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# THE HILL TIMES

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## News

### Cultural assessments needed for sentencing reform, say advocates, amid calls to address high Black incarceration rates

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

When Black and racialized offenders appear for sentencing,

the judge should consider the unique cultural and historical factors of the defendant and whether racism played a role in

their contact with the criminal justice system, say advocates who laud a recent parliamentary call for the reform.

It's among the Parliamentary Black Caucus' dozens of recommendations to address systemic racism, including nine in the area

of justice, where the Parliamentarians said the "hard edge of sys-

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## News

Argentina, Chile, DRC, Hungary, and Madagascar say they backed Canada's UN Security Council bid, but closest allies are silent

BY NEIL MOSS

Two La Francophonie nations, two South American countries, and an EU member state say they supported Canada's failed bid to win a temporary seat on the UN Security Council, while some of the country's closest allies won't say whether they voted for Canada in the secret ballot.

The Hill Times contacted the UN missions, foreign ministries, or embassies in Ottawa of all 192

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## News

### Disaggregated data key to ensuring representative workplaces, say experts, as PMO skirts Black staff statistic

The PMO declined to provide a specific breakdown of self-identified Black staffers among cabinet offices when asked, but says it plans to circulate further voluntary surveys to better understand its staff 'later this summer.'



Parliament Hill's Centre Block building, as pictured from Gatineau, Que., on April 1. The road to ensuring a representative workforce on Parliament Hill requires going beyond 'diversity by the numbers,' says York University's Lorne Foster. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

A recent Hill Times survey seeking to understand the demographics of staff on Parliament Hill found that, among the small pool of respondent MP offices, 42 per cent of staff identified as a visible minority, while 5.3 per cent identified as Black, but a comparison to cabinet offices, including the Prime Minister's Office, isn't possible after a separate survey was circulated by the PMO that excluded a specific category on staffers who identified as Black.

Instead, results from the PMO, which are said to include

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## News

### New order granting diplomatic privileges to African Union officials a 'positive step,' say former diplomats

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

It's a "positive step" and "high time" that Canada granted diplomatic

privileges to senior officials at the African Union, say former diplomats who agreed the order is a small but necessary move to support a body

that one expert described as the "voice for the continent."

Now, when leaders and experts visit Canada on behalf of

the African Union, for the first time they will have the same privileges and protections afforded to diplomats posted here.

Experts describe the move, made official in mid-June, as a minor development, but one that will ease communication and access, and something that was likely raised at the recent African Union (AU) Summit attended by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau

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## HEARD ON THE HILL

by Neil Moss

# Freeland continues role overseeing Canada-U.S. file as Ng takes reigns of new NAFTA implementation act



Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland had been tasked with the responsibility of guiding the new NAFTA along, but its implementation bill is now in the ministerial hands of International Trade Minister Mary Ng. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

While International Trade Minister **Mary Ng** has gained responsibility for the implementation law of the new NAFTA, Deputy Prime Minister **Chrystia Freeland** remains the cabinet minister responsible for overseeing the ever-important Canada-U.S. relationship.

Ms. Freeland has carefully stick-handled the new NAFTA through all phases of negotiations and implementation, but now that the trade pact came into force on July 1, the legislation for its implementation is in the hands of Ms. Ng, an order-in-council has set out.

Bill C-4, the Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement Implementation Act, was passed by the House and Senate in mid-March before Parliamentarians adjourned due to the COVID-19 pandemic, with Ms. Freeland guiding the bill through the legislative process.

The order doesn't have any impact on Ms. Freeland's role spearheading the Canada-U.S. file, according to a government official, as it is normal practice for the international trade minister to be in charge of all trade agreements.

Despite being shuffled out as foreign affairs minister last November to become the deputy prime minister, Ms. Freeland kept control over the responsibility of broadly overseeing the file that has been typically split between several cabinet ministers and led by the prime minister.

### Bob Rae tapped as Canada's next UN ambassador

**Bob Rae** will be following in his father's steps when he becomes Canada's next ambassador to the United Nations.

Mr. Rae was named the successor to **Marc-André Blanchard** on July 6, taking the role his father, **Saul Rae**, held from 1972 to 1976 during the **Pierre Trudeau** government.



Bob Rae has most recently served as Canada's special envoy for humanitarian and refugee issues. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Speaking to reporters in Ottawa on July 6 alongside Mr. Blanchard, Mr. Rae called the appointment "an enormous honour."

"For me to be able to work in the same place as my father and to be able to have his picture in my office, and to be engaging constantly in a sense that we're part of a very fine tradition is a wonderful moment for me," he said.

Mr. Rae was previously Canada's special envoy for humanitarian and refugee issues, as well as the special envoy to Myanmar where his work centred around the Rohingya crisis.

He said his most important job is to convince Canadians of the importance of the work at the UN, as well as to convince

## Trudeau rebuffs D.C. trip to mark new NAFTA



Justin Trudeau won't be joining U.S. President Donald Trump and Mexican President Andrés Manuel López Obrador to celebrate the new NAFTA this week. *White House photograph by Tia Dufour, Flickr photograph courtesy of the Mexican President's Office, The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** won't be travelling to Washington, D.C., to celebrate the new NAFTA with U.S. President **Donald Trump** and Mexican President **Andrés Manuel López Obrador**.

Mr. Trump and Mr. López Obrador are set to meet on July 8 and 9 to celebrate the new North American trade pact that came into force on July 1.

Mr. Trudeau previously put cold water on a potential visit due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the threat that the U.S. may reimpose national security tariffs on Canadian aluminum exports.

Mr. Trudeau held a phone call with Mr. López Obrador on July 6 in which he expressed "regret" about missing the meeting, according to a PMO readout.

Chief public health officer **Dr. Theresa Tam** said last week that if Mr. Trudeau had gone to America's national capital, he would have to quarantine for 14 days on his return.

The trip has raised health concerns, as neither Mr. Trump or Mr. López Obrador are known to wear face masks in public and some worry that the Mexican president may have been in contact with Mexican Finance Minister **Arturo Herrera**, who has tested positive for the virus, according to media reports.

countries around the world about the importance of strengthening and rebuilding a "successful world order."

"Nothing short of that will do," he said.

Mr. Rae was the interim federal Liberal leader from 2011 to 2013 and was Ontario premier under the NDP banner from 1990 to 1995.

He was part of a delegation that travelled to New York City to campaign for the Security Council alongside Mr. Blanchard last September. Mr. Blanchard has been Canada's top diplomat in New York City since 2016.

### Mario Dion looking into WE charity contract, Trudeau's third probe

Canada's ethics commissioner is looking into a contract awarded to the WE charity, which was subsequently cancelled.



Mario Dion will be undertaking his second ethics investigation into Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** when he examines the WE charity contract. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

**Mario Dion's** investigation into the awarding of the contract is the third ethics probe into Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau**.

Mr. Dion's office confirmed the latest investigation in a tweet last week. The WE charity was awarded a contract to pilot a \$900-million program for summer student grants.

Mr. Trudeau and his wife, **Sophie Grégoire Trudeau**, both have ties to the charity. He has appeared at multiple WE events, and she hosts a podcast associated with the group. **Margaret Trudeau**, Mr. Trudeau's mother, has also appeared at WE events. The charity has said that the Trudeaus aren't paid for their work for WE aside from travel reimbursements for Ms. Grégoire Trudeau.

The investigation is being undertaken at the request of the Conservative and NDP

ethics critics—**Michael Barrett** and **Charlie Angus**.

Mr. Trudeau has been found to have acted improperly after two previous ethics investigations into his trip to the Aga Khan's island and his involvement in the SNC-Lavalin affair.

### Brent Jolly named new CAJ president

The Canadian Association of Journalists has a new leader as **Brent Jolly** has been named its next president.



Brent Jolly has been the vice-president of the CAJ since 2018. *Photograph courtesy of Twitter/Brent Jolly*

Mr. Jolly will take the reigns of the journalism advocacy organization for the 2020 to 2022 term. He currently is a National NewMedia Council director and has been a vice-president of the CAJ since 2018.

"It's an incredible honour to be selected by my esteemed group of peers to serve as the next [CAJ] president," he tweeted on July 6. "Whether you're a grizzled vet, mid-career freelancer, or an up-and-coming student j, it's time to rally around each other."

Under Mr. Jolly's leadership the association will look to "advance discussions about industry diversity," according to a press release.

Mr. Jolly replaces **Karyn Pugliese** who is a former executive director of news at APTN. Ms. Pugliese will remain on the board of the CAJ.

Succeeding Mr. Jolly as vice-president, will be **Fatima Syed**, who is a reporter at *The Logic*.

The CAJ's Ottawa chapter director is Global News' **Abigail Bimman**.

*nmos@hilltimes.com*  
*The Hill Times*

# Canada needs to protect Arctic sovereignty to confront emboldened Putin, say MP and expert



After a questioned referendum, Russian President Vladimir Putin can keep his hold on power until 2036. *United Nations photograph by Cia Pak*

Liberal MP John McKay says there will be ‘incursions and intrusions and aggressive actions taken increasingly in the Arctic’ by Russia.

BY NEIL MOSS

As President Vladimir Putin has solidified his grip on Russian leadership for the next 16 years, a Liberal MP says that Canada needs to prepare for the threat of Moscow’s influence in the Arctic, while a former aide to past foreign affairs minister Stéphane Dion says Canada needs to begin dialogue with Russia.

A referendum on a series of constitutional amendments that were already approved by parliament had wide support among Russians in what some believe was a tainted vote. The amendments give Mr. Putin the ability to stay in power until 2036.

Liberal MP John McKay (Scarborough-Guildwood, Ont.), chair of the House of Commons Public Safety and National Security Committee, told *The Hill Times* that he anticipates Canada’s relationship with Russia will continue to deteriorate in the coming years.

“Maybe the deterioration will even accelerate,” he said. “There will be incursions and intrusions and aggressive actions taken increasingly in the Arctic.”

Mr. McKay added that the “militarization and degradation” of the Arctic archipelago will continue swiftly.

“And there’s not much that we will be able to do about it, aside from joining up with like-minded allies,” he said, adding that “the main like-minded ally [the U.S.] is distracted.”

“I don’t anticipate that distraction will change anytime in 2020 and we’ll see about 2021 brings,” Mr. McKay said.

He said that Canada can’t do it on its own, but needs to work with Arctic partners such as Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, and the United States.

Baltic and Nordic countries, Mr. McKay said are “intensely aware” of how well pre-

pared Russia is and the aggressive action it is looking to take.

Over the last decade, Russia has increasingly placed resources in the Arctic, with the U.S. military raising alarm flags about the spread of the Kremlin’s influence in the North.

U.S. General Terrence O’Shaughnessy, the commander of Norad, stated his concern over Russia’s build-up in the Arctic with the presence of long-range cruise missiles in a letter to the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee earlier this year and stressed the need to modernize North America’s aerial defence system.

“We really do need to get serious about our own security arrangements up there,” Mr. McKay said, adding that it is “essential” to have an active presence in the Arctic.

“If you’re not active, physically there asserting your own sovereignty against all comers—whether it’s China, whether it’s Russia—[they] will start to take liberties and treat what we regard as inland waterways as international waterways,” he said.

Documentarian and human rights activist Marcus Kolga, a fellow at the Macdonald-Laurier Institute, said Russia has spent a lot of money and resources to build up its Arctic military capabilities and restore Soviet-era bases while building new bases.

Mr. Kolga, an expert in Russia and Eastern European affairs, echoed Mr. McKay on the importance for Canada to work with its allies to counter the increasing Russian threat in the North, as well as working with Arctic nations to bolster military procurement.

He said that Mr. Putin hasn’t shied away from using the Russian military to achieve his goals and Canada has to look out for its own national security, adding that it is important to strengthen NATO.

If the status quo in the relationship between Ottawa and Moscow continues, Canada should be thankful, but things are likely to get worse, Mr. Kolga said, as Mr. Putin’s popularity decreases.

“We need to make sure that we are able to defend [the Arctic],” he said, which will include developing the Arctic and deepwater

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# Disaggregated data key to ensuring representative workplaces, say experts, as PMO skirts Black staff statistic

The PMO declined to provide a specific breakdown of self-identified Black staffers among cabinet offices when asked, but says it plans to circulate further voluntary surveys to better understand its staff 'later this summer.'

Continued from page 1

responses from a little more than 560 staffers across all cabinet offices and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's (Papineau, Que.), offered an aggregated percentage of staff who identified as "racialized/visible minority/a person of colour."

But truly addressing gaps in diversity and representation requires being willing to talk about the numbers and breaking them down, "particularly along racial lines," said York University professor Lorne Foster, as barriers to inclusion—and their solutions—are unique to different groups.

"In education for instance ... a large number of the visible minority category are doing quite well in school, but when you disaggregate the data you find that South Asians do well, but Blacks don't do well," said Prof. Foster, who is director of York's Institute for Social Research.

measured gets done," said Prof. Foster, noting "consistent" calls from the Black community, and others, for disaggregated data across various issues and sectors. "It's the only way to comprehensively deal with problems that have been with us for centuries."

"By staying away from those numbers, putting their head in a hole, then they're actually preserving their own interests, but it really doesn't do anything for an inclusive and empowering society and the representative society that we all want and we all talk about," he said.

Recent widespread anti-Black racism and police brutality protests have put a spotlight on diversity and representation among Canada's public institutions.

Last fall, *The Hill Times* collaborated with The Samara Centre for Democracy and researchers Jerome Black and Andrew Griffith to analyze more than 1,700 candidates running for the Liberals, Conservatives, NDP, Greens, and the People's Party in 2019. Compiled through candidate biographies, media articles, social media and the like, it found 16.5 per cent of candidates were from a visible minority group, with 2.8 per cent identified as Black, and 3.7 per cent as Indigenous.

Of the 338 MPs elected, roughly 15.1 per cent belong to a visible minority group—within that, five MPs, or 1.5 per cent, are Black—and almost three per cent (10 MPs) are Indigenous. Within Mr. Trudeau's 36-member cabinet, seven ministers (19.4 per cent) are a visible minority, just one of whom is Black, and one is Indigenous.

Mr. Griffith similarly spoke to the need for disaggregated data, noting that, through his research, when it comes to political representation, often "South Asians

highest-level Black public servant is the assistant deputy minister for Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada, Caroline Xavier, who was appointed in February and stands alone at her level.

Just as important as elected officials are the staff who support them—the people at the table or behind the keyboard when laws are being drafted, debated, amended, and passed.

## Low response rate, aggregated categories cloud survey findings

To conduct its survey, *The Hill Times* reached out to a total of 386 offices on Parliament Hill, including all 338 MPs, all opposition leader offices, House leaders, Whips, research bureaus, 36 ministers' offices, and the PMO. In reaching out, it was indicated responses would be reported on in aggregate with other like offices.

The survey was voluntary, and based entirely on self-identification by staff. Offices were asked for a total count of full-time staff (both on the Hill and in riding offices), a gender breakdown (male, female, or non-binary), and how many staff identify as a visible minority, Black, or Indigenous. Offices were also asked about their hiring practices, namely: what they've done to ensure diversity in hiring and whether approaches were being reconsidered. For ministers' offices and the PMO, an extra question was included regarding how many EX-level staff—a Treasury Board Secretariat designation that refers to the senior-most level of ministerial staff, like directors and chiefs of staff—identify as Black or Indigenous.

Questions were sent to offices by email on June 16 and 17, with a deadline of June 29 to respond.

It's important to note that, along with being based on self-identification, the survey did not capture part-time staff, students, or interns—a decision contested by at least one office, noting an increased level of part-time staff due to efforts to provide flexible work arrangements.

In the end, excluding cabinet and the PMO, *The Hill Times* received 38 responses from 36 MP offices, the Liberal research



A survey circulated by Justin Trudeau's Prime Minister's Office to cabinet ministers' offices excluded a specific question *The Hill Times* was asking about staff who identified as Black. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

bureau, and the Liberal Whip's office. Among MPs, 26 of the 36 respondents were Liberal, six were Conservative, three were NDP, and one Bloc Québécois, for a total response rate of about 10 per cent.

Based on Elections Canada's riding assessments, of those MPs who responded, 27 represent urban ridings, five represent urban/rural ridings, and four represent rural/urban ridings.

One MP office that responded declined to provide a gender breakdown, and another declined to provide a breakdown of Black or Indigenous staff. In turn, percentages for those categories were calculated using modified total staff counts.

In all, these 38 offices reported a total of 212 full-time staff, of whom 119 identified as women (57.2 per cent), 88 as men (42.3 per cent), and one as non-binary (0.5 per cent), and 89 identified as a visible minority (42 per cent). Eleven staff identified as Black (5.3 per cent of the adjusted total), while five identified as Indigenous (2.4 per cent).

Reacting to *The Hill Times*' findings from MPs, Mr. Griffith said he was "surprised" at the "very high percentage of visible minority staffers," but stressed it's hard to draw conclusions as the results don't reflect "the total universe of MPs and their staff" due to the small sample size and self-identifying nature of the survey. Mr. Griffith also hypothesized that MPs from more diverse ridings—namely, urban ridings, which 75 per cent of MP respondents were—may be more likely to have diverse offices.

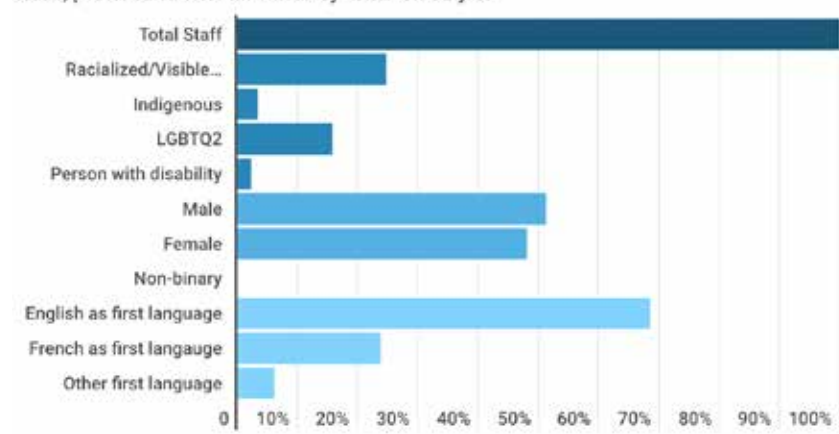
The results are different when it comes to cabinet and the PMO.

Though *The Hill Times* reached out to these offices individually with a similar set of survey questions, only one minister's office responded directly, and in doing so, declined to provide a specific breakdown of Black or Indigenous staff.

Instead, *The Hill Times* understands the PMO circulated a different, voluntary sur-

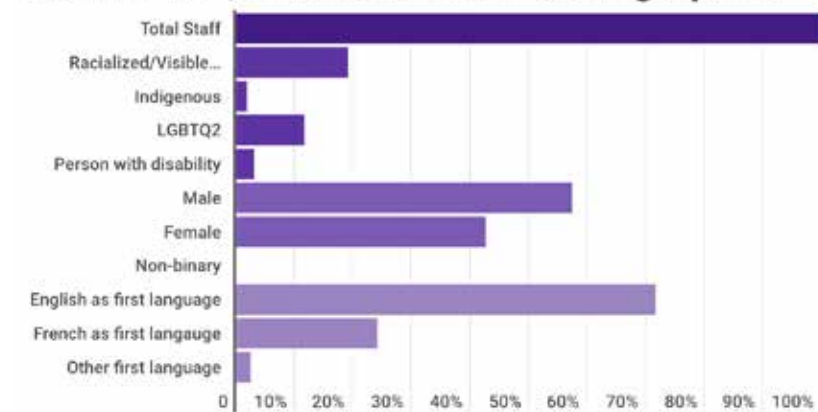
## PMO, ministerial office demographics

The following is based on the PMO's findings from its survey of cabinet offices, including itself, provided to *The Hill Times* by email on July 3.



Graph created with Infogram

## Senior PMO, ministerial staff demographics



Graph created with Infogram

vey among ministers' offices, with responses collected and aggregated by the PMO before being emailed on the evening of July 3.

While these findings in ways present more data than was sought—providing insights into language, disability, and LG-BTQ2 diversity among political staff—they also lack one of the two key aspects *The Hill Times* sought to understand, specifically: how many political staff identify as Black. Instead, numbers were provided for staff who identify as "racialized/visible minority/a person of colour" as one combined category.

"As many of the offices you surveyed have a smaller number of staff, information shared detailing individual's race and gender by each office could very much identify individual staff. So to ensure the privacy of individuals is maintained, we asked Minister's Offices to share information in a manner that was both anonymous and voluntary," said PMO press secretary Alex Wellstead in an email.

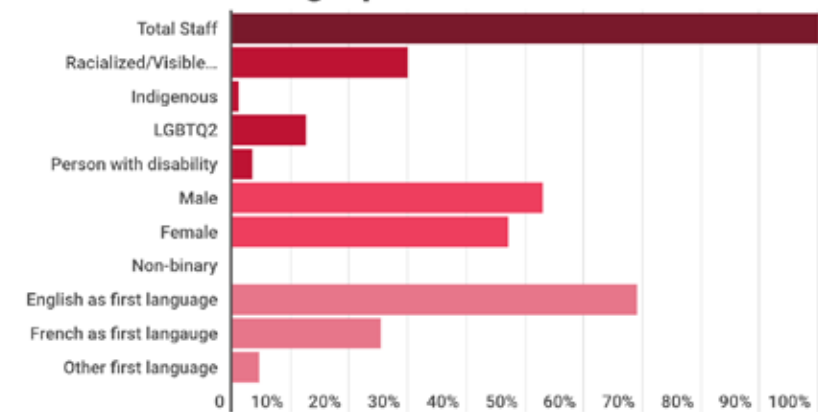
"With that in mind, we sent a confidential survey to staff to help collect information on the diversity of our team."

In all, the PMO reported a response rate of 82 per cent to its survey, with a little more than 560 respondents from all ministers' offices, including the PMO. *The Hill Times* was only provided the aggregated, total percentages for each category.

Of the total, 24.7 per cent of staff identified as racialized/visible minority/a person of colour and 3.4 per cent identified as Indigenous; 51.2 per cent identified as male and 48 per cent as female; 2.3 per cent identified as a person with a disability; 15.8 per cent identified as LGBTQ2; 68.5 per cent identified English as their first language, while 23.8 per cent said it was French, and 6.2 per cent identified another language as their first.

Among senior staff in the PMO and ministers' offices (directors, senior advisers, chiefs of staff) who responded, 19.1 per cent identified as racialized/visible minority/a person of colour and 1.9 per cent identified as Indigenous; 57.4 per cent identified as male and 42.6 per cent as female; 3.1 per cent identified as a person with a disability; 11.7 per cent identified as

## PMO staff demographics



Graph created with Infogram

LGBTQ2; 71.6 per cent identified English as their first language, while 24.1 per cent said French, and 2.5 per cent identified another language.

Picking out the PMO specifically, the office reports that 29.9 per cent of its staff self-identified as racialized/visible minority/a person of colour and 1.1 per cent as Indigenous; 52.9 per cent identified as male and 47.1 per cent as female; 3.4 per cent identified as a person with a disability; 12.6 per cent as LGBTQ2; and 69 per cent identified English as their first language, while 25.3 said French, and 4.6 said another language.

"As all our offices are always striving to provide a safe and healthy workplace, and one where employees feel valued and are treated with dignity and respect, this information will also help us continue our work toward a more diverse and inclusive workplace," said Mr. Wellstead.

"We are committed to creating a workplace that truly reflects the full diversity of our great country and we will continue to recruit, retain,

and train diverse staff from across Canada. The current conversations around systemic racism and discrimination in our society have made it even clearer that we need to continue this work," said Mr. Wellstead.

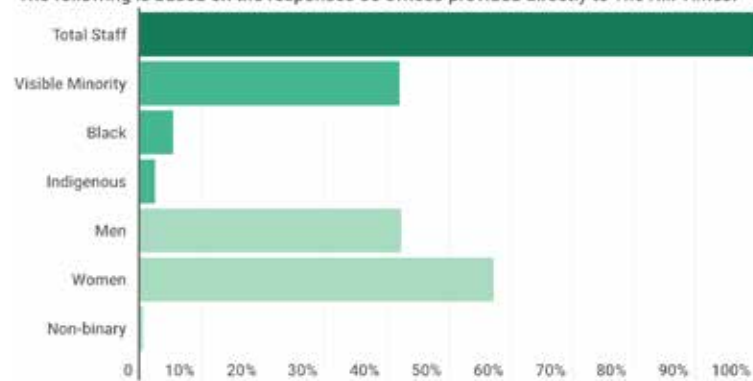
"We will be offering opportunities for staff to participate in future confidential and voluntary surveys to better understand our team later this summer. Topics on this survey will include greater granularity on demographics, mental health in the workplace, the impacts of COVID-19, systemic inequalities, education and training, and more," he said, noting the upcoming survey would use Statistics Canada's list of visible minority groups. That list includes "Black" as a distinct group.

*The Hill Times* reached out to Diversity, Inclusion, and Youth Minister Bardish Chagger's (Waterloo, Ont.) to speak with the minister about diversity on Parliament Hill but was told she was not available by filing deadline.

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The Hill Times

## Parliamentary office demographics

The following is based on the responses 38 offices provided directly to *The Hill Times*.



Graph created with Infogram


Moreover, ensuring a truly representative workforce means going beyond just "diversity by the numbers" to look at occupational mobility, who holds senior positions of power, how diversity is being harnessed and empowered, and how diverse perspectives are being integrated into organizational frameworks, he said.

"If you don't have that disaggregated data, you really don't know where the gaps are and you really cannot get to any problems or vulnerability, or even develop constructive workplace policies. You know, there's an old saying, it's been said a million times but it's worth noting again: what gets

tend to be overrepresented in relation to their share of the population, whereas Blacks are underrepresented and Filipinos are underrepresented."

While there may be seen to be "less everyday racism in the street" in Canada as compared to the U.S., the story is reversed when it comes to institutional racism and systemic discrimination, said Prof. Foster, with far more instances of Black people in positions of power, as elected officials and otherwise, south of the border.

"It's really quite remarkable and distinctive in terms of its difference with the Canadian scene," he said, noting that within Canada's federal public service, the



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The search committee will begin consideration of candidates immediately. Applications should include a letter of interest, curriculum vitae and the names of three references (who will not be contacted without the consent of the candidate) and be submitted electronically, in confidence, to:

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# Comment

## Legacy media can't seem to shake legacy of white supremacy

You wouldn't know that an act of terrorism took place on the grounds of Rideau Hall, not from an inept Canadian news media.



Erica Ifill

*Bad+Bitchy*

OTTAWA—Canadian media are the public relations arm of white supremacy and their inability to credibly cover stories relating to Black, Indigenous, people of colour (BIPOC) is an embarrassment to the nation. Furthermore, their inability to cover the biggest terrorist threat to hit this country—the far right, a.k.a. angry, white men—is diabolically disgraceful.

Corey Hurren, a military reservist (shades of Patrik Mathews, which begs some pointed questions about who the Canadian Forces recruits, but that's beyond the scope of this piece) is accused of pulling up to Rideau Hall kitted out in the far-right starter pack: a loaded M14 rifle (currently banned in Canada), two shotguns, and a handgun. Allegedly, he uttered threats against the prime minister in an effort to “talk” to him, which sounds like something an abuser would say. For 13 minutes, the accused roamed free on the grounds before the RCMP made visual contact. Another 90 minutes passed before he was arrested. Were he Black or Indigenous, he wouldn't have gotten that far, but that's the privilege of whiteness.

Another privilege of whiteness is the expectation of being treated humanely by the police. From what I understand, this man is still alive and breathing. Too bad neither Jason Collins nor D'Andre Campbell enjoyed the assumption of humanity from the police that Hurren enjoyed. This is where racism is systematic; it is racism that is implemented in a methodical and organized manner to benefit white people, which invariably discriminates against BIPOC.



Journalists attend a media availability at Rideau Cottage on May 29. The Conservatives are half-right: the news media is biased, however it's not biased towards 'liberals,' it's biased towards white supremacy and actively works to uphold that viewpoint, writes Erica Ifill. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

But you wouldn't know that an act of terrorism took place on the grounds of Rideau Hall, not from an inept Canadian news media. In fact, this man has been labelled an “intruder” by many news outlets, thereby reducing the severity of his act to a youthful indiscretion. Global News characterized him this way with the headline: “Corey Hurren, alleged Rideau Hall intruder, threatened Trudeau: RCMP officer. Sounds like a little spat. This is the same type of approach Canadian news media took with the Nova Scotia shooter: A headline from *The Globe and Mail* reads, “Nova Scotia mass shooter was a dentist with an obsession for policing.” Sounds like a Tinder profile or a Blue Lives Matter rally, neither of which is good for BIPOC.

Contrast that with vicious headlines describing BIPOC who are victims.

*Chatelaine* executive editor Denise Balkissoon, when she was still the only columnist of colour at *The Globe and Mail*, wrote about this aspect of the media in the death of Tina Fontaine, saying “multiple news outlets, including *The Globe*, used headlines highlighting Tina's substance use without contextualizing that it was being scrutinized on the

request of Mr. Cormier, the one whose actions are actually on trial.” The criminalization of BIPOC victims continued with the trial of Gerald Stanley for killing Colten Boushie. In her thesis at Wilfred Laurier University entitled, “The Examination of News Media Representation of Indigenous Murder Victims in Canada: A Case Study of Colten Boushie's Death,” Latasha VanEvery's research discovered that “selective media outlets ‘dehumanized’ Boushie through narratives defending Stanley's actions as self-defence.”

In other words, the media characterizes BIPOC victims as perpetrators and white perpetrators as victims. The Conservatives are half-right: the news media is biased, however it's not biased towards “liberals,” it's biased towards white supremacy and actively works to uphold that viewpoint.

The news is not unbiased: the headlines and layout, what is emphasized, how a story is framed, which stories are accepted when pitched are all the result of multiple decisions made by editors and producers. The idea that news can be delivered in an unbiased way is laughable. There is always a bias, but only white people have the power to

make those decisions, rendering the news media landscape as one, big plantation. BIPOC are the workers and the decision-makers are white—one invariably has more power than the other and those with power are white. Rather than diversity and representation at all levels, Canadian media are made up of white, corporate, men and women who still don't understand the internet and who think any story that doesn't centre downtown Toronto and Montreal whiteness is not worth committing resources to. Look at all of the major stories mainstream Canadian news media has missed: Trudeau's blackface, Wet'suwet'en defenders, and far-right terrorism (it was Vice, The Canadian Anti-Hate Network, and *PressProgress*, among others, who started writing about the latter after Alexandre Bissonnette's date with terrorism, not legacy media). They would rather placate power, hoping to join its ranks, rather than do their job and challenge the status quo. Management is always the problem and fish rots from the head.

An example of this so-called objectivity is when CBC produced a garbage article on what to do when you encounter a racist

incident. The article was written by a white guy whose first step was to call the police. This is the most dangerous advice one can give if someone is experiencing racism. If that person is Black or Indigenous, especially, death by the hands of police is a potential outcome when interacting with the police. But CBC didn't bother to care about the lives of innocent Black or Indigenous people when doling out this terrible advice and they obviously didn't have anyone to stop them. Thankfully, Vice News eventually corrected them. And yes, that piece was written by a person of colour.

(White people cannot credibly give advice on anti-racism efforts. We don't need racism whited-up to us, so they should stay in their lane.)

I'm starting to wonder why we need legacy media. We can fund media that is actually inclusive of Canadian stories because BIPOC are Canadians, too. Not even CBC upholds its mandate, which is to “reflect the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada,” yet it continues to receive the tax dollars of BIPOC people to discriminate against us.

Make it make sense.  
*Erica Ifill is a co-host of the Bad+Bitchy podcast.*  
*The Hill Times*

# Rae's appointment as UN envoy a long-awaited, sorely needed move

Having displayed the humanitarian values that the UN cries out for, Bob Rae has finally been appointed Canada's ambassador to an institution that sorely needs his vision and deep understanding of the human condition.



Douglas Roche  
*Opinion*

Better late than never. When Justin Trudeau was elected prime minister in 2015, I wrote to him, suggesting Bob Rae be

named Canada's ambassador to the United Nations. That didn't happen. But if it had, Canada today would be a new member of the UN Security Council.

Of course, I cannot prove that Rae would have made the difference in Canada's campaign for a seat, which came close but not close enough to beat Norway and Ireland on June 17. But knowing the UN and knowing Rae, I am very confident that his personality would have influenced the development of stronger Canadian foreign policies over the past few years and would have attracted not a few ambassadors to vote for Canada.

Rae is not bland. Now, having displayed the humanitarian values that the UN cries out for, he has finally been appointed Canada's ambassador to an institution that sorely needs Rae's vision and deep understanding of the human condition today.

I cannot be put down as a lifelong fan of Rae. But he has won me over. Our relationship started on a high note, for when I started going to the UN as a young Parliamentarian in the early 1970s, I met Ambassador Saul Rae, Rae's father, then capping a distinguished diplomatic career by serving at both the Geneva and New York bases of the UN.

For some reason, the ambassador took me under his wing, and I remember several occasions when he took extra time in his office explaining to me the mysterious workings of the UN. I formed a deep respect for him, so I was interested when his son was elected to Parliament as an NDP member in a 1978 by-election. The next year, however, when Joe Clark had formed a minority Progressive Conservative government, Rae brought it crashing down with a sub-amendment to the budget bill that passed. That was the end of the government and, although I didn't realize it until some time later, the end of my House of Commons career.

Rae was not my favourite public figure. But life went on. Rae switched to provincial politics

Continued on page 17

# Alberta cannot look to Quebec as a model for separatism—it's not a fair fight

Alberta can't compete with Quebec when it comes to the sentiments of Canadians and therefore cannot use the Quebec model to extort similar concessions from Ottawa.



Ross O'Connor  
*Opinion*

A new political party has entered the political arena in Alberta: the Wildrose Independence Party of Alberta—a merger between the Freedom Conservative Party and Wexit Alberta. This new independence party reflects the mood that Albertans will always get a raw deal from Ottawa because federal governments have to cater to the golden triangle of Toronto-Montreal-Ottawa above the interests of the West.

There is merit to this argument. Greater Toronto alone boasts 57 Members of Parliament, which trumps the com-

bined weight of Alberta and Saskatchewan, which clocks in at 48. When an idea is popular in Alberta but unpalatable to Ontario, the superior numbers in the East will likely lead a prime minister to choose Ontario over the Prairies if they wish to stay in power.

As such, if it is the will of the good people of Alberta to leave Canada, then they should be allowed every opportunity to make their case. However, one suspects that the current separatist wave in Alberta is less about initiating divorce proceedings in good faith and more of a temper tantrum fuelled by Quebec envy.

Quebec possesses unique powers over immigration and taxation, making it the province in the Canadian family with the most autonomy. Quebec envy is further exacerbated by the federal equalization program, a fund to which Alberta contributes to and pays out billions to Quebec. However, if the Wildrose Independence Party of Alberta hopes to mimic Quebec's separatist past to barter



Revellers attend a St-Jean-Baptiste Day show at the Plains of Abraham in Quebec City in 2015. One suspects that the current separatist wave in Alberta is less about initiating divorce proceedings in good faith and more of a temper tantrum fuelled by Quebec envy, writes Ross O'Connor. Photograph courtesy of Flickr/fetenationale

for more autonomy, it might be in for a rude awakening due to an unspoken truth: Quebec matters more to the Canadian identity than Alberta does. In other words, Canada without Alberta continues to be Canada, but without Quebec, Canada becomes the U.S.

Why? Canadians define their identity in opposition to our southern neighbours and live in fear of being compared to Americans. Ontario and Quebec have a long history of animosity, but agreed to put their differences aside to come together in 1867 and create Canada as a bulwark against the Americans that holds to this day, disproving the warnings of Francis Bond Head, a lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada who predicted that a partnership of the English and the French under one roof would not hold together for five minutes and that keeping the French and the English apart merely followed what nature herself did "when she deliberately created the English Channel."

In the 1980s, the idea of a free-trade agreement with the U.S. struck such fear into the

hearts of Canadians that many felt its adoption would lead to Canada becoming the 51<sup>st</sup> U.S. state. The 1988 federal election became a referendum on the issue and Canadians were so involved that voter turnout was 75 per cent, a high-water mark not seen since.

To this day, young Canadian travellers continue to sew Canadian flags on their backpacks to avoid being mistaken for Americans, some even getting a tattoo of the maple leaf. If you're still not convinced, try this experiment: tell a Canadian how there isn't much difference between him and an American and a vigorous and full-throated pushback will undoubtedly ensue.

In fact, there are really only two major tangible differences that separate Canada from the U.S.: universal health care and the presence of a francophone province. So, if Quebec is removed from the Canadian equation, Ontario becomes Michigan, and Alberta turns into Montana. The presence of Quebec is so crucial to the Canadian national psyche that it strengthens Que-

bec's hand over all other provinces, including Alberta.

Because of this situation, it's not even a fair fight. Alberta can't compete with Quebec when it comes to the sentiments of Canadians and therefore cannot use the Quebec model to extort similar concessions from Ottawa. If the independence movement believes that the menace of Alberta walking out the door can coerce the rest of Canada into making concessions, then an intervention needs to be staged, lest this tantrum fester into a crisis.

The fate of Alberta remains, as it should, in the hands of Albertans but they need to have a complete picture of what they are getting into before heeding the siren call of separatist politicians. Quebec envy makes for a poor strategy if independence is truly what Alberta desires.

Ross O'Connor is a former senior advisor to Prime Minister Stephen Harper on foreign affairs and national security and someone who has lived in both Quebec and Alberta. Find him on Twitter @atomicblackbird.

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## Editorial

### Open and transparent ethics probe is only right after muddled WE decision

Since taking the country's highest political office, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has been a big proponent of "open and transparent" decision making. And don't get him started on making "evidence-based" choices.

So, when it was announced on June 25 that the government was awarding a \$912-million sole-source contract to the WE charity to run the Canada Student Service Grant (CSSG) program, Mr. Trudeau was quick to tout the bona fides that the public service had done its due diligence and made the decision that the charity was the only group capable of running the operation.

The aim of the program is to provide post-secondary students with a one-time payment of between \$1,000 and \$5,000, based on the number of hours they volunteer.

Despite questions about the operation of the program being raised because of the Trudeau family's pre-existing connection to the WE organization, with both Mr. Trudeau and Sophie Grégoire Trudeau volunteering their time for the charity, the public service, Mr. Trudeau said, determined WE was "capable of networking and organizing and delivering this program on the scale that we needed it."

By July 3, the contract was a dud, and Mr. Trudeau continued to distance himself from the selection of the charity.

"This was a decision that needed to be made by our professional public service, they made the decision in a transparent and open way, and in a rigorous way," he said.

But the lack of transparency, and the government's refusal to answer direct questions about how exactly WE was awarded this contract continue to fly in the face of all of the prime minister's declarations.

As *The Globe and Mail* reported on July 6, the Prime Minister's Office won't say whether the decision was one made by cabinet or if Mr. Trudeau took part in the choosing.

On the same day, *The National Post* reported on the government's refusal to identify the "various" other organizations it says were considered for running the CSSG, or even say how many there were.

"As part of its strategy, [Employment and Social Development Canada] considered several parameters and various not-for-profit (NFP) organizations that could be in a position to deliver such a unique initiative," the department told *The Post*, without further explanation.

Now, for the third time in three years, the federal ethics commissioner will be investigating Mr. Trudeau for yet another decision he (refuses to clarify if he) made.

Ethics Commissioner Mario Dion said in a July 3 letter to Conservative ethics critic Michael Barrett that he found grounds to investigate Mr. Trudeau based on three potential contraventions of the Conflict of Interest Act: that he gave WE preferential treatment, that he should have recused himself from the decision, and that he's in conflict of interest because it improperly furthers WE's private interests.

Hopefully, by the time *Trudeau III* comes out, it won't be a retreat of the commissioner's investigation following the SNC Lavalin scandal, in which he said he was "constrained" in his work. Mr. Trudeau and the government should be as transparent as possible, giving the commissioner as much evidence as is needed to come to a decision. It is, after all, how he says he operates.

*The Hill Times*

## Letters to the Editor

### Canadian expediency sinks UN bid, says reader

The United Nations' organizational character is worth noting as Canada's latest rejection becomes a memory. The UN actually functions like a corporation, where the five permanent Security Council members (China, Russia, France, the U.K., and the U.S.) possess a veto like that of majority corporate shareholders. Any resolution that displeases this nuclear quintet may be arbitrarily vetoed and erased from history; thus rendering global consensus irrelevant. Ironically, the will of weaker states was allowed to prevail in Canada's 2020 case; albeit for cynical reasons.

Undoubtedly, many of the nations who rejected Canada's UN bid have been negatively affected by the international behaviour of Canadian industries left free to police themselves. The mining sector's conduct in Latin America and Africa, and Canada's indifference to Palestinian statehood have damaged the nation's image.

Both Justin Trudeau (2020) and Stephen Harper (2010) failed to gain a temporary Security Council seat, for quite similar reasons, although these prime ministers are personally very different. However, they do share an oligarchical sensibility featuring reflexive hostility and contempt for even the most



Despite their personal and political differences, both Stephen Harper and Justin Trudeau failed to gain Canada a temporary seat on the UN Security Council, writes Morgan Duchesney. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

reasonable critics. Such leaders prefer that the public accept a mainly symbolic role in democracy, leaving serious matters to those who understand the value of expediency and the superior wisdom of the wealthy.

Such arrogance requires a marketing democracy where politicians employ public relations advisers to manufacture needs and consent through advertising techniques. It need not be like this. Developing historical and political literacy is one way to understand power and resist its corrosive influence on public affairs.

Morgan Duchesney  
 Ottawa, Ont.

### Time for Parliament to get back to work, reader says

While the U.S. Congress and Senate debate and pass bills on police reform, here in Canada, we bend a knee, cross our hearts, mouth platitudes, and tell ourselves that we can wait for the fall to re-open Parliament.

In order to bring about change, hold the Liberal government to account, and to stand up for democracy, both here around the world, Parliament must get back to work.

Police reform is only part of a legislative agenda which could be rolled out over the summer. The Parliamentary Black Caucus has made common cause with Indigenous people in demanding action on over-incarceration. We need to act on this call to action, and act now, when, in response to COVID-19, the numbers of inmates inside correctional institutions—especially at the provincial level—have been reduced by as much as one-third.

We could make this reduction permanent and go further taking funding away from jails and prisons and putting it into community supervision and restorative justice.

We also need Parliament back in action to hold the Liberal government accountable, for its response to COVID-19, to demand action on freeing the two Michaels, to

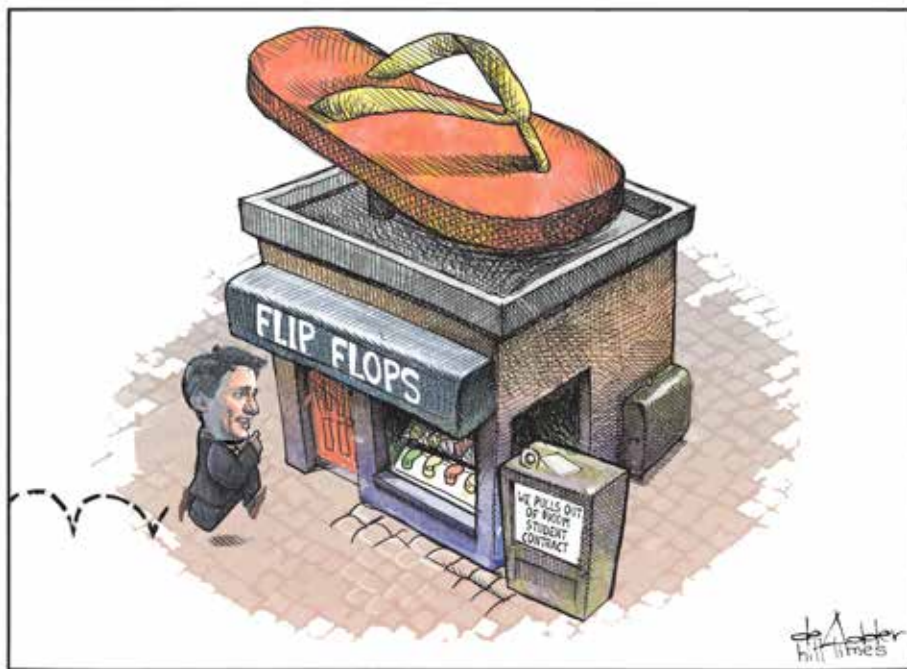
support democracy in Hong Kong, to more closely examine François-Philippe Champagne's dealings with a Chinese bank, to question the sole-sourced \$900-million contract with WE, and much, much more.

In a time of turmoil and dislocation, when Canadians minds are being opened to longstanding unresolved problems, like systemic racism, and are prepared to consider big changes, like defunding the police and a guaranteed annual income, we need our Parliamentarians at work—full time, and now.

Jody Wilson-Raybould has told us of the Trudeau government's "back burner" response to repealing Harper tough-on-crime legislation. The Liberal government is quite happy to continue its lassitude, sailing on a sea of bromides, well-knowing that the hot fire of protest will die out some day, and the protest messages tamed or forgotten.

While millions have had their incomes reduced, and lost work, MPs continue to earn full paycheques—worth twice the highest median family income in Canada. It is shocking to think while caregivers put their lives on the line in nursing homes, Members of Parliament think they are entitled to a summer holiday.

Peter Kirby  
 Kenora, Ont.



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# The great escape: *Vol de Nuit* and the summer of our discontent

Our previously unthinkable, pandemic-besieged moment is a good time to revisit Saint-Exupéry's humanist epic.



Lisa Van Dusen

What Fresh Hell

Sometimes, during the first two decades of this Jeremy Bentham-meets-Elmore Leonard century, I've feared that reality has spoiled me for fiction. That living in a world in which technology, corruption, industrialized, "post-truth" bollocks and

the tactical obliteration of ethical boundaries have conspired to produce narratives, dialogue, and plot twists so monstrously absurd that only Kafka and Hitchcock can compete has made me too tough a room for the consolations of a great novel.

There have been many novels that have dispelled that fear, most recently Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *Vol de Nuit*, the 1931 fictionalization (the English translation, *Night Flight*, landed in 1933) of the *Le Petit Prince* author's life as an air mail pilot in South America. *Vol de Nuit* (I re-read the French version because it was the one I fell for in high school) is an old-fashioned adventure story and idiosyncratic macho management manual ("*Aimez ceux que vous commandez; mais sans leur dire*"—love those you command; but without telling them), about brave, flawed men in leather jackets doing stuff with gyroscopes and maps and other things that helped human beings find their way before GPS and Siri. It is also about, as the protagonist, Rivière, reveals, "*l'obscur sentiment d'un devoir, plus grand que celui d'aimer*"—that rare sense of a duty greater than love—a timely theme embodied these days by



*Vol de Nuit*, the 1931 work by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, pictured near Montreal in 1942, stands out in COVID-19 quarantine as a paean to outside and for its empathy, writes Lisa Van Dusen. Wikimedia Commons image

everyone from front-line health-care workers to Black Lives Matters protesters.

If books mean different things to us at different times, *Vol de Nuit* (the mail pilots flew at night to maintain their commercial edge over ships and trains) stands out in COVID-19 quarantine as a paean to outside—those poetic descriptions of earth and sky that make you suddenly understand the flight fetishists—and for its empathy; for the pilots who risked their lives to connect the world decades before the internet, for their

clock-watching paramours and for the people in the towns and cities whose lights chaperoned them like earthbound stars.

The combination of nerve and skill it took for the members of "*le culte du courrier*" to test themselves and technology against the Andes every night makes *Vol de Nuit* the rightful prequel to Tom Wolfe's *The Right Stuff*, published nearly half a century later, in which Saint-Exupéry is described as "A saint in short, true to his name, flying up here at the right hand of God."

Through the 1930s, as the question of whether and how to fight Hitler torqued every conversation, *Vol de Nuit* became popular as a parable on the value of sacrifice. The fact that Saint-Exupéry himself died in 1944 when his plane went down during a reconnaissance mission over occupied France suffuses the book with added poignancy. It seems odd to describe a story that weighs in at fewer than 200 pages as epic, but saying that *Vol de Nuit* is a novel about aviation is like saying Spike Lee's *Mo Better Blues* is a movie about trumpet playing. It's not about the instruments.

Here in 2020, our lives are unfolding, as the Little Prince might say, on two different planets—the corporeal one where we live when we're not looking down at the one on our screens, and the virtual one where life is a conveyor belt of curated inputs, and where the latest contrived lunacy from Donald Trump flies by at the same weight as the avoidable loss of tens of thousands of lives due to his mismanagement.

Sometimes it's good to reorient ourselves in history, and in the authentic reality of fiction, to be reminded of what—both beautiful and horrifying—has come before.

Lisa Van Dusen is associate editor of Policy Magazine and was a Washington and New York-based editor at UPI, AP, and ABC. She writes a weekly column for The Hill Times.

The Hill Times

# True or not, alleged Russian interference didn't affect outcome of Afghan war

It would be foolhardy to believe that blood payments altered in any way the failed course of the American-led war in Afghanistan.



Scott Taylor

Inside Defence

OTTAWA—With the COVID-19 pandemic resurgent throughout the U.S. and the Black Lives Matter movement still garnering

headlines, there is now a third bombshell story competing for the American media's attention.

Last week, *The New York Times* broke the story that U.S. intelligence sources allege that Russian intelligence operatives have been paying a bounty to Afghan insurgents who target and kill U.S. soldiers.

The allegations—although unproven and based solely on unnamed intelligence sources—were quickly accepted as fact. Overnight, the story angle became "when was Donald Trump made aware of these reports?" and "why has Trump not taken action against the Russians?"

For the hardcore Colonel Blimp Brigade—including the usual war-mongers here in Canada—this allegation was a eureka moment: we didn't lose the war in Afghanistan ourselves, it was Russian interference that prevented our victory.

This conclusion defies all logic and would only be embraced by the wilfully blind.

Let me be clear that if there is any shred of truth that Russian

intelligence paid Afghans to kill Americans it would amount to a heinous crime deserving of sanction. However, it would be foolhardy to believe that such blood payments altered in any way the failed course of the American-led war in Afghanistan.

Even to accept the *New York Times* expose as gospel truth, they claim that the Russian bounty on U.S. soldiers was only "implemented in recent years."

For those keeping track, the U.S. invaded Afghanistan in 2001, and initially Russia was a key supporter of that effort with a shared enemy in al-Qaeda extremists.

Relations between Russia and the U.S. did not sour until the crisis in Ukraine in 2014, so that would mean that the American-led occupation of Afghanistan was combatting a fanatical resistance for a decade and a half before the Russians began paying out these alleged kill rewards.

As a reporter who covered the war in Afghanistan, I was privy to a lot of claims made by international officials as to NATO's inability to suppress the insurgency.



After *The New York Times* broke a story alleging Russian intelligence operatives have been paying a bounty to Afghan insurgents who target and kill U.S. soldiers, the story angle quickly became about when U.S. President Donald Trump knew about the allegations and why he didn't act, writes Scott Taylor. White House photograph by Andrea Hanks

Many believed that foreign fighters seeking an international holy war were the problem, and a standard refrain was that this was all Pakistan's fault. Were it not for those outsiders forces, they believed that the grateful Afghans would treat our soldiers as "liberators."

Never once did I hear any suggestion that Russia was the destabilizing force through their bribing of Afghans with "up to \$100,000" for each American soldier killed.

Such a notion of the Taliban warrior as a greedy mercenary also defies any understanding of their fanatical mindset. The reason that the Taliban have been so resilient in their defiance is that they are more than willing to die for their cause.

The collective failure of the NATO-trained and -equipped Afghan security forces when

fighting the Taliban is that the Afghan army soldiers want to live to cash their comparatively lucrative paycheques.

In other words, if the Russians have indeed been paying out six-figure bounties, they have been wasting their money. As thousands of years of history clearly demonstrated, the Afghans don't need a reward to kill foreign invaders, and one would think the Russians of all people would have learned that lesson during their decade long occupation of Afghanistan (1979-1989).

Another thing to keep in mind is that just six months ago, a dossier dubbed the Afghanistan Papers was made public by *The Washington Post*. In this 2,000-page document compiled by the Special Inspector General of Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR), it was concluded that the U.S. public has been consistently misled about an unwinnable war.

The report was based on hundreds of interviews with those key figures directing the Afghanistan conflict. The two main themes concluded by SIGAR were that U.S. officials manipulated statistics to portray to the American public non-existent progress and that successive U.S. administrations had failed to clamp down on the widespread corruption.

Not once in the report did anyone blame the lost war on Russian bounties.

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

The Hill Times



## Comment

# Are we all Marxists now? I hope not

The reductionist concepts touted by so-called 'Marxist intellectuals' may play well in social media or on TV, but have a limited connection to contemporary reality or the great philosophers.



Andrew Caddell

*With All Due Respect*

OTTAWA—In the fall of 1997, a friend sent me a copy of an article from *The New Yorker* magazine, called "The Return of Karl Marx," by John Cassidy. The point of the article, written in the last years of a decade known for its avarice, was Marx was right: the materialist conception of history

had come to pass, that leaders "are adopting Marx's argument that economics is the driving force in human development."

For Marx, anything not materialistic was anathema. His throwaway line about "religion being the opium of the people" rings true today, in a society more secular, but also more selfish.

But, while Marx called for reforms in society, for labour unions, laws, minimum wage legislation, welfare benefits, public housing, public health systems, progressive income taxes, he never believed those in authority would permit them. In the *Communist Manifesto*, he wrote, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. What the bourgeoisie produces, above all, is its own grave-diggers."

Marx wrote these words in 1848 (152 years ago), failing to incite revolution in Europe; so he had no influence on his era. And yet, he keeps on being revived. I remember reading the *Communist Manifesto* in CEGEP in the 1960s, as well as *Le Petit Manuel de L'Histoire du Québec*, a Marxist history of Quebec, which blamed all Quebec's ills on the English bosses, the church, and *Canadien* collaborators.

A few years later, I was required to take philosophy in university. I read Plato, Locke, Hobbes, Bentham, Voltaire, Rousseau, Machiavelli. This required mental gymnastics, because the concepts behind their writing were so complicated

and the writing reflected the style of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Plato's *Republic*, widely acknowledged to be one of the great books of all time, gave me headaches.



Andrew Caddell writes that, of late, he has read online articles by so-called 'Marxist intellectuals' calling for the overthrow of the vestiges of colonialism, capitalism, and our system of government. Flickr photograph by Roger Jones

But that was the point of the exercise: our professors sought to challenge us, and make us think about the human condition as well as systems of government. What was justice? What was the relationship between the governed and their leaders? Was there a social contract? What was the relationship between humans and God?

Yes, they were a bunch of old, white men who lived a long time ago. But they were geniuses of their era and beyond, whose legacy was the movements that led to the American Revolution, the French revolution, the end of slavery, responsible government, universal suffrage, and the spread of de-

mocracy. Marx, on the other hand, inspired Stalin, Lenin, and Mao.

Which leads me to wonder why he is in vogue. Dr. Simone Chambers, who teaches political science at

the University of California, Irvine, believes "there is value in studying Marx and Adam Smith, for their views on political economy." Which is fair: for all his flaws, Marx was an economist, not a political theorist.

But aside from context, what does Marx offer, aside from materialism and socialism? Presumably, any insightful student recognizes the largest Communist country in the world is the antithesis of Marxism: China's feudal communism represses the society and keeps wages down and products cheap so an elite can benefit. It is Orwell's *Animal Farm* come alive.

Meanwhile, young Canadians rail against the "capitalist system,"

forgetting capitalism is simply earning money without working to create a good. Labour union pensions, like OMERS and Teachers, are among the biggest capitalists in this country. In Canada, we live in a "mixed economy," with many of the attributes of socialism, combined with free enterprise.

Of late, I have read online articles by so-called "Marxist intellectuals" calling for the overthrow of the vestiges of colonialism, capitalism, and our system of government. The rhetoric is basic, binary, and blaming "the oppressor."

These are wonderfully reductionist concepts, which may play well in social media or on TV, but have a limited connection to contemporary reality or the great philosophers. They also don't take into account the fact society is composed of a rich tapestry of millions of complex, hard-working, mostly conscientious, peace-loving individuals.

Hegel's conception of the dialectic was society evolved from a competing thesis and antitheses to another thesis. My hope is the reaction to today's vacuous Marxism will be a genuine intellectual response, which encourages us to examine issues at their core, takes the human spirit into account, and advances society without seeking to destroy it first.

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 fellow with the *Canadian Global Affairs Institute* and a principal of *QIT Canada*. He can be reached at [pipson52@hotmail.com](mailto:pipson52@hotmail.com).

*The Hill Times*

# Hong Kong: the 'British' three million

It is still hard to believe that an ultra-nationalist British government that won the Brexit referendum on a wave of anti-foreign rhetoric will really keep these promises.



Gwynne Dyer

*Global Affairs*

"We will grant BNOs five years' limited leave to remain (in the United Kingdom), with the right to work or study," British Foreign Secretary Dominic Raab told the U.K. Parliament on July 1. "After five years, they

will be able to apply for settled status. After a further 12 months with settled status, they will be able to apply for citizenship."

The stunning thing about this promise is that it applies to all three million people in Hong Kong—almost half the population—who have British National (Overseas) status by virtue of having been born there before the former British colony was handed back to the People's Republic of China in 1997.

They don't even need to have an actual BNO passport (although 300,000 of them do). All three million of them qualify: "all those with BNO status will be eligible, as will their family dependants who are ordinarily resident in Hong Kong. The Home Office will put in place a simple, streamlined application process. There will be no quota on numbers."

This is an unprecedented commitment, and it's not even a legal requirement. Britain voluntarily gave asylum to 30,000 Ugandan Asians in 1972 when the bloody dictator Idi Amin confiscated their property and expelled them from the country, but we're talking about potentially a hundred times as many people in Hong Kong.

It is a debt of honour, however, as Britain negotiated an agree-

ment with China that Hong Kong would keep the rule of law, free speech, and freedom of the press for 50 years after the handover in 1997. China has broken that "one country, two systems" deal, and Hong Kongers can only expect a thinly disguised Communist dictatorship from now on.

It's right there in the new "security" laws imposed illegally last month by the regime's rubber-stamp National People's Congress in Beijing. New crimes include separatism, subversion, terrorism, and "collusion with foreign forces," the same vague catch-all charges that the Communist regime uses to suppress dissent in the People's Republic. ("Terrorism" includes damaging public transport.) Maximum sentence is life in prison.

These laws will be enforced by China's "security" (i.e. political) police, who will now operate in Hong Kong. The charges they bring may be tried in Hong Kong's courts, but if there are "certain circumstances" or "special situations," the accused can be extradited to mainland courts, entirely under the regime's thumb, where the conviction rate is well above 99 per cent. In other words, it's over.

It's not just freedom that's over. As Chris Patten, Hong

Kong's last British governor, wrote recently: "If China destroys the rule of law in Hong Kong, it will ruin the city's chances of continuing to be a great international financial hub that mediates about two-thirds of the direct investment in and out of China."

The decision has been taken, and Hong Kong's residents have two good reasons to leave: their freedoms are gone, and the economic future is grim. Many will decide to leave, but where can they go?

For the 300,000 Canadian citizens in Hong Kong, the 100,000 Australian citizens, the 100,000 British citizens, and the 85,000 Americans, it's easy. Most are ethnic Chinese from Hong Kong who knew that you could never trust the Communists, and took out an insurance policy long ago by emigrating to another country and acquiring citizenship.

Most of them even bought houses, but then they moved back to Hong Kong to be with their wider family and make better money. Many will go soon, because the Communist regime may start forbidding people to leave (it doesn't recognize dual citizenship). Others will gamble on staying for the time being, in the hope that if it gets very bad, they will still be able to get out later.

For the three million more who have BNO status, it's a harder choice. They have much less money, and no houses, no contacts, no jobs waiting for them in Britain. But they're ambitious, they're well educated, and a lot of them are young. It would be surprising if at least half a million of them didn't take up the British offer.

Just one little problem: the children of people with BNO status who were born after 1997 but are too old to qualify as dependants—the 18 to 23 year olds—are not currently eligible for BNO status. That includes a majority of the young adults who were active in the protests and have most to fear. But the British government says it is considering their case.

And one little doubt. It is still hard to believe that an ultra-nationalist British government that won the Brexit referendum on a wave of anti-foreign rhetoric, and a Home Office that still stubbornly maintains a "hostile environment" for immigrants, will really keep these promises.

It would be nice if they kept their word, but it would also be quite surprising.

Gwynne Dyer's new book is *Growing Pains: The Future of Democracy (and Work)*.

*The Hill Times*



## HILL CLIMBERS

by Laura Ryckewaert

# Two new advisers on Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister Bennett's team

Plus, John O'Leary has exited as director of strategic communications in the Liberal research bureau and joins Crestview Strategy as a senior consultant this week.

Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister **Carolyn Bennett** has welcomed a familiar face back to her fold, with **Charlotte McKenna** returning to serve as a policy adviser to the minister for the summer.



Charlotte McKenna has returned to Ms. Bennett's for the summer. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

A former assistant to then-Manitoba Liberal MP **Doug Eyolfson**, Ms. McKenna first landed a job as a legislative assistant in Ms. Bennett's office as the then-minister for Indigenous and northern affairs in April 2017, later being bumped up to the title of parliamentary affairs adviser.

She left the minister's office, and the Hill, in August 2019 ahead of starting a law degree at the University of Windsor. Ms. McKenna remains a law student, and re-joined Ms. Bennett's office in the beginning of May to help tackle policy full-time over the summer.

In more recent staffing news, **Jordan Ames-Sinclair** has been hired as the minister's Western regional affairs adviser and marked his first day on the job last week.

Mr. Ames-Sinclair is from the Zagime Anishinabek First Nation in southern Saskatchewan, and, at the age of 19, ran as the Liberal Party's 2019 candidate in Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask., last fall. The riding has been held by outgoing Conservative Party Leader **Andrew Scheer** since 2004. Mr. Scheer was ultimately re-elected with roughly 63.1 per cent of the vote, while Mr. Ames-Sinclair came third behind the NDP candidate with 11.7 per cent support.

In a candidate question-and-answer interview with Regina's 980 CJME Radio



Jordan Ames-Sinclair is handling Western regional affairs for Ms. Bennett. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

from last October, Mr. Ames-Sinclair said he's been a member of the Liberal Party since he was 14 years old, and has previously sat on the Métis Nation Legislative Assembly and the Métis Nation of Saskatchewan Provincial Youth Board.

Other regional advisers in the minister's office currently include **Joshua Wagamese**, who tackles the North; **Kaitlyn Forbes**, as policy and Ontario regional affairs adviser; **Chloe van Bussel**, as Quebec regional affairs adviser and manager of operations; and **Harrison Paul** as Atlantic regional affairs adviser and assistant to the minister's parliamentary secretary, Liberal MP **Gary Anandasangaree**.

**Shaili Patel** is director of policy to Ms. Bennett, whose office is run by chief of staff **Sarah Welch**. The team also currently includes: **Vincent Haraldsen**, director of parliamentary affairs; **Gillian Hanson**, director of communications; **Emily Williams**, press secretary; and **Bennett Donahue**, special assistant for operations.

### John O'Leary exits LRB for Crestview Strategy

After almost three years on the job, **John O'Leary** recently ended his run as director of strategic communications in the Liberal research bureau (LRB). He's joining Crestview Strategy as a senior consultant this week.

In the LRB, he'd been in charge of the communications, outreach, and strategic research teams. His last day in the office was July 2.

"Crestview is a growing, exciting agency with a talented team. I'm excited to learn from and work with them, and contribute to Crestview's growth," Mr. O'Leary told **Hill Climbers** in an email.

"I am grateful for the opportunity I've had to serve our Liberal caucus and add value to their work. It has been an honour to serve the government, and I will treasure the experience for the rest of my life."

Before joining the LRB in the fall of 2017, Mr. O'Leary spent about a year as director of communications to the demo-



John O'Leary starts with Crestview Strategy this week. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

cratic institutions minister, starting under then-minister **Maryam Monsef** and ending under her successor, **Karina Gould**. (Ms. Monsef is now minister for women and gender equality, while Ms. Gould is minister of international development.) He first came to Parliament Hill as a ministerial staffer in January 2016, starting out as communications head to then-employment minister **MaryAnn Mihychuk**. During the last federal election, Mr. O'Leary was part of the national Liberal campaign's rapid response and issues management team.

Along with past work in the private sector—as manager of public affairs and communications for The Coca-Cola Company and a consultant for StrategyCorp in Toronto before that—Mr. O'Leary previously worked for the former Ontario Liberal government, including as education policy adviser and later manager of legislative issues to then-premier **Dalton McGuinty**, and as a policy adviser to then-education minister **Kathleen Wynne**.

In his new role, Mr. O'Leary will be supporting Crestview's Ottawa and Toronto offices and its clients "across all practice areas," according to the firm's June 25 announcement.

"John understands how to build and lead successful advocacy campaigns at all levels of government across Canada," said **Ginny Roth**, national practice lead for government relations at Crestview in the company's release. "John's mix of private and public sector experience gives him a unique perspective that will help Crestview Strategy's clients and governments across Canada better understand each other and deliver better results."

Over in the LRB, **Hill Climbers** understands that a new communications director has yet to be hired, but there are a few other additions to note.

**Maja Staka** has joined the office as a special assistant for communications. Up until the October 2019 election, she was previously working on the Hill as an assistant to then-Alberta Liberal MP **Randy Boissonnault**. (Mr. Boissonnault ultimately lost his seat to now Conservative MP **James Cumming**.)

Ms. Staka has a bachelor's degree in French language and literature, with a minor in linguistics, from the University of Alberta, where she also studied a master's degree in the subject, as well as a translation certificate. Before joining Mr. Boissonnault's office in 2018, she'd been working as a French translator for the Running Room.

**Jessica Fullerton** is now a special assistant in the LRB.

Ms. Fullerton recently graduated with a master's degree in public policy and administration from Carleton University and spent the last year representing graduate students on the school's board of governors. Last summer, she worked as a program officer for Veterans Affairs Canada and is also a former research analyst with The Capital Hill Group and a former intern in Nova Scotia Liberal MP **Sean Fraser**'s office.

**Christiana Agustin** has been hired as executive assistant to the LRB's managing director, **Melissa Cotton**.

She recently earned a bachelor's degree in international development studies from



Jessica Fullerton is a recent addition to the LRB. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

the University of Toronto, with minors in environmental science and political science, and while in school, spent the summer of 2018 and of 2019 helping tackle outreach work in Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau**'s office. During the summer of 2017, she'd interned in the LRB, taking on Indigenous and Filipino outreach, according to her LinkedIn profile.

Ms. Agustin is also a former constituency assistant to Mr. Anandasangaree, who represents Scarborough-Rouge Park, Ont., and a former Indigenous outreach co-ordinator for the University of Toronto. In 2017, she was the Equal Voice Daughters of the Vote delegate for Scarborough-Rouge Park, amongst other past experience.



Christiana Agustin is now executive assistant to the head of the LRB. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Finally, **Jacob Wilson**, who'd been a special assistant for communications in the Liberal caucus' research office since the fall of 2017, has taken over the LRB's Ontario desk as a regional adviser, replacing **Kevin Den Heijer** who recently left to do the same for Public Safety Minister **Bill Blair**, as reported by **Hill Climbers**.

Mr. Wilson, who is the son of Health Minister **Patty Hajdu**, was an LRB summer intern before being hired on full time and has previously written for *The Walleye*, a Thunder Bay, Ont.-based arts and culture magazine.

The LRB, which supports all 156 Liberal Members of Parliament, has been allocated a budget of almost \$3.1-million for 2020-21.

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# Argentina, Chile, DRC, Hungary, and Madagascar say they backed Canada's UN Security Council bid, but closest allies are silent

The United States, United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand were among 17 countries that wouldn't comment on whether they backed Canada's recent bid for a Security Council seat.

Continued from page 1  
nations that had the ability to cast a vote in the June 17 UN Security Council election. Of those 192 countries, just more than 11 per cent responded with the supermajority refusing to say how they voted, most citing a policy of not commenting on secret ballots at the UN. There was one abstention from the vote and Venezuela was restricted from voting as it had outstanding UN debts that are unpaid.

Argentina, Chile, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Hungary, and Madagascar told *The Hill Times* that they placed five of the 108 votes that went to Canada. Ultimately, Canada was beat out by Norway and Ireland for the two vacant seats in the Western Europe and Others bloc. Norway and Ireland garnered 130 and 128 votes of support, respectively—128 votes was the minimum of the two-thirds needed to prevent a second-round run-off.

Senegalese President Macky Sall said in February while Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papine-



Outgoing UN ambassador Marc-André Blanchard, left, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, and Foreign Affairs Minister François-Philippe Champagne spearheaded Canada's Security Council campaign. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade and United Nations photograph by Manuel Elias

country of Argentina in early March in a trip aimed at strengthening bilateral relations, and International Development Minister Karina Gould (Burlington, Ont.) travelled to the Democratic Republic of Congo in January where she announced a \$56-million funding package for those affected by the Ebola outbreak and conflict. A Canadian military task force deployed in Uganda has assisted the UN peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, as well as South Sudan, since August 2019.

A modernized trade deal between Chile and Canada came into force in 2019, and the two countries are both members of the Ottawa Group, which is aiming to build consensus for reforming the World Trade Organization.

Before the Security Council vote, Hungary signalled its support for Canada following a May phone call between Foreign Affairs Minister François-Philippe Champagne (Saint-Maurice-Champlain, Que.) and Hungarian Foreign Affairs and Trade Minister Péter Szijjártó. A Hungarian embassy official told *The Hill Times* after the vote took place that Hungary did cast one of its two votes for Canada.

Royal Military College defence studies professor Adam Chapnick, author of *Canada on the United Nations Security Council*:



Canada garnered 108 of the 128 votes needed to win a temporary seat on the UN Security Council. *United Nations* photograph by Eskinder Debebe

A Small Power on a Large Stage, said the Hungarian support for Canada goes counter to some of those who are fatalistic about Canada's chances against European competitors in the Western Europe and Others bloc, adding that New Zealand and Australia would have needed to have "some limited" success in Europe when they have been elected to the Security Council.

Prof. Chapnick said for La Francophonie countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo and Madagascar, Canada would have been able to make "a stronger case" for its candidacy, as opposed to Norway and Ireland.

But he added there is always the possibility that countries lie about who they voted for, or that the ambassador at the UN didn't follow a leader's guidance on who to vote for. In Canada's 2010 Security Council loss, more countries pledged to vote for Canada than the number of votes Canada received.

A spokesperson for Mr. Champagne did not answer how many countries pledged their support for Canada before the vote took place.

In the past, Prof. Chapnick noted, Canada typically has done well among the Caribbean and small island states, adding that to have a shot at victory, Canada has to do "reasonably well" in Africa.

"It's quite possible in this [election] votes were spread around because none of the countries did exceptionally well in terms of 75 per cent first ballot wins—both of the winners just squeezed through," Prof. Chapnick said.

Some countries choose only to vote for one country so competing countries don't make it to the two-thirds barrier needed for a seat. There were 366 votes cast in the election for the Western Europe and Others group, but with the 191 voting countries and the one abstention there could have been 384 votes cast.

Prof. Chapnick wrote in *Policy Options* that New Zealand has traditionally voted for Canada and also not used its second ballot. But, given Canada's late entry in the Security Council campaign, New Zealand had already pledged one of its votes

to Ireland. Without that vote, a second-round run-off would have taken place.

"Those [unused] votes are critical," he told *The Hill Times*. "If Canada can get four or five countries that voted for it to only vote once, then either Ireland or Norway don't make the threshold," he said, adding that the Canadian strategy was to get to the second round where it had a "much better chance."

A Hungarian official said it cast both its ballots in the election, hinting that it voted for Ireland due to its EU connection.

Some of Canada's closest allies, like the United States and the United Kingdom, refused to comment on whether they supported Canada's bid.

"As a matter of long-standing policy, the United States does not make its voting preferences known for UN Security Council elections," a State Department spokesperson said on background.

Nor did Canada's historic "others" allies in the Western Eu-

### Countries saying they backed Canada's UN Security Council bid

- Argentina
- Chile
- Democratic Republic of Congo
- Hungary
- Madagascar

### Countries refusing to comment on Security Council vote

- Australia
- Austria
- Belgium
- Croatia
- Cuba
- Estonia
- Ireland
- Kazakhstan
- Latvia
- Lithuania
- New Zealand
- Moldova
- Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
- Sweden
- Ukraine
- United Kingdom
- United States



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured speaking at the UN General Assembly in 2016, made winning a seat on the Security Council a central piece of his foreign policy. *United Nations* photograph by Cia Pak



Bob Rae was announced as Canada's next UN ambassador this week. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

rope and Others bloc—Australia and New Zealand.

Spokespeople for Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade both said their countries do not publicly disclose how they vote, while noting the historic ties between Canada and Australia, and New Zealand and Canada.

Neither Latvia nor Ukraine commented on their Security Council vote. Canada has been a close partner with both countries working to combat the Russian threat. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, Canada had deployed 200 troops as part of a training mission to strengthen Ukraine's security forces. Canada has also pledged more than \$785-million to Ukraine in security and development aid since 2014, according to Global Affairs. In Latvia, Canada has deployed 540 troops and leads a NATO battlegroup. Spokespeople for both countries' UN missions noted the close co-operation Ukraine and Latvia have with Canada.

A spokesperson for Mr. Champagne did not respond when asked how Canada cast its two votes in the UN Security Council election, saying in an email that the vote is "secret."

While much has been made about Canada's late entry into the campaign—joining the race around a decade after Ireland and Norway—a former Canadian ambassador to the UN says that the loss had more to do with Canada's policies than its timing.

"I don't think its credible to suggest that Canada lost because of the late entry. I think the late entry made it more difficult for us to win, but it by no means precluded a victory," said Stephen Lewis, who was Canada's envoy to the UN from 1984 to 1988. "I think what stopped us from winning was our policies, which were well known in the nations of the UN."

Every time something of consequence happens in Canada, embassies in Ottawa transmit the news back to their home countries, he said.

"When we say we are not going to increase our official development assistance, that goes back to the African countries. When we pretend we care about climate change and we buy a pipeline, that goes back to many countries in the world. When we offer a very modest crew of peacekeepers to Mali and leave before the United Nations wants us to leave, that goes back to the countries of the world," Mr. Lewis said, adding that Canada underestimates the sophistication with which our policies are viewed by UN countries when they vote.

Mr. Lewis said despite those shortcomings, Canada's outgoing UN ambassador Marc-André Blanchard ran a strong campaign, but his work was undermined by those policies.

Following the Security Council vote, the Canadian government announced that Mr. Blanchard was leaving the New York City posting. He told reporters earlier this week that he decided before the Security Council election that "in all likelihood" he would leave the ambassadorial role during the summer.

He will be replaced by former Ontario premier and interim Liberal leader Bob Rae, who has sought to temper any feeling that the election loss reflects how countries view Canada. "Based on my entire political experience, I can tell you with certainty that nei-

ther victory nor defeat are permanent, and we always exaggerate the impact of either," he said during a July 6 news conference. "The message is: we didn't win the vote, we didn't have enough votes. That's the only message I take."

"We have to pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and start all over again. That's the nature of life at the United Nations as it is in many other aspects of human endeavour." *nmos@hilltimes.com*  
*The Hill Times*



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## Congratulations to Sanni Yaya, our first Vice-President, International and Francophonie

In this new position, Sanni Yaya will play a key role in achieving uOttawa's goals in the realm of internationalization and in furthering the University's historic mission, which is mandated by its founding legislation, of contributing to and fostering the expansion and success of the Franco-Ontarian community.

Sanni Yaya is a health economist and an expert in global health. He is a full professor at uOttawa's Faculty of Social Sciences who, from 2016 to 2019, held the position of associate dean and director of the School of International Development and Global Studies. He is a prolific researcher with a humanistic vision who is passionately committed to combatting inequality in maternal and child health in Sub-Saharan Africa. There is no doubt that his expertise in, and dedication to, internationalization and the Francophonie will serve him well in this important position.



# Cultural assessments needed for sentencing reform, say advocates, amid calls to address high Black incarceration rates

Justice advocates agree with the Parliamentary Black Caucus' recent call for pre-sentencing reports, similar to the Gladue reports for Indigenous offenders, to be used for racialized Canadians.

Continued from page 1

temic discrimination" is perhaps most "acutely" felt. More than 130 Parliamentarians signed on to the caucus' June 16 statement and calls to action.

The idea of requiring pre-sentencing reports for racialized Canadians—similar to the Gladue reports for Indigenous offenders—is borne of models that exist already in some areas of the country, as advocates work to push the justice system to recognize the way race plays a role in its execution.

"The justice system overwhelmingly tends to diminish or ignore the factors of race," said Anthony Morgan, a human rights lawyer who co-founded the Sentencing and Parole Project to counter that reality. Still, many in the justice system buy into the "prevailing narrative" that race is not a Canadian problem.

The project has successfully submitted pre-sentencing reports in cases since 2014 and the reports are developed, he said, with an understanding of the histories of enslavement of people of African descent in Canada "and how that more than two-century-long history then cascaded into several forms of discrimination in areas of employment, issues of poverty, education, health care, access to housing, access to transit, child care, and of course within the criminal justice system."

The hope is the effect and aims would be the same as the Gladue framework, said Mr. Morgan, though the distinct historical experiences are clearly different.

The Gladue principles came into place after a 1999 Supreme Court decision that said judges should consider the unique circumstances of Indigenous offenders. That led to the creation of Gladue reports, which can include recommendations on an appropriate sentence—considering restorative justice practices—as well as details of the person's background, like experiences in the residential school system, with child welfare, or physical or sexual assault.

The ideal route would be amending the Criminal Code's

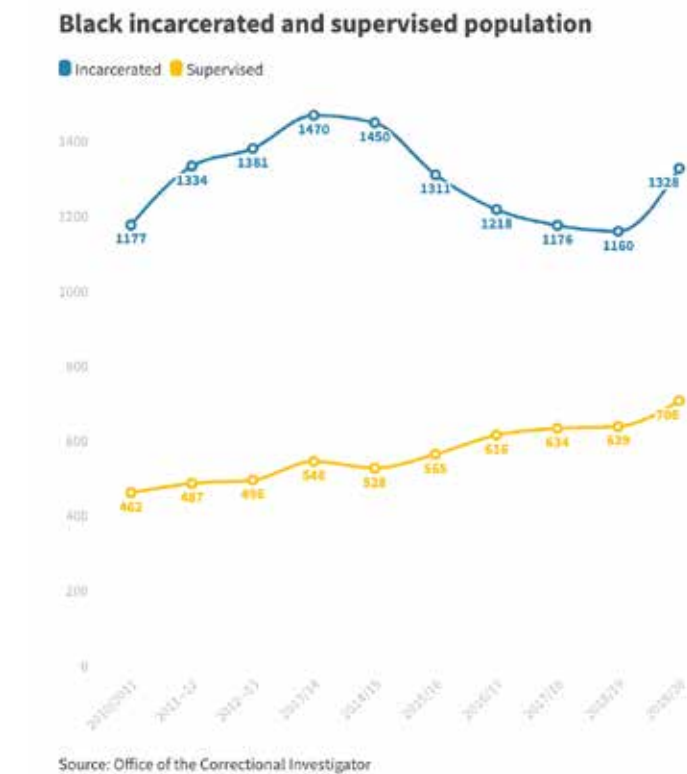
sentencing provision so that enhanced pre-sentencing reports (EPSRs) are made available for African Canadian offenders, said Mr. Morgan.

Another route is through the judiciary, he noted, through decisions where judges accept EPSRs and provide reasons as to why they have accepted it as evidence to inform their sentencing, namely the more robust contextual information about the offender and what the offender likely needs to be supported to become a fully contributing member of society upon release.

The racialization of Canada's prisons is becoming more pronounced, and cultural impact assessments should be an automatic requirement with the court, said Lana MacLean, a Nova Scotian social worker who writes these reports. The province has become a leader in this area, she said, where her colleague, Robert Wright, wrote its first cultural assessment only six years ago, in 2014.

Though Black Canadians make up only 3.5 per cent of people in Canada, they account for 9.6 per cent of the prison population as of 2019-20, according to the Office of the Correctional Investigator.

Cultural impact assessments interrogate the history of systemic racism and its impact in various domains on the lives of the person before the courts. They also look at the impact of race-based trauma, she said, noting sometimes the young Black men she's assessing don't give it that name, though racial profiling, carding, and the like have that effect.



Independent Senator Wanda Thomas Bernard, left, and Liberal MP Pam Damoff both participated in the Parliamentary Black Caucus' discussions around widespread justice reforms to address systemic racism against Black Canadians, including through pre-sentencing reports. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade, courtesy of Sen. Bernard

Some of these cultural assessments have led to better outcomes for offenders at sentencing, according to both Ms. MacLean and Mr. Morgan, but whether they're written at all is at the discretion of actors in the legal system. Ms. MacLean said it's typically judges that order the reports, though she's also been asked by the defence. But the Crown can—and has—objected to their use in cases, noted Mr. Morgan. The goal is to see every Black offender afforded the same consideration.

One case that saw cultural assessments considered by the

judge in sentencing has since been appealed, but in recognition of the "new ground and territory," Mr. Morgan noted the Court of Appeal is striking a panel of five justices, instead of three, to consider the question.

### 'Growing concerns' raised in 2016

Not long before Independent Senator Wanda Thomas Bernard was appointed to the Senate in 2016, the former social worker and academic had been working with the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) on a national ethnocultural advisory committee to identify specific efforts and policy direction for the CSC to address the "growing concerns" around alarming rates of Black prisoners. Mandating pre-sentencing reports for Black offenders was among her raft of recommendations addressing over-incarceration, in particular for African-Canadians within the federal system.

"It's primarily the need to take socio-historical factors into account," explained Sen. Bernard. "They matter, they do make a difference, they do have an impact."

It's looking at the "upstream effect," including the "school-to-prison-pipeline," child welfare, and other factors that contribute to overrepresentation in the penal system. Her paper, *Creating Culturally Responsive Policy*, was produced and submitted to the CSC in 2016, she said. The CSC was not able to provide an update on that committee's work by deadline.

A host of social and cultural impact factors that underlie an offender's experiences should be explored, her paper noted, among them substance abuse, poverty,

overt/covert racism, family or community breakdown, abuse, witnessing violence, unemployment, low rates of education and literacy, and loss of identity, culture, and ancestral knowledge. Incarceration rates and alternatives should also be considered.

"This acknowledgement of collective trauma, oppression, discrimination, cultural impact factors and the role of ethnocultural communities reinforces the need for a holistic approach to capture the social histories and experiences of ethnocultural offenders," she wrote, adding alternative sentencing and reintegration services were key parts of the picture.

Since Sen. Bernard's paper, the CSC has continued to work with the committee, said Teresa Halfkenny, the Atlantic chair of the National Ethnocultural Advisory Committee, which has called for clearer directives from the CSC on how it handles racialized prisoners.

Some of that work is ongoing, and Mr. Wright, who didn't respond to a request for comment by deadline, has made a presentation to the CSC within the last year or so in the Atlantic region, where she said the proportion of Black prisoners is quite high.

It's important that an assessment's impact on an accused doesn't begin and end at sentencing, said Ms. Halfkenny, but rather "follow the offender all the way through" so that the cultural history is considered in the inmate's experience.

### Reforms needed to Gladue, too

Liberal MP Pam Damoff (Oakville North—Burlington, Ont.) was part of the Parliamen-

background factors and to present appropriate sentencing options."

Sen. Bernard said the rise in Indigenous prisoners, despite the Gladue principles being in place for two decades, doesn't make any sense.

"What it says to me is that there's much more that we need to do. We need to deal with those root causes. We need to be addressing those systemic issues and barriers."

Sentencing is only one part of the picture, agreed Mr. Morgan, who called the adoption of these assessments as a "necessary but not a sufficient condition" to address the over-incarceration of racialized Canadians.

Despite these concerns, Ms. Damoff said the reform should be adopted, as long as it's reviewed.

"We need some way of making sure that when people are going to court, the criminal justice system is taking into account other factors other than just the crime that's been committed," she said. "Something's not working."

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The Hill Times

"What we're seeing is an increase in the overrepresentation of Indigenous populations in our jails since the Gladue decision," noted Ms. White, who said there has been no qualitative study looking at the efficacy of these reports in changing sentencing outcomes. "Therefore one has to ask: is it the reports that is the concern? Or is it the lack of national strategy to incorporate Gladue principles throughout the criminal justice system?"

Her reports can take between 25 and 50 hours to complete, though Legal Aid only covers up to 25 hours, and she might interview up to 17 people, including four or five elders or knowledge holders in the offender's community.

For her, part of the reason the Gladue principles haven't realized their full potential is that they aren't considered at charge assessment by the RCMP.

She countered criticism levelled by some victims' families—and echoed by commissioner Qajaq Robinson in the unveiling of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls' final report—that the approach is harming Indigenous women by giving lighter sentences to their convicted aggressors.

"They are not advocacy reports," she said, and that perspective suggests a judge isn't executing their legal responsibilities. "The only objective is to expose the unique



Anthony Morgan is a human rights lawyer who co-founded the Sentencing and Parole Project. *Photograph courtesy of Mr. Morgan*

tary Black Caucus' phone calls discussing ways to address systemic racism, and when drafting the letter, expressed some concern over a Gladue-style approach being adopted as is. Those reservations appear in the caucus' recommendations, which include a call for an annual review of how effective the reports are, so that they can be adjusted when necessary.

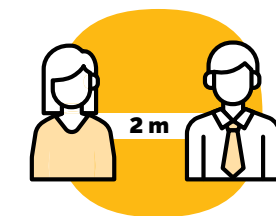
Last Parliament, Ms. Damoff sat on both the House Status of Women and Public Safety committees, which she asked to study Indigenous people in prison. Through resulting testimony, MPs heard that, while the Gladue reports could be helpful for sentencing, they were "held against people when they get to prison," sometimes resulting in a higher security classification. A higher security classification might place someone in a medium or maximum security prison rather than the lower one, and could delay a person's parole eligibility if it remains in place.

While the intent of these reports is good, she echoed one of the Status of Women Committee's eventual recommendations that the CSC not use them to increase security classifications.

Anise White, chair of the Gladue Writers Society of British Columbia, has been writing reports for the past six years for the province. While the reports have "incredible potential" she said, they haven't led to systemic change.

Indigenous people are being imprisoned at greater rates than ever before. The Office of the Correctional Investigator reported earlier this year that federally, Indigenous prisoners have passed the 30 per cent mark—reaching 42 per cent among women inmates—reflecting a deepening "Indigenization" of Canada's correctional system. The "disturbing" trend continues, despite Indigenous people making up less than five per cent of Canada's population.

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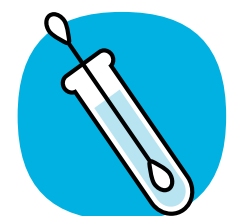
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# New order granting diplomatic privileges to African Union officials a ‘positive step,’ say former diplomats

The timing of the new status order—coming days before countries, including the 55 AU member nations, voted on Canada’s bid for the UN Security Council seat—is notable, say former diplomats.

Continued from page 1

(Papineau, Que.) in February 2020. The timing of the credentials was also notable, several said, given it came just days before Canada’s failed bid to take a United Nations Security Council seat.

As the “leading continental multilateral forum and the principal interlocutor” for Africa’s 55 member nations, Canada is committed to “deepening” the relationship with the AU, said Global Affairs Canada spokesperson Patricia Skinner.

“Canada continues to engage with the AU in a sustained and meaningful way on shared opportunities and priorities, including peace and security, gender equality, empowering women and youth, helping the poorest and most vulnerable, governance, addressing climate change and the advancement of a diversified trade agenda,” said Ms. Skinner by email.

The order gives privileges and immunities comparable to

diplomats in Canada to AU senior officials as well as experts who perform missions for the body. That extends to the AU chairperson, the chair and deputy chair of the AU commission, and the African Union Permanent Representative to the United States of America.

This move is required “to support Canada’s growing relations with the African Union, and will facilitate high-level meetings in Canada with the African Union,” which does not have a representative or office in the country, said Ms. Skinner.

It’s surprising those privileges weren’t already extended to AU officials, said Chris Roberts, who teaches African politics and international relations at the University of Calgary, and is president of African Access Consulting.

He said it’s likely AU officials brought up the matter during Mr. Trudeau’s visit to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in February 2020 in part for the 33<sup>rd</sup> African Union Summit, where he also became the first prime minister to attend the summit events.

Progressive Senator Jim Munson (Ottawa/Rideau Canal, Ont.), co-chair of the Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association, said Mr. Trudeau announced at the summit that these protocols would be put in place.

Four months later, on June 14, the government issued an order-in-council on the recommendation of Foreign Affairs Minister François-Philippe Champagne (Saint-Maurice-Champlain, Que.) to make the African Union Privileges and Immunities Order.

The timing of the official gazetting—just days before the June 17 UN Security Council



The order-in-council issued by Foreign Affairs Minister François-Philippe Champagne on June 14 grants diplomatic privileges to African Union senior officials when they visit Canada. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

election—was certainly interesting and likely not coincidental, said Mr. Roberts. Canada lost the chance at one of two open seats to Ireland and Norway after securing only 108 of the necessary minimum 128 votes.

Retired diplomat Patricia Fortier said it surprised her “how late in the game” Canada focused on African votes during the recent security council campaign, which she said likely mattered in the outcome.

The move to grant privileges to AU officials was “of course” part of efforts to negotiate support, said former diplomat Ferry de Kerckhove, though a “minimal” offering that simply eases the process of dealing with international organizations.

Mr. de Kerckhove said Canada has had a “very strange way” of dealing with multilateral organizations and diplomatic status in the past, including what seemed to him to be a hesitation to grant that status. It’s led to awkward experiences in the past, noted Mr. de Kerckhove, who recounted an embarrassing frisk of a former Senegal president who was visiting Canada on behalf of another multilateral body. This status avoids potential embarrassments like that.

“This government, more than most Canadian governments of the past—which is saying a lot—spends too much time signalling and not enough time on deep strategic analysis when it comes to foreign policy,” added Mr. Roberts. “And for anything to do with the African continent, multiply that by 10.”

## ‘Positive step,’ says Senator

Sen. Munson said the change wouldn’t affect the association’s parliamentary work, which has always had good access to officials and doesn’t have to go through special protocols. It’s more of a government-to-government shift, he said, and a rather routine one at that, used for other bodies, like the Organization of American States, which was granted a similar order in 2006, or for the United Nations

Peacekeeping Defence Ministerial Conference in 2017.

It’s a “positive step,” added Sen. Munson, especially because Canada has always played an extensive role in civil society and human rights matters in Africa.

“It’s always very positive to see mechanisms put in place to facilitate good relations between Canada and African countries,” he said.

Former diplomat John Schram said by email he suspects it’s not a big shift in Canada’s policy, though it is both useful and practical in encouraging contact and more in-depth exchanges with our African Union counterparts.

Granting the same level of access that diplomats and UN representatives get to Canadian officials means Canada “will be expanding our ability to hear from and to influence a major regional organization that has long been a major priority as Canada has supported good governance, peace, conflict resolution, human rights, responses to humanitarian disasters and vigorous economic development with African countries,” he said.

“This will augment the contacts and information flow and co-ordination that, without such a measure, must rely on our embassy in Addis Ababa and our representatives to UN agencies and in individual African capitals,” noted Mr. Schram, who was a diplomat in Ghana, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Angola. “But the test now will be, what do we do with our added influence and understanding?”

Ms. Fortier, a Canadian Global Affairs Institute fellow, said it’s probably “high time” to make this move and it’s likely a recognition of how important the AU is in the region, which can offer a “bigger picture” for engagement.

“It’s worth having the AU be a little closer to Canada,” which has a significant African diaspora, she said, and opening these channels often leads to more opportunities and a better understanding of perspectives.

“When you start to have closer relationships with countries and regional organizations, all of a

sudden people begin to think of ways that we could be helpful to each other.”

## Canada needs ‘clear’ policy on Africa

Canada’s policy in Africa needs to go “beyond aid and conflict,” said Ms. Fortier, an assessment shared by the president of the Canadian Council on Africa, Nola Kianza.

Mr. Kianza called on Canada to create a “clear” and “tangible” policy in Africa, especially when it comes to economic and trade relationships.

“We need to have a policy that is focused and have appropriate dialogue: how do we engage in Africa? That has to be spelled out more clearly.”

Canada’s foreign policy with the region has been “piecemeal” and inconsistent, said Mr. Kianza, who said the government’s June order is going in the “right direction” if it wants to expand that relationship. The AU is an important body to do that, given it engages in economic and policy areas, as well as intervening in conflicts and security matters.

“More and more, the AU is becoming a voice for the continent,” he said, so there’s no question its officials should be elevated to diplomatic status. The relationship has been “up and down” over the years, especially following the Conservative government’s closure of diplomatic missions and reduction of funding, but Mr. Nola said he hopes Canada realizes it’s important to change that approach. He cited Mr. Trudeau’s visit to Ethiopia, accompanied by Small Business, Export Promotion, and International Trade Minister Mary Ng (Markham-Thornhill, Ont.) as an “encouraging” development.

“Africa is becoming the new frontier in a number of areas,” given its growing population, development of natural resources, and focus on free trade, he said. “We need to have communication between the continent and Canada if we want to succeed.”

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*The Hill Times*

# Canada needs to protect Arctic sovereignty to confront emboldened Putin, say MP and expert



Liberal MP John McKay says Canada needs to work with likeminded Arctic allies to assert its sovereignty over increasing Russia influence. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Continued from page 3

ports. "That competition for Arctic resources is starting now and I don't know why we would want to allow another nation—especially an aggressive, malign competitor—to get the upper hand."

The Russian embassy declined an interview request on the Canada-Russia relationship.

## Liberal effort to re-engage with Russia was 'naive': McKay

When the Liberals came to power following their 2015 election victory, then-foreign affairs minister Stéphane Dion trumpeted the need to re-engage with Russia following a frosty relationship between the Kremlin and the Harper government after the annexation of Crimea in 2014.

Mr. Dion, who is now Canada's envoy to Germany and the European Union, argued in 2016 that Canada should work with Russia on common interests. He questioned how not speaking to Russia helped Canada's interests, whether in support of Ukraine's sovereignty or on Arctic issues.

Mr. McKay said the approach, in retrospect, looks "a little bit naive," in the same way the efforts to engage China look "a little naive."

"They take the long view and if there's initiatives on the part of Western governments to reach out and change the relationship, [they will] wait and take advantage of the softening of the relationship," he said.

Jocelyn Coulon, a former policy adviser to Mr. Dion and author of *Canada is Not Back: How Justin Trudeau is in Over His Head on Foreign Policy*, told *The Hill Times* that the Canadian government should look at some European nations like France as a model to re-engage with Russia.

"These countries are thinking about their national interest, and the fact that Russia is a power and you have to have some kind of dialogue with Russia," he said, adding that it is up to Canada to start the dialogue.

"Somebody has to break the ice and start talking," Mr. Coulon said. "We'll see what happens, at least we have to try. We have [not] tried to do it for the last five years."

He added that if there isn't a dialogue with Russia, it will push them into the Chinese orbit.

U.S. President Donald Trump reiterated a past suggestion in May to bring Russia back into the G7, which was rebuffed by

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.), who said Russia will continue to remain outside the G7 due to its "disrespect and flaunting" of international law.

Carleton University political science professor Piotr Dutkiewicz, former director of the Institute of European and Russian Studies, echoed Mr. Coulon, saying in an email that it is in Canada's hands to re-engage.

"Russians are very pragmatic in their approach to foreign policy and in areas such as Arctic, business, and terrorism they are still ready to work closer with Canada. The question is whether [the] Canadian government is ready to face that offer with a balanced and meaningful counteroffer," Prof. Dutkiewicz said, adding that at the moment, Canada-Russia relations are at a "very low end in almost all areas."

He said that Russia has signalled to Canada its willingness to work with the Canadian government on "relations in the Arctic, economic relations, education, and culture and combating terrorism for the start."

"The offer is on the table. It is up to our government to assess whether, when and how to start a meaningful conversation on the possible improvement of our relations that is definitely in our and their national interest," he said.

Mr. Kolga said re-engagement is not a problem itself, but Canada needs to do so while keeping in mind that Russia doesn't respect the rule of law or the liberal Western order, as well as curtails the freedom of press and has invaded neighbouring countries.

"If we understand that this is what they're doing, then by all means talk to them," he said, but he added: "I don't know what you are going to be talking to them about."

Mr. Kolga said there are few shared issues where Canada and Russia can find common ground, including on the Arctic.

"We just need to understand what Russia's objectives are with regards to its foreign policy in Europe and Canada," he said, noting that the Canadian government needs to be aware of the Kremlin's efforts to destabilize democracies around the world, including in Canada.

"If we want to try and re-engage, that's fine as long as we're aware what the Putin regime is trying to do to us and our allies," Mr. Kolga said.

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*The Hill Times*

# Rae's appointment as UN envoy a long-awaited, sorely needed move



Former senator Douglas Roche says that had Bob Rae, pictured in the National Press Theatre in 2018, been named Canada's ambassador to the UN, as he suggested back in 2015, Canada would have had a successful bid for a seat on the UN Security Council. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Continued from page 7

and eventually became premier of Ontario. I became an ambassador. For a number of years, I didn't follow him closely. I noticed his reincarnation into federal politics as a Liberal, seeking the leadership of that party in 2006. Stéphane Dion won. And, after a 25-year absence, Rae was elected to the House of Commons in 2008.

He tried for the Liberal leadership again, but was bested by his old rival Michael Ignatieff. When Ignatieff failed in the national campaign and departed, Rae was named interim leader of the Liberal Party in 2011. It was at this point that our paths crossed again.

In 2010, both the Senate and the House of Commons had unanimously passed a motion calling on the Government of Canada to take a strong diplomatic initiative in advancing global nuclear disarmament negotiations. At follow-up committee meetings in Parliament, Rae took a vigorous stand in urging his fellow Parliamentarians to keep pressing the Harper Conservative government.

As the bilingual Liberal critic for foreign policy, Rae carried weight. I began

to notice also his progressive positions on human rights and refugee issues. Once again, he left Parliament and took up First Nations causes. In 2018, Trudeau appointed Rae as special envoy to Myanmar to explore the underlying causes of the Rohingya crisis. He described the horrifying plight of the refugees: "This has been a very grueling, emotional experience. I can't quite describe adequately ... the extent of the humanitarian crisis and the sense that we are in a desperate race against time to make sure people are safe."

Rae, 71, has matured into a statesman, who is definitely not past tense, but alive with ideas on the kind of outward-looking Canada that will fit into the UN's present search for social justice.

"Canada has a role in the world that is based firmly on our values," he says. "We are a country that goes to the UN to resolve the fights." Both Trudeau and the UN are going to hear from Rae.

Former senator Douglas Roche is the author of, among other books, *The United Nations in the 21st Century (2015)*.

*The Hill Times*

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## Feature

# Parties of the past

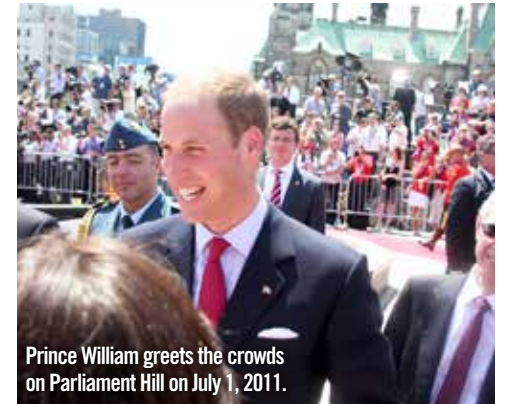
The Hill Times photographs by Sam Garcia

With COVID-19 putting a pause on diplomatic gatherings in Ottawa, *The Hill Times* is offering a look back with (some never-before-seen) images of celebrations and special events that have occurred at this time in years past.

## Royal receptions



Lauren Harper and then-prime minister Stephen Harper look on as Catherine, Duchess of Cambridge, receives flowers on her arrival to Rideau Hall on June 30, 2011.



Prince William greets the crowds on Parliament Hill on July 1, 2011.



Prince Charles addresses the nation on Canada Day, 2017.



Japanese Empress Michiko and Michaëlle Jean, then-governor general greet well-wishers in Ottawa on July 6, 2009, during the Japanese royal couple's five-day visit to the capital.



Former Japanese Emperor Akihito and his wife, Empress Michiko, arrive in Ottawa on July 3, 2009.



Jean-Daniel Lafond, husband of the governor general, and Emperor Akihito greet the public at Rideau Hall on July 6, 2009.



Former Emperor Akihito inspects the ceremonial guard.

## Fourth of July fête



Miriam Ziv, then-Israeli ambassador, and Julie Jacobson, wife of the then-U.S. ambassador at the American Embassy's 2012 Fourth of July party.



Then-American ambassador David Jacobson greets Max Keeping.



Ms. Jacobson and Mr. Jacobson welcome TVO anchor Steve Paikin.

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## WEDNESDAY, JULY 8

**House Sitting**—The House had its final meeting on June 18 of the Special COVID-19 Pandemic Committee, composed of all members of the House, but as per a government motion tabled May 25, the House will sit on July 8, July 22, Aug. 12, Aug. 26. The House is then scheduled to return in the fall on Monday, Sept. 21, for three straight weeks, as per the original House sitting calendar. It was scheduled to adjourn for one week and to sit again from Oct. 19 until Nov. 6. It was scheduled to break again for one week and to sit again from Nov. 16 to Dec. 11. And that would be it for 2020. We'll update you once the House calendar has been confirmed.

**Senate Not Sitting**—The Senate has adjourned until Sept. 22. The Senate's possible September sitting days are Sept. 21, 25, 28. It's scheduled to sit Sept. 22-24 and Sept. 29-Oct. 1, with a possible sitting day on Friday, Oct. 2. The possible Senate sitting days are Oct. 5, 9, 19, 23, 26, and 30. It's scheduled to sit Oct. 6-8; it takes a break from Oct. 12-16; it will sit Oct. 20-22; and Oct. 27-29. The November possible Senate sitting days are: Nov. 2, 6, 16, 20, 23, 27, 30. It's scheduled to sit Nov. 3-5; it will take a break from Nov. 9-13; it will sit Nov. 17-19; and Nov. 24-26. The possible December Senate sitting days are: Dec. 4, 7, and 11. The Senate is scheduled to sit Dec. 1-3; Dec. 8-10 and it will sit Dec. 14-18. We'll also update you once the Senate calendar has been confirmed.

**Finance Minister to Deliver Fiscal Update**—Finance Minister Bill Morneau will deliver a fiscal "snapshot" of the Canadian economy on Wednesday, July 8, but has not announced a date yet for a fiscal update or a budget.

**Auditor General Tables Spring Reports**—The 2020 Spring Reports of the Auditor General of Canada will be tabled in the House of Commons on Wednesday, July 8. The three reports will cover Immigration Removals, Student Financial Assistance, and Supplying the Canadian Armed Forces—National Defence, as well as special examinations of Crown corporations including the Canadian Commercial Corporation, Standards Council of Canada, and the National Gallery of Canada. The 2020 Spring Reports of the Auditor General of Canada will be available on the Office of the Auditor General of Canada website ([www.oag-bvg.gc.ca](http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca)) immediately following tabling.

**OECD Employment Outlook 2020: From Recovery to Resilience After COVID-19**—The COVID-19 pandemic has triggered the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. In the first months of the crisis, the shock to the labour market has been severe: the OECD-wide unemployment rate rose from 5.3 per cent to 8.4 per cent as companies in non-essential sectors laid-off workers, froze hiring, and put most of their workforce on hold through subsidized job retention schemes. What are OECD countries doing to sustain individuals, households and companies, and what policies are working best? How is the crisis impacting low-income workers, minorities, youth, the self-employed, and women? How can labour market policies support a strong recovery and help minimize permanent scars? What can businesses do to help rebuild a dynamic labor market? How can skills be boosted, and how can vocational education and training facilitate school-to-work transitions? Join the OECD on July 8 for a presentation of its latest employment outlook and a discussion with senior economists from the OECD, AFL-CIO and further speakers to be announced. Register here.

**Assessing Canada-China Relations**—The University of Alberta's China Institute hosts a webinar on "Assessing Canada-China Relations," featuring former Canadian ambassador to China Robert Wright; Yves Tiberghien, Canada's representative on the International Steering Committee at the Pacific Trade and Development Conference; and former Canadian diplomat Philip Calvert, now senior fellow at U of A's China Institute. Wednesday, July 8, from 1 p.m.-2 p.m. Register online via Eventbrite to receive the Zoom link.

**Canada's Foremost Fintech Conference FFCO20**—Featuring high-growth start-ups and leading industry experts across fintech sectors including digital banking, P2P finance, AI, capital markets, Wealthtech, payments, crypto, and blockchain. July 8-9. Speakers include: Robert Asselin, senior director public policy, BlackBerry; Paul Schulte, founder and editor, Schulte

# House back for day-long sitting on July 8 as Finance Minister Morneau gives 'snapshot' of country's books



Finance Minister Bill Morneau will table a fiscal 'snapshot' in the House on July 8. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Research; Craig Asano, founder and CEO, NCFA; George Bordinu, co-founder and CEO, Balance; Julien Brazeau, partner, Deloitte; Alixe Cormick, president, Venture Law Corporation; Nikola Danaylov, founder, keynote speaker, author futurist, Singularity Media; Pam Draper, president and CEO, Bitvo; Justin Hartzman, co-founder and CEO, CoinSmart; Peter-Paul Van Hoeken, founder & CEO, FrontFundr; Cynthia Huang, CEO and co-founder, Altcoin Fantasy; Austin Hubbel, CEO and co-founder, Consilium Crypto; Patrick Mandic, CEO, Mavennet; Mark Morissette, co-founder & CEO, Foxquilt; Cato Pastoll, co-founder & CEO, Lending Loop; Bernd Petak, investment partner, Northmark Ventures; Ali Pourdad, Pourdad Capital Partners, Family Office; Richard Prior, global head of policy and research, FDATA; Richard Remillard, president, Remillard Consulting Group; Jennifer Reynolds, president & CEO, Toronto Finance International; Jason Saltzman, partner, Gowling WLG Canada; James Wallace, co-chair and co-CEO, Exponential; Alan Wunsche, CEO & chief token officer, Tokenfunder; and Danish Yusuf, founder and CEO, Zensurance. For more information, please visit: <https://fintechandfunding.com/>.

## THURSDAY, JULY 9

**Enhancing Canada-Pakistan Bilateral Trade**—Minister of Small Business, Export Promotion, and International Trade Mary Ng will take part in a webinar on "Enhancing Canada-Pakistan Bilateral Trade," hosted by the Canada Pakistan Business Council. Ms. Ng will be joined by Liberal MP Salma Zahid, chair of the Canada Pakistan Parliamentary Friendship Group, and Rocco Rossi, president, Ontario Chamber of Commerce. Thursday, July 9, from 11 a.m. to noon. Register via Eventbrite.

**Making Space for Indigenous Governance**—Ryerson University hosts a webinar on "Making Space for Indigenous Governance: Two Examples in Conversation,"

featuring Dr. Damien Lee, assistant professor in Ryerson University's Department of Sociology; and Marissa Mathews, a PhD candidate at McMaster University in Political Science. Thursday, July 9, from 1-2:30 p.m. Register for the Zoom event online.

**Basic Income: Is This the Time?**—Independent Senator Frances Lankin will take part in a webinar on "Basic Income: Is This the Time?" hosted by The Pearson Centre. She will be joined by former Liberal MP, now Pearson Centre associate, Robert-Falcon Ouellette; Sheila Regehr, chairperson of the Basic Income Canada Network; and Terrance Hunsley, senior fellow at The Pearson Centre and editor at SocialCanada.org. Thursday, July 9, from 2-3 p.m. Registration available online.

## FRIDAY, JULY 10

**Quantum Supremacy and its Many States of National Insecurity**—The Conference of Defence Associations Institute hosts a webinar on "Quantum Supremacy and its Many States of National Insecurity." Panelists include Lindsay Gorman, fellow of Emerging Technologies Alliance for Securing Democracy in Washington, D.C.; James Andrew Lewis, Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C.; and Michele Mosca, director of Quantum-Safe Canada and co-founder of the Institute of Quantum Computing, Waterloo, Ont. Friday, July 10, at 10 a.m. Register through [cdaainstitute.ca](http://cdaainstitute.ca).

## TUESDAY, JULY 14

**The Pearson Centre Webinar: Infrastructure and Economic Recovery Featuring Infrastructure Minister Catherine McKenna**—Hosted by Pearson Centre president Andrew Cardozo, this event will happen on Tuesday, July 14, 2-3 p.m. EDT. Just as government investments have driven the economy through the COVID-19 pandemic, the scale, scope, and types of economic stimulus that will be included in Canada's economic recovery will have immense impacts on

Canada's economic future. Canada's Minister of Infrastructure and Communities Catherine McKenna talks about how infrastructure can play a role in Canada's economic recovery. Will Canada need a new Marshall Plan? And how can government centre recovery objectives with issues such as environmental sustainability and gender equity? Register here.

## WEDNESDAY, JULY 15

**Cross Canada with Ambassador Cong Peiwu**—The Canada China Business Council hosts a webinar on policies to encourage investment in China and liberalize trade. The webinar is geared to all five of its Canadian chapters simultaneously, followed by a roundtable discussion with Cong Peiwu, China's ambassador to Canada. Wednesday, July 15, from 11-11:45 a.m. Tickets are available for this Zoom webinar via Eventbrite.

## THURSDAY, JULY 16

**Confronting Anti-Black Racism in Corporate Canada**—The Canadian Club of Toronto hosts a webinar on "Confronting Anti-Black Racism in Corporate Canada," featuring retired Canadian senator Dr. Donald H. Oliver; Andria Barrett, CEO of the Diversity Agency and president of the Canadian Black Chamber of Commerce; Wes Hall, executive chairman and founder, Kingsdale Advisors and founder and chair, BlackNorth Initiative; Rola Dagher, president and CEO, Cisco Canada; and David Simmonds, senior vice-president, communications and public affairs, McKesson and president-elect, Canadian Club Toronto. Thursday, July 16, online only, from noon to 1 p.m. Register via [canadianclub.org](http://canadianclub.org).

## THURSDAY, JULY 23

**Mastering the Elements of Clear Political Communication**—Ryerson University hosts a webinar, "Cutting through the Noise: Mastering the Elements of Clear Political Communication," featuring Alison Broddle,

managing editor of digital content at the CBC; and Elamin Abdelmahmoud, news curation editor with BuzzFeed News and a columnist for CBC radio's Q. Thursday, July 23, from 3:30-5 p.m. Register for the Zoom event via Ryerson.

## FRIDAY, JULY 31—SATURDAY, AUG. 8

**#CanadaPerforms at RBC Bluesfest Drive-In**—The National Arts Centre and RBC Bluesfest are pleased to announce they are coming together to present #CanadaPerforms at RBC Bluesfest Drive-In, a summer weekend series of live concerts at the Place des Festivals Zibi site, by the Kitchissippi River (Ottawa River). Concert-goers, as small pods or families, will be encouraged to drive to the site and watch live concerts from their individual dedicated space. In order to safely welcome back audiences to watch live concerts, the Drive-In series will offer a physical distancing experience that respects reopening measures and protocols. Canadians will also be able to watch online the live-streamed concerts. Concerts will take place on Friday, July 31, Saturday, Aug. 1, Friday, Aug. 7, and Saturday, Aug. 8. Tickets on sale now. For the details, including additional dates and performers, go to: [canadaperforms.ottawabluesfest.ca/](http://canadaperforms.ottawabluesfest.ca/)

## FRIDAY, AUG. 21

**Conservative Party Leadership**—The federal Conservative Party's Leadership Election Organizing Committee, also known as LEOC, announced on April 29 that Aug. 21 is the deadline for mail-in ballots, after the leadership was suspended on March 26 due to the global pandemic. The party says the winner will be announced once the ballots can be safely counted.

## THURSDAY, OCT. 15

**PPF Testimonial Dinner and Awards**—Join us at the 33<sup>rd</sup> annual event to network and celebrate as the Public Policy Forum honours Canadians who have made their mark on policy and leadership. Anne McLellan and Senator Peter Harder will take their place among a cohort of other stellar Canadians who we've honoured over the last 33 years, people who have dedicated themselves to making Canada a better place through policy leadership and public service. The gala event will be held on Thursday, Oct. 15, at the Metro Toronto Convention Centre, 255 Front St. W., Toronto.

## SATURDAY, OCT. 24

**Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner**—The Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner happens on Saturday, Oct. 24, in the Sir John A. Macdonald Building on Wellington Street in Ottawa.

## FRIDAY, OCT. 30

**CJF Awards Celebrating 30 Years of Excellence in Journalism**—The Canadian Journalism Foundation Awards will be held on Oct. 30, 2020, at the Ritz-Carlton, Toronto, hosted by Rick Mercer, former host of *The Rick Mercer Report*. The CBC's Anna Maria Tremonti will be honoured. Tables are \$7,500 and tickets are \$750. For more information on tables and sponsorship opportunities, contact Josh Gurfinkel at [jgurinkel@cjf-fjc.ca](mailto:jgurinkel@cjf-fjc.ca) or 416-955-0394.

*The Parliamentary Calendar is a free events listing. Send in your political, cultural, diplomatic, or governmental event in a paragraph with all the relevant details under the subject line 'Parliamentary Calendar' to [news@hilltimes.com](mailto:news@hilltimes.com) by Wednesday at noon before the Monday paper or by Friday at noon for the Wednesday paper. We can't guarantee inclusion of every event, but we will definitely do our best. Events can be updated daily online, too.*

*The Hill Times*





# THE GREAT REBUILDING

## PART II



The Hill Times' special second report on The Great Rebuilding will explore where the government will focus its efforts in the next phase of rebuilding the economy and stimulus spending. We'll also look at:

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