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Miller:

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Harris

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THE HILL TIMES

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR, NO. 2062

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 2023 \$5.00

NEWS

Regardless of politics, climate change 'isn't a distant phenomenon' amid 'most destructive wildfire season in Canada's history,' say experts

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

Following a record-breaking wildfire season in Canada that's already seen more than 17 million hectares go up in flames and a number of communities evacuated, a sustainability governance specialist says that the summer has brought home to "every single Canadian" that climate change "isn't a distant phenomenon," and sent the message that "we are not on track globally to limiting emissions at the pace and scale necessary to avoid the worst impacts of climate change."

"We're not doing enough, we're not doing it fast enough," said Sarah Burch, Canada Research Chair in sustainability governance and innovation at the University of Waterloo, who works in the department of geography and environmental management, and is a lead author of the United Nations' Sixth Assessment Report of the Inter-

Continued on page 16

NEWS

Solidarity with government over India claim provides a 'temporary respite at best' for Trudeau's tanking popularity, say pollsters

BY ABBAS RANA

The explosive controversy over Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's allegation of Indian government involvement in the assassination of a Canadian citizen in British Columbia that's been dominating the news cycle since last week may have given a temporary political respite to the government's tanking polling numbers, but the electorate's focus will soon shift back to pocketbook issues if no other newsworthy details emerge, say political players.

"The biggest issue for Canadians today is inflation and cost of living. This doesn't really relate to that," said Darrell Bricker, CEO of Ipsos Public Affairs. "And do I think it's a bright enough light to distract them [Canadians] from that? Maybe for a few days, but not for the longer term, not even for the short-to-medium term."

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NEWS

Liberal MPs were 'very, very tough' and gave 'straight goods' to Trudeau at caucus meeting in London, Ont.

BY ABBAS RANA

The national Liberal caucus that met with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau behind closed doors two weeks ago in London, Ont., for its summer retreat "blasted" senior staff in the Prime Minister's Office, some cabinet ministers, and their chiefs of staff for their attitude toward backbenchers, and expressed disappointment that the party has not defined Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, according to Liberal MPs present at the meeting.

"People gave him the straight goods about how his office is conducting itself, and about the importance of being connected better to caucus, and being more in touch," said one Liberal MP, who was not authorized to speak about this meeting. "People were tough on him. Very tough. Very, very tough on him."

For the first time since 2015, the national Liberal caucus had a meeting with Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) without the presence of senior Prime Minister's Office (PMO) staffers. This happened after Liberal MPs sent a direct message to Trudeau through caucus chair Brenda Shanahan

Continued on page 18



India and Canada have been involved in a diplomatic tit-for-tat since Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, left, accused Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government of involvement in the murder of a Canadian Sikh leader on Canadian soil. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade and photograph via Wikimedia Commons





Mike Lapointe

Heard On The Hill

Journos, columnists and comms experts join Sandstone Group's new crisis communications division



Sandstone Group has hired Wendy Cumming, left, Anthony Furey, Joan Bryden, and Neil Macdonald for its new crisis communications division. *Photographs courtesy of Sandstone Group*

Lobby shop Sandstone Group has hired a team of columnists, reporters, and comms professionals to work in its newly-formed crisis communications division.

Among the names are **Anthony Furey**, a former *Toronto Sun*

columnist and, more recently, Toronto mayoral candidate; **Joan Bryden**, who spent 34 years covering Parliament Hill for Canadian Press, Southam News, and CanWest; **Neil Macdonald**, who spent 32 years as a political reporter and foreign

correspondent for CBC News; and **Wendy Cumming**, who has worked across strategic and crisis communications.

Sandstone co-founder and managing partner **Kevin Bosch** said in a Sept. 18 press release that the team brings decades of

experience in journalism and issues management to the firm.

"Today, when a seemingly unremarkable decision can provoke the hornets of social media into swarming, CEOs and senior managers need access to sensible, discrete and experienced advice," Bosch said in the release. "Sandstone Group's team is ready to mobilize on short notice, 24-7, and remain available until the crisis has concluded."

Bosch founded Sandstone Group in November 2021 with **Naresh Raghubeer**. According to the company's website, it now has a team of 18 working across the fields of lobbying, defence procurement, stakeholder management, branding development, and partnerships, as well as crisis communications.

Sandstone vice-president **Marc Roy**, the former chief of staff to then-transport minister **Marc Garneau**, will lead the crisis communications division, the press release stated. Raghubeer said that during Roy's time on the Hill, "he helped manage some of the most challenging communications files in government, from the Mad Cow epidemic to the early COVID-19 response to train blockades to the grounding of a jetliner fleet following a crash."

Sen. Deacon wins award named for the late Jim Carr

Nova Scotia CSG Senator **Colin Deacon** has been named as one of two inaugural recipients of the Forest Products Association of Canada's (FPAC) Jim Carr Forest Community Champion Award.

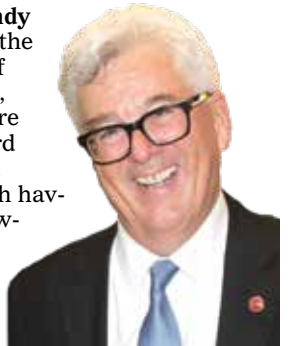
FPAC announced in a Sept. 18 press release that Deacon

and **Wendy Landry**, the mayor of Shuniah, Ont., were the award winners, with both having "showcased exceptional dedication to their communities and have contributed to advancing the environmental, social, and economic benefits of the forest sector in Canada."

The award was named after the late Liberal MP **Jim Carr**, who died in December last year. Carr was natural resources minister from 2015-2018. The press release described him as "an incredible champion of Canadian forestry and forestry workers."

Deacon was awarded for his advocacy for the use of wood in building construction, "nature-based climate solutions, and promoting the forest bioeconomy," according to the FPAC release.

Ian Dunn, president and CEO of the Ontario Forest Industries Association, described Landry as an "uncompromising advocate for the sustainable management of Ontario's public forests and the economic and spiritual values they provide." Landry is currently president of the North-western Ontario Municipalities Association.



Senator Colin Deacon received the Forest Products Association of Canada's Jim Carr Forest Community Champion Award. *The Hill Times photograph by Stuart Benson*

Sen. Iris Petten joins Independent Senators Group

Newfoundland and Labrador Senator **Iris Petten** has announced that she will be joining the Independent Senators Group (ISG).

"I would like to thank the members of the ISG for welcoming me to a group which is founded on independent, collaborative, and inclusive decision-making," said Petten in a Sept. 19 statement. "I look forward to working with the ISG, and all my colleagues, to address the important issues facing the country and my home province."

The senator was born and raised in the fishing community of Port de Grave, N.L. Prior to her time in the Red Chamber, Petten worked in the fishing industry, and co-founded Ocean Choice International in 2000. She also served on Memorial University's Board of Regents from 2013-2022.

There are now 39 members of the ISG, according to the release. mlapointe@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

Monday's photo

Zelenskyy in Canada:
Prime Minister Justin Trudeau welcomed President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy to Ottawa on Sept. 22.

The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade



Protect Canada's Charitable Legacy: Urgent Action Needed

To: **The Right Honourable Justin Trudeau, P.C., M.P.**
Prime Minister of Canada

The Honourable Chrystia Freeland, P.C., M.P. Deputy
Prime Minister and Finance Minister

cc: **All members of the PMO**

cc: **All Liberal MPs and all Senators**

Dear Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance,

We are deeply concerned about the proposed changes to the Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT) in the 2023 Federal Budget, especially concerning donations of publicly listed securities to charitable organizations.

This move is a significant shift from Canada's tradition of supporting a robust charitable sector. We can craft a tax system that remains equitable and champions our societal generosity.

Historical Context

In 1997, Finance Minister Paul Martin notably reduced the capital gains tax on gifts of publicly listed securities by 50%. This initiative was further boosted in 2006 by Finance Minister Jim Flaherty, who removed the remaining capital gains tax on these gifts. As a result, a once-rare practice became common, with Canadian charities receiving annual donations of listed securities exceeding \$1 billion.

The 2023 Budget's proposal risks reversing this legacy, leaving Canadian charities with reduced donations and putting them at a disadvantage against peers in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Charitable Sector Implications

Today, with the challenge of rising inequality and a growing gap between the haves and have-nots, charities play an even more crucial role. It's counterintuitive to hinder private giving that draws critical funds into the charitable sector at a time when they – and the people they serve – need it the most.

Under the new rules, a donor gifting publicly listed securities worth \$2,100,000 – with a capital gain of \$2,000,000 – would see their tax increase by \$165,215. Such hikes will discourage many potential large-scale donations, jeopardizing many charities' operations.

The upcoming budget revisions to the AMT will critically dampen Canadian charitable giving during an already challenging period. I urge you and your team to reconsider these changes, considering their broad implications for national charities.

Thank you for your dedication and attention. Many Canadians, deeply committed to our nation's charitable future, keenly await your insights.

Yours sincerely,



Dr. Kevin Smith
President & CEO
University Health Network



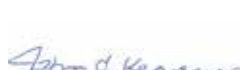
Rose M. Patten, OC, OOnt
Chancellor
University of Toronto



Dan Clement
President & CEO
United Way Centraide
Canada



Vivek Goel, CM
President and Vice-Chancellor
University of Waterloo



John Kearsey
President & CEO
Royal Ontario Museum Foundation



Alan Shepard
President & Vice-Chancellor
Western University



Daniele Zanotti
President and CEO
United Way Greater Toronto



Michael Benarroch, Ph.D.
President and Vice-Chancellor
University of Manitoba



Ruth MacKenzie
President & CEO
Canadian Association of Gift
Planners (CAGP)



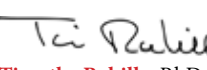
Tim Kluge
President and CEO
The Ottawa Hospital
Foundation



Stephen J. Toope, OC, RSC, LLD
President and Chief Executive Officer
Président et Chef de la direction
CIFAR



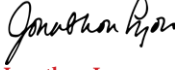
Jennifer Bernard
President & CEO
SickKids Foundation



Timothy Rahilly, Ph.D.
President and Vice Chancellor
Mount Royal University



Kelly Cole
President & CEO
Sunnybrook Foundation



Jonathon Lyon
President and CEO
Health Sciences Centre
Foundation (Manitoba)



Murray Sigler
President & CEO
Calgary Health Foundation




Patrick Deane
Principal and Vice-Chancellor
Queen's University



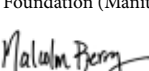
Peter Dinsdale
President & CEO
YMCA Canada



Katherine Hay, ICD.D
President & CEO
Kids Help Phone



Jennifer Johnstone
Chair
Association of Fundraising
Professionals Canada



Malcolm E. Berry
President and CEO
BC Children's Hospital
Foundation



Allison Young
CEO
Kelowna General Hospital
(KGH) Foundation



Louis de Melo
Chief Executive Officer, Sinai
Health Foundation and Executive
Vice-President, Academic
Advancement, Sinai Health



Charlotte A.B. Yates
President and Vice-
Chancellor
University of Guelph



Robert J. Foster C.M.
Chair
Business/Arts



Jerry Tomberlin
Interim President and
Vice-Chancellor
Carleton University



Dan Barclay
Board Chair
Children's Aid Foundation
of Canada



Barry C. Hughson
Executive Director
The National Ballet of Canada



Dr. Peter Simon
President and CEO
The Royal Conservatory



Malcolm Burrows
Head
Aqueduct Foundation



Donald K. Johnson, O.C., LL.D.
Director, UHN Foundation; Chair, Vision Campaign, Toronto Western Hospital; Member, Advisory Board,
Ivey Business School, Western University; Chairman Emeritus & Director, Business/Arts; Member, 2023 Major
Individual Giving Cabinet, United Way Greater Toronto; Member, Honourary Board, The National Ballet of Canada

Opinion

Conservative environment critic Gérard Deltell. During the last two federal elections, the party had the most comprehensive plans to protect Canada's environment, writes Robert Sopuck. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam García



Conservatives already have a climate plan

The usual suspects are always asking where the right's climate plan is, and seem to think a carbon tax is the only answer to our environmental issues.

Robert Sopuck

Opinion



In the last two federal elections, the Conservative Party of Canada issued the most comprehensive plan of any political party to protect, manage, and conserve Canada's environment and natural resources.

In 2019, the year I retired from political life, our comprehensive plan was a 60-page document that covered every aspect of environmental conservation. Meticulously referenced, our plan dealt with

adapting to and mitigating climate change, implementing green technologies, protecting and conserving the natural environment, and showing international leadership on the issue of climate change. Plus, there was a section on protecting the way of life of Canada's millions of hunters and anglers.

As an aside, both the federal Liberals and NDP have shown nothing but contempt for Canada's hunters and anglers, who are without a doubt our country's most passionate conservationists, who freely give their time, money, and resources to conserve our fish and wildlife resources for the benefit of all Canadians. Indeed, when the Trudeau Liberals took office in 2015, they immediately cancelled the Recreational Fisheries Conservation Partnerships Program that, under the Harper Conservatives, had funded hundreds of locally managed fisheries conservation projects across Canada. But I digress.

However, the "usual suspects" are always asking, "where is the Conservative climate plan?" or "How can Conservatives win without a climate plan?" The "usual suspects" in this case are the standard left-of-centre commenta-

tors who are usually urban-based with degrees in economics, political science, or communications.

None that I can see has ever done ecological field work, farmed, or been employed in the natural resource industries. They really need to learn from the people who live on the land. The climate change commentariat has become a one-trick pony, and the message is: "a carbon tax equals climate change solutions equals environmental policy." Really?

Naturally, this group accepts that a carbon tax is the only answer to our nation's environmental issues. They try to place the burden of proof on us Conservatives, who are committed to "axing the tax," when the burden of proof is on them. Instead, we should ask, "OK, carbon tax advocates. Prove to Canadians that a carbon tax will have any positive effect on our environment. Will a Canadian carbon tax recover salmon populations, reduce the eutrophication of Lake Erie, bring back our wetlands, restore the populations of woodland caribou, or ameliorate forest fires?" I could go on, but you get the picture.

What a carbon tax does, however, is punish low-income and rural Canadians by placing many

in "energy poverty," a state that the carbon tax elites like Justin Trudeau are blissfully unaware. Recently, premiers from Atlantic Canada demanded an exemption from the carbon tax given the havoc it is wreaking on low-income East Coast residents.

Indeed, Newfoundland Liberal MP Ken McDonald, in addressing Trudeau on the effects of the carbon tax, said: "I told him exactly as it is."

"We are punishing the rural areas of our country and the most vulnerable people in our society," McDonald said. He also courageously voted in support of a Conservative motion to exempt home-heating fuel from the federal carbon tax. Surprise, surprise—the motion was defeated by the Liberals.

Out of frustration during the 2019 election, I emailed one of those "Conservatives have no climate plan" columnists and asked him point blank if he had even read our plan. To his credit, he replied and sheepishly acknowledged that he had not "really" read it.

I guess a 60-page plan was too much for him. Our plan did break the cardinal rule of political campaigning—you need to keep

things short, sweet, and simple—but we felt it was important to be as rigorous and comprehensive as possible.

By focusing on adaptation, mitigation, and adopting a "technology not taxes" approach, Conservative policies would generate multiple environmental benefits for Canadians, such as better water management, biodiversity conservation, soil conservation, fish and wildlife enhancement, pollution control, and improved water quality, in addition to adaptation to climate change.

I am still waiting for a mathematical and rigorous analysis—free of virtue signalling—that proves the carbon tax that Trudeau has imposed will have distinct and measurable environmental benefits for Canadians.

One more thing: could we stop using the unbelievably stupid phrase "carbon pollution?"

From a chemistry text book regarding carbon's properties: "The reason is carbon's abilities to form stable bonds with many elements including itself. This property allows carbon to form a huge variety of very large and complex molecules. In fact, there are nearly 10 million carbon-based compounds in living things."

Certain carbon compounds are toxic like carbon monoxide, while others are the basis of life, such as carbohydrates. This is how inane environmental discourse has become.

Robert Sopuck was the Conservative Member of Parliament for the Manitoba constituency of Dauphin-Swan River-Neepawa from 2010-2019.

The Hill Times

Opinion

Charities can't keep helping others if no one will help them

After three years of prolonged crisis even the helpers are burnt out.

Dan Clement

Opinion



September is usually a time when many of us settle into the routine of school, and begin to look forward to the coming fall and winter celebrations.

This year, the return to routine is matched with growing financial anxiety and stress as families and low-income individuals experience a growing cost-of-living crisis.

On the heels of a devastating pandemic, households are facing rising housing prices, increasing costs of food, and natural disasters that have uprooted them from their homes and livelihoods. This triple threat of housing affordability, rising costs for essentials, and disruptive natural disasters is driving sustained pressure on Canada's essential community services to address basic needs like food security, mental health, emergency financial support, and disaster response and recovery.

Data from calls to 211—Canada's helpline for information on government and community-based health and social services—underscores the desperate need for better housing solutions. From July to December 2022, there was a 25 per cent increase in people reaching out to 211 for housing and shelter-related help, and a 26 per cent increase related to mental health. Families are feeling the pressure of a lack of affordable housing as they struggle to put food on the table.

Community service groups have worked tirelessly to meet these growing needs. Every day, people in precarious circumstances turn to community services to cope, connect, and recover. But after three years of prolonged crisis, even the helpers are burnt out. In addition to the compassion fatigue they may be feeling, many are dealing with financial strain because of their agencies being underfunded.

At one charity supporting the homeless in Halifax, a staff member told us that, "I often don't take a break during the day because there is so much to do. We're short-staffed. There are so many jobs in the private sector right now that are easier and better paid, it's hard to attract and retain good people."

A strong and resilient community services sector is necessary to support

Canadians in times of need, and create the conditions for long-term success. With staffing shortages and a drop in donations coinciding with an increase in demand, local community services can't keep up with the needs of those they serve.

As Canada's leading national network of local experts working in more than 5,000 communities across Canada, United Way Centraide is uniquely placed to provide advice on how to enact lasting change. Our 2024 federal budget proposal is built on data and the community based knowledge of our members. It is also grounded in equity, diversity, and inclusion, and focused on creating opportunities to thrive for everyone in Canada.

United Way Centraide Canada is recommending that the federal government invest in the long-term success of the charitable sector, including Caring for Carers, a program to address front-line worker burnout; tackle housing and homelessness, for example, through improvements to the Canada Housing Benefit, as every person in Canada deserves a safe and affordable home; ensure income security for everyone in Canada by increasing funding for the Canada Social Transfer, among other programs; make childcare accessible by implementing a comprehensive Canada-wide childcare workforce strategy, so parents—especially mothers—can participate in the economy; and invest in community-based mental health supports, including for crisis prevention, so those in need don't have to join long waitlists for help.

Finally, we are proposing that the government lean into the resource of the 211 helpline. Currently, 211 enables people to access non-emergency health services, virtual mental health support, financial counselling and food. It has been critical to communities grappling with floods, fires and the pandemic, enabling quick, easy access to help in more than 150 languages.

People in Canada are using the service as a lifeline during this difficult economic time. Expanding 211's reach and resources could reduce the prevalence of poverty, improve health outcomes, and facilitate community connections that build resilience. Given its many benefits, 211 should be a fundamental part of Canada's social infrastructure.

Canadian families are facing historic challenges as the colder weather approaches, but things can get better. The community services sector is stepping up to help, and will continue to do so, in collaboration with business, labour and all levels of government.

Dan Clement is the president and CEO of United Way Centraide Canada.

The Hill Times



Tiny Cells for Tiny Lungs

“Stem cells used to be something that were grown in a petri dish. They are now game-changing therapies with life-saving potential for even the tiniest of patients.”

Dr. Bernard Thébaud

Today, on World Lung Day, the Stem Cell Network is highlighting the work of Dr. Bernard Thébaud, who is leading a world-first clinical trial using stem cells to help heal the lungs of preterm babies. Dr. Thébaud is a neonatologist at The Ottawa Hospital and CHEO and senior scientist at the Ottawa Hospital Research Institute and CHEORI.

Read the full interview with Dr. Thébaud at stemcellnetwork.ca.



Stem Cell
Network
Powering
Regenerative
Medicine

Réseau de
Cellules Souches
Propulsons
la médecine
régénératrice

News

Minister Holland discusses health crisis in Canada with lobbyists during busy August

More than six million Canadians are without regular access to a primary care provider, according to Canadian Medical Association president Dr. Kathleen Ross.

BY JESSE CNOCKAERT

Health Minister Mark Holland stood out in August as the minister appearing in the most communication reports in federal lobbying during the first full month after this summer’s Liberal cabinet shuffle.

On July 26, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) unveiled his largest cabinet shuffle since taking office in 2015, with 23 ministers stepping into new or modified roles. That included Holland (Ajax, Ont.), who took over responsibility for the health portfolio after previously serving as Liberal House leader. The shuffle also included the elevation of seven MPs to the cabinet, with another nine ministers retaining their existing titles and responsibilities.

August was a busy month for Holland, based on the minister appearing in 18 communication reports for lobbying activity that month. Following behind Holland in August was Energy and Natural Resources Minister Jonathan Wilkinson (North Vancouver, B.C.), who appeared in 12 communication reports, and Transport Minister Pablo Rodriguez (Honoré-Mercier, Que.), who appeared in 11.

The Canadian Medical Association (CMA) filed seven of the reports listing communication with Holland, which was more than any other organization. The CMA Health Summit was held in Ottawa on Aug. 18, where Holland spoke to attendees in one of his first public appearances as health minister.

In terms of advocacy, CMA representatives communicated with Holland in August to discuss challenges facing Canada’s health care system and possible solutions, according to president Dr. Kathleen Ross.

More than six million Canadians are without regular access to a primary care provider, and emergency rooms are reporting struggles with staffing shortages, Ross told *The Hill Times*.



Health Minister Mark Holland said ‘there’s great room and space for optimism,’ in the health care system, during an appearance at the Canadian Medical Association Health Summit in Ottawa on Aug. 18. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

“There’s no question at all in my mind that we’re still in a health crisis,” said Ross. “Myself, as a family physician, the phone rings off the hook every single day for Canadians looking for care, and the only way that we can expand our services is to ... make sure that we’re doing everything that we can do at the top of our scope.”

As Parliament resumed with a focus on housing and affordability, the CMA reminded political leaders and parties that many people in Canada are still struggling to access the health care they need in a press release on Sept. 19.

Solutions proposed by the CMA to address the health care crisis include finding ways to expand physician mobility and team-based care, implementing a pan-Canadian workforce planning strategy, and modernizing health care data systems, according to Ross.

“We don’t have one system of health care in Canada. We have 13, and inside each of these provincial and territorial jurisdictions there are multiple electronic health records,” said Ross. “This is cumbersome, and often incomplete. Obviously, that’s a problem. That lack of interoperability between our sources of data is a huge challenge.”

Back in February, the Liberal government announced it would increase health funding to provinces and territories by \$196.1-billion over the next 10 years, including \$46.2-billion in new funding. It included \$25-billion to advance shared health priorities through tailored bilateral agreements.

During the CMA summit, Holland said that his priorities for his first 60 days include rolling out plans for how that money will improve health outcomes. He also highlighted an upcoming meeting of Canada’s health ministers in Prince Edward Island in October, and legislation for a national pharmacare program.

“Overarching all of that ... is building a sense of momentum,”

Holland told the summit. “There’s a great room and space for optimism, and in the next 60 days I want to start to have people feel that.”

The CMA’s representation on the registry includes CEO Timothy Smith, chief policy adviser Owen Adams, and vice-president of advocacy and policy Jennifer Kitts. The CMA is also represented on the registry by Crestview Strategy consultants Susie Heath, Ishwari Sawant and Muhammad Ali.

Other organizations that filed reports listing Holland last month included the Canadian Federation of Nurses, which communicated with Holland on Aug. 4, and the College of Family Physicians of Canada, which communicated with the new health minister on Aug. 31.

Economic development was the most popular subject matter discussed in federal lobbying for the second consecutive month in August. A total of 322 communication reports listed economic development as a subject, ahead of communications related to the environment, which appeared in 267 reports, and energy, which appeared in 266, based on a search of the registry on Sept. 21.

In terms of overall lobbying, the most active organization in August was industrial gas supplier Air Products Canada, which filed 26 communication reports, followed by Telesat Canada, which filed 24.

Communications for Air Products Canada were held between Aug. 16-17, and included communications with Ben Chin, senior policy adviser in the Prime Minister’s Office (PMO); Hannah Wilson, senior policy adviser to Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland (University—Rosedale, Ont.); and Kyle Harrietha, director of parliamentary affairs to Wilkinson.

The Hill Times reached out to Air Products Canada to ask about issues discussed in August, but did not receive a response by deadline. The company is inter-

ested in discussing “hydrogen related incentives,” and promoting hydrogen production and carbon capture and storage in Alberta, according to the registry file.

The company is represented on the registry by Bluesky Strategy consultants Tim Barber, Geoff Turner, and Stuart McCarthy. Air Products Canada’s representation on the registry also includes consultant Ian Murray of Ian Murray & Company Ltd., and Keith Adams, a senior environmental manager of policy and advisory for ClimeCo.

Telesat Canada is a satellite service provider located in Ottawa. The organization’s lobbying activity last month included communication with PMO staff, such as Oz Jungic, a senior policy adviser, on Aug. 9, and Sarah Hussaini, director of policy, on Aug. 2 and Aug. 3.

The Hill Times reached out to Telesat Canada to ask about August communications, but was told by email that the company would not comment on specific discussions with the federal government.

Recent announcements by Telesat include a deal on Aug. 11 for MDA Ltd. to build 198 satellites for the Telesat Lightspeed Low Earth Orbit program which will create an estimated 2,000 jobs, according to a Telesat press release.

“As a global leader in the new space economy, Canada is proud to see two domestic champions join forces on this flagship Canadian program to create high-skilled jobs and support cutting-edge innovation in the telecom industry, helping unlock economic and social opportunities in Canada’s rural and remote communities,” said Innovation Minister François-Philippe Champagne (Saint-Maurice—Champlain, Que.) in the press release.

Telesat is represented on the registry by its president and CEO, Daniel Goldberg.

In terms of communication reports filed, the Business Council of Canada and Canadian Geographic Enterprises were tied in third, each filing 19 communication reports for August.

Canadian Geographic Enterprises is the publisher of *Canadian Geographic* magazine. Out of the organization’s 19 communication reports, 17 were for communications with members of the Liberal cabinet on Aug. 23, including Tourism Minister Soraya Martinez Ferrada (Hochelaga, Que.) and Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly (Ahuntsic—Cartier, Que.).

John Geiger, CEO of the Royal Canadian Geographical Society and *Canadian Geographic*, sub-

mitted letters in August to cabinet ministers to welcome them to the ministry, a spokesperson from *Canadian Geographic* told *The Hill Times*. The letters also invited the ministers to visit the Alex Trebek Theatre at 50 Sussex Drive in Ottawa to see the exhibit, “PRES-SURE: James Cameron Into the Abyss,” according to the spokesperson. The exhibit, opened by the Royal Canadian Geographical Society, features the Deepsea Challenger, the deep-diving submersible used by Canadian filmmaker and explorer James Cameron to reach the bottom of the Mariana Trench, the deepest known point in the ocean.

Jcnockaert@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

Most lobbied cabinet ministers (August)

Cabinet Minister	Communication reports
Minister of Health Mark Holland	18
Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Jonathan Wilkinson	12
Minister of Transport Pablo Rodriguez	11
President of the Treasury Board Anita Anand	10
Minister of Innovation François-Philippe Champagne	9
Minister of Housing Sean Fraser	7
Minister of Environment Steven Guilbeault	7
Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland	6
Minister of Employment Randy Boissonnault	6
Minister of Agriculture Lawrence MacAulay	6

This table shows the cabinet ministers who were listed in the most communication reports for lobbying activity that took place in August. Information courtesy of the federal lobbyists’ registry

Most active lobby organizations (August)

Organization	Communication reports
Air Products Canada Ltd	26
Telesat Canada	24
Business Council of Canada	19
Canadian Geographic Enterprises Inc.	19
Canadian Renewable Energy Association	16
Davie Canada Yard Inc.	15
Federated Co-operatives Limited	15
Bombardier Inc.	13
Corporation de développement économique de Victoriaville et sa région	13
TELUS Corporation	13

This table shows the organizations that filed the most communication reports for lobbying activity that took place in August. Information courtesy of the federal lobbyists’ organization.

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

MENTAL HEALTH

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The Sioux Lookout First Nations Health Authority held a meeting Sept. 5-6 and heard preliminary figures from a report on mental health and substance use that show band members are hospitalized for mental health and addictions issues at six times the provincial rate, as reported by CBC News on Sept. 13. What disparities in mental health are affecting First Nations Peoples, and what can the federal government do to help?

Every day, 12 people die by suicide in Canada, according to a Health Canada press release issued on Sept. 10 in recognition of World Suicide Prevention Day. What is the stigma facing people seeking help with suicidal thoughts? How can the federal government help support mental health and well-being in this regard?

A Mental Health Research Canada poll conducted between July 27 and Aug. 13 found that about 29 per cent of Canadians cite an inability to pay as the reason for not accessing mental health care despite needing it. Is there an issue with the affordability of mental health care in Canada, and what can be done?

The National Standard of Canada for Mental Health and Well-Being for Post-Secondary students was released on Oct. 7, 2020, by the Mental Health Commission of Canada to guide policies, procedures, and practices to promote positive mental health among students. What are the mental health challenges facing students in Canada's post-secondary institutions?

A Statistics Canada study released in 2021 found that almost one in five Canadians aged 12 and older reported that they needed some help with their mental health, and about 45 per cent felt their needs were either unmet or only partially met. Does Canada have enough workers in the mental health sector to meet the demand? How can the federal government help?

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Editorial

Busy first week sets the tone for fall sitting

The first week of the fall sitting was defined as much by what was happening outside the House of Commons as it was by the debates inside.

As expected, the return of MPs to Ottawa was dominated by the now near-perennial issues of housing affordability, inflation, affordability, climate change, and foreign interference.

The latter issue, however, took a sobering turn last Monday as Prime Minister Justin Trudeau told the House of “credible allegations” of Indian involvement in the murder of Sikh leader Hardeep Singh Nijjar on Canadian soil.

The allegation turned what has until now been a bitterly partisan discussion of foreign interference into cross-party collective outrage followed by the opposition parties asking—rightly—for more information than the few details the prime minister provided.

The political ramifications of this allegation turned to a diplomatic tit-for-tat between Ottawa and New Delhi over the course of the week, which each expelling a senior diplomat from the other country, and updated advisories warning both would-be travellers to India and Canada of heightened risks. India, which suspended visa services in Canada, has strenuously denied the murder allegations, while Canada’s closest allies have publicly offered little more than being “deeply concerned” by the claims.

Continuing on the international relations front, Ottawa hosted Japanese

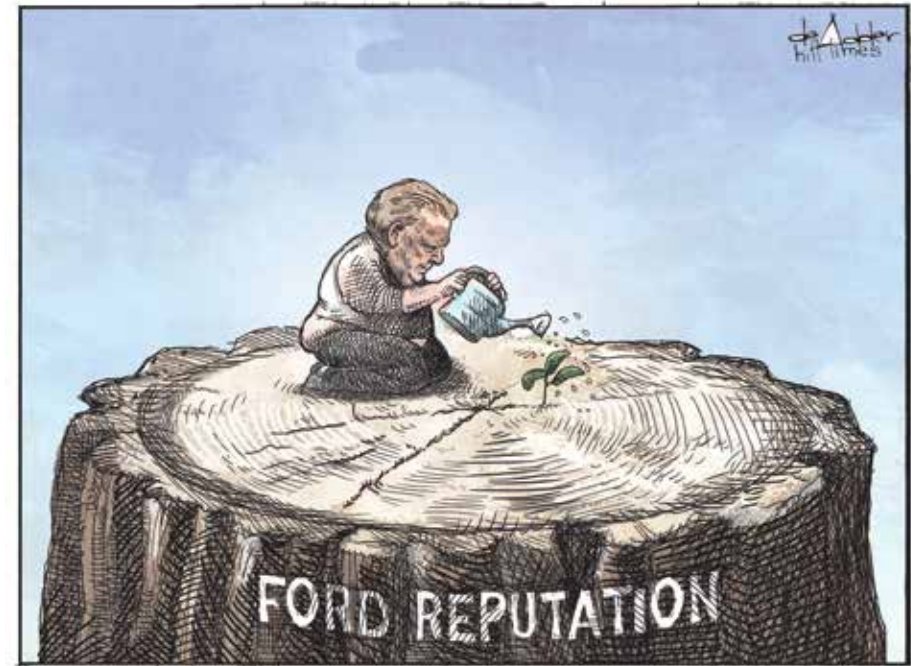
trade minister Nishimura Yasutoshi last Thursday, followed by Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, who addressed Parliament in person on Friday to seek support amid Russia’s continuing invasion of his country.

The parliamentary precinct also hosted massive protests on Wednesday, as a group opposed to the teaching of sexual identity and the use of students’ preferred pronouns in schools led the local contingent of a nationwide series of rallies. While that was ostensibly the purpose of the protest, plenty of placards and slogans shouted by some demonstrators pointed to conspiracy theories, hatred, and general anti-government sentiment. The demonstration was countered by a cohort of 2SLGBTQ+ allies, including NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh, who spoke of fears of escalating rhetoric against trans Canadians.

If the protests and diplomatic delegations did not bring attention to the fact that Parliament was back, the general hustle and bustle of downtown Ottawa certainly did. The core felt busier last week than it has in months—arguably years—as Parliamentarians, journalists, staffers, and lobbyists piled into press conferences, summits, and receptions throughout the city.

The first week after the summer break always seems busy. But if the start of this fall sitting is any indication of what the rest of the season holds, we’re all going to be extremely busy for the next few months.

The Hill Times



Letters to the Editor

Finance Canada’s new rules could threaten energy affordability: Electricity Canada and CGA

Finance Canada is about to make energy even less affordable. Here’s how the proposed amendments to the Excessive Interest and Financing Expenses Limitation (EIFEL) rules, which will be tabled in the House this fall, will drive up costs for consumers.

The EIFEL rules are designed to prevent unreasonable deductions of interest and other financing costs. The focus is principally on multinational enterprises and cross-border investments where the effect of such deductions is tax evasion. The problem is that the rules are so broadly drafted that they would apply to Canadian energy utilities who provide energy to domestic customers. This would mean higher energy costs for consumers.

Energy delivery firms in Canada are regulated by public utility boards, and each of those boards prescribes the debt level companies must carry to finance their operations. This includes everything from new project investments, to infrastructure upgrades, to safety and system integrity. Energy companies’ long-term debt is high, and is expected to increase significantly with the investments utilities will have to make to try to meet government targets for emission reductions.

Historically, energy firms have been permitted to deduct 100 per cent of their interest expenses which helps them keep costs down for customers. As all Canadians know, debt carries interest, and interest rates are high, adding significant expense to the debt utilities must carry, which, ultimately, would be borne by customers.

The proposed amendments to EIFEL would erode these safeguards for utilities, and further erode affordability for energy consumers.

As noted, the EIFEL rules are supposed to help curb tax evasion, a big reason why the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has advocated for them. They also serve to harmonize circumstances amongst countries, which the OECD also likes.

But harmonization doesn’t demand a one-size-fits-all approach, and, in fact, many of our peers in the OECD—including the United States, Ireland, and the United Kingdom—have extended exemptions to utilities from their application of the rules. Moreover, the OECD itself has identified the need to exclude projects that benefit the public from application of the rules. This was done to prevent problem scenarios like this where citizens will be negatively affected by their application.

This isn’t just about regulations or financial measures—it’s about safeguarding the pocketbooks of every Canadian household. The request we have is simple: Finance Canada should take note of what like-minded nations are doing, and allow energy delivery companies to avoid application of a rule that only hurts Canadian energy customers.

Timothy M. Egan,
President and CEO,
Canadian Gas Association;
Francis Bradley,
President and CEO,
Electricity Canada

Accelerated global warming and strange days, indeed, writes B.C. letter writer

With most Canadians looking forward to the end of this year’s wildfire season—the worst on record—the Elephant Mountain Literary Festival in Nelson, B.C., will feature guest speaker John Vaillant, author of *Fire Weather*. Vaillant’s book affirms the culpability of the fossil-fuel sector in creating the conditions that make wildfires more likely, along with other extreme weather events we are seeing globally.

On Sept. 15, the Fridays for Future Global Climate Strike to End Fossil Fuels took place in cities around the world, including in New York, Ottawa, and Nelson, B.C.

In a feature CBC article recently, Dr. John Pomeroy explained the effect of accelerated global warming on the retreat of glaciers in Banff National Park and around the world.

As an almost absurd contrast, Reuters posted a critiqued article about claims made by the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers that with new emissions-reduction technology oil and gas production can increase and yet reduce emissions. There was no mention of what happens at the burning end of the consumption cycle. These are strange days, indeed.

Ron Robinson
Nelson, B.C.

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Tories' silence is golden on trans issues, but might not be sustainable

As his party's numbers climb, Pierre Poilievre has to be careful to appeal to voters leery of social conservatism.

Sheila Copps

Copps' Corner



OTTAWA—Protests and counter-protests on the rights of children to use their chosen pronouns were held across the country last week.

New Democratic Party Leader Jagmeet Singh led a counter-protest in Ottawa, and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau took to X (formerly Twitter) to condemn “hate and its manifestations,” and reiterate his

support for the 2SLGBTQ+ community across Canada.

Not surprisingly, Conservative Members of Parliament were silent on the issue, with the Canadian Press reporting that the leader's office had told them not to discuss the protests with the media or on social media outlets.

A memo, shared with CP, was sent from the leader's office claiming that protesters against LGBTQ education in the schools have a legitimate point to make about “parental rights.”

Heated clashes in cities across the country led to arrests in Halifax, Vancouver, Victoria, and Ottawa. The issue is heating up as governments in New Brunswick and Saskatchewan have introduced legislation requiring students to get their parents' permission before teachers can address them in their preferred he/she/they pronoun.

Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre's office may not be able to stop Members of Parliament from weighing in when so many of them were elected thanks to support

they received from social conservatives who do not support LGBTQ education in schools. The fact that the opposition leader is trying to keep a lid on comments shows that he understands the issue is a political hot potato that will win his party no new supporters.

As his party's numbers climb, Poilievre has to be very careful to appeal to voters who are leery of social conservatism. Chances are the solidarity of potential power will not be enough to silence those in the caucus who got their political feet wet on recruiting social conservatives.

It is no coincidence that when Leslyn Lewis first ran for her party's leadership in 2020, she was the first choice of Saskatchewan Tories. She swept the province where the premier and his government have recently enacted legislation to prevent minors from changing their pronouns without their parents' permission.

Anti-trans rallies were organized across Canada last week by a group identifying itself as the “One Million March For Chil-

dren,” which said it stood against gender ideology. But the marches were countered by groups defending the rights of 2SLGBTQ+ youth. Some are concerned that adolescents should not be outed to parents, and others wanted to support those teenagers who have self-identified as trans or gay.

Hate crimes against the gay community are on the rise, according to a report by Statistics Canada released last December. The report stated that police-reported hate crimes increased by 60 per cent between 2019 and 2021, reaching their highest level in five years.

Meanwhile, Ontario Premier Doug Ford promised to change the sex education curriculum when he was courting socially conservative voters during his leadership campaign. However, while in government, he was accused of re-introducing a sex education curriculum that was virtually identical to the one he had criticized during his campaign. Ford learned quickly that modifying sex education is probably not a top-of-mind priority for most Ontarians.

Poilievre is likely discovering the same challenge at the federal level. But how is he going to be able to stop his right-wing caucus members from aligning themselves with the thousands who rallied across the country against sex education involving the 2SLGBTQ+ community? The temperature is rising on both sides, so it is difficult to see how the Conservatives are going to be able to stay out of the fray.

And when the leader of the New Democrats makes it his business to lead the counter-demonstration, he obviously understands the political issues at stake.

Most Canadians don't really involve themselves in the adolescent pronoun debate. However, they do support rights for the LGBTQ community. With the advent of same-sex marriage and support for choice in sexual orientation, most people appreciate the wave of equality that has evolved in the past two decades.

But the small percentage of people who oppose transgender teaching in schools has unleashed the wrath of the silent minority. The number of parents and grandparents who showed up last week to support their transgender progeny could translate into a significant voting bloc in the next election.

If the issue provokes enough interest, it will actually move votes in the next election. Therein the reason why the Tories don't want to be on the record with any comment when it comes to transgender policies in local school sectors.

Their political silence is golden. But it may not be sustainable.

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

The Hill Times

Can Poilievre and Singh exploit Trudeau's weakness?

Trudeau is an experienced campaigner with the advantage of incumbency, while Poilievre is untested, and Singh has already been solidly thumped twice.

Gerry Nicholls

Post Partisan Pundit



OKAVILLE, ONT.—At the time of writing, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's popularity seems to be in freefall, with one recent

poll even indicating he's trailing the Conservatives by a whopping 15 points.

But, fortunately for Trudeau, polling numbers don't always tell the whole story since it's still an open question as to whether his main political rivals—Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre and NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh—can take advantage of the Liberal government's apparent unpopularity.

In short, polls or no polls, the opposition parties still need to craft a winning and persuasive communication strategy that will successfully exploit Trudeau's weaknesses.

Of course, that's easier said than done.

Keep in mind, even though he's on the ropes, Trudeau is still an experienced campaigner who possesses the advantage of incumbency, while Poilievre is an untested leader, and Singh has already been solidly thumped twice.

So, just for fun, let's speculate as to what kind of political

campaigns the Conservatives and New Democrats will ultimately deploy against a weakened Trudeau and his Liberals.

Beginning with the Conservatives, I think it's easy to predict what sort of tactics Poilievre will embrace. First off, I'm willing to bet that, unlike his immediate predecessors Andrew Scheer and Erin O'Toole, Poilievre won't adopt a non-confrontational, safe, “get-along-to-go-along” approach.

Rather, he's going to be aggressive, constantly on the attack, and he'll play the populist card by declaring Trudeau's only goal is to pander to his rich, elitist friends in the World Economic Forum.

In other words, Poilievre will brand himself as a tough and determined anti-establishment leader who'll be a champion for regular Canadians—the kind of people, he'll say, Trudeau callously ignores.

Now, at this point, you might be saying to yourself, that sounds

like Poilievre will be a Donald Trump clone. Well, yes and no; I expect his campaign will have a Trumpian tinge to it, but only a tinge.

It's important to understand that, unlike Trump, Poilievre is an experienced politician who (again, unlike Trump) will probably have the discipline to stick to his scripted message.

Besides which, I also believe Poilievre's populism will be less toxic than Trump's, and thus more acceptable to a Canadian audience.

Remember that, even though for many in the media, populism has a stigma attached to it, it's still a powerful political force that taps directly into people's deepest emotions.

Now, let's discuss the NDP's possible strategy. Unlike Poilievre, I strongly doubt Singh will wrap himself in the flag of anti-establishmentism, since, after all, he's helped prop up the pro-establishment Liberals for years.

So, what can he do? Well, my guess is Singh will do the exact same thing he's done for the last two elections: namely, present himself as “Trudeau 2.0.”

To put it simply, rather than talking about ideology or policy, he'll be presented to Canadian voters as a safe alternative to Trudeau, which is to say, he'll sell himself as a leader who possesses Trudeau's charisma and shares his progressive agenda, but who isn't burdened by Trudeau's baggage.

True, Singh unsuccessfully tried this sort of “out-Trudea-ing Trudeau” strategy in the last two elections, but the NDP will be hoping the third time's the charm.

And who knows, maybe it will be.

Certainly, I could see Singh's approach working if Canadians are tired of Trudeau personally, but, at the same time, they want to keep the status quo. If that's the case, Singh could conceivably be seen as an attractive replacement.

Anyway, this is how I think the Conservatives and the NDP will attack the Liberals.

Two different approaches, but with the same goal.

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant.

The Hill Times

Opinion

Challenging times ahead for Trudeau, Poilievre, and Singh



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, left, Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, and NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh face different hurdles as Parliament returns, writes Michael Harris. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

The prime minister has the most obvious problems, but that doesn't mean the Tory and NDP leaders don't have their work cut out for them.

Michael Harris

Harris



HALIFAX—After the first week back in Parliament, it is obvious that all three leaders of the national parties have their work cut out for them.

The prime minister has the most obvious problem. Justin Trudeau's press these days reads like a savage review of a Broadway flop. Maybe he's playing rope-a-dope with Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, letting him flay away until he succumbs to rage fatigue. Then—and only then—will the PM fire back.

If so, it is not a universally popular strategy in the Liberal caucus. It is no fun watching your numbers plummet, but it's even worse to go down without a fight. Only time will tell if Trudeau is being wily or politically foolish.

In the meantime—or should I say, in these mean times—Trudeau is committing one of the cardinal sins of politics: letting his opponent define him.

Poilievre isn't painting a pretty picture. Trudeau has given the country terrible inflation, out-of-reach housing prices, and just isn't "worth the cost"—a slogan repeated ad nauseum by Poilievre's backbench bobbleheads. This, of course, is the sequel to "just not ready."

Until last week, Canadians probably never knew how much the Conservatives cared about vegetables. Trudeau is apparently keeping Canadians from eating their veggies because the price of carrots and lettuce has exploded. From now until the next election, Poilievre will try to make it look and sound as though Canada is broken, and that Trudeau broke it.

Poilievre's great advantage by leading the "Party of No" is that it plays into the oceanic sense in the

land that things are headed in the wrong direction, and it is time for a change. When that mood sets in with the electorate, it is harder to reverse than Niagara Falls.

Never mind that Canada has recently been described as the second-best country in the world to live in, behind Switzerland. Never mind that we continue to have one of the best inflation-fighting records in the G7. Most important of all, never mind that Poilievre, like former U.S. president Donald Trump, says that he can fix all of it. Apart from a flimsy housing policy, he just doesn't tell Canadians how he would make Canada great again.

It is true that Poilievre and the Conservatives have created momentum for the view that Trudeau is beyond his best-before date. Depending on whether the PM can rediscover the fire in his belly to lead the country, that momentum could easily grow.

Trailing a hard-right party by 14 points in a country like Canada is nothing to ignore, especially when there is so little time to get it right for the Liberals. But there is also an inherent danger in the Conservative strategy of portraying Canada as going to hell in a handbasket.

In politics, it always pays to ask the "what if" question before setting your battle plans in stone. The Conservative Party has obviously not done that. When your entire pitch is based on how bad the country is doing based on the numbers—the cost of housing, fuel, and even carrots—the game plan falls apart if the numbers change.

If the next election is two years from now, what does Poilievre do if the Trudeau Liberals manage to bring food costs down by reining in price-gouging in the grocery industry?

The Liberals have already read the riot act to that industry's big players, all of whom are aware of what government can do if they get too greedy. None of the big food companies want to face new taxation, nor changes to the Competition Act.

The same is true of housing costs. The government has already announced dropping the GST on new rental builds. It is a plan aimed at the middle class, and it could result in significantly lowering housing costs.

In other words, if things get better on the very issues the Conservative Party uses to make people feel aggrieved, what does Poilievre do? Applaud? Ignore? Deny?

Doesn't it follow from the Conservatives' own logic that if Trudeau lowers inflation across the board, he has done a good job? If we can all afford to start eating carrots again, isn't that success by the party's own metric?

The set piece in this parliamentary session will be the implacable battle between Trudeau and Poilievre. It will be performance politics rather than a rational exercise. It will be about engineering that clip from Question Period that makes the evening news. Poilievre will use every issue at hand to show that Trudeau should go because he and he alone is responsible for the tough times people are facing.

While he's doing that, Poilievre will be hoping the bad economic news keeps coming, and he'll be on the lookout for a wedge issue that might break the supply-and-confidence agreement between the Liberals and the NDP. A sooner-than-later election greatly increases the Conservatives' chance of winning, and would deprive the Liberals of the time needed to make a credible comeback—assuming they can.

While Poilievre trashes him, Trudeau will do his best to persuade Canadians that the issues are far more complicated to fix than Poilievre's simplistic answers. The Liberals will not only play for time, but they will also use it to blunt the worst of the Conservative attacks.

But they can't fake it. To shift the momentum back their way, they will have to deliver real relief to Canadians where it counts most: their pocket books.

In a curious way, NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh has the hardest political task of all three main party leaders as Parliament gets back to work.

On the one hand, the NDP is the only thing standing between a government and prime minister who are currently out of favour from having to go to the polls.

Singh's reward for supporting the Liberal minority government was supposed to be sharing credit for progressive legislation, like the NDP's successful push for child dental care. But the results of the most recent byelections suggest voters have not rewarded the NDP for compelling the government to do more on social issues.

If the NDP were to opt out of the supply agreement and vote with the Conservatives to bring down the government, it would damage the party's progressive credentials.

There would be a very good chance that NDP voters would move to the Liberals to avoid their worst-case political scenario: Poilievre as prime minister of Canada.

The two guys in the octagon are going to be getting most of the attention in this session. But Singh bears watching.

Michael Harris is an award-winning author and journalist.

The Hill Times

The G7 can no longer call the shots

BRICS+ represents a long overdue step toward a new world order where the developing world's interests have greater influence.

David
Crane

Canada &
the 21st Century



TORONTO—The world is in crisis mode as urgent issues compound while the capacity to address them continues to decline, raising the chances of future catastrophe with ugly consequences for all.

There seems to be an insurmountable gap between what we know must be done, and what we actually do. We lack visionary leaders.

Rather than seeking a new multilateral world where different systems can peacefully coexist and solve common problems, we are being led down the dangerous path of division as the United States, cheered on by Canada, works to divide the world into competing blocs. But the real priority must be to build a level of trust that will enable countries to solve shared challenges even if they don't share values.

The West is not the only impediment. China is not helping, and Russia has plunged the world into a disastrous war with global consequences.

So we are on the wrong road, one that leads to crises, not solutions. This fractured world is a dangerous one. And while India may bask in a seeming success of the recent G20 summit it hosted, the ambitious closing communique—while praiseworthy in intent—is likely to end up the same as previous communiqués: more promises never implemented.

The ultimate goal of statecraft is, as former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger wrote more than 60 years ago, is peace and the avoidance of war. But this depends on what he called “legitimacy,” a word he said should not be confused with justice.

“It means no more than an international agreement about the nature of workable arrangements and about the permissible aims and methods of foreign policy,” he wrote. “It implies the acceptance of the framework of the international order by all major powers, at least to the extent that no state is so dissatisfied that, like Germany after the Treaty of Versailles, it expresses its dissatisfaction in a revolutionary foreign policy.”

Yet, policy today seems to have the opposite aim. Rather than give China or other emerging powers greater influence in global governance to better reflect their interests, and an expanded voice and role in global institutions such as the UN Security Council, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization, the goal of the U.S.-led West seems to remain the hegemon by trying to force others to accept Western values and rules by dominating global institutions, and by pressuring countries to choose sides between global superpowers, and isolating and weakening China.

Moreover, we are now entering a new and high-risk arms race, expanding weaponry to new levels of threat, including the militarization of space. Last year, global military spending reached US\$2.24-trillion,



U.S. President Joe Biden, left, and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. The United States, cheered on by Canada, is working to divide the world into competing blocs, writes David Crane. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. This imposes a new fiscal demand at a time when countries have more critical issues to deal with. In Canada, there is growing pressure to significantly raise defence spending to 2 per cent of GDP or even higher at an estimated increase of \$13-\$18-billion a year for the next five years.

While recent attention has been on the G20 summit in India, another summit, this one held in late August in South Africa and attended by leaders of the so-called BRICS, merits much attention. It was another sign of global division, but also perhaps of the transition to a needed new global order.

The original BRICS members (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) expanded to include Argentina, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates, with Indonesia holding out the passivity of membership. As a group, BRICS+ would represent about 46 per cent of the world population, and 29 per cent of world GDP. By comparison, the G7 represents about 10 per cent of world population and 27 per cent for world GDP.

BRICS+ will face major challenges. It must define its identity and purpose, as well working around differences among members (Egypt versus Ethiopia on the Nile, and Saudi Arabia and Iran competing for power and influence in the Middle East, for example).

But BRICS+ represents a long overdue step toward a new world order where the interests of the developing world have much greater weight and influence. Its unity, it's argued, comes from a long list of complaints about the West, and the damage done to non-Western countries. Today, the West's policies that led to inflation have meant much higher interest rates in poor countries that can't afford them, forcing a number of nations into debt crises. At the same time, the West's near-shoring or friend-shoring penalizes poorer countries. We like to flatter ourselves by chanting, “the world needs more Canada.” But for developing countries, they feel the world needs more of them, not us.

Long accustomed to setting the rules, the G7 can no longer call the shots. Power and potential is shifting to BRICS+, and more generally to the developing world. More than ever, we face a future world with many consequential implications for all, whether we call ourselves democracies or are labelled autocracies.

The most obvious are the dangers of wider wars and climate change. The threats from climate change are becoming much clearer day by day, creating challenges that can only be resolved through global action.

The global economy will not be immune from future financial crises, pandemics or conflict. Competition in space will accelerate, but who will set the rules? We will need international codes dealing with artificial intelligence and new forms of life. And as former U.S. Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld once remarked, “there are known unknowns, that is to say we know there are some things we don't know. But there are also unknown unknowns—the ones we don't know we don't know.”

Global government is not the answer today. But a shared global governance system that can preserve peace and address the many known and unknown threats human society may face is crucial. Our biggest danger is that we are on course to increase world divisions at a time when there's never been such an urgent need for shared solutions.

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

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Opinion

We need to know all the facts about Hardeep Singh Nijjar's assassination

Those responsible must be brought to justice. So, too, must those in security agencies who undermine our intelligence services through leaks to media.

Green Party Leader
Elizabeth May

Opinion



The saga of Canada's response to the threat of foreign interference was already a tangled web when we were only looking at the People's Republic of China (PRC).

The majority of MPs supported motions calling for a public inquiry. In those debates, Greens were clear that we supported a public inquiry, and that the inquiry into foreign interference should consider more than the PRC, including other states and non-state actors.

The Liberals tried to shut down the call for an inquiry and put forward a special rapporteur instead. No one should doubt the integrity of that rapporteur. David Johnston waded into the various allegations in the media about the PRC's interference in Canada. On May 23, Johnston tabled his initial report rejecting a public inquiry. Things went off the rails very quickly, leading to his resignation, and the government's change of heart by the end of summer.

On Sept. 7, the public inquiry was established to be led by Justice Marie-Josée Hogue. Greens were gratified that the scope of her inquiry would not be limited to the PRC, but also

to Russia, India, and non-state actors.

As we all know, the ink was barely dry on Hogue's appointment when the scope of her work shifted dramatically. From allegedly targeting critics of PRC's human rights abuses—with the most serious allegation relating to threats to the safety of Conservative MP Michael Chong's family—the recent claims against another state actor are far more chilling.

The prime minister's extraordinary statement on Sept. 18 made that clear: "Canadian security agencies have been actively pursuing credible allegations of a potential link between agents of the government of India and the killing of a Canadian citizen, Hardeep Singh Nijjar."

On Sept. 19, the House held a take-note debate on this development which was striking for the absence of Conservative MPs. By then, we knew more about why the prime minister

had chosen those careful words, and about why he had made a public statement while the investigation was ongoing. Just as it was this past spring, the allegations of foreign interference came through media leaks. Cabinet ministers confirmed the public statement was prompted by knowledge the allegations would be made public in the news media soon.

This should be deeply troubling. We cannot have members of the RCMP or CSIS feeling justified in leaking sensitive intelligence information to the media. In his May 23 report, Johnston made this point very forcefully: "leaking secret intelligence is unlawful and a breach of duty by the leaker. It is a matter of urgency that all efforts be made to identify the leaker(s) responsible. Malice cannot be ruled out" (this can be found at p. 17 of the report). Last week's events make it even more urgent that leakers be found and sanctioned.

The challenge for Hogue is daunting indeed. Her interim report is due by the end of February, and her final report by the end of 2024. It strikes me as wasteful and unnecessary to completely reject all of what the special rapporteur recommended. That work could serve as a foundation for her next steps.

I have written to Hogue to recommend she complete the work to confirm or reject the special rapporteur's findings.

Johnston had offered opposition party leaders access to review top secret memos of the security agencies to provide an independent verification of those interim findings. Despite having obtained top secret security clearance, I have been denied access to the documents referenced in the confidential annex.

I have asked Hogue to expedite access to these documents to opposition leaders with security clearance. Doing so should accelerate her work. Greens hate waste, and jettisoning all of what our former governor general and his team had concluded seems pointless.

Greens will remain engaged. We need to know all the facts of Nijjar's assassination. Those responsible must be brought to justice. So, too, must those in security agencies who undermine Canadian intelligence services through leaks to media.

Green Party Leader Elizabeth May is the MP for Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C.

The Hill Times

Zero-emission vehicle industry can drive return on battery investments

By promoting consistent strategies, policies and support to deepen the sector's roots, policymakers can assure positive and lasting returns on investments.

Matthew Fortier

Opinion



A lot has been made over the recently released "break-even analysis" from the Parliamentary Budget Officer regarding production subsidies for electric vehicle (EV) battery manufacturing facilities.

When significant public dollars are spent, it is right to conduct this sort of assessment

to better understand the implications of such investments. However, both the report and the ensuing public dialogue are missing an adequate explanation of why Canada pursued these deals.

The top-line story has focused on opportunity costs. Because the United States, through the Inflation Reduction Act, was prepared to invest eye-watering sums into clean technologies like batteries, Canada risked losing out in the race to establish a significant battery industry if we didn't show global firms we are willing to match the quantum of these investments. There is truth to this, but it's only part of the story.

The bigger story is that these aren't standalone investments. Instead, they are embedded within a Canadian zero-emission vehicle (ZEV) industry that has been developing impressively in all supply chain segments, and poised to be a critical part of our industrial and economic future.

This summer, Accelerate, in collaboration with NGen, Trillium Network for Advanced Manufacturing and Electric Autonomy, launched

Canada's Zero Emission Vehicle Supply Chain Map, an online tool to help policymakers and all Canadians track the industry's growth by segment, location, and investment.

It shows that in 2016, the starting cutoff year for data collection, 31 companies were active in this country's ZEV supply chain. These tended to be specialized component manufacturers and providers of niche materials clustered in the traditional manufacturing region of Southern Ontario. The total investment represented by those firms was approximately \$3.5-billion.

Fast forward to today, and Canada's ZEV industry has grown by multiples. The number of companies in the broad sector has grown to 156, representing a disclosed investment of almost \$27-billion. Those businesses are active across more overall segments, including critical minerals mining, drive-train component manufacturing, battery materials production, battery manufacturing, and EV manufacturing.

Crucially, because of the industry's breadth of activity,

firms are popping up across the country. While Southern Ontario continues to be an essential hub, Canada's vehicle sector is creating significant economic activity in every geographic region.

Most critically, for our economic future, these are innovative companies developing products that the world wants and needs. Firms like Vancouver's Mangrove Lithium, which has developed an advanced lithium processing platform, and is attracting investment and customers from all over the world; Nano One, producing patented, low-cost battery materials with operations in Quebec and Western Canada; Quebec's Lion Electric, designing and manufacturing all-electric buses and trucks for North American customers; and Nova Scotia's NOVONIX, producing cathode and anode materials for North American vehicle and battery storage solutions.

We are also seeing established manufacturers re-tool and innovate to take advantage of this transition to zero-emission mobility. Firms like Montreal's

ProEV have pivoted their traditional electronics manufacturing business to produce electric vehicle cables and custom wire harnesses.

In short, the fundamentals of the Canadian ZEV industry within which these investments are being made are solid and, with adequate support, will deliver a return for the industry.

To realize this opportunity, we must leverage these public and private investments by developing the strategies and roadmaps to connect global firms to Canada's upstream mining and materials sectors, and our downstream parts and assembly sectors.

This week, businesses from every part of Canada's ZEV supply chain will be on Ottawa's Sparks Street. As federal policymakers walk down the historic mall to see, feel, and touch the critical minerals, battery materials, fuel cells, batteries, parts and vehicles beginning to shape our economic future, we invite them to understand ZEV manufacturing as a national champion industry.

By promoting clear, consistent strategies, policies and support to deepen the roots of this sector, they can assure positive and lasting returns on investments in this already thriving Canadian industry.

Matthew Fortier is the president and CEO of Accelerate.

The Hill Times

Guyana's oil boom has an expiry date

The South American country's fledgling offshore oil industry is on track to overtake Norway's within a decade, but what will the world look like then?

Gwynne
Dyer

Global Affairs



Guyana is not a “hellhole country” of the sort Donald Trump complained about when he said he wanted immigrants to come to the United States from “white” places like Norway instead, but it is tropical, largely populated by people of colour, and it used to be poor.

The people and the climate are still the same, but in terms of wealth, Guyana is starting to look more like Norway. Guyana—geographically next to Venezuela, English-speaking, with fewer than a million people—is on track to overtake Norway as an offshore oil producer within a decade.

The oil only started flowing in 2019, but per capita GDP has already tripled since then, and is likely to triple again in the next 10 years. That should be making people like Guyana President Irfaan Ali very happy, and yet....

“Time is not on our side,” he said earlier this month in Washington, D.C., just after a successful auction of eight more offshore blocks to be used for oil and gas exploration off Guyana’s Atlantic coast. They have 11 billion barrels of confirmed reserves, and there’s probably lots more to be found. But in 10 years, it will be late 2033.

What will the world look like then? In particular, what will the international oil market look like? On the very safe assumption that the impact of climate change will get steadily worse over the next 10 years, and the reasonably safe assumption that governments will respond with last-minute attempts to cut carbon dioxide emissions back a lot harder, what will happen to the demand for oil?

Bizarrely, almost nobody in the oil industry is talking about this out loud, but the insiders don’t want to damage the market, and they have already made their piles anyway. Guyana is arriving late to the

party, and they may be about to take away the punchbowl.

World oil sales will already have stopped growing by 2033, with electric cars legally mandated almost everywhere by 2035. Certainly oil prices will be very shaky as the demand shrinks and the supply doesn’t. So what does the “swing producer”—Saudi Arabia—do then?

A 2021 study led by Dr. Jean-François Mercure of Exeter University predicted the rational Saudi response, given that the kingdom’s prosperity—and probably also the regime’s survival—depends critically on its oil income. What the authors foresaw is that the lowest-cost producers—Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states—will go for broke.

Nobody can compete with them on price. They can make a profit even when oil costs only \$20 a barrel. So they will flood the world market with cheap oil. The Saudis haven’t done that in the past because they could make much more per barrel if the supply stayed tight, but that’s a long-term perspective, and there is no long term for fossil fuels any more.

If it becomes clear that a lot of oil and gas assets will stay in the ground forever, then it is your patriotic duty to make sure that the stranded assets belong to other countries, not to yours. So drop your price to \$20 a barrel, drive all the higher-cost competitors out of the market, and sell as much oil as you can before demand collapses.

That should be quite a lot, because at \$20 a barrel you will probably still be competitive with renewables. If not, drop your price further. You have nothing to lose.

The authors of the paper calculated that Saudi Arabia could earn \$1.7-trillion before demand completely dries up if it goes the ‘fire sale’ route, compared to only \$1.3-trillion if it cooperates with all the non-Arab members of the OPEC cartel and tries to hold oil and gas prices up. Four-hundred billion dollars is a big difference, so which way will they jump?

Who goes to the wall first in this scenario? High-cost producers working in tar sands, oil shales, deep water, and Arctic areas: Canada, the United States, Latin America (mostly Mexico and Brazil), and Russia. It will also affect Guyana, whose oil is five kilometres below the seabed.

This is the sort of scenario that haunts the sharper people in the industry, but they are outnumbered by the complacent ones, so there is no stampede for the exit yet. Guyana’s oil production will just be hitting its stride in the early 2030s, so



Guyana President Irfaan Ali and his successors must use the next 10 or 15 years of high oil income to transform the country in a sustainable way, writes Gwynne Dyer. Photograph courtesy of the United States Department of State/Wikimedia Commons

Irfaan Ali is quite right to be worried, but that complacency gives him a safe operating space.

The task for him and his successors is to use the next 10 or 15 years of high oil income to transform the country in a sustainable way. That’s much easier said than

done, especially because these calculations are almost impossible to explain to the public, but at least he seems to understand the nature of the task.

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

APPOINTMENT NOTICE

Ian Hamilton Assumes Leadership as ACPA’s Chair

The Association of Canadian Port Authorities (ACPA) is delighted to announce that Ian Hamilton, President and CEO of the Hamilton-Oshawa Port Authority, has been elected as its new Chair. With over 25 years in the maritime industry, he’s well-prepared to guide Canada’s supply chains through key challenges, including the National Supply Chain Strategy, Transportation Supply Chain Office, and legislative changes.



Ian Hamilton
ACPA Chair

Ian Hamilton became President & CEO of HOPA Ports in 2017, following a successful term as Vice President of Business Development. His achievements include expanding working waterfronts in Southern Ontario and attracting investments.

Ian holds an MBA from Aston University (UK) and a BSc in business administration and economics from the College of Charleston, South Carolina.



Association of
Canadian Port
Authorities

Association des
administrations
portuaires canadiennes

Feature

Protests on Parliament Hill

The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade



The ‘One Million Person March for Children’ took to the Hill on Sept. 20 in opposition to the teaching of 2SLGBTQ+ rights in schools. Police separated protesters and counter-protesters.



NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh, centre, and other caucus members took part in the counter-protest.



NDP MP Peter Julian, right, joined 2SLGBTQ+ allies outside the Supreme Court.



Protesters hold placards on Wellington Street.



There was a heavy police presence in the city on Sept. 20 in anticipation of the protests and counter-protests.



The ‘One Million Person March for Children’ followed similar demonstrations held earlier this year outside the National Arts Centre and a suburban Ottawa school.



Ottawa 67's Women's Hockey Golf Classic Tournament

September 29, 2023
1 pm at the Canadian Golf Club

Go to
<https://canadiangolfclub.com/collections/ottawa-67s>
to register or to sponsor the event

All funds raised will benefit the Ottawa 67's girl's hockey development program and The Interval House (women's shelter)



CANADIAN GOLF & COUNTRY CLUB

Amidst a 'tricky time for fiscal policy,' experts say lack of GDP growth a concern for new Finance deputy minister

Former finance minister John Manley says 'Finance has its own unique culture' and that it's helpful for incoming DM Chris Forbes to have some experience in the department.

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

The federal government's new deputy minister of Finance faces a difficult economic situation, with leading economists and experts warning that a lack of substantial GDP growth is a cause for concern, and it remains to be seen if the government will look to the bureaucracy for policy ideas.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) named Chris Forbes to the deputy minister position, effective Sept. 11. He replaces Michael Sabia, who stepped down on June 2 to head Hydro-Quebec.

Forbes had previously served as the deputy minister of environment and climate change since February 2023, and previously served from 2017-2023 as the deputy minister of agriculture. Forbes also has experience as the associate deputy finance minister, as well as the assistant deputy finance minister from 2010-2013.

Former finance minister and deputy prime minister John Manley said "Finance has its own unique culture," and if Forbes was coming in without having been there in the past, he "would have a bit of a harder time getting his arms around the place, and ensuring the troops respected him."

Manley, who served in Parliament from 1988-2004, said although it's not a big department, Finance is "key to the economic agenda," and that Forbes' first priority will likely be ensuring



New deputy minister of finance Chris Forbes, left, and his predecessor Michael Sabia. Forbes was appointed to the role earlier this month. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

he has the right team in the right roles, and finding out what the government wants from them.

"Do they want policy ideas? Or are they generating those on the political side of the fence?" said Manley.

The former cabinet minister said he doesn't get the sense that the current government has asked for a lot of policy input from civil servants.

"They're looking for implementation, and not necessarily a lot of policy advice," he said.

As an incoming deputy minister who will be working with a veteran finance minister in Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.), Forbes will not have to deal with a "neophyte" politician in the job, given that Freeland knows both her files and her provincial counterparts.

"There's only so many things you can fix—I know the politically expedient thing is to be seen to be doing something, and to be hearing what people are concerned about," said Manley.

Suzy McDonald, who previously served as associate deputy agriculture minister, was also shuffled into the finance department on Sept. 11 as the new associate deputy minister.

McDonald previously served as assistant secretary, social and cultural sector, at the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat from 2020-2022, as well as associate assistant deputy minister, federal-provincial relations and social policy, at the finance department from 2018-2020.

BMO chief economist warns of difficult fiscal conditions

"It's a tricky time for fiscal policy," said Doug Porter, chief economist and managing director of economics at the Bank of Montreal Financial Group.

Although it's receding, inflation has not gone away, said Porter. Statistics Canada reported that inflation in Can-

ada jumped to four per cent in August.

"On the other side, you probably don't want to be tightening fiscal policy aggressively in this



'It's a tricky time for fiscal policy,' says Doug Porter, chief economist and managing director of economics at the Bank of Montreal Financial Group. *Photograph courtesy of X*

environment because the Bank of Canada has already done a lot, and there is the risk that there's a delayed reaction to the Bank of Canada's tightening that will hit the economy harder in the year ahead," said Porter.

Although the fall economic statement is expected to be announced relatively soon, the government has "the luxury of time" before the 2024 budget.

"But I do believe that the best option for the fall economic statement is to basically stand aside," said Porter, who said the overall thrust of policy "should be neutral."

When asked for his thoughts about inflation globally and across North America in the last year, Porter said the economy held up better than people expected.

"And as a result, interest rates are higher for longer, so it's a bit of a double-edged sword for the government on the one side, who have probably gotten more revenues than they have expected, but on the flip side the interest snowballed higher than they may have expected, and that's going to stick with them for a while," said Porter.

Don Drummond, a former associate deputy minister of finance and TD Bank chief economist, expressed his concerns over the Canada's failure to see GDP per capita growth in "a very long time," which "should be very worrisome to people."

"Ultimately, if you do want to get the debt burden down, that's the easiest way of doing it, or the least painful way of doing it," said Drummond.

"It's obviously proving very difficult to do," Drummond added. "Various things have been tried, and obviously nothing is working."

Drummond cast doubt on the ability of austerity measures to solve fiscal problems, pointing to Greece and Italy's cutbacks.

David Macdonald, senior economist at the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, said housing is "front and centre," and has been one of his big concerns as interest rates keep climbing and GDP growth stays "dead flat."

"And so we get the very dangerous stagflation situation where we've got little to negative growth, high interest rates, [and very] high housing costs either on the purchase side or on the rental side," said Macdonald.

When asked about food inflation and what could be done to alleviate the situation facing Canadians at the moment, Macdonald said "prices are never going to go back to where they were 10 years ago. We're not going to see massive negative inflation in grocery store prices, or anything else for that matter," said Macdonald.

There were a few months of negative inflation during the pandemic, said Macdonald, but it was "quite limited."

Macdonald also said that when it comes to food prices, it's "worth pointing out that the big increases on a month-to-month basis for food prices happened in November, December and January of 2020 to 2023."

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The Hill Times

Regardless of politics, climate change ‘isn’t a distant phenomenon’ amid ‘most destructive wildfire season in Canada’s history,’ say experts

More than 17 million hectares of forest have burned in Canada over this year’s fire season as the climate debate in Parliament focuses on carbon pricing.

Continued from page 1
governmental Panel on Climate Change.

With Canada warming twice as fast as the global average, and with massive levels of forest coverage across the country, the combination of “a ton of fuel in our forests” and hotter temperatures mean that Canadians are now seeing these “absolutely record-breaking impacts.”

“But we have all of these incredible solutions now that we’re seeing taking off—vehicle technology, building technology—in every sector and every region,” said Burch.

“We no longer have the excuse” of waiting for some radical innovation, said Burch.

Michael Norton, director general of the Northern Forestry Centre at the Canadian Forest Service, told reporters in August that officials expected “high-than-normal” wildfire activity and that the summer “turned into a challenging marathon,” as reported by CBC News.



University of Waterloo professor Sarah Burch, who is a lead author of the United Nations’ Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn



In a Sept. 16 photograph, the B.C. Wildfire Service shows how ‘hot, dry and windy conditions have increased fire activity on the Bush Creek East wildfire,’ located northeast of Chase, B.C. Photograph courtesy of B.C. Wildfire Service

Wildfire smoke descended on major urban centres in Canada during the summer, including Ottawa in July, raising concerns about air quality—especially on particularly hot days.

On Sept. 10, in a statement regarding Firefighters’ National Memorial Day, Emergency Preparedness Minister Harjit Sajjan (Vancouver South, B.C.) said “this is an exceptional year to express our gratitude to firefighters.”

“As we continue to witness the worst and most destructive wildfire season in Canada’s history, our heroic firefighters have been at the forefront working tirelessly for months to keep Canadians safe,” said Sajjan. “They are being challenged every day, battling the ongoing flames that have burned millions of hectares across the country.”

Tories continue call to ‘axe’ the carbon tax

Carbon pricing has been in place since 2019, which, according to the federal government, has set “minimum national stringency standards [that] all systems must meet to ensure they are comparable and effective in reducing greenhouse gas emissions.”

Any province or territory can design its own pricing system “tailored to local needs,” or choose the federal pricing system, according to the government.

But Conservative Party Leader Pierre Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.) has consistently made calls to “axe the tax” in the past year following his election to the party’s top job in October 2022, a theme which was prevalent at his party’s policy convention in Quebec City earlier this month.

The Hill Times reported that delegates hammered away at the Liberal government’s management of the economy, honing in on the much-maligned carbon tax among the party faithful.

According to the Conservatives, the “Trudeau Liberals’ costly carbon tax is driving up the price of gas, groceries, and home heating during a cost-of-living crisis,” and Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault (Laurier—Sainte-Marie, Que.) “admitted that they have been misleading Canadians about it the whole time.”

“We the undersigned call for this Liberal-NDP coalition to axe the tax to bring home lower prices and powerful paycheques,” according to the party.

The Conservative Party did not return requests for comment from The Hill Times before press deadline.

‘We’ve got to really get our mind around the true costs of climate change’

Julia Levin, associate director, national climate at Environmental

Defence, called the carbon tax “a necessary, but insufficient climate tool—it’s important, but it’s not the kind of regulatory approach we need to see. It’s a piece of it.”

“We have mounting levels of climate disinformation, and I think the carbon price is an example of that,” said Levin in an interview with The Hill Times, adding that the policy “is not contentious” in the eyes of economists across the political spectrum.

Levin said the carbon price and the increasing price schedule associated with it “is so important for the kinds of investments we need to see from businesses.”

“Revoking that policy would be bad for Canadians, bad for the climate, and bad for business,” she said.

If affordability is top of mind for Canadians, Burch said wildfires disrupt lumber mills, shut down tourism, intervene in oil and gas operations, and have made asthma and respiratory illness worse.

“What is the cost of that? We’ve got to really get our minds around the true costs of climate change,” said Burch.

John Young, an energy transition strategist at the David Suzuki Foundation, pointed to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the International Energy Agency, and authoritative sources both on climate and on energy

markets which say that “we simply cannot build any more fossil fuel infrastructure anywhere in the world if we want to have a livable planet.”

That group of experts “does not make exceptions” for liquefied natural gas (LNG) around the world and in Canada, said Young, adding that “we’re seeing the living expression of a climate crisis where we have not reined in emissions rapidly enough.”

Young said that is why “we need to look at every proposal for fossil fuel infrastructure expansion with an even more skeptical view to the kind of planet that we want to live in, and that we want others to live in.”

Bryan Detchou, senior director of natural resources, environment and sustainability at the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, said that in the event of the Conservatives were to form government, chamber members would be “eagerly anticipating to see what the platform looks like, to listen to the agenda that [Poilievre] sets in his Speech from the Throne, and to read the marching orders that he gives to his cabinet in his mandate letters.”

Even with an election likely a couple of years away, Detchou said political parties at this stage in the cycle are “somewhat operating like they’re in campaign mode.”

“An election is still potentially a very long way away, and Poilievre does not necessarily need to put forward policy,” said Detchou. “This is not necessarily a criticism, but there are going to be some catchphrases, some slogans, and they might be devoid of details.”

But Detchou said he thought many Canadians would agree that climate action is economic action.

“Parliamentarians of all parties, I think they want Canada to remain competitive,” said Detchou. “They want Canada to be ready for the economy of tomorrow. They want all our industries to remain competitive. They want Canada to remain a land of innovation. They want Canada to continue to attract investment dollars for all the many great projects that we’re able to do here, and to help the world move towards greener economies.”

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The Hill Times

Government of Canada wildfire report (as of Sept. 13):

Current active fires:	
Uncontrolled	226
Being held	84
Controlled	171
Modified response	122
2023 to date:	
Fires	6,277
10-year average	5,282
Area (hectares)	17,330,903
10-year average (hectares)	2,701,546

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News

Liberal MPs were ‘very, very tough’ and gave ‘straight goods’ to Trudeau at caucus meeting in London, Ont.

The meeting between the wider caucus and the prime minister was scheduled to last 30 minutes, but went on for two hours, according to Liberal MPs.

Continued from page 1

(Châteauguay-Lacolle, Que.) that they did not want any staff present at the meeting, which the prime minister accepted. At the time, a number of media stories reported that MPs were upset with Trudeau for the cabinet shuffle that some caucus members felt was not based on merit, while MPs were also frustrated with the party’s tanking polling numbers.

Since Trudeau came to power in 2015, senior PMO staffers, including chief of staff Katie Telford, have attended every national caucus meeting. At the very first national caucus meeting after the 2015 election, Trudeau introduced Telford and then-principal secretary Gerald Butts to all Liberal MPs, and told them that any instruction that comes from them should be deemed as coming from him.

Since then, Telford, PMO staffers, whips’ office staff, House leader’s office staff, and a staffer from the caucus chair’s office attend weekly meetings on a regular basis. But, MPs have wanted caucus meetings to be only for elected officials so they could freely speak their minds about the PMO’s performance, and senior ministerial staff’s handling of different political and policy issues. The PMO staff plays a key role in advising the prime minister on matters of the promotion and demotion of MPs, among others. Caucus members feel if they’re on the wrong side of the senior staff, their promotion to cabinet and funding for projects in their ridings could be blocked.

All caucus meetings are confidential, and happen behind closed doors.

Under then-prime minister Jean Chrétien, no staffer was allowed in caucus meetings so MPs could discuss any issue they wanted with him once a week. Under his successor prime minister Paul Martin, senior staff were allowed to attend only in special caucus meetings. The weekly regular national caucus meetings were limited to MPs and the then-prime minister. In then-Conservative prime minister Stephen Harper’s government, only his



The Liberal Parliamentary caucus, pictured on Jan. 27, met for their summer retreat in London, Ont., earlier this month. Some Liberal MPs told *The Hill Times* that they were ‘very direct and frank’ in their feedback to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

chief of staff was allowed in all caucus meetings to take notes.

In advance of the start of Parliament’s fall sitting, the national summer caucus retreat took place in London, Ont. from Sept. 12-14 to plot strategies for the return of Parliament after the summer recess.

Recent polls suggest that the Liberals have been behind the Conservatives between six and 15 percentage points. The Liberal polling numbers took a significant dip during the summer months. During the retreat, MPs made a point of demanding from Trudeau that they want direct access to the prime minister to point out directly to him what mistakes he, his staff, and his frontbench were making.

According to Liberal sources, MPs gave Trudeau the “straight goods” on the shortcomings of his government. Their first complaint was that the PMO staff, some cabinet ministers, and their chiefs of staff were not interested in individual MPs’ feedback on political and policy issues. In a lot of cases, MPs said, their communications were totally ignored, and they never received any responses to their questions. Also, they said it was a challenge for MPs if they wanted direct access to the prime minister to discuss any issue.

MPs advised the prime minister to travel across the country, hold town hall meetings, and tell Canadians what the government is doing to address their issues related to the cost of living, housing, and other issues. MPs told Trudeau that this move was critical, considering that his government has failed to communicate its achievements, and the challenges involved in addressing these issues.

A significant number of MPs also raised the issue of the party’s progressive policies like gender

identity, and how some constituents felt the Liberals had been too aggressive in promoting those policies. Some said that the party is on the right side of these policies, but it should be done in a way that respects people’s differences. Others also pointed out that, at this time, the top number-one priority for Canadians is affordability issues, not gender identity, so the government should be laser-focused on addressing economic issues.

The meeting between MPs and the prime minister was scheduled to last for about 30 minutes, but it went on for two hours. Approximately 40 to 45 MPs spoke at this meeting, according to Liberal sources. With paper and a pen in his hand, Trudeau took notes.

But the source said that Trudeau handled all the criticism very well, and assured his caucus that he will ensure MPs get the respect they deserve from his staff, cabinet ministers, and their ministerial staffers. However, he did not directly respond to the caucus criticism on individual issues.

“He [Trudeau] said he would make sure that MPs knew that they were not just valuable, but that they were central to the success of the government,” said the source. “And that they [MPs] felt that they were being respected, and it’s not okay that they’re not.”

The next day, according to the source, Telford was “visibly upset,” and “scolded” MPs for not wanting senior staffers to attend caucus meetings, describing them as the champions of MPs’ causes. Another MP said that they saw Telford’s remarks as making a case for why staffers should be allowed in the caucus room. This MP also said that the PMO’s chief of staff was not “visibly upset,” but described her as “more brought to earth.”

“I didn’t see it as scolding. There was rationale given that if you want the feedback that’s been given to be noted by the policymakers, essentially, then have them [staffers] in the room, let them take notes,” said a second MP. “They see it differently, analyze it differently, like, let’s say six people are in the room, they’ll analyze it differently, as opposed to the PM and whoever else is close to the PMO taking notes and passing it.”

The same day, Telford, former PMO pollster Dan Arnold, and PMO senior adviser Jeremy Broadhurst made a presentation to the MPs. Before the presentation, Broadhurst was officially introduced as the national campaign director for the next federal election campaign. He served in the same position during the 2021 federal election.

In the presentation, that was reportedly well-liked by the caucus, Telford covered the progress made by the government on political and policy issues since the winter caucus retreat. Arnold told MPs that the Liberals have been down in the polls before, but went on to win elections. According to Liberal sources, Arnold’s polling aggregate numbers showed that the Conservatives were eight to nine points ahead of the Liberals. He reminded Liberal MPs that, prior to the 2015 election, his party was third place behind the NDP and the Conservatives, but still won a landslide majority. Similarly, six months before the 2019 election, the Liberals were behind the Conservatives by a double digit margin, and still eked out a win.

“His presentation kind of tried to situate people’s fears—people are very fearful right now, for obvious reasons,” said another Liberal MP. “The polls are not good, and so he tried to situate

things by saying, showing that, ‘well, before an election, polls have been like this in the past for the prime ministers and for other parties historically, but they still have come back to win elections.’ So he basically situated the fears of people, I would say, trying to just show historically how things have been with these type of polling numbers.”

Broadhurst and Arnold explained the architecture of an election campaign to make the point that a campaign is more than just polling numbers. They said that they are looking at a number of pathways, and will finalize the strategy closer to election time.

The PMO staffers told MPs that some former senior PMO and ministerial staff would return to work for the party or the government in the coming weeks.

In an interview with *The Hill Times*, Arnold, one of the key architects of Trudeau’s three back-to-back election wins, did not share the exact polling numbers that he provided to the caucus, but confirmed that he gave MPs several examples from the past where the Liberal Party or other parties were behind in the polls before an election, but were still able to win.

For this presentation, Arnold said, he aggregated several recent polls, and shared his findings with the caucus. He told caucus members that the lead that the Conservatives are enjoying in the polls is not because of any “Poilievre mania,” but chiefly because of affordability issues and dissatisfaction with the government that has been in power for eight years. For this, he cited his own poll that showed that only 57 per cent of Canadians could name the leader of the Official Opposition. Arnold said that in order for the Liberals to connect with Canadians, MPs will have to show with their words and actions that they’re doing all they can to address issues like housing and the cost of living.

“The point [of the presentation] was largely that the horse-race polls between elections aren’t always predictive of the future,” said Arnold, who is now chief strategy officer at Pollara Strategic Insights and a senior adviser at Alar Strategy Group. “So, what are the things that the government needs to do to better connect with people, and to position themselves better in the lead up to the next election campaign?”

“My advice is largely the government needs to do things that show they understand what Canadians are struggling with what they’re going through right now. Show that they empathize and they’re taking steps to make your lives better,” Arnold said. “I don’t think anybody blames the government for causing inflation, but they need to understand that the government is there to help them and has their backs the same way. Canadians felt the government had their backs during COVID. I don’t know if people have that sense right now.”

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Solidarity with government over India claim provides a 'temporary respite at best' for Trudeau's tanking popularity, say pollsters

If more details on the murder allegation are not released soon, the public's focus will revert to affordability and housing issues, says Frank Graves, president of Ekos Research.

Continued from page 1

In a bombshell announcement on Sept. 18 in the House of Commons, Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) said the Canadian government is investigating credible allegations that "agents" of the Indian government had gunned down Hardeep Singh Nijjar outside a temple in Surrey, B.C. Nijjar was an outspoken supporter and activist of a separatist movement in India that wants a homeland for Sikhs, to be called Khalistan. The movement is outlawed by the Indian government who had declared Nijjar a terrorist.

In the unprecedented statement, Trudeau said that he raised this issue on the sidelines of the G20 meeting with Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in "no uncertain terms" and has urged him to co-operate with the Canadians in this investigation. The Indian government had declared Nijjar a terrorist.

"Over the past number of weeks, Canadian security agencies have been actively pursuing credible allegations of a potential link between agents of the government of India, and the killing of a Canadian citizen, Hardeep Singh Nijjar," Trudeau said. "Canada is a rule-of-law country. The protection of our citizens and the defence of our sovereignty are fundamental. Our top priorities have therefore been, one, that our law enforcement and security agencies ensure the continued safety of all Canadians, and two, that all steps be taken to hold perpetrators of this murder to account."

The *Financial Times* reported on Sept. 22 that U.S. President Joe Biden and other leaders of Western countries also raised this issue with Modi at the recent G20 meeting in New Delhi.

At a media briefing in Washington, D.C., U.S. national security adviser Jake Sullivan dismissed media suggestions that



U.S. President Joe Biden, left, has raised the issue of alleged Indian government involvement in the killing of a Canadian citizen with India's prime minister at the recent G20 summit, according to the *Financial Times*. The Hill Times photograph by Sam Garcia

Canada's "Five Eyes" intelligence alliance partners—the U.S., United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand—were reluctant to back their ally on the issue.

Meanwhile, in Ottawa, Public Safety Minister Dominic LeBlanc (Beauséjour, N.B.) told reporters that senior Canadian security officials had travelled to India in recent months "to confront the Indian intelligence agencies with these allegations."

On Sept. 21, CBC News reported that the Canadian government does have both human and signals intelligence to substantiate its claims against the Indian government. The report suggested that some of the intelligence that Canada has in its possession was gleaned by one of its Five Eyes allies. The report added that, regardless of what the Indian government says publicly, in private conversations with Canadian national security officials, the Indian government has not denied the Canadian accusations.

A day after Trudeau made his statement in the House, Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.) demanded he "come clean" and show the evidence behind the accusations. By deadline, the government had not shared any evidence publicly.

Since Trudeau made his statement in the House, Canada has declared the head of intelligence at the Indian high commission in Ottawa, who has now left the country, as *persona non grata*. In a tit-for-tat response, the Indian government expelled a senior

Canadian diplomatic official from New Delhi last week.

The Indian government has denied any involvement in the killing of Nijjar. Citing "security threats," the Indian high commission in Ottawa on Sept. 21 announced that they had stopped operations to process Canadian citizens' visa applications. By deadline, it was not clear if the Canadian high commission in New Delhi would respond in kind. In a travel advisory issued Sept. 20, the Indian government warned its citizens and students studying in Canada to be cautious due to "growing anti-India activities."

"In view of growing anti-India activities and politically-condoned hate crimes and criminal violence in Canada, all Indian nationals there and those contemplating travel are urged to exercise utmost caution," the advisory said.

"Recently, threats have particularly targeted Indian diplomats and sections of the Indian community who oppose the anti-India agenda."

"Indian nationals are therefore advised to avoid travelling to regions and potential venues in Canada that have seen such incidents."

A spokesman for the Indian government said that the number of Canadian diplomats would be reduced in the coming weeks.

In response to the Indian travel advisory and suspending processing of visa applications to India, Trudeau said that his gov-

ernment had no interest in further escalating this issue, and urged New Delhi to help Canadians in the investigation, and let justice take its course.

"There is no question that India is a country of growing importance, and a country that we need to continue to work with not just in the region but around the world," Trudeau said at a press conference at the Canadian Mission in the United Nations in New York on Sept. 21.

In the weeks leading up to the start of the fall sitting of Parliament, the Liberal Party's popularity has taken a serious dip. Some polls showed the Trudeau Liberals as much as 15 points behind the Conservatives. This means if an election were to happen now, the Poilievre Conservatives would win a majority government. The key reason for the drop in popularity is Canadians' dissatisfaction with the Trudeau government's handling of sky-high cost of living, inflation and housing issues.

At a national caucus retreat in London, Ont., earlier this month, Liberal MPs had a "direct and frank" conversation with Trudeau to address these issues. Since then, the government has been making announcements about its efforts to bring down the cost of living.

"This is at best a temporary respite...it's amazing that the cost-of-living issues are not even more central, given the recent discouraging announcement that inflation has actually risen to

four per cent in the most recent report," said Frank Graves, president of Ekos Research, in an interview with *The Hill Times*.

"Our evidence is that there is a groundswell of concern, that this [Nijjar murder] is a dominant issue," he said. "And the fact that this [cost of living] has been eclipsed by this particular issue [alleged Indian government involvement in Nijjar's murder] probably works to the government's advantage right now."

But, Graves said, if more information related to this incident does not come out in public, the focus will move back to domestic politics.

Greg Lyle, president of Innovative Research, said that the government should use the breathing room that this controversy has created to address issues that are affecting the lives of Canadians.

"It has changed the channel on it, gives the government an opportunity to move on to something else," said Lyle. "Then what I would do is I would move on to some sort of positive issue, like something that opposition parties might disagree with, but an issue that's addressing things like affordability."

Canada is home to 1.4 million people of Indian heritage—including 780,000 Sikhs—who live in swing ridings across the country, including in the Greater Toronto Area, Vancouver, Calgary and Montreal. The Indo-Canadian community is a key voting bloc in general elections. The Sikh community is generally seen as part of the Liberal Party base, while the Hindu community is deemed to be supporters of the Conservative Party. Both Canada and India have an annual trade volume of \$13.2-billion.

An Abacus Data poll released on Sept. 14 suggested that the Poilievre Conservatives had a whopping 15-point lead over the Liberals. The Conservatives were at 41 per cent potential voter support, the Liberals 26 per cent, the New Democratic Party 18 per cent, Bloc Québécois eight per cent, and the Greens and the People's Party of Canada at three per cent each. The poll numbers put the Conservatives ahead of all parties in every region of the country, except in Quebec, where the Bloc Québécois led. Since coming to power in 2015, the Trudeau Liberals have not seen such low level polls.

An Ipsos poll released last week suggested that 40 per cent of Canadians think at this time that Poilievre is the best candidate to become prime minister. Trudeau's support in this poll was at 31 per cent, NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh's (Burnaby South, B.C.) at 22 per cent, and Bloc Québécois Leader Yves-François Blanchet's (Beloeil-Chambly, Que.) at six per cent.

A Nanos poll released Sept. 15 put the Conservative support at 34.8 per cent, the Liberals at 28.8 per cent, the NDP at 22.7 per cent, the Greens 4.7 per cent, Bloc seven per cent and PPC at 1.8 per cent.

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For Marc Miller, the fight with Pierre Poilievre is personal



Immigration Minister Marc Miller doesn't hold back when speaking with the media. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Dine & Dish with Chelsea Nash



The new immigration minister leans into his heated words for the Opposition leader, calling him a 'charlatan' and a 'snake oil salesman.'

Immigration Minister Marc Miller doesn't normally sit down for lunch.

In fact, the original plan was to accompany him for his usual lunch routine: getting takeout sushi or something from the West Block cafeteria and eating it in his office, but he made the last-minute decision to meet me at Sansotei Ramen on Bank Street.

"I didn't want you to think I was a recluse," he joked.

"The hardest thing to do in politics is go pee and have lunch. That's going to be recorded," he said, gesturing to my tape recorder placed on the table between us with some lighthearted regret, "but it's true."

The comment is emblematic of Miller's frankness with the media, a trait that led to him describing Conservative Party Leader Pierre Poilievre as a "serial bullshitter" when speaking with the CBC, and on X (formerly known as Twitter), he recently called him a "classless jackass."

He doesn't hold back now, either.

"At some point, we have to continue to point out to Canadians that Pierre Poilievre's a charlatan and a snake-oil salesman. And at some point, we've all been—and I'm not blaming anyone—but we've been fooled by a snake-oil salesman," he said.

"I think we need to be more vocal in pointing that out, because to me, it's personal, and it's about the future of the country," he said.

Miller expressed concern that a future Conservative government would undo what he sees as substantial progress the

Liberal government has made on issues including reconciliation, LGBTQ+ issues, and climate change. As minister, Miller says he tries his best to make the work he does "irreversible," but knows there's always the risk of policy being undone.

"There's a lot that we built over the last eight years that inevitably will be completely slashed," he said.

The Liberal government has seen a drop in its approval rating with Canadians, while Poilievre continues to gain momentum, a fact that has caused some tension inside the Liberal caucus and raised questions about whether Prime Minister Justin Trudeau should stay on as leader. Trudeau is adamant he will be the person to lead his party through the next election. As for the caucus, Miller said "they aired it out" at the caucus retreat in London, Ont., the week before the House returned on Sept. 18.

Miller acknowledges there is some "tension" for the Liberals as they try to navigate being the "nice guys"—the government that came to power in 2015 promising "sunny ways"—while being able to adequately respond to their current rival.

Some might think that Miller, who has known Trudeau since they went to high school together in the 1980s, is saying the things about Poilievre that Trudeau, as leader, cannot say. I ask him about the intention behind his choice of words: "bullshitter," and "jackass."

"No one told me to say it," he said quickly. His mother, he said, wasn't happy that he used the word "bullshitter," but "I do think it."

He quotes Jamaican musician Bob Marley: "You can fool some people some times, but you can't fool them all the time," he said. (The actual Marley quote is: "You can fool some people some times, but you can't fool all the people all the time.")

The quote alludes to what has perhaps been the Liberal strategy on Poilievre since he was elected Conservative Party leader a year ago: let him define himself, and hope Canadians can see through him.

The Liberal party has been criticized for being slow to respond to the new Conservative leader, failing to define him for Canadians before he got the chance to define himself.

Miller rejects this notion.

"I'm not going to pass on that question, but..." he says, taking a pause to eat some noodles.

"Mostly, I've never really necessarily bought into the narrative of 'you've got to go define the person and that will stick forever,'" he said. He brings up then-prime minister Stephen Harper's attempt to define Trudeau prior to the 2015 election, when Harper tried to paint him as a drama teacher with nice hair. "It backfired," Miller said.

"There's a certain trust in Canadians, that you've got to have some steely resolve, and hope that they recognize it," he said.

And yet, with polling where it is, that strategy has not yet borne fruit. Miller admits his party is "struggling" with how to respond to Poilievre, something he says that "everyone knows."

"We are struggling to respond to someone who has broken every rule of

conventional Canadian politics," he said. He referenced Poilievre's engagement with the Freedom Convoy and their "fuck Trudeau" messaging as one example of rule-breaking.

"He completely encouraged that," he said.

Miller's frank comments, and the fact that he's repeatedly making them to the media, demonstrates a confidence and perhaps a level of trust that Trudeau and the PMO have in him, particularly given how tight of a grip the PMO—and Trudeau's chief of staff Katie Telford—reportedly have over pretty much every decision cabinet makes.

His cabinet roles reflect this, too, having headed up portfolios that are cornerstones for the Trudeau government: Crown-Indigenous relations and, now, immigration.

Miller became Canada's new immigration minister in the mid-summer shuffle that took place on July 26. He took the file over from Sean Fraser, who became housing minister. Six staff from Fraser's team have stayed at immigration with Miller, and nine followed him from the Crown-Indigenous relations office. The overlap in their portfolios doesn't stop there, insofar as new arrivals to Canada are also grappling with the housing crisis, and to some people, are to blame for it—a narrative that Miller disagrees with.

"It's challenging," is the first thing he says when asked about his new role. Not more challenging than his previous one, necessarily, but a different challenge. That said, Miller's quick to draw parallels between the two, describing them as both very "personal" and "individual in nature." His frankness doesn't stop at the political commentary, as he notes both files and departments have "a long history of being exclusive and racist."

"We wouldn't think intuitively that people who were the original people of this country would have something in common with those that seek to come to this country. But there are some eerie similarities in the way certain minorities are treated," he said. "So as an institution, neither [Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, or Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada] has been immune to those pressures that are driven by racist, systemic racism, discrimination, clear policy choices. So you see that right away," he said.

Miller speaks to the importance of getting rid of racism and discrimination within government departments, but also expresses a distaste for leveraging disenfranchised groups to score political points.

The day we met, "parental rights" protesters filled downtown Ottawa's streets rallying against LGBTQ-inclusive education and policies in schools that allow children to use their preferred pronouns and/or names with teachers and classmates without their parents being informed. Counter-protesters showed up in full force, too.

Poilievre and conservative premiers across the country have been accused of courting anti-LGBTQ+ sentiment by endorsing the "parental rights" movement.

On the day of the protests in Ottawa, the Opposition leader's office told Conservative MPs not to speak publicly on the matter, though the memo—which was leaked to *The Canadian Press*—said the protesters had "legitimate points to make" on the issue of "parental rights."

Miller did not explicitly name Poilievre in his comments, but said: "weaponizing that political dynamic is very emotional, very visceral, and resonates, you know, in places where I'm quite surprised."

"I think it's dirty politics," he said.

But for Miller, calling out Poilievre with harsh words is not dirty politics. To him, it's the truth. And, either he puts on a very convincing show, or he truly feels offended by Poilievre's politics.

"I don't think we can let the guy get away with it," he said.

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Over a bowl of noodles, the immigration minister was candid in expressing his views about political rival Pierre Poilievre, and admitted the Liberal party is 'struggling' with how to respond to him. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Laura Ryckewaert Hill Climbers

A look at the citizens' services and health ministers' teams

Ryan Cotter is chief of staff to Citizens' Services Minister Terry Beech, while Cyndi Jenkins is in charge in Health Minister Mark Holland's office.

A rookie minister has a first-time chief of staff in charge of his office, with new Citizens' Services Minister **Terry Beech** having tapped **Ryan Cotter** to run his ministerial shop.



Ryan Cotter is chief of staff to Citizens' Services Minister Terry Beech. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Cotter is a longtime Hill staffer with almost two decades of experience under his belt, but this marks his first time running a ministerial office. Prior to taking charge of Beech's team, he had been director of communications to Northern Affairs Minister **Dan Vandal** since the 2019 federal election.

An MP since 2015, Beech's portfolio is a new addition to the cabinet lineup as of the July 26 shuffle.

Cotter has worked in MP offices on the Hill—including for Toronto Liberal MP **Carolyn Bennett**, Vancouver Liberal MP **Hedy Fry**, and then-Toronto Liberal MP **Maria Minna**—from 2005 until shortly after the Trudeau Liberals first formed government at the end of 2015. He landed his first ministerial gig in early 2016, when he was hired as a special assistant for operations in Bennett's office as then-minister for Indigenous and Northern affairs. He's since also been an Ontario regional affairs adviser in the Liberal research bureau (LRB), and director of communications to **Bill Blair** as then-minister for border security and organized crime reduction.

Four other staff have been confirmed so far in Beech's budding office.

Jennifer Phillips is director of operations. She'd been doing the same for then-veterans affairs minister **Lawrence MacAulay** since September 2022.

Phillips got her start on the Hill as an assistant to then-Liberal MP **Bonnie Crombie** (who's now mayor of Mississauga, Ont., and currently running to become leader of the Ontario Liberal Party). Crombie lost her House seat in the 2011 election, and was subsequently elected

to Mississauga City Council, where she hired Phillips to once again serve as her assistant. From 2012 to until the start of 2018, Phillips worked for Samara Canada, ending as senior manager for development and marketing. Since returning to the political trenches in January 2018, she's been a senior issues manager to then-public safety minister **Ralph Goodale**, and a policy adviser and later director of policy to then-fisheries and oceans minister **Bernadette Jordan**. From the end of 2021 until joining MacAulay's office, Phillips was a senior policy officer with the Public Health Agency of Canada.

Ellen Galupo is a senior policy adviser to Beech. She previously did the same for then-families minister **Karina Gould**, whose office Galupo first joined as an Ontario regional affairs adviser at the start of 2020. Galupo was a 2018 Liberal Summer Leadership Program intern in the LRB, and that October, landed her first ministerial gig as a special assistant to then-heritage minister **Pablo Rodriguez**'s parliamentary secretary for multiculturalism.

Tenzin Chogkyi has been hired as an Ontario regional affairs adviser to the citizens' services minister. A former constituency assistant to now-Justice Minister **Arif Virani** as the Liberal MP for Parkdale-High Park, Ont., Chogkyi joined Gould's office as then-families minister during the summer of 2022. Starting as a regional affairs adviser for the West and North to Gould, he soon after switched focus to the Ontario region—his most recent role.

Erik Nosaluk has landed the role of director of communications and issues management to Beech. He comes from Liberal MP **Joyce Murray**'s team as then-fisheries minister, where he was most recently a senior communications adviser. Nosaluk began working for Murray after the 2019 election as a special assistant for communications in her office as then-digital government minister—his first ministerial gig. He became Murray's press secretary at the start of 2021, and followed her to the fisheries portfolio after that year's election as a communications co-ordinator and digital media adviser.

Troy Beaupre, who's previously driven around the likes of then-transport minister **Omar Alghabra**, is now Beech's ministerial driver.

There are 18 staff currently confirmed in Health Minister **Mark Holland**'s office, which, as previously reported, is run by chief of staff **Cyndi Jenkins**.

Jean-Sébastien Bock is deputy chief of staff. He previously did the same for Holland's predecessor in the health portfolio, now-Public Services and Procurement Minister **Jean-Yves Duclos**.

A former funding and private partnerships co-ordinator for Montréal International, Bock has been a ministerial staffer since early 2016, starting as a special assistant and assistant to the parliamentary secretary to then-national revenue minister **Diane Lebouthillier**. He later became a policy adviser in that office, exiting at the start of 2018 to become Quebec regional adviser to then-employment minister **Patty Hajdu**. Bock has also been a policy adviser



Jean-Sébastien Bock is deputy chief of staff to Health Minister Mark Holland. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

to then-finance minister **Bill Morneau**, and a senior policy adviser and later director of policy to Duclos as then-Treasury Board president. He followed Duclos to the health portfolio, continuing as policy director, after the 2021 election, and added deputy chief of staff to his title at the end of 2022.

Eshan Naik is now director of policy to the health minister. Naik was policy director to Holland as government House leader prior to the shuffle, starting in late 2021. Before then, he'd been a legislative assistant to Holland as the Liberal MP for Ajax, Ont., since the 2019 election. Naik is also a former assistant to Ontario Liberal MP **Jennifer O'Connell**.

Jill Pilgrim is now deputy director of policy and legal affairs to the health minister. She'd been a senior policy adviser in the office under Duclos since January when she returned to the Hill after spending most of 2022 as an articling student with Abergel Goldstein & Partners LLP. Pilgrim previously worked on the Hill from 2017 until the end of 2021, starting as an assistant to Rural Economic Development Minister **Gudie Hutchings** as the Liberal MP for Long Range Mountains, N.L. She's also been an Atlantic regional adviser to Duclos as then-families minister, and a policy and Atlantic regional adviser to then-employment minister **Carla Qualtrough**. Pilgrim studied law at the University of New Brunswick.

Also part of Holland's policy team are senior policy advisers **Stephanie Claxton** and **Ophelia John**, and policy and parliamentary affairs adviser **Chelsea Madryga**.

Claxton has added "senior" to her title under Holland. An ex-Ontario regional adviser in the LRB, Claxton joined the health office under then-minister Hajdu in May 2021. Initially covering the Ontario desk, she switched roles to become a policy adviser in late 2022.

John is a new addition to the health team, having previously been a policy adviser to then-public services minister **Helena Jaczek**. A ministerial staffer since early 2019, she's also been executive assistant to then-seniors ministers **Filomena Tassi** and **Deb Schulte**, and a senior special assistant for policy to Tassi as then-labour minister. John first joined the public services office under Tassi after the 2021 federal election.

Madryga has been with the health minister's office since the end of 2021, previously as assistant to the parliamentary secretary and parliamentary affairs adviser. Her past experience includes working for the International Development Research Centre, last as a program management officer for livestock health.

Jade Mallette continues as director of parliamentary affairs, a role she's filled since February 2022. A former assistant to then-Ottawa Liberal MP **Andrew Leslie**, Mallette has been working in cabinet offices since the start of 2020, beginning as a special assistant for parliamentary affairs

to Duclos as then-Treasury Board president. She later became a senior special assistant, stepped up to senior adviser for parliamentary affairs, and finally became director of labour relations in the office under then-minister **Mona Fortier**.

Arielle Mantes is a senior parliamentary affairs adviser. She, too, comes from Holland's old House leader's office where she'd been a parliamentary affairs adviser since the start of 2022. Mantes is also an ex-committee adviser to Holland as then-chief government whip, and a former constituency assistant in his office as the MP for Ajax, Ont.

Alexandra Maheux is director of communications and issues management. Another staffer plucked from Holland's House leader team, Maheux had been press secretary there since January 2022—her first job on the Hill. Before then, she was a media relations specialist for the Canadian Institute for Health Information. Maheux is also an ex-health marketing specialist with Toronto Public Health, and a former communications manager for the Heart and Stroke Foundation.

Working under Maheux are senior communications and issues adviser **Jeff Woodland**, digital and social media adviser **Malachy Schwartz**, and communications assistant **Emmanuella Kakou**.

Woodland previously tackled communications and issues management as an adviser to Murray as then-fisheries minister. He's also a former assistant to Jaczek as the Liberal MP for Markham-Stouffville, Ont., and was a communications adviser in her office as then-minister for the Federal Economic Development Agency for Southern Ontario.

Schwartz comes from Rodriguez's former office as then-heritage minister, where he'd been a special assistant for digital media since September 2022. Before then, Schwartz had spent the summer as a communications intern in the LRB.

Kakou is a former constituency assistant to Quebec Liberal MP **Annie Koutrakis**, and joined the health office under Duclos this past July.

Roy Karam continues as director of operations, a role he first stepped into on an acting basis this past summer. Karam first joined the health office under Duclos as an Atlantic regional adviser at the start of 2022. Before then, he was an assistant to Nova Scotia Liberal MP **Mike Kelloway**. Karam is also an ex-Atlantic adviser to Hajdu as then-employment minister.

So far hired to cover regional desks in Holland's office are **Shanza Khan**, who's responsible for Ontario, and **Cameron Yung**, who tackles the West. Khan was hired as Ontario regional adviser under Duclos this past January, and previously spent almost four years working for the federal Liberal Party, ending as senior manager for the national field. Yung joined the health office this past July, previously tackling both western and northern regional advisers, after almost a year as a policy adviser to International Trade Minister **Mary Ng**. He's also a former West and North regional adviser to Women and Gender Equality Minister **Marci Ien**, an ex-communications and community liaison to then-Calgary city councillor **Druh Farrell**, and an ex-assistant to then-Alberta Liberal MP **Kent Hehr**.

Uzair Muhammad is executive assistant to Holland, hired fresh from a summer internship at Global Affairs Canada.

SunMin Park, who spent the summer as an intern in Environment Minister **Steven Guilbeault**'s office, is a special assistant and office manager.

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Stuart Benson

Party Central

Parliamentary party people pack the Met for back-to-back receptions

The return of parliamentarians, journalists, and politicos to Parliament Hill for the beginning of the fall sitting can only mean one thing: **Party Central** is back at the Métropolitain Brasserie for another round of receptions and shindigs.

Kicking things off on Sept. 19 was the much anticipated annual “housewarming” hosted by iPolitics and Earncliffe Strategies as hundreds of Ottawa bubble denizens descended on the Mét to reunite with colleagues and friends who’d scattered to their hometowns over the summer break, or to introduce themselves to many of the new faces.

Arriving promptly at 5 p.m. as any good reporter should, **Party Central** spent most of the first hour-and-a-half chatting with iPolitics editor in chief **Marco Vigliotti**, comparing notes on each other’s summer vacations, reflecting on the first two days—that-felt-like-a-week-of Parliament and the difference a year makes.

While last year’s reception’s gossip centred primarily on the recent death of **Queen Elizabeth II** and the newly minted Conservative Leader **Pierre Poilievre**, this year the chatter on most people’s lips was the dramatic allegations made by Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** in the House of Commons the day before, implicating the government of India in the assassination of a Canadian citizen in British Columbia.

Over the course of that 90 minutes, while **Party Central** and Vigliotti enjoyed the complimentary sparkling wine and shrimp platter, the Met filled up with the hundreds of attendees packing both the front and rear rooms of the bar, and spilling onto the reserved patio.

Traversing up and down the bar for photos felt like swimming through molasses. Among plenty of new faces, **Party Central** managed to spot a number of familiar ones, including the Chamber of Commerce’s **Pascal Chan**, and **Hartley Whitten**, Labour Minister **Seamus O’Regan**’s press secretary, who no doubt had kept in touch with his boss over the summer during the B.C. port strikes.

Party Central also spotted Proof Strategies’ **Matthew Dubé**; RBC’s **George Wamala**; **Elliot Lockington**, chief of staff to associate Minister of Finance and Tourism **Randy Boissonnault**; CTV News’ **Colton Prail**; PAA Advisory’s **Sonja Tilroe**; **Glen McGregor**, and **Greg Weston**.

While there were fewer politicians in attendance this year—presumably due to the simultaneous take-note debate in the House of Commons due to the aforementioned allegations—Conservative MPs **James Bezan** and **Jasraj Hallan** made brief early appearances. They were later followed by Housing Minister **Sean Fraser**, Treasury Board President **Anita Anand**, and Liberal MPs **Julie Dzerowicz** and **John Aldag**.

While Pendulum Group’s **Heather Bakken** and Yaroslav Baran gently teased **Party Central** for having “changed” after tapping out to head home just before 10

p.m., it is only because this reporter has learned to pace himself during the first week long-haul, and because he would be making a return trip in less than 20 hours.

Optimistic foresters and fine food at FPAC’s reception

While the annual housewarming may be the most well-attended event of the first week back, the highlight of the week as far as **Party Central**’s stomach is concerned was the Forest Products Association of Canada’s annual Forest Week reception.

While **Party Central** was once again one of the first keeners to arrive, beyond a smattering of guest arriving straight from FPAC’s conference at the Westin Ottawa, Bakken and Earncliffe’s **Mary Anne Carter** were already deep in debrief mode over the previous night’s festivities with the Met’s managing partner **Sarah Chown**. Further down the bar, **Party Central** also spotted **David “Herle Burly” Herle**, though he may have just been there for happy hour.

While it’s unfair to compare any event’s attendance to that of the annual housewarming, FPAC had a respectably well-attended event, benefitting from the fact that the House had a much shorter agenda than the day before. **Party Central** spotted Conservative MP **Lianne Rood** arriving with former Tory interim leader **Candice Bergen**, as well as MPs **Frank Caputo** and **Bob Zimmer**, Bloc Québécois MP **Sébastien Lemire**, Senators **Andrew Cardozo**, **Donna Dasko**, and **Colin Deacon**, NDP MP **Richard Cannings**, and International Development Minister **Ahmed Hussen**.

While the majority of the attendees chatted amongst themselves about that day’s conference, cast their wooden lots to vote for which Earth Rangers portrait will adorn FPAC’s 2023 Christmas card, or posed for silly photos with props provided by PhotoBox, **Party Central** was much more interested in the various trays of appetizers featuring cucumber salmon rolls, lobster salad on beds of lettuce, or the star of the show: lamb puffs with spicy tomato sauce. There were also plenty of the reception’s signature electric-green, melon-lem-on-Cointreau “biofuel” cocktails.

Party Central also got a chance to chat with FPAC’s **Justin Veale** about the day’s reception. Fittingly, with the morning’s keynote speech delivered by **Chris Turner**, author of the 2023 Shaughnessy Cohen Award for Political Writing winner *How To Be a Climate Optimist*, Veale said the tone of the conference was surprisingly optimistic given the summer of devastating forest fires.

In that vein, **Party Central** made his exit even earlier that night, anticipating his own feat of rising from the grave that had been dug by two consecutive nights of consuming alcohol on a school night to try and write this column.

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The Hill Times



iPolitics’ **Marco Vigliotti**, left, **Jason Kerr**, Canadian Automobile Association, and **Pascal Chan**, Canadian Chamber of Commerce.



Alicia Tiffin, left, from the NDP leader’s office; NDP press secretaries **Erin Burchett** and **Ella Klein**, and NDP national director **Anne McGrath**.



KAN Strategies’ **Greg MacEachern**, left, Housing Minister **Sean Fraser**, and Microsoft’s **Marlene Floyd**.



Treasury Board President **Anita Anand**, centre, at the annual “Housewarming” reception at the Métropolitain Brasserie.



Pendulum Group’s **Heather Bakken**, left, Blackbird Strategies’ **Keith Sheppard**, Navigator’s **Graham Fox**, and Pendulum Group’s **Yaroslav Baran**.



Cribe Network’s **Mike Barten**, left, Shuniah, Ont., Mayor **Wendy Landry**, and International Development Minister **Ahmed Hussen**.



Sussex Strategy’s **Fraser Lockerbie**, left, **Cindy Clegg**, Forestry for The Future secretariat; FPAC’s **Kerry Patterson-Baker**, Sussex Strategy’s **Stacey Noronha**, and **Sarah Litchfield**.



Matthew Edginton, left, legislative assistant to MP **Monia Fortier**; Fisheries and Oceans Canada’s **Tai Bradley**, and **Jack Coen**, special assistant to MP **Helena Jaczek**.



Attendees voting for which Earth Rangers’ artwork will feature on this year’s FPAC Christmas card.



Former Conservative interim leader **Candice Bergen**, left, **Compass Rose** Group’s **Andrea Sarkic** and **Theo Argitis**, and Conservative MP **Lianne Rood**.

The Hill Times photographs by Stuart Benson



Senator **Colin Deacon**, left, Senator **Donna Dasko**, and Pendulum Group’s **Heather Bakken**.



Counsel Public Affairs’ **Sheamus Murphy**, left, Liberal MP **Francesco Sorbara**, NDP MP **Richard Cannings**, Liberal MP **Julie Dzerowicz**, and Alberta Forest Products Association president **Jason Krips**.

Environment Minister Guilbeault to speak at Canadian Club of Ottawa on Sept. 27



Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault will speak about 'Finding a Common Path Forward on Climate Policy in the Age of Misinformation' at the Canadian Club of Ottawa on Sept. 27. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

MONDAY, SEPT. 25

The Future of Canada's Aviation Sector—The Canadian Chamber of Commerce hosts "The Future of Canada's Aviation Sector", part of its Executive Summit Series. Participants will discuss challenges, opportunities and solutions to support a strong and resilient air transportation sector in Canada. Speakers include Arun Thangaraj, deputy minister of Transport Canada; and former Conservative cabinet minister Lisa Raitt. Monday, Sept. 25, 12:30-6:30 p.m. ET, National Arts Centre, 1 Elgin St. Details and register at chamber.ca.

MONDAY, SEPT. 25—WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 27

Atlantic Social Impact Exchange Summit—Common Good Solutions hosts the Atlantic Social Impact Exchange Summit from Sept. 25-27 in St. John's, Nfld. Three days of the nation's best speakers and conversations are open to delegates from across the country who work in social impact and social finance from all sectors. Details: commongoodsolutions.ca, or register via Eventbrite.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 26

Lecture: 'Republicanism and Imperialism at the Frontier'—Carleton University hosts a public talk on "Republicanism and Imperialism at the Frontier: International Relations post-Black Lives Matter," featuring Dr. Robbie Shilliam, professor of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University and author of *Decolonizing Politics*. Tuesday, Sept. 26, at 5 p.m. ET in Rooms 2220-2228, Richcraft Building, 1125 Colonel By Dr. Details online: events.carleton.ca.

Do It For Democracy—The Parliamentary Centre hosts its annual fundraiser, "Do It For Democracy," in partnership with the British High Commission. The "Because Democracy Matters" award will be presented to the Rt. Hon. Joe Clark for his decades of distinguished contributions to human

rights and democracy in Canada and globally. The program will begin with Japan's Ambassador to Canada, Kanji Yamanouchi, performing *O Canada*, and will feature wine-tasting courtesy of embassy donors and a silent auction. Tuesday, Sept. 26 at 6 p.m. ET, at Earncliffe, 140 Sussex Dr. Invitation only.

Forum: 'Middle East in a Multipolar World'—The Institute for Peace and Diplomacy hosts its third annual Middle East Strategy Forum on the theme "The Middle East in a Multipolar World". Speakers include Ahmet Yildiz, Turkish deputy minister of Foreign Affairs; Chris Backemeyer, U.S. deputy assistant secretary, State Department; and Khalid Bin Rashid Al-Mansouri, Qatar's ambassador to Canada. Tuesday, Sept. 26 at 9 a.m. ET at the Delta Hotel Ottawa. Details online: peacediplomacy.org.

Webinar: 'USMCA: Past, Present, Future'—The Canadian Global Affairs Institute and the Global Economy and Development program at the Brookings Institution co-host a webinar, "USMCA: Past, Present, Future," taking stock of the U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement, its effects so far, and anticipating the issues that will arise during renegotiations. Tuesday, Sept. 26 at 2 p.m. ET taking place online: cgai.ca.

Ambassadors' Speakers Series—Spain's Ambassador to Canada, Alfredo Martinez Serrano, will deliver remarks on "Spanish-Canadian Relations: 70th Anniversary of Diplomatic Presence in Canada and The Spanish Presidency of the European Union, 2023," part of Carleton University's Ambassadors' Speakers Series. Tuesday, Sept. 26 at 5:30 p.m. ET at the Westin Hotel, 22nd floor, 11 Colonel By Dr. Details online: events.carleton.ca.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 26—FRIDAY, SEPT. 29

G78 Policy Conference—The Group of 78 hosts its 2023 Annual Policy Conference from Sept. 26-29 in Ottawa and online. Speakers and panellists will explore peace practices that can effectively prevent or curtail conflict, and inform policies and strategies of

intergovernmental bodies, governments and civil society to mitigate violence. Tuesday, Sept. 26 to Friday, Sept. 29. Details: group78.org.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 27

Webinar: 'International Roundtable on NDA Policy & Legislation'—Parliamentarians and staff are invited to an international roundtable of lawmakers and society leaders, co-hosted by MP Darren Fisher and Senator Marilou McPhedran. Presenters include Canadian, American, and U.K. legislators, legal experts, and advocates to discuss recent policy and legislative developments regulating the misuse of non-disclosure agreements in the public and private sectors. Wednesday, Sept. 27 at 11 a.m. ET happening online. Contact NDA_RT@outlook.com and Marilou.mcphehran@sen.parl.gc.ca.

Minister Guilbeault to Deliver Remarks—Environment and Climate Change Minister Steven Guilbeault will deliver remarks on "Finding a Common Path Forward on Climate Policy in the Age of Misinformation," hosted by the Canadian Club of Ottawa. Wednesday, Sept. 27, at 11:30 a.m. ET at the Fairmont Château Laurier, 1 Rideau St. Details online: canadianclubottawa.ca.

Open Doors at Justice—Justice Canada hosts its fourth annual Open Doors at Justice, a hybrid event focussed on sharing insights and lessons learned from past and current consultation and engagement. Feedback received helps inform responsive, forward-looking and innovative laws, policies, and programs that directly address the challenges Canadians face. Wednesday, Sept. 27 at 3 p.m. ET at the Department of Justice, 284 Wellington St. Details online. Register via Eventbrite.

Panel: 'Evolving U.S. Media Perceptions of Canada'—McGill University hosts a panel discussion: "Evolving U.S. Media Perceptions of Canada in a Changing World: How our neighbours to the south see their neighbours to the north." Canadian journalists working for major American media news outlets will

discuss their work and changing U.S. perceptions of Canada within and beyond the mass media. Wednesday, Sept. 27 at 3:30 p.m. ET at the Centre Mont Royal, 2200 Mansfield St., Montreal. Details online: mcgill.ca.

Book Launch: 'Statesmen, Strategists, and Diplomats'—The Bill Graham Centre for Contemporary International History hosts a virtual book launch for *Statesmen, Strategists and Diplomats: Canada's Prime Ministers and the Making of Foreign Policy* edited by Patrice Dutil, who will join Stephen Azzi (Carleton University), Damien-Claude Belanger (University of Ottawa), Susan Colbourn (Duke University) to discuss the central role of the Canadian prime minister in crafting and executing this country's foreign policy. Wednesday, Sept. 27 at 4 p.m. ET online: billgrahamcentre.utoronto.ca.

National Seniors Day on the Hill—Connected Canadians, the country's largest provider of free digital skills training for seniors, will host a special reception for National Seniors Day and its five-year anniversary on Wednesday, Sept. 27, 5:30-7 p.m. in Room 268, Valour Building.

ALPA Hosts Parliamentary Reception—The Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) Canada is hosting a Parliamentary Reception to network and talk about the challenges facing Canada's airline pilots and the aviation industry as a whole. Open to all Parliamentarians and staff. Wednesday, Sept. 27 at 5:30-8 p.m. ET at the Fairmont Château Laurier. RSVP: Matthew@Sandstone-Group.ca.

Bones of Crows Screening—CBC/Radio-Canada and APTN co-host a special screening of the first episode of *Bones of Crows*, the five-part limited series from Marie Clements Media, Screen Siren Pictures and Grana Productions. A reception and discussion will follow with writer, director and producer Marie Clements and star Grace Dove. Special thanks to our partners: the Canadian Media Producers Association, the Indigenous Screen Office, Telefilm Canada, Canada Media Fund, the Rogers Fund and the Shaw Rocket Fund. Wednesday, Sept. 27 at 6:30 p.m. ET at the National Gallery of Canada. Register via Eventbrite.

Amira Elghawaby to Deliver Remarks—Amira Elghawaby, Canada's Special Representative on Combatting Islamophobia, will deliver remarks on "Combatting Islamophobia: addressing an ongoing threat to building the society we deserve" hosted by Carleton University. Wednesday, Sept. 27, at 7 p.m. the Atrium and Conference Rooms, Richcraft Building, 1125 Colonel By Dr. Details online: events.carleton.ca.

CPAC 'Watch for Democracy'—CPAC hosts its annual parliamentary reception, "Watch for democracy," celebrating the network's new season and its role in empowering citizens to bear witness to raw, unfiltered democracy. By invitation only. Wednesday, Sept. 27 at 5:30 p.m. ET in Room 100, Sir John A. Macdonald Building, 144 Wellington St. Call 613-3641168.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 28

Launch of Michelle Good's New Book—Library and Archives Canada and the Ottawa International Writers Festival host the launch of Governor General's Award-winning author Michelle Good's new book, *Truth Telling: Seven Conversations about Indigenous Life in Canada*, a collection of essays exploring the historical and contemporary Indigenous experience in Canada. Thursday, Sept. 28, at 7 p.m. ET at Library and Archives Canada, 395 Wellington St. Contact invitation@bac-lac.gc.ca.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 29

Lecture: 'Inuit Identity Across Generations'—Author Norma Dunning will

speak about her latest book, *Kinauvit? What is your name? The Eskimo disc system and a daughter's search for her grandmother*, as part of events in honour of the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation hosted by Carleton University. Friday, Sept. 29 at 10:30 p.m. ET at 2017 Dunton Tower, 1125 Colonel By Dr. Details online: events.carleton.ca.

Starting Your Advocacy Journey—A free introductory online event tailored for those new to or curious about advocacy. Join us to understand how you can amplify your voice to instigate change. Friday, Sept. 29, 12-1:30 p.m. ET, online. Details and tickets: beacon-northstrategies.com.

SUNDAY, OCT. 1

MPs Erskine-Smith and Naqvi to Take Part in Debate—Liberal MPs Nathaniel Erskine-Smith and Yasir Naqvi will join their fellow candidates vying for the leadership of the Ontario Liberal Party for their second debate on Sunday, Oct. 1 at 1 p.m. ET in Stratford, Ont. The results of the ranked ballots will be announced on Dec. 2. Details online: ontarioliberal.ca.

MONDAY, OCT. 2

'Calm in the Storm'—Former U.S. ambassador to Canada Bruce Heyman and his wife Vicki will be the special guests in Team Rubicon Canada's "Salute to Service" hosted by former Canadian journalist Kevin Newman. This event will highlight the group, the volunteers who fuel each disaster-relief mission, the people in affected communities whom they assist, and will feature "Calm in the Storm," an immersive experience showing the devastation brought on by severe weather events and the humanity that pulls us through. Monday, Oct. 2 at 5:30 p.m. ET at 50 Sussex Dr. Details online: team-rubicon.ca.

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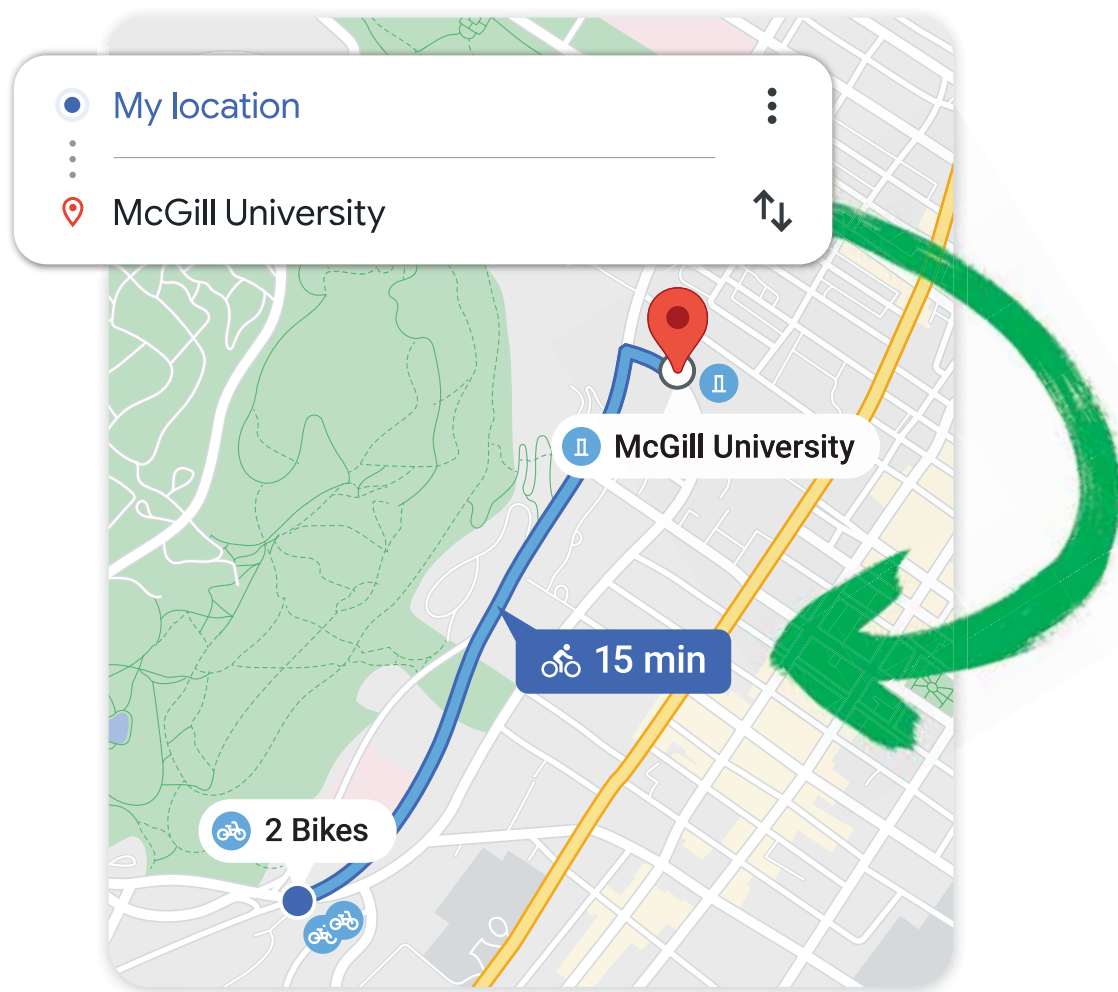
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*Source: 2023 Google Environmental Report. sustainability.google/reports/google-2023-environmental-report (pg.6; Endnote 10)

