

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR, NO. 2023

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

WEDNESDAY, MAY 10, 2023 \$5.00

NEWS

# International justice body, Canada under the microscope to address 'credibility gaps'

BY NEIL MOSS

With the chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Court calling for added emphasis on international justice and perpetrator accountability, a former Liberal justice minister says Canada can help address the body's budget crisis.

**International Criminal Court** (ICC) chief prosecutor Karim Khan was in Ottawa for his first official visit May 4-5, where he met with Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly (Ahuntsic-Cartierville, Que.) and Justice Minister David Lametti (LaSalle-Émard-Verdun, Que.). He also gave the second Elie Wiesel Distinguished Lectureship in Human Rights at the National Gallery of Canada.

Continued on page 20

International **Criminal Court** chief Karim Khan held meetings with Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly and Justice Minister David Lametti during his first official visit to Canada May 4-5. The Hill Times photograph by Sam Garcia

**NEWS** 

Sudanese Canadians looking for feds to step up, say MPs

BY TAYLOR O'BRIEN

As the fighting continues in South Sudan, MPs with Sudanese Canadians in their ridings say their constituents are reporting feeling ignored and confused as they attempt to navigate the federal government's response to the conflict.

In an interview with The Hill Times, Conservative MP Greg Mc-Lean (Calgary Centre, Alta.) said many of his Sudanese constituents still have family in Sudan. He said he spoke to a number of them over the weekend who said they feel the federal government has turned a blind eye to the conflict in the East-African nation.

McLean said those constituents compared themselves and the support they've received to the support Ukrainians have received in the face of Russia's invasion of their country.

"They want the same consideration as far as getting people over [to Canada] as quickly as possible," said McLean. "This is an

Continued on page 6

# 'The energy is not there': Liberals need to address 'enthusiasm gap' at the riding association level, say convention attendees

BY ABBAS RANA

The mood at the recent biennial ▲ Liberal policy convention in

Ottawa may have been "electric," "buoyant," or "ebullient," but the same feeling is not reflected at the riding level where there is

an "enthusiasm gap," say some delegates, who want the party to step up its game to re-energize the base and give rank-and-file

members a sense of purpose for the next election.

'There's an enthusiasm gap.' said one former senior Liberal

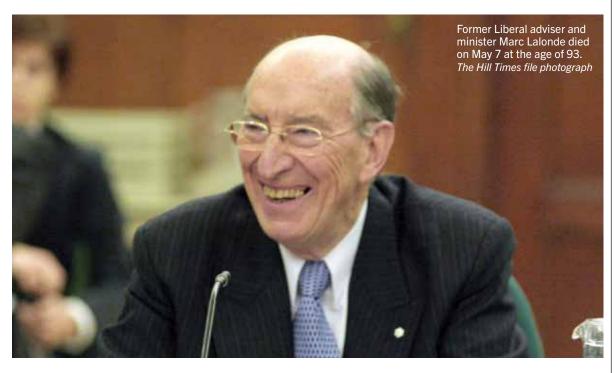
attending the convention who spoke to The Hill Times on a



Mike Lapointe

# Heard On The Hill

# Leaders past and present pay tribute to former Liberal minister Lalonde



ributes from current and for-prominent Canadian leaders have poured in for ex-Liberal minister and political heavyweight Marc Lalonde, who died on May 7 at the age of 93.

Today, it is with great sadness that I learned of the passing of the Honourable Marc Lalonde, a giant of Canadian politics," said Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in

Lalonde served as a special legal adviser to then-minister of justice E. Davie Fulton from 1959 to 1960, and then served as a special adviser to Liberal prime minister Lester Pearson from 1968 until 1972, when he was elected to represent the Montreal riding of Outremont, Que., in the House of Commons, Under Pierre Trudeau's Liberal government, Laionde served as national nealth and welfare minister for the next five years, and went on to be a minister of state for federal-provincial relations; minister of justice; minister of energy, mines, and resources; and minister of

'Marc Lalonde was brilliant," Justin Trudeau tweeted on May 7. writing that he remembered "him and my dad sitting around our dinner table, having long and engaging debates on anything

and everything—including our country, its people, and its future."

"It was clear my dad had a lot of respect for him and, as I grew up and came to know him myself, I did too," said Trudeau. "I know many people across the country felt the same way, because it is impossible to overstate the impact that Marc has had on Canada. He ultimately transformed the way we thought about health and, in doing so, he no doubt changedand saved—countless lives.'

**Defence Minister Anita Anand** tweeted that "Lalonde dedicated his life to serving Canadiansand to building a better country. My thoughts and condolences are with his loved ones."

Canada's envoy to the UN and former interim Liberal leader Bob **Rae** tweeted that he was sorry to learn of Lalonde's passing, calling him"a man of great intelligence and determination."

"From the Opposition benches he was a formidable adversary, in the fight for Canada an equally formidable ally," said Rae.

In a statement, former prime minister Paul Martin said from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s, the most important leader in Ottawa not named Trudeau was Marc Lalonde." Martin said he relied on Lalonde, "not only as a campaign co-chair in Quebec, but as a wise

trusted source of counsel," and that Lalonde was a "great general in the battle against separatism and the struggle to keep Canada united."

Former PMO principal secretary Gerald Butts tweeted "so sad to hear of Marc Lalonde's death."

"He was both a giant of a man and a consummate gentleman. Curious, brilliant, tough, and kind," said Butts. "He defined public service for a generation of young Canadians who aspired to it—myself very much included. He'll be sorely missed. RIP."

Neil Brodie to join Hill+Knowlton Strategies' federal procurement team

Hill+Knowlton Strategies has announced the addition of Neil **Brodie** to its Ottawa team as senior vice-president and lead for federal procurement.



Neil Brodie is set to join Hill+Knowlton's Ottawa team as senior vice-president and lead, federal procurement. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

A former Harper-era Conservative staffer, Brodie previously worked in senior staff positions on the Hill from 2006 to 2015, including as chief of staff to then-trade minister Michael Fortier and to then-Treasury Board president Tony Clement (having earlier been policy director to Clement, including during his turn as industry minister). Brodie's first two years on the Hill were spent advising Fortier as then-public works and government services minister (a portfolio now known as public services and procurement).

According to the firm's release, Brodie has been an "integral figure in the biggest defence procurement in two decades," involving the procurement of C-17s, C-130s, CH-47s, Leopard IIs, M-777s, AHSVS, and other system upgrades, "delivering land and air systems to those who needed them.'

Brodie also led the Harper government's efforts to review federal spending across all departments to eliminate the deficit as part of the 2012 budget through to the 2015 budget.

'Neil has a deep understanding of the challenges that must be addressed when the private sector embarks on these initiatives and how to deftly navigate the multifaceted stakeholder landscape," said Michelle McLean, Ottawa general manager. "With Neil's addition to the team, H+K has unmatched experience and ability to support clients no matter their procurement goal or challenge."

In a statement, Brodie said he felt "proud to be joining a team with such an impressive track record of success, which sets the standard for others in the industry."

# Karyn Pugliese announced as Canadaland's new editor-in-chief

Media organization Canadaland is bringing veteran journalist Karyn Pugliese on board as its new editor-in-chief, according to a May 2 tweet.

'Canadaland's team of talented storytellers is fearless when it comes to tackling important public debates about media, social issues,

and politics," said Pugliese in a Canadaland publisher's note."They burst onto the media landscape 10 years ago with a single podcast, and have since grown into an with a strong tradition of enterprise journalism,

investigations, and advancing under-reported stories. I am delighted to join their team."

In other reporter moves, Kierstin Williams recently announced she



Karyn Pugliese says 'Canadaland's team of talented storytellers is fearless when it comes to tackling important public debates about media, social issues, and politics.' Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

joined APTN News as a reporter/ correspondent in Ottawa, and was "very excited to work in a newsroom I've long admired.'

"Catch me on the hill, or reach out to me at kwilliams@aptn.ca if you have a story/want to chat," wrote Williams.

# **Canadian Animal Health Institute** gears up for inaugural Cutest **Pets on Parliament** Hill contest

There's still a few days left for Parliamentarians, Senators, the Parliamentary Press Gallery, and staffers on the Hill to submit photos of their pets in the competition to win the title of 2023's Cutest Dog, Cutest Cat, or Cutest Other Pet on Parliament Hill.

According to the contest's rules, an aspect of Canada, the Canadian Parliament, or Parliament Hill in general should be included in the picture with the pet, but must be non-partisan. Only the pet's photo, a registration number, and the pet's name will be visible to the judges, with all indications of the pet's owner (and party affiliations) removed.

"Together, the judges will deliberate to narrow down the competition by selecting three finalists in each category of cutest pet," according to the website.

Following that, the voting public will weigh in.

"Once again, all anyone will see will be photos and names of the finalists in each category, with no pet owner information or party affiliation provided, and we'll ask the public to decide who the Cutest Dog, Cutest Cat, and Cutest Other Pet on Parliament Hill in 2023 are," according to the website.

Public voting will take place between May 15 and June 4, and winners in each category will be announced at a special in-person ceremony in Ottawa on June 7. All entries must be submitted by May 12.

mlapointe@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

# Speaker Furey a model of decency in public service

Senator George Furey's retirement is a loss for the Senate and the Canadian public.

Powers Plain Speak



OTTAWA—On May 12, Senate Speak-er George Furey turns 75 and that, unfortunately, means he must retire from the Senate. Furey's retirement is a loss for the Senate and the Canadian public. In an age of declining decency in both politics and life, it is too bad this fine man has to call time on this part of his career as he represents the best of what it is to be a public servant.

You have probably guessed with that opening that I am an unabashed George Furey fan. You'd be right. I have known him and his family for years. For full disclosure purposes: his sister Carm was my dad's

and my banker for years. She helped me fund my way to graduate school and buy into my first business. Before the cynical pounce, writing about Furey is not some form of payback. It is a reflection of the admiration I have both for him and his wife, Karen, who also deserves much credit for all the sacrifices and contributions she

Furey is a history-maker. When he became the 45th Speaker of the Senate in 2015, he became the first Newfoundlander and Labradorian ever to hold that role. When he retires on Friday, he will have been the longest-serving member of the current Senate, with nearly 24 years logged in. He has been a leader both as a Speaker of the Senate and as a member in trying to bring respectability and credibility to the institution. And recently, in his role as Speaker of the Senate, was the first person from my home province to offer formal thanks to a visiting American president,

He comes from a big family in Newfoundland and Labrador that was not born into good fortune. Like many in his clan, he worked hard for what he achieved. He became a topflight educator and then had an impressive legal practice. Appointed to the Senate in 1999 by Jean Chrétien, he

was recognized politically as an effective Liberal Party advocate. In those days, that wasn't seen as a badge of dishonour, rather as a recognition of an accepted skill set and experience that would be useful in the

Furey comes from an era when you may wear one political jersey, but it was never an impediment to working for the best interests of the people you represent. His wisdom, experience, and fair-mindedness meant politicians and people of all backgrounds sought his advice or guidance. He always made time. Premiers and prime ministers sought his counsel. Trust me, it was worth getting.

For years in Ottawa, he was a key leader and organizer in working to showcase the province's only university—Memorial University—and with some others, led the efforts to create highly impactful Newfoundland and Labrador nights on Parliament Hill. In fact, at the most recent one held in March, Furey was given a magnificent and deserved tribute which featured politicians from all parties and provincial luminaries like Alan Doyle, Allan Hawco, and Mark Critch.

Finally, you can't talk about George and Karen Furey without recognizing the legitimate love and commitment they have for



Senate Speaker George Furey's wisdom, experience, and fair-mindedness meant politicians and people of all backgrounds sought his advice or guidance. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

their family. Meet any of the Furey children or grandchildren and you will encounter kind, decent people, imbued with strong values, impressive work ethics, humility, and a commitment to community. Their allegiance to family is real, not a marketing tool or a throwaway line for political posturing.

Like Senate Speakers before him, Furey will have a portrait in his honour in the Senate. While we thank him for his service, I like the idea that he is hanging around, keeping an eye on things. It's a good reminder to us all that decency matters in life and in public service.

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

The Hill Times

# **OTTAWA DOESN'T** SEE US

Indigenous rights, title, and self-determination matter, even 5,500 kms away.

Stop closing salmon farms in BC without our consent.



firstnationsforfinfish.ca



# News

# 'Progress' trumpeted in Canada-India trade talks but hopes for quick pact unmet

Both Canada and India theorized that a first stage trade pact could be concluded in 'a matter of months,' but negotiations continue more than a vear later.

### BY NEIL MOSS

welcoming hug and bullish Aaccounts of the state of the Canada-India relationship greeted India's top trade official as he visited Ottawa this week, but past public pronouncements that an Early Progress Trade Agreement (EPTA) was in reach have not panned out.

Since trade talks were relaunched in March 2022, Canada and India both have indicated that a deal could be wrapped up quickly. The initiative was launched to secure "low-hanging fruit" of mutual interest while dealing with disputed issues later during negotiations for a comprehensive trade agreement. The hope was to avoid talks breaking down as they did after 10 rounds under the Harper government.

International Trade Minister Mary Ng (Markham-Thornhill, Ont.) and Indian Industry and Commerce Minister Piyush Goyal gave reporters a rosy forecast of trade talks on May 8 ahead of the latest Canada-India Ministerial Dialogue on Trade and Investment at the Pearson Building, the headquarters of Global Affairs Canada.

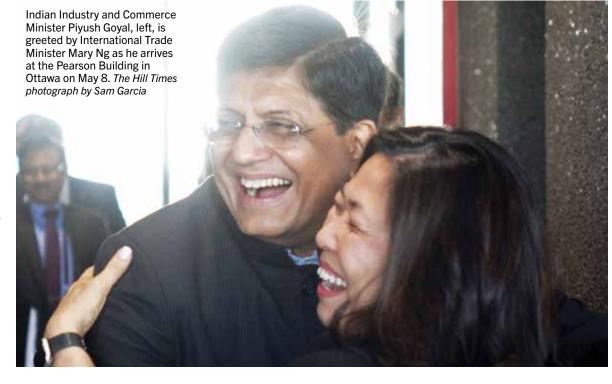
'Our teams have actually made significant progress [on an EPTA],"Goyal said.

He said the seven rounds of talks between Canada and India have helped to "create a base" which will allow the two sides to make substantial progress during

"If you and I," Goyal told Ng, "were to put our, I wouldn't say heads together, more our hearts together, I in sure we can come up with some significant progress and outcomes, which can help take this relationship to the next

"Early competition of the Early Progress Agreement is something that will send a strong signal to the rest of the world about the strengthening relationship between these two countries,"

Ng said "progress" has been made towards an EPTA, remark-



ing that Goyal's visit will serve as a venue for "continued progress."

Neither Ng nor Goyal took questions from reporters.

While the two senior trade officials pointed to progress being made in the negotiations, the hope that was set out by both sides when talks were relaunched 15 months and seven rounds ago hasn't been realized.

The same month negotiations kicked off, then-Indian high commissioner Ajay Bisaria told The Hill Times that the goal was to finish an EPTA on an "accelerated basis in a few months rather than years," indicating that he expected talks to take "about a year."

Speaking to the House of Commons Committee on International Trade in April 2022 after the first round of negotiations, Canada's chief negotiator with India, Jay Allen, said that "we expect that an early progress trade agreement with India could take a matter of months, as opposed to potentially a couple of years to negotiate a comprehensive agreement.

In August 2022, then-acting indian nigh commissioner Anshuman Gaur said the hope for Canada and India was to conclude the draft text for the EPTA in the fourth round. India's market access offer didn't come until the sixth round. That offer didn't cover the volume of trade that was previously agreed, and Canada asked India to resubmit a better one.

During a briefing following the sixth round of negotiations, as previously reported by The

Hill Times, Allen told stakeholder groups that many chapters remained far apart despite some progress being made.

Canadian negotiators were told that they didn't have a mandate to discuss agricultural trade—a politically sensitive issue for protectionist India. Canada argued the offer on services was worse than what India has offered in other trade agreements, while expecting Canada to make a better offer than it has ever made. Labour and environment talks were far off, with Allen suggesting ministerial intervention was needed, according to information obtained by *The Hill Times* about the briefing.

Canada and India had one more round of talks in early April after Allen gave the briefing.

A government source speaking on background said there was no formal timeline set out when work on an ETPA was started.

We know that trade agreements take time, so that's why we didn't set a deadline for these negotiations or conclusion,"the source said. But I'd also add that we're really working on India's time here. If they wanted to get it done, we will."

The Canada West Foundation's Carlo Dade, director of the trade and investment centre, said based on India's trade behaviour it is easy to see why talks aren't going as smoothly as planned, citing its exit from the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership trade agreement and their opting out from the trade portion

of the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework.

He added that there lacks any great need that India has from Canada.

Why does India need a trade agreement with Canada? We're not a huge market. We don't give them access to the U.S. for stuff that they want," he said. "We know what we need out of India: lentils, other agricultural products, access to workers. But what does India need from Canada?'

Dade said he doesn't think the government should move forward on an EPTA without an agreement on agriculture.

'You would have a lot of angry folks out here in the Prairies if that was the case," he said, citing a need not just to secure market access, but also market certainty given Canada's past experiences with Indian roadblocks around non-tariff barriers restricting exports.

He said that after an EPTA is completed, Canada may lose some leverage as some issues that India may want will be finalized and removed from the table for the give and take of a negotiation.

Canadian Agri-Food Irade Alliance interim executive director Adam Taylor said he is "optimistic" that agricultural trade will be on the agenda.

"It's obviously such an important offensive interest for Canada to gain greater market access to India, so we're hopeful that ... we can achieve some meaningful outcomes in agriculture," he said.

He said it could be an issue that is decided at the last moment before a trade deal is finalized.

"A lot of meaningful agriculture issues get solved in the 11<sup>th</sup> hour during the end-game phase of negotiations, so the fact that the less sensitive things are what negotiators focus on first comes as no surprise," he said. Taylor said it remains to be

seen whether agriculture issues will be dealt with under a potential EPTA or during follow-up negotiations for a comprehensive trade pact, but he remarked that Canadian negotiators should be taking advantage of leverage, which will be at its highest in talks towards an EPTA.

"We always believe that our negotiators need to use our leverage when the leverage is most potent," Taylor said. "In an early progress agreement, that's when we have our greatest leverage."

He added that there is a risk that if an EPTA is reached, it is not guaranteed that a comprehensive pact will be.

Stuart Trew, director of the trade and investment research project at the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, said an EPTA shouldn't be concluded without agreements on labour or the environment.

"Signing any trade deal with India without a high-standard, enforceable chapter on labour protections or the environment would rightfully be seen as a major step back for this government's inclusive trade agenda,"

"A promise to keep negotiating on these issues after an early harvest deal is concluded would be a cop-out. India isn't interested now and it won't be later," Trew added.

He said that India's concern that labour standards would weaken its competitiveness with western companies is "half-serious," as Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government relies on "extremely low wages and lax labour standards to boost profits" for domestic and international firms.

"I'm frankly amazed that Canada would consider signing a deal that legitimizes Modi's repressive, crony capitalist regime and strongly protects Canadian investors in India without ensuring that workers see any benefits from new trade in terms of higher wages or better working conditions," he said.

International trade lawyer Lawrence Herman said he expects Goyal's visit to have a positive impact, but noted the difficulty in negotiating trade pacts with India.

"India has been a very tough partner in trade negotiations, very difficult over many, many years to make progress over matters of concern to Canada," he said.

"something positive" will come from the visit.

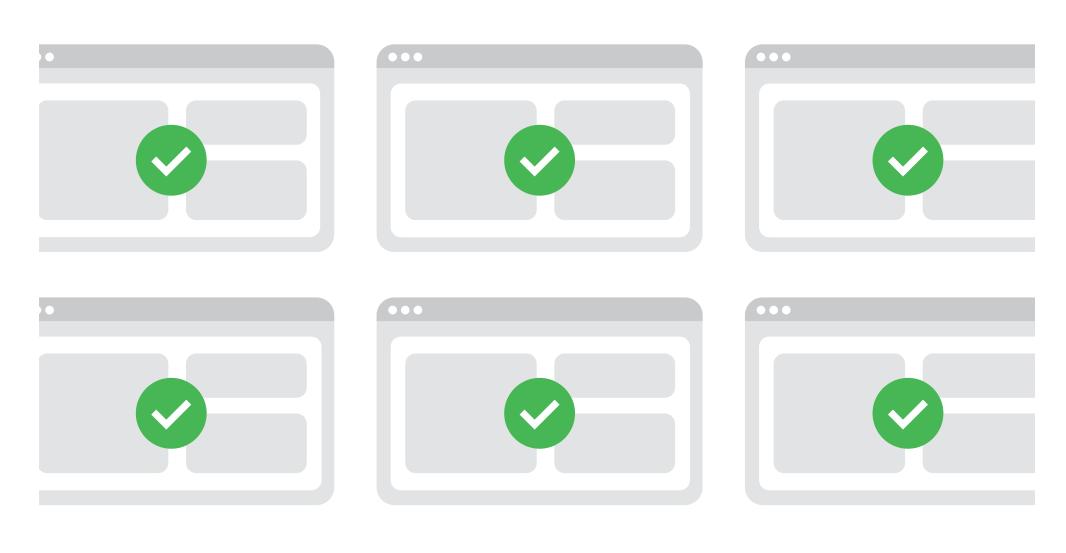
"Normally, these visits aren't done unless there is some prior orchestration and a positive announcement is going to be made," he said, although he remarked that he didn't expect it to be a "dramatic announcement."

There is no set date for the next round of negotiations. nmoss@hilltimes.com



# Digital attacks are being used to censor critical information online

Project Shield was built to defend journalists, governments, and more from these attacks for free



Learn more at safety.google



# Sudanese Canadians looking for feds to step up, say MPs







Kayabaga, left, Conservative MP Greg McLean, and Liberal MP Charles Sousa have all been in contact constituents who are attempting to navigate the murky situation for their loved ones in Sudan. The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade

Liberal MP

Arielle

Conservative MP Greg McLean says some Sudanese constituents want to see the same support that was given to Ukrainian refugees. 'This is an emergency. People's lives are at stake.'

Continued from page 1 emergency. People's lives are at

Canadians who are still in Sudan are losing hope in the government restoring its evacuation process, said Kon K. Madut, a part-time political studies professor at the University of Ottawa who emigrated from Wau, South Sudan.

"So far, everybody's just trying their best to get out of the country on their own," said Madut. "They've kind of given up that the rescue mission will resume."

After the April 15 outset of fighting in Khartoum between the Sudanese Armed Forces and the Rapid Support Forces, Canada conducted six evacuation flights of roughly 550 people from the Wadi Seidna airfield before calling off the mission on April 30

ing off the mission on April 30.

"While the Government of
Canada evacuation flights have
ended, we remain concerned by
the unfolding political and humanitarian crisis," Global Affairs
Canada said in a May 5 update.

"This will require a long-term
response by the international
community. Canada will actively
work with the people of Sudan,
international organizations,
regional partners and allies to
address the situation."

The mid-April escalation in the Sudanese capital wasn't the start of this issue, noted Liberal MP Arielle Kayabaga (London West, Ont.).

"I know we're talking about this now because there's a crisis, but prior to this conflict, this is a conversation that I personally have had with the Sudanese community on the role that Canada can play to support Sudan because this has been ongoing," said Kayabaga. "It's at its peak right now, but it's been ongoing."

In a written statement to *The Hill Times*, Liberal MP Charles Sousa (Mississauga–Lakeshore, Ont.) said his office has been in "close" contact with his constituents who have been affected by the conflict in Sudan.

"We have met with residents who were evacuated from Khartoum, and those with family in Sudan," said Sousa. "They expressed that their loved ones are

in urgent need of help to escape Sudan, and their desire to come to Canada."

McLean said he asked Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly (Ahuntsic-Cartierville, Que.) during the emergency House of Commons debate April 25 to speed up the process of letting family members of Canadian citizens and permanent residents into the country. McLean said he also spoke about the matter personally with Immigration Minister Sean Fraser (Central Nova, N.S.).

While McLean said both ministers responded favourably to his request and are looking into it, he said the government needs to move quickly, especially in exceptional circumstances such as the conflict in Sudan.

"The government has to understand that lives are at risk, and we've got to make sure that we're processing these [applications] as

quickly as possible and getting these done," said McLean. "And I know it is work and I know that there are protocols we have to go through."

McLean added that many of his constituents have said they are getting conflicting information from federal departments about the process of bringing their loved ones to Canada.

"A woman whose husband she's trying to bring over, she's getting conflicting information from different officers at IRCC [Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada] and Global Affairs," said McLean. "So, we do need to make sure we get some well-trained people processing these applications as efficiently and quickly as possible."

The government is waiving temporary residence application fees for "foreign nationals who fled Sudan with their Canadian family members," according to

Global Affairs. "Once they have arrived in Canada, they will be able to apply for an open work permit or study permit, and permanent residence under the family class, all free of charge."

Kayabaga said she's been a "bridge" between her community members and the government. She said she's been getting information from her Sudanese constituents, such as names, passports, and information about family members who are still in Sudan.

"We've just really been getting their information," said Kayabaga. "They're sharing it with [Global Affairs Canada] and making sure that their needs are not left behind. [And we're] double checking to see if they're communicating within their community, as well."

Kayabaga added that some Sudanese community members want to have conversations on how the federal government can play a bigger role in the Sudanese region in terms of peace talks and ceasefire.

"They're broken, they're heartbroken," said Kayabaga. "Because it's their country, it's the place of their birth and then they're being displaced. Women are being killed, children are being displaced. They're not happy. But they're here."

### 'We should be able to move quickly': McLean

McLean said it's an MP's job to examine humanitarian crises that are happening worldwide and "get ahead of the matter before we're caught behind it."

"We should be able to move quickly, and I think that's something that perhaps is missing from the government's action agenda right now, is the ability to move quickly when we have to respond to these international emergencies," said McLean.

"[We need to] put Canada back on the forefront of where we need to be in providing humanitarian assistance and serving a very beneficial role on the world stage."

Madut said he thinks the federal government has done what it could to help Sudanese Canadians leave Sudan and come to Canada. He also said it is not only Canada that has suspended its rescue mission, but "everybody" has too.

"Canadians have done their best," said Madut. "Logistically it's difficult. There is no one side now that could claim control over the capital city so that the Canadian diplomatic power can negotiate with one of the generals if they have absolute control over the airport."

Madut added that the conflict in Sudan is a situation that "needs to be done in wisdom rather than blame."

Kayabaga said she has continued to encourage people to reach out to their communities and MPs to ensure that they receive and feel support.

"I myself have been displaced. I know what it's like to be displaced because of a war and the best that anyone could do is really be there for people when they need it most."



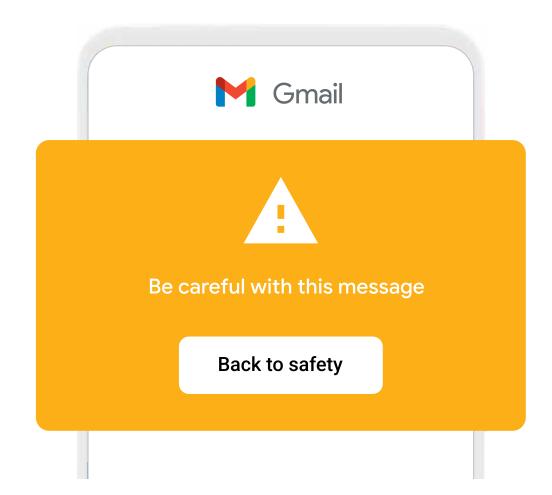
# Google

# Widespread cyber attacks are on the rise

The Advanced Protection Program was built to protect high-risk users from highly targeted attacks

Learn more at safety.google





# **Editorial**

Managing Editor Charelle Evelyn Digital Editor Samantha Wright Allen Executive Editor Peter Mazereeuw Interim Digital Editor Chelsea Nash Deputy Editor Laura Ryckewaert Deputy Digital Editor lan Campbell Assistant Deputy Editor Abbas Rana

Publishers Anne Marie Creskey,
Jim Creskey, Leslie Dickson, Ross Dickson
General Manager, CEO Androw Morrow

# **Editorial**

# Resolve, not rhetoric, needed on interference issue

On May 8, Foreign Minister Mélanie Joly announced that a Chinese diplomat, Zhao Wei, based out of his country's consulate-general in Toronto had been booted from Canada.

"I have been clear: we will not tolerate any form of foreign interference in our internal affairs. Diplomats in Canada have been warned that if they engage in this type of behaviour, they will be sent home," Joly said in a statement.

Zhao was at the centre of allegations revealed by *The Globe and Mail* that the Chinese Communist Party in Beijing was targeting the Hong Kong-based relatives of Conservative MP Michael Chong. This, according to *The Globe*'s sources, was part of "specific actions to target Canadian MPs' who are linked to the February, 2021, parliamentary motion condemning Beijing's oppression of Uyghurs and other Turkic minorities."

The reaction to the story was swift, heated, and (on the part of the government) muddled. The pipeline of information from the Canadian Security Intelligence Service to the Prime Minister's Office was allegedly not as fluid as it should have been, depending on who you ask. The executive branch sat on the information for two years because it concerned an opposition MP, some claimed.

Either way, this was a serious situation that required a commensurate response, and removing the diplomat involved seems to be logical move. However, there is some fantasy afoot in both the government and opposition reaction, which should be tempered as things go forward (because this issue of foreign government interference is only going to progress).

So far, the response from the Chinese government has been the reciprocal expulsion of Canadian diplomat Jennifer Lynn Lalonde from Shanghai. But it would be naïve to assume that any move when it comes to China is going to be proportionate, and saying "damn the torpedoes" when people's lives could be at stake is unwise.

The memory of the ordeal faced by Canadians Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, who were detained for more than 1,000 days in Chinese prisons due to Canada following through on an arrest in the extradition case of Huawei executive Meng Wanzhou, should not be far from anyone's mind.

Attempts on the red side of the aisle to paint Chong as overreacting, or to cast the Liberals as having a steady hand on the wheel in the face of Conservative inaction, stretches credulity for a government that's been in power since 2015.

It's a tall—nigh impossible—ask, but if there was ever a time to take something seriously and separate a desire for change from concern-trolling for the base, this is it.

The Hill Times



# **Letters to the Editor**

# We need to examine royalty's ideological and political role: reader

In the wake of King Charles III's coronation, we ought to examine royalty's ideological and political role as pomp and ceremony eclipses reality.

The mystique and celebrity of British royalty masks their ideological function. Centuries of deference to unaccountable monarchs has conditioned much of the public to meekly defer to power, both political and private. This deference has facilitated centuries of imperialism, colonialism, and the attendant militarism that has mainly enriched aristocrats and industrialists.

This ingrained public deference helps explain the survival of the monarchy and associated institutions. While struggling to survive government austerity measures, the United Kingdom's public willingly subsidizes wealthy royals and Canadians bankroll their costly visits with little complaint. In exchange, these luminaries offer bland rhetoric and distracting titillations.

Contrary to public perception, British royalty wields significant political power

over the lives of Britons, Canadians, and other Commonwealth citizens.

The monarch gives royal assent after bills pass through Britain's parliament and the Governor General does the same in Canada. This symbolism is mainly a nod to Canada's historical connection to Britain.

However, the monarch's duty of royal assent is augmented by the privilege of royal consent, a process whereby the sovereign"is provided with advance sight of draft laws and invited to approve them." Royal consent applies to both the fundamental powers of state and laws "affecting the revenue, assets or interests of the crown."

While the exact origins of this practice are unclear, it creates the impression that unaccountable royalty may meddle in parliamentary affairs to further their own advantage. There is no democratic justification for such royal access.

Morgan Duchesney Ottawa, Ont.

# Ukraine war teaching us democracies must stand together, says Kirby

Re: "Trudeau is right to resist defence lobby's call for more military spending" (The Hill Times April 24, p. 12)

ing," (*The Hill Times*, April 24, p. 12). No one should celebrate war or war machines, including the NATO alliance.

However, there are several problems with the case Douglas Roche makes against Canada's membership in and support for NATO.

Canada's slip-sliding refusal to commit to the two per cent NATO military funding threshold is not principled resistance, as Roche suggests. It is a product of decades of wilful blindness and neglect: our refusal to come to terms with our sheltering under the military umbrella of the United States, or to accept full responsibility to defend our borders and our slagging off full-throated commitment to peacekeeping.

Our allies and our neighbours have a right to be annoyed. We are—despite protestations that Canada punches above its weight—refusing to carry our fair share of the burden of defending ourselves, our values, democracy, and peace.

Roche ignores the fact that Canada has not contributed in any significant way to peacekeeping missions over the past quarter century. Without personnel (the Armed Forces are down 10,000 people) and equipment (Canada's war kit appears to be in dismal shape), Canada cannot be a leader in preserving the peace.

He also ignores the real threat to Canada's northern borders—Russian and Chinese incursions and territorial claims to our vast northern regions—or that we have historically relied on and benefited from the peace dividend (a nod to Peter Worthington) which Canada enjoys courtesy of the U.S.

Though Roche questions our attachment to NATO, the Ukraine war is teaching us that democracies must—if they wish to survive—stand together. On this issue, I have looked at what Margaret MacMillan and John Polanyi, sources Roche relies on, have to say.

Professor MacMillan is clear that if we allow Russian President Vladimir Putin to seize territory on Russia's borders, we risk empowering other brutes to do the same. She also counsels us to strengthen international agreements and defend shared values. Surely, this offers some support for NATO allies defending not only their borders but democracy and international law.

With respect to achieving peace in Ukraine, Polanyi joined 149 other Nobel laureates in a Call for Peace. But the call is for Russia to respect international law, and recall its armed forces, and then, and only then, to start negotiations.

Putin has yet to bend. Arming Ukraine and imposing sanctions are the necessary tools to force him to do so. At this point in time, Canada and NATO must leave it to others to do the talking and seek an agreement to end the war.

Peter Kirby

Kenora, Ont.

### **EDITORIAL**

NEWS REPORTERS Stuart Benson, Jesse Cnockaert, Mike Lapointe, Neil Moss, and Kevin Philipupillai COPY EDITOR Christina Leadlay

PHOTOGRAPHERS Sam Garcia, Andrew Meade, and Cynthia Münster

EDITORIAL CARTOONIST Michael De Adder COLUMNISTS Andrew Caddell, John Chenier, Sheila Copps, David Crane, Jim Creskey, Gwynne Dyer, Michael Harris, Erica Ifill, Joe Jordan, Rose LeMay, Alex Marland, Arthur Milnes, Tim Powers, Susan Riley, Ken Rubin, Evan Sotiropoulos, Scott Taylor, Nelson Wiseman, and Les Whittington.

### ADVERTISING

VICE PRESIDENT MARKETING AND MULTIMEDIA SALES Steve MacDonald DIRECTORS OF BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT Craig Caldbick, Erveina Gosalci, Martin Reaume, Ulle Baum

### PRODUCTION

DIGITALAND PRODUCTION MANAGER Joey Sabourin SENIOR GRAPHIC DESIGNER Serena Masonde GRAPHIC DESIGNER Neena Singhal

### ADMINISTRATION

HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGER Tracey Wale

### CIRCULATION

MARKETING DIRECTOR Paul Goubko
SUBSCRIPTIONS AND LICENSING EXECUTIVE
Lakshmi Krishnamurthi
LOYALTY AND SUBSCRIPTION MANAGER
Stephanie Ramirez
OFFICE AND CIRCULATION MANAGER
Sarah Stephanie Georges
MARKETING EXECUTIVE Shailee Shah

# ${\bf SUBSCRIPTIONS\ SALES\ EXECUTIVES\ Kareen\ Koul,}$ Haiqa Hammad

DELIVERY INQUIRIES circulation@hilltimes.com

# **H**ILL TIMES

Published every Monday and Wednesday by Hill Times Publishing Inc.

246 Queen Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5E4 (613) 232-5952 Fax (613) 232-9055 Canadian Publications Mail Agreement No. 40068926 www.hilltimes.com Please send letters to the editor to the above street address or e-mail to news@hilltimes.com. Deadline is Wednesday at noon, Ottawa time, for the Monday edition and Friday at noon for the Wednesday edition. Please include your full name address and daytime phone number. The Hill Times reserves the right to edit letters. Letters do not reflect the views of The Hill Times. Thank you.

Publications Mail Agreement No. 40068926 RETURN UNDELIVERABLE CANADIAN ADDRESSES TO: CIRCULATION DEPT. 246 Queen Street Suite 200, Ottawa, ON K1P 5E4





# The Online News Act will make the internet less open and secure for all Canadians

The internet relies on a decentralized structure to allow access for all. The unprecedented top-down control reflected in the Online News Act will deprive Canadians of an open, global internet.



n February, thousands of Canadians opened their browsers and picked up their phones to find many sources of news had disappeared from Google's search engine. Links to news articles were removed, and some outlets had vanished. The open, uninterrupted internet we had come to rely on was gone.

This outcome was the result of a Google news blocking experiment in preparation to comply with the pending Bill C-18, the



Canadian Heritage Minister Pablo Rodriguez is the sponsor of Bill C-18, the Online News Act, which fails to consider how the internet works, and will lead Canada to a 'splinternet' of isolated networks controlled by governments or corporations, writes Natalie Campbell. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Online News Act. The lumbering law will require big online platforms like Google and Meta to compensate media organizations for linking to their content, and incurs huge legal risks for noncompliance. While Google hasn't confirmed this course of action, Meta recently announced its own plan to limit Canadians' access to news on Facebook and Instagram if the Act becomes law.

These early responses from big tech have come from a desire to protect their own financial interests in Canada. But the looming consequences for Canadians make one thing clear: giving the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission centralized control over basic internet functions places the open access Canadian individuals and businesses enjoy in great danger, and has

chilling implications for internet freedom. C-18 pressures the likes of Google and Meta—and even large websites like Wikipedia that could be deemed "digital news intermediaries"—to either pay up or restrict linking to suddenly expensive news content.

What the government fails to realize is that the Act will actually empower big tech rather than rein them in. Since only incumbents could afford the prohibitive costs and administrative burdens to dodge or comply with the Act, new market entrants will be shut out. That's a huge blow to Canada's digital economy when we most need viable domestic competitors.

Bill C-18 will also make Canadians less secure online. Platforms would have to build invasive and expensive ways to monitor content to know when

and what news is shared. The strongest level of security on messaging and teleconference platforms-end-to-end encryption—will be incompatible under these conditions, and private lines of individual and group communications will be violated.

This may sound familiar. Some autocratic countries already use a similar approach to centralize control and censor people and information online, leaving citizens with a defective and diminished version of the internet.

Sadly, the Act's failure to consider how the internet workshow this global, borderless resource is fundamentally different from traditional broadcasting media-will lead our country toward a similar dystopian fate: a "splinternet" of isolated networks controlled by governments or corporations.

You may ask: what's the harm of forcing wealthy, large digital news intermediaries to pay media outlets for the privilege of allowing users to link to Canadian news content? Think of the consequences. What if, during the outset of the COVID-19 pandemic, platforms such as Google, Zoom, or WhatsApp were forced to hinder the free flow of information and privacy online?

Mental health concerns surged alongside attempts to curb the spread of the virus. Secure video conferencing and private messaging platforms let people access and share confidential help

resources, an especially critical factor in remote parts of the country already facing increasingly disproportionate rates of suicide.

Open internet access helps save lives. The Northwest Territories excelled at keeping the virus at bay in the pandemic's early days largely because the open internet enabled wide communication of public health measures and news updates to people spread across a vast geography.

The internet relies on a decentralized structure to allow access for all. The unprecedented top-down control reflected in Bill C-18 will deprive Canadians of an open, global internet, and runs counter to the country's pledge to the Freedom Online Coalition. The fragmentation it will cause is precisely what breaks the internet, despite the government's claims.

The Online News Act endangers the internet at a time when we need this critical resource the most. Parliament must reverse course and withdraw the bill, before the internet as we know it slips out of our hands.

Natalie Campbell is the Internet Society's senior director of North American government and regulatory affairs, a co-author of the Internet Society and Internet Society Canada Chapter's Internet Impact Brief on Canada's Online News Act, and a former resident of the Northwest Territories.

The Hill Times

# Are the Liberals trying to kill efforts to fix the whistleblowing law?

It's very difficult to believe that the Liberals are still ignorant of the benefits of this internationally accepted successful anti-corruption measure.





It's rumoured on the Hill that Liberals plan to kill the whis-

tleblower protection Bill C-290, perhaps using some kind of filibuster. This is an embarrassing, undemocratic manoeuvre that was last wheeled out to try to block the prime minister's chief of staff, Katie Telford, from having to testify about Chinese government interference in our elections. So Bill C-290 must represent a very important threat to the Liberals. But why?

C-290 is a private member's ill designed to fix some of the worst features of Canada's discredited whistleblowing law, the Public Servants Disclosure Protection Act (PSDPA). Costing more than \$100-million, the PSD-PA has been on our books for 17 years, yet has never protected a single whistleblower out of more than 500 to date who have sought protection from government reprisals.

Last year, a study of about 50 countries' national whistleblowing laws rated Canada's PSDPA among the worst in the world tied for last place with Lebanon. Our score was of 1 out of 20 while peers, like Australia and the European Union countries, scored 17. We are an international laughing stock.

Worse than doing nothing, the PSDPA is a powerful offensive weapon, used constantly to cover up suspected wrongdoing and to crush and silence whistleblowers. It lures them with bogus promises of protection, takes the information they have about apparent wrongdoing and buries it beyond the reach of access laws-forever. When whistleblowers complain about reprisals, they are placed on a treadmill of rigged, bureaucratic processes that drag out for years, exhausting them mentally and financially, with no prospect of any remedy.

In 17 years, despite valiant efforts by the House Government

Operations Committee and civil society, not a single paragraph of this perverse legislation has been changed, so the June 2022 tabling of this bill by Bloc Québécois MP Jean-Denis Garon was cause for celebration. Now, the government wants to kill it.

This hostility has been sadly apparent during the hearings so far. The committee has heard heart-rending testimony from many whistleblowers, past and present, about the horrendous reprisals taken against them—actions worthy of organized crime, not government departments. It has also heard testimony from renowned international experts, condemning the PSDPA and explaining how appropriate amendments can enable Canada to catch up with the civilized world. Yet government members are repeatedly questioning the need for these simple, commonplace amendments, tip-toeing around

them as if they were land mines, about to explode at any moment and blow our entire system of government to pieces.

In my experience, there are only two reasons why business and government leaders fear whistleblower protection: because they lack knowledge and there-fore don't understand how protecting whistleblowers protects them as well as the public, or because they fear that their own practices would not stand up to this kind of scrutiny.

It's very difficult to believe that, after the testimony and expert advice that they have heard, the Liberals are still ignorant of the benefits of this internationally accepted successful anti-corruption measure. So that only leaves dishonesty. It is the government's trial here, not Bill C-290. Let's see whether, finally, the Liberals choose to do the right thing and support this important bill, with the amendments required to make it truly effective.

David Hutton is a senior fellow at the Centre for Free Expression at Toronto Metropolitan University, which operates a free confidential helpline for whistleblowers.

# **Comment**

# The coronation an upbeat interlude in a country going from Brexit to Bregret



U.K. consumers have been facing the worst decline in living standards since the 1950s as a result of the combination of soaring inflation and central bankdecreed increases in borrowing costs.



TTAWA—An extra 17 million pints of beer were expected to be poured in the United Kingdom over the special three-day weekend laid on to celebrate Charles III's coronation. Retailers were selling \$650,000 diamond rings, royal-themed teddy bears, biscuit tins, and other items in an outpouring of commemorative gewgaws.

The event, which cost the U.K. government and Buckingham Palace between them an estimated \$100-million or so, was forecast to create a one-time boom for much of the economy, with the hospitality and travel sector alone

looking for a \$1-billion-plus shot in the arm.

While some Brits debated whether all the expensive pomp and circumstance was worth it at a time when support for the monarchy is declining, there was no doubt that the U.K. economy needs any and all help it can get.

U.K. consumers have been facing the worst decline in living standards since the 1950s as a result of the combination of soaring inflation and central bank-decreed increases in borrowing

Inflation has been the highest in western Europe. For months, the price of food had been climbing at the fastest rate in nearly

a half-century, with food prices jumping by nearly 20 per cent on an annual basis in February. Although runaway food inflation is showing signs of declining, the overall consumer price index remained above 10 per cent in March.

Persistent double-digit inflation has fuelled widespread disruptions in public services unlike anything seen in the U.K. in 40 years as doctors, nurses, public servants, teachers, and transport staff strike to try to preserve the value of their earnings in the face of the rising cost of living.

The strikers' urgency stems in part from the impact of successive Conservative governments'

austerity policies, which have caused long-term underinvestment in struggling public services and contributed to a decline in U.K. real incomes—after accounting for inflation—of 5.1 per cent since late 2007.

In all, the U.K. economy is forecast to shrink by 0.3 per cent in 2023, making it the worst performer among major developed economies, according to the International Monetary Fund. This severe economic crunch has fed into the continuing unrest over Britain's place in the world that has been bubbling away for seven years since U.K. voters opted in 2016 to leave the European Union. As people have become more distrustful of that move, actually brought to fruition only two years ago, talk is now shifting from Brexit to "Bregret," as British newspapers call the growing buyer's remorse.

It's hard to separate out the damage from Brexit from that caused by COVID. But there's no doubt that the higher trade barriers in the post-Brexit trade relationship with the EU, the U.K.'s major trading partner, have been a factor in the U.K.'s economic woes.

Bank of England policy-makers have said the drag on investment from Brexit has hurt economic output and helped cause sharply higher living costs. Catherine Mann, an external member of the central bank's Monetary Policy Committee, recently said Brexit created unique inflationary pressures for Brits. "No other country chose to unilaterally impose trade barriers on its closest trading partners," she remarked.

"The actual GDP hit [from Brexit] is more than double the mean forecast, vindicating those who were accused of fearmongering by Brexiteers," the Tony Blair Institute for Global Change said in a report.

Bregret is indeed taking hold. With support for leaving the EU falling to its lowest level yet, a recent YouGov poll found 53 per cent of respondents saying Brexit was a mistake, with 32 per cent still backing the decision.

The whole unedifying affair seems to have upped the casualty rate at the top in U.K. politics, costing both former prime minister David Cameron and his successor, Theresa May, their jobs. Boris Johnson, who helped fan Euroskepticism as a journalist, championed Brexit, and was catapulted into 10 Downing Street on a promise to "Get Brexit Done," is gone, as is Liz Truss, whose tenure as PM lasted only 45 days.

And the notion of a post-Brexit "Global Britain" standing tall on the world stage as a free-trading partner for other major economies is not materializing on a timely basis. Talks with the Unit $ed\ States, India, the\ TransPacific$ Partnership, and Canada remain unfinished.

Despite the Bregret phenomenon, no one is expecting any moves in the foreseeable future that would result in a re-entry by the U.K. into the EU Single Market or Customs Union, and certainly not the 27-country bloc

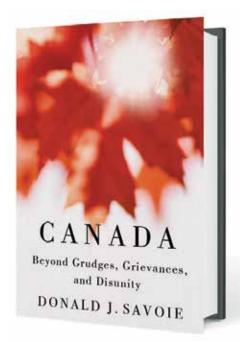
But, with the emergence of the Russian threat to European security, the U.K. and the EU are devoting more energy to putting aside their bitter differences. This tum after the signing of the Windsor Framework meant to solve the gruelling dispute over post-Brexit trade rules in Northern Ireland. After that breakthrough, officials in London and Brussels finally sound committed to finding ways to step up much-needed co-operation among Europe's major democratic partners.

Les Whittington is a regular columnist for The Hill Times.

The Hill Times



U.K. Prime Minister Rishi Sunak visits the Royal Volunteering Society Mill End Lunch Club on May 8. The notion of a 'Global Britain' standing tall on the world stage as a free-trading partner for other major economies is not materializing on a timely basis. No. 10 Downing Street photograph



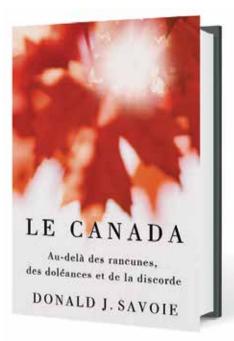
### Canada

Beyond Grudges, Grievances, and Disunity **Donald J. Savoie** 

2023 | Cloth | \$37.95 | 336pp

Exploring how regions and groups in Canada view their participation in the Canadian family.

"Savoie [has the] ability to contextualize very dense subject matter into compelling reading." *CBC* 



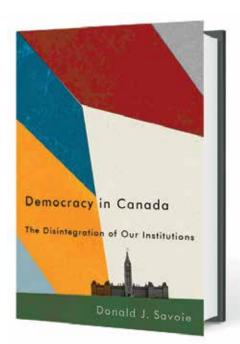
### Le Canada

Au-delà des rancunes, des doléances et de la discorde **Donald J. Savoie** 

2023 | Cloth | \$37.95 | 416pp

Une exploration de la manière dont les régions et les groupes au Canada voient leur participation à la famille canadienne.

# Moi, je suis de Bouchtouche / I'm from Bouchtouche, Me ... Discover the books of Donald J. Savoie

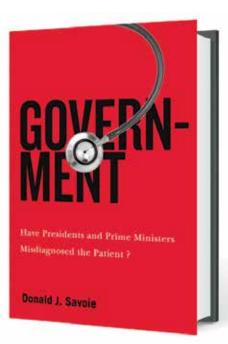


### **Democracy in Canada**

The Disintegration of Our Institutions **Donald J. Savoie** 

2019 | Paperback | \$40.95 | 504pp Aussi disponible en français

"Nobody else but Savoie could have written such an exhaustive and authoritative critique of Canada's institutions – the culmination of all his other work." *The National Post* 



### Government

Have Presidents and Prime Ministers Misdiagnosed the Patient?

### Donald J. Savoie

2023 | Cloth | \$37.95 | 320pp | 1 table

McGill-Queen's/Brian Mulroney Institute of Government Studies in Leadership, Public Policy, and Governance

"Savoie ably shows the consequences in all four countries of what happens when power is overly centralized." Winnipeg Free Press



McGill-Queen's University Press

mqup.ca | @McGillQueensUP

# **Opinion**

# More Indigenous Guardians provide benefits for climate, nature, and reconciliation

Eighty per cent of the world's remaining biodiversity is on lands cared for and loved by Indigenous Peoples. That's not an accident.



With summer around the corner, familiar questions start to arise. How bad will the wildfire season be and how far will the smoke spread? Will enough salmon return to spawning grounds to enable another fishing season? Will overstretched emergency crews be able to respond to extreme conditions?

These concerns have become harbingers of seasonal change

in the age of climate crisis and biodiversity loss. They can leave people feeling unprepared for the challenges that lie ahead.

But there is good news on the horizon: more and more Indigenous Guardians are offering the knowledge and solutions needed to help the country navigate our changing environment.

This week, the largest-ever gathering of Guardians is happening in Ottawa—the latest step in a rapidly expanding movement delivering benefits for our communities and the country. Here's how.

Guardians are trained experts who care for lands and waters on behalf of their First Nations. They provide concrete answers to the questions of how to manage fire, how to restore animals and plants, and how to remain safe on land and sea. And because their work is rooted in Indigenous knowledge and culture, they help community members heal from the trauma of residential schools.

In other words, Guardians programs offer an opportunity to address climate change, loss of biodiversity, and reconciliation all at the same time.

This positive force is expanding. Five years ago, there were about 30 Guardians programs operating in the country. Today, there are more than 120 First Nations Guardians programs caring for lands and waters we all depend on.

Having more Guardians on the ground is good for our shared future.

Eighty per cent of the world's remaining biodiversity is on lands cared for and loved by Indigenous Peoples. That's not an accident. We have been in relationship with the plants and animals of our territories for millennia. We know how to care for each other.

This knowledge guides Guardians. It informs their work sustaining caribou as winters grow shorter or setting harvest limits that help Dungeness crab rebound. It inspires Guardians to connect youth and Elders and support language revitalization. And it guides their stewardship of some of the largest, healthiest lands in the country.

The Seal River Watershed Alliance in northern Manitoba, for instance, recently launched a Guardians program to care for a



Guardians are trained experts who care for lands and waters on behalf of their First Nations, and having more on the ground is good for our shared future, writes Valérie Courtois. Photograph courtesy of Pexels

proposed Indigenous Protected Area the size of Nova Scotia. The watershed holds an enormous amount of carbon-equivalent of eight years' worth of Canada's annual greenhouse gas emissions and Guardians will ensure those lands remain intact and able to store that carbon.

Canada recognizes that Guardians programs deliver widespread benefits, from creating economic prosperity in remote communities to helping meet nature and climate commitments. Federal investment has helped Nations expand these benefits.

But so much more is possible. Imagine the positive impact when every First Nation that wants a Guardians program has support to create one. And imagine the power that long-term federal investments in Guardians and wholistic

Indigenous-led conservation models—such as the one under development in the Northwest Territories—can have in moving us closer to this future.

This week offers a preview. More than 350 Guardians, leaders, and partners will travel to Ottawa for the First Nations National Guardians Gathering. We will share tools and solutions, and most of all, we will mark the growth of the Guardians movement.

**Empowering Guardians to** care for the land and help weave respect and reciprocity into this country's relationship to the natural world is something all people can celebrate

Valérie Courtois is the director of the Indigenous Leadership Initiative and a member of the Ilnu community of Mashteuiatsh.

The Hill Times

# Comment

# Canada as we know it will soon cease to exist

The Trudeau government is not only complicit in this gradual slide towards a separate Quebec: it is actively supporting it with its changes to the Official Languages Act, Bill C-13.





MONTREAL—As you drive into the Quebec City region on the Trans-Canada Highway, there is a huge sign saying "Bienvenue à la Capitale Nationale" (Welcome to the National Capital).

I always thought it was a pretentious sop to Quebec nationalists, or a deliberate ambiguity between

the English meaning of the word "nation" (country) and the French (cultural group). But as of June 1, for all intents and purposes, Quebec will be a separate country, and Canada as we know it will cease to exist. Sadly, this state of affairs can be laid squarely on the doorstep of Justin Trudeau.

do not suggest this lightly, but without a constitution—the basic law-does a country exist? Let's begin with Bill 96, the new Charter of the French Language, which became law on June 1, 2022. It strips all legal and political rights acquired by anglophones since Confederation. The English text of any law is now subordinated to the French version, contrary to Section 133 of the Constitution. seizure of computers and cellphones, as it is protected by the notwithstanding clause.

Similarly, any legal documents cannot be in English alone, destroying 156 years of legal protection. The law goes further in stating the "Parliament of Quebec must ... enshrine the paramountcy (of French) in Québec's legal order." And then the kicker: the Canadian Constitution is modified to recognize "Quebecers form a nation," and "French shall be the only official language of Quebec ... (and is) the common language of the Quebec nation." Coming June 1, only 600,000 "historic anglophones" (those educated in English in Canada) will have the right to service from Quebec in their language.

Given there are 1.25 million Quebecers who speak English, this is absurd, and the community has risen up to challenge Bill 96 in court. It had to: Ottawa neither challenged it, nor disallowed it within the one-year time frame required by the Constitution. It also failed to challenge Quebec's Bill 4, giving the National Assembly the unique right to refuse to swear allegiance to the King.

As regular readers know, I am no monarchist, but if you want to change the Constitution, you amend it according to the rules, otherwise you do not have a constitution. In Premier François Legault's "Quebec Nation" that doesn't matter.

The Trudeau government is not only complicit in this gradual slide towards a separate Ouebec. it is actively supporting it with its changes to the Official Languages Act, Bill C-13.

While Canada recognized the rights to the use of English and French from Confederation to Pierre Trudeau's push for bilingualism, through to the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, with one fell swoop, all of that will be lost. Bill C-13 has integrated Bill 96, thanks to Bloc Québécois and Conservative MPs who made the bill worse in committee, and who don't give a damn about the concerns of Anglo-Quebecers, or the future of Canada.

In doing so, the rampant discrimination of Bill 96 and its use of the notwithstanding clause to suppress fundamental rights has been endorsed by Parliament. This is unprecedented and dangerous.

While Bill C-13 supports the growth of francophone communities outside Quebec, it provides incentives to francophones not given to Anglo-Quebecers. Last week, in a cynical ploy, the Trudeau government offered hundreds of millions of dollars in grants to gain anglophone support of Bill C-13, while simultaneously undermining their community.

Although Quebec nationalists often insult anglophones as "Westmount Rhodesians," the reality is very different. The vast majority of us speak French, but those who don't are often Black, Indigenous, elderly, rural poor, and those with physical challenges. Bill C-13 and Bill 96 will openly discriminate against them.

There are Quebec MPs who plan to vote against this egregious legislation, and they should be applauded for their courage. But other Liberal, Conservative, and NDP MPs pandering to Quebec will join with the separatist Bloc in a moment of ignominy. Pierre Trudeau should be spinning in his grave.

Being a Member of Parliament brings with it extraordinary responsibility: each one took an oath to protect our Constit and our laws. They have failed miserably to act in the interests of the country we love, and will now reap the whirlwind.

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

# Right to repair provisions must take the automotive sector into account

Automakers will continue to control the terms through which independent auto repair shops access necessary data unless there is an intervention by the federal government.



Opinion



The tabling of the 2020 feature Thas come and gone. Just a year after The tabling of the 2023 federal budget entering into a supply-and-confidence agreement with the NDP that may see the Liberals govern into 2025, Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland delivered her third budget titled, A Made-In-Canada Plan.

A key theme touted by government, ministers, and Members of Parliament in the weeks leading up to and now during the post-budget roadshow, is the concept of making life more affordable for Canadians. One way in which the Trudeau government is trying to do this is by implementing a right-to-repair framework by 2024, targeted specifically at home appliances and

Announced in the budget, the Liberal government will launch consultations this summer, including on the right to repair and the interoperability of farming equipment, and work closely with provinces and territories to advance its implementation at

This is good news for Canadian consumers, who have been hit hard over the course of the last year and are worried about how to stretch their paycheques at a time when both personal debt levels and interest rates are at a two-decade high point.

And while this is a step in the right direction, it begs the question as to why the government has limited the scope of the framework to home appliances and electronics. The right to repair addresses the important issue of who should be able to access data and information to fix Internet of Things devices, including those that embedded softwa that collect, store, and process data, such

Nearly all new vehicles are connected to the internet, making cars and trucks in Canada an important pillar of the Internet of Things. If a legislative framework is being considered for connected personal electronics and home appliances, vehicles are a critical third component.

There is no mention of vehicle repair as part of the right-to-repair provisions in the budget, and consumers are left paying the price. Repairing modern vehicles requires



As vehicle technology advances, there is a concurrent increase in the cost to service them, writes Jean-François Champagne. Unsplash photograph by Maxim Hopman

access to the vehicle's diagnostic data. Automakers control this data, and some are making it more difficult and expensive to repair your vehicle. In some cases, it has been impossible for consumers to get their vehicle serviced or repaired at the auto shop of their choosing.

As vehicle technology advances, there is a concurrent increase in the cost to service them. Failure to make auto service and repair information, tools, and software available results in a lack of competition, driving up the price for auto repair and service for consumers, and threatens to challenge the sustainability of the essential independent repair channel.

Canadians deserve choice, particularly during times like these when consumers are facing record-high levels of cost-ofliving expenses from gasoline to groceries and everything in between.

Right-to-repair provisions can, and must, take the automotive sector into account. While the government has taken a step in the right direction by enshrining right-to-repair language in the budget, automakers will continue to control the terms through which independent auto repair shops access necessary data unless there is an intervention by the federal government.

The importance of this initial move by the Trudeau government cannot be overstated and the auto care industry is in alignment on the need to address consumer fairness and affordability. This policy move has opened the door to address the very real necessity to modernize our laws and bring them up to date so that they can keep pace with the rapid advancements in technology and ensure they are fit for the wireless

Any legislative framework that directly or indirectly relates to the right to repair must include vehicles. Not only will this allow for fair competition, but it will also enable the protection and preservation of consumer choice, and ensure that Canadian consumers can continue to have access to reliable, essential, and affordable vehicle service and repair.

Jean-François Champagne is the president of the Automotive Industries Association of Canada.

The Hill Times

# **FMA** amendments support better futures for First **Nations communities**

Establishing the First Nations Infrastructure Institute is vital to addressing the \$30-billion infrastructure gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities in Canada.

Harold Calla

Opinion



ometimes legislative amendments have Transformative potential. Such is the case with amendments to the First Nations Fiscal Management Act (FMA) tabled in the House of Commons on March 23. They support efforts to close the infrastructure gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, and unlock the Indigenous economy.

These amendments housed in Bill C-45 reflect what the FMA institutions, including the First Nations Financial Management Board (FMB), have been hearing from the First Nations communities we serve. A First Nations-led institution, the FMB supports First Nations in achieving their socioeconomic development goals through sound finance and administrative governance practices. There are now 342 First Nations scheduled to the FMA—60 per cent of the Indian Act Nations in Canada. This means a critical mass of First Nations are now looking to the FMA to support their efforts to implement their rights and title. These amendments re spond to these needs and help modernize the FMA.

The centrepiece of the FMA amendments responds to calls for more tools and capacity support for Indigenous communities and organizations to help close the infrastructure gap. The First Nations Infrastructure Institute (FNII), as a fourth institution of the FMA-joining the FMB, the First Nations Finance Authority, and the First Nations Tax Commission—would support interested Indigenous First Nations in building and maintaining cost-effective, efficient, and sustainable infrastructure assets. Establishing FNII is vital to addressing the \$30-billion infrastructure gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities in Canada.

That massive gap is a legacy of Canada's colonial system of governance. The Indian Act has denied many First Nations the capacity to plan, develop, and manage public infrastructure assets.

Like its sister FMA institutions, FNII would be First Nations-led, offer optional programs and services, and become a centre of excellence.

The impact of FNII would start to be felt with the passage of these amendments. That's because the groundwork for FNII's institutional design is already underway, being guided by a development board comprised of First Nations leaders from across

Paqtnkek Mi'kmaw Nation in Nova Scotia is one of two communities that FNII engaged with as a proof of concept prior to being included in the FMA amendments. Since 2019, FNII and Paqtnkek have worked together to develop a community infrastructure plan for both residential and commercial purposes. This includes plans for water, wastewater, telecommunications, and electricity infrastructure.

FNII would develop standards and tools to support communities in adopting infrastructure best practices. It would build the infrastructure planning, implementation and management capacity needed to support Nations in achieving their infrastructure goals. And it would assist First Nations in asserting infrastructure jurisdiction through new regulatory powers.

The transformative potential of these amendments is also found in an expanded mandate for the FMB. The amendments would enable the FMB to provide financial management supports to Tribal Councils and First Nation Treaty and Self-Governing groups. This means the FMB would be able to support innovative projects of collaborative entities such as the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, which is comprised of nine First Nations.

The Meadow Lake Tribal Council shows what is possible in infrastructure development through collaboration with the recent opening of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council Bioenergy Centre in northwestern Saskatchewan, where wood waste is turned into heat and power. The First Nations-owned plant will generate carbon-neutral green power using sawmill biomass residuals. The first facility of its kind in the province, the Bioenergy Centre is expected to produce 6.6 megawatts of baseload electricity to power approximately 5,000 homes with greener

We will see more innovative developments from Indigenous communities in clean energy and other sectors in the coming years. The FMA amendments are part of the changes needed to unlock Indige-

The Indigenous economy in Canada is estimated to have a potential value of \$100-billion in the coming years. Realizing that potential will be transformative not only for Indigenous Peoples, but also for all Canadians. Getting there requires systemic change. It calls for the sharing of power and wealth. And it's within our

Harold Calla is the executive chair of the First Nations Financial Management

# **Books & Big Ideas**

# To learn about the future of inflation, look to lessons from the past

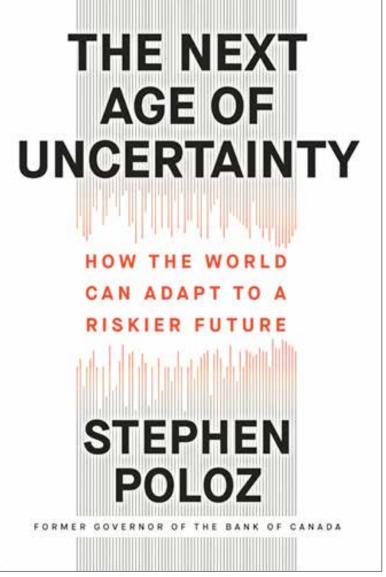
The Next Age of *Uncertainty* is one of the finalists for this year's Donner Prize, one of the best public policy books written in 2022. The following is an excerpt.

### BY STEPHEN POLOZ

The Great Inflation belief belief because the inflation he Great Inflation is so lawent global. The 1950s and 1960s saw low and stable inflation in most advanced economies. In this era, many economists believed that there existed a trade-off between inflation and unemployment: by allowing a little bit of inflation, a country could run the economy hotter and achieve a slightly lower unemployment rate. However, inflation for the major economies after World War II was essentially being controlled by the United States, as the major economies were tied together by the Bretton Woods exchange rate system. Under this arrangement, most major currencies were tied to the U.S. dollar, which in turn was tied to the price of gold-if prices went up in one country, they tended to go up in all the

This system was brought under strain in the mid-1960s as the U.S. struggled to finance the war in Vietnam. Big increases in military spending led to ballooning government deficits, excess demand in the economy, and rising inflation. The U.S. Federal Reserve raised interest rates in late 1965 to contain inflation pressures, prompting a showdown with President Johnson, who wanted the Fed to keep rates low. The chair of the Federal Reserve, William McChesney Martin, insisted on policy independence and raised interest rates in defiance of the Johnson administration.

The outlook for inflation was hotly debated at the time, not least because of an important tectonic force: the global population was steadily getting younger, and the baby boomers were beginning to enter the workforce. The net result of this inflation



The Next Age of Uncertainty by Stephen Poloz is one of the finalists for this year's \$60,000 Donner Prize for the best public policy book written in 2022. 'There is little to suggest that governments wish to revisit the trauma of the 1970s in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the tectonic forces identified earlier, combined with the fallout from the COVID-19 pandemic, present a dangerous cocktail of inflation risk—an environment made for policy mistakes—that investors should take very seriously,' writes Poloz. Image courtesy of Allen Lane Canada

debate within the Federal Reserve through new money creation by modestly, monetary expansion remained rapid, and inflation pressures continued to build in the economy.

Those pressures really gained traction beginning in 1970 under Martin's successor, Arthur Burns, who was known to be more sympathetic to the fiscal stresses that the war was creating for the Nixon administration. Essentially, war-related government deficits were partially financed

ne rederai Reserve in the C of an already hot economy. This combination produced a surge in U.S. inflation to over 6%, which was automatically exported to countries maintaining a fixed exchange rate with the U.S. The exchange rate system collapsed under the strain, but not before global inflation rose everywhere, albeit more in some countries than in others.

Inflation pressures were compounded by big hikes in oil prices

in the early 1970s in the wake of the Arab oil embargo. Unemployment was rising in most countries at the same time. This combination of rising unemployment and rising inflation had not been witnessed previously and was at odds with mainstream economic models, making it extremely challenging for policymakers to understand what was going on, let alone get inflation pressures under control. They were contemplating raising interest rates to reduce inflation just as rising unemployment suggested they should do the opposite.

It took more than a decade for central banks to rectify this situation. The effort was led by Paul Volcker, who was appointed chair of the U.S. Federal Reserve by President Jimmy Carter in 1979 with a clear mandate to get inflation under control. Grinding inflation expectations back down to a reasonable level required extremely high interest rates, recessions, high unemployment,

and years of lost national income. Nevertheless, it needs to be recognized that the Great Inflation of the 1970s represented a financial gift to indebted households, which came in two forms. First, real estate prices rose significantly. Second, a mortgage taken out in 1970 effectively fell to less than half its original value by 1980, measured in 1970 dollars. People without debt fared much less well. Stocks and especially bonds delivered very poor returns; sophisticated investors paid a very high price through unexpectedly higher inflation, whereas less wealthy households whose primary assets were in real estate made out very well.

What about the experience of governments? With cumulative inflation of more than 100%over the 1970s, the real value of outstanding government debt was cut by more than half. During the 1980s, inflation averaged nearly 8% a year, further eroding the value of outstanding government debt. In short, the inflation of the 1970s and 1980s represented a significant transfer of wealth from investors to governments and to indebted households.

Governments did not set out in the late 1960s to create faster inflation or to confiscate investor wealth to reduce their fiscal debt burdens. The dominant economic models of the era did not envisage the events of the 1970s, which is what prompted John Kenneth Galbraith to write 'The Age of Uncertainty.'

The Great Inflation was the result of a policy mistake, one of the gravest on record, made in a highly unusual context. Several tectonic forces were in motion that confused policymakers and upended their economic models: the workforce was getting younger, technological progress had slowed compared to the early postwar period, and government debt was setting new records. On top of this, the world needed to cope with expensive oil and the breakdown of the gold-based international monetary system.

There is little to suggest that governments wish to revisit the trauma of the 1970s in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the tectonic forces identified earlier, combined with the fallout from the COVID-19 pandemic, present a dangerous cocktail of inflation risk—an environment made for policy mistakes—that investors should take very seriously.

At the root of this risk is the Fourth Industrial Revolution, which appears to be picking up pace in the wake of the pandemic. Industrial revolutions have historically been accompanied by falling prices, and this should be equally true now. However, as we saw during the Third Industrial Revolution, inflation targeting by central banks can be expected to prevent a technology-led generalized deflation. In the near future, accelerated technological progress should translate into enhanced economic capacity—in effect, a pickup in inflation-free economic growth through rising productivity. The constraint on this will be a pronounced slowdown in global labour force growth as a result of an aging population. Therefore, the more significant consequence of technological progress will be the displacement of workers and rising income inequality. Together, can be expected to top-line issues for politicians.

Of course, there are government policy options that could deal with these stresses. Flexible income redistribution programs, universal basic income programs, or enhanced unemployment safety nets are the most obvious. Minimum wage increases might fall into the same set. Such policies can have unintended conse-

# **Books & Big Ideas**



A former Bank of Canada governor, Stephen Poloz brings his breadth of professional experience and weaves it with personal, insightful anecdotes to 'build a set of ideas that would help business audiences and corporate boardrooms think about longer-term issues' in The Next Age of Uncertainty. Handout photograph by Valerie Poloz

more restrictions on international trade to buttress incomes at the lower end of the scale. Unfortunately, as discussed earlier, deglobalization is not only a policy with potentially inflationary consequences but one that would also lead to lower national income and more job losses across the entire economy. These arguments may fall on deaf ears as they have in the past.

Given all these constraints and political polarization, would it be a stretch for some politicians to campaign on the promise of a higher rate of inflation, thinking it would help to eradicate a significant portion of today's public debt? Would it be a stretch for a government to override its independent central bank to ensure that inflation would go above target for a period of time? Would it be a stretch for a government to succumb to the superficial allure of modern monetary theory and give it a try? Would it be a stretch for heavily indebted households to agree with, and vote for, exactly this policy?

I think not. Although I have a deep faith that both central banks and the general public have not forgotten the inflationary lessons of the 1970s, politics is the art of the possible, and it is too unpredictable for us to dismiss the possibility of higher inflation without another thought. Setting aside politics, the potential interactions between our tectonic forces will create an environment in which even the most independent and well-intentioned central bank can make a policy error, as happened in the late 1960s.

Excerpted and reprinted with permission from *The Next Age of Uncertainty* by Stephen Poloz. Published by Allen Lane Canada, a division of Penguin Random House Canada Limited.

The Hill Times

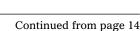
### **Q&A with Stephen Poloz**

### Why did you write the book?

I honestly was not thinking of The Next Age of Uncertainty as a book until a very late stage. What I originally set out to do was build a set of ideas that would help business audiences and corporate boardrooms think about longer-term issues. In response to criticism that companies sometimes put their energies into "meeting the quarterly numbers" at the expense of long-term strategy, it occurred to me that what economists generally consider to be constants, or anchor points to which the economy will eventually converge, are actually in motion, and rising in strength quite rapidly. Subsequently, the idea of the five tectonic forces — population aging, technological progress, growing income inequality, rising indebtedness, and climate change - emerged, along with their interactions with politics. I realized that these forces would have significant implications not just for companies, but also for households and policymakers.

### Why is this book important and who should read it?

One important idea in the book is that the five tectonic forces do not just rumble through the economy independently, but have enormous potential to interact and magnify. This can create what mathematicians call "chaos," leading to episodes in the economy that are simply not explicable by economists. Re-examining history with this insight provides deeper explanations for major past events, such as the Victorian Depression, the Great Depression, or the global financial crisis. Since the five tectonic forces are only growing stronger, we need to prepare for a rising tide of economic and financial volatility. The Next Age of Uncertainty talks about how this will affect our work, our household finances, investment decisions by companies, inflation, housing, and policy issues that governments and central banks will face. Intuitively tied together through a series of personal anecdotes, these ideas should help inform conversations at the boardroom table, at the policymakers' table, and at the kitchen table.



quences, too, including lower labour force participation, elevated unemployment, and increased costs for employers.

Such social programs are rarely simple to deploy politically, as competing interests and ambiguous economic analysis drive a wedge between constituencies. Moreover, there is a further constraint operating: the tectonic force of rising indebtedness across the economy, especially on the part of governments. The post-

COVID-19 fiscal situation will make new social programs quite challenging to implement. The argument may simply come down to perceived fiscal cost, regardless of what the long-term economic benefits

It is impossible to predict how these political stresses will be resolved, but the situation does point to a higher risk that we will end up adopting policy options that are politically palatable rather than ones that actually work. Those options almost certainly would include placing



BostonPizza

OROGERS

Labatt

CBC 🌞 Radio-Canada

**AHILLTIMES** 

TELEFILM ME

III Manulife

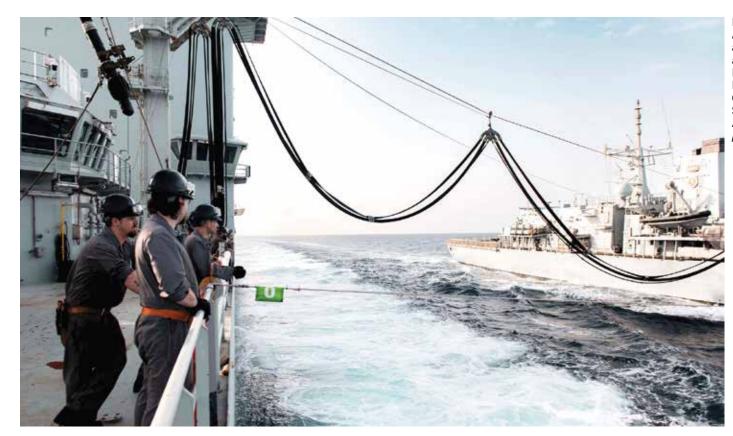
compass rose

Donald K. Johnson, O.C.

Azrieli 🗆

NATIONAL FAIRTNE

# Comment



Members of MV Asterix perform a replenishment at sea with HMS Lancaster in the Red Sea during Operation Savanne on April 27. DND photograph by \$1 Taylor Congdon

In addition to the airlift, there was also a large-scale effort to evacuate foreign nationals by sea. By good fortune, Canada hap-pened to have a naval presence

in the region in the form of the patrol frigate HMCS Montréal and the supply ship MV Asterix.

As events unfolded, the MV Asterix was the second international ship on the scene after the war erupted in Sudan.

For those not familiar with the composition of the current fleet of the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN), the MV Asterix is a bit of an anomaly.

She has the designation "MV" (Motor Vessel) rather than "HMCS" (His Majesty's Canadian Ship) for the simple reason that Asterix is a civilian-owned and -operated ship that is leased by the RCN. Considered an auxiliary fleet ship, MV Asterix began her service with the RCN in 2018.

With a displacement of 23,792 tons, Asterix is essentially a floating gas station—that is, general store—and ammunition magazine.

Her role is not that of a warship, but that of replenishing

warships while still at sea.
As such, MV Asterix proved to be a very valuable asset to all those allied nations toiling to evacuate their nationals via the port of Sudan.

While on station in the Red Sea, MV Asterix was able to replenish warships from the United States, the U.K., Spain, and France. The effectiveness of that support drew high praise from our allies.

Commander Tom Johnson, the captain of the Royal Navy's HMS Lancaster, a.k.a. "The King's Frigate," wrote a thank-you note to the MV Asterix's captain and crew, which read in part, "The sprint from Muscat left us short of fuel ... without your exceptional support, we simply could not have done this [evacuation]."

There has been international praise for the extremely successful French evacuation operation.

Being able to stage missions out of their military base in neighbouring Djibouti, the French were the first to co-ordinate the air evacuations via the Wadi Seidna air base.

They were also credited with the first large-scale maritime evacuation.

In turn, French Vice-Admiral Emmanuel Slaars gave credit to Canada's MV Asterix for the success of that operation.

In thanking the captain and crew of MV Asterix, Slaars wrote: "These simple but sincere words to thank you for your great service in support of FS Lorraine. The [replenishment at sea] which you granted us at night, with ultra-short notice early this week has appeared pivotal to the success of the Non-Combatant Evacuation Operation (NEO) conducted inside Port Sudan by Lorraine."

As a result of that joint operation, the French were able to safely extract 398 evacuees, who included more than 100 children and 10 Canadian citizens.

Suffice it to say, then, that Canada's response to the Sudan crisis was not a *complete* gong show.

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

The Hill Times

# Finding the silver lining in a cloudy Sudan evacuation operation

MV Asterix proved to be a very valuable asset to all those allied nations toiling to evacuate their nationals via the port of Sudan.

Scott Taylor



TTAWA—At first glance, Canada's military response to the crisis in Sudan has been a total gong show.

The civil strife in that country erupted on April 15 between two rival military factions seeking to secure sole control of Sudan.

There were approximately .800 Canadian nationais in Su dan when the war erupted, with at least 700 of those requesting an evacuation to safety.

However, the Canadian Embassy staff in Khartoum elected to evacuate themselves first, and by April 23 it was announced that all of our diplomats were safely deployed to a third

This, of course, left the remaining Canadian citizens to fend for

Four days later. Defence Minister Anita Anand announced that the Canadian Armed Forces would be mounting a rescue mission. Dubbed Operation Savanne, this airlift evacuation effort included approximately 200 personnel and two C130J- Hercules transport aircraft.

it was not until April 27 that the RCAF were able to actually effect two evacuation flights from the Wadi Seidna air base outside of Khartoum.

The first Hercules carried 45 passengers, which included a mix of Canadians, Americans, United Kingdom residents, Japanese, and Djiboutians. The second and final flight managed to lift off with a similarly mixed group of 72 evacuees.

Following those flights, the tenuous ceasefire on the ground

collapsed, and with Canada's diplomats safely tucked into a third country, further negotiations proved impossible.

As a result, Canada had no choice but to suspend further operations, with hundreds of Canadians still trapped inside war-torn Sudan.

On the airlift side, the Cana dian effort amounted to a case of too little, too late.

By the time Canada announced it was going to start flying people out, the British and French were already concluding their successful evacuationswhich included bringing many Canadians to safety.

However, there is a bright side to this saga, and one in which Canadians can take a measure of national pride.

# Affordable housing tops list of policies approved at Liberal party convention

At the first in-person party convention in five years, individual Liberal MPs spoke out in favour of successful policy resolutions on affordable housing, divestment from fossil fuels, and support for farmers.

### BY KEVIN PHILIPUPILLAI

ffordable housing, high-speed Arail, increased defence spending, access to primary health care, and four weeks of paid vacation topped the ranked list of 24 policy resolutions approved at last weekend's Liberal policy convention, while delegates voted down policy resolutions on a balanced budget and mandatory voting.

The Liberal policy convention, held at the Shaw Centre in Ottawa from May 4-6, was the party's first in-person convention since Halifax in 2018. Along with high-profile appearances by Hillary Clinton and Jean Chrétien, and the election of new party president Sachit Mehra, the convention also saw the culmination of a one-year policy process that saw more than 335 policy resolutions from across the country whittled down to a final list of 24. These have now been adopted as official party policy for the next eight years.

Yasir Naqvi (Ottawa Centre, Ont.), Kody Blois (Kings-Hants, N.S.), Jenica Atwin (Fredericton, N.B.), Sophie Chatel (Pontiac, Que.), and Taleeb Noormohamed (Vancouver Granville, B.C.) were among the Liberal MPs who were directly involved in drafting or



The 2023 Liberal policy convention saw thousands of enthusiastic partisans gather at the Shaw Centre in downtown Ottawa, but fewer than 200 attended a key plenary session, the attendees of which voted on the party's new policy proposals. The Hill Times photograph by Sam Garcia

presenting policy resolutions at the convention.

Naqvi, the caucus liaison to the party's policy committee, told The Hill Times on May 6 that the entire Liberal caucus voted anonymously to determine which policy resolutions the national caucus would sponsor. Two of these resolutions—on affordable housing and direct payments for farmers—ended up among the 24 successful policy resolutions, along with a New Brunswick resolution that Atwin acted as a spokesperson for.

Naqvi said he worked on the affordable housing resolution, the top vote-getter from delegates, with Chatel and Noormohamed. He said the federal government has a "very robust national housing strategy," but that he and his fellow caucus members were looking at what further steps the Liberal Party can push the federal government to take.

The successful resolution urges the government to sell, for a nominal value, 30 per cent of all viable federal land and property that could be used for affordable housing, build new rural and non-market housing, and fund initiatives related to youth homelessness.

Blois acted as a spokesperson for the successful food security resolution, which calls on the government to increase direct payments to farmers and fisheries that provide ecological benefits, and to incentivize less resource-intensive practices. He told delegates on May 6 that "our government has a good story to tell" when it comes to food security, but that "we need to shore up the domestic food supply."

Atwin, who told delegates at a May 5 policy workshop that she was excited to participate in her first convention, acted as the main spokesperson for

several resolutions sponsored by the New Brunswick arm of the Liberal Party. Only one of these-urging end all fossil fuel subsidies before 2025—was ultimately approved.

Cabinet ministers were more circumspect about their positions on the various policy resolutions. Labour Minister Seamus O'Regan (St. John's

South—Mount Pearl, N.L.) told The Hill Times he was following the progress of a number of policy resolutions, but declined to specify which.

### Senior Liberals and Young Liberals each get three resolutions approved, but only one for Indigenous Commission

Out of the 36 policy resolutions that made it to the May 4-6 convention, 10 were eliminated from the end of the list after an online ranking vote the evening of May 5. The remaining 26 were brought before an in-person plenary session at 8 a.m. on May 6, moderated by Treasury Board President Mona Fortier (Ottawa-Vanier, Ont.) and party policy secretary Mike Morrison.

The Saturday morning crowd of approximately 175 delegatesincluding a well-organized contingent of seniors, and perhaps missing some younger delegates who had been out late at rethe night before—approved 24 resolutions by majority votes and rejected two.

Each of the party's recognized policy sponsors—the national caucus, each provincial commission, the territorial commissions (as one), the Young Liberals of Canada (YLC), the Senior Liberals' Commission (SLC). the National Women's Liberal Commission, and the Indigenous Peoples' Commission (IPC)—put

forward its top three resolutions for consideration, of which one could be fast-tracked to the convention floor.

The YLC saw all three of its resolutions adopted by the convention, including its "keynote policy" calling for an electric, high-speed rail link for the rail corridor between Windsor, Ont., and Quebec City. This policy, which ranked second out of 24, would be a step beyond the government's current efforts to build high frequency rail between Windsor and Quebec.

The YLC's other successful resolutions called for free movement between Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand—similar to the Schengen Area in continental Europe—and for the introduction of independent cell tower operators whose presence could help lower cell phone bills and expand high-quality access to cell service in underserved areas.

YLC member Amtoj Uppal told The Hill Times on May 5 the independent operators could either be Crown corporations like SaskTel or foreign corporations that have so far been discouraged from entering the Canadian market.

The SLC also saw all three of its resolutions approved: one urging the federal government to put significant conditions on the money it sends provinces and territories through Canada Health Transfers, one calling for federal legislation to make it possible for seniors to stay in their homes instead of moving into long-term care, and one calling for an increase to the Guaranteed Income Supplement to address poverty rates among older women.

Sheila Bryan, chair of the Ontario section of the SLC, told *The Hill Times* on May 6 that the resolution to keep seniors in their home "was really our number one priority" because "poll after poll"has showed that "the huge majority of us"don't want to go into congregant care.

'You literally are saving lives by keeping seniors home," said Bryan.

Meanwhile, only one policy resolution generated by the Liberal Party's IPC made it to the convention floor on May 6, after being fast-tracked past the May 5 ranking vote.

The resolution called for adding three Supreme Court seats for Indigenous legal experts to match the three seats currently set aside for Quebec, setting aside a number of Senate seats for Indigenous Peoples, and making other reforms to the justice system in line with recommendations from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

IPC member Michelle Robinson, a delegate from Calgary Forest Lawn, Alta., told the convention she was missing her grandmother's funeral in order to introduce the policy resolution.
"We have asked, begged,

pleaded for years, decades, for Canada to make substantial



here on May 4 at the Liberal convention, says he worked on the affordable housing resolution with fellow caucus members Sophie Chatel and Taleeb Noormohamed. The Hill Times photograph by Sam Garcia

# 'The energy is not there': Liberals need to address 'enthusiasm gap' at the riding association level, say convention attendees

Despite being outstripped by the Conservatives in polling and fundraising, Canadians are satisfied with the job performance of the Trudeau Liberals and will re-elect them for a fourth mandate, says Liberal MP Francis Scarpaleggia.

Continued from page 1

not-for-attribution basis to offer their candid views.

"It's always easier when you're in opposition, because you're opposing something. So your focus is different. But now the energy is not there, the enthusiasm is not

According to the Liberal Party, 4,000 Canadians, including delegates, observers, and media attended the three-day national policy convention at the downtown Shaw Centre. It was the

party's first in-person convention in five years due to the COVID-19  $\,$ pandemic. For the May 4-6 convention, party members from across the country congregated in Ottawa to network, debate

In his May 4

at the party's

convention,

Prime Minister

Justin Trudeau

reiterated that

he would lead

in the next

the Liberal Party

election. The Hill

Times photograph by Sam Garcia

biennial

keynote speech

In interviews with The Hill Times on May 4 and 5, senior cabinet ministers and MPs described the mood at the convention as "buoyant," "ebullient," and "electric." In his May 4 keynote speech, Prime Minister Justin

and vote on party policies, and to elect the new national board of

Even though the Liberals have lost the popular vote to the Conservatives in the last two races, and are behind in fundraising and in national public opinion polls. seven-term Liberal MP Francis Scarpaleggia says Canadians will give his party another mandate in the next election. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) revved up the party faithful by highlighting Liberal accomplishments and blasting Conservative Party Leader Pierre Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.) for his style of politics.

"It has never been more clear that everything is interwoven. But again, Conservative politicians just don't get that ... They either say investing in Canadians is a waste of money, or that our policies are too woke. Too woke? Hey, Pierre Poilievre, it's time for you to wake up,"Trudeau said in his speech.

"Wake up to the fact that a gender-balanced cabinet is a good thing, that women fully participating in the workplace is a good thing, not something to snub when it gets a shoutout from the president of the United States in the House of Commons."

In his speech, Trudeau reiterated that he intends to lead the

party in the next election. Meanwhile, the former senior Liberal said that the party has been in power for eight years and it's hard to keep the rank-andfile party members motivated that long. They referred to the "straightforward trend" in the last three elections, in which Liberal Party's popular vote numbers have gone down in every election and reduced to a minority from the majority won in the 2015 election.

In contrast, other Liberal sources referred to the enthusiasm among the Conservative Party base where Poilievre won the leadership election last year by carrying 330 of the 338 ridings. The high attendance at Poilievre's events shows the new leader has really energized his party base, which is also reflected in Conservative fundraising numbers, these sources said. In the first-quarter fundraising numbers for 2023 released by Elections Canada on May 3, the Conservatives raised \$8.3-million from 46,000 donors compared to the Liberals who raised \$3.6-million from 31,000 donors. The NDP brought in \$1.3-million, the Greens \$401,000, and the Bloc \$322,000.

Most national public opinion polls are showing that the Conservatives are ahead of the Liberals.

According to polling aggrega tor 338Canada.com, the Conservative Party has the support of 35 per cent of Canadians, the Liberals 31 per cent, the New Democratic Party 20 per cent, the Bloc Québécois seven per cent, and the Green Party four per cent. The margin of error for the Liberals and the Conservatives was plus or minus four per cent, plus or minus three per cent for the NDP, and plus or minus one per cent for the Bloc and the

Greens. Based on the aggregator's seat projections last week, if an election were to happen now, the Conservatives would win 139 seats, the Liberals 138, the Bloc 31, the NDP 28, and the Greens

According to an Abacus Data poll released on May 4, the Conservatives were leading the pack with 33 per cent support, followed closely by the Liberals at 31 per cent. The NDP was at 19 per cent, the Bloc at seven per cent, and the Greens at four per cent. The poll of 1,750 Canadians was conducted between April 29 and May 3.

"The sense of purpose of 2015 was that we got to get rid of Harper, we're going to make changes, that the Conservatives are too negative, so let's call it sunny ways 2015,"the Liberal source said. "That mantra is not there because you've already been in government for eight years. So you're not running against something, you have to be running for something, and you're running on your record. It doesn't mean you have a bad record, [but] it's hard to get people excited about governance sometimes because after all, people just take things for granted."

Some of the other current and former senior Liberals who attended the convention echoed the same view.

'The fourth election in a row is usually a change election, so I'm not as optimistic as others may be about winning [a fourth straight mandate],"said another former senior Liberal also speaking on a not-for-attribution basis to speak

"It could happen, but it will be a serious challenge. But given what I see on the ground, we need to put in a lot of effort to achieve that goal.'

Seven-term Liberal MP Francis Scarpaleggia (Lac-Saint-Louis, Que.) described the mood at the convention as "ebullient" and said that his constituents are satisfied with the performance of the Liberal government. He said that even though the Liberal share of the popular vote has gone down in the last election, the party will be able to earn another mandate in the next election.

"We will win," said

Scarpaleggia.

When people look at what the Conservatives are offering, what Pierre Poilievre was offering, I think many of them will be very, very grateful that the Liberal Party is there to have their backs."

Three-term Liberal MP Darrell Samson (Sackville-Preston-Chezzetcook, N.S.) said that Trudeau's keynote speech at the convention clearly showed that he is ready for the next election, whenever it

"The prime minister last night rocked, and it's a clear indication that he's more than ready whenever the challenge comes," said Samson on May 5.

When I'm knocking on doors, people want to have the discussion, people are appreciating the work we're doing, but they want to see more and that's what we're here for."

> arana@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

# Politics and the Pen 2022 Books have dedications. This is ours.

To our sponsors, thank you. We couldn't be celebrating 35 years without you. You've helped us raise over \$5 million in support of Writers' Trust of Canada literary programs. On Tuesday May 17, join us in lauding this year's finalists and \$25,000 winner of the #ShaughnessyCohen Prize for Political Writing.

























































































writerstrust.com/polipen

# International justice body, Canada under the microscope to address 'credibility gaps'

'What we're asking for is peanuts,' says ICC chief prosecutor Karim Khan, who's hoping Canada can help relieve the court's budget issues.

Continued from page 1

During the May 4 lecture, which was hosted by Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights and University of Ottawa, Khan detailed the "credibility gaps" that international institutions face.

"I think the credibility gap between the touchstone texts of international law and the lived experience of so many, so many survivors, as we speak here today is the challenge for us to jointly address," he said.

Khan said neither he nor the court has earned some of the gratitude that has been bestowed by survivors.

"When you see [survivors in refugee camps] I feel so unworthy," he said. "They will raise the cry, 'Welcome, welcome ICC. Welcome, welcome Mr. Khan.' And what have we done to achieve that hope?"

He said when he briefed the United Nations Security Council on the situation in Sudan, he bluntly said the gratitude is undeserved.

"I said, 'I don't deserve that gratitude. My office doesn't deserve that gratitude. The International Criminal Court does not deserve that gratitude. And you, members of the Security Council, do not deserve that gratitude,'" Khan said.

He said the world's actions show that "we don't care enough." Khan said the ICC has not

been "believed."

"We'd been viewed as a body pontificating too much, espousing important fine ideals, but so divorced in time and space from the horrors that are visited upon people that we're not seen to be relevant in the way we should,"he said, but noted that is changing as the ICC is on the frontlines in Ukraine, Libya, and other parts of the world.

Despite a gloomy appraisal of the current state of international justice, Khan said he does have hope there might be change.

"I do have reason to believe that finally we may, at least there is an opportunity for us, to finally come of age as a species," he said, citing the 43 nations that referred the situation in Ukraine to the



court after he called for countries to do so.

"One-third of all state parties have found common voice to say what is happening in Ukraine is a real concern, and we demand and require independent and impartial investigations to get to the truth," he said.

Canada has donated more than \$1-million as part of the court's trust fund to target initiatives, including to investigate conflict-related sexual violence, and provided seven RCMP officers to the ICC.

Budgetary constraints were on Khan's mind during his visit to Ottawa

As part of his meetings with Joly and Lametti, Khan had two specific budgetary requests for Canada, according to past Liberal justice minister Allan Rock, who was by Khan's side during the meetings, as was fellow former justice minister Irwin Cotler.

The requests were for funds to increase diversity of employees at the ICC, as well as to boost the capacity of countries around the world to conduct investigations of their own.

"He wants to build up the capacity of countries, so they can do their own prosecutions. So, we end up with accountability and an end to impunity," Rock said.

During his lecture, Khan said his office's budget of around 60-million euros is insufficient.

"What we're asking for is peanuts," he said, remarking that the ICC's budget pales in comparison to the "\$2-trillion spent on weapons or even the \$250-billion spent on the World Cup."

Rock said Canada could play a helpful leadership role as Canadian Ambassador to the UN Bob Rae is vice-president of the assembly of state parties for the ICC. He added that Canada has a role among ICC parties as a leader not just by example, but also through advocacy.

He said the difference is "night and day" between the money devoted to militaries and weapons compared to the ICC and international justice.

"If you want a more peaceful world, perhaps the money's better spent on strengthening the court than buying another cruise missile," he said.

During his Ottawa visit, Khan appeared before the House of Commons Committee on Foreign Affairs where he was questioned about the ICC's arrest warrant for Russian President Vladimir Putin. Putin's potential visit to ICC-member South Africa for an August BRICS summit has some hoping that Putin will be arrested. South Africa has flip-flopped over whether it will enforce the



Former Liberal justice minister Irwin Cotler joined ICC prosecutor Karim Khan during his Ottawa visit. *The Hill Times photograph by Sam Garcia* 

warrant, even suggesting it could leave the ICC.

In 2015, South Africa refused to uphold an ICC arrest warrant against Omar al-Bashir when the then-Sudanese president was in South Africa for an African Union meeting.

During a May 5 press conference on Parliament Hill, Khan told reporters that he has "every confidence" that South Africa would uphold the warrant.

"South Africa, God willing, will as an exercise of sovereign will—out of the values that it holds dear, pursuant to its constitution that is fantastically drafted in the shadow of apartheid—they will decide that they own the law and they want to act on the law for their own people and the world they want to bequeath to their children as well," he said.

Rock, who joined Khan during his committee appearance and at the press conference, said the execution of the warrant will reflect on the court's credibility.

"The court will be criticized if nothing happens," he told *The Hill Times*, remarking that when al-Bashir travelled to South Africa and was not arrested, the ICC looked "impotent" and "irrelevant."

"It looked like it was incapable of achieving its very purpose," he said

Rock wouldn't say whether the arrest warrant for Putin was brought it up in Khan's meetings with Joly and Lametti, but said: "You can assume that everybody is keenly aware of that high-profile event and very concerned about what might happen in the months ahead."

University of Ottawa professor John Packer, director of the Human Rights Research and Education Centre, said having South Africa acting on the warrant

would be "very important" for the credibility of the ICC.

The University of Ottawa's Human Rights Research and Education Centre co-hosted Khan's talk in Ottawa.

"The fundamental shortcoming of not only of this court, but of most international institutions is that they lack teeth or ... enforcement capacities," Packer said.

Echoing Rock, Packer said the decision not to execute the warrant against al-Bashir was a "blow" to international justice.

He noted that given the conversations being had around whether South Africa will uphold the warrant, it is a sign that it already has had an impact.

If Putin is present in South Africa, but is not arrested, it will be a "blow" to the ICC, said Packer.

"That doesn't mean the end all and be all of the matter, but it will be a blow," he said.

While Khan applauded Canada's contribution to the ICC, Packer said Ottawa's efforts are still "pretty darn small."

"[Canada] could do a lot more. It's pretty modest if you put it up against the challenges at the global level," he said.

Packer said there is also more Canada should be doing under its own obligations, including under the Genocide Convention. The Liberal government has consistently stressed it is up to international tribunals, like the ICC, to declare something a genocide.

"We do not need to wait for a judicial determination—that is absolutely wrong," he said, noting that Canada's obligation under the convention requires Ottawa to prevent genocide from taking place.

International criminal justice expert Mark Kersten, a University of the Fraser Valley professor, said Canada should be leading an effort to amend the Rome Statute, which governs the ICC, to hold countries accountable that breach the law of aggression even if they are not a state party of the court.

He said that Canada is one of the countries that is undermining the ICC's agreement on prosecuting the crime of aggression by only applying it to state parties.

"So Russia is not a member state of the ICC, ergo the ICC can't investigate this crime that really starts all the other crimes," he said. "What can Canada do to help the ICC? It can do a complete about-face and actually support changing the Rome Statute ... to help ensure it can investigate crimes of aggression."

Kersten added that Canada can do more to hold perpetrators of international justice to account when they are within Canadian borders, remarking that Canada treats cases of foreign nationals who have allegedly committed war crimes as immigration matters and deports them to the country where they have allegedly committed their crimes.

During his speech in Ottawa, Khan said it shouldn't matter what body prosecutes perpetrators, whether it is the ICC or a country like Canada.

nmoss@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

# Affordable housing tops list of policies approved at Liberal party convention

Continued from page 17

changes to the legal system," said Robinson at an information session on May 5, mentioning the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the prison system and the high number of Indigenous people "dying of the opioid crisis.

"Nothing has been done," she said. "We need folks to understand the gravity of this issue, which is why we call it a genocide, and why we continue calling Canadians genociďal.'

Outgoing IPC co-chair Conrad Desjarlais told *The Hill Times* on May 6, during the final voting period, that he was assigning all 15 of his weighted votes to this resolution, and was encouraging other delegates to do the same. The policy was ultimately adopted, and placed 19 out of 24 on the final ranking.

Other IPC executives told The Hill Times they had also worked with the national caucus on the affordable housing resolution.

### Early morning plenary session votes down resolutions on balanced budgets and mandatory voting

The May 6 plenary voted down a policy resolution from the party's Quebec branch that called on the party to present "a clear, costed proposal for a return to balanced budgets" as part of its next election platform. The resolution, which a Manitoba delegate later said the Quebec wing of the party had put a great deal of work into

behind the scenes, was voted down at the plenary by a margin of 76-97. There was no debate at the plenary because fewer than 50 delegates present—the required threshold-called for one.

The only other policy resolution voted down by delegates at the Saturday morning plenary was one calling for mandatory voting at the federal level, in line with policies adopted by the Australian government.

The resolution was sponsored by the Saskatchewan branch of the party. Presenter Estelle Hiertaas, a two-time Liberal candidate and long-term volunteer in Prince Albert, Sask., told the plenary "it's incredibly frustrating" to work so hard on a campaign only to see negative messaging drive down voter turnout. Hjertaas said making voting mandatory and increasing access to the polls would remove the incentive for negative campaigning.

A clear majority at the plenary ultimately voted down the resolution, following a short debate in which Robinson said she would prefer to see incentives for voting, such as a tax credit, as opposed to penalties that do not recognize that some Indigenous people don't vote "because they don't see themselves as Canadians.'

Among the 10 policy resolutions that were eliminated before the May 6 plenary session were proposals related to tax havens, human rights, sustainable coastal communities, technological innovation in health care, retraining for oil and gas workers, lowering the federal voting age to 17, nurse practitioners, energy exports to NATO allies, and whistleblower

kphilipupillai@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

# **Hungary remembers the Holocaust**

The Hill Times photographs by Sam Garcia











# **Dominican Republic heralds** independence







Grits wrap biennial huddle

Former United States secretary of state Hillary Clinton, left, in conversation with Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland on May 5 at the Shaw Centre.











# **Opinion**



# Time for concrete action to unlock homeownership for Canadians

There are policy moves the federal government could make today to bring a more holistic approach to housing affordability and improve the outlook for families and our economy.





We need more housing in Canada. No matter where you live in the country, Canadi-

ans are struggling with housing affordability and choice. Canada is in a tough spot. Decades of underbuilding have led to a lack of supply, limiting choice and driving up prices. And now rising interest rates have made access to homeownership even harder, which is crippling new construction home sales, challenging the industry, and slowing housing starts.

With interest rates rising steadily in 2022, new construction housing sales slowed to a trickle. As a result, housing starts have slowed dramatically, and we could see as much as a 30 per cent drop this year—not good news for much-needed housing supply and housing affordability. There are, however, policy moves the federal government could make today to bring a more holistic approach to housing affordability and improve the outlook for families and our economy.

Residential construction drives economic activity right across the country, creating 1.5 million jobs and flowing more than \$211-billion dollars into communities every year. Whether you own or rent your own home, the hard-working people in our industry build, manufacture, renovate, and retrofit single-family homes, high-rises, and everything in between, developing the communities Canadians call (or want to call) home.

For the industry, construction costs increased substantially throughout the COVID-19 pandemic and have not receded. While lumber prices have come down from record highs, other materials are still much more expensive and supply chain challenges continue. According to the Canadian Home Builders' Association (CHBA) Housing Market Index, labour costs are up 28 per cent and the construction material costs for a typical 2,400-square foot home are still up \$70,000. All of these factors, combined with red tape delays and expensive changes to codes and standards, are making it tougher for those looking for homes.

Over the next decade, under normal circumstances, we would

build about 2.3 million homes. But we have a chronic housing shortage in Canada, so on top of that, federal policymakers have rightly identified that we need an additional 3.5 million homes over the next decade to make up our housing deficit. Currently, we're not making progress against either the annual or the long-term housing supply targets. The government needs to make sure that it takes concrete steps to support more housing starts, and that its own actions do not get in the way of increasing housing production and improving affordability.

One important step would be to recognize the specific challenges for first-time homebuyers. Lower interest rates would certainly help; but we need more to enable buyers to get into the market on a go-forward basis, through lowering the stress test to qualify for a mortgage, returning to 30-year amortization periods for first-time buyers, and avoiding more mortgage rule tightening (given the already very strong profile of borrowers). We need to give new buyers a better chance of overcoming the initial hurdles to owning a home.

We have done our homework to uncover ways that the federal government could address costs that impact affordability. One simple move would be to lower GST on new homes. When the GST was introduced in 1991, there was a commitment to adjust the New Housing Rebate every two years. That has not happened, and housing prices have more than doubled since, leaving these rebates way out of line with current home prices. With the stroke of a pen, the government could increase the thresholds for the GST/HST New Housing Rebate, taking thousands of dollars off the price of a new home for Canadians. We are also looking for a collaborative approach to ensure that building codes do not add

unnecessary barriers and costs to the home building process, taking an innovation-first approach to regulation.

To build more houses, we need more people. The government needs to help to ensure we have the labour force needed to increase housing supply, from support for skilled workers and apprenticeship programs in our domestic construction industry, to improvements to immigration to bring in the right workers. And even with those actions, there won't be enough people to double housing starts, so increasing productivity in the industry is one of the necessary solutions. We need to be able to build more homes with fewer workers, so we are proposing an industry transition strategy that will do just that, by seeking support for investment in modular and factory-built technologies through tax credits, an innovation fund, and strategic

And we need to support renovation. There are many measures the government should implement to support upgrading our housing stock while meeting other policy goals: from first-time homebuyer renovation tax credits, to enabling the GST rebate to apply to Net Zero renovations, to supporting the valuation of energy retrofits through EnerGuide Rating System labelling.

CHBA members have travelled to Ottawa this week to meet with decision-makers to help address affordability challenges and build more homes for Canadians, to ensure we can meet Canada's housing demand today and over the next decade. We are ready to work together with the federal government to unlock homeownership for Canadians.

Kevin Lee is the CEO of the Canadian Home Builders' Association.

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

# New Shaughnessy Cohen Prize winner to be revealed at Politics and the Pen on May 10



Attendees packed into the Château Laurier for the 2022 Politics and the Pen gala. The Hill Times photograph by Cynthia Münster

### WEDNESDAY, MAY 10

House Sitting—The House is sitting (May 10-19). It will adjourn on Friday, May 19, for one week and will return again on Monday, May 29. It will sit for four consecutive weeks (May 29-June 23). It's scheduled to adjourn for the summer on June 23. It will break for 12 weeks (June 23-Sept. 18) and will resume sitting on Monday, Sept. 18. It will sit for three weeks (Sept. 18-Oct. 6), and will adjourn on Friday, Oct. 6, for a week. It will resume sitting on Monday, Oct. 16, and will sit for four consecutive weeks (Oct. 16-Nov. 10). It will break for one week (Nov. 13-17) and will resume sitting on Monday, Nov. 20, and will for four weeks Nov. 20-Dec. 15). It's scheduled to return on Monday, Jan. 29, 2024.

Webinar: 'Health Care in Canada Post-COVID'—The Royal Society of Canada hosts a webinar based or an April 26 report, "Strengthening Health Care in Canada Post-COVID-19 Pandemic," featuring some of the report authors who will discuss key recommendations outlined in the policy briefing. Wednesday, May 10 at 1:30p.m. ET. happening online. Register via Eventbrite.

CMA Fireside Chat Series—The Canadian Medical Association hosts the first in a series of virtual Fireside Chats on Indigenous Health from May 10-June 12. CMA President Dr. Alika Lafontaine will lead this series of intimate discussions with Indigenous patients,

providers and leaders on how we can move forward, together, on reconciliation. Today's topic is "The importance of cultural safety in health care—for patients and providers." Wednesday, May 10 at 7 p.m. ET, happening online.

Politics and the Pen—The Writers Trust of Canada hosts the annual Politics and the Pen gala, featuring the awarding of the Shaughnessy Cohen Prize for Political Writing. Black-tied elegance, be-gowned finery. Conversations that both flatter and flabbergast. The power of the written word will be palpable all evening. Over the years, Politics & the Pen has raised over \$5-million for the Writers' Trust of Canada. We hope you'll join us this year and that the strength that incredible writing brings will remain with you throughout the year. Wednesday, May 10, at 6 p.m. ET, at the Fairmont Château Laurier, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa. Details: writerstrust.com.

### THURSDAY, MAY 11

The Walrus Talks It's Happening Now-The Walrus hosts "The Walrus Talks It's Happening Now." Participants including former NDP MP Megan Leslie, president and CEO of the World Wildlife Fund-Canada; Bob McDonald, author and host of CBC's Quirks & Quarks; Alexandra Lesnikowski, assistant professor of geography, planning and environment at Concordia University; Aphrodite Salas, assistant professor of

journalism at Concordia; Julie Segal, senior program manager, Environmental Defence; and social worker Jeff D'Hondt. They will talk about innovations currently under way that will make a difference in urban and environmental policy and planning, technology, journalism, and more. Thursday, May 11, 7 p.m.-9 p.m. ET at the National Gallery of Canada, 380 Sussex Dr., and will be live-streamed online. Visit thewalrus.ca, and use promo code: HillTimes.

Chief Nursing Officer to Deliver Remarks—Chief Nursing Officer of Canada Dr. Leigh Chapman will take part in a discussion on Internationally Educated Nurses hosted by the Canadian Black Nurses Alliance. Other participants include Dr. Yetunde Tola, a postdoctoral IEN, and Dr. Ruth Lee, president of CARE, Centre for Internationally Educated Nurses. Thursday, May 11 at 6:30p.m. ET at Seeley Hall, Trinity College, 6 Hoskin Ave., Toronto, Register via Eventbrite.

### THURSDAY, MAY 11-FRIDAY, MAY 12

Arctic Frontiers Abroad: Canada—Arctic Frontiers and the Royal Norwegian Embassy welcome you to two days of discussion on policy, science, infrastructure, and business in the High North, including a presentation of Norway's priorities for the chairship of the Arctic Council. The event will take place at the Canadian Museum of Nature in Ottawa on May 11 and at McGill

University in Montreal on May 12. For more information and registration, see arcticfrontiers.com

### FRIDAY, MAY 12

Minister Guilbeault to Deliver Remarks—Environment and Climate Change Minister Steven Guilbeault will deliver remarks in French at a lunch event hosted by the Montreal Council on Foreign Relations, Friday, May 12. at 11:30 a.m. ET at the Fairmont Le Reine-Elizabeth, 900 Blvd René-Levesque W., Montreal. Details: corim.qc.ca.

**Canadian Party of Quebec** Presser—Canadian Party of Quebec leader Colin Standish will hold a press conference to call upon the federal government to disallow Bill 96: An Act respecting French, the official and common language of Québec, which would nullify the law. In a matter of weeks, on June 1, Canada's constitutional windov of opportunity to veto the law forever shuts. Friday, May 12, 1:30 p.m., in Room 135-B. West Block.

### SUNDAY, MAY 14-SATURDAY, MAY 20

Naturopathic Medicine Week-This is an annual initiative co-ordinated by the Canadian Association of Naturopathic Doctors and facilitated by naturopathic provincial/territorial organizations and schools. The mandate of Naturopathic Medicine Week is to educate the Canadian public about

the health benefits of naturopathic medicine, and the value of seeing a naturopathic doctor.

### MONDAY, MAY 15

Panel: 'Canada's Active Recovery'—Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministers of Health and Sport Adam van Koeverden will deliver remarks at "Canada's Active Recovery: How Government and Industry Can Help Build Stronger, Healthier Communities Across the Country," a lunch event hosted by the Canadian Club of Ottawa. Panellists include Justin Kintz. senior vice-president of Government Affairs & Public Policy, Peloton Inc.; and Elio Antunes, president and CEO of ParticipACTION, who will discuss ways federal government and private sector stakeholders can do more to invest in building stronger, healthier communities across the country. Monday, May 15. at 11:30 a.m. FT at the Fairmont Château Laurier, 1 Rideau St. Details: canadianclubottawa.ca.

Webinar: 'Repudiating the Doctrine of Discovery'—The Macdonald-Laurier Institute hosts a webinar, "Repudiating the Doctrine of Discovery." Dr. Bruce McIvor, author and Indigenous lawyer, and Dr. Michael W. Higgins, author and Catholic public intellectual, will ask why are Indigenous Peoples so opposed to this Catholic Doctrine, why did the Catholic Church renounce the Doctrine, and what is the significance for Indigenous Peoples and for Canada of this change in Church policy? This event will take place online. Register via Eventbrite.

Fundraising Reception—Shelter Movers, in partnership with the Government Relations Institute of Canada. invites you to learn more about the Shelter Movers organization and the work they do to help people—primarily women and their children—fleeing abuse. Join us at the Metropolitain Brasserie & Restaurant, 700 Sussex Dr, Ottawa, on Monday, May 15 from 5-7 p.m.

# MONDAY, MAY 15-TUESDAY, MAY 16

Canada's Ocean Supercluster— Canada's Ocean Supercluster in Ottawa is hosting "Canada's Ocean Supercluster Ambition 2035: Growing Canada's ocean economy to \$220B' at the Shaw Centre, 55 Colonel By Dr., May 15-16. Join us as we explore new ways to work together to achieve a 5X ambition for Canada. This event will include insightful ideas from industry leaders and discussions to help build Canada's roadmap to a \$220-billion ocean economy. It includes a full-day program on May 15 with a networking reception 6:30-8:30 p.m. ET. Contact: osc@national.ca

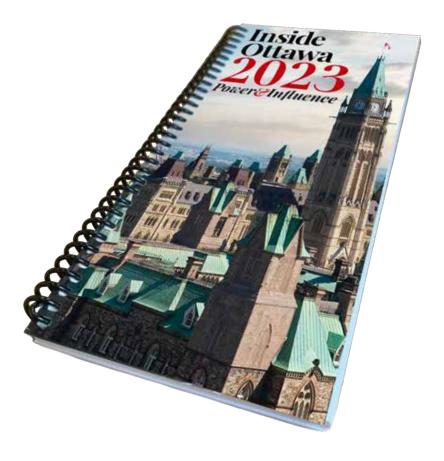
### TUESDAY, MAY 16

2023 Canadian Intelligence Conference—The Canadian Military
Intelligence Association hosts the 2023 Canadian Intelligence Conference. Keynote speakers and panelists from within the senior ranks of government, the Canadian Armed Forces, and from Canada's closest intelligence partners will discuss and debate the changes impacting the defence intelligence function within the overall Canadian Intelligence Enterprise, Tuesday, May 16. 8 a.m. ET. at Global Affairs Canada, 111 Sussex Dr. Register via Eventbrite.

Summit: 'The Indigenous-led Economy'—Canada 2020 hosts its annual economic reconciliation summit, "The Indigenous-led Economy." Indigenous leaders from across sectors will reflect on economic reconciliation to their communities, and showcase specific projects that demonstrate the unquestionable value of Indigenous leadership, stewardship, creativity, and innovation. Tuesday, May 16, 8:30 a.m. ET at the Westin Ottawa Hotel, 11 Colonel By Dr. Details via canada2020.ca.

# Don't waste time searching for the right contacts in government. Have it all at your fingertips.

Inside Order Ottawa Today Power&Influence



### This year's guide includes:

- MP profiles with current photos, Hill and constituency contact info, and riding details from latest census
- House committee clerks, membership and photos
- PMO and PCO staff contacts
- Cabinet ministers' staff contacts
- Speaker's office contacts
- List of ministers, parliamentary secretaries and opposition critics
- 2023 sitting calendars for House and Senate

### **New contacts this year:**

- Leadership at the Métis National Council, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the Assembly of First Nations, and other advocacy groups
- Council of the Federation and provincial offices in Ottawa.

And much more

**Publication date: February 2023** 



The ubiquitous little pocket guide to Parliament Hill: The Inside Ottawa Directory 2023 is now on sale.

https://www.hilltimes.com/inside-directory-2023/ circulation@hilltimes.com • 613-688-8821

