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NEWS

Carney cabinet shuffle speculation grows alongside backbench 'grumbles' as Grits gather in Edmonton



Prime Minister Mark Carney, far right, and the Liberal caucus are meeting in Edmonton this week. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

The prime minister may still be enjoying his electoral 'honeymoon,' but this fall will determine whether his ministers can prove themselves or lose their post, say Liberal sources.

BY STUART BENSON

As Liberals huddle in Edmonton on the heels of last week's ministerial "planning forum," the prime minister and his cabinet will have their first chance to hear from caucus after a summer focused on defence, tariffs, and interna-

tional trade. Yet while confidence in the prime minister among the backbench and general public generally remains high, there is growing discontent among the caucus as former Liberal priorities like immigration, public safety, and housing have slipped from the marquee focus, say insiders.

Former ministerial staffer Greg MacEachern told *The Hill Times* that as Prime Minister Mark Carney (Nepean, Ont.) gathers with his caucus in his former hometown, many of those MPs—particularly those representing rural communities—will be raising their concerns over

the lack of attention being paid to their constituents' more pressing "dinner table" concerns.

"A lot of the issues that were top priorities are being missed or becoming mid-level, and they could easily come back to bite

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NEWS

Fentanyl tariff ruling doesn't cast aside Trump's 'national emergency' spotlight on border

BY NEIL MOSS

Although a United States appeals court struck down President Donald

Trump's use of emergency tariffs, it did not counter the idea that the guiding rationale behind those levies—including ones

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NEWS

'Course correction' needed to ensure new childcare spaces meet federal accessibility targets, says economist

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

Given clear indications that childcare fees "are dropping rapidly" across the country since the launch of the Cana-

da-wide Early Learning and Child Care system almost five years ago, the "big challenge" for the next five years will be ramping up efforts to create new childcare

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Heard on the Hill



By Christina Leadlay

Youth to share climate concerns in Red Chamber: 'Our job is to listen,' says co-host Senator Mary Coyle



Independent Senator Mary Coyle is looking forward to hearing from three dozen young people about their hopes for the climate at the upcoming Canadian Youth Climate Assembly in the Senate Chamber on Sept. 21. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

The red carpet will be rolled out at the Red Chamber later this month when the Senate hosts the final in-person session of the inaugural Canadian Youth Climate Assembly.

On Sept. 21, 36 Canadians aged 18-25 will be in the Senate to share their ideas with parliamentarians on what they'd like to see the government do to protect the climate. This event is the culmination of four online sessions in which participants—all volunteers—of diverse backgrounds, experiences, and political views learn about, discuss, and deliberate environment and climate policy.

"I have a lot of faith in the genius and dedication of young Canadians," Independent Senator Mary Coyle told *Heard on the Hill* by email on Sept. 5.

"As Senators, one of our main jobs is to listen to and represent the voices and interests of those who may have a harder time being heard," said Coyle, who co-chairs the 63-member Senators for Climate Solutions caucus group, which is co-hosting this event.

"A Youth Climate Assembly makes perfect sense at this time when the impacts of climate change are accelerating and becoming more severe, and when we know that young Canadians will be the ones inheriting the responsibility to both adapt to these impacts as well as building that new resilient and sustainable future economy and society that we know is necessary."

Senate Speaker **Raymonde Gagné** will formally receive their recommendations.

"Of course, the real work for parliamentarians will come once we receive the recommendations and find ways to act on them," explained Coyle. "The last thing we want is for the report and recommendations to gather dust on our shelves or virtual dust in our electronic files."

Coyle invites her parliamentary colleagues from both Houses to stop by the Senate Chamber on Sept. 21 at 11 a.m. to hear directly from the participants.

"I can't predict the precise outcomes of the Canadian Youth Climate Assembly, but I know for sure that the 36 participants will have a better understanding of climate, Canada's climate commitments, what the roles of MPs and Senators are, and what the possible solution pathways are."

Senator Dalphond leaves PSG for familiar ISG territory

Quebec Senator **Pierre Dalphond** has re-joined the Independent Senators Group.

"After careful consideration and numerous discussions with colleagues, I have decided to rejoin the Independent Senators Group because it best aligns with my priorities as a legislator and my expectations for affiliation," he said in a Sept. 5 statement.

Until last week, Dalphond had been affiliated with the Progressive Senators Group, which he'd joined in May 2020, serving as its leader from February 2024 until

this past May. Prior to that, the former lawyer had been with the ISG for just shy of two years, having joined the group right after he was appointed to the Senate in 2018.

Dalphond's addition brings the ISG's total membership to 46 members, still the largest group in the Senate. It's followed by the Canadian Senators Group with 20, the PSG with 17, Conservative Party with 13, six non-affiliated Senators, and three vacant seats (one in Manitoba and two in Quebec).



Senator Pierre Dalphond. *The Hill Times photograph by Sam Garcia*

Politicos mourn hockey legend, former Grit cabinet minister Ken Dryden

Former Liberal cabinet minister and retired NHL player **Ken Dryden** died on Sept. 5 from cancer at the age of 78.

"Ken Dryden was the reason I became a goalie, although I never mastered his ability to lean on his stick let alone keep the puck out of the net," Prime Minister **Mark Carney** posted on X on Sept. 6, describing Dryden as a "Canadian hockey legend and hall of famer, public servant and inspiration."

Born in 1947 in Hamilton, Ont., Dryden played professional hockey for the Montreal Canadiens from 1971 to 1979 during their six-Stanley-Cup streak. He was also a trained lawyer and author. Dryden was first elected to the House in 2004 as the Liberal MP for York Centre, Ont.



Former hockey player and Liberal cabinet minister Ken Dryden died on Sept. 5. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

From 2004 to 2006, he served as minister of social development in **Paul Martin's** cabinet. He was defeated in the 2011 election by Conservative candidate **Mark Adler**.

"His commitment to social justice, not just in theory but in practice, as exemplified by his early work on childcare, defined for many, including me, what constituted leadership through service,"

former prime minister **Justin Trudeau** posted on social media. In a statement, Governor General **Mary Simon** noted that the Order of Canada officer's "quiet but powerful empathy, as well as his grace and devotion to serving others, are an inspiration. His contributions will be remembered with great respect."

Vassy Kapelos' talk radio show now on Corus

Award-winning political journalist **Vassy Kapelos'** national radio show is now available on the Corus Talk Network, in addition to still being available on the iHeart radio network.

"It's kind of unique," Kapelos told HOH by email last week, confirming that her eponymous show isn't leaving the Bell-owned iHeart network, but that "now Corus will run a special version of the show we compile across all their stations on the weekend."

The two-hour radio episodes run the gamut of topics, Kapelos told HOH. "We've got Saskatchewan Premier **Scott Moe**, Liberal minister **Evan Solomon**, and Conservative immigration critic **Michelle Rempel Garner**, as well as guests who help me (us) understand **Taylor Swift's** massive following, how menopause affects



CTV's Vassy Kapelos in 2023. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

our hormones and how much you need to save for your kids post-grad education." In addition to her radio show, Kapelos can be found hosting *Power Play* and *Question Period* on CTV.

Tory MPs past and present reconnect, solve the world's problems

Conservative MPs **Dean Allison** and **Michael Chong** reunited with some former colleagues in August for the first time since the pandemic ended.

"It has been over three years since we last all got together," Allison posted on LinkedIn on Aug. 28. "I'm not sure there isn't much we would not do for each other because of that common bond we shared while serving together," he wrote next to a photo of himself and Chong with former Tory MPs **Larry Miller**, **Phil McColeman**, **Monte Solberg**, and **James Rajotte**.

"We talked about the past and what we can do to make our country better today. Trade, U.S. relations, constituency work, events, fundraisers, campaigns, time away from family, these and many more were the topics of discussion," wrote Allison, noting the group agreed that politics "is not the same as it was when we all started, so we need to continue to dialogue [...] It's ok to agree to disagree. Disagreeing does not mean I hate you!"

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COMMENT

A life worth learning from

Given his pedigree, Ken Dryden was arguably the smartest person in every room he ever entered, but he never behaved that way.

Tim Powers

Plain Speak



OTTAWA—For many people, the passing of Ken Dryden was a sad one. He was central in my childhood as a hockey hero, and, later in life, was an example of a remarkable and admirable Canadian who lived life to the fullest. Dryden was a sports star, author, lawyer, cabinet minister, advocate, and approachable. He had humility combined with enormous achievement—a particularly rare combination in today’s age.

About a decade ago, I had 30-minute phone conversation with Dryden. He was the reference for a soon-to-be employee. I was star struck, and think I might have said 10 words as I listened to this iconic character talk. He was welcoming, engaging, and thoughtful on every front. What you saw in public was represented in private.

I knew from others who worked with him when he entered politics and became the minister of social development in then-prime minister Paul Martin’s government that Dryden was deeply thoughtful and wanted engagement. Given his pedigree, he was arguably the smartest person in every room he ever entered, but he never behaved that way.

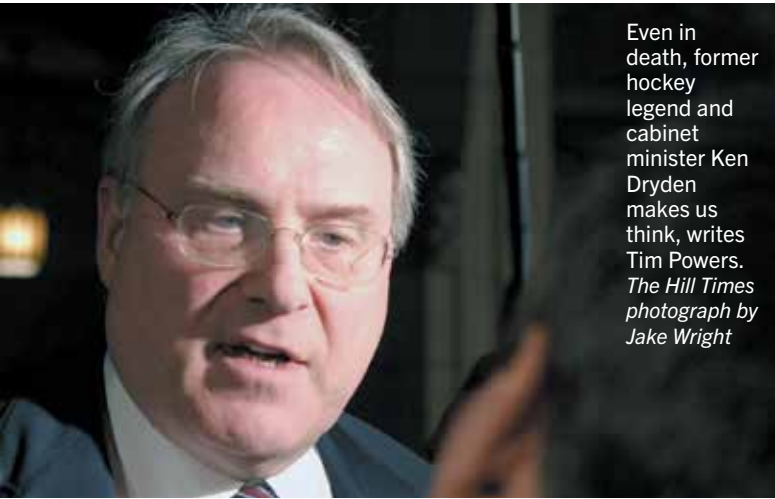
He was charged with helping the Martin government bring to reality to the national daycare program that had been long promised. He worked tirelessly at it, and understood its importance in providing families and Canadians with long-term economic opportunity.

He was a true celebrity on Parliament Hill because of his impressive athletic career both on the ice and in the leadership

suites. His book, *The Game*, was something many Canadians could cite. Unlike many of the modern Insta celebrities in our midst today, he wasn’t showboating or constantly pushing his brand. He came to work on public policy, and tried to do it meaningfully with respect towards others.

He ran for the Liberal leadership in 2006 after Martin had left and the Liberals were in opposition. He wasn’t successful as he wasn’t seen at the time as the man for the times. Nonetheless, he continued to serve in opposition until 2011 when he was defeated in a general election. For someone so accomplished to stay on in politics—particularly in the mind-numbing racket of opposition—speaks to loyalty and dedication to service. He didn’t need the job, but he did it anyway.

Long after he left politics, Dryden continued to try and serve Canadians. He worked tirelessly to raise awareness about head injuries and concussions in sport. He pushed not just hockey, but also all sports to do better. He knew both the health and wellness of individuals, as well as the future sustainability of sport was at stake.



Even in death, former hockey legend and cabinet minister Ken Dryden makes us think, writes Tim Powers. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

He continued to write and make us think. It wasn’t done to enhance a vanity play, but rather it feels like he did it out of a sense of duty. Following the amazing Four Nations Face-Off hockey series earlier this year, he wrote a powerful essay in *The Atlantic* linking sport as a tool of insight to current global turmoil.

Many people were surprised when they heard on the weekend that Dryden had passed. Showing that old Canadian understatedness, he kept his cancer diagnosis private. As an iconic Canadian, people may have gotten caught up

in his illness rather than focusing on some greater public matter.

I took a morning this week to speak to my 10-year-old son—who thinks sports is the most important thing—about learning from Dryden’s life, and to see him as a great guide. There are few better paths to follow.

Thank you, Ken Dryden, for all you gave us. Even in death you make us think.

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

The Hill Times



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NEWS

G7 foreign ministers returning in the fall with eyes towards Ukraine

G7 foreign ministers last met in Charlevoix, Que., in March under the backdrop of U.S. President Donald Trump's annexation threats.

BY NEIL MOSS

Canada will reconvene top diplomats for the second foreign ministers' meeting of its G7 presidency in the fall, with Ukraine to be at the top of the agenda after prior impasses.

The meeting will take place in Ontario, which was revealed in an Aug. 21 readout of a meeting between Foreign Affairs Minister Anita Anand (Oakville East, Ont.) and United States Secretary of State Marco Rubio. *The Hill Times* understands that the meeting is being planned for the Golden Horseshoe region.

The gathering follows the Leaders' Summit in June in Kananaskis, Alta.; a finance ministers' meeting in May in Banff, Alta.; and the first foreign ministers' meeting in Charlevoix, Que., in March. Most recently, Speakers from the G7 Lower Houses met in the National Capital Region last week.

A tentative agenda has not been set, but the expectation is that Ukraine will be a top priority. At the Leaders' Summit, there wasn't a joint statement on the ongoing war—instead, language was included in a chair summary indicating all leaders agreed that Russia must commit to an unconditional ceasefire.

At the June summit, the Prime Minister's Office retracted a previous assertion that the Trump administration blocked a joint statement on Ukraine. Prime Minister Mark Carney (Nepean, Ont.) said that no joint statement was distributed, and the intention was to only reference Ukraine within the chair summary.

The U.S. has previously cautioned against any effort at the Group of Seven that would hamper the Ukraine-Russia peace process.

Ukrainian Canadian Congress chief executive officer Ihor Michalchyshyn said he doesn't expect any breakthrough at the upcoming ministers' meeting given the Americans' positioning on the conflict.

"I wouldn't expect a breakthrough or change in the position on Russia from the secretary of state or the president given what we've seen with the welcoming of [Russian President Vladimir] Putin and the way the Americans talk about the war," he said. "I don't know that the G7 will be able to come to consensus based on their view."



Foreign Affairs Minister Anita Anand will welcome her G7 counterparts to the Golden Horseshoe in the fall. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



The G7 Leaders' Summit in June did not produce a joint statement in support of Ukraine. Photograph courtesy of the Government of Canada

Focus on Ukraine was present—but subdued—at the first foreign ministers' meeting as much of the attention was absorbed by U.S. President Donald Trump's trade and annexation threats against Canada.

However, the top diplomats still agreed on language on Ukraine in their joint statement, which included a reference to "unwavering support for Ukraine in defending its territorial integrity and right to exist, and its freedom, sovereignty, and independence."

Michalchyshyn said he would applaud if language were to be included in a joint statement after the second meeting.

"We're ever hopeful that the American presidential administration and American political class will see what Putin is doing, and realize that they are being toyed with and Putin isn't about to sign any ceasefire or he's not responding favourably to anything President Trump is proposing," he said.

He said Canada should work to maintain consistency with the other G7 members in support of Ukraine, on both the policy side as well as delivering real results, such as unlocking frozen Russian assets or tracking down missing Ukrainian children. He said that a lack of results threatens to produce skepticism of the efforts.

Hope for a Ukraine consensus

Carney has urged for "maximum pressure" on Russia, telling



Then-foreign affairs minister Mélanie Joly, left, hosted U.S. Secretary of State Marco Rubio at the first G7 foreign ministers' meeting in March. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

reporters on Sept. 5 that Putin has "not yet come to terms with the need for peace." The prime minister has said that he hasn't ruled out sending a post-war peace-keeping force to Ukraine.

Macdonald-Laurier Institute senior fellow Marcus Kolga said the upcoming ministers' meeting will be an important one, especially since it "seems" that the Trump administration is starting to recognize who they might be dealing with in Putin.

"It makes me hopeful that there may be some sort of consensus found in some unified direction in terms of dealing with Russia and hopefully moving towards an eventual ceasefire," Kolga said.

He said that a lack of joint statement on Ukraine at the Leaders' Summit was disappointing,

but that there was little expectation that there would be one.

Kolga said recognizing and repeating the G7's support for Ukraine is important, but he remarked that the Group of Seven needs to go further.

"We need to start putting our money where our mouth is and taking those statements [and] putting them into action, and doing all that we can to arrive at that all-elusive ceasefire," he said. "We haven't been doing that. The West collectively has been stomping its feet since 2014; we have repeatedly been drawing these red lines [that] Vladimir Putin has been consistently violating. There has to come a point in time where we have failed in the past, and the only thing that will stop this war is stopping Vladimir Putin."

Kolga said that will mean maximum economic pressure and military support for Ukraine to force Putin to negotiate a ceasefire.

Kolga said the U.S. approach to Putin and Russia is hard to gauge.

In February, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy sat in the White House's Oval Office as he was chastised by Trump and his officials. But, at times, Trump has also criticized Putin for his approach to the war.

"The position has just oscillated so wildly over the past few months that it is difficult to really gauge where the president is at," Kolga said. "But, I think he is coming around to the realization that Vladimir Putin is not interested in peace."

The case for caution

Canada has taken a cautious approach in its handling of the G7 presidency. It entered the Leaders' Summit conceding that it wouldn't attempt a joint communiqué.

It has also set out a minimized itinerary, in part due to its own domestic calendar as there was a change of prime minister and an election that complicated planning. Italy held more than 20 ministerial meetings during its 2024 presidency—the fall gathering will be just Canada's third on home soil.

Royal Military College professor Adam Chapnick, an expert on Canadian foreign policy, said the country has faced an unusual presidency with the leader of the U.S. being not fully committed in the process.

"Part of the goal of any G7 presidency right now is to keep the G7 as a legitimate body with some degree of effect or influence, [and] to keep as many of the G7 partners as possible working together when it's much more difficult than usual to keep all seven on side," he said.

"The fact that the G7 hasn't imploded—relatively speaking—[means] Canada has done a reasonable job so far," Chapnick said.

He said the Canadian public does not want to see a failure.

"The public would be more understanding of a prudent approach to alliance management that didn't make things worse as opposed to a more flamboyant approach that, in the current context, is more likely to fail," he said.

Chapnick said that the G7 has to keep pushing support for Ukraine in the hopes that, at some point, Trump becomes sufficiently frustrated with Putin for a long enough period of time that he is willing to join the approach of the other G7 members.

He said that great progress might not be reached at the macro level at the upcoming foreign ministers' meeting, but that there is still opportunity for movement at the micro level.

"Just because the group can't agree amongst the seven of them doesn't mean that Canada can't come to a series of smaller agreements," he said.

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School food advocates hopeful program will survive fall budget cuts, but say Ontario falling short of 'all in'

Despite receiving the largest share of the promised \$1-billion over five years, Ontario ranks second last in provincial spending per student on school food programs.

BY STUART BENSON

With the federal school food program now in its second year, and its first with all 13 provinces and territories on board, advocates say Ontario is falling short of the spirit of its agreement, despite receiving the largest share of the national lunch money.

Debbie Field, a co-ordinator with the Coalition for Healthy School Food, told *The Hill Times* that while Ontario Premier Doug Ford said his government was “all in” on the national school food program, the province is lagging behind much smaller regions in how much it is willing to pitch in to ensure its much larger population of elementary and secondary students won’t go to school hungry.

Last November, Ontario became one of the first four provinces to sign on to the new national school food program, first announced in the April 2024 budget. Ontario inked a deal to receive \$108.5-million over three years, the largest share of the \$1-billion allocated to the program.

This year, Ontario will receive shy of \$45-million from the federal government on top of the more than \$28-million the province invests in its own provincial Student Nutrition Program (SNP), and an additional \$4.4-million toward its First Nations Student Nutrition Program. The Ontario Fruit and Vegetable Growers Association also receives more than \$3.4-million from the province’s Ministry of Health to deliver produce to schools in Northern Ontario, for a total provincial investment in school food programs of more than \$36-million for the 2025-26 school year, which the province says will provide healthy food to more than 800,000 of its students.

Municipalities in the province also contribute more than \$26-million to local programs.



If Prime Minister Mark Carney, right, and Ontario Premier Doug Ford want to ‘build Canada,’ prioritizing healthy school food with greater investments ‘is the smartest decision they can make,’ says the Coalition for Healthy School Food’s Sarah Keyes. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Debbie Field, a co-ordinator with the Coalition for Healthy School Food, says the program isn’t just an issue of affordability, but of national ‘food sovereignty.’ *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

However, the vast majority of that funding is invested by the City of Toronto, which increased its funding by nearly \$6-million in its 2025 budget to \$25.2-million.

Field said that while the province’s investments are to be applauded, there is much more progress Ontario can be making to meet the spirit of a truly universal school food program.

Despite receiving the largest amount of total funding from the federal government, the coalition’s analysis of provincial and territorial funding found Ontario near the lowest in spending per student.

Split amongst the province’s roughly 2.08-million student population, Ontario’s funding commitments amount to \$17 per student, or just shy of \$0.10 per day. Combined with the federal funding it receives, that number rises to \$39 per student, or just shy of \$0.21 per day.

Only Saskatchewan has a lower ratio, spending \$1.3-million



Sarah Keyes, the coalition’s Ontario lead, says the province should ‘step up’ its investment to at least a comparative per-student commitment made by similarly large provinces. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

on its provincial program, or \$7 per student, but rising to \$37—for a total of \$0.19 per day—when combined with the \$6.1-million it will receive from the federal program this year.

In comparison, British Columbia’s \$71-million in provincial investments has it spending \$0.63 per day for each of its nearly 600,000 students, rising to \$0.77 when combined with the nearly \$16-million it receives in federal funding.

Quebec also spends nearly double Ontario’s investment, with almost \$65-million invested in its program this year, amounting to \$65 per student, or \$0.34 per day.

The Atlantic provinces boast the most significant relative spending, with Nova Scotia spending more than double Ontario’s investment with \$81.7-million, and Newfoundland and Labrador spending \$39-million on its program, amounting to roughly \$626 and \$600 per

student, or \$3.30 and \$3.16 per day, respectively.

Sarah Keyes, the coalition’s Ontario chapter lead, said that while the federal government had attempted to steer clear of including any expectations for provinces to match or increase their own funding by any specific amount, “they committed to the vision and principles of a national, universal program” when they signed their individual agreements.

Keyes noted that—unlike other provinces—Ontario is long overdue for a cost-of-living increase to its program, which she says the coalition calculates would have amounted to roughly \$15-million more in provincial funding this year.

Alongside purchasing more healthy food for Ontario students, that money would be best used to improve local procurement and increase food literacy programs, which she said the current budget “just does not have enough money to do all those things that will help us achieve the program’s long-term vision.”

“We’ve got the federal money, and now is just such a good opportunity for Ontario to leverage and build on that ... if Premier Ford really wants to build a strong Ontario, making school food a priority is one of the smartest decisions that his government can make.”

In response to *The Hill Times’* request for comment, Ontario’s Children, Community and Social Services Minister Michael Parsa’s office noted that the province’s more than \$32-million investment across the SNP and First Nations’ Student Program, and the additional funding and agreements with the federal government,

municipalities, and provincial charities allow its programs to run in more than 80 per cent of its publicly funded schools.

“We will have more to share on how our government is working to help more students get the healthy start they need to learn, grow, and succeed in the near future,” wrote Chris Clarke, Parsa’s director of communications.

Field said that alongside encouraging Ford to increase his province’s commitment to healthy school lunches, she has also been encouraged by Prime Minister Mark Carney (Nepean, Ont.) and his commitment to the program since taking office.

“This time last year, we only had one province, and we were worried about the potential wipe-out of all the gains we made in the budget announcement,” Field said. “Here we are now with 10 provinces and the territories with agreements, and a commitment to make it permanent.”

In the Liberals’ election platform, Carney promised to make the national school food program permanent, and to allocate \$20-million per year to a “Buy Canadian in School Foods Program.”

The coalition included both of those campaign promises in its pre-budget consultation submission, and additionally called for the current federal funding to nearly double to match the provinces and territories’ combined yearly investments.

While Field said she hasn’t had the opportunity to speak with Carney since he was elected, she said she hopes he understands that ensuring all students have healthy food to eat is also a “Canada-building exercise.”

“This isn’t just an affordability issue, it’s a food sovereignty issue,” Field said, noting that the majority of food Canadians eat is still sourced from outside of the country.

“Imagine all of the benefits to the Canadian agricultural sector if every student is eating bread and fruit made in their own province,” Field said. “That’s the opportunity that I hope Premier Ford and Prime Minister Carney see this as.”

In a statement to *The Hill Times*, Secretary of States for Children and Youth Anna Gainey (Notre-Dame-de-Grâce-Westmount, Que.) reaffirmed her government’s commitment to making the program permanent and to “prioritize Canada-made food as much as possible.”

“The Government of Canada is working with provinces, territories, and Indigenous partners to enhance and expand access to school food programs across Canada,” the statement reads. “Any and all details of the budget will be known in due course.”

Last month, Finance Minister François-Philippe Champagne (Saint-Maurice-Champlain, Que.) said the government would table this year’s budget in October, with letters issued to cabinet ministers last July tasking them with finding 15 per cent in spending reductions by the 2028-29 fiscal year.

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COMMENT

Ken Dryden: a role model for all of us



Ken Dryden was often in a spotlight he never sought, but used his fame to work for a better society, writes Andrew Caddell. Photograph courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

He will be remembered as a decent, humble, thoughtful person, and a role model for all Canadians.

Andrew Caddell

With All Due Respect



KAMOURASKA, QUE.—I first met Ken Dryden in the Montreal Canadiens' dressing room at the old Forum in the winter of 1976. I was covering the great Habs team of that era. I was only 23 years old, and a student at Carleton University.

At one point, as the other reporters moved away, I asked him a non-hockey question: his opinion of Ralph Nader, for whom he had worked in Washington, D.C., in the summer of 1971. He became genuinely enthused about the question. As I recall, he said, "working for him was one of the best experiences in my life."

As I got to know him better, Dryden threw some dry humour into his responses. When the Canadiens prepared to meet the Philadelphia Flyers in the 1976 Stanley Cup final series, I asked him if he was prepared for Gary Dornhoefer, a Flyers forward who "had a tendency to interfere with the goaltender of the opposing team." He smiled and said, "I will correct you; Dornhoefer doesn't have a tendency to interfere—he does interfere. He stands in front of the goaltender, and when the puck comes toward the net, he falls on top of him and says, 'I was pushed into the crease.' I will be watching for him."

Much will be written about Dryden's role with that team, from his astonishing performance in lifting them past the Boston Bruins in the opening series in 1971 and capturing the Stanley Cup as a rookie, to his six championships in eight years. For me, watching from far above the ice in the press box, I marvelled at how many times his defence led the rush up the ice, leaving him to fend off breakaways from the other team. Dryden had their back, averaging 28 shots a game.

He was a beloved figure in Montreal, especially among his McGill Law School classmates. I knew some of them, who gladly provided him with their class notes when he couldn't attend a lecture. One year he had a conflict between law exams and

the playoffs. The head of the law students' society informed the dean "there would a riot" if Dryden was not allowed to defer his exams. The dean allowed it.

Dryden often talked about his father, Murray, who co-founded the charity Sleeping Children Around the World to provide bed kits for children in developing countries. I think his father's example drove him to be involved in politics—to do good. While politics is becoming the forum of so-called "career politicians," Ken Dryden was the opposite, quietly working for change. When he signed bilateral agreements with all 10 provinces for a national childcare program, it was because he understood its value.

When he ran for the leadership of the Liberal Party in 2006, I supported him because his heart was in the right place. But he was not one for glib commentary. At a fundraiser in a private home, I asked him a softball question: how can government encourage greater social mobility in Canada? The simple answer, and what has long been Canada's trademark, is investments in public education. However, he proceeded to lay out an exhaustive list of federal government social programs such as incentives to work, social welfare supports, and a raft of other initiatives, before mentioning, "and of course, public education."

His fame as an author relied on insight and turn of phrase, but also a dedication to detail. His masterpiece, *The Game*, provides many examples of life with a professional hockey team; he must have been taking copious notes while practising and playing with the Canadiens. In his biography of his former coach, Scotty Bowman, he went to the small flat in Montreal's Verdun neighbourhood where Bowman lived as a child, to get a sense of his coach's family life.

Like his former colleague Marc Garneau, who left us in June, Dryden more than likely knew he was dying, but chose to not share it with the world. Both were men of enormous accomplishment who preferred not to talk about themselves. Dryden was often in a spotlight he never sought, but used his fame to work for a better society. He will be remembered as a decent, humble, thoughtful person, and a role model for all Canadians.

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

The Canada that Dryden believed in remains at risk today

There is no reason to think a Poilievre government wouldn't find ways to seriously weaken the country's social programs.

Les Whittington

Need to Know



OTTAWA—There's a lot to remember about Ken Dryden, but I always remember how, in the mid-2000s, he was the most popular person in the public domain in Canada.

Wherever he went, people turned out in large numbers to see the renowned Hall of Fame goalie. Then-prime minister Paul Martin, flying around the country on a Liberal election campaign, sometimes took Dryden with him to bring out the crowds.

"I'm here with Ken Dryden," Martin would joke as he opened his remarks at these rallies.

A quarter century after he retired as a professional athlete, Dryden's mail was still bringing in loads of hockey memorabilia from fans in hopes of having the items autographed by the former star. An author, sports legend, educator, lawyer, NHL executive, and federal cabinet minister—it's not surprising that Canadians struggled to find the words to define Dryden's full measure after his unexpected death from cancer last week.

"Few Canadians have given more, or stood taller, for our country," Prime Minister Mark Carney said on social media. "Ken Dryden was Big Canada. And he was Best Canada." Dryden was the reason he became a goalie in his own limited sports career, the prime minister added.

Of all the tributes that poured in on the weekend, Quebec Premier François Legault probably summed up Dryden's legacy best, saying "he marked our history and an entire generation."

In all this, the one-time hockey phenom is only being remembered in the margins for his role in public affairs. But it was Dryden—elected to Parliament in 2004 and named social development minister by Martin—who laid the groundwork for the most important Canadian social program since medicare in 1967: the Liberals' early learning and childcare plan. The \$5-billion, five-year national childcare initiative pursued by Dryden was pretty much in place when the Liberal minority was defeated with the help of the NDP, and pushed into an election in late 2005.

After chalking up a minority government victory, Conservative Stephen Harper killed the Liberals' childcare program as his first act as prime minister on Feb. 6, 2006. He replaced it with taxable cash handouts that were of value mostly to upper-income, single-earner families, and did little to create badly needed

childcare spaces. It was the opening shot in the Harper Conservatives' attempt to change the country by cutting back across the board on the social programs, unemployment benefits, and support for the progressive-minded community groups that underwrite Canada's generous, caring society. It would be another 15 years before the Liberals under then-prime minister Justin Trudeau were able to introduce a national early learning and childcare program, generally known as \$10-a-day childcare.

Back in 2005, despite it being well-established that early learning and childcare was a very wise social and economic investment, the Conservatives opposed the idea exhaustively. Fond of saying parents are the real experts on childcare, they accused the Liberals of creating a national bureaucracy that amounted to letting the government raise peoples' kids. "We do not need old white guys telling us what to do," then-Conservative MP Rona Ambrose, purportedly speaking for Canada's women, told Dryden in the Commons.

That same year, MP Pierre Poilievre reiterated Conservative opposition to Liberal daycare, which he said would be the "free trade" issue of the next election. "The government daycare bureaucracy is going to cost ... \$6-billion a year. It will bankrupt taxpayers. It is not affordable. It takes choices away from women and families," Poilievre told MPs. "We will take childcare dollars and give them directly to parents."

Over the years, the now-Conservative leader's position has never varied much from Harper's original stance on this defining social issue. During the recent election, Poilievre said a Conservative government would "give more freedom and flexibility to parents, providers, and provinces to support the childcare of all the kids." That was taken by Conservative supporters to mean a switch to Harper-like direct payments to parents or provinces, which would ultimately erode \$10-a-day childcare.

A hard-right conservative always committed to smaller government and tax cuts, Poilievre was part of the Harper government that chopped away at social supports, tried to gut labour unions, and brought in massive corporate tax cuts that reduced Ottawa's ability to pay for the programs Canadians need.

Poilievre, who was on his way to becoming prime minister before United States President Donald Trump upended Canadian politics, has largely created his populist persona around attacks on what he calls out-of-control federal spending. And, despite his vague election rhetoric, there is no reason to think a Poilievre government wouldn't find ways to seriously weaken social programs like dental care, pharmacare, and childcare in the pursuit of tax cuts—in the process dismantling much of what Dryden and others fought for to make Canada a better place.

Les Whittington is a regular columnist for The Hill Times.

The Hill Times

COMMENT OPINION

A thin façade of combat capability

If your military cupboard is hurting, you can't throw a coat of fresh paint on a disabled tank and pretend all is good for the reviewing politician.

Scott Taylor

Inside Defence



OTTAWA—On Sept. 3, Chinese President Xi Jinping hosted a massive display of martial prowess in Beijing's famous Tiananmen Square.

On hand to witness Xi's military spectacle on parade were Russian President Vladimir Putin and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un. All three of these authoritarian rulers are masters at the showmanship of using massed ranks of troops marching in total precision to project a sense of power.

Billed as the largest military parade in modern history, Xi's blockbuster martial demonstration was ostensibly a celebration of the 80th anniversary of the defeat of fascism in the Second World War.

However, with Putin, Kim, and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi at the dais, this was also a show of strength and unity aimed at United States President Donald Trump. It was also an opportunity for China to showcase its modern inventory of combat weapon systems, armoured vehicles, and aircraft. Throughout its history, the People's Liberation Army has traditionally been armed with cast-off weaponry from donor nations or homemade knock-offs, reverse engineered in China from existing platforms.

That is no longer the case, and China's growing defence-export business would have benefitted from last week's spectacular parade, which included the latest in intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Recent history has shown us that fancy uniforms, precision drills, shiny vehicles, and low-level fly pasts by combat aircraft do not always amount to actual combat capability on the modern battlefield. Russia has always famously held their May 9 Victory Day parade to mark the end of the Second World War in Moscow's Red Square. While not up to the level



It's understandable that the military brass at Camp Adazi would try to impress Prime Minister Mark Carney, but it's putting lipstick on a pig, writes Scott Taylor. Screenshot courtesy of X

of Xi's recent spectacle, the Red Square parades were impressive displays of parade ground soldiering.

However, when the Russian army invaded Ukraine in February 2022, the Armed Forces of Ukraine soon exposed the Kremlin's war machine to be a paper tiger. In the initial offensive to capture Kyiv, the Russian armoured columns were shredded and the infantry were put to rout.

In the bloody three-year stalemate that has developed following that initial defeat, the

Russian forces have become battle-hardened veterans through experience. It is widely believed that Kim learned from the Russian example, and that has resulted in him deploying large numbers of combat troops to gain battle experience alongside the Russians in Eastern Ukraine. North Korea stages perhaps the most extravagant military parades on the planet, and Kim has recognized that this does not necessarily mean his troops can actually fight.

The reverse of this is true with our American allies. The U.S.

military has never been known for its pomp and ceremony, but it is undoubtedly the best-equipped and most-effective fighting force in the world. Which is why it was a mistake for Trump to stage his big, beautiful army parade on June 14. The date marked the 250th anniversary of the establishment of the American Continental Army, but it also coincided with Trump's 79th birthday.

Predictably, the army parade was a public relations disaster. American soldiers do not smartly goose-step march, they shuffle along in step. The armoured vehicles involved included old Sherman tanks for the historical aspect, but to the bored onlookers, it was a sight of fragility rather than combat power.

Trump reportedly fell asleep at one point during the parade, and he openly admitted he was disappointed with the performance. The reason for that is simple: the U.S. military is not meant to be performative, it is meant to be effective.

Which brings us to the current state of the Canadian Armed Forces. During a recent European tour, Prime Minister Mark Carney's final stop was at Camp Adazi in Latvia. There are 2,200 Canadian soldiers stationed at this forward-deployed NATO base as part of Operation Reassurance. This Canadian battle group is the "pointy end" for the Army, with a priority given to their logistics support.

To greet Carney, the officers on the ground pulled out all the stops to ensure the prime minister got his "dog and pony" show. According to the CBC's Murray Brewster, who was in Carney's entourage, "All of it was spit and polish, some draped in camouflage and looking showroom ready, if not somewhat menacing."

"It was an impressive, seemingly substantive, display of combat power."

However, it was all a flimsy façade. According to a recent internal report, the Canadian battle group in Latvia suffers from a chronic shortage of spare parts, which leads to a distressing level of vehicles and tanks being unserviceable. The "vehicle off road" rate is as high as 30 per cent, and this has led to Canadian troops being unable to participate in the international brigade training.

For the record, Canada commands this brigade, which has contingents from 11 NATO allies. This embarrassing state of affairs leads in turn to damaged morale.

As a former soldier, I understand that the military brass at Camp Adazi would try to impress their political masters. However, if your battle group is hurting through supply mismanagement and budget cuts, you do not throw a coat of fresh paint on a disabled tank and pretend all is good for the reviewing politician. That is called putting lipstick on a pig.

If the Canadian military is not capable of parade-square prowess—or actual combat capability—the truth needs to be told, and the problem rectified. ASAP.

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

The Hill Times

Canada has the legislative tool to break through seizing Russian assets—it's time to use it

If amended in this fall's budget, the Special Economic Measures Act would give the feds the power to issue an executive order to seize all Russian state assets within Canada.

Michael Cholod & Geoffrey Goodell

Opinion



On Aug. 26, Belgian Prime Minister Bart De Wever and German Chancellor Friedrich Merz met in Berlin. Both countries are part of the Coalition of the Willing that supports Ukraine, but neither seems "willing" to do what's necessary to ensure that Ukraine wins or that Russian President Vladimir Putin is forced to the negotiating table. Maybe they should rename it the Coalition of the Squeamish?

As reported by the *Kyiv Independent*, when the leaders were asked about seizing the roughly \$300-billion in Russian state cash currently frozen in the Euroclear financial system in Belgium, both returned to tired arguments that have been debunked *ad nauseum* over the past three years.

De Wever and Merz claimed that assets belonging to Russia and its central bank are immune from seizure under international law. This is flat-out false. Yes, Russia's assets are protected from being seized by a court order because the customary principles of sovereign or state immunity

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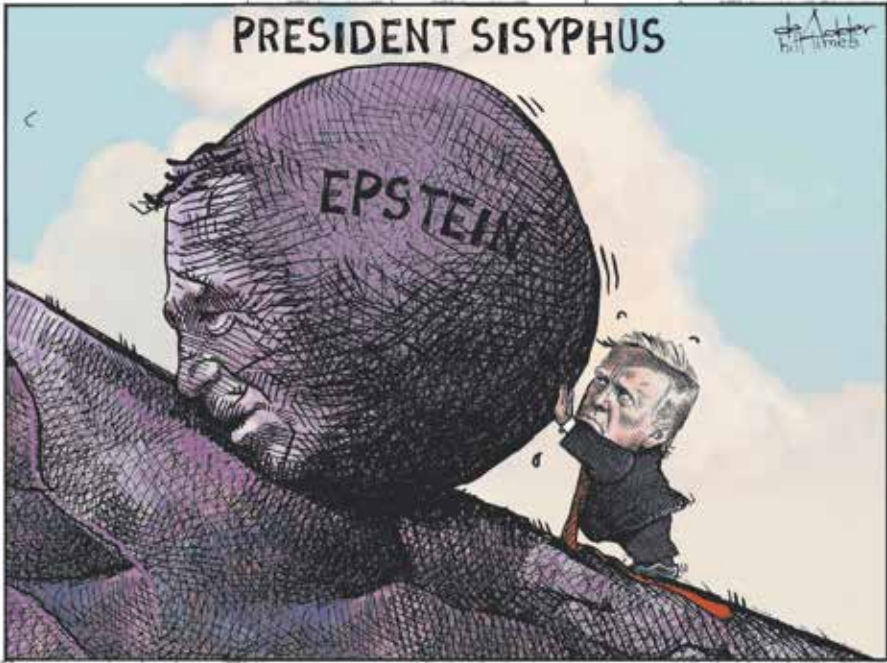
Editorial

Editorial

Canada can't cop out on the climate

As the Liberal caucus huddles in Edmonton this week, their neighbours in British Columbia are navigating more poor air-quality days under smokey skies—an all-too-familiar reminder that the climate is in crisis. But based on the movements of Prime Minister Mark Carney’s “new” Liberal government, one would be hard-pressed to find any sense of urgency when it comes to addressing this emergency. As has been well documented, Carney has been laser focused on addressing the country’s economic woes that have been put into stark relief by the United States’ paradigm-shifting tariff policy. To that end, his first display of prime ministerial might was to scrap the consumer carbon price. “This will make a difference to hard-pressed Canadians, but it is part of a much bigger set of measures that this government is taking to ensure that we fight against climate change, that our companies are competitive and the country moves forward,” Carney said on March 14. But in the intervening months, there hasn’t been much momentum when it comes to that “fight against climate change.” In fact, one could argue that Carney’s strict economic lens is backing us further into the corner of the ring, away from the fight. Since announcing that Canada was dropping its retaliatory tariffs on American goods subject to the Canada-U.S.-Mexico Agreement, Carney has been rolling out policy and relief announcements to counteract the effects of the U.S. tariffs, especially in

the hardest-hit sectors like steel and aluminum. The auto sector is another key area where tariffs are wreaking havoc, which helped give the feds the final nudge to suspend the mandate for 20 per cent of vehicles sold to be electric by next year. The Green Party lamented the lack of climate action in a Sept. 5 press release, and called Carney out for not following the advice he laid out in his own book, *Value(s)*, noting that he is “spending his time dismantling climate policies instead of strengthening them.” In his Sept. 5 remarks while unveiling the Buy Canadian strategy and the EV mandate pause, Carney said the government would “soon release [its] Climate Competitiveness Strategy to position Canada as a leader.” But a lack of conviction was further on display on Sept. 8 when Carney dodged a question about whether Canada would meet its Paris Agreement climate goals while seemingly going all in on infrastructure and resource projects. If the state of the environment itself isn’t enough to incite action, maybe political turmoil will do it. As *Hill Times* columnist Sheila Copps told *The Hot Room* podcast last week, abandoning the climate risks angering MPs, and “there is a danger of going so far to the right that you lose the left-leaning Liberals, who then open the door for the NDP to take more votes to elect the Conservatives.” Yes, Canada needs to be competitive, but it can’t take its eye off the environment in the process. *The Hill Times*



Letters to the Editor

Everyone is suffering in Trump’s assault on knowledge: Tom McElroy

There are many worlds in the minds of men. In the context of this note, there is Trumpworld, the real world, and a host of religious cult worlds and others. However, the real world is the only one that can withstand serious observation and analysis. The others are various kinds of “belief systems.” Science is not a belief system. Science is based on the observation of the way the universe is and works, and trying to understand the underlying forces and principles that have it evolve as it does. There is immense benefit in this as it allows us to quantify change, and be able to predict or extrapolate observations of physical elements to maximize safety, productivity, invention, and investment. Ignoring reality has a very bad downside since it leaves the decision processes in society in the state of a boat with no rudder and no captain; simply existing as observers as disaster unfolds. United States President Donald Trump’s plan to degrade Earth observation capacity, in the midst of climate change, will not only damage the ability of the American government to protect its own citizens from environmental risks and incur immense costs down-

stream, it will also further dim the regard that other nations have of the U.S., and result in the loss of extremely important intellectual capacity to deal with the aftermath of the current government’s scientific denial. Why would the president go in this direction? It is because the government, under Trump, is completely corrupt. Under his direction, the goal is personal and involves transferring as much money from the electorate to himself and his billionaire supporters as he can. In full flow of climate denial—clearly evident to everyone, and more so to climate scientists—he needs to do the equivalent of “book burning” to prevent U.S. citizens from getting accurate, scientific information about the dire situation we are in so the Republicans can continue to grift off the oil industry and others. The irony of all this effort to control information and make U.S. residents live in Trumpworld is that other places like the European Union, South Korea, China, and even Canada will continue to make available the necessary data on climate change and its impact on weather.

Tom McElroy
Toronto, Ont.

Canada has a responsibility to uphold with Palestine: letter writer

Re: “Waiting is deadly for Palestinians”: Canada can’t put off state recognition, says NDP’s McPherson,” (*The Hill Times*, Sept. 3, p. 5). Given the blank cheque United States President Donald Trump gave to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, western recognition of a Palestinian state is but a negligible irritant. Sadly, these too-little and too-late performative proclamations are mostly to placate public outrage. More importantly, they are cowardly substitutes for our abdication of the Responsibility to Protect principle that—as signatory to the Genocide Convention—Canada is obligated to implement, even by military force if all else fails.

John Dirlik
Pointe Claire, Que.

OPINION

Policy is the foundation: why culture needs a structural response to anti-Black racism

When policies reflect equity, so do outcomes. That is how public funding builds public trust.

Joan Jenkinson

Opinion



A cultural sector that does not reflect the full richness of Canadian society cannot claim to represent it, writes Joan Jenkinson. *Unsplash photograph by Ben Iwara*

When it comes to addressing anti-Black racism in Canada's arts and culture sectors, we have often confused momentum with progress. Each wave of attention brings sincere promises and heartfelt statements, and some have led to action. But too many were short-lived, fragmented, or driven by individual personalities rather than shared commitments. Without structure, true change remains optional.

Culture is not a luxury; it's central to how Canadians understand themselves and each other. It shapes values, frames

narratives, and defines who is seen as part of the national story. When cultural systems exclude or distort Black experiences, the damage ripples outward.

It is not only Black artists and audiences who lose; we all do. A cultural sector that does not reflect the full richness of Canadian society cannot claim to represent it.

That is why the Black Screen Office has developed an Anti-Black Racism Framework for

Canada's screen industries. This is not a diversity campaign; it is a governance tool. It is a resource for decision-makers who want to create systems that are fair, coherent, and sustainable. And while it is voluntary and non-prescriptive, it is also deliberate. It asks institutions to clarify their values, examine their policies, and hold themselves accountable for real outcomes.

This work was shaped by broad consultation across the

cultural landscape. Partners like Advance Music Foundation played a leadership role. Dozens of other contributors helped ensure that the Framework reflects the lived experiences and professional insights of Black creators, producers, executives, and leaders. While the Framework is built for film and television, its relevance does not stop there. The core principles it advances—equity, transparency, accountability, and respect—can be applied anywhere cultural decisions are made.

The central message is simple: policy must come first. Programs, funding, and campaigns are important, but without a policy foundation, they drift, lose focus, lose urgency, and eventually lose meaning. Policy sets the terms, defines expectations, and gives future strategies and action plans the coherence needed to succeed.

Some have asked whether this work will be difficult. The answer is yes, but the greater risk lies in doing nothing. In 2020, many organizations made public commitments to address anti-Black racism. A few followed through; others made progress and then paused; and a significant number

are still unsure what to do next. This Framework was created to help fill that gap. It offers a starting point, not a final destination.

For public-sector institutions, this approach supports existing mandates. It aligns with the policy goals of Canadian Heritage, Telefilm, the Canada Council for the Arts, and the CBC. It reinforces the government's commitments to equity and inclusion, and can help strengthen the impact of federal cultural investments. When policies reflect equity, so do outcomes. That is how public funding builds public trust.

The Framework does not impose a single model or call for quotas or mandates. It invites each organization to move forward in a way that is meaningful and appropriate to its context. That could mean reviewing hiring policies, shifting board governance practices, or developing metrics to assess progress over time. What matters most is movement that lasts.

Canada's cultural sector is ready for this step. Many of its leaders already understand what must change. What has been missing is a structure to support that work. The Framework helps provide that structure. It doesn't fix everything, but it is a solid place to begin.

If we believe that culture matters to Canada, then we must also believe that inclusion matters to culture. That belief must be written into our policies, not just spoken in our words.

Joan Jenkinson is the CEO and co-founder of the Black Screen Office.

The Hill Times

Canada has the legislative tool to break through seizing Russian assets—it's time to use it

Continued from page 7

protect any country from being sued in the court of another nation unless immunity is waived (obviously, Russia will never waive their immunity). However, Russian assets are not protected from being seized through an executive action of a country's government, like Canada.

Back in July, Merz said that assets frozen by the West should not be released until Moscow agrees to pay at least \$800-billion in compensation to Kyiv. It's laughable to think that Putin would voluntarily compensate Ukraine for anything—he doesn't even acknowledge the country's existence. The alternative is a choice between supporting Ukraine and its millions of refugees from western taxpayers' pockets, or allowing Russia to continue its illegal and unjustified attacks.

On Aug. 28, Putin unleashed his largest barrage on Kyiv in a

month with hundreds of drones and ballistic missiles pounding the city, but this time he may have gone 50 metres too far. The Coalition of the Willing has been flying around the world ever since United States President Donald Trump's disastrous Aug. 15 peace summit in Alaska hoping for a breakthrough to force Russia to discuss a ceasefire. Despite resulting in no progress, Putin may have provided the elusive breakthrough himself.

When the dust settled on the morning of Aug. 28, it was found that two Russian warheads hit 50 metres from the offices of the European Union and the European Investment Bank, resulting in considerable damage. To say that EU Commission President Ursula von der Leyen was outraged is putting it mildly. She took to the podium and issued a terse statement condemning the attack, promising tough new sanctions and to advance efforts to seize

Russian assets for Ukraine's resistance and recovery.

Sanctions are slowly working, but we need to do much more. The Russian economy is hurting, and one clue is in the 10-kilometre lineups at empty gas stations. Devoting the entire Russian economy to building equipment and ammunition for the war, coupled with Ukrainian drone strikes at key refineries, is starting to be felt by the average Russian citizen. Combine the stronger sanctions proposed by von der Leyen with seizing the \$300-billion in Euroclear and the Coalition of the Willing could make a real breakthrough for Ukraine by finally forcing Putin to the negotiating table.

The Coalition of the Willing doesn't have to look any further than Ottawa to find the gold-standard legislative solution to the state-immunity conundrum: the Special Economic Measures Act (SEMA). SEMA, if amended in this fall's budget as proposed

by Independent Senator Donna Dasko in Bill S-214, would give the government the power to issue an executive order to seize all Russian state assets within Canada. For example, \$23-billion of Euroclear money is physically held in Canadian banks and the Bank of Canada. The prime minister, Global Affairs Canada, or the Treasury Board could issue an executive order demanding the seizure of that \$23-billion, and give it to Ukraine to defend itself and rebuild.

This would show the kind of global leadership for which Canada was once famous: the UN Peacekeeping Corps and the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Treaty were both Canadian-led initiatives. The former earned Lester B. Pearson the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957. It's been almost 30 years since Canada last stepped upon the world's stage to protect peace and prosperity for everyone, especially the vulnerable. If Prime

Minister Mark Carney steps up now, he'd certainly beat Trump to the Nobel Peace Prize. Canadians, and most of the globe, would be thrilled. Elbows up!

Michael Chodol is executive director of The Peace Coalition, an international, non-profit association of NGOs, academic institutions, and independent experts in housing, land, and property restitution. Chodol is currently co-ordinating with local and international experts and organizations on a variety of initiatives aimed at using the recovery of Ukraine to pilot a self-funding and sustainable roadmap to recovery for victims of the global crime of aggression.

Dr. Geoffrey Goodell is a lecturer in financial computing at University College London whose work focuses on socio-technical systems in financial services. He leads the UCL Future of Money Initiative, and is an associate of the Systemic Risk Centre at the London School of Economics. Goodell has several leadership roles in international standards development, and he formerly served as a strategist at Goldman, Sachs & Co., and later as partner and chief investment officer of Phase Capital LP, a boutique asset management firm. His research contributes to knowledge and policy at the intersection of finance, technology, and regulation.

The Hill Times

OPINION

Chip in with Taiwan: why Canada should support fair UN participation

Taiwan's exclusion from the United Nations and its affiliated agencies undermines international co-operation at a time when collective solutions are most needed.

Harry H.J. Tseng

Opinion



Challenges abound in today's turbulent international environment: the rise of authoritarianism, democratic backslid-



Canada should speak out clearly in support of Taiwan's meaningful participation in the UN system at the General Assembly this month, writes Representative Harry H.J. Tseng. Photograph courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

ing, the weaponization of trade, beggar-thy-neighbour policies, cyberattacks, and grey-zone intimidation through military exercises. Yet amid this instability, Taiwan continues to rise to the occasion. We not only managed the pandemic with remarkable success, but also stood at the forefront of artificial intelligence and semiconductors, producing more than 60 per cent of the world's chips and 90 per cent of the most advanced ones.

And yet, despite being such a constructive force, Taiwan remains unfairly excluded from the United Nations and its affiliated agencies. This is a glaring omission that undermines international co-operation at a time when collective solutions are most needed.

The root cause lies in Beijing's persistent distortion of UN General Assembly Resolution 2758 from 1971. That resolution addressed the representation

of China in the UN; it neither mentioned Taiwan nor gave the People's Republic of China the right to represent Taiwan internationally. Only Taiwan's 23 million people and their democratically elected government can legitimately represent Taiwan. Beijing's use of Resolution 2758 to block Taiwan from UN bodies is nothing less than authoritarian overreach.

The extent of this misinterpretation is often surprising. At an April 30 conference in Ottawa titled "Rethinking the 'One China' Policy," many participants admitted it was their first time hearing about Beijing's use of "legal warfare" through the misuse of Resolution 2758 to squeeze Taiwan's international space.

Fortunately, a growing number of democracies are pushing back. The parliaments of the United Kingdom, the Czech Republic, the United States, Belgium, and the European Union have all passed motions clarifying the resolution's limits. On Nov. 6, 2024,

Canada's House of Commons unanimously adopted a similar motion. This recognition matters greatly for Taiwan.

But goodwill in Parliament must be matched by concrete action from government. As the 80th UN General Assembly convenes in New York this month, Canada should speak out clearly in support of Taiwan's meaningful participation in the UN system. Fair treatment of Taiwan is not just about righteousness for its people; it is about strengthening the global response to crises in health, aviation safety, and security.

Taiwan's chips are embedded in nearly every aspect of modern life, driving innovation and connectivity. Yet while we contribute essentially to the future of humankind, we are deliberately barred from the very UN forums that shape that future. This contradiction is untenable.

Canada and other like-minded democracies must "chip in" with Taiwan—not only to recognize our role, but also to ensure that the international order remains fair, inclusive, and resilient in the face of authoritarian coercion.

Harry H.J. Tseng is the representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Canada.

The Hill Times

Canada should fast-track the idea that Indigenous rights and critical minerals go hand in hand

Leadership in inclusion and responsibility projects to the world that Canada is a safe and reliable jurisdiction for mining.

Saga Williams, Marisa Beck & Tamara Krawchenko

Opinion



Imagine if Canada were to become the world leader in sustainable and equitable mining practices. Instead of waiting for an international blueprint, Canada could show the world that resource wealth, Indigenous rights, and environmentally sustainable practices are not mutually exclusive—that inclusive, forward-looking mining is both possible and necessary.

Right now, there is urgency in industry and government circles to develop Canada's vast mineral

reserves as the country searches for new engines of economic growth given the imploding trade relationship with the United States. That implosion coincides with skyrocketing global demand for critical minerals, the essential ingredients for wind turbines, electric vehicles, and the global clean energy transition.

Mineral-rich northern, rural lands on the traditional territories of Indigenous Peoples stretch from the Ring of Fire in Ontario to the Yukon and Nunavut. All of them are under growing attention from major companies and investors.

This new-found urgency has given rise to a troubling narrative: mineral development and Indigenous rights are mutually exclusive and on a collision course. In fact, the opposite is true: to unlock Canada's full mining potential, governments and industry must treat Indigenous rights and territorial development as central pillars—not afterthoughts—in our mining future.

The path forward is clear: governments should take a "territorial development approach" to mining. That begins with those who live in the region and puts relationships and environmental stewardship first, with a com-

mitment to long-term, shared economic development.

This approach asks: how can development bring lasting value to the region, not just to investors? Around the world—from Norway's oil success to Australia's mining royalties—we've seen that when local and regional interests are prioritized, countries build stronger industries.

What policies enable this kind of approach to mining?

Indigenous rights to land, self-government, and free, prior, and informed consent are already part of Canadian law and affirmed by the Constitution, the Supreme Court, and legislation. Nowhere could their full implementation be more relevant—or transformative—than in the rules we set for mining.

Instead of seeing Indigenous-led impact assessments, self-government, or revenue sharing as hoops to jump through, policies should encourage and reward true collaboration. For example, projects that result from meaningful partnerships and include strong local governance can actually accelerate permitting, not delay it. Agreements between the Tahltan Nation and the Province of British Columbia demonstrate that consent-based

co-governance of mining projects on traditional Indigenous territories can empower local communities and improve regulatory clarity for investors.

Comprehensive regional or territorial planning that captures the interplay between mining, hunting, clean water, and other land uses is also critical to this path. It requires that governments provide real support for Indigenous and northern land-use planning. It means reforming environmental assessment processes to be truly nation-to-nation, with federal and provincial regulators working alongside Indigenous authorities from the start, not in parallel or after the fact. It requires offering stable incentives for companies that commit to hiring locally, building regional infrastructure, and sharing mining royalties with local governments and Indigenous nations.

This is not just an ideal; it's already happening on a smaller scale. In Quebec and B.C., landmark agreements have seen Indigenous nations leading or co-managing environmental reviews and reaping a meaningful share of revenues. Some northern First Nations have turned skills training and benefit agreements into lasting jobs and community investments.

If Canada makes these successes the norm, the payoff can be enormous. We could vault from occasional headlines about disputes and delays to sustained, internationally renowned leadership and long-term growth. Canada could become a place where mining companies invest because the country's model of working collaboratively has led to successful projects and is a hallmark of responsible industry. We could see Indigenous and northern communities thriving as full partners and innovators, not just resource hosts. We could prove that with vision, capacity, courage, and respect, the trade-off narrative was always false. Leadership in inclusion and responsibility projects to the world that Canada is a safe and reliable jurisdiction for mining.

Becoming a world leader in sustainable and equitable mining is not merely a nice idea for Canada. It is an economic and moral necessity. We have the tools, the resources, and above all, the people. The time to act is now—for the benefit of all Canadians, especially those who call our resource-rich regions home.

Saga Williams is an Indigenous governance and mining expert, principal of AS Williams Consulting, senior adviser to First Nations Major Projects Coalition, and adjunct professor at Osgoode Hall Law School.

Marisa Beck is the clean growth director at the Canadian Climate Institute, and a climate and energy policy specialist with a PhD in global governance.

Tamara Krawchenko is an associate professor at the University of Victoria specializing in public policy, regional development, and sustainability transitions.

The Hill Times

‘Course correction’ needed to ensure new childcare spaces meet federal accessibility targets, says economist

‘If you don’t change how the expansion is happening, it’ll continue to be for-profit spaces where it’s convenient for providers to locate them,’ says David Macdonald.

Continued from page 1

spaces, says the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives’ David Macdonald.

But with a majority of new spaces found to be coming from for-profit providers, that ramp-up needs to be better designed to target childcare deserts, said Macdonald, a senior Ottawa economist with the CCPA who has authored multiple reports examining implementation of the Canada-wide Early Learning and Child Care (CWELCC) system.

“If you don’t change how the expansion is happening, it’ll continue to be for-profit spaces where it’s convenient for providers to locate them as opposed to convenience for where parents would like to have them, which is close to where they live,” said Macdonald.

“This is an important course correction.”

Such planning can be done at different levels, but there’s opportunity to be leveraged through the new five-year provincial and territorial action plans being ironed out with the federal government, he noted.

“There is an engagement process right now that’s happening; this is a new government that’s just coming in ... and so now’s the time to take a rapid look at making important changes to the program so that we get more spaces, so that those spaces are more likely to be non-profit, and that those spaces are more likely to reduce neighbourhoods where there’s few—if any—spaces in an attempt to get close to this national goal of about six spaces per 10 kids,” said Macdonald.

To support the Trudeau government’s push to introduce a national plan, the 2021 federal budget committed \$30-billion over five years, and \$8.3-billion ongoing, for early learning and childcare and Indigenous early



Jobs and Families Minister Patty Hajdu. Employment and Social Development Canada says it’s ‘undertaking detailed technical discussions on 2025-2026 Action Plans with the provinces and territories.’ *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

learning and childcare. As part of that, the feds pledged to work with provinces and territories to—among other things—achieve an average cost of \$10 a day “for all regulated childcare spaces in Canada” by 2025-26, and ensure “ongoing annual growth in quality affordable childcare spaces across the country.”

Bilateral agreements on early learning and childcare frameworks were signed with all 13 provinces and territories by March 2022, setting out specific objectives and targets for each jurisdiction aimed at making childcare more affordable and accessible.

The agreement with Quebec, however, did not include adherence to the federal framework guiding the use of funds, and instead only set out funding commitments. Quebec fees were already below the \$10-a-day target in 2021.

All 13 agreements run through to March 2026. Despite a departmental backgrounder from this past March indicating that 11 provinces and territories had extended their agreements until March 31, 2031—with \$36.8-billion in funding over five years starting in 2026-27 attached—ESDC told *The Hill Times* last week that only 10 agreements have been extended, with Ontario, Alberta, and Saskatchewan yet to sign on.

All agreements—save for Quebec’s—include commitments to bring childcare costs to an average of \$10 per day by 2025-26, but targets on accessibility vary.

Deals with New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, the Northwest Territories, Nova Scotia, Nunavut, Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan, and the Yukon specify a goal of reaching 59-per-cent coverage for licensed childcare spaces—or, put another way, to have roughly 5.9 spaces available for every 10 children under the age of six in each jurisdiction, explained Macdonald—by 2025-26.

Alberta’s agreement instead set a target of creating a minimum of 42,500 new not-for-profit childcare spaces. British Columbia’s plan committed to create 30,000 new regulated spaces for kids under the age of six by 2025-26, and 40,000 new spaces by 2027-28. Manitoba, meanwhile, set a goal of 23,000 new spaces in not-for-profit centres and homes by 2025-26, and Ontario committed to increase its net number of licensed childcare spaces for kids under the age of six by 76,700 by March 2026, and 86,000 by December 2026.

In July, the CCPA published a report—co-authored by Macdonald and Martha Friendly—assessing progress in achieving \$10-a-day average fees across Canada. The report noted that fee reductions “are now well underway in all provinces and territories,” but flagged concern over a lack of details on the final cost-reduction plans for Alberta, Nova Scotia, and B.C.

Nunavut, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Quebec, P.E.I., and Newfoundland and Labrador were found to have “already met

or exceeded” the \$10-a-day goal ahead of the April 2026 deadline.

The findings are based in part on a phone survey of residents of 37 cities conducted between November and December 2024—the 10th annual such survey by the CCPA, and “likely [its] last” given Canada’s progress in “moving rapidly to set fees,” reads the report.

“Now CWELCC is going to have to work on the second—and more difficult to solve—challenge: meeting much higher demand for lower fees,” reads the report. “This necessitates rapid space creation, but also equitable space creation that attempts to provide better access in childcare deserts.”

The CCPA’s August report by Macdonald assesses progress on just that using a proprietary database that individually tracks 1.32 million licensed childcare spaces across Canada, and “calculates the accessibility of childcare for all 53,861 city blocks in any province,” as explained in its preamble.

“By April 2025, the provinces promised to create 210,604 new full-time spaces with federal money, but they are short 57,030 spaces,” according to the report.

Some provinces, including New Brunswick and B.C., have exceeded their April 2025 goals, with others, like Ontario and P.E.I., close to meeting them and “well on their way to hitting their final 2025-26 space creation goals.” But “[m]ost of the other provinces are lagging in terms of space creation,” finds the report, which notes that “Manitoba and Saskatchewan have only created a fraction of the promised spaces.”

But even among those that have hit space-creation goals, some are nonetheless behind on coverage-rate targets. New Brunswick, for example, has created 47 per cent more spaces than it committed to, notes the report, but is still below the target of having 5.9 spaces available per 10 children. Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland and Labrador, meanwhile, have targets that would get them to that coverage-rate goal—if they were on pace to meet them, which the report indicates “none” are.

According to the report, “57 per cent of all net new licensed childcare spaces for non-school age children” since 2022 have been for-profit spaces, and only 30 per cent were “public or non-profit, and the remainder were new homes.”

“As very high market fees become a thing of the past, policymakers now need to shift their focus to the next challenge: rapid

space creation—and keep those spaces in public, non-profit hands,” reads the report. “What’s needed now is strong public planning.”

The Hill Times reached out to Jobs and Families Minister Patty Hajdu’s (Thunder Bay–Superior North, Ont.) office with questions related to the CCPA’s reports, and the government’s plans to support provinces and territories in meeting outstanding affordability and accessibility goals.

A subsequent response from Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC) welcomed the CCPA’s efforts, but challenged some of its findings.

Eight—rather than six—provinces and territories have met the \$10-a-day goal, according to the department, “and all other jurisdictions have reduced fees by 50 [per cent] or more.” On the CCPA’s August report, ESDC said the data used differs “significantly from data provided by provinces and territories through annual reporting ... and does not capture the nature of the Canada-wide system, including commitments from territories, whose space creation results are not accounted for.” As of March 31, 2024, more than 125,000 childcare spaces have been created, according to ESDC, “representing more than half of the March 2026 targets,” and as of this August, further measures to create more than 188,000 new affordable spaces have been announced.

Each provincial and territorial agreement includes an action plan outlining space creation commitment timelines, and over “the course of the last few months,” the department “has been undertaking detailed technical discussions on 2025-2026 Action Plans with the provinces and territories that needed one.”

“ESDC also continues to meet with all provinces and territories on a regular basis to discuss implementation.”

NDP MP Leah Gazan (Winnipeg Centre, Man.), who previously worked as an early childhood educator, said what’s needed federally going forward is a childcare worker strategy that incentivizes people to enter the field and ensures they receive liveable wages. The Canada Early Learning and Child Care Act is silent on such a strategy, she said.

Introduced by the Liberals in December 2022, Bill C-35 focused on sketching out the federal government’s “commitment to maintaining long-term funding relating to early learning and childcare” for provinces and Indigenous Peoples, as well as the guiding principles of a Canada-wide system. It also created the National Advisory Council on Early Learning and Child Care.

“It’s one thing to look at affordability for parents, but you cannot have a strategy unless you centre workers in the profession, and they haven’t done that,” said Gazan, her party’s critic for children, families, and social development. “They need to provide proper resources to make sure that early childhood educators can get paid what they deserve.”

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NEWS

Fentanyl tariff ruling doesn't cast aside Trump's 'national emergency' spotlight on border

Justices on the U.S. Court of Appeals argued that the national security considerations behind President Donald Trump's trafficking tariffs are not at issue.

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targeting Canada—was a national security threat.

Trump had asserted the necessity of enacting tariffs under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA) aimed at Canada, Mexico, and China to address fentanyl and border crises. IEEPA tariffs have also been employed globally by Trump to combat what he alleges are unfair trade deficits.

Since Trump's return to the White House, Canadian officials have pointed to the U.S.'s southern border as being a far greater issue compared to that with Canada.

Trump used the measure to enact 25-per-cent tariffs that rose to 35 per cent in August as a Canada-U.S. trade deal never materialized. To explain the increase, an executive order argued there was a "lack of co-operation [by Canada] in stemming the flood of fentanyl and other illicit drugs across our northern border." An increase on Mexico's tariff levels was paused for 90 days on July 31.

In a dissenting opinion, justices on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit argued that the national security considerations behind the trafficking tariffs are not at issue in weighing the lawfulness of their imposition.

They assert that the majority "do not dispute that the problem the trafficking tariffs target—introduction of opioids or precursors and other criminal activity—rises to the level of an 'unusual and extraordinary threat' to the national security, foreign policy, or economy of the United States (and has been properly declared to be a national emergency)."

Despite the IEEPA tariffs being deemed unlawful, the reason behind their imposition still remains as a national emergency threat. The decision is being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The appeals court has allowed the tariffs to remain in place until Oct. 14.

Border experts told *The Hill Times* that the issue that Canada



Public Safety Minister Gary Anandasangaree has introduced legislation in Bill C-2 to strengthen border security. The controversial bill is at second reading in the House. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Prime Minister Mark Carney has yet to win Canada reprieve from Trump's tariffs. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

contends with is how to show it is making progress on border security when marginal levels of illicit activity flows through the 49th parallel.

"To a certain extent, Canada's really become the collateral damage of the concerns that the [U.S.] has with other countries—like Mexico and like China," said Laurie Trautman, director of the Border Policy Research Institute at Western Washington University in Bellingham, Wash.

Far less than one per cent of fentanyl seized at the U.S. border in 2024 was determined to be from Canada, according to a *Globe and Mail* report.

"The data is shaky in terms of trying to prove that Canada's fentanyl influence in the U.S. would meet some unknown threshold of what a national emergency or concern would be," Trautman said. "But certainly the perception is there. ... The optics are very different from what the numbers suggest."

She said that Canada is in a "tough position" to balance an approach of appeasing the U.S.'s demands while at the same time not legitimizing the American narrative.

"What they found is a lot of this is smoke and mirrors, as even after the border [plan] was announced—it was implemented—we didn't see much change in stance related to the tariffs," she said.

Prior to Trump returning to the White House this past January, the previous government of then-prime minister Justin Trudeau announced a \$1.3-billion investment into the border. Former senior RCMP official Kevin Brosseau was appointed as a fentanyl czar. In June, the Carney government tabled Bill C-2, which included new measures—some of which have raised concern from civil liberty groups—to strengthen border security.

Fire under Canadian feet

Despite the announcements, American concern over the northern border has persisted. U.S. Attorney General Pam Bondi told reporters last week that the northern border has "gotten much worse," remarking that "it's a multibillion-dollar business, [with] the smuggling of drugs,

guns, and humans," according to a Canadian Press report. She announced that a multiagency task force targeting human trafficking will be expanded to cover the Canadian border.

Public Safety Minister Gary Anandasangaree (Scarborough-Guildwood-Rouge Park, Ont.), Justice Minister Sean Fraser (Central Nova, N.S.), and Brosseau were in Washington, D.C., last month where they met with Bondi.

Future Borders Coalition executive director Laura Dawson said there is no one who is not taking the fentanyl issue seriously.

"When fentanyl is mentioned in a government communication, it really means a full suite of illicit border activities, including fentanyl, fentanyl precursors, human smuggling, cartel activity, etc.," she said. "It's not just referring to a volume of fentanyl moving across the border."

She said that rather than being a pretext for other matters, the issue in itself is a "genuine challenge," especially amid the U.S. crackdown on its southern border.

"We are seeing an intensification of movement of bad actors across the border and human smuggling," she said. "The fire has continued under Canadian feet because of references by people like Pam Bondi and [Homeland Security Secretary] Kristi Noem about the northern border challenges."

Dawson said that finger pointing towards the U.S. southern border is unhelpful in the current context.

Canada has responded with positive actions, but Dawson noted that there is much more to be done. She said that U.S. officials aren't necessarily looking for new announcements, but for Canada to keep implementing commitments it has made over the last year.

"When I'm talking to U.S. officials, they see Canada as moving in the right direction, but they want to make sure that there is a consistency in the level of delivery," she said. "The U.S. is hopeful that the co-operative conversations continue, but they're not letting the issue die down."

Dawson said that the U.S. president has authority over what is deemed to be a national security threat, and that wasn't something the court was going to take issue with through its IEEPA decision.

A means to tariff

Center for North American Prosperity and Security executive director Jamie Tronnes said the ongoing question is what Canada can do to assuage the Trump administration's issues with the border.

"I don't think there's any way you could argue that Canada isn't trying its very best to stop the scourge of fentanyl," she said, remarking that it is clear that it is a present concern for the Trump administration.

"But at the same time, Trump really just wants tariffs. He's using every tariff negotiation and every tariff possible to ensure that tariffs are the end state," she added. "In a way, it's almost about the end goal rather than how we get there."

She said that could mean the emergency could change over time depending on what Trump wants Canada to deal with.

"It really comes down to what does Trump want, and I think at the end of the day, it's pretty clear that Trump wants tariffs," Tronnes said.

She said that, ultimately, the law gives the president the right to unilaterally decide what is a national security concern.

There are those in the Trump camp who are concerned about the Canadian border as opposed to it being used as an issue to forward a tariff agenda, she noted.

"But that doesn't mean that the Canadian economy should be allowed to falter because criminals are exploiting parts of the northern border," she said. "The issue is coming to very different situations in an attempt to justify tariffs."

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Carney cabinet shuffle speculation grows alongside backbench 'grumbles' as Grits gather in Edmonton

The prime minister may still be enjoying his electoral 'honeymoon,' but this fall will determine whether his ministers can prove themselves or lose their post, say Liberal sources.

Continued from page 1

them," explained MacEachern, now a principal at KAN Strategies.

"In the eyes of Canadians, they may give Carney some latitude because he's new, but the reality is a lot of the ministers are viewed as a continuation of the last government," MacEachern said. "There's a lot less runway for the cabinet to show results."

The Liberals' national caucus retreat began on Sept. 9 in Edmonton, and will run until Sept. 12. Parliament returns on Sept. 15, and will sit for a total of 53 days before the winter break begins on Dec. 12.

Senior Liberal sources who spoke with *The Hill Times* on a not-for-attribution basis to comment freely said the caucus "honeymoon" with Carney's cabinet may wane earlier than confidence in the PM himself.

However, those sources noted that while Liberals who come forward with public criticisms now are likely to be perceived as "self-serving," some backbenchers, parliamentary secretaries, and secretaries of state are already seeking opportunities to prove themselves and potentially secure promotions.

"When poll numbers are high, it's hard to criticize, but once they start to drop, that's when disgruntled people start coming forward," one source said, adding that while the criticisms of particular ministers remain at a low "grumble," that volume will only grow into the fall and winter months.

Sources said some former cabinet ministers have been more vocal with their colleagues about their displeasure with their current status, including former natural resources minister Jonathan Wilkinson (North Vancouver-Capilano, B.C.).

Wilkinson had felt blindsided by his exclusion from the cabinet



Carney walks to the podium to take reporters' questions after being sworn in and unveiling his pre-election cabinet at Rideau Hall on March 14. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

after the last election, according to sources. They suggested that the recent reporting by *The Globe and Mail* that he is being considered for a European ambassadorship is an attempt by Carney to neutralize Wilkinson's current discontent.

Similarly, those sources noted that the speculation surrounding the former minister of public safety and national defence, Bill Blair (Scarborough Southwest, Ont.), being considered to replace Ralph Goodale as the high commissioner to the United Kingdom is similar to the speculation that circulated in the Ottawa bubble regarding Transport Minister Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.) before Carney's pre-election cabinet in March.

The Hill Times has previously reported on the rumours surrounding both Wilkinson and Blair, though both have declined to comment on multiple separate occasions when contacted.

The Hill Times reached out to Wilkinson on June 2 to ask if he plans to complete his current term. He responded then that, "at this point," he intended to "continue serving" his "constituents."

Most recently, on Sept. 2, Blair told *The Hill Times* that he would not comment on what he called "idle speculation," and in a follow-up comment on Sept. 3, said he would leave the subject for "others to speak to."

However, Wilkinson did not respond to *The Hill Times*' request for comment on either day.

Several sources underscored that while no hard deadline has been set, the general expectation



Greg MacEachern, KAN Strategies founder and principal, says Carney won't have patience for excuses from underperforming ministers because Canadians won't either. *Handout photograph*

is that Carney's ministers have until the end of the year to either prove themselves, or potentially lose their seats in cabinet.

Liberal sources also suggested that the Prime Minister's Office had hampered some early progress due to the delays in finalizing Carney's chief of staff, Marc-André Blanchard, which further pushed back the hiring of ministerial staffers.

Additionally, sources said that Carney's current PMO is more centralized, and features an inner circle more exclusive than that of former prime minister Justin Trudeau.

One senior Liberal source with knowledge of the matter said that when attempts were made to inform the PMO about issues stemming from the bottleneck and delays, "the messenger got shot."



Bluesky Strategy Group's Susan Smith says Canadians shouldn't mistake a lack of press conferences for a lack of progress over the summer. *Handout photograph*

However, sources said that much more progress has been made, with ministerial offices now largely staffed over the summer, but concerns linger among staff and MPs over the insularity of the PMO's staffing choices, such as the senior position of principal secretary.

Last week, *The Hill Times* reported that, as of July 14, the PMO is in a transition period where both Tom Pitfield and David Lametti are working as principal secretaries—a situation that isn't expected to last "long beyond the summer."

A longtime Liberal strategist, Pitfield is the former CEO of Data Sciences, the data firm behind Liberalist, the party's voter outreach tool. Pitfield is also a childhood friend of Trudeau and is married to Anna Gainey (Notre-Dame-de-Grâce-West-

mount, Que.), secretary of state for children and youth.

Lametti is a former justice minister and attorney general in Trudeau's cabinet who played a key role in Carney's Liberal leadership win. Lametti and Carney have been friends since their days attending Oxford University.

Rounding out the senior roles in the PMO are deputy chiefs of staff Braeden Caley and Andrée-Lyne Hallé (co-campaign directors for the recent national Liberal campaign), and, most recently, Jeff Costen—formerly with Navigator—as director of issues management.

Other senior PMO staff include Sylvie Peterson, manager of the PMO's executive office; Tim Krupa, director of policy; Shaili Patel, deputy director of policy; Katharine Heus, deputy director of policy; Lisa Jørgenson, director of global affairs; Scott Gilmore, senior adviser for foreign, defence, and security policy; Jane Deeks, director of communications; Angad Dhillon, director of operations; Mike Maka, director of tour and strategic planning; and Alexandre Boulé, senior adviser.

Susan Smith, co-founding principal at Bluesky Strategy Group who will be joining the Liberals this week in Edmonton, told *The Hill Times* that while there may be concerns with specific members of Carney's cabinet or minor lingering staffing issues, she expects the general mood will be "exceptionally supportive" of the prime minister.

"I think you're going to have a caucus that comes back from a summer listening to constituents, saying 'thank goodness there's someone who has global trading relationships, understands fiscal and monetary policy ... and can realize the path this country has to go down,'" Smith said.

As for the ministers Carney has delegated to help usher Canada down that path, Smith said she believes Canadians will be "pleasantly surprised" by the amount of work that has been done over the summer, even if they weren't hearing about it every day at a press conference.

"The days of performative press-conference government are over," Smith said. "The prime minister is about 'do, not show.'"

As for when Carney expects those results from his ministers, both Smith and MacEachern said they have heard similar expectations for the end of the calendar year.

"We're still in the early days of a new government, but Carney has tasked his ministers with getting stuff done, and, by then, they will have had the time to learn their portfolios and begin to deliver or demonstrate a path to success," Smith said. "This is a performance-based cabinet, but they need a chance to do their jobs well."

MacEachern said that the speculative end-of-year deadline "fits with the prime minister's style."

"This is a person who has made it very clear that he is not going to have a lot of patience for excuses, and that Canadians won't either," MacEachern said.

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FEATURE

Pakistan puts on mango menu

The Hill Times photographs by Sam Garcia



1. Pakistan High Commissioner Muhammad Saleem, left, his wife Rehana Saleem, and deputy head of mission Naheed Naveed attend a mango-tasting reception at the official residence on Aug. 21. 2. Guests were treated to the 'king of fruits' from the country. 3. Canadian Press international affairs reporter Dylan Robertson, left, and Saleem 4. Pakistan High Commission press minister Sayyidah Nighat Aamer.

Ecuador marks national day



1. Ecuador Ambassador Esteban Crespo Polo delivers remarks at a national day reception at his official residence on Aug. 9. 2. Crespo Polo, centre right, and his family enjoy a concert put on as part of the festivities. 3. Alexandra Morejon Andrade, wife of the Ecuadorian ambassador, left; Guatemalan Ambassador Guisela Godinez Sazo; and Crespo Polo. 4. Crespo Polo, left, Colombian Ambassador Carlos Arturo Morales López, and his wife Betty Leon Ossa.

Jamaica flies Independence Day flag



1. Sylvie Bédard, Global Affairs Canada director general for Central America and the Caribbean, left, Ottawa Mayor Mark Sutcliffe, and Jamaican High Commissioner Marsha Coore Lobban attend a flag-raising ceremony to mark the country's Independence Day at Ottawa City Hall on Aug. 6. 2. Coore Lobban delivers remarks at the church on Aug. 3. 3. Coore Lobban gets the flag in the sky. 4. The occasion was also marked with a service and reception at an Ottawa Seventh-Day Adventist Church on Aug. 3.

Hill Climbers



By Laura Ryckewaert

Diving into the offices of secretaries of state Fuhr, Provost

Mary-Rose Brown is chief of staff to Secretary of State Stephen Fuhr, while Jean-Sébastien Bock is running Secretary of State Nathalie Provost's shop.

Secretary of State for Defence Procurement **Stephen Fuhr** and Secretary of State for Nature **Nathalie Provost** currently have 10 staff in total between them, with a different mix of roles filled in each office.

Prime Minister **Mark Carney**'s 38-member cabinet team includes 10 secretaries of state—not counting Women and Gender Equality Minister **Rechie Valdez**, who's also secretary of state for small business and tourism—who are expected to have notably slimmer teams than their ministerial counterparts.

Fuhr's office has a total of five staff, and **Hill Climbers** understands that no further hires are currently anticipated.

As first reported back in June, **Mary-Rose Brown**, a former chief of staff to then-public services and procurement minister **Jean-Yves Duclos**, has been hired to run Fuhr's office, while **Mujtaba Hussain**—an ex-digital communications adviser to Duclos as then-public services minister—has landed the role of press secretary and issues manager to the secretary of state.

Three other staff have since joined Fuhr's team: director of policy and operations **Pavan Sapra**, policy and operations adviser **James Rourke**, and private secretary and office manager **Dianne Watkins**.

By now a veteran staffer, Sapra has been working in various offices on the Hill since 2012, starting with an internship in then-interim Liberal leader **Bob Rae**'s office. Sapra was subsequently hired to work for former prime minister **Justin Trudeau**, starting in Trudeau's office as then-third party Liberal leader and later in Trudeau's office as the then-MP for Papineau, Que.

Sapra went on to work as an assistant to then-New Brunswick Liberal MP **Alaina**



Lockhart, and scored his first ministerial job after the 2019 election when he was hired as an Atlantic regional adviser to then-economic development and official languages **Mélanie Joly**. He's since been senior policy and Atlantic adviser to then-emergency preparedness minister and Privy Council president **Bill Blair**, and more recently tackled policy and Atlantic regional advice for Duclos as then-public services minister. According to his LinkedIn profile, Sapra's last title was director of policy and senior adviser to the public services minister.

Rourke likewise comes from Duclos' old public services team; in his case, he was first hired there as a West and North regional adviser in October 2023. Rourke is also a former assistant to Liberal MP **Ron McKinnon**—in both McKinnon's Coquitlam-Port Coquitlam, B.C., constituency office, and his Hill office—and an ex-constituency assistant to then-British Columbia Liberal MP **Gordie Hogg**.

Rourke spent this year's federal election helping with McKinnon's successful re-election bid. Following a clear office trend, Watkins also comes from Duclos' former shop, having been hired as executive assistant to the then-public services minister and his chief of staff this past January.

Duclos' former shop, having been hired as executive assistant to the then-public services minister and his chief of staff this past January.

Jumping to Provost's current five-member team, **Jean-Sébastien Bock** has landed his first chief-of-staff gig, and has been tapped to lead the secretary of state for nature's office.

Bock was most recently director of strategy and planning to the public services minister, having first been hired to that office as a senior adviser to then-minister **Duclos** in

March 2024.

A ministerial staffer since 2016, Bock started his Hill journey as a special assistant and assistant to the parliamentary secretary to then-national revenue minister **Diane Lebouthillier** in March of that year. Later promoted to policy adviser and special assistant to Lebouthillier, Bock exited in early 2018

to become a Quebec adviser to then-employment, workforce development, and labour minister **Patty Hajdu**. He went on to work as a Quebec regional affairs and operations adviser—and later policy adviser—to then-finance minister **Bill Morneau**.

After the 2019 election, Bock was hired to Duclos' office as then-Treasury Board president; initially a senior policy adviser, he was promoted to director of policy in 2021. Following the 2021 federal election, Bock went with Duclos to the health portfolio, continuing as director of policy. Bock was later given the added



Secretary of State for Defence Procurement **Stephen Fuhr**, left, and Secretary of State for Nature **Nathalie Provost** currently have five staff each. *The Hill Times* photographs by **Andrew Meade** and **Sam Garcia**



Jean-Sébastien Bock is chief of staff to SecState Provost. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

title of deputy chief of staff, which he kept after **Mark Holland** took over as health minister in July 2023.

Hill Climbers understands that **Julie Paré-Lépine** is currently temporarily working on policy in Provost's office, with a permanent policy hire expected down the road. Paré-Lépine's CV includes experience working as a senior adviser at Natural Resources Canada,

and for Environment and Climate Change Canada's Canadian Wildlife Service.

Daniel Schnurr is on board as a senior parliamentary affairs adviser and issues manager to the secretary of state for nature.

Schnurr comes from then-citizens' services minister **Terry Beech**'s old team, which Schnurr joined in September 2023 as a special assistant for Atlantic regional affairs and parliamentary affairs adviser. He previously covered the Atlantic desk for then-families, children, and social development minister **Karina Gould**, and is also an ex-assistant to Gould as the MP for Burlington, Ont. According to his LinkedIn profile, Schnurr was also among those working the hustings during this year's federal election, in his case supporting Beech's successful run for re-election in Burnaby North-Seymour, B.C.

Justine Lesage is director of communications and media relations to Provost. Lesage spent the recent federal election tackling communications for Liberal candidates in Quebec, but before then spent roughly a year and a half working for then-national revenue minister **Marie-Claude Bibeau**. First hired as an issues manager to Bibeau over the summer of 2023 after a year away from the Hill—which Lesage spent doing communications and press relations for the Centre hospitalier de l'Université de Montréal—Lesage was most recently director of communications to the then-revenue minister.

Lesage is also a former communications director to **Lebouthillier** as then-revenue minister and to then-environment minister **Steven Guilbeault**, and was previously press secretary to Bibeau during her turns as minister of international development and minister of agriculture. Beyond the Hill, Lesage is an ex-communications co-ordinator and press officer with Oxfam-Québec, among other past jobs.

Finally, rounding out Provost's current team is operations adviser and executive assistant **Dieynaba Sagna**. A recent graduate of the University of Ottawa—where she earned a bachelor's degree in environmental science earlier this year—Sagna has spent the last roughly three years working part time as a correspondence officer with Natural Resources Canada.

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Pavan Sapra is director of policy and operations to SecState Fuhr. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn



James Rourke is a policy and operations adviser to SecState Fuhr. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn



Justine Lesage is director of communications and media relations to SecState Provost. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn



Parliamentary Calendar

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

Supreme Court justices head north for anniversary visit to Yellowknife from Sept. 14–15



Chief Justice Richard Wagner will lead a delegation of top jurists to Yellowknife, N.W.T., for the third in a series of five visits planned this year to celebrate the Supreme Court's 150th anniversary from Sept. 14–15. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

TUESDAY SEPT. 9— FRIDAY, SEPT. 12

Liberal National Caucus Meeting—The federal Liberals will meet from Tuesday, Sept. 9, to Friday, Sept. 12, for their national caucus retreat in Edmonton to set their fall strategy.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 10

Bombardier CEO to Deliver Remarks—Éric Martel, president and CEO of Bombardier, will deliver remarks on "Bombardier and Canadian Aerospace: A Strategic Partner for Innovation, Defence, and Global Leadership," at a lunch event hosted by the Canadian Club Toronto. Wednesday, Sept. 10, at 11:45 a.m. ET at the Fairmont Royal York Hotel, Toronto. Details: canadianclub.org.

Panel: 'Future Fertility'—The Economic Club of Canada hosts a panel on "Future Fertility: Redesigning Reproductive Health for a New Era," exploring the future of fertility and family planning in Canada, with a focus on access, equity, and innovation. It will highlight emerging technologies such as AI-driven diagnostics, personalized IVF protocols, and regenerative therapies, and examine their potential to improve outcomes and patient experience. Wednesday, Sept. 10, 11:45 a.m., Hilton Toronto, 145 Richmond St. W. Details: economicclub.ca.

DND Public Consultation—The Department of National Defence will host public engagement sessions to answer questions and provide details about the upcoming construction of a preliminary Arctic Over-The-Horizon Receive Site at 2225 Sideroad 15 and 16, Clearview Township. Members of the local community and surrounding areas are invited to attend. DND experts will be available to discuss the project. This event will be held at the Creemore Station on the Green, 910 Caroline St. E., Creemore, Ont. Contact mlo-blm@forces.gc.ca.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 10— THURSDAY, SEPT. 11

GoSec 25—GoSecure will host a cybersecurity summit, GoSec 25, in person and online. Over the course of two days, GoSec 25 will host more than 1,500 attendees and feature 40-plus sessions led by more than 50 renowned speakers. Wednesday, Sept. 10 to Thursday, Sept. 11, at the Palais des Congrès de Montréal, 201 Avenue Viger Ouest. Details: gosec.net.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 11

Panel: 'Strengthening Women in Diplomacy'—The University of Ottawa hosts a panel discussion on "Strengthening the Representation of Women in Diplomacy: Challenges and Policy Solutions," presenting the work of the LSE IDEAS Women in Diplomacy project. Participants include former Canadian ambassador Dr. Lilly Nicholls, uOttawa professor Rebecca Tiessen, London School of Economics professor Karen E. Smith, and Marta Kozielska, co-founder and manager of the Women in Diplomacy Project at LSE. Thursday, Sept. 11, at 10 a.m. in FSS 5028, uOttawa campus, and via Zoom. Details: cips-cepi.ca.

Senator Mohamed at AKFC's Book Club—Senator Farah Mohamed will take part in a discussion of the book *Everyday Habits for Transforming Systems: The Catalytic Power of Radical Engagement* with author and systems change expert Adam Kahane. This event is part of the Aga Khan Foundation Canada's Global Reads series. Thursday, Sept. 11, at 5:30 p.m. ET at the Delegation of the Ismaili Imam, 199 Sussex Dr. Register via Eventbrite.

Competition Commissioner to Deliver Remarks—Competition Bureau of Canada Commissioner Matthew Boswell will take part in a conversation on "Canada's Competition Moment," hosted by the Canadian Club of Toronto. Boswell will touch on what's changing, what's at risk, and what lies ahead as major reforms to the Competition Act take shape and powerful new enforcement tools come into play. Thursday, Sept. 11, at 5:30 p.m. ET at 485 King St. W., Toronto. Register: canadianclub.org.

Lecture: 'The Revenge of Geopolitics'—The Toronto Public Library and Toronto Metropolitan University host the "On the Frontlines of Democracy" lecture series. Edward Luce, *Financial Times*' chief U.S. commentator, will discuss his new book *Zbig: The Life of Zbigniew Brzezinski*, exploring the return of geopolitics, rising authoritarianism, and the challenges facing the post-Cold War global order. Thursday, Sept. 11, at 7 p.m. at the Toronto Reference Library, 789 Yonge St. Register via Eventbrite.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 12

Minister Sidhu to Deliver Remarks—International Trade Minister Maninder Sidhu will take part in a fire-side chat on "Canada's Trade Future"

hosted by the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce. Friday, Sept. 12, at 9 a.m. MT at World Trade Centre, 9990 Jasper Ave., Suite 600, Edmonton. Details: business.edmontonchamber.com.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 14— MONDAY, SEPT. 15

Supreme Court Justices to Visit Yellowknife—Chief Justice Richard Wagner and Justices Nicholas Kasirer and Michelle O'Bonsawin will visit Yellowknife, N.W.T., for the third in a series of five visits planned this year to celebrate the Supreme Court's 150th anniversary. The judges will meet with members of the legal and academic communities, and engage with students, the public, and the media. Sunday, Sept. 14, to Monday, Sept. 15. Details: scc-csc.ca.

MONDAY, SEPT. 15

House Returns—The House of Commons returns on Monday, Sept. 15, and it's expected to be a busy fall sitting. It will sit Sept. 15–19; Sept. 22–26; Oct. 1–3; Oct. 6–10; Oct. 20–24; Oct. 27–31; Nov. 3–7; Nov. 17–21; Nov. 24–28; Dec. 1–5; and Dec. 8–12. That's 11 weeks left before it breaks for the year 2025. In total, the House will have sat only 73 days this year. Last year, it sat 122 days, and in 2023 it sat 121 days. In 2022, it sat 129 days, and in 2021 it sat 95 days.

Justice Malcolm Rowe to Deliver Remarks—Supreme Court Justice Malcolm Rowe will deliver remarks in honour of the 150th anniversary of the Supreme Court of Canada. The lecture will describe the changes leading up to the current role of the court in the Charter era. Monday, Sept. 15, at 4 p.m. ET at Grant Hall, Queen's University Campus, Kingston, Ont. Details: queensu.ca.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 16

Conference: 'Canada's Next Economic Transformation'—The Institute for Research on Public Policy hosts a day-long conference, "Canada's Next Economic Transformation: Industrial Policy in Tumultuous Times." Participants include Steve Verheul, former assistant deputy minister of the Trade Policy and Negotiations branch of Global Affairs Canada; Matthew Holmes from the Canadian Chamber of Commerce; Emma Braham from L'Institut du Québec; Jim Stanford from the Centre for Future Work; Jesse McCormick from the First Nations Major Project Coalition; Chris Bataille

from the Centre on Global Energy Policy; and Counsel Public Affairs' Tim Hudak. Tuesday, Sept. 16, at the Lord Elgin Hotel, 100 Elgin St., Ottawa. Details: irpp.org.

Conference: 'Charting Canada's Digital Ambition'—The Canadian Global Affairs Institute hosts a one-day conference, "Charting Canada's Digital Ambition," exploring the barriers and the way forward for Canada to meet the digital moment. Speakers include former national security advisor to the prime minister Jody Thomas, commander of Canadian Joint Operations Command Lt.-Gen. Steve Boivin, and retired Vice-Admiral Ron Lloyd. Tuesday, Sept. 16, at 8:30 a.m. at The Westin Ottawa, 11 Colonel By Dr. Details: cgai.ca.

U.S. Ambassador to Deliver Remarks—United States Ambassador to Canada Pete Hoekstra will deliver a keynote speech at an event hosted by the Canada International Council. Tuesday, Sept. 16, at 5:30 p.m. ET at KPMG Conference Facility, 150 Elgin St., Suite 1800, Ottawa. Register: thecic.org.

2025 House-warming—Earnscliffe Strategies, *Politico*, and the Metropolitan Brasserie host the "House-warming" bash that rings in the fall. Come celebrate the start of the fall sitting of the 45th Parliament. Tuesday, Sept. 16 at 5:30 p.m. ET at the Metropolitan Brasserie Restaurant, 700 Sussex Dr., Ottawa. Register via Eventbrite.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 17

CUTA 2025 Policy Forum—The Canadian Urban Transit Association hosts its 2025 Policy Forum, bringing together some of North America's leading transit and urban mobility experts to discuss the industry's future. Wednesday, Sept. 17, at 8 a.m. ET the Lord Elgin Hotel, 100 Elgin St., Ottawa. Register via Eventbrite.

AFN First Nations ISET Agreement Holders' Gala—The Assembly of First Nations hosts a recognition gala for First Nations Indigenous Skills and Employment Training Agreement Holders. Under the theme "A Legacy of Excellence," this event will celebrate the achievements of individuals and First Nations ISET Agreement Holder organizations in their outstanding leadership and innovation in advancing employment and training for First Nations across Canada. Wednesday, Sept. 17, at the Canadian Museum of History, Gatineau, Que. Details: afn.ca.

Shared Bylines Mixer on the Hill—The Shared Bylines mentorship and

scholarship program for BIPOC journalism students hosts a mixer and panel discussion: "In Conversation: Truth and Reconciliation—Mapping the Intersection of Indigenous and Political Reporting." Joy SpearChief-Morris (CBC Indigenous) will moderate the panel, featuring Alessia Passafiume (Canadian Press), Duncan McCue (Carleton University) and Karyn Pugliese (APTN). Wednesday, Sept. 17, at 6:30 p.m. ET at 3 Brasseurs, 240 Sparks St., Ottawa. Register via Eventbrite.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 17— SUNDAY, SEPT. 21

Canadian Youth Climate Assembly—Senators for Climate Solutions, Environmental Leadership Canada, and MASS LBP host the Canadian Youth Climate Assembly, Canada's first citizens assembly on climate. This multi-day, national initiative taking place in Ottawa will bring together 36 young Canadians from coast to coast to shape climate policy and speak directly to parliamentarians. Senators and Members of Parliament are invited to meet and hear from the young Climate Assembly members on Sept. 21 from 11 a.m.–1 p.m. ET in the Senate Chamber. Details: climacan25.ca.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 18

Martinez Ferrada to Debate Montreal's Global Leadership—Former Liberal cabinet minister Soraya Martinez Ferrada, now leader of Ensemble Montréal, will participate in "2025 municipal elections: What kind of leadership does Montreal need on the international stage?" a French-language debate hosted by the Montreal Council on Foreign Relations. She will be joined by Luc Rabouin, leader of Projet Montréal. Martinez Ferrada and Rabouin are vying to be Montreal's mayor. Thursday, Sept. 18, at 11:30 a.m. at the Centre Mont-Royal, 2200 Mansfield St., Montreal. Details: corim.qc.ca.

Symposium: 'Building a Stronger Economy'—The Ivey Business School hosts a symposium, "Building a Stronger Economy: How can Canada be a global leader in AI adoption?" exploring how Canada can build on its scientific and entrepreneurial foundations to achieve scaled, responsible AI adoption, the implications of shifting geopolitical dynamics for this country's competitiveness, and co-ordination between government and industry to secure Canada's long-term advantage. Speakers include Mark Schaan, deputy secretary to the cabinet (artificial intelligence); and former Bank of Canada governor Stephen Poloz. Thursday, Sept. 18, at 11:30 a.m. at Arcadian Loft, 401 Bay St., Toronto. Details: ivey.uwo.ca/lawrencecentre.ca.

U.S. Ambassador to Deliver Remarks—United States Ambassador to Canada Pete Hoekstra will take part in a conversation with the Halifax Chamber of Commerce. Thursday, Sept. 18, at 11:30 a.m. AT at a location to be announced. Register: business.halifaxchamber.com.

B.C. Premier to Deliver Remarks—British Columbia Premier David Eby will be in Ottawa for a special evening event hosted by the Canadian Club of Ottawa. Titled "Look West," Eby will share his vision for the province's path forward and what it means for Canadian prosperity and unity. Thursday, Sept. 18, at 4:30 p.m. ET at the Fairmont Château Laurier, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa. Details: canadianclubottawa.ca.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 19

First of 2025 CBC Massey Lectures—Former Amnesty International Canada secretary-general Alex Neve will deliver this year's CBC Massey Lectures, titled "Universal: Renewing Human Rights in a Fractured World." The next lectures will take place in Vancouver (Sept. 25), Edmonton (Oct. 1), Happy Valley/Goose Bay, N.L. (Oct. 15), and Ottawa (Oct. 30). Friday, Sept. 19, Koerner Hall, 273 Bloor St. W., Toronto. Details to follow: masseycollege.ca.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 21

Senator Mégie's Retirement—Today is Quebec ISG Senator Marie-Françoise Mégie's 75th birthday, which means her mandatory retirement from the Senate.