing reluctant Tory voters still a high bar for Singh, says pollster Coletto

Continued from page 12

ciently progressive was rarely the cause of the party's electoral defeats.

Richer agreed with Lechnitz, saying she views the NDP's path forward in Alberta—and elsewhere in the country—as down the middle, focusing on voters who view Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) as “out of step” with the realities they face, and Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.) as “a step in the wrong direction.”

“There's that reasonable middle that, whether or not they're interested in what the Conservatives are saying, there's always that bit of underlying mistrust, and the NDP need to tap into that,” Richer said, adding that in a discussion on the cost of living and how best to help working-class Canadians, the Liberals won't have a strong position from which to participate after nearly a decade in government.

“We're going to see the Liberals talk about abortion and anti-LGBTQ sentiment, but I don't think that is going to work as well as it did with past Conservative leaders,” Richer said, explaining that most of the voters who would be persuaded on those issues already have a negative perception of Poilievre.

Instead, Richer said she believes that the NDP is uniquely positioned to take on both the Liberals and Conservatives on the rising cost of living that offers not only an alternative to successive Liberal and Conservative governments that have failed to act, but also a government that will take on the ultra-wealthy who are making it worse.

“There is a sense of anger and appetite for change, and it'll be up to the NDP to position themselves as the party that can bring that change and face that anger with hope,” Richer said.

While there may be too great a gulf between Alberta voters' perception of Notley and Singh for Coletto to try to draw too many conclusions from the election results, there may be a lesson to be learned from Smith for Poilievre.

Coletto said that similar to the Conservatives' struggles to win voters in urban centres outside of the Prairies, like in Toronto or Montreal, the party can no longer afford to take their urban ridings in Edmonton or Calgary for granted. Even if the Conservatives can defend those ridings—which Coletto said he expects they can—it would mean allocating more party resources to an area of the country where the Conservatives have never needed it before.

However, as those ridings are now slightly less of a sure thing, Coletto said it's even more important for Poilievre to avoid allowing himself to be framed as “too extreme,” as the provincial NDP attempted to do to Smith.

“If I'm Poilievre's team watching what happened in Alberta, one of the lessons is: if you are perceived to be too extreme, votes that you might have counted on may not be there,” Coletto said. “You can energize the base as much as you want, but the base is often not going to be enough.”

On the other hand, Coletto said there is room for the NDP and Liberals to overplay that framing by setting expectations too low, pointing to the Conservatives' efforts during the 2015 election to frame Trudeau as an inexperienced former drama teacher who was “in over his head,” until all he had to do during his first leaders' debate was show up “with his pants on,” referencing a quote from Kory Teneycke, then-prime minister Stephen Harper's director of communications.

“Debates are opportunities for the leaders to either counter the narrative against them or reinforce the positives,” Coletto added. “If people thought Smith was too extreme or had poor judgement, they didn't necessarily see that watching the debate, and that was comforting.”

While Coletto couldn't say exactly how much Smith's expectation-exceeding May 19 debate performance contributed to the UCP's overall election victory, he said it did coincide with an uptick in her positive polling with reluctant UCP voters who had previously responded as unsure or considering a vote for Notley's NDP.

“It was partially the debate, plus a closing week and a half of the campaign that wasn't full of controversial comments that helped the UCP seal the deal and bring home enough people to win outright,” Coletto added.

In contrast, while Lechnitz agreed that the leaders' debate between Notley and Smith was an inflection point, Notley's seeming decision to “soft-pedal” her opponent's negatives allowed Smith to perform as well as she did.

“The biggest warning for both the NDP and the Liberals is they cannot expect their opponents to defeat themselves with the things they've said or done in the past,” Lechnitz said. “Your opponent's record is not going to tell its own story and disqualify them in voters' minds; you have to do that.”

Richer said while Poilievre has said and done plenty of things in his political career that the NDP will try to use against him in the next election, she also agrees that in order for that to be successful, they will have to remind people continuously.

“What's important is to never let your foot off the gas,” Richer said, explaining that the NDP shouldn't allow Poilievre the space to define himself.

“They have to make sure that Poilievre doesn't get to rewrite his story and paint himself as the new guy in Ottawa who's going to clean up everything,” Richer said. “They have to remind people that he spent the past 20 years in Ottawa and playing a part in all of the things he says have gone so wrong.”

According to polling aggregator 338Canada.com, if an election were to happen now, the Conservatives would win 34 per cent of the votes, the Liberals 31 per cent, the NDP 20 per cent, the Bloc Québécois seven per cent, the Greens four per cent, and the People's Party of Canada three per cent.

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*The Hill Times*

# Advocates call for feds to provide more detail on response to Uganda's harsh new anti-LGBTQ law

'Calling for the repeal of the law is baseline,' says Conservative MP Melissa Lantsman, who wants to see a plan of action from the government.

Continued from page 1

in situation of vulnerability and persecution."

Unlike American President Joe Biden, the Canadian government didn't indicate that it was considering cutting international assistance funding or imposing visa restrictions for Ugandan officials.

Politicians across the Canadian political spectrum have criticized the new law.

Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.) said the law is "outrageous and appalling," while the NDP has called for the Ugandan High Commissioner to Canada Joy Ruth Acheng to be summoned by Joly, as well as for the Canadian government to create a "special [refugee] stream for queer Ugandans at risk."

Global Affairs Canada didn't respond to a *Hill Times* question about whether it had summoned Acheng before publication deadline.

Conservative deputy leader Melissa Lantsman (Thornhill, Ont.) told *The Hill Times* that the world is exhibiting a global erosion of human rights.

"I cannot believe the countries around the world, who are frankly partners in so many forums, are sliding back so far on the fundamental protection of life," said Lantsman, a member of Parliament's new Pride Caucus.

She said that it would be appropriate for the government to look at visa restrictions on those Ugandans who are complicit in the enacting of the new law, adding that advocacy work can be done at multilateral forums in which Canada and Uganda both engage, including the Commonwealth, the International Civil Aviation Organization, and the World Trade Organization.

"This isn't just a case of LGBT rights. This is a perverse slide backwards in fundamental human rights—we're talking about a death sentence," she said, remark-



Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly has called for the repeal of Uganda's latest anti-LGBTQ law. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

ing that there should be a set of common values which includes the right to life for everyone.

She said that she would like to see the Canadian government be "more specific" about what it intends to do.

"Calling for the repeal of the law is baseline," Lantsman said. "I think that every Parliamentarian in every civilized country has done so."

"To put it more bluntly, [it should] look at tools and instruments we have to isolate them in international forums and to look at visa restrictions at least on those that are complicit—those that are part of the government regime there," she said.

Canada lacks much agency to unilaterally influence Uganda's actions as it doesn't have a strong trade relationship (only about \$50-million of two-way merchandise trade per year) nor a close diplomatic relationship (Canada is represented in Uganda by its high commissioner in Kenya).

Dignity Network executive director Doug Kerr, who represents about 60 organizations that work to promote LGBTQ rights globally, said it is crucial for Canada to provide funding for human rights groups in Uganda and in East Africa that are fighting the law.

"We really hope that Canada will step up to support organiza-

tions on the ground," he said, adding that there is a need for emergency funding for those who need to leave Uganda immediately.

Kerr said the network's advocacy is based on conversations he and his group have held with Ugandans from the LGBTQ+ community.

He said that, diplomatically, Canada should be working with

like-minded countries to put pressure on and engage with the Ugandan government.

He added that Canada needs to review donor aid to ensure that groups that support the law aren't getting any funding.

Kerr said he has been convening meetings between those working on the issue in Uganda and Global Affairs Canada. He said he plans to hold meetings with cabinet ministers in the coming days.

Canada should be working with its international partners to come up with a co-ordinated response, according to Kerr, pointing to the recent Canadian visit of Jessica Stern, the U.S. special envoy to Advance the Human Rights of LGBTQI+ Persons.

Stern was in Toronto on June 6 to receive an award from Rainbow Road, and will be in Ottawa on June 7 for bilateral meetings with MPs and Global Affairs, according to the U.S. State Department.

Kerr, who will be joining Stern in Ottawa, said Uganda's new law isn't the only issue that will be raised, but it is an "important topic."

He remarked there is a need for Canada to adopt a "clearer foreign policy" on defending LGBTQ+ rights globally.



Conservative MP Melissa Lantsman says Canada should be isolating Uganda internationally. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

"The bill in Uganda is causing groups in other countries to push for similar bills," he said. "The fact that they moved really quickly to introduce this bill and get it passed really fast is now emboldening those forces that are pushing anti-LGBTI laws ... around the world."

Former Canadian diplomat Artur Wilczynski, who championed LGBTQ+ rights over a more than 30-year career in the public service, said the government needs to make sure that Canada's response is grounded in the wishes of the LGBTQ community in Uganda.

He said Canada should be looking at imposing a travel ban and visa sanctions on those who are responsible for bringing the legislation forward, adding that the government should also be reviewing its international assistance in the region.

"If you do a review you're sending a very, very strong message that you're paying close attention," said Wilczynski, Canada's ambassador to Norway from 2014-2018. "You're not taking any rash decisions. You're anchoring your actions in, quite frankly, a thoughtful and specific response to try to encourage Uganda to change this course of action."

He said there is an issue with a lack of co-ordination as Canada doesn't have a special representative for LGBTQ+ issues.

"Too often the lack of coherence in terms of a response on behalf of the Government of Canada negatively affects our ability to review these policies in a coherent [and] deliberate manner, and make sure that we address the challenges posed by these types of legislation in countries like Uganda that protects the rights of folks on the ground" he said.

He said the Canadian government should be more specific about what it plans to do to address the law.

"We need the government to be seen very publicly engaging with folks most affected," he said.

Wilczynski said at the "very least," Canada should be summoning Acheng and telling her what it is Canada intends to do about re-examining the scope of its relations with Uganda.

"Conveying that message in unequivocal terms to the Ugandan high commissioner is really important," he said, noting that it is crucial that Canada take advantage of the formal diplomatic mechanisms to send a message.

"The absence of that kind of formal action sends a message as well, which in my opinion is a message of tolerance for this kind of behaviour," he said. "If this is such a significant priority for Canada, which I actually believe it is, we need to align our actions with our words. At the diplomatic level, what that means is calling the high commissioner for a conversation to outline the specificity of our concern and to convey what we are going to do so that the Ugandan government has a very clear understanding of the kind of opposition that it is going to face in the global environment."

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*The Hill Times*

## News

# Intel briefings should prioritize digital hygiene, mitigation against foreign interference over specific threats, says former DND analyst

A lot more can be done to raise Parliamentarians' competency regarding how to mitigate their vulnerabilities if they are targeted, says former defence department analyst Thomas Juneau.

Continued from page 1

about why that information was only shared with them nearly two years after the fact, and why the diplomat implicated in the alleged targeting of another MP's family in Hong Kong was not designated "persona non grata" before the information was leaked to the media.

On May 30, former Conservative leader O'Toole rose in the House of Commons and revealed he had been briefed by CSIS on May 26, which confirmed his suspicions of an "ongoing campaign of foreign interference" targeting him as both an MP and as then-leader of the official opposition.

O'Toole described four distinct categories of threats involved in the campaign, including the alleged payment of funds from the Communist Party of China through its United Front Work Department (UFWD) to create "products of misinformation," the hiring of "human resources" employed or aligned with the UFWD to promote it, and the use of the Chinese social media platform WeChat to disseminate that misinformation.

Along with the campaign's potential infringement of his privilege as a Member of Parliament, O'Toole said he believes his privilege has also been breached by the "government's unwillingness to act on intelligence related to foreign interference."

The day before, Kwan similarly shared that CSIS had informed her she was an "evergreen" target of Beijing's interference. She said she would not be intimidated or silenced in her advocacy for democracy in Hong Kong and "basic human rights."



NDP MP Jenny Kwan speaks with reporters in the House of Commons foyer on May 29 about her experience being briefed by CSIS about exposure to foreign interference. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Unlike O'Toole, Kwan made her announcement during a press conference outside of the House of Commons Chamber, meaning she was not protected by parliamentary privilege, and did not provide further details about what form the interference campaign took. But she did say she was concerned about the timing of the briefing, and about why she and other targets of interference were not briefed the moment CSIS became aware of the intelligence.

The Procedure and House Affairs Committee is already examining an earlier question of privilege raised by Conservative MP Michael Chong (Wellington-Halton Hills, Ont.) about an alleged intimidation campaign targeting him and his family in retaliation for a motion Chong moved in the House in February 2021 condemning Beijing's treatment of Uyghur Muslims, as first reported in *The Globe and Mail*.

Chong raised the question of privilege on May 2, after he said intelligence officials had confirmed reporting that the targeting had been directed by Chinese consular official Zhao Wei. Six days later, on May 8, Wei was designated "persona non grata" and asked to leave Canada.

At the House Affairs Committee on June 1, Jody Thomas, the prime minister's national

security and intelligence adviser, said she had only been briefed by CSIS on the three cases within the last "three to four weeks." Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) and Thomas have said they only learned about the targeting of Chong's family after *The Globe and Mail* reported it.

While she admitted there had been a "breakdown" of an "insufficient process," Thomas said that process has been "rectified," pointing



University of Ottawa professor Thomas Juneau says while he is always in favour of sharing more information with MPs, when it comes to classified intelligence, that's easier said than done. *Photograph courtesy of Twitter*

to a recent ministerial directive from Public Safety Minister Marco Mendicino (Eglinton-Lawrence, Ont.) to CSIS ordering it to begin sharing more information directly with Parliamentarians who may be targets, or who are currently under threat.

Juneau, a public and international affairs professor at the University of Ottawa, told *The Hill Times* he is very much in favour of more information being shared with Parliamentarians, noting that providing such briefings was suggested in a University of Ottawa report, *A National Security Strategy for the 2020s*, which he co-authored last year with Vincent Rigby, Trudeau's former national security and intelligence adviser. However, Juneau said those briefings need to be clear not just about potential or specific threats, but also about the best way to mitigate them.

"If you are an MP, even if you are not being targeted right now, there are things that you can do to protect yourself in terms of good cyber hygiene and information security," explained Juneau, who previously worked as a strategic analyst for the Department of National Defence until 2014. Juneau said a lot more can be done to raise Parliamentarians' competency regarding how

to mitigate their vulnerabilities if they are targeted.

Alliance Canada Hong Kong's recent report, *Murky Waters: Beijing's Influence in Canadian Democratic and Electoral Processes*, made similar recommendations, noting that while "transparency is still the best measure to counter foreign interference," much of the relevant intelligence collected on how those campaigns operate remains unavailable to the public, community stakeholders, and many elected officials.

The report, released on May 31, includes a survey of some 39 former candidates, campaign volunteers and staff, and political party staffers to measure their baseline understanding of foreign influence, interference, and disinformation/misinformation.

When asked whether they had witnessed foreign state influence or interference operations during their last campaign, 59 per cent said no, 17.9 per cent said yes, and 23.1 per cent said they weren't sure. However, when asked whether they felt equipped with sufficient knowledge, resources and guidelines to identify and counter foreign interference, 71.8 per cent said no. Furthermore, despite 66.7 per cent of

Continued on page 27

Continued from page 26

respondents saying they had witnessed disinformation campaigns during the election, only 25.6 per cent of respondents said they felt sufficiently equipped to identify and counter it.

This lack of awareness about clandestine foreign interference will only keep Canadians in the dark and put them further at risk of influence campaigns, the report reads.

“Canadians should be empowered with tools and knowledge to identify foreign interference, enabling them to make informed decisions on the ballot and in all aspects of their lives,” the report continues.

Juneau said while it’s easy to say that Canadians and Parliamentarians should be kept better informed, there remains a number of unanswered questions about how best to do that, including what can and cannot be shared with Parliamentarians without a security clearance, what it actually means for an MP to be “targeted,” and what the threshold would be to determine that.

While Juneau said that may seem like splitting hairs, in practice, it’s not always obvious whether a piece of intelligence requires alerting the alleged target, noting that many of the allegations contained in the intelligence leaks reported by media—including the potential targeting of Chong—pertain to “ideas, plans, and attempts,” without much clarity as to whether any were actually successfully implemented.

“Do you advise the MP in those circumstances? Probably not, but it does raise the issue of what is the level of confidence and precision in a potential threat that you have to see to say something,” Juneau said. “That is incredibly complicated.”

Juneau added that there is also a level of precision that cannot be shared with Parliamentarians, no matter the alleged threat, without revealing their sources or methods.

“There’s a balancing act that CSIS has to play in terms of saying something helpful without saying anything revealing,” said Juneau, explaining that while security concerns may restrict what information can be shared about specific threats, the briefings should focus more on how Parliamentarians can best protect themselves against them.

“That’s why my view is that these briefings have to focus a lot on mitigation,” Juneau continued. “As opposed to the specifics of the threats, it should focus on what Parliamentarians can do about it, or who to be careful associating with or [what they’re] saying on the phone ... that kind of advice can play an essential role here.”

While providing Parliamentarians with the tools and information needed to mitigate potential foreign interference campaigns targeting them is an important step, Charles Burton, a senior fellow at the Macdonald-Laurier Institute and a former counsellor at the Canadian Embassy in Beijing, told *The Hill Times* he thinks the main issue is less about when and how those briefings happen, as it is about why the government only seemed to act on the intelligence after it was leaked.

Burton said much of the targeted interference alleged by O’Toole is identical to the disinformation campaign Burton had tried to warn former Conservative MP Kenny Chiu about during the 2021 election, targeting Chiu over his proposed Foreign Influence Registry legislation.

Burton said he attempted to identify the source of the disinformation campaign, enlisting the help of contacts within various Canada-Hong Kong dissident organizations to sift through the Manda-



Macdonald-Laurier Institute senior fellow Charles Burton says the main issue surrounding the intelligence briefings is why CSIS and the government did not act to expel Chinese diplomat Zhao Wei sooner. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

rin-language social media posts to try and determine who had commissioned them. While the posts were reproduced on several other Chinese-language social media sites, Burton said he was never able to connect them to a specific individual or association, though he has suspicions that they were also commissioned through the UFWD.

Burton said that when he testified before the Procedure and House Affairs Committee on Feb. 7, he was relying on “circumstantial evidence” about how the UFWD has operated in countries like the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand.

Due to the reporting on the leaked intelligence and briefings given to Kwan, O’Toole, and Chong, Burton said his suspicions had been vindicated. However, he said that confirmation raised a new concern about why Wei wasn’t declared “persona non grata” before the story leaked.

Burton said he would have assumed that if the government had intelligence that a diplomat was engaged in election interference—as was alleged in *The Globe’s* reporting—it would have taken action to shut it down at the source and send the diplomat home.

“What’s the point of having the intelligence if you don’t act on it?” Burton questioned. “What does it take to justify expulsion?”

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## THE HILL TIMES’ POLITICAL AND PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING INTERNSHIPS FOR INDIGENOUS AND BLACK PEOPLE

The Hill Times is excited to announce its internship program for aspiring Indigenous and Black journalists. We are seeking passionate applicants who are eager to pursue a career in journalism and have a keen interest in politics, policy, and governance. These paid internships will take place at The Hill Times newsroom located in Ottawa.

### About The Hill Times:

The Hill Times is a dynamic, twice-weekly newspaper and daily news service dedicated to providing comprehensive coverage of Parliament Hill, the federal government, and federal politics. Our readership includes cabinet ministers, Members of Parliament, Senators, federal public servants, political insiders, lobbyists, foreign diplomats posted to Canada, industry associations, authors, journalists, and academics. We pride ourselves on our unique insider perspective, offering unparalleled insights into federal politics.

### Job Description

The internship will include writing news and features in a fast-paced newsroom, where successful applicants will be mentored in a challenging but supportive environment. Interns will be tasked with covering hot topics from an insider perspective, including:

- Breaking political news
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This internship is a paid, full-time, contract position. Internships vary in duration from three months to one year, depending on the availability of the applicant and the newsroom. Please state your availability on the application, keeping in mind there is a three-month minimum.

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- Reporting experience outside school assignments and a demonstrated commitment to journalism as a career.
- Strong interpersonal skills.
- Life experience that contributes to your development/ability as a journalist.

### Without journalism experience:

- Strong writing skills
- A passion for community, politics, or governance.
- Strong interpersonal skills.
- Life experience that contributes to your development/ability as a journalist. Please submit a short letter outlining your experience and why you want to become a journalist.

We thank all applicants for their submissions, but only candidates selected for interviews will be contacted.



## News

# ‘Flurry of activities’ won’t ensure military culture change, say analysts

‘We could well end up with a situation where all the Arbour recommendations have been implemented, but we still don’t have meaningful culture change,’ says professor Maya Eichler.

Continued from page 1

culture after a wave of headlines alleging inappropriate behaviour by senior officials.

She echoed Arbour’s report, which noted that “there is now a palpable change in the air,” but said the challenge is to ensure there is an overarching plan to manage the various initiatives aimed at addressing the crisis.

“Although I have seen some cross-referencing among the recommendations, there is no overall framework that sets out how the organization, as a whole, will move from one phase to the next,” Therrien’s report notes, but remarks that doesn’t mean progress isn’t being made.

The report, which was publicly released by Defence Minister Anita Anand (Oakville, Ont.) on May 17, suggests that there “is something to be said” about moving forward on changes that are “most critical of culture evolution.”

The proof of culture change, Therrien’s report notes, will be in how many incidents there are and whether members of the Armed Forces and the Department of National Defence see those changes.

“It is too soon to tell if that is happening,” the report indicates, but cites that data is “being refined,” which will allow better progress tracking.

“But data is only one part of the picture. In the coming months I will seek to gain a qualitative understanding of whether or not the Ottawa-based efforts are bringing about changes on the ground,” the report notes.

Even as the response to Russia’s February 2022 invasion of Ukraine and sufficiently arming Canada’s own military has been the centre of attention, creating “meaningful culture change” is her “top priority,” Anand said

Defence Minister Anita Anand says ‘significant progress’ is being made to address sexual harassment and misconduct in the Canadian military. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



when the external monitor report was published, remarking that the military is making “significant progress.”

Maya Eichler, a Mount Saint Vincent University professor of political and women studies, said the question is whether the “flurry of activity” will lead to “meaningful change.”

“I don’t think we can know the answer without more clearly laying out a strategic plan for what change the institution would like to see and for how to assess that change,” she said. “We could well end up with a situation where all the Arbour recommendations have been implemented, but we still don’t have meaningful culture change.”

Eichler noted that the transfer of sexual misconduct cases to the civilian courts will be “meaningless” if it doesn’t lead to better results for victims and survivors.

“There needs to be a close tracking of the cases that are moved out of the military system with a view to assessing

the outcomes for victims [and] survivors of military sexual misconduct,” she said in an email.

More than 90 cases of sexual offences have been referred to civilian courts from the military system.

Eichler said there needs to be a qualitative analysis of the change in culture instead of a focus on the “state and pace of change,” adding that an external oversight body would be “much more robust” than an external monitor. An external oversight report was recommended in the 2015 Deschamps report, but not by Arbour.

Canadian Global Affairs Institute fellow Charlotte Duval-

Lantoine, who authored the 2022 book *The Ones We Let Down Toxic Leadership Culture and Gender Integration in the Canadian Forces*, said she is optimistic about the work outlined in the report, but there are grounds to be cautious with a guiding plan there will just be a “flurry of activities” or a piecemeal, unco-ordinated process.

She said she is looking for a shift from outputs to outcomes from the military, and from activities to actual results.

She said that the military needs to move through the recommendations and their checklist in a way that is going to have the intended results, which

would be helped by an overarching plan.

“Right now, there doesn’t seem to be a plan to not only make sure that each and every activity will have the intended effect, but also to monitor that,” said Duval-Lantoine, who called the focus on the activities instead of the outcomes the “biggest gap” from the Armed Forces.

“When they are thinking of outcomes, it remains very blurry and not very well defined,” she said.

A focus on the outcome will ensure that service members from the top down know what is expected from them and how they can support efforts, she said.

Duval-Lantoine said ensuring a focus is on the right outcomes involves shifting away from values, remarking that a focus on the values of service members is too abstract as they differ from person to person.

“I think if you want to focus on outputs and clear outputs, you need to focus on sets of behaviours,” she said.

Duval-Lantoine said she was surprised the military was not more vocal in spotlighting the report as it shows that work is being done.

“Communication has not been the best on that front, and the report is giving us something ... a little bit substantive of what the military is doing,” she said.

Queen’s University professor Stéfanie von Hlatky, the Canada Research Chair on gender, security, and the Armed Forces, said Therrien could propose an overarching framework to better track the reporting of the military’s progress to aid her work.

“The lack of baseline framework I found striking, but maybe that will come with time,” she said. “Perhaps, because there isn’t such an overarching framework within DND and CAF, it makes it more difficult for the external monitor to propose such a framework in order to monitor that progress using the same baseline structure from one report to the next.”

Von Hlatky said the Canadian military has yet to fully figure out how initiatives will directly lead to culture change.

She said the external monitor expects to see that change through quantitative and qualitative data collection, but that may not tell the complete story.

“The number of incidents over time you would expect to decrease if there is an improvement in culture,” she said. “However, those measures can be deceiving, especially measuring incidents, because if you create a system that works for people in terms of feeling safe to disclose or report incidents, sometimes especially in the short term you might see an uptick in the number of incidents before you see that going down.”

Von Hlatky said addressing sexual misconduct needs to remain a top priority for the government, and it can be one despite other global challenges that need to be addressed.

She said the recruitment and retention in the military can be addressed at the same time as the sexual misconduct crisis, remarking that organizational deficiencies will affect operational effectiveness.

She added that “dual pressures” can lead to “more meaningful change” than would have otherwise been reached.

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Former Supreme Court justice Louise Arbour made 48 recommendations in May 2022 to address the sexual misconduct crisis in the Canadian Armed Forces. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Neil Moss

## Diplomatic Circles

# A dozen envoys collect awards for public diplomacy performance

The Ambassador of the Year awards returned for the first time since the early days of the pandemic.

Twelve ambassadors and high commissioners received awards last week for their public diplomacy work over the past year and a half.

Envoys representing countries big and small from around the globe were hosted by the University of Ottawa's Professional Development Institute on June 2 for the fourth annual Ambassador of the Year awards—the first ceremony since the early days of the pandemic.

The winners, master of ceremonies **Judée Berthil** said, were selected by an independent panel from *Diplomat Magazine* based in The Netherlands.

The winners were chosen based on their initiatives in public diplomacy, including cultural diplomacy, educational initiatives, work with expats, and digital diplomacy programming.

"The award," said Bruneian High Commissioner and dean of the diplomatic corps **Pengiran Haji Kamal Bashah bin Pengiran Haji Ahmad**, "is an extraordinary means to encourage ambassadors and high commissioners to continue putting their efforts and performing their roles and responsibilities in respect of public diplomacy endeavours."

Each winning envoy received a miniature Inukshuk sculpture handmade by an Indigenous artist using recycled wood.

Three Asian envoys were given the Ambassador of the Year honour: Pengiran Haji Ahmad, Japanese Ambassador **Kanji Yamanouchi**, and Kuwaiti Ambassador **Reem Al Khaled**.

Pengiran Haji Ahmad was praised for opening his chancery to more than 2,000 visits from 2017 to 2019 to learn about Brunei Darussalam.

He offered free kayak lessons to fellow diplomats during the pandemic, which has been expanded to include working with youth at a local community centre.

The former officer in the Brunei military, who has been posted to Ottawa since 2014, only recently became dean following Chadian Ambassador **Mahamat Ali Adoum**'s departure from Canada, but his deanship will be short-lived.

"I'm sad to announce that it will be my first and also my last involvement in this event," he said. "I'll be ending my tour in Canada in the middle of this month after surviving nine gruelling winters. And inshallah to take up my new assignment in other countries which is obviously more warmer than Canada."

Career diplomat Yamanouchi was celebrated for hosting a national day celebration which included an Indigenous drum group joining one from Japan, as well as holding bonsai flower exhibits and helping to organize the 40th Japan film festival in Canada.

Al Khaled, the first woman to be Kuwait's ambassador to Canada, has chaired the Women Heads of Diplomatic Missions group in Ottawa, as well as honoured more

than 200 Canadian veterans of the Gulf War with the Kuwait Liberation Medal. She also established the Canada-Kuwait Parliamentary Friendship Group that is chaired by CSG Senator **Percy Downe**.

Five winners were from African nations, including Rwandan High Commissioner **Prosper Higi**ro, South African High Commissioner **Rieaz Shaik**; Moroccan Ambassador **Soraya Othmani**, Nigerian High Commissioner **Adeyinka Asekun**, and Kenyan High Commissioner **Immaculate Wambua**.

Higi, a former Rwandan politician, received praise for launching a Rwandan roadshow in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, as well as the commemoration of the 29th anniversary of the Tutsi genocide.

A past South African intelligence boss, Shaik was trumpeted for speeches he has given since arriving in Ottawa, including the inaugural address of the University of Ottawa's international dialogue, where he spoke about geopolitical turbulence. He has also hosted wine tastings along with diplomats from Armenia and Georgia.

Career diplomat Othmani was commended for her involvement in film festivals across Canada, as well as support for the Moroccan diaspora community in Canada. She also celebrated the 60th anniversary of diplomatic ties between Morocco and Canada.

Asekun, a former businessman, was celebrated for helping to organize past governor general **Julie Payette**'s trip to Nigeria in 2018, as well as more recently the screening of Nollywood film *Two Weeks in Lagos* at the Canadian Museum of Nature alongside then Nigerian vice-president **Yemi Osinbajo** during his three-day visit to Canada in 2022.

Wambua was praised for aiding the Kenyan food festival and business exhibit in Toronto, as well as education exchanges and working with the Kenyan Canadian Association.

Two ambassadors from the Americas earned awards: Peruvian Ambassador **Roberto Rodríguez Arnillas** and Panamanian Ambassador **Romy Vasquez**.

A career diplomat, Arnillas was praised for promoting Incan history in Canada, as well as organizing a visit of the B.A.P. Unión, one of the world's biggest tall ships, to Vancouver in 2019 to honour 75 years of diplomatic relations between Canada and Peru.

Vasquez was celebrated for organizing dialogues between Indigenous institutions in Panama and Canada as part of the International Day of Women and Girls in Science, as well as for cultural outreach and educational collaboration.

Rounding out the winning ambassadors were Belgian Ambassador **Patrick Van Gheel** and Albanian Ambassador **Ermal Muça**.

Van Gheel and his embassy organized book clubs to promote Belgian authors, such as **Amélie Nothomb**, as well as organizing cultural and educational exchanges.

Muça, who has been posted to Ottawa since 2016, hosted a concert of Albanian music by the Toronto Philharmonic Orchestra to celebrate 35 years of diplomatic relations with Canada. Following Pengiran Haji Ahmad's departure, Muça will be the new dean of the diplomatic corps.

Awards were also given to civil society figures who helped assist the work of

the diplomatic community in Canada, including Global Affairs Canada's chief of protocol **Stewart Wheeler**, his second award; *Hill Times* publisher **Anne Marie Creskey**, for the newspaper's coverage of the diplomatic community; University of

Ottawa law professor **Pierre Thibault**, a co-founder of the awards ceremony; and to Berthil, who has hosted the awards since 2018.

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Winning envoys and civil society figures at the 4th annual Canada's Ambassadors of the Year Awards on June 2.



Bruneian High Commissioner Pengiran Haji Kamal Bashah bin Pengiran Haji Ahmad, left, shares a laugh with South African High Commissioner Rieaz Shaik.



Bruneian High Commissioner Pengiran Haji Kamal Bashah bin Pengiran Haji Ahmad, left, shares a laugh with South African High Commissioner Rieaz Shaik.



University of Ottawa public diplomacy lecturer and former Dominican Republic diplomat Eugene Matos speaks to the audience.



Bruneian High Commissioner Pengiran Haji Kamal Bashah bin Pengiran Haji Ahmad, left, with Kenyan High Commissioner Immaculate Wambua.



Moroccan Ambassador Soraya Othmani, left.

*The Hill Times* photographs by Sam Garcia



South African High Commissioner Rieaz Shaik, left, alongside Israeli Ambassador Ronen Hoffman, and Estonian Ambassador Margus Rava.



Bruneian High Commissioner Pengiran Haji Kamal Bashah bin Pengiran Haji Ahmad, left, with Hill Times publisher Anne Marie Creskey.



Laura Ryckewaert  
**Hill Climbers**

# Director-level changes for ministers Gould, Fraser, LeBlanc



Families Minister Karina Gould, left, has a new acting policy director, and Immigration Minister Sean Fraser recently lost his director of parliamentary affairs and issues management to Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Dominic LeBlanc. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

After losing his parliamentary affairs director to the public safety minister, Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Dominic LeBlanc has found a new one from Immigration Minister Sean Fraser's team.

Families, Children, and Social Development Minister **Karina Gould** now has an acting director of policy in place following **Hanna Button**'s exit from Parliament Hill.

"After many years in politics, Hanna has decided to embark on a new adventure outside government. We wish she wasn't leaving, but also offer her our best wishes. We'd like to thank her for everything she's done, and for all the hard work she has put in day after day," said Gould's office in an email response to *Hill Climbers* late last month.

A former senior public affairs adviser with the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Button began



Hanna Button has left the families minister's office. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

working for the Trudeau government in early 2016 as a policy adviser to then-minister for international development and La Francophonie **Marie-Claude Bibeau**. That fall, she was promoted to director of policy by the minister. In 2019—just before the start of that year's federal election—Button briefly left the Hill, spending roughly three months in all as a senior strategist with the IDRC. She returned to political work post-election as director of policy to Gould, who had newly been shuffled into the international development portfolio.

Button was on maternity leave come the 2021 federal election and subsequent Liberal cabinet shuffle, and when she returned to work in April 2022, it was as director of policy to Gould as families minister.

With Button's departure, senior policy adviser **William Keefe-Stacey** has stepped in as acting director of policy to Gould.

A former Hill assistant to Housing Minister **Ahmed Hussen** as the Liberal MP for York South–Weston, Ont., Keefe-Stacey first joined the families minister's office as a special assistant for operations in the spring of 2020, during Hussen's turn in the portfolio. He was promoted to policy adviser in early 2021 and to senior policy adviser in the fall of 2022.

Also currently working on policy in Gould's office are senior policy adviser **Ellen Galupo** and policy adviser **Lydia MacKay Swiatkowska**.

**Frédérique Tsai-Klassen** is chief of staff to Gould.

Immigration, Citizenship, and Refugees Minister **Sean Fraser** recently lost his director of parliamentary affairs and issues management, **Émilie Simard**, to Infrastructure and Intergovernmental Affairs Minister **Dominic LeBlanc**.

Simard, who's filling the same role in LeBlanc's office, had been working in the immigration minister's office since the 2019 federal election, starting under then-minister **Marco Mendicino** as an issues manager. She stepped in as acting director of parliamentary affairs and issues management to the immigration minister in the spring of 2021, later officially taking over the role. Simard is also a former press secretary to then-rural economic development minister **Bernadette Jordan**, and a

former special assistant for Ontario and Quebec regional affairs and assistant to the parliamentary secretary to then-veterans affairs minister **Kent Hehr**.

*Hill Climbers* understands Simard marked her first day in LeBlanc's office on May 8. Previously, **Laurel Chester** was director of parliamentary affairs and issues management to the infrastructure and intergovernmental affairs minister. Chester left LeBlanc's team in March to fill the same post in Mendicino's office as minister of public safety, as previously reported.

In Fraser's office, a new parliamentary affairs and issues management head has yet to be named, but there are a few other staff changes to note.

Communications adviser **Laurence Lefebvre** changed roles last month, and is now the immigration minister's regional adviser for Quebec. Before joining Fraser's office at the beginning of this year, Lefebvre spent a little more than three-and-a-half years as an aide to Quebec Liberal MNA **André Fortin**, who represents Pontiac, Que., in the National Assembly.



Laurence Lefebvre is now covering Fraser's Quebec desk. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

**Mathieu Saint-Wril**, who had covered Fraser's Quebec desk since March 2022, remains in the minister's office as a policy adviser. He's a former assistant to Montre-



Geneviève Lemaire has joined the immigration minister's office. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

al Liberal MP **Rachel Bendayan**, an ex-operations project manager with distribution and branding agency MMTUM Inc., and a former research assistant and communications manager for Wellstein Mora Rodriguez International.

Replacing Lefebvre on the communications side is new hire **Geneviève Lemaire**, who joined Fraser's team as communications adviser on May 1.

Lemaire was most recently a consultant with the recruitment company Page Personnel. She previously spent a year starting in the spring of 2020 as an assistant to then-Quebec Liberal MP **Will Amos**, after which she worked as a communications assistant to Transport Minister **Omar Alghabra** for roughly half a year. Lemaire's past experience also includes a 2018 summer internship with BMO Financial Group and a 2019 summer student posting as a human resources project co-ordinator with Public Services and Procurement Canada.



Chris Knipe joined LeBlanc's office in May. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

**Mike Maka** is chief of staff to Fraser.

In LeBlanc's office, along with the addition of Simard, the minister welcomed **Chris Knipe** to his team last month as an Ontario regional adviser for infrastructure.

Knipe, who was voted Best Cabinet Staffer in this year's Terrific 25 Staffers survey, placing sixth on the list overall (and tying for third for Best All-Round Terrific Staffer), was previously Ontario regional adviser and assistant to the parliamentary secretary to Hussen's office as minister of housing, diversity, and inclusion. A former assistant to Toronto Liberal MP **Arif Virani**, Knipe had been working for Hussen since the 2021 federal election.

**Jamie Innes**—who recently marked 25 years working for the Liberals—is chief of staff to LeBlanc.

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# Gallery dinner returns to spring slot, kicks off Hill party season on June 10



The Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner returns to the Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau, Que., on June 10. Photograph courtesy of Jean-Marc Carisse

## MONDAY, JUNE 5—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7

**Indigenous History & Heritage Gathering**—Tanya Talaga, bestselling author and *Toronto Star* columnist, will be the keynote speaker at the Indigenous History and Heritage Gathering. Talaga, who is Anishinaabe with roots in the Fort William First Nation, will deliver a talk titled, “The Knowing: The Enduring Legacy of Residential Schools.” Talaga’s book, *Seven Fallen Feathers*, won the RBC Taylor Prize for non-fiction and the Shaughnessy Cohen Prize for Political Writing. She’s also president and CEO of Makwa Creative, an Indigenous-owned production company “that gives voice and stage to Indigenous creators.” Talaga will be speaking from 9:30-10:45 a.m. on June 5. The event, which will take place from June 5-7 at the Shaw Centre in Ottawa, will be hosted by the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation at the University of Manitoba and the First Nations Confederacy of Cultural Education Centres. Details: ihhg.ca.

## WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7

**House Sitting**—The House is sitting this week and will set every week until June 23. It’s scheduled to adjourn for the summer on June 23. It will break for 12 weeks (June 23-Sept. 18) and will resume sitting on Monday, Sept. 18. It will sit for three weeks (Sept. 18-Oct. 6), and will adjourn on Friday, Oct. 6, for a week. It will resume sitting on Monday, Oct. 16, and will sit for four consecutive weeks (Oct. 16-Nov. 10). It will break for one week (Nov. 13-17) and will resume sitting on Monday, Nov. 20, and will sit for four weeks (Nov. 20-Dec. 15). It’s scheduled to return on Monday, Jan. 29, 2024.

**Webinar: ‘The Future of the CBC’**—The Macdonald-Laurier Institute hosts a webinar: “Defend or Defund? The Future of the CBC.” What is the proper role of a public broadcaster in the digital age, and how can the CBC best fulfill that role? How does the CBC fit with the government’s other initiatives regarding cultural content and news? Participants include *Globe and Mail* columnist Andrew Coyne and former CBC producer Tara Henley. This event will take

place online on Wednesday, June 7, at 11 a.m. ET. Register via Eventbrite.

**Latvian Envoy to Deliver Remarks**—Latvia’s ambassador to Canada Kaspars Ozoliņš will deliver remarks on “European Security in 2023,” hosted by the Canadian International Council. Learn how Latvia and Canada are working together to ensure the safety and well-being of their citizens and allies. Wednesday, June 7, at 5:30 p.m. ET at KPMG, 18th floor, 50 Elgin St. Register via Eventbrite.

**Cutest Pets on the Hill Contest 2023**—The Canadian Animal Health Institute wants to celebrate all things pets by hosting an inaugural Cutest Pets on Parliament Hill contest for 2023. Whose pet has what it takes to be voted Cutest Dog, Cutest Cat, or Cutest Other Pet on Parliament Hill? Winners will be announced on Wednesday, June 7, at the Metropolitan Brasserie, 5:30-8:30 p.m. Details: cahi-icsa.ca.

## WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7—THURSDAY, JUNE 8

**Forum: ‘Anti-Money Laundering and Financial Crime’**—The Canadian Institute hosts its annual forum on “Anti-Money Laundering and Financial Crime” from June 7-8. Keynote speakers include Sarah Paquet, director and chief executive officer, FINTRAC; Donna Achimov, chief compliance officer and deputy director, FINTRAC; and Erin Hunt, director general, Financial Crimes and Security Division, Finance Canada. Wednesday, June 7 to Thursday, June 8 at 8 a.m. on Parliament Hill. Register: info@interfaithconversation.ca. Register via Eventbrite.

## THURSDAY, JUNE 8

**All-Party Parliamentary Interfaith Caucus Breakfast Event**—Green Party Leader Elizabeth May, NDP MP Daniel Blaikie, Conservative MP Garnett Genuis, and Liberal MP Sameer Zuberi will take part in a breakfast discussion on “The Threat of Polarization in Canada: How do we move forward?” hosted by the All-Party Parliamentary Interfaith Caucus. Free for MPs. Thursday, June 8 at 8 a.m. on Parliament Hill. Register: info@interfaithconversation.ca. Register via Eventbrite.

**2023 Water Canada Summit**—Indigenous Services Minister Patty Hajdu and parliamentary secretary to the minister of environment and climate change Terry Duguid are among the speakers at the 2023 Water Canada Summit. Thursday, May 8 at 9 a.m. ET at the Delta Hotel, Ottawa City Centre. Details: watersummit.ca.

**Minister Duclos to Deliver Remarks**—Health Minister Jean-Yves Duclos will deliver remarks at a lunch event hosted by the Economic Club of Canada. Thursday, June 8 at 11:45 a.m. ET at the Sheraton Centre Hotel, Toronto. Details online at economicclub.ca.

**C.D. Howe Institute Directors’ Dinner**—The C.D. Howe Institute hosts its annual Directors’ Dinner featuring Bank of Canada Governor Tiff Macklem. Thursday, June 8 at 5 p.m. at the Fairmont Royal York Hotel, 100 Front St. W. Toronto. Details: cdhowe.org.

## SATURDAY, JUNE 10

**Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner**—Affectionately dubbed “nerd prom” by those working in and around the Hill, the annual Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner—which often lasts into the wee hours of the morning—usually features light-hearted speeches from the prime minister and federal party leaders. It will be held Saturday, June 10, at the Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau, Que. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh, and Bloc Québécois Leader Yves-François Blanchet all appeared at the 2022 dinner, but Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre did not.

## SUNDAY, JUNE 11

**‘Politics & Punchlines’**—TVO Today Live’s Steve Paikin will take part in a conversation on “Politics & Punchlines” with comedian Samantha Bee as they talk about the role of comedy in politics. Sunday, June 11 at 5 p.m. ET at the Carleton Dominion-Chalmers Centre, 290 Lisgar St. Register via Eventbrite.

## MONDAY, JUNE 12

**CMA Fireside Chat Series**—The Canadian Medical Association hosts the final in a series of virtual Fireside Chats on Indigenous Health. CMA President

Dr. Alike Lafontaine will lead this series of intimate discussions with Indigenous patients, providers and leaders on how we can move forward, together, on reconciliation. Today’s topic is “The meaning and importance of an apology to Indigenous Peoples.” Happening online, 7 p.m. ET. Details: cma.ca.

## MONDAY, JUNE 12—TUESDAY, JUNE 13

**Mexican Economic Minister to visit Canada**—Minister of International Trade, Export Promotion, Small Business and Economic Development Mary Ng will host Raquel Buenrostro, Mexico’s Secretary of Economy, for a bilateral visit to Canada June 12-13, including a meeting of the Canada-Mexico High-Level Economic Dialogue.

## MONDAY, JUNE 12—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14

**Conference: ‘Resilient Institutions’**—The Institute on Governance and the IRPP’s Centre of Excellence on the Canadian Federation host a two-day conference, “Resilient Institutions: Learning from Canada’s COVID-19 Pandemic.” Focusing on institutions of

health, federalism, public service and democracy, participants will examine how decisions were made during the pandemic, investigate what lessons can be drawn, and explore the relationships critical to rebuilding trust and improving services for Canadians. Monday, June 12, to Wednesday, June 14, at both the Fairmont Château Laurier and National Arts Centre. Details: irpp.org.

## TUESDAY, JUNE 13

**Minister Wilkinson to Deliver Remarks**—Natural Resources Minister Jonathan Wilkinson will deliver remarks at a lunch event hosted by the Economic Club of Canada. Tuesday, June 13 at 11:45 a.m. ET at the Fairmont Château Laurier, 1 Rideau St. Details: economicclub.ca.

**Panel: ‘The Road to Self-Determination’**—The Canadian Club of Ottawa hosts a panel discussion on the first Indigenous-led major infrastructure project under the Impact Assessment Act. The Northern Road Link project in Ontario will provide all-season road access to the Marten Falls and Webequie First Nations and the Ring of Fire. The panel will include Chief Cornelius Wabasse of Webequie First Nation; Ontario Minister of Mines George Pirie; Councillor Rob Moonias of Marten Falls First Nation; and Michael Fox, president/CEO, Indigenous & Community Engagement. Tuesday, June 13, 11:45 a.m.-1 p.m. in the Château Laurier’s Adam Room. For tickets and information, visit canadianclubottawa.ca.

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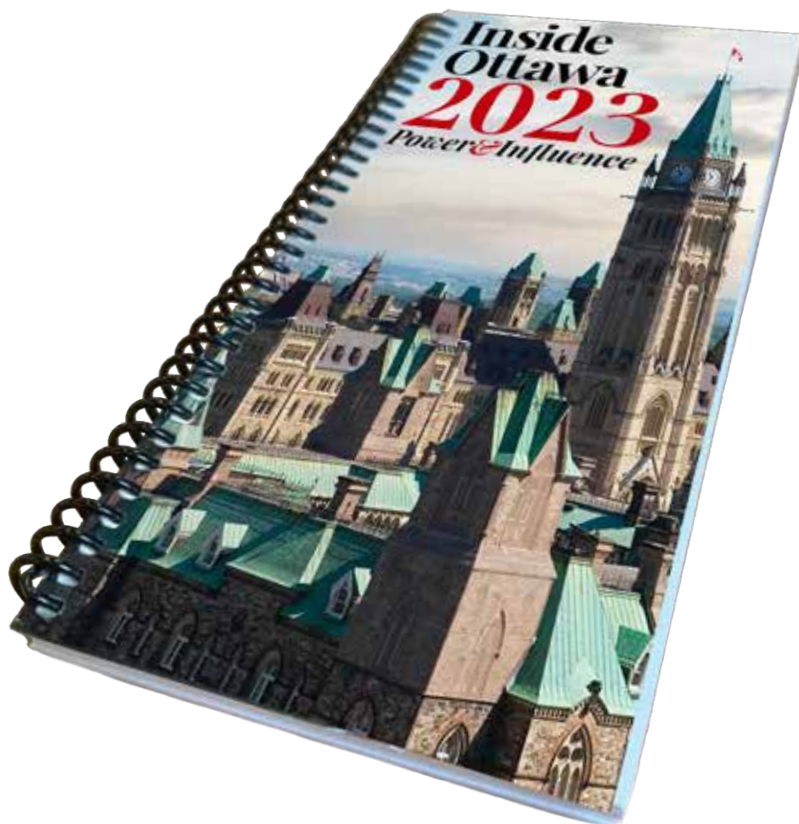
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