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THIRTY-THIRD YEAR, NO. 1910

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NEWS

Increased military presence in the North could provide much-needed infrastructure to the region: MPs, experts

BY CHELSEA NASH

Northern MPs are open to the idea of an increased military presence in the Arctic, and say they could see the benefit of sinking military dollars into the remote region, insofar as it would have the side effect of improving infrastructure for locals.

Russian President Vladimir Putin's war on Ukraine has some in Canada worried about the security of its northern border, given that Russia is Canada's neighbour over the North Pole, and has a history of testing North America's military response in the North.

"I think we need to start being more concerned," said retired Canadian colonel Pierre Leblanc.

Leblanc said the situation between Canada and Russia is sort of like having a neighbour buy a big gun and start shooting practice in their backyard.

"And now from time to time, he walks up to your property line, comes up to your fence with his gun," he said. "That would cause a lot more concern than when he didn't have a gun. You would be more concerned than the first time around when he didn't have a gun."

NDP MP Lori Idlout (Nunavut) said she's heard some concerns from her constituents about the prospect of potential Russian aggression in the region, but stressed that any danger was "not imminent."

Still, she acknowledged there are concerns that warrant some

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Poilievre and Brown 'playing with dynamite' in divisive Conservative leadership election, say politicos



The federal Conservative leadership contenders: Brampton Mayor Patrick Brown, centre, and from clockwise, Saskatchewan businessman Joseph Bourgault, Independent Ontario MPP Roman Baber, Conservative MP Scott Aitchison, Conservative MP Pierre Poilievre, Conservative MP Leslyn Lewis, and former Quebec premier Jean Charest. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade, handouts, and compilation by Neena Singhal.

BY ABBAS RANA

The division in the Conservative leadership campaign already on display will make it a serious challenge for the eventual winner

to bring the party together after the contest is over, say politicos.

"It's pretty clear that there's kind of a progressive element to it, and then there's a more Conservative element to it," said

Darrell Bricker, CEO of Ipsos Public Affairs, in an interview with *The Hill Times*. "I think the observation that it's a bit of a battle between the Harper vision of the party and the Mulroney

version of the party, or the old Progressive Conservative version of the party, not just Mulroney, I think is reasonably accurate."

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Alice Chen

Heard On The Hill

Western Standard opens a new Ottawa bureau



Rachel Emmanuel, left, and Matthew Horwood are the inaugural members of the *Western Standard's* parliamentary office. Photographs courtesy of LinkedIn, Twitter

On March 14, the *Western Standard* opened a new Ottawa bureau with two new reporters on the federal politics beat, **Rachel Emmanuel** and **Matthew Horwood**.

Horwood most recently worked at *The Hill Times*, and has also freelanced for *Ottawa Life Magazine*, *The Kitchissippi*

Times, and *The Ottawa Business Journal*.

Emmanuel, who most recently worked at *iPolitics* and interned at *The Globe and Mail*, wrote an op-ed in the *Western Standard* about why she left *iPolitics* on March 14. Headlined "Why I left the mainstream media for the *Western Standard*," she said

she exited "after an editor altered my article following pressure from Deputy Prime Minister **Chrystia Freeland's** office," after she filed a story about Freeland photographed at a pro-Ukraine rally in Toronto holding a banner, along with other protesters, that featured the words "Glory to Ukraine." Emmanuel said the banner is associated with Neo-Nazis. Freeland's Twitter account quickly deleted the photo of her with the scarf or the banner and reposted a different one without the black and red scarf.

"Maybe Freeland didn't see what she was holding, or she didn't know its muddled history. But the hypocrisy of a federal politician refusing to own her mistake—just weeks after condemning Conservatives for attending the truckers' convoy where an unidentified man carried a Nazi flag—seemed at least noteworthy," Emmanuel wrote, accusing her editor of watering down the story.

In a statement provided to the *Star*, Freeland emphasized a condemnation of far-right views and noted that there were many people taking photos with her at the Feb. 27 anti-Russian-invasion rally in Toronto where the photo was taken. Red and black has also been closely tied with Ukrainian culture before its adoption by more extreme elements.

In an email statement to *The Hill Times*, *iPolitics* editor-in-chief **Jessica Smith Cross** said that the story was changed due to inaccuracies. She said it was also changed after the Ukrainian expert interviewed for the story disputed aspects of it, specifically the characterization of the scarf or banner and its significance in Ukraine's politics and history, Cross said.

"The issue is complex, and the story didn't do it justice," said Cross.

Emmanuel emphasized that she liked the management and people at *iPolitics*, but said she felt "restricted," and said with her new outlet she could write with more freedom.

The Western Standard is an independent right-leaning outlet with bureaus in Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver, Victoria, and Regina. It was founded in 2004 as an unofficial successor to the *Alberta Report* before ceasing operations in 2007 and then returning fully online as a news and opinion platform in October 2019. It still has to receive membership in the Parliamentary Press Gallery.

It was founded by **Erza Levant**, a conservative media personality who acted as its former publisher, and who also founded and owns Rebel Media, a site that has been host to far-right writers and perspectives.

The *Western Standard* is headed by publisher **Derek Fildebrandt**, a former Wildrose and Freedom Conservative Alberta MLA. Its Alberta news editor and bureau chief is **Dave Naylor**, and **Cory Morgan** is the assistant opinion and broadcast editor and host of *Triggered*. Reporters **Melanie Risdon**, **Ewa Sudyk**, **Amanda Brown**, and **Amber Gosselin** are based in Alberta. Reporter **Reid Small** is based in British Columbia and **Christopher Oldcorn** is based in Saskatchewan.

The *Standard* describes itself as an independent news source "fighting for a strong and free Western Canada," with an emphasis on commitment to truth and refusal of any form of government funding.

Paul Wells to discuss journalist-inspired concert at the NAC

On April 13 and April 14, the National Arts Centre Orchestra with music director **Alexander Shelley** will be hosting a concert, *Truth in Our Time*, featuring **Philip Glass' Symphony No. 13**, in what the orchestra's event description calls an "ode to freedom of the press and tribute to Canadian-born journalist **Peter Jennings**."



Paul Wells will be hosting a panel on the journalism-inspired NAC orchestra performance. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Before that concert starts, however, former *Maclean's* senior writer, currently a self-employed journalist and author, **Paul Wells** will be hosting a panel discussion on the topic.

The NAC has previously featured Wells at its events, hosting conversations with prominent politicians and public figures.

Jennings was a Canadian-American television journalist who passed away in 2005. A high school drop-out, he climbed the ranks from his early years at Canadian radio shows, CTV, and eventually landed at ABC News where he was a foreign correspondent in the Middle East.

He would eventually establish a strong reputation as the sole anchor of *ABC World News Tonight*, a highly watched American evening network news show.

Globe reporter Kristy Kirkup gets COVID-19 while pregnant

The Globe and Mail national reporter **Kristy Kirkup** tweeted on March 13 that she got COVID-19 and was in the emergency room.



Kristy Kirkup has been with *The Globe and Mail* since 2019. Photograph courtesy of Twitter

"I was going to get a cake today to mark two years since the world changed," she wrote. "Instead I'm at the ER with confirmed COVID. The virus hit this week through my kid's daycare. I'm immune compromised and almost six months pregnant. You may be done with the virus. That changes nothing."

Her tweet received thousands of likes and countless comments wishing her health and a good recovery.

A day later she posted an update, noting that she's "grateful for the dignity of doctors and nurses, the power of science, the love of family and the care of friends. I'm still in hospital but feeling OK. I won't be tweeting more from isolation."

Since then her channel's been quiet save a few retweets.

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The Hill Times

Working to reduce
opioid poisoning
in construction



Resources for employers and employees at

ccsa.ca/workplace-safety



Canadian Centre
on Substance Use
and Addiction

All the protection, none of the pain

McMaster-made inhaled vaccines are extremely effective against COVID-19 variants, new research confirms.

These aerosol vaccines, currently in clinical trials, go straight to the airways and lungs, directly targeting viruses where respiratory infections begin.

This makes them so efficient, you only need a small fraction of the dose of current injected vaccines to offer protection. So a single batch of vaccine could go up to 100 times further. **And there's no needle.**

Our scientists mobilized decades of groundbreaking vaccine and infectious disease research to design these vaccines to anticipate viral mutations and combat future variants of concern.

These innovations are among the many ways in which McMaster experts at Canada's Global Nexus for Pandemics and Biological Threats are protecting our communities and preventing the next pandemic.



From left: **Matthew Miller**, Associate Professor, Biochemistry and Biomedical Sciences; **Brian Lichty**, Associate Professor, Medicine; **Fiona Smaill**, Professor, Pathology and Molecular Medicine; **Zhou Xing**, Professor, Medicine



Canada's Global Nexus for
Pandemics and Biological Threats



News

Lack of leadership to unite Canadians could bring in American-style divisive politics in Canada, warn political insiders

More 'emphatic' expression of political opinions from extreme left and extreme right is a function of modern communication through social media, says Ipsos Public Affairs CEO Darrell Bricker.

BY ABBAS RANA

The lack of leadership at the federal level to unite Canadians could bring in American-style divisive politics in the country which means politics will be a lot more about emotion and less about finding the best way forward, warn political insiders.

"It means we move along to the same path, the Americans have moved on and increasingly polarized Canada, where the different sides don't talk to each other anymore," said Greg Lyle, president of Innovative Research, in an interview with *The Hill Times*.

A more charged up political environment would mean that politics would become increasingly more tribal where politicians would speak only to their base and not to the other side of the political arguments. Issues would not be decided by their merits, but on politicians' ability to rally the base. Some of these types of trends have already been creeping into Canadian politics over the years, but now they're becoming more and more front and centre. Unless the political leadership makes an aggressive effort to stop this trend, Canadians will eventually catch up to U.S.-style politics.

Already, at a House of Commons hearing in Ottawa in 2019 about the SNC-Lavalin affair, former PCO clerk Michael Wernick called on all politicians to tone down their rhetoric and to bring the political temperature down. He said he was worried that someone will be killed in Canada because of the political tone.

"I worry about the rising tides of incitements to violence when people use terms like 'treason' and



The three week long trucker protest in Ottawa showed how dissatisfied a significant number of Canadians are with their political leadership. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

'traitor' in open discourse," Wernick said. "Those are the words that lead to assassination. I'm worried that somebody is going to be shot in this country this year during the political campaign."

Lyle said that politicians have to earn credibility to be able to talk to people on all sides of the ideological divide. Citing a recent example, he said, at the start of COVID pandemic, Canadians were listening and willing to follow the prime minister and premiers, but things changed after Canadians started to think that some of their political leaders were playing politics and after they grew tired of the pandemic.

In the lead-up to the last federal election, Trudeau first said he was against COVID-19 vaccine mandates but later changed his position and used it as a wedge



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured on Parliament Hill in Feb. 24, 2022. Political insiders say they don't see any federal party leader on the horizon at this time who can bring the country together. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

against the Conservatives which helped him win the election, albeit a minority. Trudeau had triggered the 2021 election in the hopes of winning a majority, but sensing the prime minister's opportunism, Canadians returned the Liberals with a minority.

"It's abundantly clear that in the lead-up to the election when he switched his position from not requiring mandates to requiring mandates that he did that to get a wedge issue on the Conservatives," said Lyle. "And he did so effectively."

In the recent Freedom Convoy's illegal occupation of downtown Ottawa, Trudeau's rhetoric against the protesters also made matters worse when he originally dismissed them as "fringe." The three-week-long occupation was a key event in recent history; one in which, according to some public opinion polls, about one-third of Canadians said they were unsat-

isfied with the COVID restrictions and supportive of the trucker protesters.

During those three weeks, thousands of protesters jammed the streets around Parliament Hill bringing the downtown Ottawa core to a screeching halt and costing the city about a million dollars a day in policing costs. In the end, the federal government invoked the Emergencies Act and a massive police presence removed the protesters.

Public Safety Minister Marco Mendicino (Eglinton-Lawrence, Ont.) said the Ottawa protest and others across the country have cost the Canadian economy billions of dollars. He also said there were connections of some protesters to far-right groups. At a border blockade in Coutts, Alta., law enforcement agencies arrested 11 people, seizing guns and ammunition, and four were charged with conspiracy to commit murder.

The protesters wanted the government to revoke all pandemic restrictions in the country. Some were anti-vaxxers, others were angry with what they described as the government denying their civil liberties. Many were protesting the Trudeau government, generally.

Political insiders interviewed for this story said they don't see any federal party leader at this time who can unite the country. Trudeau is regarded as a polarizing figure, while NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh (Burnaby South, B.C.) appears to be speaking only for a section of the left-of-centre voters. The Conservatives are currently in the middle of a leadership campaign and it remains to be seen if the winner has the ability or credibility to be a unifier.

Of the candidates with a realistic possibility of winning the leadership election, political insiders said, Jean Charest appears to be the likeliest to unite the country.

Brian Mulroney was the last prime minister who won with a majority government in 1984 with more than 50 per cent of the popular vote and seats in all regions of the country. Since then, all prime ministers — Jean Chrétien, Stephen Harper, and Justin Trudeau — have won majority governments but each with less than 50 per cent of the votes.

However, one change between the Mulroney era and now is that up until 1988, there were only three main political parties that competed at the federal level for votes — Liberals, Progressive Conservatives and New Democrats. But now, the Bloc Québécois, Greens, and the Peoples Party of Canada also win a significant chunk of the popular vote. In the last election, Bloc Québécois won 32 seats and the Greens two seats. The PPC did not win any seat, but garnered more than 800,000 votes nationally and according to some estimates the Conservatives lost 20 seats because of the vote divide between the two parties.

The last election was the first time in Canadian political history when a federal political party won government by garnering only 32.6 per cent of the popular vote nationally. Before that, the lowest popular vote by which a political party won was in the 2019 election when the Trudeau Liberals carried only 33.1 per cent of the vote. And before that, the Joe Clark Progressive Conservatives formed a minority government with 35.9 per cent of the vote in 1979.

Frank Graves, president of Ekos Research, said that Canadians are deeply concerned about this high level of polarization in the country and want a more harmonious and less divisive Canada. He said that if no leader comes forward to unite the country, it would mean more American-style divisive politics. This would also mean no consensus on national issues of significance. In the short term, Graves said, he does not see any path out of this quagmire.

"Where things go from here is very hard to predict," said Graves. "But certainly they have become more, not less, problematic over the past few years, and I don't see we have a clear answer of how to deal with it right now."

Darrell Bricker, CEO of Ipsos Public Affairs, said that he was not too worried that Canadians have now become more "emphatic" in expressing their views. He said that before this, for the longest period of time, a moderate right of centre PC Party or a moderate left of centre the Liberal Party ran the country. But, over the last decade or so, that consensus has ended and now extremes on both ends of the political spectrum have become more expressive.

"I prefer not to put a value judgment on it," said Bricker. "I mean, it's just politics, it's the way the world is going."

He said that several factors have come into play to create this charged up political environment, most importantly the social media, which has amplified and accelerated the communication process.

"We can clutch our pearls and we can get all upset about it, but this is modern communication in modern politics," said Bricker. "It's not pretty, it's not edifying, that's for sure. But it is what it is. You could stand up and say, 'why can't everybody just get along?' Well, the reason that they don't get along is they actually disagree. They actually fundamentally disagree on some really, really critical points. And they're trying to win an election because they actually believe in taking the country in different direction."

He said that any leader who wants to bring the country together would have to be authentic, and tell the truth to Canadians. Also, that person would have to be a good listener and willing to address the legitimate concerns of Canadians. And one more factor that could bring normalcy to the political discourse is that political parties would have to come out of permanent campaign mode and instead focus their attention on governing the country.

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The Hill Times

SEVEN-IN-TEN CANADIANS AGREE THAT DIGITAL PLATFORMS SHOULD DO MORE TO SUPPORT CANADIAN CONTENT!

Right now, foreign digital broadcasters do not have any responsibility to promote or support Canadian music.

Current broadcasting laws and regulations were designed for radio and television.

While these rules have been effective, foreign digital platforms have zero obligations to support and promote Canadian creators, even to Canadian audiences.

For every dollar in music licenses from Canadian TV and radio broadcasters, around 34 cents are distributed to Canadian songwriters and composers.

But for every dollar in music licenses from digital platforms, only 10 cents remain in Canada.

CANADIAN MUSIC CAN'T GET LOST IN THE SHUFFLE.

SOCAN and other Canadian music industry organizations are calling for updated policies for digital broadcasters so that Canadian music is heard.

Reforming the Broadcasting Act is a necessary step to strengthening Canadian songwriters and composers' place within Canada and supporting Canadian music in a digital world.

* Leger online survey of 1,510 Canadians aged 18+ completed between January 28-30, 2022, using Leger's online panel.

SEPT CANADIENS SUR DIX CROIENT QUE LES PLATEFORMES NUMÉRIQUES DEVRAIENT SOUTENIR D'AVANTAGE LES CONTENUS CANADIENS!

À l'heure actuelle, les diffuseurs numériques étrangers n'ont aucune responsabilité quant à la promotion ou au soutien de la musique canadienne.

Les lois et règlements actuels en matière de radiodiffusion ont été conçus pour la radio et la télévision.

Cette réglementation a été efficace, mais les plateformes numériques étrangères n'ont toujours aucune obligation de soutenir et de promouvoir les créateurs canadiens, même auprès du public canadien.

Pour chaque dollar de licences musicales des diffuseurs canadiens de télévision et de radio, environ 34 cents vont aux créateurs canadiens.

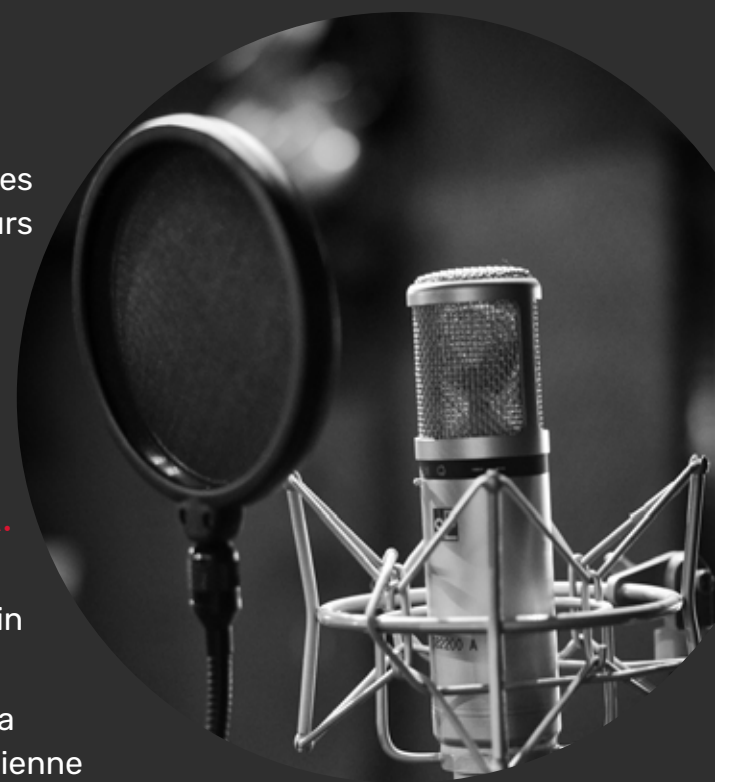
Mais pour chaque dollar de licences musicales provenant des plateformes numériques, seulement 10 cents restent au Canada.

LA MUSIQUE CANADIENNE NE DOIT PAS ÊTRE PERDUE DANS LE BROUHAHA.

La SOCAN et d'autres organisations de l'industrie canadienne de la musique demandent une mise à jour des politiques encadrant les diffuseurs numériques afin que la musique canadienne soit entendue.

La réforme de la Loi sur la radiodiffusion est une étape nécessaire pour renforcer la place des créateurs canadiens dans leur propre pays et soutenir la musique canadienne dans un monde numérique.

* Sondage Léger en ligne de 1510 Canadiens de plus de 18 ans mené entre le 28 et le 30 janvier 2022 par l'entremise du panel en ligne de Léger.



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ADISQ
Association québécoise de l'industrie du disque, du spectacle et de la vidéo

APEM
Association des professionnels de l'édition musicale

CIMA
EST. 1975

Music Publishers Canada
Éditeurs de Musique au Canada

SCGC
SCREEN COMPOSERS GUILD OF CANADA

SPACQ

Songwriters.ca

News

Emergencies Act's use to quell trucker-convoy protests no threat to civil liberties, says law's architect

Now, the work of a parliamentary review committee and inquiry should be towards the goal of eliminating the need to invoke the act in comparable circumstances in the future, says former defence minister Perrin Beatty.

BY CHRISTOPHER GULY

When a special parliamentary committee and a yet-to-be-formed independent inquiry review the federal government's first-ever use of the Emergencies Act, the former cabinet minister who was the 1988 law's architect says they should consider how to "eliminate" the need to invoke it again in comparable circumstances.

"The starting point needs to be whether the deliberately high threshold for invoking the act was met. In essence, it must be a grave crisis that is beyond the ability of a province to handle it and there must not be other tools that are sufficient to resolve the problem," said Perrin Beatty, about the federal government's invocation of the act after illegal blockades brought Ottawa's downtown to a standstill and threatened key Canada-U.S. border crossings.

As national defence minister in Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservative (PC) government, Beatty was given the responsibility of creating a Charter of Rights and Freedoms-friendly replacement for the War Measures Act—adopted in 1914 at the beginning of the First World War, and used only twice thereafter, during the Second World War, and in 1970, when then-prime minister Pierre Trudeau invoked it during the October Crisis.

"You do not want to make it routine to curtail civil liberties when problems arise," said Beatty, who said he still believes the Emergencies Act, which became law in 1988, has "held up well in terms of how it protected civil liberties."

"Despite some of the overheated rhetoric, you would be hard-pressed to find emergencies legislation in other countries with so many protections built in, including being subject to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms," he explained. Beatty said he has not taken a position on whether the

federal government was right or not to invoke the act, since he has not "seen enough evidence regarding the government's reasoning," and hopes that the inquiries and the courts "will resolve that issue."

Beatty said the reviews by the special joint parliamentary committee, composed of seven MPs and four Senators, and the inquiry, required by the legislation to begin within 60 days of the act's revocation, "should consider the lessons learned."



Police face off against protesters on Feb. 18 as part of a massive law enforcement effort to clear protesters from Ottawa's downtown after 'Freedom Convoy' demonstrations occupied the area for three weeks. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

"The goal," explained Beatty, "should be to eliminate the need to invoke the act in comparable circumstances in the future."

A month after Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.)'s Feb. 23 revocation of the act, the special joint committee will hold its first meeting. It's tasked with reviewing the exercise of powers under the act and must report back to the House and Senate. The committee took some time to get off the ground following political wrangling over spots and chair positions, with Independent Senator Gwen Boniface (Ontario), Bloc Québécois MP Rhéal Éloi Fortin (Rivière-du-Nord, Que.), and NDP MP Matthew Green (Hamilton Centre, Ont.) to be recognized officially as the three joint chairs during the inaugural March 14 meeting.

Beatty described the act as a "blunt instrument" despite the protections built into it.

"You do not use emergencies legislation as a means of ordinary governance; it is designed to be a measure of last resort," he said. "As a result, if we identify ongoing issues, like the fact that Ontario's legislation does not permit authorities to require tow-truck operators to provide services, or that it takes excessively long to swear-in large numbers of police officers from outside jurisdictions, those issues should be dealt with elsewhere."

"The same would apply to the freezing of bank accounts for people who were involved in the blockade of downtown Ottawa," added Beatty, who now serves as president

and chief executive officer of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

On Feb. 18, police from jurisdictions across the country launched a massive operation to clear Ottawa's downtown of "Freedom Convoy" protesters as well as the trucks and big rigs that clogged the city's core and Parliamentary Precinct for more than three weeks. In the days leading up to that action, banks, under the emergency directive, froze accounts of some people who

retary of state for external affairs (today's foreign affairs portfolio) in Kim Campbell's short-lived PC government in 1993.

Beatty said that the federal government "made it clear that the Emergencies Act facilitated their ability to add police officers or to get tow trucks. But the act is designed to be used when there is no other way of dealing with the problem—not as a matter of convenience."

He explained that another justification for its usage was that "while municipal and provincial authorities had the capabilities needed to resolve the issue, they chose not to use them."

"The suggestion is that by invoking the act the federal government got everyone moving. However, that would suggest that the value of the Emergencies Act was political, as opposed to giving governments essential powers they didn't previously have," Beatty said.

"The courts will ultimately decide whether the threshold was met. It will be useful to have that clarity."

Misunderstandings on emergency legislation 'are legion,' says May

Former Green leader Elizabeth May (Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C.), who now serves as her party's parliamentary leader in the House of Commons, supports the federal government's invocation of Part II of the law, which addresses a public order emergency.

"The miscommunications and misunderstandings are legion around this piece of legislation," said May, a lawyer by training.

Defined by the act as "an emergency that arises from threats to the security of Canada and that is so serious as to be a national emergency. National security threats are defined through the Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act, under four criteria: espionage or sabotage against Canada or detrimental to the interests of Canada; foreign-influenced activities in Canada that are detrimental to Canada's interests and are clandestine or deceptive or involve a threat to any person; activities in support of the threat or use of acts of serious violence against persons or property for the purpose of achieving a political, religious, or ideological objective within Canada or a foreign state; or, activities meant to undermine, destroy, or overthrow by violence Canada's system of government.

In May's view, one of those criterion was particularly met to address the effects of "Freedom Convoy 2022," which kept Ottawa under siege for three weeks, and resulted in acts of assault and vandalism, and calls for the federal government's removal.

The longtime Green MP focused on the reference to foreign influence, beyond the non-Canadian contributions to the millions donated to truckers through GoFundMe before the crowdfunding platform shut down the campaign. GoFundMe told a parliamentary committee that more than 80 per cent of \$10-million donated came from Canadian donors.

"I was very concerned about how much disinformation was coming, not just from U.S. sources, but from Russian propaganda—from the government of Vladimir Putin, undermining our democracy through the spreading of lies," said May, who attributed anti-vaccine messaging during the pandemic primarily to such sources as Russia Today (RT), the state-owned broadcaster established by the Russian president in 2005.

On March 16, RT and its French-language counterpart, RT France, were removed from the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission's list of foreign programming services authorized for distribution in Canada for not being in "the public interest" and that sought, in part, "to undermine the sovereignty of another country," following Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

The day before the CRTC announcement, May was among 313 Canadians, including Trudeau, whose names appeared on a Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry "black list" of people banned from entering Russia.

May said she hopes the inquiry will examine the extent of foreign interference in the trucker protests that promoted "white supremacy and racism—disinformation about public health—and an alt-right conspiracy theory-soaked QAnon space in Canadian public thought that I never imagined would exist here, that has been fomented by Russian propaganda."

She said that during the truckers' occupation of Ottawa, MPs were concerned about the close proximity to Parliament of the trucks themselves—"chunks of metal that have no Charter rights," offered May. The four-term MP was afforded an RCMP escort to bring her to and from the Commons during that time, based on both security ("I'm too recognizable") and practicality to access the Parliamentary Precinct, particularly in light of her mobility issues since having a knee-replacement surgery last year.

"Nobody knew what was in those trucks. My nightmare was that one of them was loaded with nitrogen fertilizer and any minute we would all be blown up," she said.

"That was a menacing event to the people of Ottawa and dangerous towards the Government of Canada."

According to May, "racialized" cabinet ministers were given RCMP protection during the protests, and she said that she witnessed harassment directed toward BIPOC or LGBTQ MPs and their staff.

She also hopes that the parliamentary committee and the inquiry unpack "what the heck happened with the Ottawa police and why they weren't able to handle this."

"In this case, there was bad information, strategic errors—maybe even sabotage from within, because we know that some Ottawa police appeared to, based on media reports, tell convoy truckers where they could park on Wellington Street and stay put," said May.

"This was a massively well-organized, massively resourced occupation with offsite logistical camps for replenishing supplies."

The Hill Times



Freedom Convoy supporters, pictured Feb. 12, 2022, on Metcalfe Street in what became a three-week occupation of Ottawa's downtown core and the Parliamentary Precinct neighbourhood. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

There's a new force in Canadian politics and it's growing fast

As CBC News journalist Jorge Barrera recently reported, many of the Freedom Convoy protesters told him they're moving their support away from the Conservative party to the People's Party.

Andrew Cardozo

Opinion



OTTAWA—Tamara Lich and Pat King, the key organizers of the protesters who occupied Ottawa, are more popular than Erin O'Toole and many Conservatives, and that's why the Conservative Party has to play footsie with the protesters. There is a new force in Canadian politics on the right and it is growing fast.

They helped with the final dagger in O'Toole's back and as Jorge Barrera of the CBC recently reported, many of their supporters are now more comfortable in the People's Party than in the Conservative Party, where they once were.

We can't really call them the truckers, in part because Lich and King are not truckers and, in part, because the truckers that have been occupying Canadian borders and Ottawa represent some 10 per cent of the trucking industry.)

The PPC is an existential threat to the Conservative Party, having gone from 1.6 per cent in the 2019 election to five per cent in 2021, and most (but not all) of their support comes right out of the Conservatives. If they get another two or three per cent in the next election, that could shave off another dozen or more Conservative seats which

would go to the Liberals or New Democrats in various parts of the country.

So there has to be a two-stage strategy for the Conservatives: move hard right, kill off the PPC, then move centre and win. O'Toole tried that all on his own and without telling anyone, and it didn't work so well for him. How you time those moves is a conundrum that no high-end political adviser has been able to figure out.

Which brings us to the current race. Conventional wisdom, and one should never trust conventional wisdom in politics, says that Pierre Poilievre and Jean Charest are the two front-runners. Well, there is an equally plausible scenario that has Leslyn Lewis and Patrick Brown being the top two. Poilievre can just implode in his endless volleys of angry politics aimed inside and outside his party, making Lewis the right-wing favourite, while Charest may get overtaken by the energizer bunny that is his moderate co-conspirator, Patrick Brown.

And speaking of Lewis' followers. They have been misled a little too often of late. First, with Doug Ford in Ontario, who swore he would drop the modern sex-ed curriculum and then didn't, and that was after he gleefully turfed their leader, Tanya Granic Allen, as a candidate. Then there's O'Toole, who won with their support and transformed into a full-fledged Red Tory by election day. Expect the social conservatives to be stronger and more determined this time, and less willing to transfer their second ballot vote to anyone, not even the brash and angry Poilievre.

And there's Mad Max. You heard it here first: expect him to run in a byelection in Alberta, Saskatchewan, or Manitoba by the end of next year. In the normal course of things someone is going to step down or God forbid, die. The PPC's highest scores were in some rural Saskatchewan ridings. His home riding of Beauce and his home province of Quebec have only a little time for him, but the "Albertan from Quebec" as he likes to call himself, is a lot more popular in the mid-West. That will change things a bit. At the least it's worth remembering that that is how the Reform Party got started when Deb Gray won a byelection

in 1988 ... and one of her assistants was a young Steve Harper.

It's tough being leader of the Conservative party where the members don't want it to be as big a tent as needed to win. You can only move it over to the right or the left, not both. It's not enough to say they just need a Mulroney or a Harper; the hard right in Canada, America and other countries is becoming stronger and louder and less compromising. And they are changing as they are able to speak for more disenfranchised folks including an increasing number of blue-collar workers who were not particularly right wing in the past. People in search of easy fixes to complex problems.

At the same time Liberal, New Democrat, and Green voters seem to be more elitist, high educated, high income and more enthralled with complex fixes to simple problems.

And then there's the globe. Globalization is coming to a crashing end most notably with COVID and now the Russian invasion of Ukraine. The right is turning inwards while progressives are still explaining global supply chains.

While the Conservatives face their existential conundrum the progressives had better get a handle on the fast-moving sands under their feet.

Andrew Cardozo is president of the Pearson Centre.

The Hill Times



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Editorial

Any military investments in the North must also benefit northern communities

Any increase to military spending and resources in Canada's Arctic must also have the dual function of serving Canada's northern communities.

Amid Russian President Vladimir Putin's war on Ukraine, Russia's involvement in Arctic co-operation has been called into question, as seven of the eight members of the Arctic Council have withdrawn their membership and refused to meet with Russia. Defence Minister Anita Anand has said she intends to protect Canada's Arctic sovereignty through heightened diplomacy and military presence. As reported in this edition of *The Hill Times*, northern MPs and Arctic observers see this as an opportunity for Canada to provide much-needed infrastructure to northern communities.

The North lacks essential infrastructure like transportation, housing, hospitals, and schools. It's costly to import food to the region, meaning grocery store prices are astronomical, and something like ground beef can cost upwards of \$20.

According to the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), the high prevalence of food insecurity can be attributed to intersecting factors, including poverty, high cost of living, climate change, inadequate infrastructure, and systemic racism.

It is beyond unfair that northerners must wait until a global power poses

an implicit threat to the North for the Canadian government to potentially consider improving infrastructure in the region. But, if that's the way it's going to be, then the government should at the very least ensure that any infrastructure that is built for military purposes has the dual function of serving communities.

This could look like the construction of a deep sea port, as retired colonel Pierre Leblanc is suggesting. Such a port could enable the Canadian military to monitor underwater activities. It could also provide a location for fuel tankers to dock to provide Canada's fighter jets the ability to stay north longer.

A port would also be a boon to the local economy for Northern communities, potentially open the region up for trade between Canada and Greenland, and create jobs.

This is just one example of how military investments could be created with community in mind. In a better, decolonized world, the government would decide to make investing in Canada's northern communities a priority without the concern of Arctic sovereignty on the horizon. But if military investments are going to happen anyways, then civilian communities should have a say in what will work best.

The Hill Times

Letters to the Editor

Time to re-evaluate Canada's defence spending, writes Mike Mueller

Russia's unprovoked invasion of Ukraine is forcing a close examination of defence and foreign policy with a focused attention on the need for Canada to have the means to play a bigger role in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and continental defence within NORAD. From a NORAD perspective, more than ever, the security of our borders and our sovereignty in the Arctic are pressing issues.

The global aerospace and defence sector has been realigning dramatically to face new challenges and opportunities, first because of the COVID pandemic, and second due to the increasing global security threat. Aerospace is a unique and strategic industry. Its role in national security and special defence trading relationships, the implications of long product and investment timelines, and the broad societal impacts and applications of its space, defence and aviation innovations, have always required a close partnership between industry and government.

We applaud the Canadian government's commitment to prioritize NORAD modernization with our American ally. This represents an opportunity for government to plan and align policy with our own national security and industrial objectives to ensure that Canadian companies play a defining role in delivering capability and bolstering our arctic sovereignty.

Given the nature and pace of the growing threat to national security, we are ready to work with government to find efficient ways of reducing delays in the defence procurement process. Our

allies have more streamlined, predictable and supported procurement processes allowing them to more swiftly respond to global threats. The geopolitical environment is changing rapidly and requires fast-paced government action.

While geopolitical tensions have been steadily mounting, Canada's defence spending falls short of the NATO target of two per cent of GDP (Currently spending 1.39 per cent) putting us near the bottom among our allies. The U.K., as an example, spends an estimated 2.29 per cent. Across Europe, countries are boosting their defence budgets and fortifying their NATO standing. In fact, Germany has pledged to double military spending.

Threats to continental security are more complex and multi-faceted than they have ever been, and the strategic environment requires a comprehensive approach. That is why Canada must increase its defence budget to meet its NATO commitment, go forward with NORAD modernization, and expedite procurement initiatives.

We are encouraged by recent remarks and comments from the prime minister and defence minister that acknowledge this new defence and security landscape and future spending considerations. Canada's aerospace industry stands ready to work with Canada's government to leverage the strengths of our industry to help ensure our collective security.

Mike Mueller
 President and CEO
 Aerospace Industries Association of
 Canada
 Ottawa, Ont.

Our transition journey has been derailed, says British Columbia letter writer

Often, on any journey, we meet distractions that interrupt that journey. This can create a problem when the distractions change the entire course of the journey. The transition journey toward a low-carbon energy future might be an example and how our response to the current distractions is important.

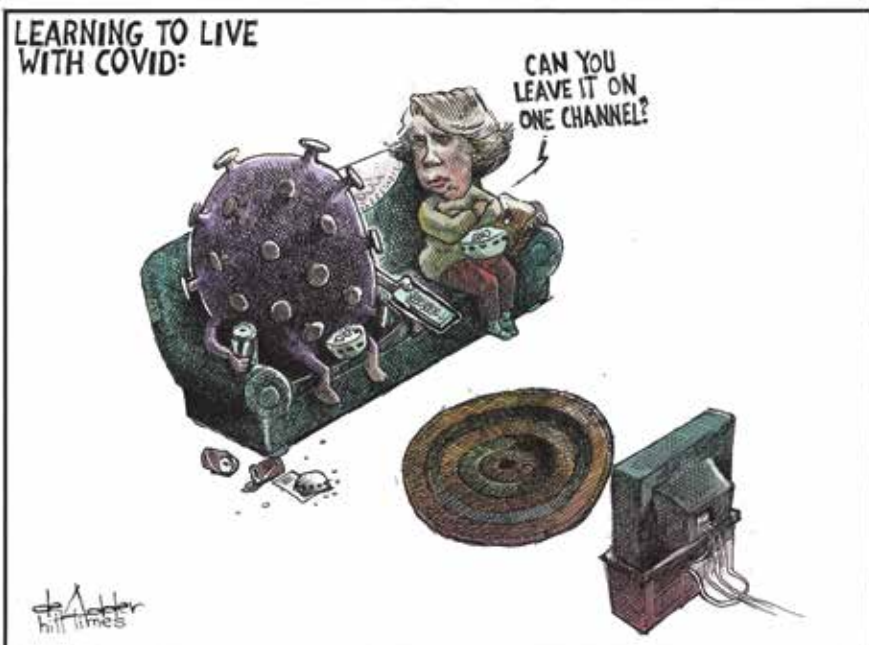
While there are strategies in every sector to reduce carbon emissions, our biggest distraction at the moment is the increased cost of carbon-based energy and the event causing that increase. The consequence of that event has caused

many to abandon the transition journey and return to developing more carbon-based energy infrastructure. The transition journey is derailed.

At some point, the event causing us to change direction will be resolved. During that time we will have again invested in carbon based energy, further distracting from transition.

With government as our travel agent, do we reaffirm the original direction of our journey, or agree to go back from where we came?

Ron Robinson
 Nelson, B.C.



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Canadian political landscape could change dramatically by summer's end

Controversy inside the Conservative federal leadership race will have a spillover effect into the provincial elections in Ontario and Quebec.

Sheila
Copps

Copps' Corner



OTTAWA—By summer's end, the Canadian political landscape could change dramatically. Ontario is into a provincial election in less than two months, smack in the middle of a national Conservative leadership race. Quebec must have an election by Oct. 3, and next month Alberta's controversial premier faces an internal review which could plunge his party into another fight.

Federal and provincial parties are separate, but the voting public sees them all as a single, homogeneous mass.

So, controversy inside the Conservative federal leadership race will have a spillover effect into the provincial elections in Ontario and Quebec.

In Ontario, the premier has already stated that he will remain neutral and none of his ministers will be involved in any campaign.

That is bad news for Jean Charest, as the leadership list of Caroline Mulroney, whose family has deep ties with the former Quebec premier, could be very valuable.

Charest's only path to victory is to saturate Ontario, Quebec and Atlantic Canada with enough votes to overcome his socially conservative deficit in the west.

But even though Mulroney herself cannot get involved, there is nothing stopping key organizers from enlisting volunteers and voters for Charest.

The organizing skills of former provincial Progressive Conservative leader Patrick Brown are well He could secure a base for a more centrist vote which would likely end up in Charest's camp in a frontrunner's fight.

Brown has no love lost for the premier, as Doug Ford actually came to office after Brown resigned following two allegations of sexual misconduct, which he denied and for which CTV recently expressed "regrets" over some inaccurate details in its story. The Brown exit was ugly, and paved the way for Ford to beat Christine Elliott in a subsequent provincial leadership contest.

Any reference to the hate-hate relationship between Brown and Ford will not help the premier in the key ridings in Brampton, Mississauga and Scarborough where Brown has many supporters who would not likely support the premier in a general election.

As for Quebec, issues within the Tory federal leadership could definitely create some blowback in the provincial campaign. The bill that forced teachers to choose between religious headgear and their jobs has caused quite a stir across the country.

However, it is largely supported in Quebec, so attacks on Bill 21 by national Conservatives will simply reinforce the re-election chances of Premier François Legault.

Charest will have to tread carefully there because he needs to

secure his Quebec base, but cannot afford to alienate the rest of the party on a divisive religious issue.

Alberta's Jason Kenney, already hobbled by a popularity plunge in his home province, has historically tried to play a brokerage role in the federal campaign.

But given he has so many Alberta problems, the usual cadre of candidates lined up to seek his blessing will definitely decrease in this leadership campaign.

Ford is facing the voters on June 2, but 25 per cent of his current caucus has decided not to run again.

The most recent announcement by Christine Elliott, former leadership rival, that she is stepping down, does not augur well for the party's election chances.

Most seasoned politicians can smell a change in the wind. When they decide not to reoffer, it is because they think their chances of losing are greater than winning.

Of course, they usually cite family or personal reasons for resigning, but in the end, a party on its way out loses more incumbent members than a party in the ascendancy.

Ford's saving grace at the moment is that the New Democrats

and Liberals are in a virtual tie as to who the replacement should be.

That being said, the Liberals have the edge as the NDP polls heavier in certain urban constituencies like Hamilton and Windsor, but it's presence in rural Ontario is much weaker. That skews the numbers because an equal vote actually means more seats for the Liberals, in the same way that an equal federal Conservative/Liberal vote means more seats for the grits.

By October, we will likely have at least two new premiers in Alberta and Ontario, which also has federal repercussions.

In Ontario's case, voters like to have political bookends at the federal and provincial scene. So, if the Liberals win the provincial election, it will open more doors for a Tory federal victory in the next election.

In Alberta, it is a Tory/NDP dance, and a provincial win for the New Democrats would provide energy and workers for the next federal election.

The only certainty in Canadian politics this year is change.

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

The Hill Times

Why political dilettantes have a path to power

Having lots of political experience is a good thing for a person who wants to be prime minister, right? Yet, counterintuitively, sometimes having lots of experience, or having an extensive resumé or having oodles of qualifications can be a detriment for a politician.

Gerry
Nicholls

Post Partisan Pundit



OKVILLE, ONT.—*Globe and Mail* columnist Andrew Coyne recently had blunt advice for federal Conservatives as they ponder choosing a new leader.

He wrote: "Clown time is over. For much of the past decade, voters across the democratic world have indulged in the fantasy that they could elect, in essence, a bunch of clowns to lead them: demagogues, dilettantes, billionaire brick-throwers, people with no experience of or fitness for office but only a talent for distraction."

In other words, it seems Coyne is urging Conservatives to pick a leader with tons of experience and with a track record of success.

On the surface, of course, this seems like good, even obvious, advice.

After all, having lots of political experience is a good thing for a person who wants to be prime minister, right?

Yet, counterintuitively, sometimes having lots of experience, or having an extensive resumé or having oodles of qualifications can be a detriment for a politician.

That's because, the way a lot of voters see it, the longer someone hangs onto the ring of power, the more likely it is they'll be tainted by its corrupting influences.

Better to have untested but unsullied people in charge.

Indeed, there's nothing new about voters turning to "brick-throwers."

One of the ancient Roman Republic's most successful politicians, for example, was a general named Gaius Marius, who styled himself as a *novo homo*, "new man."

His message to Romans was simple: while Rome's blue-blooded elites, with their massive wealth and noble pedigrees, were engaging in sundry political in-

trigues, he was on the battlefield defending the empire from its barbarian enemies.

No doubt, there were Roman scribes at the time, ("Andrew Coyne"?) who saw Marius as nothing but a rough around the edge's demagogue, who had no business challenging Rome's experienced patrician class.

Yet, that didn't stop him.

In fact, Marius was elected consul (roughly equivalent to a Roman president) a record seven times.

Basically, he set the template for other rebel politicians across the ages to follow.

Mind you, for much of history, the elites in democratic societies usually possessed sufficient clout within the system to thwart the ambition of outsiders.

Yes, some "dilettantes" did emerge from time to time, but for the most part politics was under the control of backroom power brokers.

But that's changing; now it's much easier for political neophytes to play at the highest level of the game.

Consider, for instance, how Barack Obama went from being an obscure Senator to American president in an extremely short period of time, while also overcoming much more qualified and much more experienced opponents, i.e., Hillary Clinton and John McCain.

What helped make Obama a star was the internet, as it allowed him to bypass the traditional power structures of the party, to raise awareness for himself and money for his campaigns directly from the people.

Then there's Donald Trump, the ultimate outsider dilettante.

In 2016, Trump used the power of his celebrity status, along with his reputation for being a successful businessman, to steamroll over the Republican Party's establishment.

At any rate, my point is, whether Coyne likes it or not, thanks to new communication technologies and thanks to the way our society has elevated celebrities, people with a "talent for distraction" now have a clearer path to power.

But does being an outsider automatically mean a leader lacks "fitness for office?"

Well, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, who is being lauded worldwide for his leadership during the Russian invasion of his country, is actually a former actor and comedian.

So, Zelenskyy's doing a good job, even though he was once literally a clown.

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant.

The Hill Times

Politics

If the West won't war with Russia now, then when?

If the sickening invasion of Ukraine is not enough for the West to enter into direct war with Russia, it raises the inconvenient question of what possible terror the West is waiting for—or if it will never engage Putin directly

Michael
Harris

Harris



HALIFAX—Don't poke the bear.

In a nutshell, that has been the West's ostensible approach to Russia's sad and sickening invasion of Ukraine, now entering its fourth week.

That is how countries like the United States, Canada, and many of their European allies justify not stopping Russian forces from targeting and killing women and children, blowing up hospitals, schools, and residential areas, and destroying the lives of five million Ukrainians, three million of whom have fled to other countries, and two million who have been displaced within Ukraine itself.

There is clearly an argument for that "cautious" position. The logic behind not directly opposing this criminal, barbaric, and unprovoked invasion of a sovereign and democratic country goes like this. Putin has a vast nuclear arsenal, around 5,000 weapons. If NATO or the U.S. were to get directly involved in the current conflict and the war escalated, Armageddon could be 30 minutes away.

That nightmare scenario used to be called MAD, mutually assured destruction. The world as a giant heap of ashes, a final bonfire of all the best and worst of humanity. In the name of avoiding that, the West has denied President Zelenskyy the two things he needs most: a no-fly zone to keep Russian jets from bombing his



The West claims to take a cautious approach towards engaging with Russia. 'Don't poke the bear.' But how is the U.S. President Joe Biden calling Vladimir Putin a 'war criminal' not poking the bear? That same message is pictured here, at a pro-Ukraine protest outside of the Russian embassy in Ottawa. *The Hill Times photograph by Sam Garcia*

country, and Soviet-era MiGs to reinforce the Ukrainian Air Force. It has even balked at setting up a humanitarian air corridor to bring relief to millions of people living without food, water, or electricity. That would be poking the bear.

Really?

As if supplying Ukraine with deadly weapons that have so far knocked out Russian tanks, planes and helicopters isn't poking the bear.

As if shutting off the oxygen of the Russian economy isn't poking the bear.

As if the U.S. president calling Vladimir Putin a "war criminal" isn't poking the bear.

As if Joe Biden's billion-dollar war chest that gives Ukraine at least a fighting chance of defending itself isn't poking the bear.

As if the loss of six to seven thousand Russian soldiers, many of whom were killed by drones, missiles, and anti-tank munitions provided by the West isn't poking the bear. (If that reported number of Russian casualties is accurate, it would mean Russia has lost almost three times more soldiers in one month in war with Ukraine than the U.S. did in ten years of fighting in Afghanistan.)

Bottom line? It is simply a fiction that the West is somehow not facing off against Russia in this conflict. It is at war; it is just that so far the war has been conducted by surrogates. The upshot? Innocent people are dying without succour. The West, as it is now positioned, will defend Ukraine, down to the last Ukrainian.

There is another problem with the "don't poke the bear" policy

when it comes to direct military intervention in Ukraine. When the West stands by and watches on cable television this modern-day Guernica taking place, one wonders what sort of Russian atrocity would change the game plan?

As Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelenskyy himself has said, don't wait for a "red-line" to

“
Showing strength in defence of Ukraine, no-fly zone and jets included, is better than awaiting the next outrage from the ex-KGB officer with delusions of grandeur and no conscience.

be crossed before creating a no-fly zone. With the slaughter of a hundred children, rocket attacks on maternity hospitals, and the shelling of refugee convoys trying to escape to places like Poland and Romania, Zelenskyy says all the red lines have already been crossed.

Just as they were in the Chechen war when Russian forces slaughtered between 5,000 to 8,000 civilians with a siege-bombardment so vicious that the Chechen capital of Grozny was determined by the UN to be the most destroyed city on earth. The trouble with allowing all the red lines to be crossed, the trouble with self-detering because of the potential of triggering World War Last, is that it gives Vladimir Putin carte blanche in non-NATO countries.

That should be more than worrisome. The world ought to know by now what Putin does with a free hand. This man, who dreams of reestablishing the former Soviet Union, kills or imprisons his political opponents. He reaches into other countries to poison Russians he considers to be his enemies. A few years back, he snatched Crimea from Ukraine and nothing happened. Now he has come back for the whole country. And the West is still stuck on the amber light of caution.

All of which raises a number of inconvenient questions.

Newscasts these days are full of stories that Ukraine might actually win the war against Russia. What would the West do if Russia began to lose the war

in Ukraine and Putin raised the ante?

What if he used phosphorous or chemical weapons against Ukraine? It is clearly not off the table, because he has already used those weapons in Syria to keep his pal, Bashar al-Assad, in power. And what would the West do, if Putin became so desperate that he resorted to tactical nuclear weapons? Nothing?

Conversely, what would the West do if Putin occupied Ukraine, deposed President Zelenskyy, and installed a puppet government? Would it leave it to Ukrainian irregulars and freedom fighters to conduct a guerilla war, or step in? According to the "don't poke the bear" policy, the answer would likely be to denounce Russia and continue to self-deter.

And where might that lead?

Knowing that President Biden's highest priority in Ukraine is not to risk a confrontation between American and Russian forces, what if Putin rolled into Finland, a non-NATO country that shares a 1,300 kilometre border with Russia? According to the doctrine of "don't poke the bear" Putin would face no more than another round of essentially sentimental denunciations. There are really not any more meaningful sanctions left to impose.

Showing strength in defence of Ukraine, no-fly zone and jets included, is better than awaiting the next outrage from the ex-KGB officer with delusions of grandeur and no conscience.

Michael Harris is an award-winning author and journalist.

The Hill Times

Politics



The contenders: Pierre Poilievre, Jean Charest, Leslyn Lewis, and Patrick Brown are all running for the federal Conservative leadership, which will be decided on Sept. 10, still six months away. Handicapping the field this early is folly, but there seems to be some trends and strategies emerging, writes Joe Jordan. *The Hill Times* photographs by Sam Garcia, file photo, and handouts

Let's get ready to rumble, Conservative race turns into a street fight

Leadership races are more about logistics than strategy and what's important is who, and how many, are actually in the tent when the dust settles. The last few Conservative leadership races have devolved into the classic scenario of winning the battle but losing the war.

Joe Jordan

Comment



OTTAWA—It's not as if we don't have enough going on to consume our attention, but the Conservative leadership race might just warrant carving out

some cognitive space. I will leave the analysis about what it may mean to the experts and concentrate on the more entertaining element of what it will be, which is a street fight, poorly masquerading as a leadership contest.

In terms of relevant history, the current Conservative Party is an entity borne out of the shotgun wedding between the Reform Party and Progressive Conservative Party. Over the last two decades,

they have struggled with the challenges of trying to get a right-wing party elected in a centrist country, and it appears they have decided to climb down from one of those saddles.

The demise of both Andrew Scheer and Erin O'Toole would appear to be rooted in the necessity of entering into a Faustian Bargain with the small "c" conservative religious element of the party, in order to win the leadership, and then having to manage the unrest when attempts were made to improve their electoral chances.

Handicapping the field this early is folly, but there seems to be some trends and strategies emerging.

Pierre Poilievre, the consensus front-runner at this point, would appear to completely dismiss the need to move towards to centre to win and seems to think that the Conservative message was just lacking volume and vitriol. His comms folks implemented a classic whack-a-doodle ploy and dealt with the potential entrance of both Jean Charest and Patrick Brown with full-frontal personal attacks on the legitimacy of their conservative credentials, as well as their existence on the planet. While this didn't scare them off, it might very well impede new folks from wanting to participate.

Jean Charest, on the other hand, needs to sign up new party members in very large numbers. Assuming that the majority of the existing Conservative Party members are comfortable with the status quo, read here losing three elections to Justin Trudeau, Charest will need to expand the party base by somewhere north of 50,000 prior to the June 4 cut-off. His early message seems to

focus on his winnability, but he is talking about a general election, when the immediate hurdle is the leadership race itself.

“Regardless of the risks inherent in making predictions so early, I see this as a race between Poilievre and Charest. Lewis' support would go to Poilievre and Brown's support should go to Charest.”

Patrick Brown is an interesting candidate, as well as being an early Christmas present for the Charest folks. His willingness to effectively engage the Poilievre social media machine keeps Charest from having to do it, and every member he signs up should eventually help Charest.

Coming off a strong finish last time, Leslyn Lewis fills the role of standard bearer for the social conservative arm of the party, but will probably get the squeeze from Poilievre and Charest and fall short of victory.

The remainder of the potential field is made up of a number of people who seem to have no qualms about putting \$300,000 into a pile and lighting it on fire.

Over the next few months, the Conservative caucus will be consumed and distracted by this race, as everyone tries to sort out the moves necessary to improve their personal situation and status. I see they are wisely looking at sorting out the nomination rules and process before the race gets into the full swing, in an attempt to preempt leadership candidates from using that as a source of leverage to garner caucus support.

So, regardless of the risks inherent in making predictions so early, I see this as a race between Poilievre and Charest. Lewis' support would go to Poilievre and Brown's support should go to Charest.

If Poilievre wins, given the clear policy differences reflected in his communications strategy, I don't see the Charest/Brown members hanging around. It will be clear that the Reform/Progressive Conservative marriage was never consummated, and the Progressive Conservatives' stuff is on the front lawn.

If Charest were to win, I can see a significant exodus of the Reform/Alliance faction over to Max Bernier and the People's Party of Canada, again mitigating the competitiveness of the party in the next election.

Either way, the Liberals benefit, for a party that seems to feed on a pathological hatred of Justin Trudeau, they consistently go out of their way to help him whenever possible.

I should point out that the composition of the Leadership Election Organizing Committee, and their first major decision on the timing of the race, is a positive sign. If I can see the potholes in the road ahead, the list of competent people on that committee can also see them, and I would expect them to try and mitigate against the rather dire political "Catch-22" I am painting here.

Leadership races are more about logistics than strategy and what's important is who, and how many, are actually in the tent when the dust settles. The last few Conservative leadership races have devolved into the classic scenario of winning the battle but losing the war.

Maybe that is the discussion that they should be having, instead of who's a lying liar who lies a lot? Who am I kidding? It's not going to happen, so buckle up for the ride ahead.

Joe Jordan was a second-generation Liberal Member of Parliament and is currently a senior consultant at BlueSky Strategies Group in Ottawa.

The Hill Times

War in Ukraine

‘Can you imagine that at 4 a.m. each of you start hearing bomb explosions, severe explosions?’ Zelenskyy’s speech to Canada’s Parliament

Ukrainian President President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, delivered an emotional and hard-hitting speech to a joint session of Parliament in the House of Commons on Tuesday, March 15. He delivered his speech remotely from Ukraine, which Russia invaded on Feb. 24 and has been bombing ever since. He thanked Canada for its help, and asked for greater sanctions against Russia and to close the airspace over Ukraine to Russian aircraft and missiles. The House of Commons was packed and Zelenskyy received a number of standing ovations.

Ukrainian President
Volodymyr
Zelenskyy

Comment



Mr. Speaker, dear Prime Minister Justin [Trudeau], members of the government, Members of Parliament and all distinguished guests and friends, before I begin, I would like you to understand my feelings and the feelings of all Ukrainians, as much as is possible, over the last 20 days of the full-scale aggression by the Russian Federation after eight years of fighting in the Donbass region. Justin, can you imagine you and your children hearing all these severe explosions, the bombing of airports, the bombing of the Ottawa airport, in tens of other cities in your wonderful country? Can you imagine that?

Cruise missiles are falling down on your territory and your children are asking you, ‘What is happening?’ You are receiving the first news as to which infrastructure objects have been bombed and destroyed by the Russian Federation and you know how many people have already died. Can you only imagine? How can you ex-

plain to your children that a full-scale aggression just happened in your country? You know this is a war to annihilate your state, your country. You know that this is the war to subjugate people.

On the second day, you receive notifications that huge columns of military equipment are entering your country. They are crossing the border. They are entering small cities. They are laying siege and encircling cities and they start to shell civil neighbourhoods. They bomb school buildings. They destroy kindergarten facilities, like in our city, in the city of Sumy, in the city of Okhtyrka. Imagine that someone is laying siege to Vancouver. Can you just imagine that for a second, and all of these people who are left in such a city? This is exactly the situation that our city of Mariupol is suffering right now. They are left without heat or hydro, without a means of communicating, almost without food and water, and are seeking shelter in bomb shelters.

Dear Justin and dear guests, can you imagine that every day you receive memorandums about the number of casualties, including women and children? You have heard about the bombings. Currently, we have 97 children who have died during this war. Can you imagine if the famous



Ukrainian President President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, delivered an emotional and hard-hitting speech to a joint session of Parliament in the House of Commons on Tuesday, March 15. Screen capture courtesy CBC News

CN Tower in Toronto was hit by Russian bombs?

Of course, I do not wish that on anyone, but this is the reality in which we live. We have to contemplate and see where the next bombings will take place. In your church’s square? We have a freedom square in the city of Kharkiv, our Babi Yar, the place where victims of the Holocaust were buried, and it has been bombed by the Russians.

Imagine that Canadian facilities have been bombed similarly as our buildings and memorial places are being bombed. A number of families have died. Every night is a horrible night. The Russians are shelling us from all kinds of artillery and tanks. They are hitting civilian infrastructure. They are hitting big buildings.

Can you imagine that there is a fire starting at a nuclear power plant and that is exactly what happened in our country. Each city that they are marching through, they are taking down the Ukrainian flags. Can you imagine someone taking down your Canadian flags in Montreal and other Canadian cities? I know that you all support Ukraine from when I was in France with you, Justin, but also I would like you to understand and I would like you to feel what we feel every day. We want to live and we want to be victorious. We want to prevail for the sake of life.

Can you imagine when you call your friends and nations and you ask to please close the sky, close the air space, please stop the bombing? How many more cruise missiles have to fall on our cities until you make this happen? And in return, they express their deep concerns about the situation when we talk to our partners and they say please hold on, hold on a little longer.

Some people are talking about trying to avoid escalation and at the same time in response to our aspiration to become members of NATO, we also do not hear a clear answer. Sometimes we do not see all these things. It is dire straits, but it also allowed us to see who our real friends are over the last 20 days and as well in the eight previous years.

I am sure that you have been able to see clearly what is going on and I am addressing all of you. Canada has always been steadfast in its support. You have been a reliable partner to Ukraine and Ukrainians and I am sure this will continue. You have offered your help and assistance at our earliest request. You supply us with the military assistance and with humanitarian assistance. You imposed severe sanctions. At the same time, we see that unfortunately this did not bring the end to the war. You can see that our cities like Kharkiv, Mariupol and many other cities are not protect-

ed just like your cities are protected, Edmonton, Vancouver. You can see that Kyiv is being shelled and bombed.

It used to be a peaceful country with peaceful cities, but now they are being constantly bombarded. Basically what I am trying to say is that you will need to do more to stop Russia, to protect Ukraine, and by doing that to protect Europe from Russian threats. They are destroying everything: memorial complexes, schools, hospitals, housing complexes. They have already killed 97 Ukrainian children.

We are not asking for much. We are asking for justice, for real support which will help us to prevail to defend, to save lives, to save life all over the world. Canada is leading in these efforts and I am hoping that other countries will follow the same suit. We are asking for more of your leadership and please take a greater part in these efforts, Justin, and all of our friends of Ukraine. Old friends owe the truth. Please understand how important it is for us to close our air space from Russian missiles and Russian aircraft. I hope you can understand. I hope you can increase your efforts, that you can increase sanctions so they will not harass a new door to fund their war efforts. Commercial entities should not be working in Russia.

Probably you know better than many other countries that this attack on Ukraine is their attempt to annihilate the Ukrainian people, and there nothing else to it. This is their main objective. It is actually a war against Ukrainian people, and it is an attempt to destroy everything that we, as Ukrainians, do. It is an attempt to destroy our future, to destroy our nation, our character.

You Canadians know all this very well, and that is why I am asking you to, please, do not stop your efforts. Please expand your efforts to bring back peace to our peaceful country. I believe and know that you can do it. We are part of the anti-war coalition and, jointly, I am sure that it will issue results.

I would also like to ask our Ukrainian diaspora in Canada: This is a historical moment, and we need your support, your practical support. We hope that, with your practical steps, you will show that you are more than part of Ukrainian history. Please remember, this is a practical, modern-day history of Ukraine. We want to live. We want to have peace.

I am grateful to everyone in the Parliament of Canada who is present and to every Canadian citizen. I am very grateful to you, Justin. I am grateful to the Canadian people, and I am confident that, together, we will overcome and we will be victorious.

Glory to Ukraine. Thank you to Canada.

Volodymyr Zelenskyy is the president of Ukraine.

The Hill Times

Reviving Iran nuclear deal a complicated equation

Both Israeli and U.S. senior military officers concluded the old deal was better than nothing, and U.S. President Joe Biden was of the same mind, when last autumn he instructed his diplomatic people to stop trying to screw extra concessions out of the Iranians, writes Gwynne Dyer. *Wikimedia Commons photograph by Gage Skidmore*



In the 2015 deal, Iran agreed to do no work that would get it closer to building nuclear weapons for 15 years in return for the lifting of international trade sanctions.

Gwynne
Dyer

Global Affairs



LONDON, U.K.—As with most remarriages between the same partners, the participants are not exactly starry-eyed. They have just figured out that the old deal was better than no deal at all.

The news that the obscurely named Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) is back in force may reach you even before this article does, but the release of Nazanin Zaghari-Ratcliffe on

March 16 was a clear signal that the Iran nuclear accord is back in effect.

Zaghari-Ratcliffe, an Iranian-born British citizen, was arrested in Tehran in 2016 while visiting her mother and jailed as a spy. She was actually being taken hostage in an attempt to make the United Kingdom pay the Islamic Republic a very large, very old debt.

Zaghari-Ratcliffe's situation got much worse when Boris Johnson, then the U.K.'s foreign secretary, wrongly stated that she had been in Iran to "train journalists." (He is famous for not reading his briefs.) A year later her five-year-old daughter Gabriella was sent back to London to live with her husband, as Nazanin was serving a five-year prison sentence.

Then suddenly, on March 16, she was on her way home, and another British hostage of Iranian descent was on the same plane. The news leaked out that Britain had finally paid its US\$540-million debt after 45 years of stalling. (The Shah had ordered British tanks before he was overthrown. Britain cancelled the order, but kept the money.) So the JCPOA is back on.

In the 2015 deal, Iran agreed to do no work that would get it closer to building nuclear

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There are so many moving parts to this deal that it could still fall apart at the last second, of course. But for now it looks good, and Nazanin Zaghari-Ratcliffe is already home with her family.”

weapons for 15 years in return for the lifting of international trade sanctions. It was former U.S. president Barack Obama's great foreign policy success—which may be why his successor, Donald Trump, seeking to erase every achievement of America's first Black president, cancelled the deal in 2018.

Israel's former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu claims credit for talking Trump into that act of vandalism, which may or may not be true, but in any case it didn't actually kill the deal.

The other signatories of the JCPOA—China, France, Germany, Russia, and the U.K.—promised to try to bring the Americans back, but effectively most obeyed the trade sanctions that Trump had unilaterally slapped on Iran. Iran waited for a year, and then started ratcheting up its nuclear research every three months, getting closer and closer to a weapons capability.

The JCPOA treaty said that Iran would not enrich uranium higher than 3.67 per cent. By last month it was up to 60 per cent. Trump and Netanyahu were both gone, and both Israeli and U.S. senior military officers had concluded the old deal was better than nothing.

U.S. President Joe Biden was of the same mind, and he was also worried about a looming confrontation with Russia over Ukraine, so last autumn he instructed his diplomatic people to stop trying to screw extra concessions out of the Iranians. Just get on with it!

Still with me here? There will be a test.

Things moved quickly after that, and by late last month Josep Borrell, the European Union's foreign affairs chief, was saying that "a final text is essentially ready and on the table." However, he added, "a pause in the Vienna talks is needed due to external factors."

The external factors were the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the Western sanctions on Russia that followed. Russian foreign minister Sergei Lavrov demanded that Washington pledge not to impose sanctions on any bilateral trade deal between Russia and Iran after the JCPOA comes back into effect.

Lavrov didn't really believe that he could get that promise out of the United States. He just wanted to block the resurrection of the JCPOA, at least for the moment, because it would let Iran start reselling its oil on the international market.

At the moment Iran exports less than a million barrels per day of crude oil, almost all of it to China. It could sell at least another million and a half barrels per day internationally if sanctions are finally lifted, and that extra supply would certainly drop the oil price sharply.

Oil and gas sales are about the last remaining major source of foreign currency for Russia. The benchmark Brent oil price on March 16 was \$95 a barrel, already down by more than \$40 from last month's panic-stricken peak.

The extra Iranian oil could knock it down another \$20 or \$30 barrels per day, cutting Russia's income further and letting Europe buy more of its oil from Iran, not Russia. But it appears that Lavrov didn't manage to extract any guarantees, and that the JCPOA is really coming back. Good.

There are so many moving parts to this deal that it could still fall apart at the last second, of course. But for now it looks good, and Nazanin Zaghari-Ratcliffe is already home with her family.

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

Opinion



NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, right, at Ādaži Military Base together with the President of Latvia Egils Levits, left, Canada's Minister of Defence Anita Anand and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau on March 8, 2022. Stoltenberg is calling for 'major investments' from NATO partners as it draws up plans for a significantly larger long-term deployment of Western forces in Eastern Europe. Photograph courtesy of NATO/Flickr

went after her for down-playing military power.

Obviously, the cabinet is split, and the defence establishment, blatantly beating the drum for more money, is bearing down on Prime Minister Trudeau. Whether he can stand up to the NATO bosses when he attends the NATO summit in Brussels in a few days is a big question. The NATO leadership is currently drawing up plans for a significantly larger long-term deployment of Western forces in Eastern Europe. NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg is calling for "major investments." The real winners here are the arms manufacturers, who, as U.S. defence expert William Hartung pointed out, stand to make "tens of billions of dollars, which is no small thing, even for these big companies."

Canada already spends 20 times more on its military than diplomacy. The government's present plans to spend \$553-billion on defence in the next 20 years, for fighter jets and warships, dwarfs our contribution to the UN's sustainable development programs. Canada clings to NATO, but NATO's policies are increasingly outmoded.

The UN, hobbled by the veto system, which enabled Russia, a permanent member of the Security Council, to literally get away with murder, also needs reforming. But the vision of the UN to build the conditions for peace is a far better approach than strengthening an already-bloated NATO.

Canada alone cannot be blamed for the aggrandizement of NATO, but, as an important middle power, can help to change

War in Ukraine has placed the West at a crossroads: pursue war or peace?

Canada is made to feel like a laggard because the \$22-billion we're already spending annually on defence falls short of NATO's magic number of two per cent of GDP (Canada is at 1.39 per cent).

Once again, the powerful voices calling for more money for the military have far more resonance in the media and Parliament than those advocating stronger political and economic measures to build the conditions for peace.

Clearly, the present political system that relies so heavily on seeking peace through military strength has failed—again—tragically, as the heart-wrenching photos of innocent people slaughtered and uprooted in Ukraine show.

Of course, the Russian invasion must be repelled, but the failed political system that led to the Ukraine disaster must be exposed. The suffering in Ukraine has touched a raw nerve in the West. Will we learn from this terrible experience?

Human security today does not come from the barrel of a gun. It comes from preventive planning. At the end of the Cold War, the world had a marvellous chance to overhaul the international system to head off the rise of future despots. The UN Secretary-General at the time, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, was commissioned by the Security Council to write *An Agenda for Peace*, which called for new structures to solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. Such steps would include disarming the previously warring parties, the destruction of weapons, repatriating refugees, training security personnel, monitoring elections, advancing the protection of human rights, and reforming government institutions. He asked for a \$1-billion UN peace endowment fund to finance the initial cost of new conflict resolution measures.

The publication of *An Agenda for Peace* launched an extended debate. While the smaller states liked it, the major states saw it as an encroachment on their sovereignty. The move to build new peace structures fizzled out. Boutros-Ghali was denied a second term, and NATO start-

ed to enlarge. Defence budgets climbed, and today, governments spend \$2-trillion annually on arms. The UN, though valiantly expanding its humanitarian programs, was deliberately weakened in carrying out its primary mission of maintaining the peace and security of the world.

Ukraine has brought us to another crossroads for humanity. Which path will we choose now: put more resources into building human security to prevent war, or build anew the modern means of warfare in a misguided effort to keep the peace?

The current UN Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres, has produced a successor to the *Agenda for Peace*. It is called *Our Common Agenda*. It is a blueprint for dealing with the enormous risks facing humanity today ranging from the prolonged pandemic and climate deterioration to a renewed nuclear arms race and the new move into cyber warfare. In short, Guterres is calling for a serious effort to improve global governance, manage risks and safeguard the global commons and global public goods. He wants a Summit of the Future, to be held in 2023 at which states would plan together joint steps to build peace.

This requires a common vision of peace and security in the face of new threats and vulnerabilities. Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly tried to widen the discussion by suggesting that Canada, in the aftermath of the Ukraine crisis, should step up its aid and diplomacy. "We're a middle-sized power and what we're good at is convening and making sure that diplomacy is happening, and meanwhile convincing other countries to do more," she said. Immediately, hard-line generals



Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly has suggested that in the aftermath of the war in Ukraine, Canada should step up its aid and diplomacy, but received criticism for the remark from hard-line generals who said she was down-playing military power. The Hill Times photograph by Sam Garcia

the climate of thinking about a better way to build new security arrangements. Prime Minister Trudeau should invite Secretary General Antonio Guterres to Ottawa to explain to Canadians the greater value to be obtained by investing in the programs of *Our Common Agenda*.

A slight glimmer of hope about future thinking for peace is offered by a new organization, Coalition for the UN We Need, a consortium of 3,300 civil society groups in 110 countries working on programs to advance *Our Common Agenda*. The co-ordinator of the coalition is Fergus Watt, a Canadian, and the Canadian Pugwash Group and Project Ploughshares are members. The people who work on these programs do not have guns.

Douglas Roche is a former Senator and author.
The Hill Times

Human security today does not come from the barrel of a gun, it comes from preventive planning. As a middle power, Canada should encourage its NATO allies to think about a better way to build global security.

Douglas Roche

Opinion



EDMONTON—It's a safe bet Canada's defence spending will get a huge boost in the federal budget soon to be presented to Parliament. Defence Minister Anita Anand, reeling from the demands of the Ukraine war, is openly campaigning for more money and will present "aggressive options" to boost spending to cabinet.

The NATO leadership is demanding more resources, and

AGRICULTURE

FARMERS SCRAMBLE

to find alternate fertilizer sources as world looks for Canada's help in possible global food shortage

STIFLING LACK

of competition in meat packing industries

GUARANTEEING

Canada's food sovereignty

Government needs to LISTEN to itself to help agriculture

Farmers are

FIGHTING THE BATTLE

against climate change on the front lines

Other countries are

REWARDING FARMERS

to fight climate

Canadian ranchers

and farmers facing

TUMULTUOUS TIMES

Let's not turn agriculture into a 'TRAGEDY OF THE COMMONS'

Canadian farmers fight **CLIMATE CHANGE**



Agriculture Policy Briefing

Farmers scramble for alternate fertilizer sources as world looks for Canada's help in possible global food shortage

Canada's farmers have a narrow 'window of opportunity' to maximize crop production, which is at risk in the face of a shortage of imported fertilizer, according to Karen Proud, president of Fertilizer Canada.

BY JESSE CNOCKAERT

Canada cannot afford any further disruptions to its supply chain if the agriculture sector is to contend with a potential shortage of fertilizer as a result of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, according to agriculture organizations.

"We have a window of opportunity where farmers use fertilizer to maximize their crop production and their yields, and if we miss that window because we don't have sufficient fertilizer, we can't get that back. We will feel that effect come the fall at harvest time," said Karen Proud, president of Fertilizer Canada. "The biggest thing we are asking of the federal government right now is to ensure that nothing else interrupts our supply chain."

Canada's farmers are facing a shortage of fertilizer as a consequence of tariffs recently imposed by the federal government on Russian exports, according to Proud. Russia invaded Ukraine on Feb. 24, resulting in more than 2.3 million Ukrainians fleeing the country in the weeks following. Canada condemned the invasion as "a violation of international law and threat to the rules-based international order" on March 3 and announced a 35 per cent tariff imposed on goods from Russia.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) told reporters the Russian invasion "is having ripple effects around the world," including disruption to the UN World Food Program, as reported by CTV News on March 7. Russia and Ukraine are responsible for 29 per cent of the global wheat trade, and any serious disruption

of production and exports from the region could erode food security for millions of people around the world, according to a March 4 press release from the United Nations World Food Programme.

The rest of the world is looking to Canada to help make up for a potential wheat and grain shortage, according to Proud.



Minister of International Trade Mary Ng announced a 35 per cent tariff imposed on goods from Russia, including fertilizer, on March 3. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

"Canada is stepping up by putting significant economic pressure on Russia, and is providing resources to Ukraine including military equipment and emergency humanitarian support. Canada remains resolute in our solidarity with Ukraine and the Ukrainian people, and we will continue supporting them as they fight to defend their freedom and democracy," said Minister of International Trade Mary Ng (Markham—Thornhill, Ont.) in a Finance Canada press release on March 3.

Proud said Fertilizer Canada doesn't question the sanctions against Russia, and is "100 per cent behind doing everything possible to stop the war in Ukraine," but the federal government does need to understand what the impacts will be on the agriculture sector. Russia is the world's largest exporter of fertilizer, and produces more than 50 million tonnes a year containing potash, phosphate, and nitrogen, which are all major crop and soil nutrients.

Around 85 per cent of the nitrogen fertilizers used in eastern Canada typically come from Russia, according to Proud. Between 60 to 70 per cent of the needed imported fertilizer supply arrived in Canada prior to the war, which means that another 30 to 40 per cent of fertilizer imports, which normally would come mostly

from Russia, is still needed, she said. Member organizations of Fertilizer Canada are currently investigating possible alternate exporters of nitrogen fertilizer, such as Trinidad or countries in the Middle East, but time is running out as spring approaches.

"There's a big effect on our eastern provinces, potentially.

Our members are working very hard to find alternate sources of [fertilizer] supply, but we're on a clock, because ... seeding season starts in as little as four weeks," she said. "If we are short on fertilizer for our eastern provinces, it could mean that farmers can't grow as much [and] they won't be able to maximize yield."



Karen Proud, president of Fertilizer Canada, says members of her organization 'are working very hard to find alternate sources of [fertilizer] supply.' *Photograph courtesy of Karen Proud*

A possible threat to Canada's agricultural supply chain could include a rail strike, according to Proud. More than 3,000 railroad workers at Canadian Pacific (CP) Railway voted to authorize strike action on Feb. 28 over issues including wages, pensions and benefits. On March 16, CP Rail said it had given 72-hours notice to the Teamsters Canada Rail Conference of a lock out. It planned to lock out employees at 00:01 eastern time on March 20 if the

union and the company could not arrive at a negotiated settlement or agree to binding arbitration. At press time, that deadline had not yet passed.

About 75 per cent of all fertilizer produced and used in Canada is moved by rail, according to a Fertilizer Canada press release issued on March 11. CP Rail, Canada's second-largest railway, runs across southern Canada and dips as far south as Kansas City, and also moves large quantities of grain, potash, and coal.

Dave Carey, vice-president of government and industry relations for the Canadian Canola Growers Association (CCGA), told *The Hill Times* that supply chain issues related to the COVID-19 pandemic and a potential rail strike has put "more focus" on the fragility of Canada's trade and transportation infrastructure. About 70 per cent of canola grown in the Prairies is transported to the Port of Vancouver, and travels an average of 1,500 kilometers, he said. The CCGA discusses supply chain and rail transportation issues with the federal government on a regular basis, according to Carey.

"As a bulk handling system for canola, we rely on rail, and so there's just a lot of concerns. One thing by itself might not be a big issue, but there's a compounding factor to multiple issues happening at once," said Carey. "I think throughout the pandemic, we didn't see enough focus on being proactive, whether it's around trade, or infrastructure or transportation or supply chains. I think we need to start taking a more forward-looking approach, as opposed to just reacting to the next crisis."

Canada needs to develop long-term infrastructure plans with 10- and 20-year timelines, rather than tying infrastructure projects to election cycles in the short-term, he said.

A disruption to Canada's ability to produce crops, through a lack of fertilizer or supply chain disruption, would also have negative consequences because of the current threat of a global food shortage, according to Proud.

Ministers of Agriculture from 34 American countries met virtually on March 17 to discuss the need for "regional coordination and unity to strengthen agricultural production and food security," in response to the instability of agricultural markets caused by the conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

Tereza Cristina, Brazil's minister of Agriculture and chair of the Inter-American Board of Agriculture (IABA), made an appeal to "exclude fertilizers from sanctions" on trade, because "suppressing the trade of inputs affects agricultural productivity and reinforces the inflationary trend, affecting the availability of food and threatening food security," according to a March 17 press release from the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture.

"Agricultural inputs such as fertilizers and commodity prices have shot up due to demand and

disruption in the supply chain. The Russian invasion has accelerated this price rise ... so it is important for us to be careful about interfering with the markets," said U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Tom Vilsack during the meeting. "We need transparent markets and clear pricing schemes because this is vital to increase supplies and maintain a healthy global trade network. It is important to



Dave Carey, a vice-president for the Canadian Canola Growers Association, says Canada needs 'a more forward-looking approach' for infrastructure projects. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

avoid measures that restrict food trade."

Erin Gowriluk, executive director of the Grain Growers of Canada (GGC), told *The Hill Times* that fertilizer prices were at record highs even prior to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. She said it isn't yet clear what role the federal government can play in addressing high fertilizer costs, but it is important for policy makers to be "mindful of the unprecedented costs that Canadian farmers are facing right now."

"This is the time when we don't want to see government policy that's going to curtail production. We want sustainable intensification. We want the ability to grow more so that we can feed a growing global population," she said. "This is not the time for us to be looking at policies that are going to impact farmers' ability to put a crop in the ground and to increase their overall yields. We have to be looking to grow as much as we possibly can."



Erin Gowriluk, executive director of the Grain Growers of Canada, says Canada needs policies that promote 'grow[ing] as much as we possibly can,' in the agriculture sector. *Photograph courtesy of Twitter*

Another major impact on the agriculture sector as a result of the war between Russia and Ukraine is rising fuel costs, according to Gowriluk. Following the invasion, oil prices skyrocketed to more than \$110 per barrel by March 4, according to the World Economic Forum.

This added cost to fuel can be particularly burdensome to farmers, who need large amounts of fuel to power farming equipment, according to Gowriluk. She said she recently spoke with a farmer who estimated they would need about 100,000 litres of fuel in order to plant crops and then harvest them in the fall.

Keith Currie, vice-president of the Canadian Federation of

Continued on page 24

Canada's food system strained after months of federal government inaction on crippling labour shortage.

Without the immediate implementation of an Emergency Foreign Worker Program, Canada's 2022 growing and processing year will be compromised.

Food and beverage, Canada's largest manufacturing employer, with almost 300,000 workers, is reporting vacancies of 25% and more across all company sizes, products, and regions. Over 90% of Canada's food and beverage manufacturers are small and mid-sized businesses.

A shortage of labour in the food and beverage manufacturing sector impacts the entire supply chain – from producers unable to sell their products, to retailers unable to fill their shelves, to Canadians paying more for their meals.

This labour shortage will directly impact domestic food security, food affordability, and animal welfare. For Canadians, this means less choice in the grocery store, fewer domestic and local products, and fewer employment opportunities in many communities.

Eleven food and beverage manufacturing associations representing products from meat to bread, seafood to produce, as well as provincial food and beverage associations across the country are working to solve this problem. Three months ago, we presented the government with a proposal for an Emergency Foreign Worker Program.

Canadians are depending on government action to protect our food system and support our food workers. We are asking for the immediate implementation of the Emergency Foreign Worker Program.

The time to act is now.



Fisheries Council of Canada
Conseil Canadien des Pêches

Food and
Beverage
Canada



Aliments
et boissons
Canada



CONSEIL DE LA
TRANSFORMATION
ALIMENTAIRE
DU QUÉBEC



ALIMENTS ET
BOISSONS
ATLANTIQUE



FOOD &
BEVERAGE
ATLANTIC

Agriculture Policy Briefing

Canadian ranchers and farmers facing tumultuous times

More than ever it is crucial for Canada to act as a leader and ally and get agriculture commodities to market to help other countries.

Conservative MP John Barlow

Opinion



The world is changing, and Canada has an opportunity to

unleash its incredible potential and be a global powerhouse as a reliable, trusted supplier of vital commodities. Now more than ever, it is crucial for Canada to act as a leader and ally and get our agriculture commodities to market to help other countries and kickstart our own economy.

From the farm to the plate, Canadian farmers, ranchers and processors devote their lives to providing high quality, world-class products to families in Canada and around the world while playing an integral role in our economy. The agriculture industry has been there to support Canadians throughout the pandemic.

However, Canadian ranchers and farmers continue to face tumultuous times with a drought last summer leading to a feed crisis coupled with a crippled supply chain, punishing carbon taxes,

skyrocketing fertilizer costs and labour shortages.

Right now, we have a Liberal government failing to find solutions to feed shortages, increased input costs, skyrocketing operating costs, trade barriers and more. Unfortunately, it is Canadians who suffer these repercussions, and it is estimated families of four could pay an extra \$1,000 to put food on their table. This issue is at top of mind for Canadians and already 60 per cent of families with children under 18 are concerned they might not earn enough money to feed their family.

At the same time, with Russia's invasion of Ukraine, a global food crisis is emerging. The United Nations has already warned of catastrophic hunger as hundreds of millions are facing famine. Canada can help, but not with the current measures and policies

in place that are burdening our agriculture production.

Instead of removing the obstacles impeding Canadian agriculture the Liberals are actually making matters worse. They are punishing farmers with a punitive carbon tax and additional red tape. Policies such as hiking the carbon tax on April 1, announcing a 30 per cent cap on fertilizer use, and not addressing the deteriorating relationships with our most trusted trading partners, specifically the United States, are devastating Canadian agriculture.

It is nonsensical why the Liberals are not fostering and encouraging best practices, investing in research and giving agriculture credit for its world class environmental standards. They should be championing Canadian agri-food businesses rather than dragging them down.

The Liberal government may not want to acknowledge the fact Canada is already leading the world in sustainable agriculture.

For example, Canada's beef industry is the single largest protector of 44.2 million acres of endangered native grasslands which stores an estimated 1.5 billion tonnes of carbon, an iconic and important Canadian ecosystem. Without beef production, the threatened native grasslands – the most endangered ecosystem on the planet – are at risk of conversion and at-risk species suffer the consequences.

In addition, thanks to innovative practices like precision farming, zero tillage, and 4R nutrient stewardship Canadian farmers lead the world in environmental sustainability and are between 50 and 70 per cent more efficient in fertilizer use than other countries.

These achievements and commitment to protecting our water, soil and livestock and reducing emissions should be celebrated and encouraged, not punished with carbon taxes and harmful regulations.

In contrast to the Liberal approach, Conservatives will continue to be tireless champions for the Canadian agriculture sector and the innovations and stewardship efforts that inspire this industry to become even stronger, resilient, and prosperous.

We will be an advocate for science-based policies, innovation, to developing new markets, and for investments to improve critical infrastructure and supply chains, all to ensure agriculture and agri-food reaches their full potential.

Conservative are putting forward solutions like Bill C-234, to exempt farms fuels from the Liberal carbon tax.

We will continue to be an advocate, a champion, and an ally for our agriculture industry.

Conservative MP John Barlow, who has represented Foothills, Alta., since 2015, is also his party's official critic for agriculture, agri-food and food security.

The Hill Times

Farmers battle against climate crisis on the front lines

An agricultural paradigm shift is needed, not just in federal policy, but also in recognition of the practices that many trail-blazing farmers are already adopting.

NDP MP Alistair MacGregor

Opinion



It is an unquestionable fact that climate change is already all around us, causing profound and detrimental effects on Canada's agriculture sector. Our hard-working farmers are fighting vanguard battles against the climate crisis. The increasing

frequency of extreme weather events is impacting everything from farmers and their bottom line, to feed for livestock, to shortages of healthy and affordable food on our grocery store shelves.

In my home province of British Columbia, the effects have been especially pronounced. In 2021, alone, we experienced an intense "heat dome" phenomenon—an unprecedented heat wave characterized by the BC Centre for Disease Control as "the most deadly weather event in Canadian history." Crops were killed, and livestock suffered—with some succumbing to the severe temperatures. The heat dome was followed only five months later by torrential rains and catastrophic flooding, which destroyed family farming properties that had been in operation for decades. Critical transportation infrastructure was hit hard, and the City of Vancouver was effectively cut off from the rest of the country. The damage from the flooding is still being calculated, but it is estimated to be nearing \$9-billion.

Unless we take the necessary steps to drastically reduce our emissions, our already-bleak

climate reality and future will worsen.

The root of farming practices that will assist in the fight against climate change lies in soil. Keeping carbon sequestered within the soil, where it belongs, and out of the atmosphere, where it is causing havoc, is an important part of this fight. An agricultural paradigm shift is needed, not just in federal policy, but also in recognition of the practices that many trail-blazing farmers are already adopting.

I have been inspired by many in Canada's agricultural sector who are adopting regenerative farming practices. They are going beyond sustainability as a principle and are observing the patterns and principles in ecosystems to reduce their inputs and help purify the air, purify the water, rebuild the soil, and increase diversity. In this way, they are building resilience against climate change by tackling and overcoming challenges without being completely overwhelmed by them.

So how can policy at the federal level help drive this agricultural paradigm shift? In November, I

introduced Bill C-203, which will develop a national strategy to promote efforts across Canada to conserve and improve the health of soil. This national strategy will help us get a better data on the status of Canada's soils, help support and encourage best soil management practices, develop a national soil information system, and help with knowledge sharing to guide soil's maintenance and enhancement so that its capacity can be rebuilt to continually produce healthy food and affordable fuel in harmony with our natural environment.

My bill will also take steps to recommend the appointment of a national advocate for soil health, whose office will have a mandate for raising awareness of the critical role that soil plays in supporting agricultural productivity and in meeting global challenges such as climate change.

The House Agriculture and Agri-Food Committee will soon resume our study on the environmental contributions of agriculture. Before the last election shut down the committee's work, we heard from 20 witnesses and received half a dozen written

briefs from stakeholder groups and subject matter experts. They informed the committee about important steps already being taken, and new technologies being explored, to reduce agriculture's carbon footprint.

I look forward to continuing this important work with my colleagues at the House Agriculture Committee and making recommendations to the federal government to assist farmers in adapting to and mitigating the impacts of climate change through regenerative methods and promotion of healthy soil practices. I also hope my colleagues from all political sides will come together to support my Bill C-203 so that we may enact a healthy soil strategy that will help guide our agricultural sector through the minefield of climate change.

NDP MP Alistair MacGregor, who represents Cowichan-Malahat-Langford, B.C. He has served as the NDP critic for agriculture and agri-food since 2018 and has a small farming property in the Cowichan Valley using agro-ecological farming practices.

The Hill Times



The government must protect farmers and give them the support they need, which is not consistently the case right now, writes Bloc Québécois MP Yves Perron. *Photograph courtesy of Pixabay*

Guaranteeing Canada's food sovereignty

The agriculture sector can leverage its land use to become a force for change, but it needs the tools to do so.

Bloc Québécois
MP Yves
Perron

Opinion



For the last two years, the agriculture and agri-food sectors have been under a great deal of strain due to the COVID-19 pandemic: labour shortages, management difficulties, the scarcity and inflation of inputs, and the unavailability of efficient trans-

portation to and from production sites. These major, complex challenges have far-reaching consequences. That is why the House Agriculture and Agri-Food Committee is currently studying supply chain issues.

When bad things happen, there is always a silver lining. While this crisis has tested us, it has also shown citizens and decision-makers alike just how important agriculture and agri-food is, and it has made consumers more aware and prouder of the benefits of buying local. Our over-reliance on foreign countries for essential products seemed to come as a surprise to many. We need to take advantage of this opportunity and make sure that we are giving our farmers what they need to guarantee our food sovereignty.

That means taking action to protect supply-managed sectors, increasing our regional processing capacity, improving access to labour, protecting farmers from

certain losses in the event of trade disputes, and establishing a clear policy to promote buying local (by using accurate and fair labelling, for example). Instituting a code of conduct is also essential to keeping our local production sustainable. In short, the government must protect farmers and give them the support they need, which is not consistently the case right now.

It is also important to ensure that imported products meet the same standards that our farmers have to meet. This issue is complicated by the fact that oversight falls to more than one body and communication between parties is lacking. For instance, how can imported duck be allowed to enter the market when a product of that quality cannot be sold in Canada by a farmer because it does not meet the local quality standards?

On the environmental front, isn't it time to take collective responsibility for the choices society as a whole makes to save

our planet and reduce climate change? It is important to put a price on pollution so that it is reduced, but the rules must be fair for our local players, as they are currently shouldering that burden on their own.

The agriculture sector can leverage its land use to become a force for change. But it needs the tools to do so. That is why I firmly believe that environmentally friendly actions and practices in the agriculture sector need to be recognized and rewarded financially. We need to establish a fair, science-based method to assess the environmental performance of products so that farmers are adequately compensated for their efforts. These amounts should be made available to farmers using a model similar to AgriInvest. That way, funding would remain available to farmers and would give them the opportunity to invest in research and innovation independently or to modernize

some of their practices when they are ready to do so.

Let me assure you that they will not let us down! If you are concerned about how much a program like this would cost, just remind yourself that our agriculture sector receives far less support than its counterparts in nearby countries, and that these costs pale in comparison to the looming expenses associated with the threat of natural disasters: the unfortunate events in British Columbia are likely to happen again. We have a duty to stand up and take action to guarantee a better future for everyone and to preserve our agricultural model.

Bloc Québécois MP Yves Perron, who represents Berthier-Maskinongé, Que., is the BQ critic for agriculture, agri-food and supply management, and vice-chair of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Agriculture and Agri-Food.

The Hill Times

Agriculture Policy Briefing



Agriculture is one of the only economic sectors where potential growth is compatible with climate, writes Dr. Guillaume Lhermie. Photograph courtesy of Pixabay

Let's not turn agriculture into a 'tragedy of the commons'

The agri-food sector is an economic sector with significant potential, driven by growing global demand.

Guillaume Lhermie



Opinion

At a time when all eyes are fixed on the drama unfolding in Europe, the war reminds everyone the necessity of strong and sovereign agriculture in the short term. Globalization did not change the fact that many revolutions start with an inflation of agricultural commodity prices, and that political stability goes hand in hand with food security.

Together, Russia and the Ukraine account for about 30 per cent of global wheat exports, leading some commentators to suggest Vladimir Putin actually has one more weapon: the weapon of wheat. Confronted with this threat, Canada benefits from two

major assets: a wealth of natural resources and democracy. Canadian agriculture, representing only 1.7 per cent of the national GDP, occupies five per cent of the country's landmass, with 80 per cent of agricultural lands situated in the Prairies. Despite this, Canada remains strong in the global export market, exporting 40 per cent of its beef production, 76 per cent of its canola oil and 70 per cent of its wheat. Above all, the agri-food sector is an economic sector with significant potential, driven by growing global demand.

Despite the tragic context of the last few weeks, the short-term threat of climate change on the agricultural sector as a source of instability and vulnerability, cannot be forgotten. Farmers are at the mercy of more frequent and intense climatic hazards, creating uncertainty about harvests and subsequent large variations in domestic and international markets. However, agriculture is one of the only economic sectors where potential growth is compatible with climate. Agricultural production requires the use of natural resources and therefore cannot exist without an environmental footprint. But it is possible, and pressing urgent, to define agricultural policies that are not only constraints, but also assets

for producers, taking into account the added societal and environmental values that are currently left out of the market.

Agriculture is a sector under two major concurrent constraints. The first is a demographic crisis, causing a shortage of workforce, desertification of rural areas, and an ever-widening chasm between rural and urban populations. The second is the environmental ramifications associated with agricultural production. Modern food systems, such as the one observed in Canada, are generally characterized by higher productivity—higher environmental impact, actualized through the intensive use of inputs, and stimulated by domestic and international consumption of low-cost products. This creates a paradoxical situation where existing food systems and international trade encourage practices that do not align with planetary health, while at the same time, farmers experience consumers and public authorities pressures to green their practices.

Can Canadian farmers adopt greener practices? Recent research demonstrates that when possible, the answer is yes. For example, about 90 per cent of Alberta farmers adopted cropping practices that reduce greenhouse gas emissions, implementing technical solutions, associated

with resulting increased revenue. Yet, the market does not necessarily reward sustainable production systems. Promising advances in feed additives, such as 3-NOP, show significant potential to reduce methane emissions in cattle. Despite approval in Chile and Brazil, novel feed additives face regulatory barriers, bolstered by indifference in key governing players, before acceptance and classification as a feed additive.

Notwithstanding the presence or absence of technical solutions, agriculture as a sector does not allow asset relocation, as it is impossible to move land. Climatic and geographic constraints are barriers to changing type of production. Canada can boast of an agricultural sector that is low in greenhouse gas emissions, relative to total production. This is partly because producers face climate constraints, which led them to grow crops requiring reduced nitrogen input requirements and a lower carbon footprint, particularly in Western Canada. Consequently, the additional potential for emission reduction is limited.

Canadian agriculture and its ecosystem services, such as carbon sequestration capacity or the preservation of precious ecosystems, is one of the solutions to the challenges of climate change. Yet one must remember that Canadi-

an agriculture accounts for less than 10 per cent of greenhouse gas emissions. When the economist Garrett Hardin described the tragedy of the commons in 1968, he concluded that "the population problem had no technical solution, it requires a fundamental extension of morality." The increase in agriculture production, and use in natural resources, echoes a demand for consumption linked to the increased in human population and individual consumption. Agriculture employs 1.7 per cent of the Canadian workforce. To think that this fraction alone can meet the challenges of climate change by mobilizing technological solutions is illusory.

Provincial and federal governments must develop agricultural policies that double as environmental policies. A simple approach is to subsidize sustainable farming practices to ensure widespread adoption; a more complex, but likely more effective approach, is to introduce a mechanism that ensures the prices of agricultural products reflect the environmental benefits derived from farming practices. In summary, producers should commit to social and environmental responsibilities, funded by consumers: a sort of social agreement.

Guillaume Lhermie is the director of the Simpson Centre for Agricultural and Food Policy, located at the University of Calgary, School of Public Policy. Dr. Lhermie also holds an appointment as associate professor of Animal Health Economics and Policy at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine at the University of Calgary.

The Hill Times

Stifling lack of competition in meat packing industries

Canada's intensely concentrated beef industry is at risk if something goes awry.

ISG Senator
Paula Simons

Opinion



slaughter in Canada is done by just two companies: JBS, which operates a packing plant in Brooks, and Cargill, which has a huge plant in High River (and a much smaller one in Guelph, Ontario).

Add in Harmony, a smaller Canadian-owned plant in Balzac, Alberta, and three companies alone account for 91 per cent of beef processed in Canada. It's a highly efficient system for cattle producers and feedlot operators, at least the ones based in southern Alberta. But such intense concentration leaves Canada's beef industry at risk if something goes awry. A major Covid outbreak. A

strike. A serious supply chain disruption. Cattle producers and consumers are at the mercy of a system that is uniquely vulnerable, because it affords no room for flexibility.

But even when the system is fully operational, cattle producers and consumers are captive to a market without competition. According to Alberta government data, prices for slaughter cattle and calves in Alberta stayed almost unchanged between January of 2021 and January of 2022. Over that same period, retail beef inflation in Canada rose 15.4 per cent. In the meantime, Statistics Canada's beef

consumption index shows a sharp decline since a peak in 2020.

Yet while anti-competition rhetoric south of the border is heating up faster than a barbecue grill in June, the conversation about the risks and costs of corporate concentration in Canada's beef packing industry has been relatively muted. Maybe it's time, for the sake of the Canadian cattle industry, already battered by drought and supply chain woes, and for the sake of Canadians consumers, who just want to buy a steak without wincing, for us to talk turkey about the costs and consequences of a beef packing industry without real competition.

Paula Simons was appointed to the Senate of Canada in 2018. She is deputy chair of the Senate's Agriculture and Forestry Committee and a member of the Senate's Transportation and Communications Committee. She is part of the Independent Senators Group.

The Hill Times

Joe Biden's State of the Union address this month didn't get the attention in Canada that a SOTU by a POTUS usually receives, likely because it took place against the backdrop of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and in the wake of Ottawa's convoy crisis. But the American president's speech called out, in blunt terms, a problem that Canada and the United both share: a stifling lack of competition in our meat packing industries.

"I am a capitalist, but capitalism without competition is not capitalism. Capitalism without competition is exploitation, it drives up profits. When corporations don't have to compete, their profits go up and your prices go up," Biden told his audience.

"Small businesses and family farmers and ranchers — I need not tell some of my Republican friends in those states. You have four basic meatpacking facilities. That is it. You play with them, or you don't get to play at all — and you pay a helluva lot more."

This isn't the first time the White House has called attention to the oligopolies that dominate the U.S. meat industry, especially its beef sector.

In the United States, four companies process 85 per cent of American beef: Cargill and Tyson, which are American-owned, and two Brazilian giants, JBS and Marfrig Global Foods. According to an analysis published December 10, 2021, by the National Economic Council, profits for those four companies rose by 300 per cent in the last year. The NEC analysis showed a collective jump in gross profits of 120 per cent since the pandemic, and a 500 per cent increase in net income. The National Economic Council report, posted to a White House blog site, accuses the four giants of using their market power to drive up meat prices and underpay farmers and ranchers.

Republican U.S. Senators Mike Rounds of South Dakota and Charles Grassley of Iowa, together with Democratic Senator Jon Tester of Montana have been working on legislation to create an office for a special investigator within the U.S. Department of Agriculture, to investigate corporate concentration and anti-competitive behaviour. The USDA itself has said it plans to strengthen enforcement of existing 100-year-old legislation created to protect farmers and ranchers from unfair trade practices; it's also talking about possible government investment to increase meat processing capacity.

In Canada, meanwhile, our problems might be even more acute. According to Agriculture Canada, 84 per cent of beef

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Agriculture Policy Briefing



The 'green revolution' is underway, but still needs to be integrated into our collective climate action, writes ISG Senator Colin Deacon. Photograph courtesy of Pixabay

Other countries are rewarding farmers for fighting climate change, it's time Canada does the same

Carbon sequestration can be a viable solution to mitigate climate change effects and enhance the resiliency of Canada's agricultural production capacity.

ISG Senator
Colin Deacon

Opinion



Recent years have seen a surge in nature-based climate solutions, with the goal of including the agriculture and forestry sectors as partners in the fight against climate change. Popular among them is carbon sequestration (also known as bio-sequestration or carbon farming), a regenerative agricultural practice

that captures and stores atmospheric carbon into soil.

In Canada, federal and provincial governments have signaled intentions to harness this historical practice to create new opportunities. Minister Bibeau's recent mandate letter explicitly tasks her to work collaboratively with producers to "develop and adopt agricultural management practices to reduce emissions, store carbon in healthy soil and enhance resiliency."

Together with recent federal and provincial government announcements of clean technology investments—including carbon capture and agri-technology—this 'green revolution' is underway. However, it still needs to be integrated into our collective climate action.

Why is carbon sequestration so important? Evidence suggests that soil has the capacity to act as a massive carbon sink, storing almost twice the amount of carbon that is in our atmosphere and vegetation combined. Between the extraordinary weather events we have witnessed within the past year and alarming predictions of droughts and water scarcity affecting high agricultural producing provinces, carbon seques-

tration can be a viable solution to mitigate climate change effects and enhance the resiliency of Canada's agricultural production capacity.

In 2020, my office issued a paper exploring the opportunities for this practice in Canada. After a series of consultations with experts and industry leaders, it became apparent that the systems and incentives to encourage carbon sequestration are absent in Canada, despite strong evidence of its enormous potential. Moreover, the absence of a federal offset system currently prevents Canadian producers from adequately competing in the global agricultural marketplace.

The evidence from other comparator countries confirmed our research conclusions. In the United States for example, Maryland currently rewards farmers up to \$45-50 per acre for implementing cover cropping. Through the Growing Climate Solutions Act, the U.S. also intends to support farmers to sell carbon credits through sustainable management and operations, thereby increasing their income. In Australia, over 68 million carbon credit units have been awarded since

the Carbon Credits (Carbon Farming Initiative) Act was implemented in 2011.

How do we advance these same opportunities in Canada? What can be done to incentivize carbon sequestration practices and effectively scale Canada-made innovative solutions in domestic and global markets?

First, we need to build on existing evidence and recommendations for advancing carbon sequestration, and dive deeply into areas where consensus is absent. Our research highlighted that the magnitude of carbon sequestration's impact remains varied. This means that Environment and Climate Change Canada needs to collaborate with Agriculture and Agri-food Canada, and Innovation, Science and Economic Development, to catalyze the development of standards for measuring soil carbon using satellite and other advanced technologies, encourage private sector methods that will support the adoption of these standards, and identify the best strategies for improving carbon capture permanence in soil.

Second, increase incentives for farmers already practicing regenerative agriculture and provide financial support to reduce the cost of transition for new adopters. This would be essential for farmers especially in Saskatchewan and Alberta who already feel penalized by the federal carbon pricing regime. Complementing this action with opportunities for Canadian producers to access certifications such as the Regenerative Organic Certification will ensure that they are able to sell their products at a premium, increasing their farm-gate revenue.

Third, establish protocols for a federal carbon offset system to facilitate the creation of carbon

markets. As of March 2022, the proposed Federal Greenhouse Gas Offset System is still under development by the federal government. The longer the implementation of this system is delayed, the more opportunities will be lost for innovative Canadian companies and producers who could otherwise benefit from global carbon markets.

Finally, incorporate carbon sequestration and regenerative agricultural practices into business risk management goals. The increasing occurrence of extraordinary climate events, coupled with the unfortunate reality that agricultural insurance plans are not universally embraced, increases business risks for Canadian producers exponentially. Future efforts to minimize disaster recovery costs in agriculture should require governments to champion carbon sequestration and regenerative agricultural practices not just as good climate solutions, but good risk management strategies.

Decisive action is demanded. We need to be laser focused on meaningfully improving farm-gate revenue for those farmers who increase soil organic matter. The resilience of Canada's agriculture sector, our ability to respond to the climate crisis, and our future prosperity depends on our collective success.

Senator Colin Deacon was appointed to the Senate of Canada as a representative of Nova Scotia in June 2018 and has since been part of the Independent Senators Group. Since 2018, Senator Deacon has been a member of the Standing Senate Committees on Banking, Trade and Commerce as well as Agriculture and Forestry.

The Hill Times

Policy Briefing **Agriculture**

Government needs to listen to itself to help agriculture

The COVID-19 pandemic has placed enormous stress on Canada's agriculture systems and supply chains, but the federal government can help to sustain and grow economic activity.

Jarred Cohen

Opinion



The agriculture and agri-food sector can be a major economic driver, with a contribution of approximately 2.3 million jobs and \$143-billion to Canada's GDP, writes Jarred Cohen, policy advisor for the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. Photograph courtesy of Pixabay

Canada's agriculture systems and supply chains, but the federal government can help to sustain (and even grow) economic activity and position our country to emerge from the pandemic stronger than before.

To highlight the Canadian agriculture and agri-food sector as a solution to meeting our economic and environmental targets, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce created *Canada's FoodLink*, a cross-sectoral coalition of Canada's leading agriculture businesses, associations, and transportation companies. The coalition continues to call for the recommendations set out in the 2018 Advisory Council Report to be implemented, particularly the commitment to a science-based regulatory regime, an evidence-based approach to sustainability, strategic investments in transportation and broadband infrastructure, and investments in Canada's Regulatory Transparency and Openness Framework to build public trust.

The fact that the recommendations are still relevant in 2022, almost four years after the Advisory Council's Report, demonstrates a startling lack of follow-through by the federal government to take the actions necessary to help Canada's agriculture and agri-food sector achieve its export and domestic-based objectives.

Granted, there has been a pandemic since 2018, but supply chain disruptions existed before COVID and will continue long after it is over. As we've seen with recent floods in British Columbia and droughts in Western Canada, climate change continues to threaten Canadian farmers and major transportation networks. Instability in "Europe's breadbasket," will only place added pressures on agriculture and agri-food supply chains in the future. The possibility of additional future emergencies demonstrates the need to finally act.

On this file, unlike other some other challenges facing Ottawa, what needs to be done is clear and well known – and it has been for several years, based on the government's own good work. We need the federal government to *listen to itself* and help create the conditions that makes Canada's agriculture and agri-food sector better, greener, and more economically competitive.

After four years, it is becoming increasingly urgent to get on with it.

Jarred Cohen is a policy adviser at the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, focusing on agricultural and supply chain policy. Learn more: CanadasFoodLink.ca

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Farmers scramble for alternate fertilizer sources as world looks for Canada's help in possible global food shortage

Continued from page 16

Agriculture (CFA) told *The Hill Times* that tractors and other farm machinery run on diesel fuel, and farmers don't have the option of switching to electric power.

"Everything that we use on farms pretty much runs on diesel fuel," he said. "Our costs to put the crops in the ground and grow them are definitely going to go up, or they already are up."

Currie said that the federal government must ensure that Canada's farming operations remain economically viable, and this could include keeping Canada's tariffs aligned with the tariff policies from the U.S.



Keith Currie, vice-president of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, says costs for farmers related to fuel are 'definitely going to go up.' Photograph courtesy of Keith Currie

"We don't want, for example, our U.S. counterparts getting some kind of exemption from tariffs for their farmers, where we don't get them. Then all of a sudden it becomes a competitive disadvantage. We don't want that to happen," he said. "We understand that these tariffs are being initiated for the right reasons, but we have to make sure that it doesn't affect our farming operations."

Conservative MP John Barlow (Foot-hills, Alta.), his party's critic for agriculture and agri-food told *The Hill Times* that Canada's agriculture sector is in need of a champion at the federal level because of all the issues it currently faces. Among those issues is the Liberal government's rising carbon tax, according to Barlow. The carbon tax is set to increase by \$10 to \$50 per tonne of emissions on April 1.

Fertilizers such as urea and anhydrous ammonia are produced in Alberta using natural gas, which makes their production subject to carbon tax. Rises in a carbon tax may also impact the costs associated with electricity required for heat, irrigation and seed cleaning, according to Western Financial Group.

"It just seems to be one thing after another. This is a difficult industry, and I don't think anybody would question that. When you have all of these other outside influences impacting in your ability to do your job and do it affordably, it becomes that much more strenuous and stressful," said Barlow. "We're certainly seeing what's going on right now with some critical impediments in our supply chain, a looming CP rail strike, a carbon tax increase on April 1, [and] mas-

sive labor shortages, all of these things are piling on agriculture right now, and there doesn't seem to be any impetus on the federal government's side to try to address any of these concerns. That is troublesome."

Minister of Agriculture Marie-Claude Bibeau (Compton—Stanstead, Que.) and Terry Duguid (Winnipeg South, Man.), parliamentary secretary to Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault (Laurier—Sainte-Marie, Que.), announced that \$66-million in federal funds would be used to help Manitoba and Prairie farmers adopt sustainable farming practices and clean technologies intended reduce greenhouse gas emissions, according to a March 17 press release from Agriculture Canada.

"The fight against climate change is not only about reducing Canada's greenhouse gas emissions, but also helping farmers to innovate and adopt more sustainable farming practices. In Manitoba, we have partnered with two sector organizations to deliver funds directly to local farmers who are ready to take action and build climate resilience," said Bibeau in the press release.

The Hill Times reached out to Bibeau to discuss how the federal government has addressed supply chain issues and labour shortages facing the agriculture sector during the pandemic, but did not receive a response by press time.

jcnockaert@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

Canada fertilizer statistics

- Canada's fertilizer industry contributes \$23-billion annually to the nation's economy, and supports more than 76,000 jobs.
- Approximately 12 per cent of the world's fertilizer supply comes from Canada, which is exported to more than 75 countries.
- By 2050, it is estimated the world will need to increase food production by 70 percent.

Source: Fertilizer Canada

Canada agriculture sector statistics

- Canada's agriculture and agri-food system employed 2.1 million people in 2020 and generated \$139.3-billion of Canada's gross domestic product.
- In 2020, Canada exported nearly \$74-billion in agriculture and food products (including raw agricultural materials, fish and seafood, and processed foods).
- The U.S. is Canada's top trading partner, accounting for more than half of all Canada's agri-food exports and more than half of imports.
- Canada is the fifth-largest exporter of agri-food and seafood in the world, exporting to more than 200 countries in 2020.
- Primary agriculture, or work performed within the boundaries of a farm, nursery or greenhouse, accounts for approximately 68.9 million hectares or 6.9 per cent of Canada's total land area.

Source: Agriculture Canada

Canadian farmers fight climate change

Vertical farming, artificial intelligence, and technologies like drones and robotics are being used to optimize Canadian agriculture.

CSG Senator
Rob Black

Opinion



From large-scale farms to the smallest backyard gardens, agriculture and agri-businesses depend on climate at every stage of the production cycle. We know that our climate is changing. What some Canadians may not know is that the agricultural sector often sees these changes first due to the nature of their work.

2021 was a particularly tough year for agriculture. Many farmers lost their livelihoods during the extreme heat, droughts, flooding, and wildfires that ravaged agricultural and rural communities. With that in mind, it's no surprise that the Canadian agricultural community is leading the way in finding solutions to climate change.

Across the country, farmers are changing the way they farm by adopting more

sustainable approaches to the way they seed, till and prepare their land, and control weeds. Practices such as crop rotation or the use of cover crops help to improve soil health, slow erosion, and increase soil organic matter, all which promote healthy crops and livestock, as well as contribute to a healthy ecosystem.

In fact, the Canadian Agricultural Policy Institute highlighted that cover crops could help Canada meet its Strengthened Climate Plan targets by reducing reliance on nitrogen fertilizer production and reducing direct greenhouse gas emissions, as well as creating sinks for greenhouse gases in the soil. Canada has 384 billion tonnes of carbon stored in its soils. It is imperative that we continue protecting and conserving our land through sustainable practices to avoid releasing even more carbon into the atmosphere and further exacerbating global warming.

Many farmers are also changing the way they approach agri-tech. While agri-tech represents a wide variety of technology that



An Alberta farming landscape, pictured. Canada's agricultural community is leading the way in finding solutions to climate change, writes Canadian Senators Group Senator Rob Black. Photograph courtesy of Pixabay

can be applied to nearly every step of the food production process, a great example is indoor and vertical farming. This past autumn, I visited The Grower in Ottawa, a company that manufactures modular hydroponic growing systems. Their containers grow

hyper-local produce through a soil-free method, regardless of the weather.

Not only do vertical farms present an opportunity for farmers to use significantly fewer resources, such as using less water, than traditional farms, they also present an opportunity for farmers to produce a much higher quantity and quality of food on a smaller area of land. This is critical, as the world's population is expected to reach up to 9.7 billion people by 2050. This intense growth in population will increase food consumption, and our agricultural community will need to be ready to meet that demand.

However, vertical farming is just one way that farmers have adapted to new technology that can strengthen and enhance their operations. Other aspects,

such as precision agriculture, artificial intelligence, and the use of technologies like drones and robotics are being used to optimize Canadian agriculture. Area X.O's Ottawa Smart Farm and Olds College in Alberta are examples of the Canadian agricultural community partnering with other sectors to develop, test, and innovate smart solutions that will drive efforts to make agriculture more environmentally sustainable.

As a longstanding member of the agricultural community, I know how important it is to understand and protect our land. Farmers can't successfully farm their land in a way that will guarantee its long-term viability without adopting and adapting to innovative technologies that will help support Canada's fight against climate change.

I am hopeful that the public and private sectors, as well as everyday Canadians, will continue working alongside and supporting the agricultural industry as they work to adapt to a changing environment and seek to strengthen and enhance their practices. It is not enough to tell farmers what needs to be done to make their operations "greener" and more sustainable. It must be a collaborative effort that will keep Canada's food supply chain strong for generations to come.

Senator Rob Black represents Ontario and is chair of the Canadian Senators Group and chair of the Standing Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.
The Hill Times

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Opinion



Minister of Natural Resources Jonathan Wilkinson, pictured on Oct. 27, 2021, in Ottawa with staffers James Hutchingame, left, and Ian Cameron. Much of the focus today is on how to profit from the European and American decisions to wean themselves off Russian oil and gas. Wilkinson is hoping to pump an extra 200,000 barrels a day of high-carbon Canadian oil exports to the U.S., writes David Crane. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Climate change remains the most significant existential threat to human society

Horrible though it is, the current conflict in Ukraine is not the biggest threat to the world. In fact, a post-Putin Russia at some point in the future will hold the prospect of making Russia a European country—which has always been its eventual destiny.

David
Crane

Canada &
the 21st Century



TORONTO—Canada's oil and gas companies, along with wheat and many other commodity producers, all stand to gain from sharply rising raw material prices as a result of Russia's brutal invasion of Ukraine and the West's response in cutting off use of Russia's energy.

Much of the focus today is on how to profit from the European and American decisions to wean themselves off Russian oil and gas. Natural Resources Minister Jonathan Wilkinson is hoping to pump an extra 200,000 barrels a day of high-carbon Canadian oil exports to the U.S. and Alberta Premier Jason Kenney contends "we have to up our game. It means there is going to be growing global demand for our products both in the short term and the long term."

Yet it is climate change that remains the most significant existential threat to human society, not the current conflict in Ukraine, horrible though it is. In fact, a post-Putin Russia at some point in the future will hold the prospect of making Russia a European country—which has always been its eventual destiny.

Climate change is a different matter. It is not going away and the world needs to intensify its efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Its catastrophic risks are to be avoided. It is the biggest single threat to human society on this planet.

Rising sea levels threaten coastal cities around the world. A warming climate will intensify droughts, heatwaves, floods. British Columbia residents in Lytton had a frightening taste of this last summer when temperatures skyrocketed to 49.5 Celsius, followed by fires that burned the community to the ground. Across

southern British Columbia at least 595 people were estimated to have died from heat-related complications.

A warming climate will undermine critical ecosystems, threaten world food supplies, lead to environmental refugees, render some parts of the world uninhabitable, open up the threat of new diseases and become a national security threat. The melting of ice caps and glaciers, the retreat of forests, notably the boreal tree line, and the melting of permafrost are all contributing to feedback loops that reinforce dangerous trends. About half the world's population live in areas "highly vulnerable" to climate change.

Last month, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change warned that the world has a steadily closing window of opportunity to avoid the worst effects of climate change. Human activity is already raising global average temperatures—the past five years have been the hottest on record—and triggering more and more extreme weather events.

The best response to the current disruption of global energy markets is not to boost oil and gas production, but to accelerate with an even greater sense of urgency the transition to a decarbonized economy. This means investing in the green economy, adopting currently technology solutions, and investing in the research and demonstration of new technologies, all at an even faster

pace, while sticking to plans for steadily rising carbon pricing, and strengthening the market for innovation and adaptation. This doesn't mean the elimination of oil and gas—but it does mean much diminished demand, and that the oil and gas that's used should be the cleanest and lowest-cost available.

Some years ago, analysts at HSBC, one of the world's major banks, described Canada as "an ostrich nation," because it was sticking its head in the sand and ignoring the consequences of its goal to vastly expand oil sands production. Now, the Public Policy Forum, in partnership with the Bay Street law firm McCarthy Tétrault, shows signs of wanting to maintain that reputation.

In its new report, which it likes to call a "leadership blueprint," it claims commitment to net zero emissions by 2050, arguing this "presents a grand opportunity for Canada to lead on breakthrough technologies and processes and become a global standard-bearer of the new low-carbon economy". But this is to be achieved by investing heavily, with much use of taxpayer dollars, in carbon capture and storage technology to keep on pumping as much oil sands oil as possible for as long as possible.

It argues that Canada faces just two choices: its way, in which the oil industry continues to grow and flourish based on taxpayer funds to subsidize industry efforts, or what it depicts as a dan-

gerous alternative based on the alleged goal of environmentalists to quickly shut down the oil and gas industry and base our future on unreliable renewable energy.

In fact, these are not the only choices. It is possible to move to a decarbonized economy by 2050 by phasing down the role of oil and gas and switching to an economy based much more on electricity and hydrogen along with much more aggressive efforts to diversify into an economy that has new and different goods and services to sell to the rest of the world—to be a bigger player in the knowledge economy based on Canadian-owned intellectual property, with backing from a more ambitious and better focused innovation strategy.

The principal focus of the policy forum report is on carbon capture and storage, in which carbon is extracted from oil and gas as it is developed and refined, with the greenhouse gases stored underground. One project, the Quest project operated by Shell Canada in Edmonton, already does this. But it required \$865-million in federal and provincial subsidies to build and captures about 50 per cent of the greenhouse gases it emits. The investment by the oil sands industry in carbon capture and storage, the report acknowledges, will require "an effective investment tax credit and project financing supports" from government—but it fails to outline just how much this would cost.

But rather than fixating opportunistically on short-term opportunities arising from Russia's brutal attack on Ukraine and the immediate impact on energy, we should be looking further into the future and see this as an opportunity to accelerate the urgently needed transition to a low-carbon world. In the future, water and food will be more important than oil and gas.

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The Hill Times

Increased military presence in the North could provide much-needed infrastructure to the region: MPs, experts



A C-130 takes off from Canadian Forces Station Alert on Ellsmere Island, Nunavut, in 2019. Russia's invasion of Ukraine has spurred discussion about the state of Canada's military capacity, particularly in the North, where Russia is Canada's neighbour. Photograph courtesy of Paul Green/The National Guard

Northern MPs say they're open to increased military presence in the Arctic to protect the region's sovereignty against Russia, but stress the importance of community consultation.

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planning to make sure that the Arctic and its people are protected.

"The best way to go about keeping Arctic sovereignty is with Inuit, with Nunavummiut, the people who live in the Arctic and not just have decision-making unilaterally by the federal government," she said. Idlout is the only Inuit MP in the House of Commons.

If the government is going to take steps to secure Arctic sovereignty and keep a militarized eye on Russia, then Idlout wants it to also invest in projects like the Canadian Rangers and community search and rescue teams—both of which are volunteer-run services in the North. The Canadian Rangers are a group of approximately 5,000 volunteers who provide a paramilitary presence in Canada's North on behalf of the Canadian Armed Forces. The ranks are largely made up of Inuit, Métis, and other First Nations.

"Any kind of initiatives that might need to be implemented in the North has to include decision-makers from Northerners, because they know the environment, they know the land and they know what life is like in the Arctic," she said.

Defence Minister Anita Anand (Oakville, Ont.) does indeed

have her eye on the North. She is planning a visit to the Northern territories, is meeting with her Nordic region counterparts, and is planning to inject some funds into modernizing NORAD—the North American body responsible for defending the continent's aerospace. NORAD, a partnership between Canada and the U.S., was initially founded in 1957 to centralize the two countries' defences against Soviet bombers.

Anand told CBC last week she was "bringing forward aggressive options" to Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.) to increase Canada's military spending as the finance minister prepares the upcoming federal budget—expected at the beginning of April.

Conservative MP Bob Zimmer (Prince George-Peace River-Northern Rockies, B.C.)—his party's critic on the Northern file—said he perceives Russia's invasion of Ukraine as a signal for potential Russian aggression in the Arctic and that it should warrant increased military attention in the region.

He listed Canada's military needs in the North, including an upgraded fighter fleet, participation in the ballistic missile defence system, and an upgraded North Warning System as part of NORAD.

"We know Russia has hypersonic missile capabilities that we need to be able to defend ourselves against," he said.

Leblanc, who is now president of Arctic Security Consultants, said he sees a specific need for Canada to create a forward operating location for F-18s and a deep sea port in Resolute Bay, a hamlet in Nunavut. Currently, there is a base in Inuvik and a base in Iqaluit, but there is no deep sea port, and there are large swaths of land and about 1,900 kilometres between Inuvik and Iqaluit that go unprotected, he said.

Idlout said she's heard that proposal being made in communities as well.

"A port of that nature I think would be supported in the community because it could be used by the community as well," she said.

Liberal MP Brendan Hanley (Yukon) said such a port would be an interesting proposal.

"I would just say that the three territories need to be part of that conversation, but it's an example of the important discussions that we need to have and that Canada needs to take a lead on," he said in an interview.

Gregor Sharp, a senior fellow at the Arctic Institute with a PhD in international relations, said he doesn't see the threat of war in the Canadian Arctic as being even a remote possibility in the short-term.

"War is not going to happen in the Canadian Arctic," he told *The Hill Times*. "If a war does break out in the Arctic, the primary theatre will be the European one. And even that is incredibly unlikely," he said.

Leblanc suggested one of the causes for concern about Canada's Arctic sovereignty is that Putin is proving to be an irrational leader, citing Putin's heightening of his country's nuclear alert level, and carrying on with waging a war despite economic strangulation by most of the rest of the world.

"If he's going to be irrational in Ukraine, and at one point he wants to lash out, especially at the Americans ... one of the ways that he could lash out in a serious way is to use hypersonic cruise missiles that will more than likely come in from the North," he said.

Sharp said he would challenge the assertion that Putin is irrational.

"He's acting rationally but within a different sphere of reference, the way he perceives the world is fundamentally different. I don't think that even he would

come to the cost benefit analysis conclusion that attacking the North in the short term is worthwhile," he said.

It comes down to feasibility, he said. It would be much easier for Russia to mount an Arctic attack somewhere like Norway, where it has military bases near Norway's border. Ice-free seas around that country would also make it an easier target than Canada, Sharp said.

"Do we need more attention, focused investment, in the North? Absolutely. But should that be entirely geared towards military concerns? I don't think so," Sharp said.

That doesn't mean the idea that Canada's military should have a presence in the North should be thrown away, he added. A lot of what Canada's military could do in the North could have the dual purpose of benefiting communities, and that's not a side effect that should be dismissed.

"Having the capacity to operate successfully in the North is great for stopping illegal shipping or poaching, it's great for search and rescue, for mapping, and for climate information and all that that comes with these military operations, also benefits local communities."

Arctic sovereignty for whom?

Arctic sovereignty is a sticky term in the Canadian context of colonialism, Sharp and Hanley acknowledged.

"It's one of those words that probably different people do have different interpretations of," Hanley said.

"Arctic sovereignty means that the Arctic belongs to the peoples of the Arctic but at the same time, the Arctic is part of Canada and Canada's commitment, and certainly the government's commitment has been to advance the calls to action and reconciliation," the Liberal MP added.

"Nunavummiut have been so unjustly treated because of Arctic sovereignty," Idlout said. One instance Idlout cited was the forced relocation of 87 Inuit from Inukjuak in Northern Quebec who were taken to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the 1950s. Survivors of the relocation recount the Canadian government persuading them to move much further north, promising a better life there, only to come to the realization that Canada wanted civilians in the North so as to ensure its sovereignty at the height of the Cold War. The forced relocation resulted in death as the community were left to fend for themselves. They struggled to find food and survive in a vastly different environment than they were used to.

"There are so many atrocities in the name of Arctic sovereignty. Inuit, Nunavummiut seek reconciliation," Idlout said. "There are so many infrastructure needs in Nunavut that Canada cannot ignore anymore. How they treated Inuit is not a distant past," she said.

The trauma of colonialism on Inuit and Nunavummiut still impacts the well-being of those

people today, she added, acknowledging there are "too many people" in the North who struggle with mental illness and intergenerational trauma.

"If Canada wants to do better for the Arctic, do better for Arctic sovereignty, investments and resources have to be made in the people of the Arctic," Idlout said.

"Despite all that has happened, we still know our environment, we still know our wildlife, generation through generation, knowledge has been passed on so that we still are the ones that are experts in the environment. We have to be part of the decision making," she said.

Hanley said it's essential for Indigenous voices to define the future of the Arctic.

"The threats are not just military. It's not just global security, it is as much about equipping ourselves for the climate change effects that we are facing—will be facing—for decades."

What's next for the Arctic Council?

Hanley said the one thing he appreciated about the Arctic Council is that different Indigenous groups do have a seat at that table.

At the beginning of March, in the wake of Russia's attack on Ukraine, seven of the eight member countries of the Arctic Council withdrew from its activities in protest of the war. Canada, Norway, Iceland, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and the United States announced they would pull back from the council, leaving Russia, the council's chair, as the council's sole member—for now.

Hanley said the Arctic Council "seems to be in a bit of a holding pattern." What happens next remains to be seen, he said, but if the situation in Ukraine turns into a long-term situation with no resolution in sight, "then I think the Arctic Council will have to make some decisions about its ability to meet without Russia's participation."

Idlout said she thought that hitting the pause button for now was the right move.

"I just hope that with a measured approach that we'll be allowed to continue those conversations [with Arctic counterparts], even if it has to be through other means," she said.

Zimmer said he was recently working to deepen relationships with Arctic counterparts by speaking with ambassadors to Canada from Nordic countries at the recent Arctic 360 conference in Toronto.

"Just to talk about how can we have a united front here, because now, one of those circumpolar countries is being aggressive and what do we do?"

Zimmer doesn't think Russia should be privy to the Arctic Council conversations anymore. "But all the more we should be talking, you know, much more than we were before even about what's next, and how can we be prepared for what's next as an allied group of countries?"

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News

Poilievre and Brown 'playing federal Conservative leadership



Conservative MP Pierre Poilievre, top left, Conservative MP Scott Aitchison, former Quebec premier Jean Charest, Conservative MP Leslyn Lewis, above left, Independent Ontario MPP Roman Baber, Brampton Mayor Patrick Brown and Saskatchewan businessman Joseph Bourgault have announced their candidacies for the leadership of the Conservative Party. *The Hill Times* file photographs and courtesy of House of Commons and YouTube

The Conservative leadership election is a contest between the Mulroney and Harper visions of the party, says Ipsos CEO Darrell Bricker.

Continued from page 1

The Conservative Party was formed in 2003 by the merger of the now defunct Canadian Alliance and Progressive Conser-

vative Parties. At the time of the merger, the PC party was led by Peter MacKay and the Alliance party by Stephen Harper. Brian Mulroney, who held office from 1984-1993, was the last prime minister the PC Party was able to elect. Harper, the first leader of the Conservative Party after the merger, served as prime minister from 2006 to 2015.

Since Harper stepped down as party leader in 2015, the Conservatives have elected two leaders—Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask.) and Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ont.)—both of whom were unable to form government. O'Toole was voted

out as party leader by his caucus in early February by a vote of 73-45. The caucus vote on O'Toole's leadership shows a clear split in the party, which is exacerbated by the current divisive leadership election in which top contenders have been going after each other aggressively in a heated verbal war of words.

The Trudeau Liberals have been in power since 2015. Conservatives think the next election is theirs to lose and the new leader will be the prime minister in waiting. This is making the election of the new leader even more competitive.

"Poilievre and Brown are playing with dynamite for sure," said Bricker.

"This is not a party that's got unity at the centre of its situation at the moment, the caucus just got rid of a leader, which is why we're in a leadership contest here, and the vote against Erin O'Toole wasn't unanimous."

As of last week, seven candidates had thrown their hats in the ring, including Conservative MP Pierre Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.), Conservative MP Scott Aitchison (Parry Sound-Muskoka, Ont.) former Quebec premier Jean Charest, Conservative MP Leslyn Lewis (Haldimand-Norfolk, Ont.), Ind. Ontario MPP Roman Baber,

that could help one of them win the leadership election.

Conservative leadership candidates have until April 19 to declare their intention to run and June 3 to submit membership forms. Voting in this contest will take place via mail-in ballots, and the entry fee is \$200,000, in addition to a refundable \$100,000 deposit to ensure candidates follow the leadership election rules. The winner will be announced Sept. 10.

"If people want the job, and they want to contrast themselves with their opponents, it shouldn't be surprising that they're going to be emphatic not only about their own position, but with their disagreement with what their opponents might be about," said Bricker. "So we're maybe seeing a little bit more of it than say we saw in the Liberal Party [2013 leadership election], but let's face it, that was a coronation [of Justin Trudeau]."

Poilievre was the first candidate to throw his hat in the ring right after O'Toole's ouster and came right out of the gate, guns blazing, going after then-potential candidates Charest and Brown.

He described Charest as a Liberal for his support of the carbon tax when he was the Quebec premier. Charest was the leader of the PC party from 1993 to 1998 and before that served as senior minister in the Mulroney and Kim Campbell cabinets.

When Brown launched his campaign, the Poilievre campaign

Brampton Mayor Patrick Brown and Saskatchewan businessman Joseph Bourgault.



Conservative Finance critic Pierre Poilievre, pictured Dec. 1, 2021, has the most caucus endorsements for his leadership and is considered the front-runner. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Poilievre is seen to be right-of-centre and represents more of Harper's vision of the party, while Charest, Brown and Aitchison are seen as progressive conservative or Mulroney visions of the party. Lewis is a social conservative candidate, while Baber and Bourgault are Libertarian candidates.

According to the *Toronto Star*, the Charest and Brown campaigns have come up with a deal

ran a blistering online attack ad saying the Brampton mayor will say and do anything.

Brown returned the favour in kind accusing Poilievre of supporting the Harper government's divisive policies such as niqab ban. Poilievre who served in the Harper cabinet disputed Brown's attack and called him "a liar." These exchanges are on top of online back and forth between



Conservative MP Leslyn Lewis, pictured on Feb. 2, 2022, is running for the leadership of the party. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

with dynamite' in divisive election, say political players

the Poilievre, Charest and Brown campaigns.

Greg Lyle, president of Innovative Research, said that it's natural for candidates in a leadership campaign in any party to contrast themselves and explain why each is different from the other or why one candidate is better than others. In this exercise, some candidates cross the line between contrast and going negative and it becomes a challenge to unite the party after the leadership election.

ethnically diverse communities, traditionally a key element of the Liberal Party base, will work at the federal level in all 338 ridings across the country. Supporters of Brown claim their candidate is aiming to sign up 300,000 members nationally in the current leadership election.

Lyle said that a time-tested way to heal the wounds after a leadership election is over is to accommodate the best campaigners and caucus members from

is they stuck with the ones that brought them as Mulroney would say, and did not open the tent to bring in rivals. And so then, when they lost, they were down to the loyalists they hadn't alienated, instead of having built new relationships."

Bricker said there are genuine differences of opinion amongst leadership candidates and they are not shy about expressing them in an emphatic way. He said it appears Poilievre wants to win the leadership election on the first ballot and is working hard to establish his presence as a candidate that's far ahead of others. He said that so far the Poilievre campaign has not said anything in his attacks against Charest and Brown that was not already in the public domain. Bricker said Poilievre or whoever else wins the leadership would be able to bring the party together if they can prove to the caucus and the party base they have the winning election strategy.

"If he's able to win this and demonstrate to the caucus and to the party membership that he's in a good position to beat his principal opponent, that's the biggest unifier of all," said Bricker. "The reason that parties get into problems and they get into disunity is they have different visions on what it will take in order to win the next election. That's the reason these parties exist there for the purposes of competing an election campaign."

Political insiders interviewed for this article said Charest appears to be the unifying candidate in the race, but it's unclear if he will be able to get the opportunity by winning this leadership election.

Conservative MP Michael Cooper (Edmonton-St. Albert, Alta.), caucus liaison for the Poilievre campaign, said 41 MPs

and two Senators have endorsed the Ottawa MP's leadership campaign so far and more will do so in the days and weeks ahead. He said there are genuine philosophical differences between Poilievre and other top contenders and the party membership will decide who they want to elect as party leader, adding that if Poilievre wins the leadership, he will not have any difficulty in bringing the party together.

"Pierre's record has been consistently Conservative," said Cooper. "Pierre is someone who can, I believe, unite all Conservatives within our party, we are a big tent party. And Pierre, I think, is the only candidate in the race who can unite all Conservatives. That's evidenced by the significant support that he has in caucus for members from all regions of the country."

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The Hill Times



Jean Charest, pictured at a Canadian Global Affairs Institute conference in Ottawa on May 8, 2018. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Making matters more complicated are the suggestion in numerous news articles that Harper does not want to see Charest as the leader. Some have also suggested that Poilievre is Harper's choice. Charest's top strategists deny this suggestion and say this is a spin from rival campaigns and do not believe Harper will ever take any sides as it will put the unity of the party at peril. As of last week, Harper had neither confirmed nor denied these news stories.

"The divisions that emerge in a leadership can last and make it difficult to run the party on an ongoing basis," said Lyle. "So when you look at the heat of these things, I mean, it does also suggest that people think that this is a prize worth fighting for. But it's gonna make the party difficult to unite when the leadership's over."

By going negative against each other, Lyle said, Conservatives are giving openings to the Liberals to script their campaign and ads against the party now.

Lyle said that he's not surprised that Poilievre has gone hard against Brown as the former Ontario PC leader proved his organizational mettle in 2015 by winning the provincial PC leadership. He ran as an underdog but surprised everyone by winning in an upset besting Christine Elliott, widow of former finance minister Jim Flaherty. It remains to be seen if his strategy of signing up

rival camps in the OLO and in the shadow cabinet. There were complaints both from staffers and caucus that O'Toole and Scheer did not do this, and is one of the reasons that, when their respective leaderships faced internal challenges, most of the caucus members stayed out of it and, in the case of O'Toole, voted against him.

"It's the whole Abe Lincoln approach, a cabinet of rivals," said Lyle. "And arguably one of the big mistakes that both Erin O'Toole and Andrew Scheer did



Brampton Mayor Patrick Brown. When Brown launched his campaign, the Poilievre campaign ran a blistering online attack ad saying the Brampton mayor will say and do anything. Brown returned the favour in kind accusing Poilievre of supporting the Harper government's divisive policies such as niqab ban. *Photograph* handout

Leadership Endorsements

Pierre Poilievre

Dan Albas Central (Okanagan-Similkameen-Nicola, B.C.)
John Barlow (Foothills, Alta.)
Michael Barrett (Leeds-Grenville-Thousand Islands and Rideau Lakes, Ont.)
James Bezan (Selkirk-Interlake-Eastman, Man.)
Kelly Block (Carlton Trail-Eagle Creek, Sask.)
Colin Carrie (Oshawa, Ont.)
Michael Cooper (St. Albert-Edmonton, Alta.)
Scott Davidson (York-Simcoe, Ont.)
Todd Doherty (Cariboo-Prince George, B.C.)
Kerry-Lynne Findlay (South Surrey-White Rock, B.C.)
Cheryl Gallant (Renfrew-Nipissing-Pembroke, Ont.)
Marilyn Gladu (Sarnia-Lambton, Ont.)
Tracy Gray (Kelowna-Lake Country, B.C.)
Jasraj Hallan (Calgary Forest Lawn, Alta.)
Matt Jeneroux (Edmonton Riverbend, Alta.)
Michael Kram (Regina-Wascana, Sask.)
Stephanie Kusie (Calgary Midnapore, Alta.)
Melissa Lantsman (Thornhill, Ont.)
Philip Lawrence (Northumberland-Peterborough South, Ont.)
Chris Lewis (Essex, Ont.)
Dane Lloyd Sturgeon River-Parkland, Alta.)
Marty Morantz (Charleswood-St. James-Assiniboia-Headingley, Man.)
Rob Morrison (Kootenay-Columbia, B.C.)
Glen Motz (Medicine Hat-Cardston-Warner, Alta.)
Brad Redekop (Saskatoon West, Sask.)
Blake Richards (Banff-Airdrie, Alta.)
Anna Roberts (King-Vaughan, Ont.)
Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask.)
Jamie Schmale (Haliburton-Kawartha Lakes-Brock, Ont.)
Gerald Soroka (Yellowhead, Alta.)
Jake Stewart (Miramichi-Grand Lake, N.B.)
Mark Strahl (Chilliwack-Hope, B.C.)
Shannon Stubbs (Lakeland, Alta.)
Corey Tochor (Saskatoon-University, Sask.)
Fraser Tolmie (Moose Jaw-Lake Centre-Lanigan, Sask.)
Tim Uppal (Edmonton Mill Woods, Alta.)
Brad Vis (Mission-Matsqui-Fraser Canyon, B.C.)
Chris Warkentin (Grande Prairie-Mackenzie, Alta.)
Len Webber (Calgary Confederation, Alta.)
Ryan Williams (Bay of Quinte, Ont.)
John Williamson (New Brunswick Southwest, N.B.)
Bob Zimmer (Prince George-Peace River-Northern Rockies, B.C.)
Sen. Leo Housakos (Wellington, Que.)
Sen. Claude Carignan (Mille Isles, Que.)

Jean Charest

Gerard Deltell (Louis-Saint-Laurent, Que.)
Ed Fast (Abbotsford, B.C.)
Bernard G n roux (Montmagny-L'islet-Kamouraska-Riviere-du-Loup, Que.)
Joel Godin (Portneuf-Jacques-Cartier, Que.)
Richard Lehoux (Beauce, Que.)
John Nater (Perth-Wellington, Ont.)
Rick Perkins (South Shore-St. Margarets, N.S.)
Alain Rayes (Richmond-Arthabaska, Que.)
Dominique Vien (Bellechasse-Les Etchemins-Levis, Que.)
Sen. Percy Mockler (New Brunswick)
Sen. Jean-Guy Dagenais (Victoria, Que.)

Leslyn Lewis

Conservative MP Richard Bragdon (Tobique-Mactaquac, N.B.)
Cathay Wagantall (Yorkton-Melville, Sask.)

Patrick Brown

Sen. Salma Attaullahjan (Toronto)

—List compiled by Abbas Rana

News

Russia expert urges Western authorities to look beyond financial facilitators and into reputation management

Prof. Alexander Cooley says Western firms recast kleptocrats as patrons of the arts and global philanthropists.

BY KEVIN PHILIPUPILLAI

The Canadian government and its allies have launched what has been called “a multinational treasure hunt” for the assets of Russian elites. And Canada’s financial intelligence unit, FINTRAC, is working with its counterparts across the G7 and beyond to support the ongoing sanctions against Russia.

Western authorities are now targeting individuals and firms that have acted as financial “proxies,” “enablers,” and “facilitators” for billionaires with close ties to Russian president Vladimir Putin. But Alexander Cooley, a professor of political science at Barnard College in New York, told *The Hill Times* that authorities should also be looking into the network of Western firms that provide Russia’s elite with reputation management services.

Cooley was the director of the Harriman Institute for the Study of Russia, Eurasia, and Eastern Europe at Columbia University from 2015 to 2021.

“If you are a kleptocrat and you have stolen money from your home country,” Cooley said in a March 9 interview with the TVO show *The Agenda with Steve Paikin*, “the No. 1 thing you want to do is make that money safe for the rainy day in which you’re no longer in power or have access to power and everything can be taken away.” That means moving money to other jurisdictions, and protecting it once it has been moved.

These elites will now be drawing on the connections and respectability their reputation managers have built up for them over the years to help them weather the storm brought about by Vladimir Putin’s invasion of Ukraine, but the widespread Western condemnation of Putin’s actions will test all but the sturdiest defences.

“The challenge is to take someone’s reputation as a politically compromised or potentially corrupt oligarch in their home country, and recast them as a respected member of Western



An expert says Russian billionaire Roman Abramovich’s purchase of English football club Chelsea in 2003 was straight out of ‘the reputation management playbook.’ Photograph from Twitter - @JoePompliano

society, or as a global philanthropist,” said Cooley, elaborating on his earlier comments in a phone interview with *The Hill Times*.

“It is a suite of services that can only be provided by the West,” said Cooley, describing three main baskets of services offered by reputation management firms—networking with important political and business leaders, the active monitoring of how the client is mentioned in the public sphere, and the active monitoring of the client’s reputation on social media and on the web generally.

Networking can include placing Western leaders on their boards, and supporting charities, cultural institutions, and universities. Cooley highlighted Russian billionaire Roman Abramovich’s purchase of the English football team Chelsea in 2003 as “the most high-profile move in the reputation management playbook,” since it led to an enormous



Political science professor Alexander Cooley says reputation management is a suite of services that can only be provided by the West. Photograph courtesy of Alexander Cooley

fanbase around the world singing Abramovich’s name. The U.K. government added the club to its list of sanctioned assets on March 10, and prevented Abramovich’s attempt to sell it.

“The second basket of services are the active monitoring of mentions of the particular client in the media or in public circles,” said Cooley.

“This is the aggressive, no-holds-barred attempt to prevent unfavourable stories from coming out,” he added, saying that the goal was to “wear down, intimidate, and deter investigations” by researchers, policy-makers, think tanks, and so forth.

The third basket of services, said Cooley, involves keeping tabs on the client’s Wikipedia page and ensuring that negative references stay off the first page of a Google search, since 90 per cent of people don’t go beyond the first page.

Cooley said lobbying and reputation management were related services, but added they were distinct in the sense that reputation management tends to focus on securing the private reputations and interests of elites, while lobbying tends to focus on public policy outcomes.

When public opinion turns against a particular patron, however, there can be a backlash against the Western firms that have worked for them. Jean Charest’s opponents in the Conservative leadership race have used his previous work for the Chinese technology giant Huawei as fodder for attacks. *The Globe and Mail* reported in 2020 that Charest was advising Huawei

as part of a team at the law firm McCarthy Tétrault. Huawei told Global News on March 15 that Charest “focused predominantly on the company’s participation in Canada’s 5G networks and not the extradition case involving Meng Wanzhou.”

The Government Relations Institute of Canada and the Public Affairs Association of Canada, two industry associations based in Ottawa, did not respond to questions from *The Hill Times* about whether they offer guidance to their members on how to assess their own exposure to clients with questionable ties, or how to screen potential clients to avoid negative exposure.

Manon Dion, a spokesperson for the Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying of Canada, told *The Hill Times* that, while the lobbying commissioner maintains the lobbyist registry and the Lobbyists’ Code of Conduct, and provides lobbyists with advice “on a case by case basis to assist them in complying with their obligations,” the commissioner does not play a role in providing guidance to clients who may be named in Western sanctions lists.

A ‘multinational treasure hunt’ for yachts, private jets, and penthouses

Senior representatives of each of the G7 nations, plus Australia and the European Commission, met virtually on March 16 to launch the Russian Elites, Proxies, and Oligarchs (REPO) task force, according to a statement from the U.S. Treasury Department. The

task force, made up of finance ministers, justice ministers, and home ministers from the member jurisdictions, aims to track down and seize the financial assets of Russian billionaires worldwide, to hold them accountable for their complicity in Russia’s ongoing invasion of Ukraine.

Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.) will be Canada’s representative on the task force, which also includes U.S. Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen and U.S. Attorney General Merrick Garland. The U.S. is offering rewards of up to \$5-million for assistance in what Vice News called “a multinational treasure hunt” for yachts, private jets, penthouses and other assets.

In a statement released on March 17, Finance Canada said the task force would also move against the “enablers and facilitators” of Russian elites. The Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada (FINTRAC) has also announced that it has formed a working group with financial intelligence units in all the G7 nations, plus Australia, the Netherlands, and New Zealand, to support these actions.

The “End Snow-Washing” coalition, made up of Transparency International Canada, Canadians for Tax Fairness, and Publish What You Pay Canada, said in a statement that “Canadian limited partnerships have been linked to large money laundering schemes including those originating from Russia and former Soviet states.” The coalition is calling on the federal government to speed up its plans to establish a national beneficial ownership registry to track dirty money.

The coalition has highlighted the role that Canadian law firms play as service providers. It said in a report published on March 15 that, while Canada does not appear to be a major centre for the manufacturing of shell companies, “Canada’s most active company service providers and registered addresses are linked to law firms.”

The report went on to say that “members of the legal profession in Canada have ethical standards to uphold and are expected to comply with know-your-client due diligence obligations,” unlike in some other jurisdictions around the world, but added that Canadian lawyers “are exempt from statutory anti-money laundering (AML) reporting,” and that specialists have warned that solicitor-client privilege “leaves a gaping hole in Canada’s financial crime defences.”

The Canadian Bar Association condemned Russia’s invasion of Ukraine in a Feb. 28 statement. The Lawyers’ Daily reported on March 7 that the law firm Norton Rose Fulbright, which bills itself as “Canada’s first truly international law firm,” was winding down its service to Russian clients and shutting down its 50-person office in Moscow. The report went on to say that “other Canadian law firms known to have substantial Russian clientele and business dealings, were not as forthcoming with media.”

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Indigenous ownership could draw Trans Mountain backers, says coalition director, but opponents warn of big financial risk

Three Indigenous-affiliated coalitions are still interested in purchasing the billion-dollar pipeline, but critics say 20-year contracts protect oil companies, not the pipeline owner.

BY KEVIN PHILIPUPILLAI

The financial architect behind an Indigenous coalition to buy the Trans Mountain pipeline says Indigenous ownership is one way to convince major investors to put aside their environmental concerns and back the project.

The Trans Mountain pipeline presents an opportunity for “transformational change for Indigenous peoples,” said Stephen Mason, the senior managing director and founder of Project Reconciliation Inc. PRI bills itself as an Indigenous-led coalition with an ambitious plan to buy the Trans Mountain pipeline from the federal government and use future revenues to create generational wealth for Indigenous groups, by investing part of those revenues into a sovereign wealth fund. It’s one of three Indigenous-affiliated coalitions that say they are still interested in purchasing the pipeline.

The key element of PRI’s proposal that makes it accessible to Indigenous groups—the fact that they do not have to put up any money up front—also means PRI needs to raise capital elsewhere. That means asking banks, pension funds, and other large investors to lend money in the form of bonds that would be paid back over time from the revenues from the pipeline.

A major challenge will be raising capital in a marketplace where major institutional investors are pulling out of fossil fuels because of pressure from environmental groups. In this atmosphere, the terms “Indigenous-owned” and “Indigenous-led” carry weight.

“What has fundamentally changed,” said Mason, is that the big pension funds “have left the building” when it comes to fossil fuel investments. Two of the largest pension funds in Canada, the Caisse de dépôt et placement du

Québec and the Ontario Teachers’ Pension Plan, have both announced they will pull back from fossil fuels.

“The indications we’re getting now,” said Mason, are “that major pipeline companies are going to have a harder time to convince that money to come back because it’s an oil pipeline.” But, said Mason, major investors could be convinced to come back if projects are Indigenous owned.

In the Environmental-Social-Governance (ESG) metrics that have come to dominate conversations around ethical investing, a fossil fuel project that gets a low environmental score could still qualify as an ethical investment if it gets a high enough social score because of Indigenous participation.

Institutional money “can very rightly come back and check the ESG box if it means that it’s allowing for Indigenous peoples to have a chance,” said Mason.

This financial strategy also pays political dividends. Non-Indigenous opponents of the pipeline are very reluctant to criticize Indigenous groups that have expressed an interest in buying it.

The idea that Indigenous ownership or part-ownership can blunt political opposition to the project is consistent with previous comments from one of the other potential buyers. The former CEO of Pembina Pipeline Corporation, Mick Dilger, told *The Globe and Mail* in June 2021 that he would never buy Trans Mountain because he didn’t want to put his team through all the social and legal wrangling of an unpopular purchase, but then said “I would back the First Nations” to buy it.

Nesika Services, a non-profit group that is advising another group of Indigenous nations about a possible bid, told *The Hill Times* in February it was still interested in purchasing the pipeline.

Pembina Pipeline Corp. and Western Indigenous Pipeline Group (WIPG) are 50-50 partners in Chinook Pathways, which is the third Indigenous-affiliated coalition that has expressed interest in buying all or part of the pipeline with the government.

Shawn Roth, a spokesperson for Pembina, told *The Hill Times* in an email that the company is still committed to partnering with the WIPG to buy a stake in the Trans Mountain pipeline once construction is completed on the expansion project.

“We’ve made it our business to go and speak to the banks and especially the insurers in recent times to let them know how great this risk is for us as an Indigenous community,” said Charlene Aleck, an elected council member for Tsleil-Waututh Nation in B.C.

Aleck added that ownership in “a sunset project of a sunset industry” is not the way to help First Nations succeed. “If there was a billion-dollar project that the government really wanted First Nations to be a part of, why not something that’s renewable energy, or something that’s productive against climate change?”



Trans Mountain pipeline’s Westridge Marine Terminal on the B.C. coast, pictured July 2019, is being upgraded as part of the expansion project. Wikimedia Commons photograph courtesy of Codex.

The Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) said in a March 16 statement that, while it “supports Indigenous self-determination and economic self-sufficiency,” it is “concerned that the government is using TMX as another divide and conquer project and is not providing a full and accurate account of the financial future of the project.” The UBCIC warned that, without proper financial scrutiny, the Trans Mountain pipeline could become the “modern-day economic version of a small-pox blanket.”

Oil companies largely protected from financial fallout

Long-term opponents of the project are wary of criticizing Indigenous groups for their interest, but warn that, unless the federal government is willing to break its initial promise and sell the project at a loss, any buyer would be taking on massive financial risks. These critics point to massive cost overruns, along with long-term contracts that prevent Trans Mountain from raising its customers’ tolls to recover most of these additional costs.

Either way, a third group—the oil companies who pay to use the

pipeline—is largely protected from the financial fallout as long as someone keeps it running, experts who have studied the relevant contracts told *The Hill Times*.

Any major investor that is approached to back the project will crunch the numbers and do its due diligence, said Robyn Allan, an independent economist and former head of the Insurance Corporation of British Columbia who followed the National Energy Board’s hearings on the Trans Mountain expansion project in the 2010s.

“Once that due diligence is done properly,” said Allan, “it becomes clear that there isn’t the ability to raise the revenues that are necessary, because of the contract terms. Any pension fund, any party that might be interested in advancing the financing to a potential purchaser is going to want to make sure the project makes sense, and it doesn’t.”

“It’ll land on somebody’s lap,” said Aleck. She called the government’s plan to sell the pipeline “a gift to the banks,” because whoever buys it will need to raise enormous amounts to make the purchase.

Aleck is a spokesperson for the Tsleil-Waututh Nation’s Sacred Trust Initiative, which opposes the Trans Mountain expansion project. She told *The Hill Times* that her community opposes the project on environmental and ecological grounds as well as on financial grounds.

“We don’t go into other people’s communities and tell them how to run their community,” said Aleck, but added that the members of the Tsleil-Waututh Nation have spoken to Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups about the environmental risks they are being asked to bear for the project, as well as their doubts about its financial viability.

Project Reconciliation has done extensive work to create a long-term financial plan, to design a sliding scale of ownership where the Indigenous communities most impacted by the pipeline’s route are eligible for the largest ownership shares, and to design a governance structure through which the Indigenous communities that choose to participate would elect a board of directors to oversee the executives who will run the day-to-day operations, said Mason.

The money to buy the pipeline from the government still has to come from somewhere, however. PRI would essentially be buying the pipeline from the government by borrowing against the future revenue from the pipeline.

Mason told *The Hill Times* that he and his team have been working extensively with banks in Toronto and New York, with major bond desks, and with the ratings agencies that determine which corporate bonds are considered “investment grade.”

Mason, a non-Indigenous executive with extensive experience in capital markets, founded the project four years ago and serves as senior managing director. He told *The Hill Times* that, so far, he has funded much of this work himself, “along with a few of my colleagues that want to help

in what will be one of the most transformational moments in Canadian history since treaties were signed over 170 years ago.”

Expert witnesses warned of ‘asymmetric risks’ at 2013 NEB hearings

Allan and Aleck both said the 20-year contracts are the key to understanding the project’s financial risks. The contracts capped the toll rates the pipeline company could charge its customers, the shippers. Trans Mountain could only raise the shippers’ toll rates to recover 24 per cent of any project cost overruns beyond the initial \$7.4-billion cost estimate. For the remaining 76 per cent of the costs, Trans Mountain could only raise the tolls 2.5 per cent per year, for inflation.

Trans Mountain confirmed to *The Canadian Press* on March 7 that “due to existing contractual agreements with shippers, only 20 to 25 per cent of the increased capital costs can be passed on to oil companies in the form of increased tolls.”

“The tolls are a big problem,” said Aleck. “We’ve looked at the financial investments. We’ve looked at the shippers’ contracts. We’ve just seen so many structural problems.”

“The last time the tolls covered the cost of the project was in 2017, when the budget was \$7.4-billion,” said Allan, adding that Trans Mountain is “taking a huge hit” under the most recent cost estimate of \$21.4-billion. By her calculations, Trans Mountain is on the hook for approximately \$11-billion in additional capital costs.

Kinder Morgan signed binding 20-year contracts with its customers in 2012.

Experts at the National Energy Board hearings in 2013 warned that, by capping the tolls to this extent, the contract imposed “asymmetric risks” on the pipeline company for any future cost overruns. Allan said Kinder Morgan accepted these risks in exchange for the ability to terminate the contract and walk away from the project at any time. “And they did,” she said, “except Ottawa stepped in and bailed them out.”

The 20-year contracts don’t kick in until the expansion project is complete, which could be in late 2023 according to Trans Mountain, 11 years after the contracts were signed. Trans Mountain’s revenues on its existing pipeline, which has been transporting oil from the Alberta oil patch to Burnaby, B.C. since 1953, come from tolls that are negotiated and renegotiated with its shippers every year or every few years. The 20-year contracts would replace these year-to-year contracts once the expansion is complete.

Allan added that the financial risk for the pipeline’s owners goes beyond capital costs to include 20 years worth of operating cost risks. “The contract terms limit the ability for Trans Mountain to pass on the majority of operating cost increases,” she said.

“Alberta’s oil producers who ship on the pipeline system are the parties who win because their tolls are subsidized either way,” said Allan.

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News



Treasury Board President Mona Fortier tabled the 2022-23 main estimates on March 1, asking Parliamentarians to vote on, and approve, \$190.3-billion out of a total \$397.6-billion in spending for the fiscal year. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations Marc Miller speaks at a press conference on Jan. 4, with Indigenous Services Minister Patty Hajdu to provide an update on the negotiations related to compensation agreement to address legal challenges over Canada's First Nations child welfare system. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Feds ask Parliamentarians to approve \$190.3-billion of \$397.6-billion main spending estimates so far for 2022-2023

Some promises from the fall fiscal update—and all of the forthcoming budget—are not included in the document, which outlines \$397.6-billion in spending

to increase, given promises in the fall fiscal update, and—which the estimates don't mention—because of the next budget. CBC reported Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland's (University-Rosedale, Ont.) second budget is expected the

first week of April, more than one month after the main estimates are required to be presented in Parliament, by March 1.

That's a problem, according to a March 10 report by the parliamentary budget officer.

The “lack of cohesion” between two of the government’s “primary fiscal documents engenders confusion,” said the PBO report, which urged Parliament to establish a fixed tabling date for the budget that is early enough to ensure its measures can be incorporated in the main estimates.

The office has criticized Canada’s estimates processes, as have opposition MPs, for making it difficult for MPs to follow the money and get a true picture of spending on the year.

Before the budget arrives, MPs will also be expected to vote on the first appropriation bill tied to the massive spending document, by March 31, for the interim supply to ensure the government has enough money to spend in the first few months of the fiscal year.

The second appropriation bill is typically voted on in June, with the first round of supplementary estimates not long behind it, after committees have studied department-level plans for spending for the year.

“While this discretion provides greater flexibility to the government, it does create the risk of misalignment between the money Parliamentarians are asked to approve and when details of the planned (and actual) spending are available. This undermines the ability of Parliamentarians to meaningfully scrutinize proposed spending,” the PBO noted in last week’s report.

Of the 126 organizations with line items in the main estimates, 10 will include parliamentary votes of more than \$5-billion.

At the top of the list, Indigenous Services Canada requires MPs to approve \$39.5-billion. Next, MPs must vote on \$24.3-billion for National Defence, whose main estimate allocations are up 6.8 per cent compared to last year, followed by Treasury Board Secretariat (\$7.8-billion, up 11.8 per cent); Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development (\$7.1-billion, up 11.1 per cent); Infrastructure Canada

Continued on page 33

Top Spending Departments—Voted and Statutory Spending—in the Main Estimates 2022-23

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

The government is asking Parliamentarians to approve \$190.3-billion out of a total \$397.6-billion in spending for the 2022-23 fiscal year, a nearly \$50-billion jump over last year’s main spending estimates.

In the last Parliament, the main estimates presented \$142-billion requiring parliamentary approval. The 2021-22 main estimates kicked off with a total \$342.2-billion, but following additional requests through three supplementary estimates, the total ticked up to \$413.9-billion. This year’s main estimates at \$397.6-billion represent a \$16.3-billion decrease off the total budgetary authorities requested last fiscal year.

The figures listed in the main estimates represent a partial picture, made of the government’s current forecasted spending and funding requests, though Ottawa will tack on costs tied to the upcoming budget in future estimates.

The main estimates, tabled by Treasury Board President Mona Fortier (Ottawa-Vanier, Ont.) on March 1, are focused on the government’s “cash needs,” the document explains, which are likely

Organizations	2021-22 Main Estimates	2021-22 Estimates to date	2022-23 Main Estimates	Comparing Main Estimates: 2021-22/2022-23	Per cent difference
Finance	\$103,751,635,907	\$110,744,456,804	\$110,665,743,181	\$6,914,107,274	6.66%
Employment and Social Development	\$82,439,720,890	\$101,338,951,419	\$87,404,374,565	\$4,964,653,675	6.02%
National Defence	\$24,295,205,167	\$25,737,937,313	\$25,950,347,556	\$1,655,142,389	6.81%
Indigenous Services	\$13,506,097,396	\$21,767,441,835	\$39,601,620,243	\$26,095,522,847	193.21%
Public Health Agency of Canada	\$8,751,060,274	\$16,736,186,393	\$8,494,971,038	-\$256,089,236	-2.93%
Canada Revenue Agency	\$10,765,797,057	\$11,340,456,515	\$12,508,854,851	\$1,743,057,794	16.19%
Infrastructure of Canada	\$6,840,813,406	\$10,440,871,614	\$9,349,873,712	\$2,509,060,306	36.68%
Treasury Board Secretariat	\$7,022,161,953	\$9,663,816,793	\$7,853,655,706	\$831,493,753	11.84%
Health	\$3,862,798,658	\$8,513,035,907	\$3,878,001,891	\$15,203,233	0.39%
Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development	\$6,723,238,064	\$8,329,830,320	\$7,469,059,606	\$745,821,542	11.09%
Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs	\$4,696,632,831	\$7,046,265,332	\$5,807,583,250	\$1,110,950,419	23.65%
Veterans Affairs	\$6,290,972,437	\$6,318,730,513	\$5,507,460,465	-\$783,511,972	-12.45%
Public Works and Government Services	\$4,491,230,181	\$5,311,050,960	\$4,639,613,147	\$148,382,966	3.30%
Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation	\$3,259,488,472	\$5,144,252,458	\$3,548,649,641	\$289,161,169	8.87%
Industry	\$3,734,110,842	\$4,922,401,445	\$5,784,515,013	\$2,050,404,171	54.91%
Fisheries and Oceans	\$4,383,066,867	\$4,828,551,810	\$3,986,868,384	-\$396,198,483	-9.04%
Royal Canadian Mounted Police	\$3,439,673,110	\$4,099,390,480	\$4,234,203,823	\$794,530,713	23.10%
Agriculture and Agri-Food	\$3,022,814,837	\$3,907,384,340	\$3,253,366,478	\$230,551,641	7.63%
Citizenship and Immigration	\$3,253,342,420	\$3,802,391,522	\$3,907,736,600	\$654,394,180	20.11%
Correctional Service of Canada	\$2,793,675,395	\$3,043,758,610	\$3,050,727,462	\$257,052,067	9.20%
Natural Resources	\$2,238,204,659	\$2,813,495,928	\$3,609,353,137	\$1,371,148,478	61.26%
Transport	\$2,051,245,313	\$2,623,253,597	\$2,851,853,197	\$800,607,884	39.03%
Canada Border Services Agency	\$2,049,476,541	\$2,258,213,387	\$2,344,085,908	\$294,609,367	14.37%
Canadian Heritage	\$1,536,579,817	\$2,229,421,812	\$2,184,364,789	\$647,784,972	42.16%
Shared Services Canada	\$1,908,055,034	\$2,200,841,666	\$2,618,895,615	\$710,840,581	37.25%
Environment	\$1,699,147,420	\$1,982,491,793	\$1,968,217,071	\$269,069,651	15.84%
National Research Council of Canada	\$1,332,387,047	\$1,616,242,939	\$1,437,388,224	\$105,001,177	7.88%
Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council	\$1,380,311,368	\$1,416,949,031	\$1,356,077,377	-\$24,233,991	-1.76%
Canadian Institutes of Health Research	\$1,253,906,530	\$1,390,047,422	\$1,242,484,652	-\$11,421,878	-0.91%
Parks Canada Agency	\$1,129,108,729	\$1,320,694,011	\$988,583,305	-\$140,525,424	-12.45%

Continued on page 32

(\$7.1-billion, up 36.7 per cent); Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs (\$5.8-billion, up 23.7 per cent); Industry Canada (\$5.5-billion, up 54.9 per cent); and Veterans Affairs (\$5.5-billion, down 12.5 per cent). Public Health Agency of Canada's \$8.4-billion in voted spending is also in the mix, an amount that mirrors last year's request but represents only half the \$16-billion in spending ultimately granted to the agency through successive estimate requests.

These voted requests represent the majority of spending allocations for all of the above departments save for Employment and Social Development, with Parliamentarians only voting on 13 per cent, or \$11.4-billion, of the \$87.4-billion set aside for ESDC to start the year.

Also in that boat are Finance Canada's \$110.7-billion and the Canada Revenue Agency's \$12.5-billion—totals that put both in the top five for departmental spending, though the bulk of their expenses are statutory, or provided through legislation other than appropriation acts.



A March 10 analysis of the 2022-23 main estimates by Parliamentary Budget Officer Yves Giroux says the order of Canada's 'primary fiscal documents' lacks cohesion and creates confusion because budget promises are not included in the massive spending document. *The Hill Times photograph by Sam Garcia*

The departments of Finance and ESDC always pack the biggest one-two spending punch, with tens of billions more assigned to their programs over other departments, representing more than half of all spending set out in the main estimates, at \$198.1-billion.

At 61.1 per cent, or \$243.1-billion, transfer payments to provinces and territories, individuals, or organizations, account for the largest portion of budgetary authorities in the 2022-23 main Estimates, the document noted. The Canada Health Transfer (CHT) is the largest, and is set to increase by \$2.1-billion (4.8 per cent) to \$45.2-billion, according to the PBO, which projects the CHT will reach \$56.1-billion by 2026-27. Budgetary authorities for operating and capital, meanwhile, represent 32.9 per cent (\$130.9-billion) of the main estimates, while public debt charges amount to 5.9 per cent (\$23.6-billion).

The government already has Parliament's permission to spend \$207.3-billion in statutory spending, including the cost of servicing the public debt. According to the document, there are a few "significant" changes to these funds compared to last year, with many marking increases, including for major transfer payments, like elderly benefits, the Canada Health Transfer, and fiscal equalization; in interest on unmatured debt; in Climate Action

Incentive Payments; and in Canada Student Grants. On the other side, there's a decrease to statutory spending tied to the Canada Recovery Benefits Act with the winding down of payments.

In five years, Liberals post 214% increase in Indigenous-related spending: PBO

Combined, Indigenous Services Canada (ISC) and Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada (CIRNAC) are requesting \$45.4-billion through the main estimates. This represents a 214 per cent increase over Indigenous-related budgetary expenditures compared to 2017-18, according to the PBO.

ISC represents the bulk of spending, while CIRNAC accounts for \$5.8-billion of the total. Both mark considerable year-over-year increases, with ISC's \$39.6-billion representing a nearly 200 per cent jump from the \$13.5-billion set out at the start of last year, and almost double the \$21.8-billion set out to close the 2021-22 fiscal year. CIRNAC saw a 24 per cent increase in its authorities to start the fiscal year, adding \$1.1-billion out the gate to the \$4.7-billion initially requested last year. But this year's \$5.8-billion request is less than the department's year-end tally of \$7-billion.

More than half of ISC's requested authorities are for out-of-court settlements and of that \$22-billion, \$20-billion is tied to Indigenous Services Minister Patty Hajdu's (Thunder Bay-Superior North, Ont.) December 2021 announcement of an agreement-in-principle to compensate for those harmed by Canada's child welfare system following negotiations related to several class action lawsuits.

"We will compensate those harmed by the federal government's discriminatory funding practices and we will lay the foundation for an equitable and better future for First Nations children, their families and communities," said the joint statement with Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister Marc Miller (Ville-Marie-Le Sud-Ouest-Îles-Soeurs, Que.). Ottawa has promised an additional \$20-billion to reform the on-reserve child welfare system.

PHAC, Health Canada spending steady

For the second year in a row the Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC) is among the top-ten spenders, with an expected \$8.5-billion. It's a shift for the agency, which didn't rank close to the top 10 in 2020 ahead of the pandemic.

Even as public health restrictions ease and COVID-19 cases drop, the agency's spending plans could shift considerably should Canada's pandemic response ramp up again. Ottawa used supplementary estimates to tack on authorities to the agency last year. Despite last year's plans putting PHAC spending at \$8.6-billion, the department's actual bill for 2021-22 ballooned to double the amount, finishing the year at \$16.7-billion.

For example, in the most recent supplementary estimates to close out 2021-22, the government asked for a further \$3-billion to PHAC to procure COVID-19 therapeutics, rapid test kits, vaccines and personal protective equipment as part of Canada's response to the Omicron-fuelled wave.

In the latest main estimates, Health Canada did not quite crack the top 15, with \$3.9-billion laid out in the early planning document. If last year is any indication, however, it'll likely crack the top by the end of the year. Estimates to date for 2021-22 put Health Canada at \$8.5-billion, more than double the \$3.9-billion requested at the start of last fiscal year

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SPECIAL REPORT

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Feature

Zelenskyy asks Canada for more

The Hill Times photographs by Sam Garcia



Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, pictured Tuesday, March 15, addressing Canada's Parliament remotely from Ukraine, which was invaded by Russia on Feb. 24.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured on TV, introducing Zelenskyy.



Ukraine's minister-counsellor chargé d'affaires Andrii Bukvych, pictured in the Commons foyer after Zelenskyy's speech.



Former Saskatchewan Conservative senator Raynell Andreychuk, left, and CSG Deputy Senate Leader Diane Griffin, and ISG Senator Donna Dasko.



Innovation Minister François-Philippe Champagne, pictured in the Commons foyer.



Reporters doing their stand-ups in the Commons foyer for their reports on the historic speech.



MPs and pages outside the House Chamber before Zelenskyy's speech.

help in address to Parliament



Agriculture Minister Marie-Claude Bibeau, pictured arriving.



Pages stand on either side of the door to the House Chamber to welcome MPs and Senators.



Liberal MP Yvan Baker, who was seated beside the prime minister in the House during Zelenskyy's speech.



NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh, pictured talking to reporters outside the House Chamber.



Quebec Conservative Senator Pierre-Hugues Boisvenu, pictured on his way into the House.



Quebec Conservative MP Luc Berthold, pictured arriving to the Commons.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in a scrum.



Conservative MP James Bezan, pictured talking to reporters.



NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh, pictured in the House Chamber as MPs and Senators arrive before Zelenskyy's 11:15 a.m. speech.



Immigration Minister Marco Mendicino, pictured arriving to the House.



Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly, pictured arriving for the speech.

Feature

Veteran political journalist Paul Wells opens up about why he left Maclean's magazine

Maclean's magazine, which has been in publication since 1905, has seen the departure of associate editor Marie-Danielle Smith, editor-in-chief Alison Uncles, and senior writer Paul Wells in recent weeks.

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

A senior writer for Maclean's magazine up until earlier this month, Paul Wells says that although it's well within the prerogative of the company's management to change the editorial direction of the influential publication, he became increasingly uncomfortable with that direction.

Maclean's magazine, which has been in publication since 1905, has seen the departure of associate editor Marie-Danielle Smith, editor-in-chief Alison Uncles, and Wells in recent weeks.

In an interview with *The Hill Times* last week, Wells outlined his reasons for departing from the magazine where he has served as a columnist, editor or writer for 20 years, minus one year that he spent as a columnist with *The Toronto Star*.

The magazine has had a three-person Ottawa bureau in recent years, with a total of about a half a dozen, permanent full-time staff writers, according to Wells. And following the purchase of the magazine from Rogers by St. Joseph Communications, the new management team that has taken over from Alison Uncles, is exclusively people who come from the other big St. Joseph Communications magazines, one of which is *Toronto Life*.

In March 2019, Rogers Media and St. Joseph Communications (SJC) announced they had entered into an agreement whereby SJC acquired all seven of Roger Media's consumer print and digital magazine brands, including *Maclean's*, *Chatelaine*, *Today Parent*, *HELLO! Canada*, *FLARE*, and *Canadian Business*.

"*Toronto Life* has no staff writers, and in recent years has never had staff writers, and relies exclusively on freelance," said Wells. "So clearly, trying to figure out what to do with staff writers has been a conceptual challenge for the new editors—and it's complicated by the fact that we're unionized, and they are not used to that either."

"I have been adamant that that is absolutely their right," said Wells. "It is perfectly natural for a magazine to change its idea of



Paul Wells pictured right with CBCNN's Rosemary Barton at the Sir John A. Macdonald building in Ottawa on May 10, 2019. Wells says the new management of the influential magazine Maclean's seemed 'to want to introduce a stark change in the editorial direction of the magazine and the style of journalism that it practices.' *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

itself from time to time, and the people who get to make that decision are the management.

"They've gone about it in a clumsy way, that amounts to ignoring staff writers, having very limited and very isolated conversation with staff writers, and in almost every case, giving us assignments that don't match our skills, don't match our interests," he said.



Marie-Danielle Smith, pictured in 2014 on Sparks Street. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

Noting that a number of members of *Maclean's* made the decision to leave as a result of discussions within the management of the magazine regarding prioritizing freelance work, Wells said "I wouldn't bet that we would be the last ones."

Smith also tweeted that "we will miss [Alison Uncles, former editor-in-chief of the magazine] something awful, for her tenacious leadership, her unfaltering kindness and the bone-deep

empathy she brought to her job and to our journalism," on Feb. 2. She did not return requests for comment from *The Hill Times* before deadline.

Wells said the new management also seemed "to want to introduce a stark change in the editorial direction of the magazine and the style of journalism that it practices."

"The only thing I would do is emphasize that changing the kind of journalism the magazine does is perfectly normal, and I would have advocated it in private conversations with the ownership of the company—and I have advocated, and said it's time for a new *Maclean's*," said Wells.

"But if I was making a change, I would describe the change to the staff I inherited and try to rally them, or I would tell them they don't fit and they've got to go," said Wells, who has been in journalism for 33 years.

Wells served as a moderator of federal leader's debates in previous election years, writing in 2015 that "the first rule of debates is that audiences are not looking for a debate winner."

"Well, that's too categorical. Sure, they're looking for a debate winner—distractedly, as a secondary matter, with the part of their brain that is entertained by entertainment," he wrote.

"But they are also looking for a political leader, and that's another thing entirely," wrote Wells.

Maclean's founded 117 years ago by John Bayne Maclean

Maclean's has been a leading print media outlet in Canada for a

long time, founded 117 years ago by John Bayne Maclean, and has seen the likes of esteemed writers and editors, Pierre Berton, Robert Fulford, Peter Gzowski, and Christina McCall in the 1950s.

Ralph Allen, following his time as a war correspondent for *The Globe and Mail* during the Second World War, joined the magazine in 1946, eventually becoming the editor four years later.

As Gzowski wrote in his book, *The Private Voice: A Journal of Reflections*, "in the days before television, *Maclean's* was the window on Canada."

"For the generation of writers and editors who learned their craft under Ralph and tried, after his departure, to maintain the standards he had set, it meant at least as much," wrote Gzowski. "It taught us how hard it was to write well, but how worth while it was to try. It made what we were doing seem to matter. It was an enriching place to be."

Esteemed Canadian writer Peter C. Newman became editor of the magazine in 1971, overseeing a major transformation of the magazine, including the establishment of news bureaus across Canada and in London, U.K., and Washington, D.C.

Newman wrote books that sold in the millions, has been married four times, and has gone into great detail detailing former prime minister John Diefenbaker's time in politics, as well as his look into Canada's business elite in *The Canadian Establishment*.

Multiple requests for comment from St. Joseph Communication, as well as from *Maclean's* magazine, were not returned before deadline. *The*

Hill Times reached out to new editor-in-chief Sarah Fulford, Ottawa bureau chief Shannon Proudfoot, chairman and CEO of SJC Tony Gagliano, as well as president and publisher of SJC Ken Hunt. None of the requests were returned.

Sarah Fulford was previously the editor of *Toronto Life* magazine. She started her new job at *Maclean's* last month, on Feb. 10, tweeting the news that she was joining the publication.

"Next week, I'm joining @macleans, Canada's most important magazine, as editor. I'm excited to play a role in telling the country's big stories. After 14 years, I'm leaving @torontolife in great hands. Congratulations to my friend and colleague @malcjohnston, TL's next editor," Fulford tweeted.

Maclean's mag's executive editor is Emily Landau and the deputy editor is Colin Campbell. The managing editors are: Charlie Gillis (national), Dafna Izenberg (special projects). The senior editor is Mary Dwyer (university rankings). The digital director is Prajakta Dhopade and the director of production and technology is Jacob Sheen. The associate editor is Aaron Hutchins. John Geddes, Scott Gilmore, and Mark Stevenson are editors-at-large. The contributing writers are: Philippe J. Fournier, Jen Gerson, Terry Glavin, Shannon Gormley, Brian D. Johnson, Adnan R. Khan, Stephen Maher, Peter C. Newman, Evan Solomon, and Peter Shawn Taylor. Shannon Proudfoot is in the Ottawa bureau and Jason Markusoff is in the Alberta bureau.

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The Hill Times

Canada needs to swiftly beef up NATO engagement

The fact that the five Danish parties expressed openness to revitalize the extraction of oil and gas in the Danish fields in the North Sea to compensate for import of less Russian gas is seen as a new period of 'politics of necessity.'

Jan Top Christensen

Opinion



Since Russia's invasion of Ukraine on Feb. 24, the international security landscape has dramatically changed. Neutral Sweden and Finland are now considering joining NATO. Germany is saying goodbye to its pacifist, low-defence budget.

An old NATO commitment, now to be honoured, also by Canada

Back in 2014, NATO countries committed to reach two per cent of GDP level for defence spending. Canada with 1.39 per cent is among the five countries at the bottom. Increasing Canada's defence budget to two per cent would be a very important political signal to Putin's Russia.

Canada may find inspiration in Denmark

On Feb. 6, the Social Democratic minority government was behind a broad "national compromise." At the press conference, introducing the agreement, Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen said, "historic times, demand historic decisions." Together with the Liberals and the Conservatives from the opposition and including the Social Liberals and People Socialist Party, which are part of the government's majority base, major decisions were made. It was agreed immediately to increase the defence budget with approximately \$1.4-billion CAD for 2022-23, but more importantly it was decided gradually to bring the Danish defence budget up to the two per cent target by 2033.

Consequences of a higher defence budget

In an interview on Feb. 6 on DR, one of the Danish public TV stations, the leader of the People Socialist Party, Pia Olsen Dyhr was very clear. There is a before and an after Feb. 24. The party had hitherto been fighting an increased defence budget and wanted to keep the Danish reservation from 1993 on EU-defence cooperation. No longer. In spite of a decision by the same five political parties to relax the budget

rules and allow for higher fiscal deficits, Pia Olsen Dyhr recognized that the huge increase in the defence budget would make the prioritization of new social programs more challenging.

Can the Arctic remain a peaceful region?

As is Canada, Denmark, via Greenland, is an Arctic country. Unfortunately, the co-operation within the Arctic Council, which is chaired by Russia from 2021 to 2023, had to be suspended in early February. But already before the Ukrainian crisis, the Russian modernization of its Arctic bases raised concerns. Today, Denmark, Canada, and other partners have to review their strategies for the Arctic, hopefully keeping the region peaceful, while being able to match the Russian buildup. The Arctic region could well see increased tensions as several unsettled, overlapping territorial claims carry the potential for conflict.

Cybersecurity, an area that calls for huge investment

Also here the Ukrainian crisis gives inspiration. One thing is the fierce battle raging. But we have also seen a fierce battle going on in the digital sphere. All indications are that this area will become even more important in the future.

Investment in offensive weapons?

What kind of weapons to procure will be a key question to deal with. Hitherto, Denmark has been hesitant to invest in what may be seen by Russia as offensive weapons, according to the Danish daily, *Politiken*, on Feb. 7. Danish frigates are prepared to carry U.S. Tomahawk cruise missiles, but to avoid "irritating" Russia, it was decided to abstain from buying such weapons, until now.

From the air force side, it has been suggested to procure the P8A Poseidon maritime patrol aircraft, already used by the U.S., U.K. and Norway in the North Atlantic to scout for submarines. With the very high price of these units, it would help out with the future "spending challenge."

Sceptics fear for social and climate initiatives

In the Danish daily, *Information*, on Feb. 8, commentator Lars Trier Mogensen, worried that after a period of talking about "the peace dividend," we are facing a new phase of the Cold War, where defence budgets will leave little space for new social programs and also negatively affect initiatives to counter climate change. The fact that the five Danish parties expressed openness to revitalize the extraction of oil and gas in the Danish fields in the North Sea to compensate for import of less Russian gas is seen as a new period of "politics of necessity."

Jan Top Christensen, a retired Danish diplomat, is a fellow at the Canadian Global Affairs Institute. He lives in Ottawa with his Canadian wife and daughter.

The Hill Times

We need to talk about a dangerous gap

The Canadian Women's Foundation found that two-thirds of people in Canada know a woman who has experienced physical, sexual, or emotional abuse. And ninety per cent of people believe everyone has a responsibility to stop gender-based violence.

Paulette Senior

Opinion



There's a dangerous gap we need to talk about.

The Canadian Women's Foundation found that two-thirds of people in Canada know a woman who has experienced physical, sexual, or emotional abuse. And 90 per cent of people believe everyone has a responsibility to stop gender-based violence.

At the same time, 46 per cent of people in Canada believe the issue is too big to play a role in ending it. And 23 per cent think intimate partner violence is none of their business if it doesn't directly involve them.

What does this disjuncture between our awareness of abuse and core anti-violence values and our capacities and willingness to help stop abuse mean?

It means we have a persistent cultural problem. Even in the thick of celebrating women's accomplishments and rights as we do every March, violence against women, girls, and Two Spirit, trans, and non-binary people is still too normalized.

We still don't fully understand the role we all play amongst our friends, family, and coworkers to support survivors of abuse and uphold safer homes, communities, and workplaces.

It also means Canada has not done enough to invest in efforts to end gendered violence—to normalize prevention and intervention as a whole-society value we put a real stake in.

On average, a woman is killed by her former or current intimate partner every six days. The rate of gender-based violence like intimate partner abuse and sexual assault is higher for women who face multiple barriers, including Indigenous

women and women with disabilities. And in the pandemic, the risk and rates have only increased.

Canada commits a lot of money to prisons, prosecution, and policing. But time and time again, the evidence shows that this is not where the bulk of prevention and intervention investments need to happen. Most survivors of abuse do not feel safe enough to go to authorities in the first place. Community-based, largely women-led services like crisis lines and shelters have remained underfunded from their earliest days in the 70s and 80s.

After years of feminist advocacy, Canada is finally investing in national action planning to address gendered abuse. Too many lives have been needlessly, tragically lost and the human and economic toll has been staggering. It has costed us billions of tax dollars: \$7.4-billion annually to deal with the aftermath of spousal violence in Canada alone, as measured in 2009.

Make no mistake: this has very much been an issue of leadership. When leaders recognize a problem and invest in addressing it through evidence-based policy and practice informed by those who experience the problem directly, changes happen. Culture and society have a progressive path to follow. When leaders do not recognize the problem and turn away from the evidence, best practices, and lived experiences, nothing changes.

Sometimes, things are allowed to get worse.

The good news is that, in 2022, people in Canada believe this needs to change. Ninety per cent of us believe that our decision-makers, community leaders, and workplaces should take proactive steps to address

gender-based violence and support survivors.

Such resounding numbers should inspire leaders across all party lines, sectors, and levels of government to think seriously about what they will do to end gender-based violence. It should lead them to reflect on whether they are part

of the problem or committed to evidence-grounded solutions.

It should inspire workplaces to be proactive in fulfilling workplace safety legislation and best practices and support an end to gendered abuse. Gendered violence shows up at work every day, especially now with the boom in hybrid work models where home and work regularly collide. And it should inspire each of us to learn how to better respond to survivors of abuse in our own lives with judgement-free kindness and care.

The time to get our values in line with our actions is long overdue.

Paulette Senior is president and CEO of the Canadian Women's Foundation.

The Hill Times





Laura Ryckewaert Hill Climbers

New comms, parliamentary aides in Government House Leader Holland's office

Matt MacDougall and Arielle Mantes are new parliamentary affairs advisers in the office, working under veteran staffer Hugo Dompierre, who remains director of parliamentary affairs.

A handful of new aides have joined Government House Leader **Mark Holland's** office since the 44th Parliament began, including **Alexandra Maheux**, who's taken on the role of press secretary.

Maheux started on the job in Holland's office in January after almost two-and-a-half years as a media relations specialist with the Canadian Institute for Health Information.

After completing her undergraduate degree at Queen's University and a post-graduate certificate in public relations from Humber College, Maheux began working for the Heart and Stroke Foundation in 2012. Starting as a communications intern, she was subsequently hired as a public relations co-ordinator and stayed with the foundation for almost seven years in all, ending as communications manager. Before joining the CIHI, she spent almost a year as a health marketing specialist with Toronto Public Health.

As noted on her LinkedIn profile, Maheux led communications for Holland's successful 2015 campaign team, which saw him return to the House to once again represent Ajax, Ont. (he previously represented Ajax-Pickering, Ont., from 2004 to 2011).

In the House leader's office, she's working under **Mark Kennedy**, who, as reported in November, is director of communications to Holland.

Kennedy and Maheux will be working alongside another new addition: communications manager **Michael Radoslav**.

Radoslav is supporting Holland as House leader part time, with the other half of his time spent tackling communications in Holland's constituency office as the MP for Ajax. While his role in the House leader's office is new, Radoslav has been part of Holland's riding team since the spring of 2019. Before then, he was a website administrator and social media specialist for the Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College for almost seven years. Radoslav also has experience as a freelance reporter, including for Toronto's Gleaner Community Press.

As reported, **Rheal Lewis** continues as chief of staff to the government House leader, a role he's filled since the fall of 2016, and, as noted in December, **Eshan Naik** is now director of policy in the office.

Longtime staffer **Hugo Dompierre** remains on board as director of parliamentary affairs. He's been quietly working behind the scenes for Liberal House leaders



Government House Leader Mark Holland, right, pictured on his way into a Liberal caucus meeting in the West Block on Feb. 2 with his press secretary, Alex Maheux, and communications director Mark Kennedy. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

on the Hill since 1997, from **Don Boudria** to **Tony Valeri** to **Ralph Goodale**, and beyond, with many years spent working alongside the late and legendary Liberal **Jerry Yanover**.

Jean-Luc Plourde now holds the title of senior policy adviser for parliamentary affairs.

Plourde was previously a senior special assistant for parliamentary affairs in the office and changed titles last October. He started out in the office in early 2018 as a special assistant for parliamentary affairs, under then-House leader **Bardish Chagger**, after nine months as a special assistant in then-Government Whip **Andrew Leslie's** office. Plourde is also a former assistant to then-Liberal MP **Nicola Di Iorio** and to Health Minister **Jean-Yves Duclos** as the MP for Québec, Que.

Trevor Harrison has stayed in place as a senior adviser for parliamentary affairs, as have parliamentary affairs advisers **Samar Assoum** and **Béatrice Lavallée**.



Trevor Harrison remains in the House leader's office. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

Harrison has been working in the House leader's office since December 2019, starting under **Pablo Rodriguez**. He began working for the Liberals on the Hill back in 2008, starting as a legislative assistant to then-deputy leader **Michael Ignatieff**, and later did the same in Ignatieff's office as official opposition leader. After the 2011 election, Harrison went on to work as a government relations co-ordinator for the Canadian Dental Association and eventually returned to the Hill in 2014 as an assistant to now-Deputy Prime Minister **Chrystia Freeland** in her capacity as a Liberal MP. At the start of 2017, he landed his

first ministerial gig as an issues manager to then-veterans minister **Kent Hehr**. By the end of that year, he'd found his way to Freeland's office as then-minister of foreign affairs as a policy adviser, later adding "senior" to his title before leaving to work for Rodriguez.

Assoum has been tackling parliamentary affairs for the House leader since January 2020, starting under Rodriguez. A former assistant to then-Liberal MP **Paul Lefebvre**, Assoum joined then-finance minister **Bill Morneau's** office as a special assistant for parliamentary affairs in the fall of 2017 and a year later moved over to then-innovation minister **Navdeep Bains'** office, where she covered parliamentary affairs and issues management for roughly a year and a half.



Samar Assoum continues as a parliamentary affairs adviser. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

Lavallée is an ex-aide to Quebec Liberal MP **Soraya Martinez Ferrada** and joined the House leader's team under Rodriguez in April 2021. She worked on the MP's successful 2019 and 2021 election campaign and for four months in 2018 (while she was studying for a bachelor's degree at the Université de Montréal) she was an assistant in Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau's** constituency office as the MP for Papineau, Que.

They're joined by two new additions to the parliamentary affairs team: advisers **Matt MacDougall** and **Arielle Mantes**.

MacDougall has spent the last two years as an assistant to Toronto Liberal MP **Han Dong** and has lots of campaign experience under his belt, including as past campaign manager to then-Liberal candidate **Andrea Kaiser** in Niagara Falls, Ont., in 2021 (Conservative MP **Dean Allison** ultimately won that seat) and to then-candidate **Chris Rodgers** in Carleton, Ont., in

2019 (Conservative MP **Pierre Poilievre** held the seat), and as a field organizer for the Newfoundland and Labrador and New Brunswick Liberals, among other examples. He's also a former assistant to Trade Minister **Mary Ng** as the Liberal MP for Markham-Thornhill, Ont., and to then-Liberal MP **MaryAnn Mihychuk**.

While Mantes is new to the House leader's office, she's been working for Holland for a number of years, starting in 2017 as a community outreach co-ordinator in his Ajax constituency office. In January 2020, Mantes joined his office as then-Chief Government Whip as a committees adviser, her most recent role.

Kornelia Mankowski remains director of Senate affairs to the House leader. She took on the then-new role in the office under Rodriguez in January 2020 but has been part of the House leader's team since 2017, during Chagger's turn in the post. Mankowski is a former assistant to then-Liberal Senator **Joan Fraser**, including during Fraser's time as deputy opposition leader, and to then-Senators **Bill Rompkey** and **Sharon Carstairs**.

Daniel Arseneault continues as director of issues management, a post he's filled since February 2018, starting under Chagger. Arseneault spent the previous two years as director of parliamentary affairs in Chagger's office as then-small business and tourism minister—a role that overlapped her time as House leader. He's been on the Hill since 2008; starting as an assistant to then-Liberal MP **Brent St. Denis**, he went on to work for Liberal MPs **Anthony Rota** (during his time as Liberal caucus chair) and **Frank Valeriote**. Before joining Chagger's team, he spent two months shortly after the 2015 election as an assistant to Leslie as Whip.

Izabel Czuzoj-Shulman has been promoted to director of operations to the House leader. She first joined the office under Rodriguez as a senior parliamentary affairs adviser in December 2019. Czuzoj-Shulman has a background in law (she earned her law degree at the University of Ottawa) and worked as a lawyer with Montreal's O'Hanlon Sanders Teixeira and briefly with Devine Schachter Polak (also in the city) before opting to become an assistant to Liberal MP **Anthony Housefather**, starting in his Mount Royal, Que., constituency office in 2015. In July 2018, she moved over to then-justice minister **Jody Wilson-Raybould's** office as a parliamentary affairs adviser, working there for roughly a year and a half in all.



Izabel Czuzoj-Shulman has been promoted within the House leader's office. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

Lynda Bouraoui is executive assistant in the House leader's office. She's been there since December 2019, starting under Rodriguez, and before then was executive assistant to Goodale as then-public safety minister. Bouraoui is also a former part-time scheduling assistant in Trudeau's office as prime minister and from 2006 to 2015 was a full-time scheduler in the Liberal opposition leader's office.

Mike Bowles is driver to the House leader. lryckewaert@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

Lobbyists to hold shindig for popular hangout, Métropolitain Brasserie, on Wednesday, March 23



Did someone say beer? As Parliament resumes, the Métropolitain invites guests to come celebrate and support Ottawa's premier venue for Parliament Hill at 'A Night for the Met,' on Wednesday, March 23, 6 p.m. Open to all Parliamentarians, staffs, and friends of the Met. *The Hill Times* photograph by Cynthia Münster

MONDAY, MARCH 21

House Sitting—The House of Commons is sitting March 21-April 8. It will take a two-week break, April 11-22, and will return on April 25-May 20. It will break from May 23-27, and will sit May 30-June 23. It will break for the summer on June 23 and will return on Sept. 19 and will sit Sept. 19-Oct. 7, will break for one week, Oct. 10-Oct. 14, and will sit for three straight weeks, Oct. 17-Nov. 4. It will take a one-week break, Nov. 7-11. It will return on Nov. 14 and will sit for five straight weeks, Nov. 14-Dec. 16. And that's the House calendar for 2022.

International Solidarity Between Indigenous Peoples: Sovereignty and Self-Determination in the Post-COVID World—The University of Ottawa hosts "International Solidarity between Indigenous Peoples: Sovereignty and Self-Determination in the Post-COVID World." Indigenous Peoples of Formosa (Taiwan) and on Turtle Island (North America) have faced similar tragedies of violence, displacement, and genocide. In both places, Indigenous Peoples affirm sovereignty and claim rights to self-determination in a neo-liberal context that includes UNDRIP. There is much to learn from each other. Claudette Comanda, special adviser to the Dean on Reconciliation, uOttawa, is among the speakers. Monday, March 21, 8:30-10 a.m. Register at cdp-hrc.uottawa.ca.

TUESDAY, MARCH 22

Hate Crimes in Canada—Canadian Human Rights chief commissioner Marie-Claude Landry will take part in a webinar, "Hate Crimes in Canada," hosted by *The Globe and Mail*. What is fuelling the rise in hate crimes, what are the implications for society, and

how might law enforcement, the justice system, citizens, and communities respond? Other participants include Irwin Cotler, international chair, Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights; Alison Whelan, chief of strategic policy and external relations officer, RCMP; Lynn Barr-Telford, assistant chief statistician, Statistics Canada; and Mustafa Farooq, CEO, National Council of Canadian Muslims. Tuesday, March 22, 1-4:40 p.m. Register at globeandmailevents.com/hatecrimesvirtual.

Emerging Shifts in Regulatory Governance—The Institute for Research in Public Policy hosts a panel discussion on "Emerging Shifts in Regulatory Governance," part of its series on "What should be on Canada's policy radar?" A panel of experts will explore various jurisdictional and institutional research into effective regulation across different policy domains. Tuesday, March 22, 2:30-4 p.m. To register, visit carleton.ca/sppa/cu-events/irpp/.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23

A Night for the Met—As Parliament resumes, the Métropolitain invites guests to come celebrate and support Ottawa's premier venue for Parliament Hill at "A Night for the Met," on Wednesday, March 23, 6 p.m. Open to all Parliamentarians, staffs, and friends of the Met. The party is sponsored by Hill + Knowlton Strategies; National; Rubicon Strategy; Proof Strategies; Compass Rose; Summa Strategies; Crestview Strategy; Blackbird Strategies; Navigator; Global Public Affairs; Earncliffe Strategies; Counsel; Sandstone Group; and Sussex.

Cattlemen's Association Annual Reception—The Canadian Cattlemen's Association is honoured to invite Parliamentarians and staff to join cattle

farmers and ranchers from across Canada for our annual Hill reception on March 23, 6:30 p.m. at the National Arts Centre (Canada Room). We're partnering with Spirits Canada, Beer Canada, and Wine Growers of Canada to provide guests with perfect pairings to the CRSB certified Canadian sustainable beef that will be served. RSVP to: RSVP@cattle.ca

THURSDAY, MARCH 24

uOttawa's Public Law Centre Chat—Join the uOttawa Public Law Centre for a fireside chat on professor Yan Campagnolo's new book, *Behind Closed Doors: The Law and Politics of Cabinet Secrecy* (UBC Press, 2021), on March 24, at 11:30 a.m. Moderated by Professor Vanessa MacDonnell. Register via Eventbrite.

FRIDAY, MARCH 25

Ottawa Mayor's Breakfast—Andrii Bukvych, chargé d'affaires at the Ukrainian Embassy, will be the special guest at the Mayor's Breakfast event, hosted by the Ottawa Board of Trade and *The Ottawa Business Journal*. This event will take place at Ottawa City Hall, 110 Laurier Ave. W. Friday, March 25, 7-9 a.m. For tickets, visit businessottawabot.ca.

Canada Needs a Revived Economic Council to Thrive in the 21st Century—The Empire Club of Canada hosts a webinar, "Canada Needs a Revived Economic Council to Thrive in the 21st Century." BlackBerry co-founder and policy leader Jim Balsillie will reflect on why Canada needs a revived Economic Council to thrive in the 21st century global economy driven by innovation. Friday, March 25, 12-1 p.m. Register at events.empireclubofcanada.com.

BoC Deputy Delivers Remarks—Bank of Canada Deputy Governor Sharon Kozicki will deliver remarks on "A world of difference: households, the pandemic and monetary policy," a webinar hosted by the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco. Friday, March 25, 12:45 p.m. EST.

A Light in the Window: Canada, Apartheid, and the Defence of the Liberal World Order—The Bill Graham Centre for Contemporary International History hosts a webinar: "A Light in the Window: Canada, Apartheid, and the Defence of the Liberal World Order." Daniel Manulak, junior fellow at the Bill Graham Centre for Contemporary International History, will discuss the evolution of Canada's engagement towards white minority rule in South Africa from the late 1950s to the end of apartheid. Friday, March 25, 4-6 p.m. To register, visit: munkschool.utoronto.ca/event/31327/.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 30—FRIDAY, APRIL 1

Progress Summit—Organized by the Broadbent Institute, this year's Progress Summit will take place from Wednesday, March 30 to Friday, April 1, at the Westin Hotel in Ottawa. This year's theme is "Building the Power to Transform." We've been in emergency mode for two years, facing overlapping crises with no sign that things will improve without a change in course. We need more than a rebuild, we need a transformation to get to the future we know is possible. But what is the path forward? How do we build a just economy? What are the priorities to make this change a reality? How do we re-energize our spirits and fuel our collective action to make life better? More information at broadbentinstitute.ca/summit2022.

Democracy Under Threat? Polarization, Economic Inequality and the Future of Democratic Societies—The Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP), as part of its 50th anniversary event series, will hold this free talk at the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, University of Toronto, Ont., March 30, 4 p.m. Eastern Time. Speakers: Jennifer Ditchburn, president and CEO of IRPP; Eric Merkley, assistant professor, Munk School; Sean Speer, senior fellow, Munk School; and Darrell Bricker, CEO of Ipsos and a senior fellow at the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy. Register here: https://munkschool-utoronto-ca.zoom.us/webinar/register/TJcuduqor-jMjGdARQE_1uTYoAnOuyFw5XVuM/success?user_id=--JHmdPuRBy-d93oYl-cwBg&timezone_id=America%2FNew_York. For more information, please contact Judy Mann at jmanny@irpp.org.

FRIDAY, APRIL 1

Health Tech: The Politics and Policies of Remote Rehabilitation—The Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP), as part of its 50th anniversary event series, will hold this free talk at the Master of Public Policy Program at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ont., in person and remotely, on Friday, April 1, at 11 a.m.-12 p.m., Eastern Time. Speakers: Dawn Bowdish, professor of medicine, respirology, McMaster Immunology Research Centre; Rachel Bartholomew, founder and CEO, Hyivy Health; Vass Bednar, executive director, master in public policy program, McMaster; and moderator Eva Salinas, executive producer, CBC Hamilton. Register for the live stream here: https://us06web.zoom.us/webinar/register/WN_Ejvu1THSQmeNBk-P28C89zA and to participate in person (limited in-person seating is available at McMaster), register here.

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With an Ottawa office steps away from Parliament Hill and just across the river from the CRTC, we offer direct coverage of developments at the CRTC and the House of Commons and Senate. We also keep a keen eye on the Copyright Board, the Federal Court and Federal Court of Appeal, Innovation Canada's spectrum management branch, and Canadian Heritage.

Our Coverage

Our unique, comprehensive and independent coverage is also based on access-to-information requests, interviews with industry sources, in-person coverage of hearings, Parliamentary committee meetings, industry conferences and announcements, time spent digging through regulatory and court documents, and more.

Our Pedigree

Since the launch of The Wire Report at the start of 2010, this premium, online business news service has quickly become the most authoritative and respected in its niche. The Wire Report's website represents the largest and only dedicated archive of its kind in Canada, with a searchable collection of news reports from 2000 to today.

THE WIRE REPORT

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