



Michael Harris
p. 10

Poilievre's
win in Quebec
could redefine
political
landscape p. 18



Rose LeMay
p. 12

How feds got it
wrong on
**Official
Languages
Act** p. 16

Susan Riley
p. 4



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House comes back



A look at cabinet, legislation,
lobbying, Liberals, Conservatives,
NDP, Greens, and more

**Back to
Parliament
Issue**

The Commons
returns on Sept.
20, after a three-
month summer
break and it's
expected to be
a nasty, brutish
fall session.
More inside.

Bloc Québécois MPs Luc Desilets, left, Alexis Brunelle-Duceppe, centre, and Mario Simard, pictured arriving on the Hill on Sept. 15, 2022, for a special sitting day to commemorate Queen Elizabeth II who died on Sept. 8. BQ Leader Yves-François Blanchet offered his condolences to the Queen's family in the House, but said his MPs wouldn't take part in the tributes. Outside the House, he called the monarchy an anachronism. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

NEWS

Expect nasty, divisive political 'fist fight' between Poilievre Conservatives and Trudeau Liberals, say political insiders

BY ABBAS RANA & CHELSEA NASH

With Pierre Poilievre now the Conservative Party leader, the Liberals are expecting a divisive "air war" and nasty exchanges between the two in the daily Question Period and on social media in an effort to define each other in a negative light, say political insiders.

"It's going to be a fist fight," said one former senior Liberal who spoke to *The Hill Times* on a not-for-attribution basis to offer their candid views. "I mean, the Conservatives under Pierre Poilievre are going to be in a fist fight. They are going to punch Justin Trudeau and the Liberals in the head every day, every hour, every minute, every second, every week, and they're going to use their different platforms to do it."

The Liberals are making their own preparations to define Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.), who has been going after Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) for months, blaming the government for inflation, the high cost of living, affordability issues,

Continued on page 4

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Mike Lapointe

Heard On The Hill

It's 'The Paul Wells Show' and we're just living in it



Paul Wells, right, pictured on May 10, 2017, with PSG Senator Peter Harder, at the Politics and the Pen gala in Ottawa. Wells just launched his own podcast. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

Noted political commentator **Paul Wells** debuted his new podcast last week: *The Paul Wells Show*. Post-*Maclean's*, Wells has been focused on his independent and audience-funded venture: the *Paul Wells* newsletter, for which he uses the email platform Substack.

That's where Wells announced his brain-child was getting a sibling. According to Wells' announcement, don't expect the podcast to merely take the form of newsletter à la audio.

"The newsletter emphasizes my perspective, analysis and reporting. The podcast is about the guest. My main goal is to get these people talking, so listeners better understand what they do, the challenges they face, their hopes, frustrations, projects," he wrote.

The pod debuted on Sept. 14, and featured American Ambassador **David L. Cohen**. The podcast was recorded live at the National Arts Centre, which is producing the podcast with Antica Productions. Other partners include the University of Toronto's Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, where Wells is the inaugural journalist fellow-in-residence this year. *The Toronto Star* and *iPolitics* are its media partners.

Upcoming guests include **Jason Kenney** and U.S. journalist and author of *Dopesick*, **Beth Macy**. Wells says listeners should not expect him to be holding guests' feet to the fire. Rather, he'll feature "low-key conver-

After leaving *Maclean's*, political columnist Paul Wells is striking out under his own name. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



sation" that aims to give "curiosity and, if I dare use the word, empathy some room."

"I assume both my guests and my listeners are grownups. I pick guests who have something to say. I trust listeners to judge how well they've said it," wrote Wells.

You can do your judging over at Apple Podcasts, Spotify, Amazon Music, or wherever else you might listen to podcasts.

Mock to chair Pearson Centre

Karen Mock, a nationally and internationally recognized expert in human rights, is the new chair of the Pearson Centre, the think tank announced last week in a press release.

"I am honoured to have been asked to lead this important think tank into its second decade, as the Pearson Centre is focused on social and economic policy solutions to the many challenges facing Canadians today. With growing divisions and tensions in society, there is a great and urgent need to bring people together to dialogue and find common ground. Lester



Lisa Raitt, pictured in 2019 on the Hill. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

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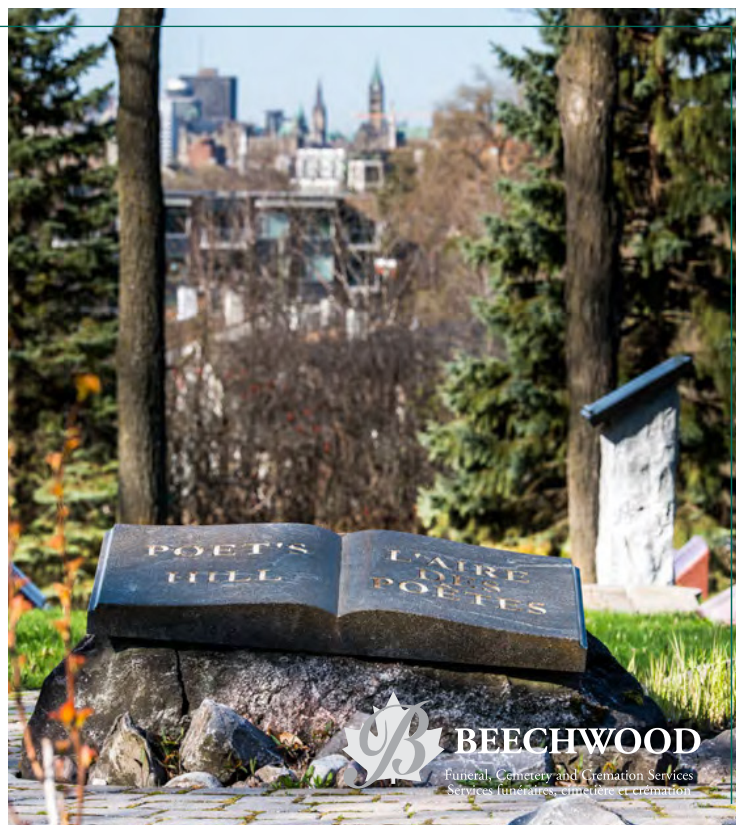
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B. Pearson was about accommodating difference and enhancing dialogue, whether within Canada or internationally through the United Nations. At this crucial time, with democracy and democratic institutions under threat, and political debates becoming increasingly heated, it is important we step up our efforts to find ways to reduce the temperature in our national debates," said Mock.

Speaking of the Pearson Centre, it gave out its Progressive Leadership Awards last week, and former Harper-era cabinet minister **Lisa Raitt** was one of the recipients, along with **Joseph Mancinelli**, **Mohamed Fakhri**, and **Jaqui Parchment**. The award recognizes "outstanding progressive leaders in various sectors of our society, who make a difference in their fields and beyond." Raitt, who helped co-found the Coalition for a Better Future with **Anne McLellan**, is vice-chair of global investment banking at CIBC, and an advocate for young onset dementia. Mancinelli is vice-president of LiUNA International and regional manager for Central and Eastern Canada. Fakhri is founder of Paramount Fine Foods and a philanthropist. Parchment is CEO of Mercer Canada and board member of the BlackNorth Initiative and the Business Council of Canada.



What We Heard

From April to July, the Canadian Dental Association spoke with dentists and other key stakeholders to get their feedback on the federal government's proposed investments in enhancing access to dental care for Canadians. Read the report here.



The Canadian Dental Association is Canada's national voice for dentistry, representing more than 21,000 dentists from coast to coast to coast.

We look forward to working with the federal government on this once-in-a-generation opportunity to make a difference for the oral health of millions of Canadians.

cda-adc.ca

Back to Parliament **News**

Expect nasty, divisive political ‘fist fight’ between Poilievre Conservatives and Trudeau Liberals, say political insiders

Liberals will take ‘whatever steps are necessary’ to protect the Liberal brand from Pierre Poilievre’s attacks, says Liberal MP Judy Sgro.

Continued from page 1

and inefficiency of services to Canadians like passports. His populist videos on social media attacking the Liberal government have re-energized the Conservative Party base, and may have excited Canadians who typically do not vote in general elections. This was evident in Poilievre’s landslide leadership election win on Sept. 10, when he garnered 295,283 out of 417,635 votes nationally, or won 70.7 per cent of the overall votes cast, and carried 330 of the 338 ridings.

Even before he became the party leader, Poilievre sent out a fundraising appeal to party members, saying if he won, the Liberals would “punch him.”

“Here’s what’s going to happen if I win the Conservative leadership election tonight: I’m going to get punched,” said Poilievre, with the last sentence bolded, in a Sept. 10 email obtained by *The Hill Times* that was sent to party members before the leadership election result was announced. “Trudeau’s Liberals are going to unleash a wave of advertising attacking me, trying to scare Canadians before I can punch back. How do I know? Because the media have reported that the Liberals are ready to ‘define’ me. It’s coming and it’s coming fast.”



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, left, and new Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre. Political insiders are expecting hard-hitting exchanges between the Liberals and the Conservatives in the daily Question Period and on social media starting this week. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

He asked party members to donate money for his “fight-back fund” so that he could spread his message of “hope and freedom.”

“Get my message of hope and freedom to as many Canadians as possible, as fast as possible,” read the email. “I want my team to start booking ads on TV, radio, and online on Monday [Sept. 12] morning. And to do that we need to know how much money we have to spend on fighting back. ... The Liberals want to stop me from becoming prime minister because they know I will get rid of their gatekeepers, defund the CBC, abolish mandates, and make Canada the freest country on earth so you can take back control of your life.”

In a minority government, an election could happen at any time. The average age of a minority government in Canada is between 18-24 months. The Trudeau Liberals have been in power since 2015 and if the next election were to happen in 2024, they’d be in power for nine years, a long time to stay in power for any governing party. The Stephen Harper Conservatives lost the election after nine years of governing the coun-

try. The Poilievre Conservatives now believe that the next election will likely be a change election, and they’re doing everything they can to be prepared whenever the next election comes.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Trudeau’s Liberals are taking the threat posed by Poilievre seriously and have prepared themselves to deal with him when the House returns back this week.

“We’re not going to just, you know, lay down and get punched,” said one Liberal MP in an interview with *The Hill Times*. “There’s a serious belief [in the] caucus that this guy is a serious contender, probably the biggest challenge that we faced in the last several years, and he’s very skillful. So I think there’s no question that they [the Centre] take him as a serious threat.”

The MP predicted that Question Period would be a lot more entertaining than before, expecting Poilievre will try to get under the skin of Trudeau and the prime minister will respond with his own zingers.

“You just get your popcorn, make sure your popcorn is ready, you’re sitting in front of your table, and it’s going to be entertaining,” said the MP.

Without getting into specifics of the Liberal strategy, Liberal MP Judy Sgro (Humber River-Black Creek, Ont.) agreed: “We’ll take whatever steps are necessary to protect our brand, but, more importantly, to refute the kind of negative atmosphere that [Poilievre] wants to create,” said Sgro in an interview with *The Hill Times*. “That’s not my Canada. It’s not the one that I hear him talking about with his negative approach. I want optimism and encouragement, and I think that’s what people want.”

Liberal MP Sameer Zuberi (Pierrefonds-Dollard, Que.) said that with a new official opposition leader in place, it would not be unusual for the Liberals to distinguish themselves from the brand of Poilievre. He said that with the new leader’s populist style and tone and tenor of his rhetoric, they will make their case to Canadians how they’re different from Poilievre’s Conservatives. Zuberi said that the Liberals are “seasoned campaigners” and are not worried about the new challenge.

“We know what we’re doing,” said Zuberi. “Yes, he is different from the others [former Conservative leaders Erin O’Toole (Durham, Ont.) and Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu’Appelle, Sask.)], but that doesn’t mean that we cannot meet the moments.”

Liberals taking a risk by attacking Poilievre’s tone: experts

Political scientists noted there were two ways for the Liberals to tackle Poilievre: his message and his tone.

Carleton University political scientist Jonathan Malloy said the question for him was whether the Liberals would be able to be successful using the old refrain they used against Harper: sunny ways.

“The only question for me is whether the Liberals—with their allegedly still-sunny ways—are able to outshine Poilievre because he does have a more abrasive tone than Harper,” he said. “But politics is more abrasive than it was 10 years ago. So all Poilievre’s doing is just moving with the times.”

Conrad Winn, a professor of political science at Carleton University, said Poilievre’s style of politics makes him come across as a strong politician.

“If you’re an opposition leader, and you want to earn credibility, and you want to earn the people’s trust, you have to look strong,” he said in an interview.

Having a strong personality as an opposition leader doesn’t necessarily translate into being a strong prime minister, he noted, “but having a strong personality is a plus.”

As for whether the Liberals should focus on attacking Poilievre’s tone over his policy ideas, Winn said it could make the Liberals look weak to begrudge Poilievre for his abrasive style.

“To the extent that the Liberals complain that his personality is too strong, it actually makes the Liberal Party and its leader seem weak by comparison. So they’re taking real risks attacking him for being too strong-willed,” Winn said.

Duane Bratt, political scientist at Mount Royal University in Calgary, said the Liberals have two potential strategies to oppose Poilievre. One would be to engage in a back-and-forth with Poilievre, which could mean allowing the level of discourse within and outside the House of Commons to devolve into nasty politics.

But, he said he does think the Liberals ought to be reminding people about the rallies and stump speeches Poilievre held during his leadership campaign, and his focus on supporting the Freedom Convoy, defunding the CBC, firing the governor of the Bank of Canada, and his affection for Bitcoin and cryptocurrency. Those—and not the focus on inflation that Poilievre has more recently been swinging with—are Poilievre’s weak points with the general population, he said.

“Another strategy is simply almost to ignore him,” Bratt said in an interview.

That would mean saying to themselves, “we’re focusing on government, you know, he can squat from the sidelines, but we’ve got a [supply-and-confidence] agreement here for another three years, and we have to get dental care done, and we have to take care of Canadians,” he said.

In fact, that’s the strategy it seems NDP MPs are most intent on taking. When asked how they might approach the threat of a new Conservative leader—one that is posturing as a friend to the working class—three senior NDP MPs said they’re not worried about Poilievre.

“We will stay focused on people,” said NDP MP and House leader Peter Julian (New Westminster-Burnaby, B.C.).

“I think one of the things that I’ve seen over my many years in Parliament is the Liberals and Conservatives love culture wars. And they love to paint each other as diabolical and outrageous, and I think people are really tired. People are frustrated. There is a level of anger up there. But I think what people want is someone to actually deliver,” he added, pointing towards the NDP’s role in pushing the government to act on committing to the creation of a national dental-care plan, and other key policy points in their joint supply-and-confidence deal.

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The Hill Times



Liberal MP Judy Sgro says her party is ready for any aggressive political attack from the Poilievre Conservatives in the coming weeks and months. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

OPEN LETTER TO THE MINISTERS OF TREASURY BOARD, PUBLIC SERVICES AND PROCUREMENT, AND VETERANS

Dear Ministers Fortier, Jaczek and MacAulay:

After almost 8 decades, it is past time for the Government of Canada to update how it procures security guard services for federal buildings.

Since 1945, the Government of Canada has granted a single Canadian security company, the Corps of Commissionaires, a "right of first refusal" (RFR) on all federal government contracts for security guard services, creating a virtual monopoly in exchange for their promise to hire as many Veterans as they can to be part of their workforce. At its founding, the Corps' workforce was 100% Veteran. This proportion has been dwindling over time – according to the Corps' website, only 20% of their workforce is made up of Veterans.

Today, less than 1% of Canada's more than 600,000 Veterans get work because of a RFR arrangement that increasingly benefits non-Veterans.

Canadians are broadly in favor of modernizing the Government's security guard services process. According to a recent Ipsos survey:

- Nine in ten Canadians say that fair competition among all Canadian security services companies (89%), an open and transparent contracting process (88%), and the best service at the best price for the Canadian taxpayer (87%) are important considerations in awarding contracts for guard services.
- Canadians are three times as likely to say there are better ways for the Government to support Veterans in their transition to civilian life (77%) than to say that the RFR is the best way for the Government to support Veterans in their transition to civilian life (23%).

Rather than giving one private security company the RFR, why not incentivize all Canadian security companies to hire Veterans? Opening up Government of Canada contracts for security guard services would allow all Canadian security companies to bid in a transparent, equitable contracting process – ensuring better service and pricing for the federal government. It would also significantly improve employment choices and career opportunities for our Veterans, while offering the opportunity to improve services to them.

Canada's Private Security Industry is requesting that the Government of Canada update how it procures security guard services for federal buildings.

Yours sincerely,


Jean-Luc Meunier:
President and COO

GARDAWORLD


Danny Laflamme:
President

GARDIUM


Lawrence Conrad:
Director

ISS ATLANTIC
INDEPENDENT SECURITY SERVICES ATLANTIC INC


Denis Condie:
President

RESPONSE SECURITY


Robin Chakrabarti:
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Doug Emsley:
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SSC Security Services Corp.


Jean-Patrick Larivière:
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Scott Young:
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Dany Filteau:
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Back to Parliament **News**

Poilievre ‘putting his stamp’ on party by shaking up top echelons of Conservative ranks, say politicians



Since his decisive win on Sept. 10, newly minted Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, pictured with his wife Anaida at the Shaw Centre in Ottawa, has been busy choosing his team for the most senior party and parliamentary positions. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Pierre Poilievre’s appointments to the Conservative Fund, party office, and shadow cabinet will play a key role in his success or failure as party leader, says Innovative Research president Greg Lyle.

BY ABBAS RANA

After winning a landslide victory to become leader of the Conservative Party of Canada, Pierre Poilievre is now putting his stamp on the party by shaking up its senior ranks, surrounding himself with a team that will play a key role in his success as party leader and in the next election.

“There’s a big machine to be able to win an election,” said Greg Lyle, president of Innovative Research, in an interview with *The Hill Times*. “It takes a lot of people to drive that machine, and so these decisions are really important.”

Poilievre won the leadership election on the first ballot on Sept. 10 garnering a whopping 295,283 out of 417,635 votes nationally, or 70.7 per cent of the overall votes cast, and carried 330 of the 338 ridings.

Since winning the party’s top job, Poilievre has been making

important appointments in the most senior ranks of the party office, the Office of the Leader of the Opposition, the House leadership team, and the shadow cabinet.

In this effort, Poilievre is relying heavily on Jenni Byrne, a veteran Conservative strategist, who is overseeing the transition process for the new leader. Byrne served as a senior adviser to Poilievre during the leadership election and is one of the key architects of the Ottawa-area MP’s successful leadership election campaign. In the Stephen Harper government, Byrne served as deputy chief of staff to the then-prime minister, and ran the 2011 and 2015 election campaigns for her party.

As part of this transition process, Poilievre started last week with the appointment of the new chair and directors of the Conservative Fund Canada, the powerful fundraising arm of the Conservative Party, which makes important decision about raising and spending of millions of dollars every year. For this position, he chose Toronto lawyer Robert Staley, who works for the high-profile law firm Bennett Jones, and was also a lawyer for Poilievre’s leadership campaign. He’s also been a lawyer for Harper.

Staley has succeeded outgoing chair James Dodds, vice-chairman of the TD Bank Group. In the lead-up to Sept. 10, Dodds had informed the party that he would step down from his position. The four other directors of the fund—Claude Thibault, Don Nightingale, James Carpenter, and Timothy McCor-

mick—also stepped down to let the new leader choose his team. In addition to the four appointed directors, the party president and a member of the national council all serve as non-voting members of the fund. Currently, Rob Batherson, party president, and Steve Dollansky, a national councillor from Alberta, are also members of the fund. They will stay in their positions as non-voting members of the fund.

In addition to Staley Poilievre also appointed former Conservative MP Tony Clement, and lawyer Sander Grieve as directors of the Conservative Party Fund last week. Grieve works for Bennett Jones, and Clement served as an MP from 2006 to 2019. The former Parry Sound-Muskoka MP also served as a senior cabinet minister in the Harper cabinet from 2006 to 2015. In 2018, as an opposition MP, Clement landed in hot water after it was made public that he sent sexually explicit images and a video to a person who he said was a consenting adult, and someone who was trying to extort him. Later, then-Conservative leader Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu’Appelle, Sask.) found there were “numerous reports that were serious in nature,” and therefore asked Clement to leave the caucus. Clement served the remainder of the term as an Independent MP, and did not seek re-election in the 2019 general election.

Last week, Clement did not respond to interview requests from *The Hill Times*.

Some of the most powerful party figures who have the confidence of the leader serve on the prestigious and exclusive board as directors

of the Conservative Fund. Prior to Dodds, former Sen. Irving Gerstein held this position for 17 years.

The chair of the board is a critical appointment, as after winning the leadership this is one of the first appointments that both Erin O’Toole (Durham, Ont.) and Poilievre made.

According to the party’s constitution, the chair of the fund is responsible for “ensuring effectiveness of the budgeting reporting process commitments, integrity of the contract process and any agreements made, fundraising, effectiveness of expenditures and compliance with all aspects of Canadian law.” The party’s constitution requires all director appointments be ratified by the national council, the 20-member elected governing body of the party. Poilievre will make two more appointments to the fund in the coming days.

Wayne Benson, the interim executive director of the party, told *The Hill Times* last week that he’s leaving his job as soon as the leader appoints his successor. A veteran Conservative insider, Benson has served as a secretary of the party, chair of the national policy committee, and as a national council member representing Manitoba. He took over as party director in February, succeeding Janet Fryday Dorey after O’Toole stepped down as party leader. The party executive director’s position is the most senior position in party headquarters.

“Those are his [Pierre Poilievre] appointments,” said Conservative MP Michael Cooper (St. Albert-Edmonton, Alta.), in an interview with *The Hill Times*. “So in that sense, you could say he’s putting his stamp on the party. He has a mandate to do so, like any leader, to appoint people to various roles, and he’s doing that.”

The new leader already announced his House leadership team, and Cooper, who was the co-caucus liaison for the Poilievre campaign, said Poilievre was still in the process of putting together his full shadow cabinet, adding that it will be unveiled in the coming days.

To the House leadership team, Poilievre has appointed Tim Upal (Edmonton-Mill Woods, Alta.), and Melissa Lantsman (Thornhill, Ont.) as deputy leaders; Scheer as House leader; Luc Berthold (Mégantic-L’Érable, Que.) as deputy House leader; Kerry Lynne Findlay (South Surrey-White Rock, B.C.) as the chief whip; and Chris Warkentin (Grande Prairie-Mackenzie, Alta.) as the deputy whip and Question Period coordinator. Also, Pierre Paul-Hus (Charlesbourg-Haute-Saint-Charles, Que.) has been appointed as Quebec lieutenant, Eric Duncan (Stormont-Dundas-South

Glengarry, Ont.) as caucus-party liaison, and Jake Stewart (Miramichi-Grand Lake, N.B.) as caucus committee coordinator.

Gary Keller, a former senior ministerial staffer and chief of staff to Rona Ambrose in her position as interim Conservative party leader, told *The Hill Times* that choosing the front bench is one of the most important decisions for any new leader. In putting together this team, he said, the leader has to strike the right balance between an MP’s capabilities, parliamentary skills, demographics, and geography. Keller said this decision also plays a key role in internal caucus management and morale.

“A lot of people want to be shadow cabinet critics and to be part of the decision-making process,” said Keller. Obviously, not everybody can, there’s 119 members of the Conservative caucus. For some people, they want to be [part of the] shadow cabinet because they want to shape the policies, [and] for some people, it’s a feeling of being part of the insider team.”

Meanwhile, Lyle said that Poilievre’s decisive victory on Sept. 10 makes him a serious challenger to the Trudeau Liberals in the next election. He said that the new leader has proven himself to be an effective communicator who is very skilful in the use of social media, which also played a key role in his success. At the same time, Lyle said, Poilievre is not beholden to any major voting block in the Conservative Party, which will give the new leader independence to make important political and policy decisions.

“Because he was so successful in the leadership, you have to take him as a serious threat to the Liberals,” said Lyle. “He’s clearly demonstrated an ability to communicate in new media, which you can’t really point to a Conservative that had the sort of success with young people and with social media, that, for instance, Justin Trudeau had in 2015. So, he has the appearance of potentially being a Conservative answer to Justin Trudeau.”

At the same time, Lyle said, it remains to be seen how big of a challenge it will be for Poilievre to justify his support for the Freedom Convoy protesters, which the Liberals will use against him.

“He’ll become identified with the more extreme elements of the [Freedom] Convoy protest, that will be used to define him,” he said. “If that happens, then this may have turned out not to be such a great choice.”

A former senior Conservative described top players in the new establishment of the party as the younger generation of Harper-ites. As an example, they said both Poilievre and Byrne, right-of-centre conservatives, were in their 20s when Harper became the leader of the Conservative Party in 2002. Both gradually attained senior positions in the Harper cabinet, and now one is the leader of the party and the other is his most trusted political aide (and also his former long-time romantic partner). The source said that most party observers are waiting to see how many moderate Conservatives get senior positions under the new leader.

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The Hill Times



Rothmans, Benson & Hedges Inc.
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The generational opportunity to eliminate cigarettes in Canada: embracing an alternative choice

As we are currently in the middle of the first mandatory review of Canada's *Tobacco and Vaping Products Act*, it's important to take stock of where Canada sits on alternatives to cigarettes and the progress towards achieving the country's smoking reduction target. Canada's Tobacco Strategy aims to achieve less than 5 per cent tobacco use by 2035.

Right now, we are on a path to miss this target.

There are two barriers that our government could eliminate that would accelerate the decline of cigarettes. Today, science shows that smoke-free alternatives like vaping, heated tobacco, or oral nicotine pouches, while not without risk, are potentially significantly less harmful than cigarettes. In Canada, however, it is illegal to make health comparisons between products. The second barrier is that, while other countries have recognized the harm reduction potential of smoke-free alternatives, Canada's regulations are complex and, in some cases, contradictory treating all tobacco products the same. If the regulations were streamlined for all types of smoke-free alternatives, adult smokers would have easy, transparent access to the risk information for each product, relative to cigarettes.

We see a path, working alongside Health Canada, to achieve our shared goal of eliminating cigarettes. To get there, it is our view that Canada can accelerate change by ensuring that adult smokers have access to the best available scientific information on nicotine products so they can make a fully informed choice. Equally as important, we also need a progressive regulatory framework that differentiates between cigarettes and their alternatives and recognizes the harm reduction potential of smoke-free products by creating multiple product categories separated based on risk.

For adult smokers to make a different choice, they need better information. The 2020 Canadian Tobacco and Nicotine Survey found that nearly a third of those that used cigarettes in the last month didn't know how harmful using a vaping device was compared to cigarettes. We recognize that the best choice is to quit smoking altogether. We recognize too that smoke-free alternatives like vaping or heated tobacco products are not without risk but, by eliminating combustion or the burning of tobacco – the main contributor to smoking related diseases – they provide a potentially less harmful alternative to smoking and, for adult smokers that will continue to use combustible products, they should be able to easily access information about the differences in risk and health effects.

Crucially, we wholeheartedly support measures to prevent youth from using any type of nicotine-containing product, such as requiring warning labels and listing ingredients. Tough penalties are also needed to prevent sales to minors as well as restrictions on advertising and promotion. But we can strongly protect youth while still finding a way to help existing smokers.

A shared responsibility

Providing existing adult smokers with a range of smoke-free alternatives can help eliminate cigarettes, but the government also has a role to play in helping ensure broader access to these products and reducing unnecessary barriers to better choices.

Regulations in Canada have not kept pace with the innovation of smoke-free technologies. While Health Canada agrees that vaping is less harmful than smoking, current regulations restrict alternatives.

A growing body of global scientific evidence demonstrates that innovative, smoke-free alternatives have the potential to significantly reduce exposure to the toxins in cigarette smoke. And we are starting to see various health agencies around the world view these solutions as pathways towards ending smoking and why jurisdictions outside of Canada – whose scientific communities have studied this extensively – have chosen to incorporate technological alternatives into legislation.

In 2011, New Zealand adopted its "Smokefree Aotearoa 2025" goal, defined as a smoking prevalence of less than 5% by 2025. In 2020, after it became clear that New Zealand would not achieve their target, the Ministry of Health revised its position statement on vaping, recognizing that vaping products would make a contribution to New Zealand's Smokefree 2025 goal and stating that "the evidence on vaping products indicates they carry much less risk than smoking cigarettes but are not risk free."

Public Health England recently reconfirmed its long-standing position, based on independent expert evidence, that vaping is 95 percent less harmful than smoking cigarettes. The UK National Health Service and other institutions have joined Public Health England in "encouraging smokers of conventional cigarettes to switch to e-cigarettes."

We should be stopping smoking wherever we can but not affording existing smokers this knowledge – that there are alternatives to cigarettes that, potentially, significantly reduce their exposure to harmful toxins – and, at the same time, making smoke-free alternatives less affordable, is making it harder for some to quit.

In Canada, 13 per cent of adults still smoke. We believe that Canada can be a progress leader in showing the world the blueprint for eliminating cigarettes, and we also believe that number can get to zero in a decade or less. Our government already acknowledges that not all nicotine products are the same as cigarettes, but we need to go further – ensuring awareness, accessibility, and affordability of alternatives to cigarettes. Now is the time to modernize the regulations so that consumers can make a better choice. And, by doing so, we can create lasting change and materially impact the lives of every Canadian.

**Mindaugas Trumpaitis, Managing Director,
 Rothmans, Benson & Hedges Inc.**

Editorial

Editorial

Poilievre can run, but he can't hide from the media

Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, who first won his seat in the Commons 18 years ago when he was 25 years old, won a massive majority on Sept. 10 in the Conservative leadership election at the Shaw Centre in Ottawa. Poilievre now has the strong backing of his party members in 330 of the 338 ridings across the country. His leadership win was historic and significant, and his support is broad and deep.

In the House today, he is an effective communicator in both official languages. But he's also taken a page or two out of Donald Trump's playbook, and often goes straight for the jugular. He can be notably nasty and divisive.

Poilievre wants to be Canada's next prime minister, but, so far, he wants to bypass the media to get there. His strategy may have worked for the last seven months during the leadership campaign, but eventually Poilievre is going to have to answer questions from the media, and not just two questions. Canadians may not trust the media, but they hopefully won't trust a political leader who won't speak with reporters. Political leaders need to be accountable and transparent.

Poilievre had a well-publicized run-in with Global News parliamentary reporter David Akin last week on the Hill. Akin later publicly apologized on Twitter for his bad behaviour and for

interrupting Poilievre, who was trying to deliver a statement in the foyer. But Poilievre also called Akin a "Liberal heckler," which is odd, after Akin loudly called out questions while Poilievre was speaking. Poilievre then restarted his statement, took two questions, and then left. Poilievre didn't take Akin's question, but he immediately used the whole televised confrontation to agitate the party's base to fundraise.

Former Conservative leader Stephen Harper also mostly avoided the Hill media, but only until after he became prime minister. Back in 2004, Poilievre told *The Hill Times* that Canada needed "a new generation of leadership" and that "people have had enough of the tired, old Liberal gang and they want some new blood, some new energy and new ideas to represent their interests."

Poilievre has waited decades to lead the party. But he should not be afraid to answer questions from the media and he should be accountable to the people. He should use this time as official opposition leader to test himself and to put himself up to the kind of critical exposure needed to be a better political leader. Canadians expect their political leaders to answer questions. Poilievre often criticizes the so-called 'gatekeepers,' but he also doesn't need his own 'gatekeepers' from the media.

The Hill Times

Letters to the Editor

Dyer can't know what was in Mar-a-Lago documents, nor their importance: McElroy

Re: "In defence of whistleblowers (and Donald Trump)," (*The Hill Times*, Sept. 12, by Gwynne Dyer). I have been impressed with Gwynne Dyer's analysis of military matters for many years. In this column, he has strayed from his strength in defending Donald Trump. He uses historical examples to suggest that the classified documents seized in the Mar-a-Lago raid did not represent a national threat. This is unreasonable in two ways. The past examples presented had the putative secret material analyzed with the wisdom of hindsight, under changed circumstances. In the heat of battle, one has to assume that secrets are important, knowing that eventually this may not be the case. One cannot extrapolate from post-analyzed, historical cases to determine the value of current intelligence. A related issue: Dyer cannot know what is in those documents, nor their importance.

Knowledge about the recent feint by the Ukraine military in the south would have been of considerable value as intelligence for the Russians before their attack in the northeast, but of little value hours later. It might be argued, as done in



Former U.S. president Donald Trump, pictured. Columnist Gwynne Dyer uses historical examples to suggest that the classified documents seized in the Mar-a-Lago raid did not represent a national threat, which is unreasonable in two ways, writes Tom McElroy. Photograph courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

Dyer's column, that the Russians could have anticipated this move anyway, making the information valueless.

The issue here is the rule of law in the U.S., founded upon its Constitution. Trump swore to uphold the Constitution as president. He is a representative of the law-and-order Republican Party. He made inflammatory speeches about the need to control lawlessness which he fatuously attached to Democratically held constituencies. He violated federal law and betrayed the trust of U.S. citizens. In attempting to evade responsibility for these crimes, he is undermining the very institutions that are sworn to uphold the law, and are trying to do so, unlike Trump, who seems to think laws do not apply to him. We now know he attempted to use those very institutions to support false claims concerning the last election.

It matters nought whether the documents seized are sensitive in some way; it is about contesting the claims of a man who held to material he had no legal right to, and is trying to evade the remedies the government must use to defend the rule of law.

Tom McElroy
 Toronto, Ont.

Prime Minister Trudeau has overstayed his welcome, says British Columbia letter writer

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau recently told his cabinet that he's sticking around as leader for the next election. He must be blinded by his ego-driven self-importance; otherwise, he would study his approval/disapproval ratings and then decide stepping down would be the best thing he could do for the future of the Liberal Party.

No doubt his announcement has had the same effect on other voters as it has had on

me. In the next federal election I'm going to hold my nose and vote for Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre's right-wing party. At this time I can't imagine becoming a bona fide Pierre Poilievre supporter, but if the Liberals continue to be led by a fiscally irresponsible, forked-tongued prima donna, I just might. Somebody should wake up the Liberal backroom strategists.

Lloyd Atkins
 Vernon, B.C.



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Poilievre will need disciplined aggressiveness

Pierre Poilievre will inject some much-needed grit into the Conservative Party's political identity, but aggressiveness will have to be strategic.

Gerry Nicholls

Post Partisan Pundit



OKAVILLE, ONT.—Now that the dust has settled in the Conservative Party leadership race, I think it's safe to look back on it all and say: Pierre Poilievre triumphed because of his personality.

To put it somewhat crudely, Conservative Party members perceived him as a badass.

And a badass leader is exactly what Conservatives want right now; they want a leader who's willing to mix it up with his opponents, who's willing to vigorously defend conservatism, and who's prepared to stand up to the "Laurentian elites."

Of course, it's easy to see where this yearning for a hard-as-nails leader is coming from.

After all, the Conservatives lost back-to-back federal elections when led by leaders—Andrew Scheer and Erin O'Toole—who chose to project themselves as non-threatening, easygoing, amicable politicians who just wanted to "go-along-to-get-along."

Clearly, this nice guy approach didn't work.

So, tired of losing, Conservatives opted to throw niceness out the window by choosing as their new leader, Poilievre, a

tough-guy politician with a reputation for being a brass-knuckle brawler.

Conservatives hope they now have a leader who won't back down from a fight.

At any rate, as someone who has always supported the idea of aggressiveness, I can certainly sympathize with this thought process.

In fact, I'd wholeheartedly agree that Poilievre will inject some much-needed grit into the Conservative Party's political identity.

Yet, at the same time, I also believe that to be successful, Poilievre's aggressiveness will have to be strategic.

What do I mean by that?

Well, attacking Liberals simply for the sake of attacking Liberals might energize Poilievre's base, but it won't necessarily win over undecided voters.

As a matter of fact, if a politician comes across as too aggressive or mean-spirited it can be counterproductive.

Case in point: former U.S. president Donald Trump would often simultaneously lash out against a hundred different enemies over a hundred different issues.

Not exactly a restrained approach.

The end result was that Trump's presidency seemed constantly awash in chaos and controversy.

Now, I'm not saying there's any real possibility Poilievre will follow Trump's lead (he's too experienced a politician for that). All I'm saying is he needs to ensure that his attacks against Trudeau and the Liberals are part of a well-thought-out strategic plan.

In other words, he must amass polling data to uncover the weak points in Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's armor, i.e., issues

that make the Liberal leader unpopular with voters beyond the Conservative Party's base.

Then, once he discovers those weaknesses, he must have the discipline to stick to his message.

This way, when Trudeau inevitably attacks Poilievre for being a radical, right-wing, crazy populist, the Conservative leader will be able to effectively retaliate with a surgical strike designed to degrade the prime minister's brand.

To see what I mean, let's consider this hypothetical exchange between Poilievre and a reporter.

Reporter: Mr. Poilievre, the prime minister today called you a dangerous fanatic, who'll hurl Canada back into the Dark Ages. How do you respond?

Poilievre: Mr. Trudeau's shameless smear against me reveals his own desperation, he knows my message exposing his callous refusal to fight inflation is resonating with Canadians.

Do you see how this is disciplined aggression?

Rather than getting defensive or launching into some sort of unfocused anti-Trudeau tirade, this response is both tough (which would appeal to Poilievre's base) and on message (which would appeal to undecided voters).

What I'm trying to say is: Poilievre should seek to emulate the legions of Ancient Rome.

Unlike their barbarian adversaries, who often rushed headlong into battle, Rome's aggressiveness was organized, efficient and relentless.

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant.

The Hill Times

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CONSTRUCTION

Back to Parliament **Opinion**

Poilievre begins his spittle-flecked rule of the Conservative party



Newly elected Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, pictured Sept. 13, 2022, after taking two questions from the reporters on the Hill. Poilievre used the David Akin dust-up to repeat his intention to de-fund the CBC, and then went to work fundraising off the reporter's behaviour. He described Akin as 'swearing, shouting, and heckling' as the leader of the opposition tried to speak. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

With an apology for harassing texts, firings at the Conservative Party Fund, and another attack on the media, Poilievre, spurs and all, has announced that there is a new marshal in town.

Michael Harris

Harris



HALIFAX—And so begins the spittle-flecked rule of Pierre Poilievre at the helm of the Conservative Party of Canada.

With an apology for harassing texts, firings at the Conservative Party Fund, and another attack on the media, Poilievre, spurs and all, has announced that there is a new marshal in town.

But it has been a rocky debut. It seems the boys over at headquarters stuck their hand in the blender when they sent a text message to party members in the Quebec riding of Richmond-Ar-

thabaska. They advised members to demand that former Conservative MP Alain Rayes resign his seat. Rayes couldn't stomach the prospect of Poilievre's leadership and became an Independent. That triggered the attack of the cyber goons.

The party quickly apologized for its overreach. Their ludicrous explanation for this obvious exercise in punitive politics was that the message was "automated."

Really? Even automated messages don't send themselves. It wasn't sent in error. The only error was underestimating the blowback surrounding this act of petulant payback. They seem to have forgotten something pretty basic. Rayes' political future is between the MP and the constituents who elected him, not Poilievre's minions in head office.

Poilievre himself did what a lot of autocratic personalities do when put in an embarrassing situation: he made stuff up. The new leader dismissed Rayes' own explanation of why he became an Independent: the man didn't like what he saw on offer from Poilievre during the leadership race.

In place of that explanation, Poilievre ascribed fictitious and unworthy motives to his former MP's decision. Rayes quit the party, Poilievre declared, because he didn't want to fight "Trudeau's inflation." You know, he was a kind of political sissy, afraid to mix it up.

Trudeau's inflation is, of course, one of the unpleasant fictions Poilievre hopes to market to Canadians. The PM has some heavy baggage, as any third-term leader has. But Trudeau doesn't own inflation, any more than Joe Biden does in the United States, or former British PM Boris Johnson did in the United Kingdom—other than in a cynical political sense.

Inflation is a global problem and Poilievre knows it. But in

the politics of anger and blame, which will be the twin pillars of his leadership, there is no political advantage in the facts. Poilievre's big bet is that "normies" are so pissed off with the price of gas and groceries, they are in the mood for some major scapegoating. What better scapegoat than the man currently on top of the political wedding cake: Justin Trudeau.

It is muscle-flexing time for the new Conservative leader. Poilievre fired all the members of the powerful Conservative Party Fund, the group charged with fattening the CPC war chest for the next federal election and setting the budget for the party and the leader.

Ex-PM Stephen Harper joined the board of the Conservative Party Fund after his 2015 election defeat, resigning five years later so he could take a role in the leadership race prompted by Andrew Scheer's abrupt resignation. If the speculation proves accurate, Harper will be making a re-appearance on the board, at least in proxy. It is expected that Robert Staley, Harper's former Toronto lawyer, will become the new chair of the fund.

In the wake of his unprecedented public endorsement of Poilievre for the leadership, Harper will continue to cast a long shadow over his party.

A case in point: Poilievre showed the country his cards on his strategy for dealing with a free press. After the new Conservative leader was interrupted on the Hill on Sept. 13 by a journalist while reading a statement at a press conference, he attacked Global News reporter David Akin as a "Liberal heckler." Get used to it. Poilievre, like Donald Trump and Stephen Harper before him, has decided that there is political capital to be made in trashing the press.

I don't know David Akin, but I know his work. When it comes to dishing out tough questions, he is an equal opportunity journalist. Justin Trudeau stopped in the middle of a press conference recently when Akin paid the PM a compliment in the preamble to a no-nonsense question.

Trudeau declared that something remarkable had happened. Akin had actually said something nice about him.

Should Akin have interrupted Poilievre in the middle of a statement in his very first press conference as Conservative leader? No. Which is why he apologized on Twitter for shouting questions at Poilievre and disrupting the press conference.

But I would take Akin's bad manners every time over allowing politicians to put misinformation on the record, as Trump so often did during his presidency and continues to do so. A democracy where politicians get to decide whether, or how many, questions they will answer is already in trouble.

Just look how Poilievre used the Akin dust-up. He repeated his intention to de-fund the CBC, and then went to fundraise off the reporter's behaviour. He described Akin as "swearing, shouting, and heckling" as the leader of the opposition tried to speak. Is this the same guy who said "fuck you guys" to colleagues on House of Commons committee? At least Akin apologized.

Judging from the number of media accounts of Poilievre's national popularity, a lot of people have missed the point of what really happened in the Conservative leadership. A very small number of Canadians, in a political party run by control freaks from the Harper era, made him leader. Poilievre does not in any way have a national mandate, just the overwhelming endorsement of a party controlled by his patron, Stephen Harper.

For all his championing of everyday Canadians, and the excesses of the "gatekeepers," the man who has lived off the public dime all his working life is set to move into a mansion where the public will pay for his meals, his booze, and his entertaining.

Whatever happened to selling the "bingo hall" to pay down the national debt?

Michael Harris is an award-winning author and columnist.

The Hill Times

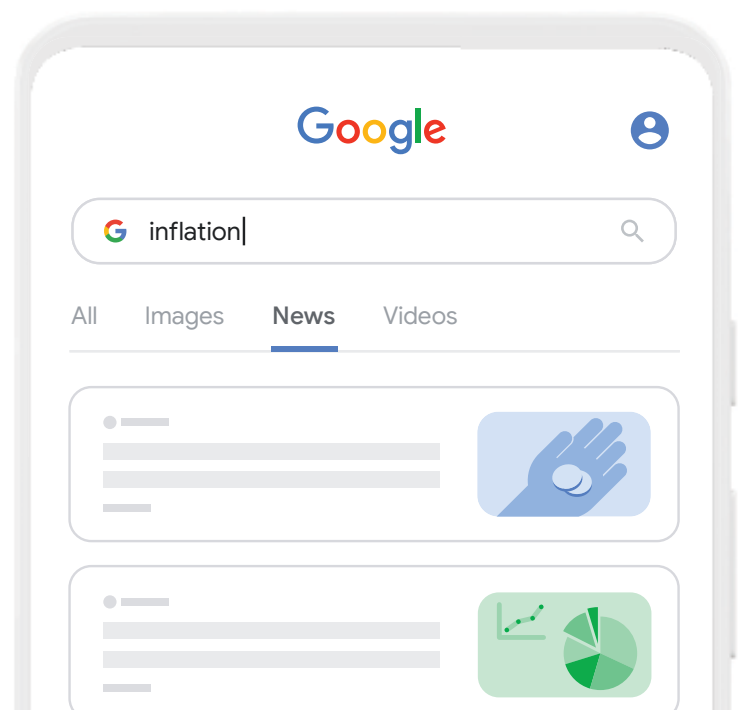


Global News reporter David Akin, left, pictured Sept. 13, 2022, trying to ask a question while new Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre tries to deliver his statement to reporters. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



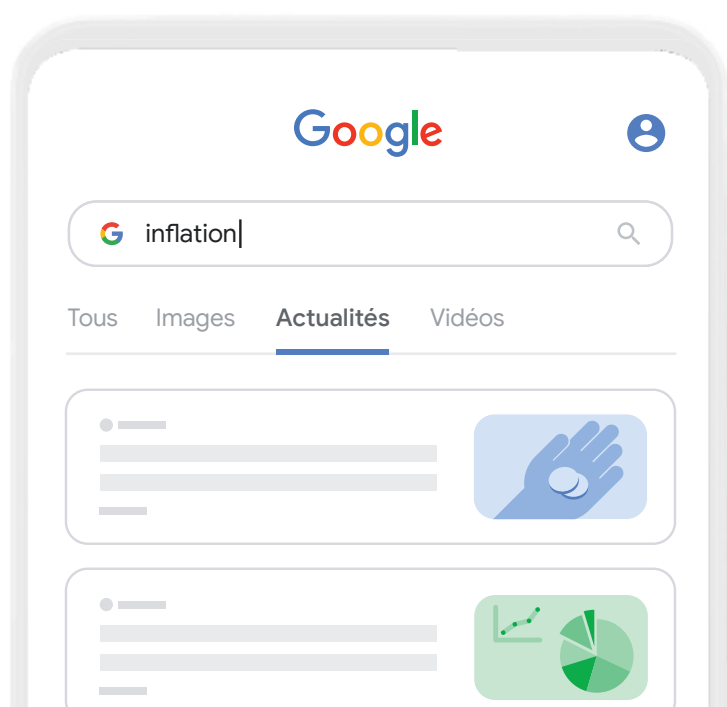
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Back to Parliament **Opinion**

We need to do something significant for National Day of Truth and Reconciliation

On Sept. 30, we all need to practise expecting Indigenous success.

Rose LeMay

Stories, Myths, and Truths



Algonquin Elder and University of Ottawa chancellor Claudette Commanda, pictured on the Hill on Sept. 30, 2021, at the first National Day for Truth and Reconciliation. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

OTTAWA—Let's assume that the country is not still completely inundated with news coverage of Queen Elizabeth II's death, and that we actually do something significant on Sept. 30, the National Day of Truth and Reconciliation. Yes, the Queen will be missed. But it's particularly ironic for this most massive symbol of colonization to swamp the news cycles in the days leading up to our National Day of Truth and Reconciliation.

The one question I get most often in providing adult education on anti-racism and reconciliation is, "What is reconciliation?" This might be a bit of an issue, given that we're already on the journey. Then again, the question itself might be reflective of this country's steadfast resistance to seeing Indigenous peoples in anything but stereotype.

If there's any question about the strength of Canada's stereotype that Indigenous peoples suffer deficit, just imagine this: Indigenous peoples made up one-quarter of the board on your local health network, or your hospital, or your school board, or owned the biggest hotels in the city, or led the federal political parties. Didn't expect that, did you? Why not? Because Canada suffers from this intergenerational stereotype that the successful Indigenous individual is unique, because Indigenous peoples don't succeed.

On Sept. 30, we all need to practise expecting Indigenous success.

Australia's reconciliation journey named five overarching goals for their country. Their goals are no different from Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission's themes, but one has to wonder if our TRC met so much resistance in telling the truth that it didn't have

enough time to get to the reconciliation part. Case in point: the federal government didn't even want to hear about unmarked graves a decade ago. Well, that didn't go well, now did it?

Australia defined its reconciliation with five themes: good race relations built in trust and free of racism; Indigenous equality and equity; institutional integrity in which political, business and community structures actively support all dimensions of reconciliation; unity in which the country values Indigenous cultures as part of national identity; and historical acceptance of all citizens of the past wrongs with support for amends so that these wrongs are never repeated again. The most recent evaluation found some positive progress with still more work to be done.

If Canada were marked on these five Australian measures, we might be found lacking.

Canada is doing better on recognizing racism against Indigenous peoples, but it's doubtful that police forces are doing better in prosecuting criminal consequences for racism and hate crimes against Indigenous peoples. We still don't have good national measures. Canada is working towards equity on Indigenous social determinants of health (except for those pesky issues like water and housing and educational outcomes), but provinces and territories are conveniently left off the hook for the equity outcomes for Indigenous peoples.

Institutional integrity is important. But we failed to demand that governments, corporations, and community structures must take action on reconciliation. So some have done some good work, and some haven't even considered it at all. We have no shared expectations for museums or municipal governments or corporations to do reconciliation, much less measures for institutional integrity.

On Sept. 30, ask municipal candidates to pledge to lead reconciliation in the city.

And then there's the question of widespread historical acceptance of the crimes of residential schools and colonization. Professor Sean Carleton at the University of Manitoba recently wrote that "residential school denialism is not the outright denial of the Indian Residential School (IRS) system's existence, but rather the rejection or misrepresentation of basic facts about residential schooling to undermine truth and reconciliation efforts".

On Sept. 30, practice challenging denialisms

Do more than wear an orange shirt.

Rose LeMay is Tlingit from the West Coast and the CEO of the Indigenous Reconciliation Group. She writes twice a month about Indigenous inclusion and reconciliation. In Tlingit worldview, the stories are the knowledge system, sometimes told through myth and sometimes contradicting the myths told by others. But always with at least some truth.

The Hill Times

Poilievre only managed to include two women and one racialized Canadian in his leadership team

Most commentators ignored the paucity of diversity on his team. But for those of us who care about these issues, the photo was a stark visual reminder that in Poilievre's party, it is still a man's world.

Sheila Copps

Copps' Corner



OTTAWA—Will Rogers said you never get a second chance to make a first impression. Pierre Poilievre must not have been listening.

If so, his first week as leader could have been a winner.

On the evening of his coronation, even with regal funereal news

competition from across the pond, Poilievre knocked it out of the park.

His spouse's introduction placed the new leader exactly where he needs to be, a happy family man whose soft edges are inclusive.

His embrace of personal diversity, including his own family story, were certainly not aligned with the narrative he had used to steamroll his way into the win.

The party endorsement was overwhelming. Two-thirds of the vote went to him, while former premier Jean Charest was reduced to the teens.

Poilievre's opening performance seemed to indicate that he was prepared to pivot. Having convinced the vast majority of fellow Conservatives that he was their man, his job is now to convince the country.

The acceptance speech got a lot of Liberals worried. Several former cabinet colleagues were gathered at a Toronto symposium on foreign policy the same weekend.

The group's consensus was that the government would be foolish to assume that Poilievre could not win an election.

The good news for Liberals is that most people do not tune in to party conventions.

And the softer side of the new leader was immediately disposed of at his first post-leader press conference.

After opening the presser with a refusal to take questions, Poilievre was heckled by Global News reporter David Akin, who insistently raised his voice to ensure a question period.

Poilievre accused Akin of being a Liberal plant, set up to heckle him on his first day.

His tone was crisp and angry. That was the first impression he left with those who were seeing the Conservative leader for the first time.

Akin, hardly a Liberal troll, was immediately attacked by Tories heeding Poilievre's call to "go around" the media.

Later that day, Akin posted a Twitter apology, characterizing his outburst as "rude and disrespectful."

But that did not stop the Tories from using the incident as a fundraiser.

Within 48 hours, Poilievre's team sent out a fundraising email, claiming the party could not count on the media to carry their message, saying, "we have to go around them and their biased coverage."

He also reiterated his promise to defund the CBC.

Poilievre has obviously decided that his best path to victory is in bypassing the media, mobilizing followers to use social channels and attack the messenger.

In the Akin instance that worked, as the apology actually set up the narrative of an aggrieved party that cannot count on reporters to tell the truth.

But Poilievre tried the same tactic in French and he got his clock cleaned.

This mistake will prove a lot more damaging than Poilievre's decision to bypass the mainstream media in English.

When former Quebec lieutenant Alain Rayes announced he was leaving the party because Poilievre's leadership was incompatible with his values, Tory trolls were whipped into high gear.

Instead of adopting a conciliatory tone which could have downplayed the departure, the leader came out with fists swinging.

He accused Rayes of refusing to fight Justin Trudeau's inflation and went on to claim that he had the support of the majority in Rayes' riding as 53 per cent of the 663 Tory ballots cast there were for Poilievre.

That may be the only time Poilievre gets a majority in Quebec.

His thrashing of a native son did not play well, and his next move was career-shortening.

The leader sent a message to electors in Rayes' riding, asking them to phone the office of their Member of Parliament to demand his resignation.

When that news became public, the backlash was so horrendous that Poilievre became the one doing the apologizing.

Two apologies in a week marked Poilievre's public foray as leader.

The announcement of his leadership team, complete with a photo on the steps of the West Block, was also a step backward.

In a team of 10, Poilievre only managed to include two women and one racialized Canadian.

Compare that to the equity cabinet of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. It makes one wonder if the Tories are going back to the future.

Most commentators ignored the paucity of diversity on his team.

But for those of us who care about these issues, the photo was a stark visual reminder that in Poilievre's party, it is still a man's world.

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

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Back to Parliament **Opinion**

Politicians won't be caught dead agreeing, even when there's common ground

There's a tired, unproductive, inward-looking discourse that makes it hard to fix problems in this country, even universally acknowledged ones.

Susan Riley

Impolitic



Politicians, like the new Conservative leader Pierre Poilievre, might be more productive if they admitted they actually do agree on certain basic points, writes Susan Riley. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



CHELSEA, QUE.—This will come as a shock to many, but, looked at from a certain angle, our major federal parties—even premiers and municipal leaders—actually do agree on some of the fundamental issues facing Canadians.

Consider the housing affordability crisis. A cast of characters as diverse as Pierre Poilievre, Justin Trudeau, Doug Ford, and leading Ottawa mayoral candidate Catherine McKenney—a progressive and long-time champion of the homeless—agree that new housing must be built around transit hubs as new rapid transit systems, or extensions, are built in our larger cities.

Details and strategies differ, but let's stay positive for one minute.

For his part, Poilievre wants cities to pre-approve high-rise development around all federally-funded transit hubs or lose federal transportation funding. The stick. In the Liberals' last budget, the government announced plans to make infrastructure and transit funding contingent on action by provinces, territories, and municipalities to increase housing supply—including requiring developers to build affordable housing. Another stick.

Ontario Premier Doug Ford released a plan in 2020 to force cities to increase density around transit hubs and is enthusiastically promoting high-rise clusters along the Yonge Street line in Toronto. In Ottawa, McKenney—progressive with a background in housing affordability—is calling for “transit-oriented development,” and, sounding vaguely like Poilievre, cutting “red tape to get affordable homes built faster and cheaper.”

Not surprisingly, McKenney, Poilievre, and Ford each envision different kinds of development, with McKenney proposing to give city-owned land near transit hubs to non-profits to build affordable housing. The Trudeau housing plan also emphasizes affordability and housing targeted at Indigenous, low-income single mothers, and others on the constant brink of homelessness. Ford favours new highways to exurban areas, ripe for suburbanization.

These distinctions are important. If cities throw up shiny new towers near light rail, with no rent controls, or requirements that developers include affordable units, the wealthy will simply have more choice. These condo units will still be beyond the means of many of the middle and lower-income earners who are struggling today. If cities continue to sprawl, the climate consequences (and commuter traffic) will be dire.

But there is, at least, broad agreement that cities need to start building housing quickly, and that means eliminating unnecessary and expensive “red tape,” or “gatekeepers,” or the jurisdictional game-playing that leads to delays.

Poilievre, McKenney and Trudeau also agree that abandoned office towers—of particular concern in Covid-era Ottawa—

should be converted into housing, preferably affordable. Trudeau recently announced a doubling of existing funds to convert private and public office towers, to the tune of \$600-million. Poilievre commits to selling off 15 per cent of the 37,000 federal buildings across the country for conversion into affordable housing. And the idea has long had support among Ottawa's municipal politicians, facing a diminishing tax base and a depopulated downtown core, as public servants increasingly choose to work from home.

To temper the giddy excitement at this rare convergence of views, it must be said that none of these proposals are simple, straightforward or cheap—despite Poilievre's confident declarations. If they were, the situation would not be as dire as it is today. Indeed, cascading Liberal housing plans, beginning in 2017, have earmarked billions towards the affordability problem, in the form of money for

municipalities that want to “densify” their housing stock; first-time home buyers' incentives; temporary bans on foreign ownership of empty, or under-occupied residential units; a proposed anti-flipping tax on properties that change hands before one year (with exceptions for legitimate life events).

There's the federal Rapid Housing Initiative which just got a \$2-billion top-up from the prime minister a month ago, the Affordable Housing Innovation Fund, and a complex rent-to-own plan to allow renters to eventually buy. In other words, high-minded programs, often entangled in layers of exemptions, procedures, applications, and safeguards.

So, while some worthy projects have been built, or started, the crisis remains. Some old office towers are not fit for re-development, for instance; they need to be scrapped. Others do not lend themselves to residential use (lack of windows, balconies, green space, parking, etc.).

Developers, as a rule, do not volunteer to build affordable units—they want to maximize profits. And, by virtue of lax conflict-of-interest rules at the municipal level, builders often contribute to mayoral and council election campaigns, leaving politicians unofficially beholden.

Then there is resistance from those lucky, or

wealthy, enough to live in traditional suburbs, or lower-density downtown neighbourhoods. They may be theoretically in favour of a larger housing supply, but not necessarily on their street. And they have the ear of powerful politicians—although less so, as the human and economic consequences of homelessness become more evident in city parks and street corners.

Nor does more housing alone—in the form of soaring towers, for instance, which may not age any better than the vertical concrete slums built in Europe after the last war—constitute a “home” for everyone, particularly families. A healthy urban environment needs a mix of styles, sizes, and heights, with adequate green space and tree cover.

The new Conservative leader had promised to demolish many of these obstacles before his decisive win last weekend: “A Poilievre government will make it clear to big city politicians that they will not get what they want (in the way of federal funding), until the people get what they need: homes built.”

Poilievre has a way with the ringing declaration, but no one would accuse him of collaborating with his many political enemies to actually get things done. During his recent campaign, for instance, he repeatedly lamented the fate of the poor single mother, forced to water down the milk to feed her children.

Last week, Trudeau introduced a trio of measures, costing \$3-billion, intended to help that single mother, among others: a dental care credit of \$650 over two years for children under 12 in low- or moderate-income homes; a six-month doubling of the GST credit, so that a single mother with one child and an income under \$30,000 would receive \$1,600 this year; and, a one-time \$500 credit for low-income renters.

Stripped of rhetoric, it will be a short-term help for some families, but hardly enough. Trudeau acknowledged as much: his government, he said, “is retaining fiscal firepower, and ensuring those who need support don't get left behind.” So he is doing, in a half-hearted way, what Poilievre has been urging him to do: helping those Canadians struggling with inflation.

Perhaps not surprisingly—this will shock no one who follows politics—Poilievre reacted to this news scornfully. Trudeau, he said, was fanning inflation, adding that “the cost of government is driving up the cost of living.”

So goes the tired, unproductive, inward-looking discourse that makes it so hard to fix problems in this country, even universally acknowledged ones. Opposition: you are doing nothing to help struggling Canadians. Government: announces money to help struggling Canadians. Opposition: you are wasting money and making life harder for struggling Canadians.

We can all agree on one thing, at least: it is a struggle.

Susan Riley is a veteran political columnist who writes regularly for The Hill Times.

The Hill Times



Ottawa mayoral candidate Catherine McKenney, a progressive, has common ground with Conservative leader Pierre Poilievre when it comes to cutting “red tape” that prohibits the quick development of affordable housing. *Photograph courtesy of Catherine McKenney*

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Back to Parliament **Opinion**

Modernizing the Official Languages Act: how the feds got it wrong

The federal government is poised to make fundamental changes to the Official Languages Act that will have profound effects on the language rights of a great many Canadians.

Joan Fraser &
Eva
Ludvig

Opinion



MONTREAL—Let's assume that you haven't spent much time thinking about Canada's Official Languages Act this summer—or ever. Please take a moment to do so now because the federal government is poised to make fundamental changes that will have profound effects on the language rights of a great many Canadians.

These changes will not bring the “two solitudes” together. Instead, they are likely to reopen old grievances, and divide Canadians along linguistic lines.

Bill C-13, an Act to amend the Official Languages Act, to enact the Use of French in Federally Regulated Private Businesses Act and to make related amendments to other acts, is based on unwarranted deference to Quebec, and is an unprecedented retreat by the Government of Canada from Parliament's legislative powers. The bill abandons half a century of official language policy and focuses on the protection and promotion of only one official language. It pushes Canada toward a more asymmetrical federalism, enshrining a special language regime in Quebec within a quasi-constitutional statute, the Official Languages Act.

Bill C-13 contains special recognition of Quebec's Charter of the French Language—legislation that operates notwithstanding the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It would permit federally regulated businesses to choose between provincial and federal legal regimes in an area that is squarely within the authority of the Parliament of Canada. And the act proposes creating a regime for French-language rights only, on a territorial basis. Parliamentarians should consider how they will explain to English-speaking Canadians that they will not have equal rights



Canada's Minister of Official Languages Ginette Petitpas Taylor, pictured Aug. 25, 2022, in Ottawa. Bill C-13, an Act to amend the Official Languages Act, is based on unwarranted deference to Quebec, and is an unprecedented retreat by the Government of Canada from Parliament's legislative powers, write Joan Fraser and Eva Ludvig. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

under the law in their dealings with these enterprises. And federally regulated businesses should consider how they will operate nationally within this tangle of conflicting legal regimes.

The fact is that most Canadians support the idea of the country's linguistic duality, a national core value that emerged in the mid-20th century following the work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. English and French would not only be Canada's official languages, but also its national languages—a central pillar around which a multicultural society would be built. Canada's English and French official language minority communities would ensure the presence of the official languages from coast to coast.

At the federal level, English and French would have equal rights in law. This equality was reflected in the original Official Languages Act of 1969 and carried forward in subsequent versions of the act.

Although there has always been some pushback against official bilingualism, linguistic duality is supported by a majority of Canadians. Parents want their children to speak English and French. Indeed, many young Canadians today are plurilin-

gual. Federal spending power continues to support and advance the use of English and French in Canadian society, for example, through education transfers. Canada has invested billions of dollars in official language strategies—the lifeblood of English and French linguistic minority communities across the country.

This appears to be about to change.

Efforts to modernize the Official Languages Act began in 2017, led by the Senate's Standing Committee on Official Languages which did an exhaustive two-year study on how to modernize the act, fix its structural problems, stem the demographic decline of francophones outside of Quebec, and improve the transparency and accountability of federal transfers to the provinces and territories for English and French linguistic minority communities. A high-level of consensus was achieved between Canada's English and French linguistic minority communities. The table was set for modernization that would respect Canada's core value of linguistic duality.

But in 2019, nationalist media in Quebec began to trumpet that the French language was in peril, and the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) had to be strengthened. This argument

was and is based on selective statistical analysis. In the federal election, it became clear that asymmetry in official languages was on the table, as were special concessions to Quebec.

The 2020 Speech from the Throne proclaimed that “The government ... has the responsibility to protect and promote French not only outside of Quebec, but also within Quebec.” This was a profound shift in thinking. The territorialization of language rights had been specifically rejected by the Bi and Bi Commission in favour of a national vision of linguistic duality. No more.

In the 2021 discussion paper, *English and French: Towards a substantive Equality of Official Languages in Canada*, policy was firmly focused on the protection and promotion of French. The paper noted that “all provinces and territories have adopted legislation, policies or programs to guarantee that they offer provincial services in French or to recognize the contribution of their minority communities,” and that “Quebec ... has adopted French as its sole official language.” The paper observed blandly that Quebec “offers many services in English, some of which are guaranteed by laws, notably in the case of the courts and hospitals, among

others.” Bill 96, of course, was yet to be tabled.

Bill C-32, an Act to amend the Official Languages Act, was introduced just before the House rose in the spring of 2021. C-13—almost identical to C-32 in its policy direction—followed in March 2022.

Bill C-13 does not reflect the 2018 official language minorities' consensus. The bill's underpinnings are fatally flawed. It's time to stop, get back to basics, and return to the consensus achieved by the people the Official Languages Act affects the most.

The Quebec Community Groups Network represents Canada's English linguistic minority. We are firmly committed to the protection and promotion of French in Canada. We strongly support efforts to modernize the Official Languages Act in a way that supports a national vision of linguistic duality.

The Supreme Court noted that language rights are “deeply rooted in our history” and “are basic to the very idea of Canada.” More than 1.2 million English-speaking Quebecers depend on Canada to remember this.

Joan Fraser is a former senator. She and Eva Ludvig sit on the Executive Committee of the Quebec Community Groups Network. *The Hill Times*



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Back to Parliament **Opinion**

Poilievre's landslide win in Quebec could redefine the national political landscape

If Pierre Poilievre can build trust with Quebec power brokers, including a sufficient portion of the political elite, then he will be able to maximize undeniable advantages in Quebec compared to Andrew Scheer and Erin O'Toole.

David
Boudeweel-
Lefebvre

Opinion



After all the talk of fence-mending that would be needed in the aftermath of such a divisive race, the Sept. 10 federal Conservative leadership results put a lot of those assumptions to rest. Not only did Pierre Poilievre win nearly 68.15 per cent of the points and 70 per cent of the total votes cast on a first-ballot victory against his four rivals, he won 330 of the country's 338 ridings.

In the end, Conservatives of all stripes overwhelmingly backed Poilievre, including fiscal conservatives, social conservatives, and party members in Quebec, where he dominated nearly all ridings over his main rival, Jean Charest, the province's former premier.

Poilievre, who is a near-fluent French speaker, will now have freer reins than his two predecessors to prepare his party for a real fight against the Liberals.

Each in their own way, the Conservative leaders in the post-Harper years have had a hard time uniting their party and galvanizing enough centre-right support from across the country. For both An-

drew Scheer and Erin O'Toole, Quebec was a region where they struggled to capture hearts and minds—a weak link holding them back from becoming prime minister.

But a new window might be opening for the Conservatives to win over Quebec, giving them a genuine chance at a return to power.

Thanks to Charest's gracious concession speech, Poilievre now has a key ingredient for success that both Scheer and O'Toole fundamentally lacked: an unquestionably united party, including support from Quebec. Poilievre's landslide win across the province instantly pushed aside the idea of any other group re-splitting the right. Maxime Bernier's chances of keeping his People's Party of Canada alive are now in doubt. And anyone with a desire to create an entirely new, more centrist Conservative Party needed Poilievre to suffer a resounding loss in Quebec, so that a case could be made that he would never be able to win over the province's power brokers and voters. The opposite happened.

The outcome of the federal Conservative leadership race is bound to redefine the relationship between the Tories and Quebec. Of course, we'll need to see how the Quebec election plays out, and whether François Legault embraces Poilievre as a political ally if he's re-elected as premier on Oct. 3. Poilievre's recognition of the importance of hydroelectricity, his fiscal conservative bend, and his commitment to work with the provinces on economic development projects should sit well with Legault and centre-right voters in Quebec.

On his end, if Poilievre wants to keep growing his support in Quebec, he will need to put forward real solutions to help people struggling with the cost of living and businesses struggling to operate with a shrinking labour pool. He'll also have to distance himself from some of the more contentious positions he took during the Conservative leadership race.

If Poilievre can build trust with Quebec power brokers, including a sufficient portion of the political elite, then he will be able to maximize undeniable advantages in Quebec compared to Scheer and O'Toole: mastery of the French language, a down-to-earth agenda that might appeal to many Quebec voters, and influential personal connections in the province through his wife and her family.

Conservatives have chosen a new kind of leader. Maybe now, in Quebec, can they expect different results.

David Boudeweel-Lefebvre has worked 20+ years in politics and government affairs. He founded Boudeweel Public Affairs in 2020 to help English-speaking business clients successfully navigate French-speaking Quebec.

The Hill Times

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Back to Parliament **Global****Ukraine: the risk of a ceasefire dwindles**

Russian President Vladimir Putin's offensive was stumbling to a halt on all fronts, but by then Moscow controlled about 20 per cent of Ukraine's territory. Moreover, Russia controlled almost all of Ukraine's coast, leaving it only Odesa and a few satellite ports in the far west. Image courtesy of Donkey Hotey

The flow of weapons from the West will continue, and Ukraine's army will be far readier to launch a sustained and decisive offensive in the spring than it is now. The Russian army might fall apart with just as few more hard knocks during the winter, but it might not—and a serious Ukrainian military setback would revive the threat of an imposed ceasefire.

Gwynne
Dyer

Global Affairs



LONDON, U.K.—Two months ago, John Bolton wrote an article in *The Hill*, the leading politics website in Washington, D.C., warning against a Russian 'October Surprise'. He suggested that Russian President Vladimir Putin might suddenly cease military operations and declare a ceasefire—which would utterly snooker the Ukrainians.

As one of the hawks who talked George W. Bush into invading

Iraq, Bolton proved himself to be a bad and dangerous adviser: he invariably defaulted to the toughest military option.

Neither did he cover himself in glory in 2018-19 as the third of Donald Trump's four high-turn-over national security advisers. He was the one who egged on Trump to break the treaty limiting Iran's nuclear activities and re-impose sanctions. If the treaty is not revived and Iran gets nuclear weapons, he's why.

Bolton is, however, very useful in predicting what other tricky and ruthless people might do. The way things looked back in July, a surprise Russian ceasefire in October was indeed a potential nightmare for Ukraine, and it still remained a plausible threat

down to only about one week ago.

By mid-July, the Russian offensive was stumbling to a halt on all fronts, but by then Moscow controlled about 20 per cent of Ukraine's territory (counting Crimea and the parts of eastern Ukraine that it had already seized in 2014). Moreover, Russia controlled almost all of Ukraine's coast, leaving it only Odesa and a few satellite ports in the Far West.

On the other hand, Russia's army was exhausted and demoralized, and there was little hope that it would be able to make further new conquests in Ukraine. Whether these realities were clear to Russian President Vladimir Putin is unknown, but his old mates in the FSB (formerly KGB) would probably have been keeping him informed.

So, Bolton calculated, Putin's best option would be to engineer a ceasefire that freezes the battle lines where they are now. It would deprive the Ukrainians of an opportunity to launch their long-promised counter-offensive, leave a very big chunk of their country in Russian hands, and give Moscow time to rebuild its army.

Putin could easily pass this off as a victory, as it would give Russia lots more land and greatly weaken Ukraine. He could even

claim credit for having acted to save many lives. And since he would never let the ceasefire turn into a formal peace settlement, he could easily restart the war once his armed forces were ready.

As for the Ukrainians, they would be left insisting that the war must continue because they haven't yet recovered their territory, to which the rest of the world (including most of their current supporters) could and would have replied that there was no evidence that they could ever do that. It's time to be 'realistic' and save what you can from the wreckage.

It would also be quietly pointed out to Kyiv by European governments that all their voters are facing a long, hard winter with energy shortages and roaring inflation—but most of those difficulties would vanish if the shooting stopped and the sanctions on Russia were ended. Please don't be unreasonable.

They wouldn't say outright that the flow of arms and money would slow or stop if the Ukrainians won't see reason, but you never have to say those things out loud. And in the end, Ukraine would have to give in.

That was Bolton's nightmare, and it was entirely credible in July. The only thing holding Putin back was the fond hope that

he could still win more territory by keeping the fighting going. Once he had been disabused of that delusion, he was obviously going to go with Option B.

But now, suddenly, that option has been taken from Putin's hands. The very rapid advances of Ukrainian forces in the past few days in the northeast, with Russian troops fleeing before them, may not be a decisive turning point in the war, but Putin could only declare a ceasefire when he still seemed to have the upper hand in the fighting.

Where does this leave the Ukrainians? Far better off than before, because an imposed ceasefire-in-place was the biggest threat they faced. The temptation to push on and try to finish the war now will be strong, but they should think three times before giving in to it.

The flow of weapons from the West will continue, and their army will be far readier to launch a sustained and decisive offensive in the spring than it is now. The Russian army might fall apart with just as few more hard knocks during the winter, but it might not—and a serious Ukrainian military setback would revive the threat of an imposed ceasefire.

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



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Back to Parliament **Opinion**

Are you a climate appeaser?

Renewables aren't decreasing fossil-fuel use and building renewable capacity of a scale needed to displace 50 per cent of fossil fuel use by 2030 is now delusional.

Bill Henderson

Opinion



GIBSONS, B.C.—U.K. climate scientist Bill McGuire's recent, insightful *Guardian* op-ed is an important read. His message: climate change is happening and it's undeniable.

But there is a very clear division between what McGuire labels "appeasers" and "doomers." He sites five key papers and reports as evidence that the appeasers are heavily discounting the climate dangers, especially the



Energy transitions take decades and we no longer have decades, writes Bill Henderson. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

"dangerous climate change," existential, long-tail dangers. Downplaying the dangers in a world ruled by "it's the economy, stupid" allows well-meaning climate professionals and policy-makers to still try and shoe-horn climate mitigation into continuing political and economic business as usual.

U.S. President Joe Biden's Inflation Reduction Act, for example, is far too little too late when we need greenhouse gas emissions cut globally by at least half by 2030. The 'energy transition' is an outdated, obsolete, and ineffectual conception of climate mitigation.

Energy transitions take decades and we no longer have decades. Historically, new energy sources have added to instead of displacing existing sources of energy. Renewables aren't decreasing fossil-fuel use, and building renewable capacity of a scale needed to displace 50 per cent of fossil-fuel use by 2030 is now delusional. Staying within the energy transition with legislation like the IRA is appeasement—it just keeps fossil fuels in the game.

Effective mitigation is needed immediately or we will all lose, big time. With the ongoing, increased investment in fossil-fuel production, realistically, Canadian

economist Vaclav Smil is dead right about fossil fuels probably still supplying more 80 per cent of global energy for decades to come. The gaping disconnect between what we absolutely have to do to effectively mitigate and what we are instead planning to do is what: frightening, unacceptable, profoundly stupid? Isn't society-wide denial about this situation a huge story? But where are the mainstream media articles informing us about how limited and ineffectual Biden's Inflation Reduction Act will be at actual emission reduction before 2030 and why? How close are we to tipping points to the unthinkable? How about the new paper in *Science*, by Armstrong McKay, et al., and their graphic in the *Guardian* covering article? Are there mitigation paths and policies that could still reduce emissions by half by 2030 to protect our climate safety?

Yes, but regulating a managed decline of fossil-fuel production requires deep, systemic change and serious disruption and pain, so we don't go there. Not even to consider out of ethical concern for those who will suffer most for our appeasement. Neville Chamberlain wasn't a bad guy; he was a well-intentioned British prime minister whose government couldn't do

what it had to do to prevent Adolf Hitler's Germany from re-arming and seizing territory. I'm sure those who see the Inflation Reduction Act as a climate victory wouldn't like being questioned as appeasers, but this is what staying within the time-wasting energy transition amounts to.

Our climate predicament gets worse with each passing year of ineffectual mitigation. Climate change is worsening; the climate science is getting more dire. Biden has inherited a problem that could have been mitigated by the first George Bush and Bill Clinton, but is now possibly fatal. Consider: you have a potentially life-threatening condition and the doctor has been telling you to change your regime for decades, but you haven't. Staying in denial has just made mitigation ever more difficult while increasing our chance of death.

At some point, you have missed your chance to mitigate. If we get serious about the climate end-game scenarios, the very real existential dangers, and wake up to society-wide denial, there could be a tipping point in informed opinion and a (panic driven) rapid forced, wind-down of fossil fuel production. That's the only thing that will save us now. If that doesn't happen very soon, then it probably doesn't matter.

Bill Henderson is a long-time climate activist based in Gibsons, B.C.

The Hill Times

Is belated federal intervention helpful to resolving the capital community's traumatization by Freedom Trucker Convoy protesters?

What we need is to empower residents in the nation's capital whose protection and service needs are increasingly in danger. Having such a community-led effort can well get us the substantial improvements needed for everyone in Ottawa.

Ken Rubin

Opinion



OTTAWA—Does it take special federal legislation to overcome hatred and official inaction to stop "Freedom" Convoy intrusions?

Ottawa belatedly thought so when it invoked the 1988 Emergencies Act in February to remove the trucker convoy from downtown Ottawa. Getting reluctant private tow-truck operators to do the vehicle removal was one reason the government claimed for invoking this never-before-used act.

However, such a justification for using the Emergencies Act to overcome officials' inaction and prejudices is being challenged in court and at the upcoming federal inquiry hearings led by Justice Paul Rouleau.

Meanwhile, more convoy intrusions have occurred since February, from the Rolling Thunder bikers, the Canada Day flag-waiving minutemen, to the comic but illegal occupation of St. Brigid's, a former Catholic church in Ottawa's Lowertown neighbourhood.

So why not use the same act now to speed up the eviction of the Freedom Convoy brigade squatters occupying St. Brigid's? It's not enough to rely on the

loose eviction provisions of the Commercial Tenancies Act to kick the new kingdom-seekers out of the former church, and lawyers with the convoy are bound to appeal any eviction order for months on end.

After all, the occupation by the red-shirted, water-soaker-gun-carrying crowd squatting at St. Brigid's is both a local and national embarrassment, filling pages of newspapers and social media. Fortunately, though, the Ottawa People's Commission on the Convoy Occupation starts its community-based hearings later this month. This will give residents a chance to present their side of being continually terrorized by these so-called freedom-loving misinformed thugs.

Full disclosure: I am the founder of the Ottawa People's Commission and a participant in an inner-city stakeholders' group which is in the process of attempting to seek justice, compensation and protection for neighbourhoods from similar situations in the future.

We know who is financially backing the OPC residents'

hearings and efforts, including my advocacy fund. Meanwhile, the convoy supporters' money trail is largely hidden, allegedly requiring the Emergencies Act invocation to slightly penetrate their conspiratorial backers here, in the United States, and abroad, and reputedly put in place the means—albeit temporary—of freezing some Freedom Convoy participants' assets. What does not help in all of this growing madness is that Ottawa is a company town. Federal authorities can both help and hinder Ottawa's downtown communities when it comes to either improving and protecting the cities of Ottawa and Gatineau.

Far too many times, National Capital Region residents have seen how the Crown can be less than benevolent, evicting the residents of LeBreton Flats, downtown Hull and the Greenbelt who get in their way.

Now the Crown wants to use its local clout to create a police force to protect the ever-expanding Parliamentary Precinct from growing illegal occupations, but not the surrounding neighbourhoods.

That federal effort once again ignores how best to offer inner city residents their own means for their neighbourhoods' safety in the face of being overrun by racist, anti-public health folks and their fellow travellers who incidentally include some federal employees and Armed Forces personnel.

Let's do more to get at preventing terrorism of downtown residents than belatedly invoking heavy-handed legislation. That means having more decisive leadership that the whole community can trust, with their participation.

We do not need governments and law enforcement agencies who cater to a few and sit on their butts.

What we need is to empower residents in the nation's capital whose protection and service needs are increasingly in danger. Having such a community-led effort can well get us the substantial improvements needed for everyone in Ottawa.

Ken Rubin is an investigative researcher and advocate whose beat includes the capital community. He is reachable via kenrubin.ca

The Hill Times

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Robert Merasty,
Executive Director



COMMUNITY CHAMPION
Todd Doherty,
Member of Parliament,
Cariboo-Prince George,
British Columbia



COMMUNITY CHAMPION
Clara Reinhardt,
Mayor, Village of
Radium Hot Springs,
British Columbia



COMMUNITY CHAMPION
Dale Bumstead,
Mayor, Dawson Creek,
British Columbia



COMMUNITY CHAMPION
Alberta Northwest Species
at Risk Committee,
All Members



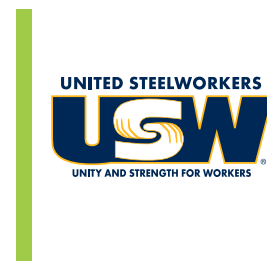
RISING STAR
Christa Campbell,
Forestry Coordinator,
Resolute Forest Products



WOMEN IN FORESTRY
Wendy Crosina,
Director, Forest Sustainability,
Weyerhaeuser Company Ltd.



MEMBER OF THE YEAR
Tom Ratz,
Chief Forester,
Resolute Forest Products



PARTNERSHIP
United Steelworkers,
Jeff Bromley, Chair,
Steelworkers Wood Council



SKILLS AWARD FOR INDIGENOUS YOUTH
Neepin Cook,
Misipawistik Cree Nation



SKILLS AWARD FOR INDIGENOUS YOUTH
Sarah Dixon,
Esk'etemc First Nation



SKILLS AWARD FOR INDIGENOUS YOUTH
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Back to Parliament **Opinion**

Crane: Canada needs to rethink its 'zombie' identity as an oil and gas superpower

The global green transition should not be, for Canada, just another opportunity to miss an opportunity.

David
Crane

Canada &
the 21st Century



In Canada we have a new zombie—a bad idea that refuses to die. This is the ongoing push to build liquified natural gas plants on Canada's East Coast to replace natural gas from Russia in Europe. Goldy Hyder, president of the Business Council of Canada, implies we even have a "moral obligation" to do so. For many, the litmus test for the Justin Trudeau government is the extent to which it boosts or constrains the fossil fuel industry.

Our real moral obligation, though, is to the well-being of billions of poor people around the world who are already paying an extraordinarily high price for climate change, and to our own future generations who face an ugly future unless fossil fuel use is seriously curbed.

Climate change is our greatest existential threat. But it is also our greatest opportunity, if we develop the technologies, systems, and capacities to help the world make the green energy transition. Climate change innovation can actually make Canadians richer. But we are still too far from developing a strong, clean energy industry with Canadian technology and



Natural Resources Minister Jonathan Wilkinson is likely aware of the risks of the transition to a green economy, which will be highly disruptive, changing the kinds of industries and jobs we need, and turning carbon-intensive assets into stranded assets. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

ownership—even though this is imperative for our future.

The International Monetary Fund, in a report released earlier this month titled *Climate Change and Energy Security: The Dilemma or Opportunity of the Century*, argued the current crisis could provide an important chance to accelerate the shift away from fossil fuels.

"Climate change is accelerating rapidly, with a narrow possibility to escape its worst environmental and socioeconomic consequences," the IMF report warned. The global average surface temperature has already increased by about 1.1 degrees Celsius, compared to the baseline 1850-1900 average, leaving little room to hold the temperature increase to 1.5 degrees Celsius, or even two degrees Celsius—goals of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change.

This means the risk of extreme weather events—such as heat waves, wildfires,

droughts, flooding and severe storms—is projected to increase with "greater probability of large and irreversible environmental changes unseen in millions of years that threaten devastation in swathes of the natural world and render many areas uninhabitable."

The world has to deal with two climate risks, the IMF says. Both need our attention.

First, there are the physical risks of climate change, such as hurricanes, heat waves, floods, droughts and flooding, which are projected to increase in frequency and intensity. Long-term climate changes include global warming, and rising sea levels. These pose huge threats to food supply, human health, water availability, and significantly raise the threat of mass migrations and geopolitical conflict.

Then, second, there are the risks from the transition to a green economy, which

will be highly disruptive, changing the kinds of industries and jobs we need, and turning carbon-intensive assets into stranded assets. Managing the transition so the needs of communities and workers are met is critical.

Another warning this month came from a *Science* report showing that several critical parts of the world climate system were already reaching tipping points, "conditions beyond which changes in a part of the climate system becomes self-perpetuating." These changes, the study said, "may lead to abrupt, irreversible, and dangerous impacts with serious implications for humanity."

In fact, the study warned that the rise in temperatures may have already pushed the planet beyond a "safe climate state" and concluded that five tipping points, including permafrost thaw in the north, and the collapse of the West Antarctic ice sheet, were already within reach, with looming risks to the Greenland ice sheets, current flows in the Gulf Stream, the degradation of the Amazon rain forest, and shrinking coral reefs. This, the study said, provided strong scientific support for "efforts to limit global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius."

Another report, published in *Nature* last month, used a metric that quantified heat exposure in human beings—the Heat Index—to warn that rising temperatures pose dangerous risks to an increasing proportion of the world's population. "Even if the Paris Agreement goal of limiting warming to two degrees Celsius is met, the exposure to dangerous Heat Index levels will likely increase by 50-100 per cent across much of the tropics, and increase by a factor of 3-10 in many regions through the midlatitudes."

British Columbia and the prairie provinces got a taste of this future last summer when temperatures soared. Some 619 B.C. residents died of the effects of heat in just one week. The village of Lytton in British Columbia set a record high temperature of 49.6 degrees Celsius and was wiped out by fire. Prairies farmers, with severe drought, saw wheat production fall 39 per cent, and canola production fall 35 per cent. As this century progresses, "the kinds of deadly heat waves that have been rarities in the midlatitudes will become annual occurrences," the report warned.

"The impacts of very high temperatures on public health and agricultural systems are highly consequential; the impacts of climate change on heat waves stand to present even more daunting challenges," it added. Extreme heat contributes to chronic illnesses and makes outdoor work almost impossible, with "the potential to threaten the habitability of large swathes of Earth's land surface if greenhouse gas emissions are not curtailed." A temperature of about 40 degrees Celsius is dangerous, while at about 50 degrees is extremely dangerous—approaching the level of survivability.

Our priority must be to accelerate the transition to a green and clean world. But this will mean that our business will have to actively join the energy transition. That's not happening today, despite isolated examples. Business has been cutting back on research and development spending, with total business R&D spending falling from \$18.9-billion in 2014, to \$17.0-billion in 2020.

The time has come—indeed it's overdue—to chase away the zombie dream of Canada as an oil and gas superpower. We must be part of the essential green future. The global green transition should not be, for Canada, just another opportunity to miss an opportunity. But if we don't want to miss out, we must work much harder.

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

The Hill Times

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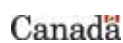
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Back to Parliament **News**

LeBlanc to play bigger role in cabinet while government keeps an eye on Poilievre

Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Dominic LeBlanc, who is much more aggressive and a better combatant in the House than the prime minister, is expected to play a bigger role this fall.

BY CHRISTOPHER GULY

When the House resumes on Tuesday, expect Intergovernmental Affairs, Infrastructure and Communities Minister Dominic LeBlanc to play a major role in the upcoming session for a federal government that will keep a close eye on newly minted Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, according to federal political observers.

“LeBlanc will have a lot to deal with,” said Allan Tupper, professor and former head of the political science department at the University of British Columbia. “The premiers have demands for more money with regards to health care, which remains a major issue for Canadians, and there are all sorts of problems in that area, given COVID, plus the whole dynamic regarding labour shortages.”

Added onto LeBlanc’s (Beauséjour, N.B.) plate will be the “serious” issue of Western Canadian alienation raised during the current leadership contest of Alberta’s governing United Conservative Party (UCP) and its front-runner, Danielle Smith,



Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Dominic LeBlanc and new Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre are expected to spar during the 45-minute daily Question Period this fall. ‘I think Dominic also has the personality that can take on Poilievre,’ said Don Desserud. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade



the former leader of the Wildrose Party who helped form the UCP, according to Don Desserud, a political science professor at the University of Prince Edward Island.

“I think [LeBlanc] also has the personality that can take on Poilievre,” said Desserud, who has known LeBlanc since he attended law school at the University of New Brunswick. “It will be interesting to see whether [Prime Minister Justin] Trudeau puts him in positions where he’s the one debating Poilievre in the same way [former prime minister Jean] Chrétien used Stéphane Dion [as intergovernmental affairs minister] to take on the separatists in Quebec.”

He said that, unlike when Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.) attacks Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) and the prime minister “resorts to the very things the Poilievre base are really annoyed with by saying, ‘We have to be nicer to everybody

else,’—which is what they’re tired of and which fuels their frustration—someone like Dominic LeBlanc will be much more aggressive and be a better combatant.”

The former government leader in the House of Commons wasted little time challenging the new opposition leader the very night Poilievre won the Conservative Party’s top job on Sept. 10.

Poilievre’s leadership campaign revealed “a series of reckless and irresponsible ideas that we don’t think will improve the Canadian economy,” LeBlanc told CTV News. “Somebody who’s telling people to buy Bitcoin, somebody who’s calling childcare agreements ‘slush funds,’ doesn’t feel like somebody who’s serious about big issues around affordability, around the economy.”

LeBlanc took another swipe at the Tory leader the next day on CBC News’ chief political correspondent Rosemary Barton’s Sunday-morning television talk show, *Rosemary Barton Live*, when he said that “Mr. Poilievre will have to explain why his ideas are not reckless and irresponsible.”

But while LeBlanc may be used as the Liberals’ main weapon against Poilievre in the public arena, behind closed doors, the cabinet could “readjust” its priorities if the new Tory leader—and the sizeable 68-per-cent support he secured from party members on the first ballot in the recent leadership contest—is perceived as an equally significant threat, according to Desserud.

“We’ve been in a crisis situation over the past couple of years with the pandemic, and I think people really are underestimating how angry and frustrated people are,” he said. “They don’t know who to blame, and Poilievre is

telling them who to blame—and that’s the government.”

As the Conservative leader said in his post-victory speech in Ottawa, “tonight begins the journey to replace an old government that costs you more and delivers you less”—that signals he will have in his sights on tax-and-spend measures the federal Liberals use to tackle runaway inflation, in Desserud’s view.

“The way Poilievre is painting them is that they’re in thrall to different interest groups on the left and that they’re not their own masters,” he said. “That feeds into the rhetoric Poilievre wants people to hear that this is a government not in control and he would not be like that should he become prime minister. He’s a pushback guy and not even his own party can push him around.”

By virtue of her role as finance minister, Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.) will be an easy target for Poilievre, said Tupper.

“I think she will have a major role in confronting the whole political economy of modern Canada, and in the context of a political dynamic with a new Conservative leader who will be, I think, quite forthright in opposition to a lot of her priorities and to the government’s priorities,” he explained.

“This is a government that’s been heavy on deficit and debt to get through the pandemic and other challenges, such as climate change, and that will continue. The Conservatives, under Poilievre, seem to have a traditional conservative message on this of no taxes, no debt.”

In unveiling his “inflation-busting” House leadership team on

Twitter on Sept. 13, Poilievre said the group’s first job is to “stop Trudeau’s tax hikes and end #JustinFlation so workers and seniors can thrive.”

Freeland will have other matters to consider during the fall parliamentary session, according to Desserud.

“The United States is part of that, and no one seriously thought that just because [former U.S. president Donald] Trump is gone, the Americans would play nice on such issues as softwood lumber,” he said.

Other ministers to watch in the fall session, in Tupper’s view, are Mélanie Joly (Ahuntsic-Cartierville, Que.) on the foreign-affairs file, who will have to contend with the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine, “which has a lot of implications for international relations and threats of nuclear conflicts, and will have to deal with continuing stress out of the United States on where it’s going, and the United Kingdom, which is pursuing a free-trade deal with Canada—let alone China and Taiwan.”

“She has a very full plate on complex things,” he said.

Tupper is also keeping an eye on Ahmed Hussen (York South-Weston, Ont.), the minister of housing and diversity and inclusion, whom he expects will be busy.

“He will have to work closely with Freeland, and Poilievre will likely come up with new ideas on housing and affordability,” said Tupper.

Other cabinet ministers he is watching include Natural Resources Minister Jonathan Wilkinson (North Vancouver, B.C.) and Environment and Climate Change Minister Steven Guilbeault (Laurier-Sainte-Marie, Que.) will have to collaborate on such matters as resource development upon which Canada is still reliant upon compared to other “modern, affluent” countries that have shifted their focus to manufacturing and advanced technology.

Meanwhile, National Defence Minister Anita Anand (Oakville, Ont.) will need to address ongoing issues such as misconduct within the senior ranks and procurement, and Marc Miller (Ville-Marie-Le Sud-Ouest-Île-des-Sœurs, Que.), the minister of Crown-Indigenous relations, who has “many big issues, from reconciliation to the continuing impact of residential schools,” said Tupper.

Also on his radar is Transport Minister Omar Alghabra (Mississauga Centre, Ont.), who will have to address ongoing delays at airports, chief among them Toronto’s Pearson.

There is one minister Desserud is waiting on to have his moment.

“I keep waiting for [François-Philippe] Champagne to move ahead and shine,” said Desserud of the minister of innovation, science and industry and the Liberal MP for the Quebec riding of Saint-Maurice-Champain beyond addressing this summer’s major Rogers network outage.

The Hill Times



Environment and Climate Change Minister Steven Guilbeault. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



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Back to Parliament **News**

Lobbying drops in summer, but environment concerns lead in advocacy discussions

A project intended to bring renewable power and broadband service to several northern communities was among the top issues in federal lobbying in August and the first half of September.

BY JESSE CNOCKAERT



Minister of Foreign Affairs Mélanie Joly, then-serving as minister of Economic Development, said in a statement on May 4, 2021, that the Kivalliq Hydro-Fibre Link project will deliver clean energy to communities and businesses currently reliant on diesel in Nunavut's Kivalliq region. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Federal lobbying took its annual drop in summer, but environmental advocacy maintained its lead through August as the most popular subject in federal lobbying, with organizations discussing a hydroelectricity project in northern Canada, and federal fertilizer emission reduction targets.

Overall lobbying activity in July reached 1,348 communication reports, which was a drop of 49.1 per cent compared to the 2,638 communication reports filed in June. July's lobbying activity was also the lowest for the year so far, compared to a peak in May with 3,262 communication reports filed.

A decrease in lobbying activity in July is to be expected, since the House and Senate are on summer break and many people are out enjoying vacations, according to said Daniel Perry, a Summa Strategies consultant and conservative commentator.

"Of course, it helps with the House not being here. Politicians are back in their ridings. They're looking to reconnect with constituents and they're less eager to meet with lobbyists. It makes sense to see the numbers decrease a little bit," he said.

The desire to travel may also have been more acute this year compared to the previous two years of the COVID-19 pandemic, because travel restrictions have started to ease, according to Perry. On June 20, Ottawa lifted a requirement for passengers to be fully vaccinated to board a plane or train in Canada, and also lifted vaccination requirements for federally regulated workers, which allowed airline and airport employees on unpaid leave because of their vaccination status to return to work.

"For the first time in a long time we've had a normal summer. People were out of office [and] they were travelling again. They

were out enjoying our summer more," said Perry. "We were able to get out. I think a lot of people took advantage of that, and that's why we saw the lobbying numbers go down."

Advocacy related to the environment led the way in August and into September, according to a search of the federal lobbyists' registry on Sept. 13. A total of 113 communication reports about the environment were filed between Aug. 1 and Sept. 13, followed by energy (86 communication reports), and aboriginal affairs (83).

As of Sept. 13, the top lobbying organization between August and Sept. 13 is the Nukik Corporation, an organization formed with the intention of leading major infrastructure projects in the Kivalliq region of Nunavut. Nukik filed 47 communication reports in that time frame, of which 24 listed "environment" as a subject for discussion.

The corporation's primary focus currently is the Kivalliq Hydro-Fibre Link (KHFL) project, an infrastructure project intended to provide renewable power and broadband access to northern communities and help reduce emissions from mining projects.

The project includes construction of a 1,200 km electricity transmission line and a high-speed fibre optic line to link five communities in the Kivalliq region of Nunavut (Arviat, Baker Lake, Chesterfield Inlet, Rankin Inlet and Whale Cove) to the Manitoba electricity and fibre optic grids.

Nukik Corporation has been engaging with the federal government following the 2021 federal budget, where the government committed \$40.4-million over three years to support feasibility and planning of hydroelectricity and grid interconnection projects in the North, with intent to

advance projects such as the Kivalliq Hydro-Fibre Link, according to a statement from Nukik Corporation emailed to *The Hill Times* by consultant Dan Lovell, who represents the corporation on the federal lobbyists' registry.

"As the entity taking the lead role in developing the KHFL, Nukik has been reaching out to government officials to advise on project status and to solidify support for the KHFL project's next phases. The KHFL will bring much-needed clean energy and broadband service to Nunavut and Nukik is working to ensure that the project can be developed as efficiently as possible," reads the emailed statement.

The Nukik Corporation's lobbying activity between August and September included communication with Liberal MP Greg Fergus (Hull-Aylmer, Que.), who is the parliamentary secretary to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) on Sept. 6, and with Liberal MP Yvonne Jones (Labrador, N.L.), who is parliamentary secretary to both Minister of Natural Resources Jonathan Wilkinson (North Vancouver, B.C.), and Minister of Northern Affairs Dan Vandal (Saint Boniface-Saint Vital, Man.) on Aug. 25.

Federal government support for the KHFL project includes an announcement of nearly \$3-million to support early phase data collection, according to a press release issued on May 4 by the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency (CanNor)

"The hydro-fibre link will bring significant benefits to Nunavut's Kivalliq region. The project will deliver clean energy to communities and businesses currently reliant on diesel and high speed internet will significantly improve communication and give communities an economic boost.

That's why the Government of Canada is funding research into the link as part of our continuing commitment to sustainably grow Nunavut's economy," said Minister of Foreign Affairs Mélanie Joly (Ahuntsic-Cartierville, Que.) in the press release, who at the time was serving as minister of Economic Development, and Minister responsible for CanNor.

Following behind Nukik Corporation, in terms of communication reports filed between August and Sept. 13, is the Huu-ay-aht First Nation, which filed 13 communication reports, and the Ontario Federation of Agriculture (OFA), which filed 11.

The Hill Times reached out to Huu-ay-aht First Nation to ask about recent federal lobbying activity, but was told in an emailed statement that Huu-ay-aht First Nation representatives are not in a position to disclose any details at this time, due to confidentiality agreements. Huu-ay-aht First Nation is interested in support from the federal government through repayable and non-repayable contributions towards the First Nation's acquisition of a company, according to its registry file.

On Sept. 7, Huu-ay-aht First Nation communicated with Todd Evans, the national lead for Indigenous exports at Export Development Canada (EDC), and with Sven List, the senior vice-president of trade connections at EDC.

Communication between the OFA and the federal government in August primarily focused on a federal government target for reducing fertilizer emissions, according to Drew Spoelstra, OFA's vice-president.

The Liberal government released a discussion paper on March 4 which included a target of reducing absolute levels of greenhouse gas emissions related to fertilizer by 30 per cent below

2020 levels by 2030. A public consultation process to gather input on how to reach that target was conducted, and ended on Aug. 31.

OFA is interested in ensuring that decreasing fertilizer emissions doesn't involve reducing the amount of fertilizer needed to ensure crop security, according to Spoelstra.

"Farmers aren't applying more fertilizer than they actually need, because it costs a lot of money. It's a huge part of our cost ... for grain production and whatnot here in Canada," he said. "We need to ensure that farmers have access to, particularly nitrogen fertilizer, but all nutrients that they use as part of a growing system."

"There's a lot of tools that we can use to work our way through that and ensure that the crop has what it needs," he added.

The OFA communicated with Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food Marie-Claude Bibeau (Compton-Stanstead, Que.) on Aug. 11 and Aug. 12. The organization is represented on the registry in-house by general manager Cathy Lennon, and board of directors members Crispin Colvin, Peggy Brekveld and Larry Davis. The OFA is also represented on the registry by consultant Jesse Shea of Enterprise Canada.

Jcnockaert@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

Lobbying activity in 2022

Month	Communication reports
Jan.	2,464
Feb.	3,224
March	3,137
April	2,250
May	3,262
June	2,638
July	1,348

This table lists the number of communication reports filed between January and July, 2022. Information courtesy of the federal lobbyists' registry

Top Julys for lobbying

Month	Communication reports
Jul-20	1,771
Jul-21	1,724
Jul-22	1,384
Jul-18	1,085
Jul-19	971
Jul-17	942
Jul-16	878
Jul-15	641
Jul-11	561
Jul-14	560

This table shows the 10 most active July months, based on online records from the federal lobbyists' registry. July 2020 leads as the July with the most communication reports filed at 1,771. July 2022 takes third with 1,384 communication reports filed. Information courtesy of the federal lobbyists' registry.

A global food crisis is here, and Canada must act



Ukrainian military trucks tow long-range weapons known as Howitzers through a field in eastern Ukraine during Russia's invasion of that country. Photograph courtesy of Arsen Fedosenko/Wikimedia Commons

A global food system that allows companies to make record profits while people starve is not sustainable, and it's not right. It must be changed, and Canada must lead.

NDP MP
Heather
McPherson

Opinion



An attack on a grain terminal in Mykolaiv. Landmines planted in farmers' fields. A missile strike on the Port of Odesa. Stolen grain. These are the tactics Russia has deployed in the seven months since Putin launched his illegal war on Ukraine, and this use of food as a weapon of war is having a massive impact on the global food supply.

Organizations like the World Food Program are highly dependent on Ukrainian grain. For months, Ukraine's grain was either stuck in silos, on blockaded ships, or stolen by the Russians. The recent Black Sea Grain Initiative is finally allowing some of this grain to move, but not fast enough to prevent hungry people in places such as Yemen, Ethiopia, South Sudan, Somalia, Syria, and Afghanistan from suffering.

The crisis in Ukraine is only exacerbating pre-existing challenges within a broken global food system. Food insecurity was already at record highs due to the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change when Russia

struck. Crop failures, food shortages, and skyrocketing prices on basic staples have led humanitarian organizations to sound the alarm as they witness emergency levels of malnutrition occurring simultaneously across multiple countries.

Canada has a crucial role to play in the global response to this crisis. As Brittany Lambert of Oxfam Canada says, "People are starving not because the world lacks food or money, but for a dismal lack of political courage... Countries can mobilize resources to prevent human suffering—but only if they choose to."

Food scarcity is more than just a humanitarian crisis, it is a political problem. The longer there is inaction, the wider and deeper the problem will become—and the more costly it will become to address.

In June, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau announced new funding worth \$250-million to address the global food crisis. This is a start, but there is a lot more Canada can do.

Canada's international development sector is calling on the Canadian government to boost overall funding to international development aid, including by

increasing emergency funding to countries most vulnerable to the food crisis.

A recent proposal from the Canadian Food Security Policy Group recommends a \$500-million funding package in support of gender-responsive and climate-resilient food systems. Falling under Canada's \$5.3-billion climate finance commitment, this funding package would represent less than 10 per cent of Canada's total commitment, but would do much to combat the global food crisis while empowering those living on the front lines of climate change.

There are other actions Canada could take immediately as well: increase our minimum annual contribution to the Food Assistance Convention, which has remained at \$250-million since 2013; make funding more flexible to reflect the needs of implementing partners in emerging food crises; index our humanitarian food assistance funding with rising food prices; and develop a long-term approach that would build resilience and enable people to prepare for the coming geo-political and climate-change-related shocks.

These are steps the government could take today. Beyond that, we need a real conversation about why the global food system is failing so many. In August, *The Guardian* revealed that the four largest grain companies—controlling nearly 90 per cent of the global grain trade—have made record profits as food prices have risen in the wake of the war in Ukraine. While farmers and consumers suffer, large and powerful food companies are benefiting from surging prices. The food system is broken. It isn't working for Canadians or for those in fragile places. A global food system that allows companies to make record profits while people starve is not sustainable, and it's not right. It must be changed, and Canada must lead.

We need a systems approach that looks not just at humanitarian food aid, but at the big picture of producing, processing, marketing, and consuming food at a global level. We need a system that anticipates shocks caused by climate change and addresses endemic poverty. We need a sustainable and just food system. We need a system based on people, not profit.

Heather McPherson is the NDP MP representing Edmonton Strathcona. She is her party's foreign affairs critic and deputy whip.

The Hill Times

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Back to Parliament **News**

Update to Broadcasting Act likely a top priority in fall sitting, say lobbyists

The Liberal government may push for the Online Streaming Act to receive royal assent in the Senate by November or December.

BY JESSE CNOCKAERT

A full plate of legislative priorities for the House and Senate as the fall session gets underway is likely to include finally pushing through a controversial bill intended to update the Broadcasting Act, as well as other bills related to firearms and online communication platforms, according to government relations consultants.

“Right now, Canada is working under a very outdated and antiquated set of broadcasting rules and regulations. Just about every Canadian broadcaster is deeply interested in passing [Bill C-11] and modernizing the regime,” said Ashton Arsenault, vice-president of Crestview Strategy and a former ministerial staffer in Stephen Harper’s Conservative government. “I think that is something very high on the government’s agenda.”

The House resumed sitting on Sept. 15, with the Senate resuming on Sept. 20. As the federal government returns to bills that have been on pause since the summer break started in late June, one of the priorities will likely be finishing off Bill C-11, the Online Streaming Act, according to Arsenault.

The bill, currently in second reading in the Senate, would grant the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) regulatory oversight for online streaming services. Bill C-11 is an updated version of the former Bill C-10, which was introduced in the House during the second session of the 43rd Parliament on Nov. 3, 2020. That bill passed second reading in the Senate, but died on the order paper when the 2021 federal election was called.

Arsenault said the federal government will be keenly interested in the bill receiving royal assent by November or December.

“It’s been often talked about, and it’s been a very long, winding process,” said Arsenault. “It’s their second kick at the can. The last federal election basically removed the bill that was very, very close to achieving royal assent, and [the government] has been on the record on a number of occasions ... speaking



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau announced that legislation intended to address affordability and the cost of living would be a top priority for his government in the fall, according to a statement from the Prime Minister’s Office on Sept. 13. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

about making sure that this is a priority.”

Other bills that will probably be a high priority this fall include Bill C-18, the Online News Act, and Bill C-21, which proposes amendments to the Firearms Act and the Criminal Code, according to Arsenault.

Bill C-18 completed second reading in the House on May 31. If passed, the bill would require that large online platforms share revenue with news outlets. The bill is intended to “enhance fairness” in the news marketplace by establishing a framework to allow Canadian media outlets to negotiate for remuneration from major tech firms that share news content, according to a summary of the bill. Organizations active on the federal lobbyists’ registry with an interest in discussing the bill include Google Canada Corporation, the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, Corus Entertainment, and Twitter Canada.

“That is creating, basically, a regime for compensation for online news providers,” said Arsenault. “That will likely be up at the Heritage committee, I would say, in the next few weeks. I think they’re going to want to get to that fairly quickly. I know the government is quite interested in getting that across the line as well.”

Bill C-21, which completed second reading on June 23, would prohibit the sale of restricted firearms such as handguns, and include other measures related to gun control such as increasing criminal penalties for gun smuggling and trafficking.

When the bill received first reading in the House on May 30, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) said it contained

“some of the strongest measures in Canadian history to keep guns out of our communities and build a safer future for everyone,” in a statement from the Prime Minister’s Office (PMO)

Organizations registered to discuss the bill with the federal government include the Canadian Sporting Arms & Ammunition Association and the National Police Federation.

Carlene Variyan, an associate vice-president at Summa Strategies and former Liberal staffer, told *The Hill Times* that Bill C-11, Bill C-18 and Bill C-21 are all likely to be high priorities for the Liberal government in the fall.

“[The Liberal government is] in their third term [and] they’re looking toward going and seeking a fourth term with the current prime minister at some future date,” said Variyan. “I think that they’ll be focused on all of those things that are really core to the mandate that they were elected on and the platform that they ran on, because they know that those are the things that resonate the most with Canadians.”

The Liberal platform in the 2021 election included a heavy focus on gun control, so pushing forward legislation related to that issue will be “a political win” from their perspective, she said.

“I think they will be pushing aggressively on Bill C-21,” said Variyan. “Bill C-11 and Bill C-18, I think are a little bit different in that I have not seen them necessarily permeate the public consciousness to the same extent, and that’s likely because they’re quite complex. I do think that that’s certainly an area of priority for the government, but I think you’re going to see a fresh round of opposition to both of these

bills from the new Conservative leader.”

Last week, Trudeau also announced that legislation intended to address affordability and the cost of living would be a top priority for his government in the current parliamentary sitting. The Liberal government intends to introduce legislation to double the GST credit for six months, provide a Canada Dental Benefit to children under 12 who do not have access to dental insurance, and give a one-time \$500 top-up to the Canada Housing Benefit for low-income renters, according to a PMO press release on Sept. 13.

“From helping families pay rent to making sure people can afford the dental care they need and putting hundreds of dollars back in the pockets of Canadians, this suite of new measures will support families who need it the most, when they need it the most. As we head into a new Parliamentary sitting, we are working hard to continue delivering results for the middle class and those working hard to join it,” said Trudeau in the press release.

“I would expect to see them continue to place focus on what they’re doing to make housing more affordable, especially at a time like this, when the economy is on the brink of a global recession,” said Variyan. “I think the government is really lining up to take things back to basics and really do everything they can to make sure that Canadians feel confident that this government is the one that can actually protect against inflation and keep the economy resilient for the global recession.”

Bill C-11, the Online Streaming Act

Bill C-11 is the first major reform planned for the Broadcasting Act since 1991, which was before the internet was widely available. If passed, the legislation would require streaming services, such as Netflix, Crave and Disney Plus to make financial contributions in support of Canadian content in areas such as television, film and music.

The Senate’s committee on transport and communications discussed Bill C-11 on Sept. 15. The committee heard from witnesses including David Fares, the vice president of global public policy for the Walt Disney Company; Kevin Desjardins, the president of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters; and Reynolds Mastin, president and CEO of the Canadian Media Producers Association.

Mastin told *The Hill Times* that foreign streaming services generate revenue in excess of hundreds of millions of dollars operating through the internet, and should therefore be expected to make a

commensurate contribution into Canada’s economy, in the same way traditional broadcasters currently do.

“What we have seen over the past number of years as the foreign streamers have entered Canada ... is we are an exceptionally good market for them, both in terms of subscriber revenue, but also as a place to produce in Canada” said Mastin. “Having those contributions be put in place — that will generate additional investment in great Canadian shows by the U.S. web giants and streaming services. That, in turn, will generate greater employment, and ultimately will benefit Canadian audiences when they have access to great Canadian programming as a result of these contributions.”

Scott Benzie, the managing director of Digital First Canada, an advocacy group for online creators, said that the federal government has said the right things about protecting digital creators, but “the bill does not reflect that stated intent,” according to a statement emailed to *The Hill Times* on Sept. 13.

“I think the bill is one of the biggest priorities for the Senate. There is a lot of noise around what this bill is. Is it a censorship bill, is it needed to save Canadian culture, will it inject a billion dollars into the system? Most of that is not true,” he said in the emailed statement.

Benzie argued that the regulations in the bill are too far-reaching and could potentially apply to platforms featuring user-generated content, such as TikTok and YouTube.

In section 4.1 of the bill, it is stated that the legislation excludes programs on “social media services,” however, section 4.2 allows for an exemption to that exclusion, according to Benzie.

Section 4.2 of the bill says that the CRTC can create regulations that treat content uploaded to social media services as programs to be regulated by considering several factors, such as whether the program might generate direct or indirect revenue.

“Does the program directly or indirectly generate revenue? That is the entire internet. Even if a piece of content is not monetized by the uploader, the platforms themselves run ads against all videos, meaning that they generate revenue,” said Benzie in the emailed statement. “If this bill is really about taking money from ‘web-giants’ we agree. Make them pay, but the inclusion of user-generated content and discovery clauses that will only punish digital creators, and have no upside for traditional media, seems like a strange hill to die on.”

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Big banks, challengers jockey for position as government plans open banking rollout

Conservative MP Adam Chambers says open banking will encourage more competition in the financial sector and generate more choice for consumers.

BY KEVIN PHILIPUPILLAI

There has been “substantial work” done in recent months to meet the government’s promise of an open banking system for 2023, say stakeholders involved in the consultations, but the process has also been marked by disagreements between established financial institutions and emerging challengers, and by concerns about privacy and security.

Conservative MP Adam Chambers (Simcoe North, Ont.) told *The Hill Times* that “some substantial work” has been completed in recent months following the appointment of the government’s open



Associate Finance Minister Randy Boissonnault’s mandate letter includes a commitment ‘to launch a made-in-Canada model of open banking by early 2023.’ *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Conservative MP Adam Chambers says open banking and other measures to increase competition in the financial sector are preferable to an excess profits tax because they leave more money in consumers’ pockets. Photograph courtesy of Adam Chambers

banking lead, but that the government is still playing catch-up after neglecting this file in previous years.

“This is a long-standing promise of the government, going back at least to 2015. Many of us, legislators and market participants, are still waiting,” he said.

A new wave of financial technology (fintech) firms, online banks, and other challengers to traditional financial institutions have pushed for the federal government to move more quickly to implement an open banking regime. But Wealthsimple executive Hanna Zaidi told *The Hill Times* that there is a danger in “choosing the path of least resistance in an effort to appease timelines.”

“Based on what we’ve witnessed during the working groups, and what’s currently happening in the market, we aren’t confident we are moving towards a true open banking system,” said Zaidi in an email.

Open banking refers to a series of measures being adopted in several countries around the world, notably the United Kingdom, that gives individuals and small businesses control of their financial data

and makes it possible for them to securely share it with accredited third parties. Proponents say it will encourage competition and innovation in the financial sector, while opponents warn about risks to stability, security, and privacy.

The mandate letter for Associate Finance Minister Randy Boissonnault (Edmonton Centre, Alta.) calls for him to “advance our commitments to launch a made-in-Canada model of open banking by early 2023 and to modernize Canada’s payments technology to deliver faster and lower cost options to securely and conveniently transfer funds.”

Charl Ackerman, principal for policy at Payments Canada, told *The Hill Times* that open banking could unfold in Canada in two major phases: “read access” and “write access.” He said the current focus of the consultations has been on read access, which would give an accredited third party permission to gather and “read” a customer’s collected financial data.

“You’ve got a balance with your bank account, you’ve got a balance with an

investment provider, you’ve got an insurance product. And what read access enables is for you to securely share that data with third parties so that they have the ability to aggregate that data and conceivably make your life easier. To see in one place what is going on with your financial situation on a day-to-day basis,” explained Ackerman.

Payments Canada is the public-purpose non-profit organization that owns and operates the national payment clearing and settlement infrastructure used by Canada’s chartered banks, authorized foreign banks, and other eligible financial institutions. It also maintains the rules and standards for the use of these systems. In 2021, the organization cleared and settled a total of eight billion transactions between its 111 member institutions, or \$539-billion each business day.

Ackerman said Payments Canada would play a larger role in the possible second phase of open banking in Canada. This is where accredited third parties could gain

Continued on page 40

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Back to Parliament **News**

NDP caucus members angling to be ‘adults in the room’ as House resumes

While new Conservative leader Pierre Poilievre appeals to the working class, the NDP say they’re not threatened, and are focused on what they can deliver for people by leveraging the supply-and-confidence agreement.



NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh. NDP House Leader Peter Julian says the NDP caucus will be ‘relentlessly focused on people’ this fall session. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

BY CHELSEA NASH

Senior NDP MPs say they’re going to rise above whatever mud-slinging might take place between the Liberals and Conservatives, and will be heavily focused on pressuring the Liberals to deliver on the promises made in their supply-and-confidence agreement—but, experts say they can’t ignore the newly minted Conservative leader altogether, as he is cutting into their working-class base of support.

“I think the NDP needs to be worried about that,” said Duane Bratt, a political scientist at Mount Royal University in Calgary, Alta. “And we saw this in the 1990s when a large number of people switched their votes from the NDP to the Reform Party, because they felt that the NDP had lost the way.”

Bratt said it was his impression that something similar was happening now, with new Conservative Party leader Pierre Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.) peeling away some of the NDP’s traditional base of support: the working class.

But as far as three NDP MPs are concerned, their focus is on the Liberals and “getting things done.”

NDP House leader Peter Julian (New Westminster-Burnaby, B.C.) said his party will be the “adults in the room” when the House reconvenes on Sept. 20, and leaving the Liberals and Conservatives to get down and dirty. Poilievre’s presence as Conservative leader is expected to raise the heat in the House of Commons, given he is well-known for his abrasive style of questioning the government, and shows no signs of softening his approach.

“The NDP is focused on actions and making a difference.

And we’ve also proven to be often the adults in the room when there’s the sort of chippiness back and forth,” said Julian.

NDP MP Charlie Angus (Timmins-James Bay, Ont.) also indicated his party’s intention to stay above the anticipated fray.

“I think one of the things that I’ve seen over my many years in Parliament is the Liberals and Conservatives love culture wars, and they love to paint each other as diabolical and outrageous,” said Angus.

People are tired, frustrated, and even angry, he said. “But I think what people want is someone to actually deliver.”

Former NDP staffer and current lobbyist Cam Holmstrom hinted the NDP’s strategy going into the fall would be to focus on what they can push the Liberals on and achieve through the supply-and-confidence agreement.

“As things may get a little punchy at the start of the fall here in Parliament, I don’t think anyone wants to do an election right away anytime soon—well, except for the Conservatives,” he said.

“In the moment we’re in, there’s a lot of anger. There’s a lot of people who are upset, who are frustrated, which is kind of what Mr. Poilievre is feeding off of, and stoking himself. And the best way to cut that off at the knees, is to actually deliver for people, to actually deal with people’s concerns,” he said.

“It’s not enough to say, ‘I feel your pain,’ and rant and rave at the wall. If you’re actually able to deliver and actually address those concerns, that then helps you move forward. I think for the NDP, that’s where a big part of the focus is going to be.”

The New Democrats have the balance of power in the House

of Commons, and leveraged that balance to create a supply-and-confidence deal with the Liberals on March 22. That’s the party’s main item on the agenda now, said Angus.

“Our focus is pushing this government to get action on some key areas to make life more affordable. Obviously, the number one priority for us is hammering out this dental care plan for people and to make this a reality and get this to people as soon as possible,” said Angus.

The deal sees the NDP providing support for the Liberal government on confidence issues, in exchange for progress on key policy areas. Currently, the NDP is pressuring the Liberal government to live up to the first major milestone in the agreement: to make dental care free for children under age 12 whose families earn \$90,000 or less. The Liberals, having been given a deadline to deliver this program before the end of the year, delivered a stop-gap measure in the form of issuing \$650 annually to families in that income bracket to pay for their children’s dental care for the next two years.

While Ottawa was abuzz last week with conversation about Poilievre and his new job, the word of the week for NDP MPs was “people.”

“I think Jagmeet Singh (Burnaby South, B.C.) is solid in terms of being relentlessly focused on people. And the NDP caucus will be doing the same thing as well—focused on people,” said Julian.

NDP MP Jenny Kwan (Vancouver East, B.C.) said the difference between her party and Poilievre’s Conservatives is the NDP is focused on “real solutions.”

She said Poilievre’s politics is “the politics of division” and about trying to “rev people up.”

“From our perspective, we’re going to focus on the people, with real solutions, meaningful solutions. We’re not just there for the sake of politics, we’re there to actually get things done. And that’s the difference between us and the Conservatives,” she said.

Who represents the working class?

Carleton University political scientist Jonathan Malloy said that Poilievre’s efforts to connect with working-class voters—particularly those who feel disenfranchised—“triggers the basic existential problem of the New Democrats.”

“Are they the party of the working class? Are they a party of intellectuals? Or a party of social movements? Are they a party of, sort of, the big state?”

To Malloy, Poilievre “has got the strongest working-class affordability message in a long time from non-New Democrats.”

He said the NDP are going “to struggle to figure out how to keep up with Poilievre.”

Angus, Kwan, and Julian dismissed this concern.

Kwan called out Poilievre’s record during his time in prime minister Stephen Harper’s government.

“It’s interesting, the notion that the Conservatives are somehow an ally of the working-class and of labour. Look at their track record,” she said, pointing out the Harper government’s regular enactment of back-to-work legislation for rail workers in 2007 and 2012, Air Canada workers in 2012, and postal workers in 2011, and other legislation that undermined trade unions.

“Action speaks louder than words,” she said.

Julian said he was not concerned about Poilievre going after the support of working-class people.

“No, because in the same way, we have been able to expose the difference between the pretty words of the Liberal government and Mr. Trudeau, and the actual concrete reality of what they’ve actually not done. We’ve been able to force them over the last few months to start to put into place actions that will actually help people, and it’s the same way with Mr. Poilievre. History has been the same thing: pretty words for working class people for working families, but his actions have been—as part of the Harper government—exactly the contrary, very detrimental to working people,” he said.

Angus said fighting for the working class is about more than rhetoric.

“The big issue is the fight for the working class, it cannot be a trope, the way Poilievre uses them,” Angus said.

Angus said he spent his summer in Alberta meeting with energy workers and talking to them about “a new clean economy.”

Asked if he was there to work on building up NDP’s ties to the working class in that province, he said “the Conservatives would burn Alberta to the ground if it meant spiting Justin Trudeau for an extra two inches on the playing field. And the Liberals have been ignoring the potential in Alberta.”

“If we’re going to move forward on a clean energy economy, Alberta has to be at the table,” he said.

The energy workers he was speaking with were talking about alternatives to oil and gas, like geothermal, critical minerals and lithium, and hydrogen. He said there’s potential for developing these industries, but doesn’t yet see a plan—or at least one that’s good enough to ease the transition to cleaner energy.

“Let’s drop the culture war on the climate crisis, and talk about solutions, and that’s why I was in Alberta, and I’ll be back there soon,” said the Ontario MP.

Bratt said Angus is one of a few remaining NDP MPs with working-class roots, who are the caucus members the NDP ought to be leveraging to solidify their working-class supporters. “The issue is they don’t have many of them,” Bratt said, meaning MPs with long-standing experience with labour and trade unions.

“That’s the challenge that they’ve got, because they have an existing leader who doesn’t seem to do a very good job of [speaking to the working class], and every time he does, people will point out his nice suits, and his watch, and meanwhile, Poilievre doesn’t take the same criticism, even though he’s never really been in the private sector. And so, you know, once you’ve been branded in that fashion, as Singh has, it’s tough to switch over,” he said.

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Feature Back to Parliament



She's got the power: Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland, pictured in Ottawa on Oct. 21, 2021. 'The fiscal and economic update is in the fall, when Finance does its private-sector survey, and we get a sense of what's the health of the economy, how much money do we have available? And so you're kind of getting the confluence of two things: the availability of resources, and then the political priorities,' says Sahir Khan. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

How a budget is made: a Q&A with former insider Sahir Khan

When does the budget process really start and finish? How are decisions made, and how do the best lobbyists get their issues addressed? A financial guru and former government budget-maker walks us through the process.

BY PETER MAZEREEUW

The fall means the return of Parliament, and, for some, time to start thinking about the next year's budget. The lengthy and complex budget-making process is among the most important things a government does each year, and the resulting document is as much about politics as it is about money.

Many lobbyists, interest groups, and public servants wish to see their needs addressed through the annual budget, but only some succeed each year.

On a recent episode of *The Hill Times'* *Hot Room* podcast, *The Hill Times'* Peter Mazereeuw spoke to Sahir Khan, a veteran of the budget-making process inside government, to glean insight into how it all works, and the most effective ways of trying to influence a budget. Khan is presently the executive vice-president of the Institute of Fiscal Studies and Democracy at the University of Ottawa. Before that, he served as Canada's assistant parliamentary budget officer, and before that he helped the Harper government to assemble its first three budgets while serving in the Privy Council Office, the central government body that coordinates action in the federal public service.

The following interview has been edited for length, style and clarity.

Let's start with the big picture. What exactly is a federal budget, and what purpose does it serve?

"Well, it's first and foremost a political document. And I think it's evolved from

being a technical, economic, and accounting document years ago, to being one that's really about the political and policy direction of a government.

"We're at the point now where the good stuff we really want to look at is in the annexes. That's what the Finance Department, the Fiscal Policy Branch, are really telling us about the prospects of the economy, and how much fiscal room there is, and what we're going to be left with after the spending measures.

"The front half of it, the [first] three quarters, is a lot about political priorities, and how to meet the expectations of constituents and react to problems in the environment. So I think it's best viewed through the lens of a political document.

"Not every country does it this way. But we've made it one of the signature political events of the year for any government."

The budget is usually released in the spring. When does the process of drafting the budget begin, and who are the key players in making it?

"In the fall, a couple of big things are happening: these ideas that have kind of been percolating through the previous year start to gel. Some of them very formally, through the cabinet process. Others more informally, and might start to show up in these budget two-pagers we often talk about—they're kind of the backbone of those budget documents that you see Finance [Canada] officials walking around with in the lockup. And some of them are just ideas that might get kicked around at cabinet meetings, or in the meetings between the prime minister and the finance minister. Or when the clerk and the deputy minister of finance are having their meetings, because there are also pressures coming in from the public service.

"So all of these are competing for space. The fiscal and economic update is in the fall, when Finance does its private-sector survey, and we get a sense of what's the health of the economy, how much money do we have available? And so you're kind of getting the confluence of two things: the availability of resources, and then the political priorities.

"And then the feeding frenzy starts. And those same two actors—the prime minis-

ter, the finance minister—will start getting bombarded with ideas from all corners. The public service is sending up what it thinks is really good policy, and some pressures that it thinks it needs. Then you've

got the rest of cabinet, you've got regional considerations. Not everything has to be good policy, it could be good politics. And then emerging issues [are considered].

"By the time the fiscal update's out in the fall and you're heading towards Christmas, in Finance—with support from [the Privy Council Office]—this pressures table is starting to get put together. And we call this the sources and uses table. So the revenue that we think is going to come out of this economy is matched up to all the

Continued on page 42

The nonprofit sector's workforce is:

-77% women

-47% immigrants

-34% racialized and Indigenous people

If you want to improve the living conditions of immigrant and racialized women, interventions that improve working conditions in the nonprofit sector are crucial.

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Back to Parliament **Feature**

‘Reserved’ yet ‘powerful’ a special relationship

From gently using her “heft” through the repatriation of the Constitution, to presenting the RCMP commissioner with a hobby horse, the late monarch built a deep relationship with Canada over the course of 22 visits as Queen.

BY IAN CAMPBELL

Canada’s High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, Ralph Goodale, who will be attending Queen Elizabeth II’s state funeral on Sept. 19 in London, U.K., said she was “always reserved and understated” and yet “a powerful, larger-than-life personality” who had a deep appreciation of Canada, something he had the chance to observe up close through many interactions with the Queen over his decades as an MP and cabinet minister.

“She spoke of Canada with a great deal of knowledge, but also warmth. She would often say, ‘When I get to Canada, it feels like I’m going home,’” said Goodale in an interview with *The Hill Times*. “And that’s the way I think she felt about the country—that it was her favourite home away from home.”

In the wake of the passing of the Queen, Canadian political and government officials who worked closely with Her Majesty have been reflecting on this relationship.

Goodale recalled how the Queen’s love of horses became a part of her relationship with the RCMP, for which she served as the honorary commissioner.

Goodale, a former longtime MP and Liberal cabinet minister who represented Regina-Wascana, Sask., was on hand at a ceremony attended by the Queen in Saskatchewan in 2005, to mark his home province’s centennial. A statue was unveiled of the Queen riding her favourite horse, Burmese, which had been a gift to her from the RCMP.

“We were having a torrential downpour in Regina during her visit, but nothing stopped her. She had her little plastic umbrella where people could see right through,” said Goodale. “Nothing was going to interrupt her doing the commitments that she had made.”

Burmese was part of a long tradition of the Queen and RCMP exchanging horses, which Goodale said was “very near and dear to her heart.”

For Goodale, a highlight of those exchanges came at a 2016 event at Windsor Castle for the Queen’s 90th birthday.

The RCMP had taken the musical ride to London as part of the birthday celebrations, and presented Her Majesty with a horse. Goodale explained that the Queen did not have a foal of her own that was ready to be gifted in return, so she presented the Mounties with “a hobby horse,” a six-foot-long and four-foot-high model of Burmese that had been crafted by the Royal toymaker.

Goodale, who was public safety minister at that time, described the moment that she presented the model to then-RCMP commissioner Bob Paulson.

“She was showing him how the horse worked—how the springs worked and so forth—and she reached over and patted the horse on the rump and this drawer popped out with a bottle of maple syrup. So she said, ‘That’s what we call the bottom drawer,’” said Goodale. “And she closed the drawer up, and looked at Bob Paulson, and said, ‘Commissioner, you should get on the horse.’”

Goodale, who described Paulson as “a big, burly police officer,” said at the moment he had “never



seen a look of greater terror on his face.”

“He looked at me with this kind of anxious expression, like, ‘What do I do now?’ And I said,

‘Look, Bob, she’s the honorary commissioner of the RCMP, get on the horse.’ And he did,” Goodale said.

Goodale recalled the scene of Paulson riding a hobby horse on the driveway in front of Windsor Castle, with the musical ride in the background and the Queen “just having a very good laugh.”

Goodale noted that Queen Elizabeth made 22 visits to Canada during her time as Queen, and through many of these activities built a deep respect and understanding of Canada.

“She knew the country very well, and she didn’t just go to the big cities. She went into every province, every territory—urban areas, rural areas,” said Goodale. “And she loved the people and all the great diversity.”

Goodale recalled a time when the Queen spoke of Canada, saying that: “Canadian citizenship is a gentle thing. We don’t ask people to forsake their inheritance or deny their forebears. You could be who you are and be proud of it. All we ask is that you honour and respect the cultures and religions of other people, just as you enjoy your own.”

Goodale was struck by the remarks because, “In about three sentences, she captured the meaning of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and she did it in such a personal, low key, eloquent way.”

MPs returned to commemorate Queen in special House session on Sept. 15

The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade



Conservative MP Pierre Paul-Hus.



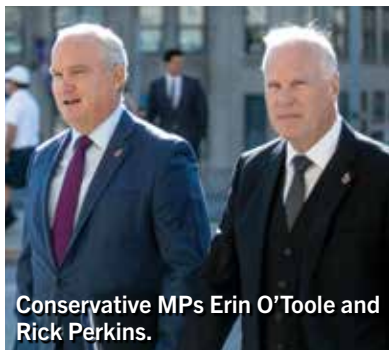
NDP MP Taylor Bachrach.



Conservative MP Melissa Lantsman.



Liberal MP George Chahal.



Conservative MPs Erin O'Toole and Rick Perkins.



Minister of Indigenous Services Patty Hajdu.



Immigration Minister Sean Fraser, and a staffer.



A House staffer brought popcorn and salad to the marathon House sitting.

Feature Back to Parliament

Queen Elizabeth II had with Canada, say officials



Then-prime minister Pierre Trudeau, left, sits next to Queen Elizabeth II while she signs the Constitution Act of 1982. Photograph courtesy of Robert Cooper/Library and Archives Canada

“She knew the country very well. She understood it, she travelled it, she’d seen it, and she had experienced many of the really formative moments in Canada,” said Metcalfe. “She was such a steadfast ally during that long, difficult journey of the patriation of the Constitution—through first ministers’ conferences, through parliamentary committees, through Senate Committees, through the British Parliament, the inclusion of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms—that was a very, very complicated process.”

Metcalfe noted that many formative moments for Canada, from the 1971 FLQ crisis to the 1976 Montreal Olympics happened throughout this period, and the Queen’s relationship with Canada and its leaders grew through these events.

“A tremendous sense of trust was developed between the prime minister [Trudeau] and the Queen that I’m not sure people saw,” said Metcalfe. “He knew, and she knew, that when they were speaking together to the country, that it would be cohesive and collaborative.”

She believes the sense of trust that she observed extended to other prime



Lobbyist Isabel Metcalfe worked as a typist in the PMO of Pierre Trudeau. She typed the podium text used by Trudeau and Elizabeth II at the 1982 ceremony for the repatriation of Canada’s constitution. Photograph courtesy of Isabel Metcalfe’s Twitter

ministers as well, pointing to remarks former prime minister Brian Mulroney made upon the passing of the Queen in which he emphasized that he saw her as a world leader, a view that Metcalfe shares.

“I was really glad to hear Mr. Mulroney speak about her as a world leader, because she was a leader and, as she became more and more confident in her abilities as a leader, I think her judgment and her political skills became more sought after,” said Metcalfe.

“She was emerging as a world leader with Mr. Trudeau, helping Canada get our nation through those difficult times, and then she started to play, as she became more confident, a larger role, that was always limited by the advice of the prime minister, but she became much more skilled at using her heft,” said Metcalfe.

“I love that word heft. It’s not muscular or bullying, it’s just heft. She had heft at the table and she knew how to use it.”

The Hill Times



Canada’s High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, Ralph Goodale, fondly recalls a time when Elizabeth II presented a hobby horse to the commissioner of the RCMP. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Isabel Metcalfe, who worked in the Prime Minister’s Office of Pierre Trudeau, said she had a front-row seat to the process that led to the creation of that Charter as part of the repatriation of the Constitution in 1982.

Metcalfe, who is now a lobbyist, worked at that time as a typist for Jim Moore, the English speechwriter for Trudeau.

When the Queen would come to visit Canada, Metcalfe would type the speeches written by Moore, which were then sent to Buckingham Palace for approval.

For the repatriation ceremony, Metcalfe typed the podium text to be used by both Trudeau and the Queen, and sat in the

audience as the remarks were delivered despite the rainy weather, an experience she describes as “wonderful.”

Metcalfe recalled in detail the process of preparing the remarks on carbon copy with an IMB electric typewriter, needing to start over if a single mistake was made, and being told that the only person she could tell that she had typed the remarks was her mother, so as not to detract attention from the Queen and prime minister. In the days following the Queen’s death on Sept. 8, Metcalfe said she has been enjoying sharing these stories with her four granddaughters, and reflecting on the legacy of Elizabeth II.

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Back to Parliament **News**

Riding-level results show Poilievre campaign's 'capacity to organize and fundraise right across the country,' say observers

Poilievre won majorities in every province and territory, surpassing Stephen Harper's performance in the 2004 leadership race.

BY KEVIN PHILIPUPILLAI

New Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre's ability to sign up new party members in key regions right across the country could make a difference in the next federal election, say political observers.

Poilievre's (Carleton, Ont.) riding-by-riding results show he won substantial majorities in every province and territory. The leadership results released by the Conservative Leadership Election Organizing Committee show that Poilievre won a total of 295,283 out of 417,635 votes across the country, or 70.7 per cent of the overall votes cast, and 330 of the 338 ridings.

He won more than 75 per cent of the votes cast in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Yukon, fell just shy of that in British Columbia, and won two-thirds of the votes cast in Ontario. The only places where he dropped below two-thirds support were Prince Edward Island, Quebec, and Nunavut. He won 60.9 per cent of the vote in Quebec, or 22,168 out of a total 36,363 votes.



New Conservative leader Pierre Poilievre won 330 out of 338 ridings across the country in the recent leadership race, brushing aside suggestions that his support was concentrated in some regions of the country. 'This is, of course, the biggest membership vote in Canadian political history, by a country mile,' said Gary Keller. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Garry Keller, a former senior Conservative staffer, told *The Hill Times* the overall message that emerges from the leadership results is the Poilievre campaign team's "capacity to organize and fundraise right across the country."

"This is, of course, the biggest membership vote in Canadian political history, by a country mile," said Keller, now a vice-president with StrategyCorp. He added that Poilievre's skill as an organizer will transfer over to a general election, especially given his understanding of the need for the Conservatives to catch up to the Liberals on the use of data and technology to identify and microtarget supporters.

Andrea Sarkic, a public affairs counsellor for Compass Rose, told *The Hill Times* that selling a large number of memberships, and then converting those into leadership votes several months later, is a show of strength in key ridings, where the margins of victory in a general election might be in the hundreds.

Sarkic said she is cautious about extrapolating too much from a leadership campaign to a general election, especially with a possible three-year window until the next vote. But she added the Conservative leadership race might be an exception because of the sheer number of people who got involved with the process, and with Poilievre's campaign in particular.

Sarkic has been involved with Conservative campaigns across Canada and her first job on Parliament Hill was in Poilievre's office 15 years ago. She was not involved in this year's leadership campaign.

"The party's membership swelled by around 600,000 this time around. Which is by far the largest political organization we've seen in the country's history," said Sarkic. "[Voters] took the time and effort to pay the \$15 to buy the membership, they took the time to understand and fill out a ballot for leader. That's enough effort to then argue that these may not be one-time show ponies. These voters may end up becoming involved in the community."

Jonathan Malloy, a political science professor at Carleton University, told *The Hill Times* it was difficult to predict whether a surge of supporters in a leadership race will carry over to a general election, even though the sheer number of supporters Poilievre was able to mobilize across the country is a significant factor.

Malloy said that it's plausible that the leadership voters who helped Poilievre win 330 out of 338 electoral districts across the country could form a core of volunteers that might bolster the Conservative ground game in the next general election, especially in parts of Quebec where the party typically has smaller electoral district associations.

"That's all certainly a good sign that people might be willing to commit to the party further and work for its election candidates. It's a good hypothesis, but we can't test the hypothesis until

an election. And past experience suggests that it's very mixed," said Malloy, adding that historically speaking, many people who join a party during a leadership race don't renew their memberships the following year.

Malloy said Poilievre would probably show the same focus now that the leadership race is over and the goalposts have moved.

"You have to give credit to Mr. Poilievre. He ran a very focused campaign that was really centred on selling memberships and building up databases and meeting people. Mr. Poilievre did not spend a lot of time playing to the mainstream media, or even really trying to gather earned media. He had a campaign which was always focused on signing up members and getting them to vote," Malloy said.

Sarkic said that by showing dominance in almost every region of the country, Poilievre surpassed even Stephen Harper, who won the leadership of the newly formed Conservative Party of Canada in 2004 with 56 per cent of the votes, but finished second in both Atlantic Canada and Quebec.

Keller said the new members Poilievre signed up in key regions could make a difference in a general election, if the party is able to keep them engaged. "Pick a riding in Atlantic Canada or Ontario that was a close-hold riding, where the difference in the vote was less than 1,000 votes. If he signed up another 1,000 or 1,500 people in a riding, that makes a huge difference in a tight race."

Poilievre will have the opportunity to beef up the Conservatives' data and technological operation, says Keller



Garry Keller from StrategyCorp says Poilievre brings with him a large database of supporters and an understanding of the importance of the party's technological operations. *Hill Times* file photograph

Keller said he would be watching to see how Poilievre makes use of the voter database his team built up when signing more than 300,000 new members. Although the Conservatives under Harper had "a huge head start" on the other political parties in terms of



Andrea Sarkic from Compass Rose says the sheer number of supporters who backed Pierre Poilievre in the Conservative leadership race is an indicator that the party is on a good trajectory. *Photograph courtesy of Andrea Sarkic*

Poilievre's votes across Canada

Province/Territory	Votes for Poilievre	Total Votes Cast	Percentage for Poilievre
Alberta	69,671	87,037	80.05%
Saskatchewan	17,342	22,161	78.25%
Yukon	539	711	75.81%
British Columbia	46,487	62,895	73.91%
Newfoundland and Labrador	2,033	2,822	72.04%
Northwest Territories	225	315	71.43%
Manitoba	11,479	16,078	71.40%
Canada	295,283	417,635	70.70%
New Brunswick	5,491	7,846	69.98%
Nova Scotia	5,831	8,630	67.57%
Ontario	112,826	170,849	66.04%
Prince Edward Island	1,169	1,890	61.85%
Quebec	22,168	36,363	60.96%
Nunavut	22	38	57.89%

Continued on page 39

News Back to Parliament

Continued from page 38

data collection and the use of technology to target voters, said Keller, the Liberals under Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) have since far surpassed the Conservatives.

“The Liberals have been excellent at using microtargeting to win minority

governments,” he said, referring to the vote splits in the last general election that saw the Liberals squeeze more seats out of British Columbia than their overall percentage of the vote would suggest. “That’s not an accident. That’s the effective use of microtargeting to eke out wins.”

“Part of the challenge for the Conservatives has been, when you have a new leader who only has a little bit of time before a general election, they’re so focused on the nuts and bolts of campaigning and organizing and getting ready for an election, they don’t have time to focus on the more structural side of things,” said Keller, refer-

ring to the challenges that past leaders Andrew Scheer (Regina–Qu’Appelle, Sask.) and Erin O’Toole (Durham, Ont.) faced.

Keller said Poilievre, as “a leader who is serious about using these tools,” will now have a chance to beef up the party’s technological operations.

Keller said he would also be looking to see if, over the next six or nine months, the Conservatives are able to “double down” on small individual donations by convincing new donors who signed up to support Poilievre’s leadership campaign to begin donating to the party. He said he would be paying attention to the number of donors who contribute \$10 or \$15 every month, more so than the overall amount raised.

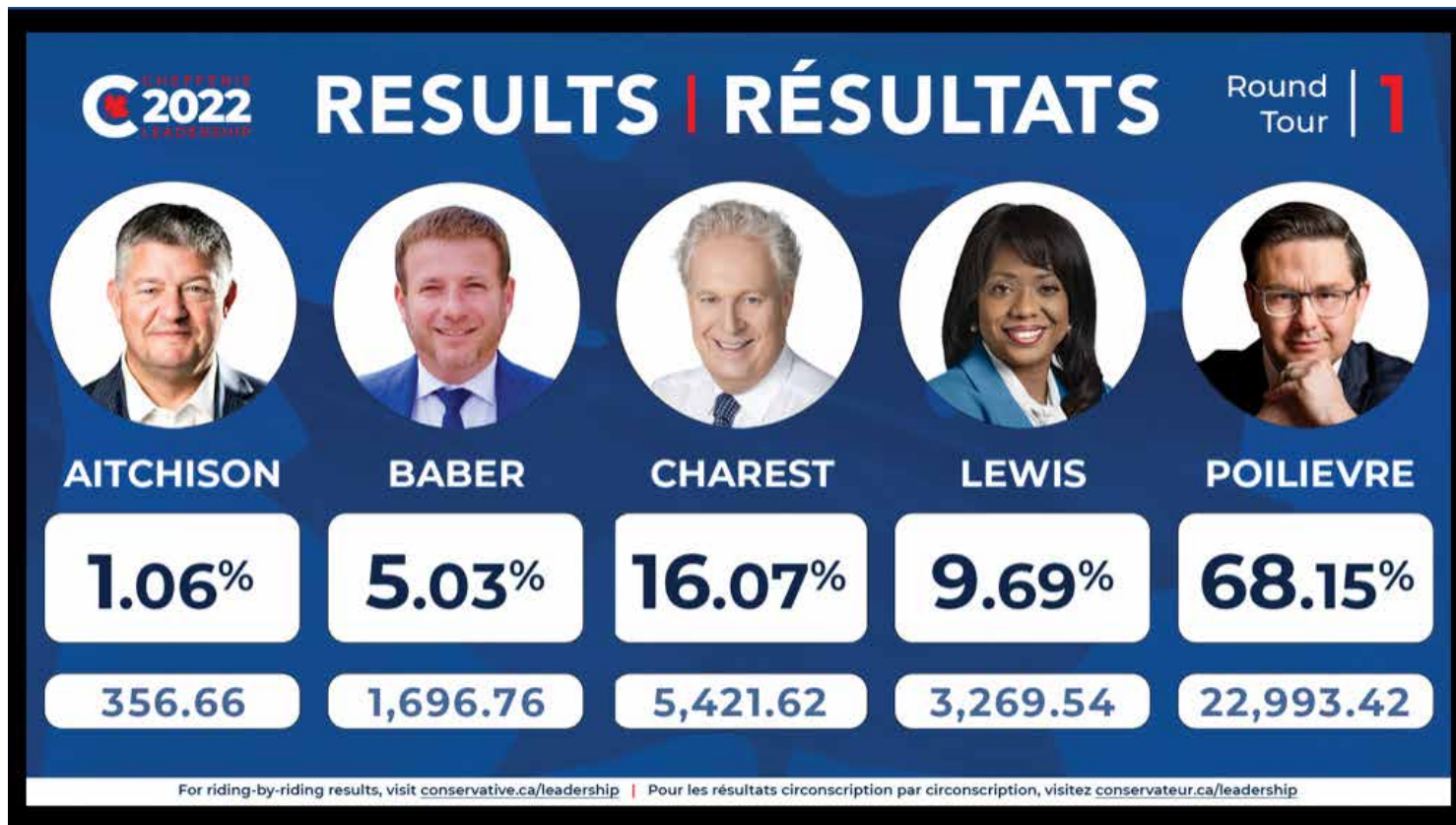
One of the key questions for the Conservatives is whether the party is able to maintain the momentum Poilievre’s team built up during the leadership race. Malloy said one thing that would help Poilievre maintain his drive with the party base is that he is not trying to “take the party anywhere that it doesn’t want to go,” unlike O’Toole and runner-up Jean Charest.

“His overwhelming dominance of the party suggests that Mr. Poilievre is located where the party is now. And the party likes that, and he likes that.”

If the supply-and-confidence agreement between the Liberals and NDP lasts for the full three years, Poilievre will need to find ways to maintain the momentum from this year’s victory. But Sarkic pointed out that if the next election doesn’t happen until 2025, Poilievre will also benefit from running against a 10-year-old government.

“Modern history has taught us that [10 years] is a ceiling, if you look at [Brian] Mulroney, [Jean] Chrétien, and Harper,” said Sarkic. “Pierre is in a unique spot. He has an inherent advantage that Scheer and O’Toole did not have.”

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The Hill Times



Landslide Poilievre: Another visual of the Conservative Party’s leadership results. Image courtesy of the Conservative Party of Canada

Poilievre’s top 10 ridings by percentage of votes cast

Riding	Province	Votes for Poilievre	Total Votes Cast	Percentage for Poilievre
Labrador	Newfoundland and Labrador	118	133	88.72%
Grande Prairie–Mackenzie	Alberta	2,699	3,053	88.40%
Fort McMurray–Cold Lake	Alberta	1,741	1,981	87.88%
Souris–Moose Mountain	Saskatchewan	1,896	2,167	87.49%
Prince George–Peace River–Northern Rockies	British Columbia	2,083	2,414	86.29%
Churchill–Keewatinook Aski	Manitoba	237	279	84.95%
Calgary Skyview	Alberta	747	885	84.41%
Bow River	Alberta	2,651	3,146	84.27%
Calgary Shepard	Alberta	2,710	3,217	84.24%
Foothills	Alberta	4,239	5,062	83.74%

Poilievre’s bottom 10 ridings by percentage of votes cast

Riding	Province	Votes for Poilievre	Total Votes Cast	Percentage for Poilievre
Notre-Dame-de-Grâce–Westmount	Quebec	318	935	34.01%
Ville-Marie–Le Sud-Ouest–Île-des-Soeurs	Quebec	294	811	36.25%
Ottawa Centre	Ontario	711	1,934	36.76%
Louis-Hébert	Quebec	283	722	39.20%
University–Rosedale	Ontario	522	1,272	41.04%
Toronto–St. Paul’s	Ontario	605	1,397	43.31%
Sherbrooke	Quebec	260	595	43.70%
Don Valley West	Ontario	616	1,360	45.29%
Brossard–Saint-Lambert	Quebec	264	580	45.52%
Ottawa–Vanier	Ontario	632	1,373	46.03%



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Back to Parliament **News**

Big banks, challengers jockey for position as government plans open banking rollout

Continued from page 33

“write access,” which involves the ability to conduct transactions on the customer’s behalf. This would mean adding accredited third parties to the list of 111 member institutions that are permitted to use Payments Canada’s national clearing and settlement infrastructure.

“We’re trying to get ahead of the thinking there. To say what type of rules and policies would we need to have in place at that time in the future should write access become a reality in Canada?” said Ackerman, although he acknowledged that “there’s still not necessarily clarity around when we would get to that point.”

Finance Canada is leading the exploration of open banking in Canada. The government named Abraham Tachjian of PwC Canada as its open banking lead in March 2022, with a mandate to establish an open banking regime based on the recommendations in the April 2021 final report of the Advisory Committee on Open Banking.



Charl Ackerman from Payments Canada says the first phase of open banking would allow consumers to give an accredited third party permission to gather their personal financial data and present it in one place. *Photograph courtesy of Payments Canada*

A Department of Finance official said in a written statement that modernizing financial services is key to the government’s agenda for growth, and that this vision involves “moving from a sector that competes on scale to one that is focused on specialized products, tailored to consumer needs.”

Tachjian and Finance Department officials are engaging with industry, regulators, and consumer representatives to design and implement an accreditation framework, a common set of rules, and technical standards. There are four working groups focusing on accreditation, privacy, security, and liability.

Tension between big banks and challengers

Open banking would give challengers—such as online-only banks, like EQ Bank, and fintech firms, like Wealthsimple—entry into an arena that has traditionally been dominated by some of the largest and most profitable companies in the country, and where there are significant barriers to entry.

The challengers and their supporters say opening up the banking sector would inject more competition and innovation by giving customers more choices, and by reducing the “friction” that makes it more difficult for customers to move between financial institutions, or to unbundle their financial lives and pick and choose different services from different providers.

The Globe and Mail recently reported that several of Canada’s largest banks have blocked their in-house financial advisers from offering clients high-interest cash funds that would compete with the banks’ own savings accounts. *The Globe* previously reported that do-it-yourself investors who use trading platforms owned by some major banks were also blocked from buying these high-interest cash funds, which became popular among investors as interest rates began to spike earlier in 2022.

Speaking in the House on April 4, Chambers said open banking and other measures that would increase competition in banking and other key sectors are



Wealthsimple executive Hanna Zaidi warns that Canada will not have a ‘true open banking system’ if it leaves too much decision-making power in the hands of the major banks. *Photograph courtesy of Wealthsimple*

a preferable alternative to excess profits taxes.

“If we believe excess profits exist in these industries, the answer is not additional taxes to increase government revenues. Rather, consumers should capture these excess profits in the form of lower prices,” he said in the House.

But the rules the government and the financial sector adopt in the rollout will determine how much of a change there will be to the status quo.

Zaidi, Wealthsimple’s chief compliance officer for payments, said in an email that while her firm appreciated being invited to participate in the government’s consultations, it is concerned that the current process is moving towards a governance system dominated by the large, established financial institutions.

Wealthsimple was founded in 2014 and has emerged as a challenger to more established financial institutions. In July 2022, Zaidi became the first representative of a Canadian fintech firm to sit on Payments Canada’s member advisory council.

“It is important that incumbents not be allowed to regulate themselves or be positioned as decision makers for the rest of the industry,” said Zaidi, calling instead for impartial, third-party governance over issues such as competition, privacy, data sharing, and dispute resolution.

In previous years, the more-established financial institutions responded to calls to open up access to their customers’ financial data by highlighting the risks to stability, privacy, and security. Some have highlighted the comparatively risk-averse nature of Canada’s banking sector as one of the key factors that kept Canada’s banks out of the worst of the corporate improvisation that created the 2007-08 financial crisis.

Others have highlighted the privacy and security risks of allowing startups and tech companies access to customers’ sensitive financial data. Philippe Desmarais, founder of the digital security company Kelvin Zero, warned in an op-ed in *The Toronto Star* that fintech startups and other relatively small tech companies might not have



Former Ontario privacy commissioner Ann Cavoukian says to ‘proceed with great caution’ when it comes to opening up access to highly sensitive financial data. *Photograph courtesy of Ann Cavoukian*

the kind of robust infrastructure necessary to protect their customers’ financial data.

In an email to *The Hill Times*, Canadian Bankers Association spokesperson Mathieu Labrèche said Canadian banks “strongly support innovation and competition” in the financial services sector, but emphasized the need to maintain the trust and privacy of customers.

“Banks in Canada are trusted custodians of data and will continue to put their customers at the centre of trusted innovation. Preserving the interests of customers in a digital environment and protecting the security and privacy of their data will be paramount.”

Labrèche declined to comment on the government’s launch date for open banking in Canada, but said the industry association was “pleased to see” the discussions move forward.

Privacy expert Ann Cavoukian told *The Hill Times* that she would “proceed with great caution” when it comes to opening up access to highly sensitive financial data, especially given the potential for identity theft.

“Identity theft has been taking place at a massive scale in so many other areas,” she said. “This would be an ideal area for good identity thieves—they’re brilliant—to enter into.”

Cavoukian was the information and privacy commissioner of Ontario from 1997 to 2014, and is now the executive director of the Global Privacy and Security by Design Centre, a consulting firm. She added that many people have become accustomed to providing consent online for access to other kinds of personal data, without truly understanding what they are giving permission for, or considering how secure that data will be.

“Information gets compromised all the time, and if this is with your financial records? There’s no way I would do this, because I’m aware of the potential risks.”

Ackerman said there is still a lot of work to be done to address specific security and privacy concerns, such as how to protect customers’ data if an accredited third-party company were to go out of business or be acquired by a non-accredited company, which is not a major concern when it comes to Canada’s big banks.

“Really, the devil is in the details,” he said.

Chambers acknowledged that there are still significant challenges ahead for open banking, especially regarding privacy and existing restrictions within the financial sector. “I think any of the concerns that have been raised are manageable, but will require very serious thought and collaboration between various actors.”

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Internal strife has ‘held Canadians back’ from voting Green, say candidates looking to revitalize party governance

Four of six candidates are seeking to become co-leaders of the Greens, but the party constitution says that regardless who wins the race, that can't happen right away.

BY IAN CAMPBELL

A potential delay of the Green Party leadership race was averted by a recent vote of the party's federal council, but the issue of party governance is set to remain at the heart of the race, because two sets of candidates are proposing to fundamentally change the party's structure to a co-leadership model.

On the heels of former Green Party leader Annamie Paul's often controversial tenure in the party's top job, issues of party governance once again came to the surface over the past week, with the misgendering of Green interim leader Amita Kuttner and subsequent resignation of former party president Lorraine Rekmans. The resignation followed a Sept. 9 vote by the federal council that considered but ultimately defeated a motion calling for the delay of the leadership race—a move that one pair of candidates said would have been “disastrous.”

Anna Keenan and Chad Walcott, one of the pairs of candidates seeking co-leadership, told *The Hill Times* that these events reflect ongoing issues of party governance that are at the heart of their campaign.

“This party has work to do on our internal governance, but we are committed to doing that work,” said Keenan, who is a former president of the P.E.I. Green Party. “What's held Canadians back from voting for the Green Party is this sort of internal politics and our inability to get our governance squared off, and that's one of the one of the big priorities that Chad and I have led with in our leadership campaign.”

She pointed to the co-leadership model they are seeking as one facet of that, which she said is “less of a diagnosis” of the issues that have played out in recent days, “and more of an innovation we want to bring forward.”

To win, they will have to take on someone they recognize as a “formidable opponent,” Green Party MP and former leader Elizabeth May (Saanich–Gulf Islands, B.C.), who is also running on a co-leadership ticket with journalist and human rights activist Jonathan Pedneault. Seeking the leadership as individuals are Sarah Baron, a teacher, businesswoman, and author; and Simon Gnocchini-Messier, a language teacher with the Department of National Defence.

The co-leadership model has drawn controversy.



Green MP and former leader Elizabeth May is running to become co-leader of the Green Party, alongside her running mate Jonathan Pedneault. May is one of six candidates in the race, four of whom are seeking co-leadership. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Baron told *The Hill Times* that she does not support this model, on the grounds that the Green Party's constitution does not presently permit co-leadership.

“Four of the six candidates are going directly against our constitution, and if we can't be true to our own constitution, we have no business asking Canadians to put their faith in us,” she said. “I worry that the power of the leader's race is being abused to circumvent that member-based process.”

Baron pointed to the fact that a proposal for “dual leadership” was introduced by a member at the party's 2021 general meeting, but not passed.

The Green Party website provides a record of that proposal, which called for a dual leadership model to “represent a wider range of the membership” and promote a “greater satisfaction with leadership election results.” The site says that the motion was discussed but there was “not enough time for this proposal to be voted on in plenary” and therefore was not sent for a final ratification vote.

“So I feel like myself and [Gnocchini-Messier] are perhaps the only two of the six listening to members and respecting our member-made policy process,” said Baron.

Gnocchini-Messier says he believes the candidates seeking co-leadership are “putting the cart before the horse.”

However, the co-leadership candidates see the race as part of the process of consulting with the membership.

Keenan and Walcott argue that this motion drew favourable discussion when it was introduced, and that it must continue through the process the Green Party uses for constitutional change, which requires for a motion to be adopted at one general meeting and then ratified at a second meeting up to two years later.

neault are actively encouraging voters to mark Pedneault as their first choice on the ranked ballot so that he becomes the official leader, while Keenan-Walcott are not specifying who members should mark as their first choice.

The candidates seeking co-leadership believe this model is ultimately in the best interest of the party.

May told *The Hill Times* that she felt motivated to return to the leadership role to make a greater impact in light of the latest report from the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, but that it didn't feel right to “go back” to the same role she had been in before.

“I rejected the notion that the way we've been doing things in the past was working, and I was looking at structural change,” said May, explaining that this caused her to look to systems used by other Green parties around the world, such as in New Zealand and Germany.

Pedneault said that between now and the next federal election, this could allow May to focus on leading the Greens in the House of Commons, while he focused on rebuilding the party outside of Parliament.

“Given the state of the party right now, the fact is there is a need for strong leadership in the House of Commons, but that there's also a need to rebuild the party externally with the membership, and with Canadians at large,” said Pedneault.

Pedneault explained that once the election came, he and May would decide by consensus on one of them to step forward as the primary leader during the federal election for the purpose of debates and other “singular leader functions,” which he noted would be necessary under Elections Canada rules.

Despite the ongoing internal tensions in the Green Party, Keenan and Walcott say “we know what we're signing up for” and that they each bring experience working in other organizations that have had internal tensions which will prepare them for the challenge.

“I think co-leadership needs to be a deeply trusting relationship, and we've developed that trust,” said Keenan. “We also had a really good disagreement in March that we talked through and we worked through, and I think that experience proved to us that we can work through this agreement. And that's what we think needs to be modelled to the rest of the party and to Canadian politics.”

Sept. 14 marked the deadline for new members to be eligible to vote in the leadership race. The first round of voting opens on Oct. 7, with results to be announced on Oct. 14. If a second round of voting is necessary, it will take place from Oct. 19 to Nov. 19.—with files from Stuart Benson

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Back to Parliament **Feature**

How a budget is made: a Q&A with former insider Sahir Khan

Continued from page 35

different kinds of pressures. And you get, by Christmas, you might actually get the first sources and uses table. That's the guts of the budget without the words. The words don't matter nearly as much as the table—the table is kind of the financial, the fiscal expression of this government's will. And once you have those numbers locked down between kind of January, February ... the margin of what's left, the room starts to shrink.

"And keep in mind, at the same time, Finance is keeping an eye on the economy. If things should go south and you have less money, then all of a sudden, by the time the budget comes out, they may start to provision for some of that risk that's taking room away from those ideas that everyone's presenting."

Every year the government runs a public consultation on the budget. Sometimes the finance minister does her own roundtable consultations. And then the House of Commons does a public pre-budget study. And that's before we even get into the lobbyists and interest groups. How much power do any of those processes have to actually shape the budget?

"Well, you know, the cynic in me remembers a time when the finance minister was doing consultations in Parliament to the House Finance Committee, and the budget document had already gone to print. So at one end of the process, some of this can be a little bit about the optics. But I think the reality is, it all matters, but unless it's channelled the right way to the actors in the system that actually have the influence, it could just be a lot of sound and fury, signifying nothing. And that's actually the risk for people advocating in this process.

"We talked about who are the actors [involved in shaping the budget]? Unless this is really making it to the decision makers—the prime minister and the finance minister, through public servants to the political staff in the Prime Minister's Office, the finance minister's office, and the senior public servants in Finance and PCO—unless that channelling is going on, you're really not sure that your idea is making it onto that list, and being considered.

"Having written a few budgets, I know that the folks who are probably most attuned to how the process works kept checking in to make sure their stuff was still on the list and wasn't dropping off. We could find out as we head towards the budget in February, March, that the economy is softening and a little bit of fiscal room has been taken off table.



Sahir Khan is the executive vice-president of the Institute of Fiscal Studies and Democracy. *The Hill Times* file photograph

So those things that are kind of at the bottom of the priority list could actually get knocked off.

"Even if you've sat down with the finance minister, the prime minister, or their political staff, or their senior public servants, and you got a positive nod, you can't let go of that issue until the budget date comes out. Until the document [comes out] you shouldn't be relaxing, because the forces that we talked about—the economic forces, the policy pressures—the political pressures, they're still at play right up until the end, right until that document's heading to print."

What are the most and least effective ways you've seen a lobbyist try to get their ask addressed in the budget?

"I think the folks who are really effective make sure that you know they're lobbying within the civil service as well. They're going to deputy ministers of relevant departments. Because remember, you know, these deputies are meeting every Wednesday for deputies' breakfast, so that's your chance to get their point across to the clerk of the Privy Council, the deputy minister of Finance. They're doing bilateral meetings, they have their own bilateral meeting with the deputy minister of Finance and the clerk. So those deputy ministers in line departments actually have a great deal of influence, and they're going to have an avenue to talk about this.

"I think the officials in the Finance Department and the Privy Council Office end up being really important as well. They're all organized to represent certain policy areas. The PCO folks are thinking about the policy priority: does this line up with the platform, Speech from the Throne, the statements coming out of the Liberal retreat? That's the prioritization exercise. And I think Finance Department is thinking more about the money: will it fit? And the quality of the individual measures. And often: can they do with less money? Like maybe it's a priority, but can we cut it in half and still get a reasonable

outcome? And that's the rationing exercise.

"But if you're not going at it from all levels of the civil service—line departments, PCO, and Finance—you're kind of missing out. It's not one person, one actor, who's holding the pen for the whole thing. Ultimately, you know, there are a bunch of folks who really need to be kind of implicated.

"Then I think about the political staff, both of the line department and the Prime Minister's Office and the finance minister's office. They spend a good part of their year thinking about these issues, of priorities, realization, rationing, and fiscal space, and how to achieve political and policy outcomes. And the civil service is sending their briefs and their recommendations. But the civil service doesn't get to see what the political staff are doing. So you can have stuff knocked off the list, added to the list.

"Sometimes political staff will ask civil servants if they can put a two-pager together for an idea, and put it back up to their system, because maybe that's viewed as at least a little less partisan, and maybe helps to kind of get an idea across the finish line. But all of those ultimately are still filtering up to the prime minister and finance minister. And if those two individuals don't hear about this, and don't view the priority as being high, it's not going to get on that list, or it won't stay on the list. But the channels heading up, there's a multitude of them."

So if you're a backbench Liberal MP, or you're in cabinet but not the prime minister, not the finance minister, your ability to influence the budget boils down to your ability to catch the ear of one of those two lead ministers?

"Yeah, and I think through multiple channels, right? If you're a minister and you have a line department, you have an opportunity for your bilateral meeting—if you get one—with the prime minister and the finance minister. But you also have your own deputy minister and your ability to set

things up in the budget cycle, but also during the year through the memoranda to cabinet process, through the normal policy process. So if you're waiting for the budget to get your idea across, that could be too late. Because a lot of these ideas, not only do they have to be good policy, but you have to build up the constituency for it, make sure there are people outside kind of vouching for it, both on the expert level and on the advocacy level. You've got to make sure the numbers are good: was the costing put together really well? Because if you're just putting rough numbers, you're really not going to convince the Finance officials that, you know, eyeballing numbers at 30,000 feet is good enough, and somehow we'll sort it out later. That's a recipe for high-risk venture, and Finance officials really aren't known for that kind of risk taking.

"So the more you can kind of bake an idea...absolute clarity on the problem you're trying to solve, the constituencies that are going to benefit from this, some elements of the options you consider for the program designs, what you think it's going to cost, you know, what the benefits are going to be, and how you're going to know that you realize those benefits—all those things go into a budget two-pager.

"It's not a place for lazy proposals, it's a serious business. And we talked at the outset about it being a political exercise: the outcomes matter. And the longer a government is in power, the more citizens are really focused on the results it is generating, and not about just a narrative it's putting out."

What are these two-pagers? What do they look like?

"They are roughly two pages. I think sometimes you're cheated, and they weren't always two pages. They can have annexes, and things like that.

"The template kind of changes year to year, and the budget process does change year to year. But a two pager really has some clarity around the problem you're trying to get at: what needs fixing, and who are the stakeholders that are actually going to be impacted by this? And then, when you're thinking about your remedy or solution, your idea, you know, what are the different options? Have other countries tried this, did it work?

"So figuring out who's done this? What the track record has been? That's really important. Then the costing: what's it gonna cost? Cash and accrual format? And then, what's the profile? Is it a one shot deal? Is it over five years? And then the programing element: is the government gonna deliver this as a program? Is it a tax change policy? Is it going to be a grant to a series of

third-party organizations that are going to administer this on behalf of the government? How does the accountability work?

"That's how you set up an idea for success in this deliberation process that's going to go on, because that kind of a two-pager addresses the needs of all the different actors in the system that are going to come in contact with that idea. And every one of them's got some level of negative power. So you don't want to give them that; you want to basically tick that box and say, 'Okay, I dealt with the costing,' or, 'I've got a good options analysis, I've assessed the stakeholder impact, I've got advocates lined up for this. And you know what, I've de-risked this, because I know another country has already pulled this off, they look like a lot like Canada, I think we've got a chance to actually do something really good here with relatively low risk. And we know we got a sense of what the results are going to be like, because somebody else already pulled this off.' That to me starts to feel like a proposal that's got some strength to it."

We've seen a lot of comment and coverage about the level of deficit spending the Trudeau government has run since 2015, and to what extent that has contributed to the high inflation that we're seeing. What kind of advice do prime ministers and finance ministers get about how much they can or should spend in a given budget?

"They get a lot of advice, and really good advice. There's a lot of noise about outside third parties having huge influence on government. And the reality is, you've got the Department of Finance who are not only good at what they do, but neutral. And they're giving the pros and cons of certain economic and fiscal tracks that the government may wish to pursue.

"My guess is that they're talking about where the real sources of inflation come from, you know, some of the supply chain hangover from COVID, supply chain shocks and other issues associated with the war in Ukraine, and things that are really difficult for a government to act upon. Politically, that might not be the answer that politicians, whether in government or opposition, want to hear. But maintaining a sustainable fiscal track, not overheating the economy, those are types of advice that public servants will give to the prime minister and the finance minister. And they will let them know what they can and cannot do.

"But politicians are also driven by the optics of what the public expects, and sometimes they'll have to take action, and the optics end up being more important than the substance of whether those actions are going to actually move the needle on an issue. And that's the reality."

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Lisa LaFlamme's CTV exit is a lesson for the next generation of women journalists

So set aside the rose-coloured glasses and get ready. Effecting systemic change will be a slow process, and the next generation of women journos will likely experience many of the same prejudices faced by women today.

Hermona
Kuluberhan

Opinion



There's a set of ideals many young, would-be reporters carry with them when heading into journalism school. Romantic notions that have to do with speaking truth to power and producing the sort of fact-based storytelling that moves the needle just a little bit further, fashioning society into something—if only marginally—better.

Bright-eyed and anchored in these notions, the kids dash into J-school eager to learn which buttons to push and levers to pull in order to make this happen. Yet reality will steadily tarnish those rose-coloured glasses and force the wearer to contend with society as it is, not as it should be.

Lisa LaFlamme was unceremoniously let go from CTV after 35 years with the broadcaster, 11 of which she spent anchoring its flagship news show, *CTV National News*. Announcing her departure in a video posted to Twitter, LaFlamme described feeling blindsided by what Bell Media executives informed her was a “business decision.”

Shortly after, *The Globe and Mail* reported that prior to her dismissal, LaFlamme had butted heads with company executive Michael Melling who questioned her decision to “let her hair go grey.” Many were quick to point out that Lloyd Robertson, her predecessor, anchored the show until he was 77 and white-haired. Unlike LaFlamme, Robertson was given airtime to bid his audience adieu.

Unfolding along the news of LaFlamme's dismissal are stories of women journalists, particularly women of colour, being targeted in misogynistic campaigns of harassment. Journalists Erica Ifill, Saba Eitizaz, and Rachel Gilmore recently described threats of violence they face for simply doing their jobs. Prompted by the mounting safety concerns, representatives from the Canadian Association of Journalists met with the minister of public safety to discuss ways to support those targeted, and dozens of media organizations have signed an open letter urging the prime minister to take action.

There's a tired banality that characterizes the outrage that follows these stories. The righteous indignation fuelling the “keep the grey” campaigns will inevitably flicker out. The shock expressed at the harassment faced by women journalists will fade away, too. We've seen this cycle play out before. Despite the “how can this

still be happening in 2022” hand-wringing we've witnessed these last weeks, there is nothing novel about ageism, sexism or racism.

As cynical as this assessment may sound, LaFlamme will not be the last casualty of executives and their so-called business decisions. Every young woman entering the industry should know this: whatever change that comes will arrive at a snail's pace—and almost always a couple of generations too late.

So set aside the rose-coloured glasses and get ready. Effecting systemic change will be a slow process, and the next generation of women journos will likely experience many of the same prejudices faced by women today. Hold on to those ideals if you will, but be prepared to contend with reality as it is.

Hermona Kuluberhan is an Ottawa-based writer currently completing a master's in journalism at Carleton University.

The Hill Times



Lisa LaFlamme, pictured at Buckingham Palace in London on Sept. 9, 2022, covering the Queen's death for CityNews. Image courtesy of CityNews Toronto

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Back to Parliament **Feature**

What the pundits said about Poilievre's landslide victory and speech on Sept. 10 in Ottawa: 'it's a blowout'

Pierre Poilievre, who won a massive 70 per cent of the Conservative Party's leadership votes on Sept. 10, delivered a detailed victory speech that night in Ottawa, focusing on pocketbook issues, and never mentioned Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's name.



Althia Raj, Toronto Star reporter, on CBC The National's At Issue panel, Sept. 10: "I am surprised at the scale

of his win. If you go riding by riding, it is a blowout. ... He has a decisive victory, and ... he doesn't owe his leadership to anybody. He doesn't owe it to the social conservatives, he doesn't owe it to the dairy farmers in Quebec, he doesn't owe it to the gun owners. Pierre Poilievre owes it to the Conservative Party."

Andrew Coyne, Globe and Mail columnist, on CBC The National's At Issue panel, Sept. 10: "No, he may owe



it to the anti-vaxxers. There's no doubt that he owns this party, and I think that's not just because a lot of people came into the party, but the fact that he's been in this party for decades, fighting the fight. People see him as one of their guys who has it in his bones, and he made them feel good about being Conservatives. I think Erin O'Toole had a point when he said, 'We need to change and grow.' What Pierre Poilievre was saying was, 'You don't need to change. We're good, we're strong, we'll win,' and that's what people like to hear. ... But it is interesting the things he didn't say [tonight]. He didn't talk about Bitcoin, he didn't talk about the World Economic Forum, didn't mention about firing the governor

of the Bank of Canada, so he may de-emphasize the things that are more red flags, but maybe later, he'll talk about them."



Chantal Hébert, Toronto Star columnist, on CBC The National's At Issue panel, Sept. 10: "If you win with

68 per cent of the voters, you're not just getting anti-vaxxers to vote for you, you're getting the actual long-standing members, those who come back year after year, and that number is important for that reason, not just because it's big. He won Quebec and winning in politics is the first step to achieving peace. If he had won everywhere else and done poorly in Quebec, the party would be facing a fracture that is really dangerous for the future.

"He's done well everywhere, and, yes, you can win an election without Quebec, but to start zero for 78 is not a good proposition for anyone who wants to be a prime minister. For those who didn't notice, this is a Conservative leader who's actually comfortable in French, [which was] not the case of Stephen Harper when he became leader, or Andrew Scheer, or Erin O'Toole. The last Conservative leader who could say that was Joe Clark, the second version, not the first. That will make a difference in Quebec and in the debates. This isn't someone who's trying to [speak French] well. He can actually do it, and he actually wears the Quebec rhetoric fairly well. ... This was one of the best victory speeches that I have heard on a convention floor, and if I were a Liberal strategist watching this, I would think that I would need to up my game for the battle to come because Justin Trudeau has many qualities, but he's not a great orator, and the language that Liberals have come to speak is something that not many people find meaningful. That's a polite way of saying it."

Buzzfeed's Elamin Abdelmahmoud, on CBC The National's At Issue panel, Sept. 10: "We talked about



tone earlier in the night. I think earlier, the pugnacious tone would give way to a lot of relatability. He came across as very, very human, and, as a result, I'm wondering if the

Liberals are not regretting right now defining him or beginning to define him way earlier because the Liberals have kind of largely sat out the opportunities to define any of the leadership candidates in this race, and, as a result, I know what the Liberals will roll out in order to try to attack Pierre Poilievre, to try to undermine him, but I have to imagine that whatever it is, he's going to have a harder time reminding people of that adversarial tone that he took few months ago after a speech like that."



Tim Powers, Conservative pundit, on CPAC, Sept. 10: "He's got the win he wants. [It's] comprehen-

sive, so if there's any backsliding, any pushback from people who are disgruntled, that won't last very long in the early days, given that win. I think he did the right thing, as I said earlier: reaching out to the candidates, saying everybody is welcome, that's an important message for him to give. I think he spent a good degree of time also thanking Charest. That will probably go over well with the supporters. A few things I found fascinating with that speech: I never heard the name Justin Trudeau mentioned once, which to me was quite telling, in as much as the narrative. ... He didn't take a shot at Trudeau the person. That was very deliberate. You had the showcasing of his wife as well, showing a side, I think, of Pierre Poilievre that many people didn't think existed. As to the messages, that's the stuff that got him elected as leader of the Conservative Party and I think, again, he's now going to try to test-drive it at a higher level. He sees his point of demarcation with the Liberals at least right now is, 'I connect with you on the economic struggles of the day. The prime minister doesn't.' The Liberals, of course, will push back on that, but he's going to try to push that as hard as he can as the battle of definition now begins."

Susan Smith, Liberal pundit, on CPAC, Sept. 10: "I feel



like I need a shower after that. Well, I heard the Pierre Poilievre I actually expected. He was kind of subdued in his tribute to the Queen and then launched into it full bore. I heard

a lot of slogans. I didn't hear a lot of meat. He did acknowledge his competitors in the race, so he thanked Charest for the work he had done in 1995. There wasn't anything there."



Anne McGrath, NDP pundit, on CPAC, Sept. 10: "I think he ran an impressive campaign and he had a very im-

pressive victory tonight. There's no question this is his victory. It is overwhelming. [He] brought in a lot of members, brought in a lot of money. ... I did think that Mr. Poilievre's speech was quite generous to his opponents and particularly to Jean Charest, which was classy, in my view, and graceful and a bit unexpected. I didn't think that he would do that because there was such nastiness during the campaign."

Kory Teneycke, Conservative pundit, on CBC News with Rosemary Barton, Sept. 10: "It's



a crushing win, I think. I think that it will be worrying to the Liberals as well. I think they were hoping for counting on some sort of division. You heard, you talked about it earlier from one of the soldiers in the Quebec caucus, but it's important to know, he [Poilievre] speaks beautiful French. I don't think it hurts to have a French last name and to have such a multicultural family himself. I think these are all avenues that he can explore to chip away at some Liberal support in areas where the Conservatives haven't done so well in the past, most notably [in] Quebec, but also in the GTA, and [with] new Canadian voters. We heard him talk about immigrants and the importance of them in our economy, in our country. I think those are all very clear paths that he is going to take to try to put together a winning electoral coalition in a general election, so I think it's a great start for him. I think the things we heard tonight were signalling the way it's going to go and I think it's a winning way."

Conservative MP Michelle Rempel Garner, on CBC Rosemary Barton, Sept. 10:



"Absolutely, and I think the Liberals are going to have a very hard time spinning the narrative that they wanted to spin on him from that speech, which focuses clearly on economic issues. I love the line at the end. It's such a good contrast to Trudeau. It's really easy for me to talk about that at the doorsteps of my constituents, in terms of him being somebody who gets it; gets their needs, and, again, the Liberals are going to be looking at this, looking at the party, and going, 'This is an entirely different Conservative Party,' in a good way for the country, and it's going to be hard for them going forward, which I think, frankly, the country needs to have a strong unified opposition right now. They need to be pushed on certain issues, especially after [this] Parliament. It's sort of [been in] this weird period with the pandemic restrictions. It's going to be a different beast, in a good way, for Canadians going forward. So now, it's back to work."

CBC News journalist Rosemary Barton on Sept. 10:



"Some of his language, too, is interesting. He also did it in the video earlier today, when he talks about, 'It doesn't matter where I come from, but where I'm going; it doesn't matter who I know,' and I think that's [going] to be in contrast to Justin Trudeau. That is what he is trying to do there."

Conservative pundit Shakir Chambers on Sept. 10 on CBC News with Rosemary Barton:



"Absolutely. I think we will have this conversation about what comes next. ... I think a lot of the things that he said today are very mainstream things; they're high-level, and you need to put some more meat on the actual policy. But when he talks about jobs, the actual economy, about housing and affordability, [those are the] things that people want to hear. I think that Pierre is a mainstream politician and I'm not sure he needs to pivot right now. He's doing a good job, and, as Kory said earlier, he's a message machine. That's everything he's been saying over the past six or seven months."

The Hill Times



New Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, pictured on stage at the Shaw Centre in Ottawa on Sept. 10, 2022, after decisively winning the leadership election. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Stuart Benson

Party Central

Party Central's guide to fall session's shindigs and soirées

It's autumn once again, and in Ottawa, cabinet ministers, MPs, Senators, staffers, lobbyists and the media will make their pilgrimage back to Parliament Hill for the beginning of the fall session. The schedule for the Hill's first week is so jam-packed, your friendly neighbourhood **Party Central** might need some sort of multiverse-cross-over event starring **Andrew Garfield** and **Tobey Maguire** just to get to them all.

In recognition and commemoration of **Queen Elizabeth II's** life and death, Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** (Papineau, Que.) will travel to London, U.K., to attend the Queen's funeral, which is taking place at Westminster Abbey on Sept. 19. On Sept. 15, the prime minister announced he would travel to the funeral alongside his wife **Sophie Grégoire Trudeau**; Governor General **Mary Simon** and her husband, **Whit Fraser**, Canada's Viceregal Consort. Former prime ministers **Kim Campbell**, **Jean Chrétien**, **Paul Martin**, and **Stephen Harper**, as well as former governors general **Michaëlle Jean** and **David Johnston** will also join Canada's delegation to the funeral.

Back in Canada, a national commemorative ceremony will be held in Ottawa at the Anglican Christ Church Cathedral that same day. A memorial parade consisting of Canadian Armed Forces and Royal Canadian Mounted Police members will also make its way from Cartier Square Drill Hall downtown, beginning at 10:10 a.m., and ending at the Cathedral for the ceremony. Unfortunately, thanks to Ontario Premier **Doug Ford**, unless you are a federal employee, you will still have to ask your boss for time off work in order to attend either the parade or the ceremony at 11 a.m.

Later that night, the Government Relations in Canada Institute of Canada (GRIC), alongside Earningscliffe Strategies and *iPolitics* will host their annual 'Housewarming' at the Métropolitain Brasserie to celebrate the beginning of the fall session. This year's event will also be a celebration of the "remarkable life of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II," according to the invitation. Tickets are free, but you'll have to register online if you'd like to attend via Eventbrite.

The House will return on Sept. 20, kicking off an absolutely grueling three whole weeks in a row of sitting days, before getting what I'm sure we all expect to be a well-deserved week away, Oct. 10-14. MPs will then return for another three weeks, Oct. 17-Nov. 4, then get another one-week break, Nov. 7-11, finally returning on Nov. 14 for five straight weeks, Nov. 14-Dec. 16. After that, they head off for the winter holidays.

After clocking out on their first day back, MPs and staffers will have no shortage of parliamentary receptions to attend for a nice after-work cocktail and appetizer.

On Sept. 20, to celebrate the second anniversary of the Abraham Accords, which saw the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain recognize the state of Israel and normalizing diplomatic relations, the Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs will host its annual reception, alongside Morocco's Ambassador to Canada **Soraya Othmani** and Israeli Ambassador to Canada **Dr. Ronen Hoffman**, the Canada-Morocco Parliamentary Group, and the Canada-Israel Interparliamentary Group. After a two-year pandemic hiatus, this reception – formerly known as the "Israeli Wine and Cheese" now called "A Taste of Morocco



It's party time: If you're hoping to get the most out of this fall's hottest social events, you'll need to pace yourself, schedule carefully, and get really used to seeing the inside of the Métropolitain Brasserie, where Earningscliffe will host its 'Housewarming' reception on Sept. 19. *The Hill Times* Photograph by Cynthia Munster

& A Sip of Israel" – will be held at 5 p.m. in the Sir John A. Macdonald building. For more information, contact events@cija.ca.

McDonald's Canada, meanwhile, will host its own reception on Sept. 20, from 5:30-9:30 p.m. over at Queen Street Fare. Co-sponsored by Liberal MP **Francis Drouin** (Glengarry-Prescott-Russell, Ont.), Conservative MP **John Barlow** (Foothills, Alta.), and Bloc MP **Yves Perron** (Berthier—Maskinongé, Que.), the reception will include the fast food chain's "menu favourites" alongside a presentation on McDonald's Feed and Foster Canadian Communities plan. For more information, contact bryan.detchou@crestviewstrategy.com.

Over at the British high commissioner's residence, Earningscliffe, at 140 Sussex Dr., the Parliamentary Centre will be hosting the "Do It For Democracy" fundraiser on Tuesday, Sept. 20 to raise money for the centre's efforts to advance Canadian and G7 commitments to build inclusive democracies. Beginning at 5 p.m., the event will feature an auction, wine tastings and the presentation of the inaugural Because Democracy Award.

Wednesday, Sept. 21: FPAC celebrates National Forest Week

On Wednesday, Sept. 21, the Forest Products Association of Canada will be hosting a reception at everyone's favourite watering hole, the Métropolitain Brasserie, from 6-8 p.m. to celebrate National Forest Week. If you have enough energy left in your social battery, or if you couldn't make any of the previous night's receptions, FPAC's shindig looks to be good.

If you're a food lover, you will not want to miss Canada's Great Kitchen Party at Le Cordon Bleu Ottawa Culinary Arts Institute, on Monday, Sept. 26, where some of the capital region's best chefs will compete for a chance to qualify for the Canadian Culinary Championships in Ottawa next February.

Formerly known as Gold Medal Plates, an event that raised more than \$15-million dollars in its 12-year run in support of the Canadian Olympic Foundation, the event now raises money for Canadian charities addressing equitable access for youth to

healthy food, sports opportunities, and music programs, and has raised over \$2-million since transitioning the event in 2018.

Featuring dishes from the city and surrounding regions' best chefs, including **Briana Kim** from Alice; **Dominique Dufour** from Gray Jay; North and Navy's **Éric Chagnon-Zimmerly**; **Justin Champagne** of Perch; and all the way from Wakefield, Que., **Wapokunie Riel-Lachapelle** of Terrasse Nikosi Bistro-Pub.

As **Party Central** is a former local journalist in Wakefield, for the sake of journalistic integrity, I must admit my heavy bias for Riel-Lachapelle, especially if she brings out the poutine au canard.

The Speaker of the House of Commons, **Anthony Rota** (Nipissing—Timiskaming, Ont.) and his wife **Chantal Piché Rota** will be hosting a garden party at The Farm in Kingsmere, Que., on Tuesday, Sept. 27, for MPs and members of the Press Gallery from 6-9 p.m. The event is invite only.

Also on Sept. 27, the Canadian Housing and Renewal Association (CHRA) is hosting their own "house party" with a reception at the Sir John A. Macdonald Building from 5-7 p.m., to cap off the association's "Housing on the Hill Day." During the day, from 8:30 a.m.-5 p.m., CHRA will host meetings between housing professionals and MPs to discuss issues in the social and non-profit housing sector. The agenda also features updates on key federal housing policies and programs delivered by senior government and political representatives and an all-party political panel at the Delta Hotel by Marriot in Ottawa City Centre. To RSVP for the reception, you can email **Julie McNamara** at jmcmnamara@chra-achru.ca or simply drop by on the day of.

On Wednesday, Sept. 28, the Easter Seals will celebrate its 100th anniversary with a reception at the Métropolitain Brasserie. Doors open at 5 p.m. followed by opening remarks and a video presentation an hour later. The event is open to MPs, Senators and their staff and will be hosted by **Amber MacArthur** and **Marc Antoine Laporte**.

Also on Sept. 28, Senator **Rob Black** and the Canadian Cattle Association will host their fall barbecue from 11:30 a.m.-2 p.m. in

the East Block Courtyard. Attendance by invitation only.

Wrapping up September, we return to the Métropolitain Brasserie on Thursday, Sept. 29, for a GRIC Trivia Night hosted by *Politico* and GRIC. A reception starts at 5 p.m. with the trivia kicking off at 7:30 p.m. To RSVP for the reception, visit GRIC's website, and to register for the trivia night, email ottawaplaybook@politico.com with a team name and contact info for the team's captain. The maximum team size is six and the event is free to attend.

Once October rolls around, things start to quiet down, without much on the calendar for the first few weeks, which will give **Party Central** enough time to hopefully find a date for the "nerd prom," the Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner at the Museum of History in Gatineau, Que., returning for the first time since 2019. The event will take place on Saturday, Oct. 22.

Inuit-owned major infrastructure company Nukik Corporation is hosting an Inuit cultural reception and project update on the Kivalliq Hydro-Fibre Link, which will bring clean energy and broadband service to the Kivalliq region of Nunavut, on Monday, Oct. 24. The reception will be hosted by NDP MP **Lori Idlout** (Nunavut), Liberal MP **Yvonne Jones** (Labrador, NL), Conservative MP **Gary Vidal** (Desnethé--Misisnippi--Churchill River, Sask.), and Bloc Québécois MP **Marilène Gill** (Manicouagan, Que.), and begins at 6 p.m. in the John A. Macdonald Building. It will highlight the Inuit leadership from Nunavut and culinary specialties will be served.

The annual National Arts Centre Gala, to be held on Friday, Nov. 5, will celebrate Women in the Arts featuring singer, songwriter, actress, broadcaster, podcast host, and author, **Jann Arden**, will return with its first event since 2019 to celebrate women leaders in the arts.

One of those women leaders is Chair of the NAC Board of Trustees, **Adrian Burns**, who will be stepping down in December 2022. Proceeds from the event will go to the Adrian Burns fund for Women Leaders in the Performing Arts.

Beginning at 5:30 p.m. with a cocktail reception, followed by a concert and a free lobby party—complete with a cash bar—tickets start at nearly \$140, but if you can swing it, you can upgrade to the VIP After Party to enjoy some high-quality food, a DJ, and cocktails in the Salon or Mezzanine.

Presided by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court **Richard Wagner**, Chief of Defence Staff **Wayne Eyre**, and the Deputy Minister of the Defence **Bill Matthews**, the 30th Anniversary Vimy Gala black-tie reception and dinner will be held on Wednesday, Nov. 9, and will honour Lieutenant-General J.O. **Michel Maisonneuve** (Ret'd), CMM, CSM, CD, as this year's Vimy Award Laureate, alongside those currently serving and those who have fallen in combat serving Canada's military.

The gala will be held at the Canadian Museum of History with the invitation-only Chairman's Circle Reception beginning at 5 p.m., followed by a cocktail reception at 5:30 p.m. and the Gala Dinner and Vimy Award Presentation at 7 p.m., featuring a performance by Canadian singer and composer, **Loreena McKennitt**.

Well, **Party Central** people, we've made it, that's it for now on the social calendar, though there is one more date you might want to keep in mind: Wednesday, Sept. 23, **Party Central's** birthday. I enjoy a nice bottle of whiskey every now and again. Just putting that out into the universe. No pressure or anything.

sbenson@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

Trudeau and big delegation to attend Queen Elizabeth's state funeral London on Monday, Sept. 19



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured at Rideau Hall in Ottawa on Sept. 10, 2022, with his youngest son, Hadrien, at the reading of the proclamation of accession of the new sovereign, King Charles III. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

MONDAY, SEPT. 19

Queen Elizabeth's Funeral—Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, who will be accompanied by Sophie Grégoire Trudeau, will travel to London, U.K., to attend the funeral of Queen Elizabeth II, taking place at Westminster Abbey on Monday, Sept. 19. The ceremony begins at 6 a.m. ET. The prime minister also announced a delegation of Canadian officials who will attend: Gov.-Gen. Mary Simon; former governors general Michaëlle Jean and David Johnston; former prime ministers Kim Campbell, Jean Chrétien, Paul Martin, and Stephen Harper; AFN National Chief Rose-Anne Archibald; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami President Natan Obed; Métis National Council President Cassidy Caron; Janice Charette, clerk of the Privy Council and secretary to the cabinet and former high commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; and current High Commissioner for Canada to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Ralph Goodale. Members of the RCMP and the Canadian Armed Forces will join uniformed personnel from other Commonwealth countries for the service on September 19. In addition, the Canadian delegation will include members of the Order of Canada Mark Tewksbury, Gregory Charles, and Sandra Oh and Cross of Valour recipient Leslie Arthur Palmer. They will participate in a procession of recipients of national honours as part of the service. In Canada, Sept. 19 will be a National Day of Mourning. There will be a national commemorative ceremony held at Christ Church Cathedral, the Anglican cathedral in Ottawa. The ceremony will be attended by former prime ministers Brian Mulroney and Joe Clark, and all Members of Parliament have been invited. The ceremony will be broadcast live for everyone to watch.

Canada and the EU: Trusted Partners Building a Prosperous Future Amid Global Uncertainty—Innovation, Science, and Industry Minister François-Philippe Champagne will join European Union Executive Vice-Pres-

ident Margrethe Vestager at "Canada and the EU: Trusted Partners Building a Prosperous Future Amid Global Uncertainty," a luncheon event hosted by the Canadian Club of Ottawa. This event will take place in the Ballroom, Chateau Laurier, 1 Rideau St. Monday, Sept. 19, noon. For tickets, visit canadianclubottawa.ca.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 20

House Returns—The House will return on Sept. 20, sitting until Oct. 7. It will break for one week, Oct. 10-14, 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 all, folks, for the House calendar for 2022.

CUTA's Policy Forum in Ottawa—The Canadian Urban Transit Association hosts its policy forum, featuring some of North America's leading transit and urban mobility experts to discuss the future of the industry. Participants include to-be-confirmed Members of Parliament; former Edmonton mayor Don Iveson, now executive director of Civic Good; and Marco D'Angelo, president and CEO, CUTA. This event will take place at the Ottawa Art Gallery, 50 Mackenzie King Bridge. Tuesday, Sept. 20, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Register via Eventbrite.

Competition and Green Growth Summit—The Competition Bureau will host the Competition and Green Growth Summit, where experts will discuss the interaction between competition law and policy and sustainability. The Summit will bring together international competition authorities, regulators, businesses, non-governmental organizations, lawyers, and academics. Tuesday, Sept. 20, 9:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. Info at competitionbureau.gc.ca.

Housing Challenges and the Rural-Urban Divide—This event will take place at the School of Public Administration, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S., and online. Tuesday, Sept. 20, 10:30 a.m. ET.

Canadians Want More Mining—Can We Deliver?—Pierre Gratton,

president and CEO of the Mining Association of Canada, will deliver remarks on "Seizing the Moment: Canadians Want More Mining—Can We Deliver," hosted by the Greater Vancouver Board of Trade. This event will take place at the Fairmont Hotel Vancouver, 900 W Georgia St. Tuesday, Sept. 20, 11:30 a.m. PT. Tickets available from boardoftrade.com.

Pandemic Macroeconomics—Bank of Canada Deputy Governor Paul Beaudry will deliver remarks on "Pandemic macroeconomics: What we've learned, and what may lie ahead," part of the Faculty of Arts Distinguished Lecture in Economics hosted by the University of Waterloo. This event will take place at Federation Hall, University of Waterloo. Tuesday, Sept. 20, 3:30-4:45 p.m. Register at uwaterloo.ca.

CIJA's Annual Parliamentary Reception—The Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs' annual reception is back with a twist. Under the High Patronage of the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco to Canada and the Ambassador of the State of Israel to Canada, CIJA, the Canada-Morocco Parliamentary Group, and the Canada-Israel Interparliamentary Group are hosting the "Taste of Morocco and a Sip of Israel" parliamentary reception on Tuesday, Sept. 20, at 5 p.m., in the Sir John A. Macdonald Building. For more information, contact events@cija.ca.

Do It For Democracy—The Parliamentary Centre hosts "Do It For Democracy," a fundraising event for the centre to advance Canadian and G7 commitments and build inclusive democracies. Featuring auction items, wine tastings, and the presentation of the inaugural Because Democracy Matters award. This event will take place at Earncliffe, the British High Commissioner's residence, 140 Sussex Dr., Ottawa. Tuesday, Sept. 20, 5-7 p.m. Tickets available through parlcent.org/do-it-for-democracy/.

McDonald's Canada Parliamentary Reception—McDonald's Canada will host a parliamentary reception from 5:30-9:30 p.m. on Sept. 20 at Queen Street Fare, 170 Queen St. Co-sponsored by Liberal MP Francis Drouin,

Conservative MP John Barlow, and Bloc MP Yves Perron, this reception will include renowned menu favourites and a peek into McDonald's plan to Feed and Foster Canadian Communities. For more information, contact bryan.detchou@crestviewstrategy.com

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 21

People's Commission Hearings—The Ottawa People's Commission on the Convoy Occupation is pleased to announce its first public hearings will be held Sept. 21 and 22 at community centres in Centretown and Lower-town—two of the neighbourhoods most adversely affected by the trucker blockade that paralyzed parts of the national capital for three weeks last winter. The Sept. 21 hearing will take place at the McNabb Community Centre, 180 Percy St., from 2-4 p.m. The Sept. 22 hearing will be held at Le Patro d'Ottawa, 40 Cobourg St., from 7-9 p.m. For more information visit opc-cpo.ca or contact: Gaëlle Muderer, OPC project coordinator, gmuderer@centretownchc.org; Randy Boswell, OPC communications coordinator, rleighboswell@gmail.com or 613-868-8447; or Tim McSorley, French-language media contact tim.mcsorley@gmail.com or 613-608-9917.

Forest Products Association of Canada Reception—Forest Products Association of Canada (FPAC) will be hosting a reception to celebrate National Forest Week on Wednesday, Sept. 21, from 6-8 p.m. ET at Métropolitain Brasserie, 700 Sussex Dr., Ottawa. This is an invitation-only event.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 22

Finding our Way Back—The Network for Strategic Analysis hosts a colloquium, "Finding our Way Back: Defining a Coherent International Strategy for Canada." A yet-to-be announced panel of experts and practitioners will discuss questions including: Where is Canada going? What should be its place on the international scene? How Canada should defend itself and how best to ensure its security? This event will take place at the National Arts Centre, 1 Elgin St., Ottawa. Thursday, Sept. 22, 9 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. Register via Eventbrite.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 22—FRIDAY, SEPT. 23

Canadian Forum on Global Economic Sanctions—The Canadian Institute hosts the seventh annual Canadian Forum on Global Economic Sanctions. Representatives from the Canadian and international governments, companies and financial institutions will discuss Russia, China, Cuba and humanitarian sanctions developments and compliance best practices. This conference will take place at the Fairmont Royal York, 100 Front St. W., Toronto. Register at: canadianinstitute.com/global-economic-sanctions/

SATURDAY, SEPT. 24

Canada Strong and Free Regional Networking Conference—The Canada Strong and Free Network hosts its 2022 regional networking conference. Participants will discuss and debate about the most important issues facing our country today. Just two weeks after

the federal Conservative leadership results, this will be a great opportunity to debrief on where the federal party is headed. This event will take place at the Cambridge Hotel and Conference Centre, 3310 50 Ave., Red Deer, Alta. Details at canadastrongandfree.network.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 27

Housing on the Hill—You're invited to a house party. Every investment in community housing will be represented. And the Canadian Housing and Renewal Association (CHRA) will be hosting. All riders have a housing dilemma. And all MPs are welcome. Come and make a difference. Get updates on housing policies and programs expressed by leading experts in community housing, senior government and political representatives. There's something to celebrate—intelligent research has found some incredible solutions. Daytime event: 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m., Delta Hotel by Marriott, 101 Lyon Street. Evening reception: 5 p.m.-7 p.m. in the Sir John A. Macdonald Building. RSVP to Julie McNamara at jmcmnamara@chra-achru.ca or drop in.

Tech Day on Parliament Hill—Coding for Veterans is pleased to invite you to join us in the East Block Courtyard on Sept. 27, from 5:30-8:30 p.m., for a reception as we connect tech entrepreneurs with the decision-makers on Parliament Hill. Staffers, MPs, Senators, and other stakeholders can meet and learn about the issues faced by those in the tech sector. To register, please visit our Eventbrite page: techdayreception.eventbrite.ca/ or contact Alex Beattie at beattie@codingforveterans.com for more information.

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Heard on the Hill Back to Parliament

Poilievre to move into Stornoway; Akin publicly apologizes for run-in with Poilievre



Newly elected Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, pictured on Sept. 13, 2022, has an exchange with Global News reporter David Akin. Poilievre called Akin 'a Liberal heckler.' *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Continued from page 2

The new leader of His Majesty's Royal Opposition, Conservative Leader **Pierre Poilievre**, has confirmed that he plans to move into the publicly funded official residence, the Stornoway mansion.

"Of course he will be moving into Stornoway," **Anthony Koch**, Poilievre's spokesperson, told *The Globe and Mail*.

The Conservative leader, who was first elected in Carleton, Ont., in 2004, has campaigned on affordability issues, including young people's inability to afford to buy a home. NDP MP **Charlie Angus** last week questioned Poilievre's commitment to addressing those issues, given his decision to live for free in Ottawa's swishy Rockcliffe Park neighbourhood. Poilievre is an Ottawa-area MP.

"If Pierre Poilievre was really serious about shaking up Ottawa, he could send a clear message by staying out of Stornoway," Angus told *The Globe and Mail*. "This is about living the high life and getting the taxpayer to pay for it."

Meanwhile, Poilievre is also being criticized for fundraising off of his run-in with Global News parliamentary reporter **David Akin** during a short Hill press conference on Sept. 13.

Almost as soon as Poilievre began speaking, Akin interrupted Poilievre asking why he wouldn't be taking questions and continued to do so several times. Poilievre then called him a "Liberal heckler." Later that night, Akin took to Twitter to apologize for his behaviour.

"Lots of readers/viewers called me about today's Parliament Hill presser. Many said I was rude and disrespectful to @PierrePoilievre. I agree. I'm sorry for that. We all want politicians to answer questions—but there are better ways of making that point," Akin tweeted.

The same night, Poilievre sent an email to supporters urging his supporters to "go around [the media] and their biased coverage."

"This is what we're up against. It's not just the Liberals... [it's] the media, who are no longer interested in even pretending

to be unbiased. They want us to lose," the "pierre4pm," fundraising email reads. "We can't count on the media to communicate our messages to Canadians... [w]e need to do it directly."

Trevor Harrison, longtime Liberal staffer, dies of brain tumour, remembered for his 'unwavering optimism and kindness'

"Loyal friend and lifelong Liberal" **Trevor Harrison** died on Sept. 13, surrounded by family at the Maison des Collines in Wakefield, Que. He was 36.



Trevor Harrison died on Sept. 13. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

According to his obituary in the *Ottawa Citizen*, he is survived by his partner **Kai-sha Thompson**. Harrison was born on Aug. 20, 1986, the youngest son of **Karen** and **John**, and brother to **Christopher**.

Diagnosed with a brain tumour in 2010, Harrison dedicated his life to public service as a long-time staffer on Parliament Hill. He was a "loyal friend and lifelong Liberal" and

will be remembered for his "unwavering optimism and kindness."

A private interment will be held the morning of Sept. 23, at Pinecrest Cemetery in Nepean, Ont., and friends are invited to join the celebration of Harrison's life at Christ Church Cathedral at 1 p.m. A reception will follow at D'Arcy

McGee's on Sparks Street from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Harrison had most recently worked as a senior adviser for parliamentary affairs in Government House Leader **Mark Holland's** office alongside parliamentary affairs advisers **Samar Assoum** and **Béatrice Lavallée**.

Harrison had 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 **Christia 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.

To honour his dedication to public service, his family asks that in memoriam donations be made to support the Trevor Harrison Civic Engagement bursary, created in partnership with the Brain Tumour Foundation of Canada: <https://btfc.akaraisin.com/ui/memoryofhope/p/trevorharrison>

John Ivison, Dana Cryderman have another baby, Mollie Ella

The *National Post's* political columnist **John Ivison** and wife **Dana Cryderman** welcomed their second child, a baby girl named **Mollie Ella**, on Sept. 13. Ivison tweeted out congratulations to his new daughter on the occasion of her first whole hour of life at around 12:30 p.m. on Tuesday, and posted a cute photo of the little one.

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HVACR CLIMATE CHANGE STORY: TECHNOLOGY, TRANSITION AND TALENT

From September 18th to 20th, heating, ventilation, air conditioning, and refrigeration (HVACR) leaders from across Canada will be attending HRAI's AGM in Ottawa.

Attendees will be hearing from industry leaders and discussing ways that the sector can support government to address climate change. This is the culmination of HRAI's climate action statement launched in June.

HRAI CLIMATE ACTION STATEMENT

As the voice of the Canadian HVACR industry, HRAI commits to fighting the existential threat of rising CO2 levels, and will lead the way towards achieving Canada's target of net zero carbon emissions in buildings by 2050.

The HVACR industry has the technology and the expertise required to make this transition. Homes and buildings currently account for 18% of Canada's total greenhouse gas emissions. Fortunately, effective solutions are available **right now** to reduce or eliminate those emissions.

HRAI will work diligently to move the industry, consumers and governments toward these solutions and onto the path of zero carbon emissions.

The path will not be easy, but our industry will collaborate with governments and stakeholders to smooth the transition through:

- Clear, sustainable and achievable short-term and long-term targets for reducing carbon emissions in buildings;
- Regulations and programs that facilitate rather than impede industry participation and leadership in this battle;
- Meaningful industry input into the design and roll-out of government programs that build on the HVACR industry's unique offerings; and
- Ongoing training and development of the HVACR workforce to ensure solutions are delivered competently and professionally.

The challenges of moving Canada towards a low carbon economy are not insurmountable if the HVACR industry and government partners at all levels work together towards implementing solutions.

WE ARE PREPARED TO LEAD THE WAY.

To learn more, please visit www.hrai.ca or attend this evening's parliamentary reception to meet with HVACR leaders from across Canada to learn more about how they can help address climate change.

HRAI PARLIAMENTARY RECEPTION

September 19th, 5:30pm – 7:30pm | Room 430, Wellington Building
All Members of Parliament, Senators, and staffers welcome.

ABOUT HRAI

HRAI-Canada is the national trade association for the heating, ventilation, air conditioning and refrigeration (HVACR) industry, representing more than 1,250 member companies across Canada. Our members include manufacturers, wholesalers and contractors who collectively employ tens of thousands of skilled trade professionals and contribute more than \$12B annually to the Canadian economy.



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We are prepared to lead the way.

