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# THE HILL TIMES

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR, NO. 1978

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 2022 \$5.00

NEWS

## 'We've got to speak with everyone': new Congress will bring new Canadian outreach efforts on Capitol Hill

BY NEIL MOSS

With a new Congress set to take office in the new year after the Nov. 8 midterm elections, outreach efforts begin anew to build Canadian links with what will likely be a divided Congress.

While a Republican wave never materialized, the GOP are still likely to take control of the House of Representatives. The Democrats held control of the Senate with the possibility of picking up another seat during the Georgia runoff election. As of publication deadline, the Republicans hold 217 seats in the House compared to the Democrats' 205, according

Continued on page 18



With a divided Congress expected, Canada will have to build links across party lines to defend its interests in Washington and around the United States, say experts. *The Hill Times* file photograph

NEWS

### 'Just be sustainable': Green Party renewal will require message of stability, prioritization of issues

BY STUART BENSON

Following a week of voting, the Greens will elect a new leader—or leaders—on Nov. 19 to take the reins of a party clawing its way back from the brink of extinction, and party members say conveying a message of stability and honing in on issues where it can make the most impact will be key.

During the Nov. 9 English-language debate, leadership candidates debated how they would best unify the party over foreign policy issues like the conflict between Israel and Palestine, as well as Canada's relationship with NATO, but interim leader Amita Kuttner told *The Hill Times* that whoever wins the election will be better served by focusing on issues where a small party can have the most impact.

With only two sitting Members of Parliament, and going up

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NEWS

## Canadians' appetite for extremist organizations like Diagonon will need a 'whole-of-society approach,' say experts

BY STUART BENSON

Members of the right-wing Diagonon community, including its founder Jeremy MacKenzie, may downplay their online rhetoric with ironic humour and

"memes," but extremism researchers say the organization's tactics are a continuation of those used by similar groups, like the Proud Boys, and their influence on lone-actor violent extremists is no laughing matter.

On Nov. 9, the public inquiry into the government's invocation of the Emergencies Act heard testimony concerning the border blockades in Coutts, Alta. That included Feb. 12 text messages from Coutts Mayor

Jim Willett calling the protesters "domestic terrorists" and raising concerns about what the final outcome of the protests would be due to the "more extreme element" that had moved in.

Two days later, the Alberta RCMP seized guns, ammunition, and body armour, and arrested 13 protesters accused of mischief and possession of a weapon. Four protesters were also charged with conspiring to murder RCMP officers.

Following the arrests, the RCMP released images of the

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Mike Lapointe

## Heard On The Hill

# Greenwood joins the Red Chamber



Dr. Margo Greenwood's recent appointment to the Senate brings the Red Chamber up to 90 members, with 15 seat vacancies. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Another fresh face has joined the Red Chamber this fall, with Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** having announced Cree professor **Dr. Margo Greenwood** as the newest Senator for British Columbia on Sept. 10.

Appointed as a non-affiliated Senator, Greenwood is fresh from teaching First Nations studies and Education at the University of Northern British Columbia's (UNBC) campus in Prince George, B.C. She began teaching at the university in 1997, and along with being a full professor, has been academic leader of the National Collaborating Centre for Indigenous Health hosted by the UNBC. Earlier this year, she was appointed interim scientific director of the Canadian Institutes of Health Research's Indigenous health institute.

Of Cree ancestry, Greenwood has more than "30 years of experience focused on the health and well-being of Indigenous children, families, and communities," notes a press release from the Prime Minister's Office.

That includes as vice-president of Indigenous health for the Northern Health Authority of British Columbia; as site director for the Centre of Excellence for Children and Adolescents with Special Needs; and as leader of Act-Now BC's Aboriginal stream.

Among her many distinctions, Greenwood



Dr. Margo Greenwood was appointed as a new Senator for British Columbia on Sept. 10. *Photograph courtesy of the UNBC's Facebook*

is an officer of the Order of Canada, was awarded the Queen Elizabeth II Golden Jubilee Medal in 2002 for her work in early childhood education for Indigenous and non-Indigenous children, and received the Perry Shawna Leadership and Advocacy Award by the British Columbia Aboriginal Child Care Society in 2009, and the National Aboriginal Achievement Award for Education from the National Aboriginal Achievement Foundation in 2011.

"Dr. Greenwood's academic expertise, commitment to health and education, and dedication to the well-being of Indigenous communities will make her a strong voice for British Columbia," said Trudeau in a press release.

Greenwood is the third Senator appointed in as many months. On Sept. 26, Trudeau announced the appointment of former Privy Council clerk **Ian Shugart** as a Senator for Ontario, and Winnipeg surgeon **Gigi Osler** as a Senator for Manitoba.

With these appointments, there are still 15 vacancies in the 105-member

Upper Chamber. That includes two vacant seats each for Alberta, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince

Edward Island; five vacant seats for Ontario; and one vacant seat each for Saskatchewan and Newfoundland and Labrador.

## Trudeau to make Drag Race appearance



Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** speaks with reporters before a Liberal caucus meeting in late October. Trudeau is set to make an appearance on Canada's *Drag Race: Canada vs. The World*. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Mead

Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** is set to make an appearance on *Canada's Drag Race: Canada vs. The World*, making him the first world leader to appear on the franchise.

Judges include **Brooke Lynn Hytes**, **Brad Goreski**, and **Traci Melchor**. Guest judges for the first-ever installation of the Canadian version include **Anjulie**; **Gary Janetti**; **Hollywood Jade**; **Jeanne Beker**; **Joe Zee**; **Monét X Change**; **Priyanka**, and **Sarain Fox**.

The nine international drag queens set to compete on the show include **Anita Wig'it**; **Icesis Couture**; **Kendall Gender**; **Ra'Jah O'Hara**; **Rita Baga**; **Silky Nutmeg Ganache**; **Stephanie Prince**; **Vanitty Milan**; and **Victoria Scone**.

"With Canada as host nation, in every [episode], it's each queen for herself," according to a release. "Queens' talents are tested in maxi and mini challenges and lip-sync battles, where one queen wins the chance to eliminate a fellow competitor until a winner is crowned."

"Throughout this journey, the queens share their personal struggles and successes and showcase the importance of celebrating everyone's charisma, uniqueness, nerve, and talent," the release continues.

The series is scheduled to premier on Nov. 18 at 9 p.m. on Crave.

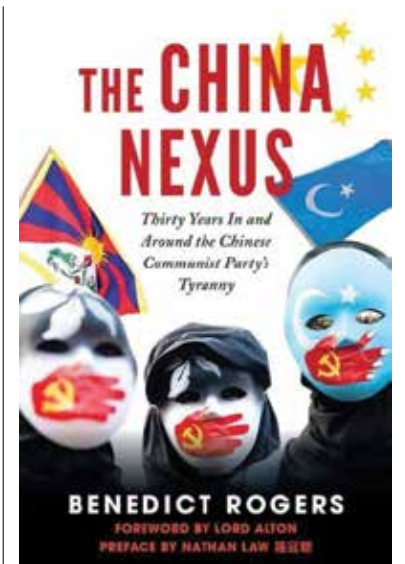
## Author of *The China Nexus*, Senator Housakos to take part in panel

Quebec Conservative Senator **Leo Housakos** and Uyghur human rights leader and lawyer **Nury Turkel** will join British author **Benedict Rogers** on Nov. 23 to discuss his new book, *The China Nexus: Thirty Years In and Around the Chinese Communist Party's Tyranny*.

Published by Optimum Publishing, the book provides a "comprehensive analysis of the human rights crisis in China, from Hong Kong to the Uyghurs to Tibet, from forced organ harvesting to religious persecution and the crackdown on dissidents, media, civil society and lawyers," according to a release.

The book also assesses the Chinese Communist Party regime's "complicity with atrocities worldwide and its threat to our own freedoms," and examines the "international community's response to the challenges posed by Beijing and offers ideas for ways forward for China policy."

Rogers, who now lives in London, U.K., began his lengthy career in China in 1992, first heading there to teach English for six months, and later working as a journalist in Hong Kong. He is the co-founder and chief executive officer of Hong Kong Watch and an adviser to the Inter-Parliamentary Alliance on China, the Stop Uyghur Genocide Campaign, and several other charities, as well as the deputy chair of the U.K. Conservative Party's Human Rights Commission.



*The China Nexus: Thirty Years In and Around the Chinese Communist Party's Tyranny* by Benedict Rogers. *Photograph courtesy of Optimum Publishing*

The panel will be moderated by New Brunswick MLA **Dominic Cardy** and is scheduled to take place from 11 a.m. to 12 p.m. in the Wellington Building, which sits opposite the West Block along Wellington Street in downtown Ottawa.

Rogers is a regular contributor to national and international publications including *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Spectator*, *The Diplomat*, *Foreign Policy*, and *The Tablet*.

## Wilson-Raybould's new book now available



Jody Wilson-Raybould's new book, *True Reconciliation*, is out. *Photograph courtesy of Facebook*

Former Liberal justice minister **Jody Wilson-Raybould's** new book *True Reconciliation: How to be a Force for Change* officially hit shelves on Nov. 8.

"That's a wrap on #TrueReconciliation book birthday, Nov. 8 2022," Wilson-Raybould wrote on Facebook the following day. "Thank you to everyone for all your expressions of support and for your engagement. I am overwhelmed and grateful."

Wilson-Raybould's new book details "what individuals and organizations need to do to advance true reconciliation is self-evident, accessible, and achievable."

Wilson-Raybould served as federal justice minister from

2015 through 2019 during the Trudeau Liberal government's first mandate, before being shuffled into veterans affairs two weeks into 2019. She is also the author of *Indian in The Cabinet: Speaking Truth to Power*, which was published in September 2021 just days before the most recent federal election.

Amid the SNC-Lavalin affair that dominated politics for weeks in 2019, she was expelled from the Liberal caucus, but continued to sit in Parliament as an independent MP. Re-elected in 2019, she chose not to run again in 2021.

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*The Hill Times*

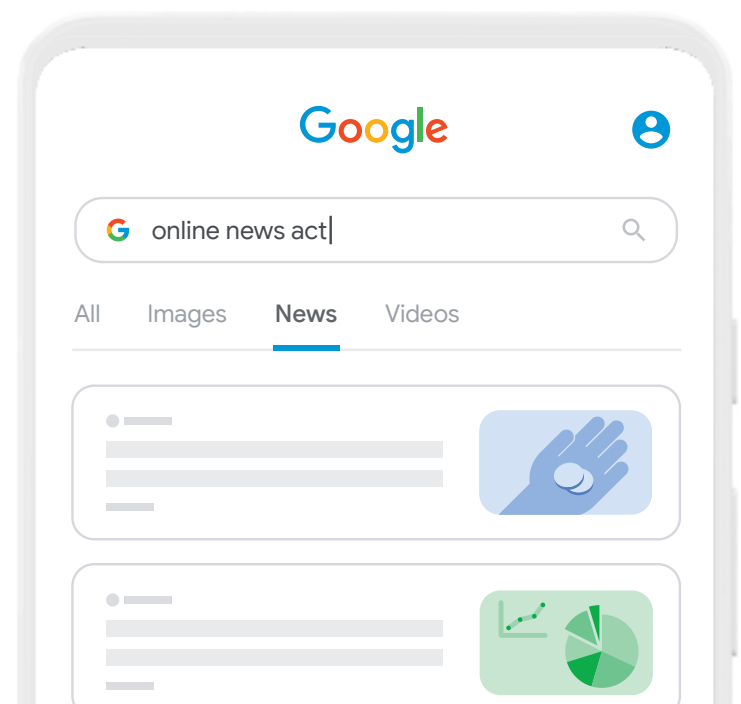


We need to fix Bill C-18

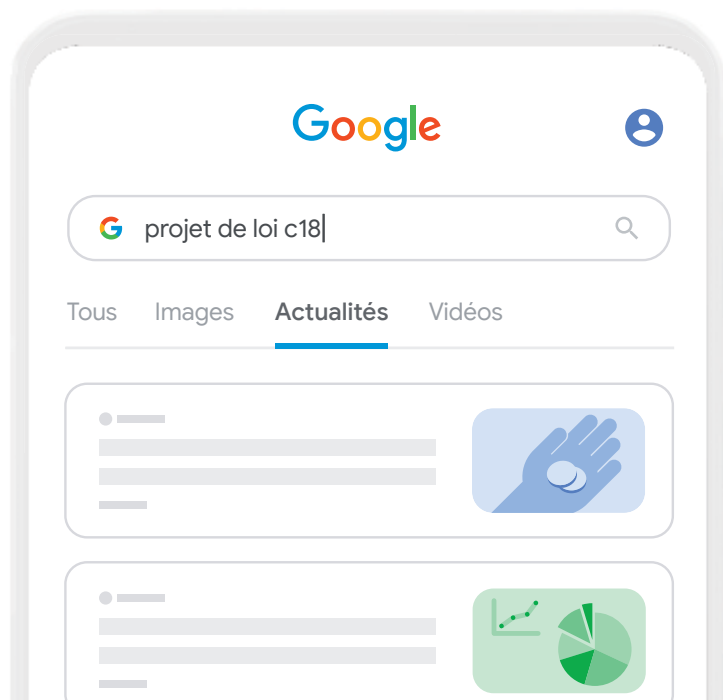
# Misinformation should be eliminated, not elevated.

“Undue preference” (s. 51 of Bill C-18) is a concept built for traditional broadcast models – not today’s open web. It prevents Google and other platforms from prioritizing trustworthy sources of news over bad actors. This makes Search results less useful and less safe for Canadians.

It’s crucial we ensure workable legislation. However, without significant amendments, Bill C-18 may fail Canadians and Canadian publishers.



More on why we need to fix Bill C-18  
[goo.gl/fixc18](https://goo.gl/fixc18)



Pourquoi le projet de loi C-18 doit être corrigé  
[goo.gl/corrigerc18](https://goo.gl/corrigerc18)



Le projet de loi C-18 doit être corrigé

# Il faut éliminer la désinformation, et non la promouvoir.

La notion de « préférence induite » (article 51 du projet de loi C-18) a été mise en place pour les modèles de diffusion traditionnels, et non pour le Web ouvert d’aujourd’hui. Elle empêche Google et d’autres plateformes de prioriser les sources dignes de confiance, rendant ainsi les résultats de recherche moins utiles et sécuritaires pour la population canadienne.

Il est crucial de veiller à ce que la loi soit efficace. Cependant, si le projet de loi C-18 n’est pas modifié considérablement, il pourrait nuire à la population et au milieu journalistique canadien.

## News

# Better analysis needed on balance of diplomats abroad and at home, says Sajjan

Canada's foreign service is highly concentrated in Ottawa with only around 18 per cent of its diplomats posted abroad.

BY NEIL MOSS

As the Senate Foreign Affairs and International Trade Committee continues to investigate Canada's foreign service machinery, the federal government has indicated it will consider the ideal balance of diplomats posted at headquarters in Ottawa and Canada's "targeted presence" abroad.

So far, the committee has conducted nine meetings for its fit-for-purpose study into the foreign service, hearing from senior officials in a handful of government departments, foreign policy experts, former diplomats, and most recently, International Development Minister Harjit Sajjan (Vancouver South, B.C.) on Nov. 3.

Sajjan told the committee the government needs to assess how best to position diplomats abroad to deliver its programs.

"We need to have a targeted presence abroad, including more boots on the ground in the right places working with local partners and civil society to meet development objectives," he said, noting that nearly a decade after the amalgamation of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade with the Canadian International Development Agency, the government needs to "analyze if the current structure meets the uncertainty and challenges of today and also of the future."

Sajjan said that through "recruitment, training, and investment," there is a need to foster



International Development Minister Harjit Sajjan appeared before the Senate Foreign Affairs and International Trade Committee on Nov. 3 for its study on Canada's foreign service. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

expertise across all Global Affairs streams.

"When it comes to the number of people around the world, this is something that we need to do a better analysis on," he said, responding to a question on vacancies in postings abroad.

"You need to make sure you have a balance between how many people we have in headquarters versus people on the ground," he said. "Having the right people on the ground with the right delegated authorities is also just as important."

Canada has around 18 per cent of its diplomats posted across Canada's 178 missions in 110 countries, with the great majority remaining in Ottawa at the department's headquarters.

The number of diplomats posted abroad is also curtailed by a departmental requirement not to spend more than seven consecutive years abroad before returning to Canada, compared to other nations, like the United States, which allows State Department

officials to be abroad for 15 consecutive years.

A recent report by Canadian diplomat Ulric Shannon detailed these restrictions on foreign diplomatic postings. While on leave from Global Affairs, the former Canadian ambassador to Iraq conducted a study that concluded that Canada risked trailing behind allies and competitors by not fostering expertise in its foreign service. Shannon is currently the director general of Global Affairs' peace and stabilization operations program.

While the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee undertakes its study, Global Affairs is also conducting its own review on the capacity of the foreign service and the future of diplomacy.

The Senate study is led by two former Global Affairs deputy ministers in Independent Senator and chair Peter Boehm (Ontario), a past deputy minister of international development, and Progressive Senator and vice-chair Peter Harder (Ontario), a former deputy minister of foreign affairs. Boehm declined an interview request, and Harder did not respond.

In an email, Boehm said it is premature to "offer" possible conclusions from the committee's study, noting that it will continue into the new year hearing from more witnesses.

Former deputy minister of foreign affairs Morris Rosenberg told the committee on June 16 that he is "completely in favour of increasing our staff abroad."

"I think it is important for the Department of Global Affairs to support the work being done in other countries," he said. "There has been a significant reduction in Canadian staff assigned to this diplomatic work."

He added that experience abroad would be beneficial for

diplomats when they return to Ottawa.

Rosenberg said that doesn't mean reducing the number of diplomats at headquarters to send abroad.

"I do not think it is necessary to choose one or the other of the two. Rather, we should be asking what we need in order for Global Affairs to be effective and meet the needs of the country and the government. I do not think we can simply reduce staff at headquarters and send them abroad or vice versa. We have to see it as a whole and have enough staff for both roles at the same time," he said.

## Global Affairs needs 'more agile, more responsive' structure, says Sen. Gerba

Progressive Senator Amina Gerba (Rigaud, Que.), who sits on the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, described the balance between diplomat numbers abroad and at home as "delicate."

"My feeling, however, leans in favour of strengthening the workforce abroad, in particular through local recruitment, which is essential links in Canadian foreign policy," she told *The Hill Times* in an email.

"The United Kingdom answered this question simply: 'Less office, more foreign.' Is this a model for Canada to follow? The continuation of the committee's work will probably provide some answers to this question. The balance between the number of employees in Canada and abroad is delicate," she said.

She added it is "sometimes necessary to make choices" due to the limits of financial resources.

Gerba said she doesn't yet have conclusions on the committee's study as it remains under-

way. She noted Global Affairs needs to "rethink its structure to be more agile, more responsive, and better able to position Canada on a changing international scene."

Asked about what potential topics and witnesses she wants to see the study address, the Quebec Senator said one aspect she wants a further look at is Canada's ties with Africa.

A strategy for Canada's engagement with Africa is currently being prepared by Liberal MP Robert Oliphant (Don Valley West, Ont.), parliamentary secretary to the minister of foreign affairs. In the last year, Canada has opened two new diplomatic posts in Africa: a new mission in Rwanda and a permanent observer to the African Union.

"In a turbulent international context," Gerba said, "I believe more than ever that Canada must work to diversify these relations. The potential with Africa is immense, and Canada is awaited with open arms by the continent. More meaningful representation on the continent is needed."

## GAC's surge capacity should be examined: Paris

University of Ottawa international relations professor Roland Paris, who served as the prime minister's senior foreign policy adviser from 2015 to 2016, told the committee that Global Affairs should look at its surge capability to respond to the number of mounting crises without disrupting the department's other work.

"I just think that we have been treating these crises as one-offs, in a sense, and as a result, they have taken up so much of the oxygen," he said on Oct. 20.

He said it is a question of organizational planning and carving out a designated group that can be reallocated quickly.

In the Oct. 20 meeting, Harder mentioned that Global Affairs has never enjoyed a surge capacity like that of the Canadian Armed Forces. He added that surge capacity is something the department should begin planning for "more strategically."

Paris said he agrees.

"I would respectfully suggest that one of the committee's great contributions in this area could be to explore what would be required or could be required for surge capacity," he said. "We are not talking about the ability to respond to serial emergencies. We are talking about the ability to do that while keeping the rest of the department doing its work."

Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly (Ahuntsic-Cartierville, Que.) is set to appear before the Senate committee as part of its foreign service study on Nov. 24.

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*The Hill Times*



Global Affairs, located in the Pearson Building on Sussex Drive, is undergoing a capacity review of its foreign service. *The Hill Times* file photograph

# What **veterans** want in their post-service career

*Skilled veterans seek a healthier work-life balance as they leave service, but there is no one-size-fits-all job solution, according to a new study conducted by Commissionaires.*

Members of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) and Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) are leaving their service careers earlier, with more education. Census data released by Statistics Canada in July 2021 revealed that, of 461,240 Canadians who were counted as veterans, almost one-third (32%) are in the core working age group of 25 to 54.

That means employers faced with labour shortages have the opportunity to appeal to a unique potential workforce experienced in highly regimented, intense environments. The transition from service to civilian life can be difficult, and not every company can offer the right fit.

“The intent of this project was to learn about the characteristics, values, and motivations of today’s veterans,” explained Sarah Robertson, Vice President, Corporate & Public Affairs at Environics Research, a company that specializes in social values and has previous experience conducting research with veterans.

When veterans were asked their vision for their post-service employment, Robertson said many expressed the desire to help people. “Being involved in work that makes a difference was a common theme in interviews,” said Robertson, noting, “this was something they valued about their military experience and also want in their next career.”

A second group, predominantly aged 35-44 with families, are striving for leadership positions and compensation that recognize, respect and reward their military or police skills and values. Possibly experiencing challenges finding the right opportunities and facing the need to support their family, they express greater financial uncertainty and difficulty making the transition to civilian life.

The third group tends to be single and driven. They want challenging, dynamic work environments where they can demonstrate their skills while learning and growing. They are confident in their ability to navigate today’s complex world and find their desired job opportunity.

“This research helps answer questions about the types of employment veterans are looking for, what’s important to them, and how we can continue to meet their evolving employment needs,” said Captain Harsch of Commissionaires.

## “While today’s veteran needs have changed, Commissionaires’ mission of supporting them has not.”

“We partnered with Environics Research to study the employment needs and aspirations of retired and soon-to- retire service women and men,” said Captain (Ret’d) Harry Harsch, Chief of Staff, Commissionaires National Office and a 36-year veteran of the Royal Canadian Navy. “While today’s veteran needs have changed, Commissionaires’ mission of supporting them has not. We primarily exist to provide meaningful employment that meets the needs of veterans of the CAF, the RCMP, and their families.”

Commissionaires was established in 1925 to help veterans of the First World War transition back to civilian life through employment. Today it is Canada’s largest private sector employer of veterans and the country’s only national not-for-profit security company. Through the decades, the organization has also been generous in supporting community projects and causes through volunteer work and donations in direct support of CAF and RCMP veterans and their families.

The research also found that one of the top reasons for leaving the military was to prioritize quality of life and work-life balance. Career opportunities that allow greater control over their life decisions, such as where they live and spending time with their partners and children, appeal to them.

Yet, despite some similarities, not all veterans want the same things.

The findings revealed Canadian veterans think about their future employment in different ways, and thus are likely to be attracted by different opportunities and require different strategies for engaging them.

One group comprises relatively older veterans with less education who are interested in non-managerial and mid-level positions in slower-paced, predictable environments. This group tends to seek stability, balance and good pay.

He added, “In a competitive landscape for highly trained veterans, this insight enables Commissionaires to tailor job offerings for every skill level, age group and mindset. The dedicated women and men, and their families, have sacrificed so much and truly deserve meaningful and relevant second and third career opportunities.”

*The research took place in two phases. An initial qualitative phase involved 23 in-depth interviews with recent CAF veterans (past 5 years) or prospective veterans (in next 3 years) recruited via social media (February 8-24, 2022). A subsequent quantitative phase involved an online survey of 250 current and former CAF & RCMP members recruited via an online panel (May 24-June 7, 2022). Because this survey uses a non-probability sample, no margin of sampling error can be cited.*

## Comment

# A week that could reverberate in Canada and beyond for years



Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly recently previewed Ottawa's long-awaited Indo-Pacific strategy by signalling that Canada's decades-long effort to improve trade integration with China will be reshaped, writes Les Whittington. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

From the U.S. midterm elections, to policies on China and Russia's invasion of Ukraine, last week saw an unusual constellation of events.

Les Whittington

*Need to Know*



OTTAWA—The stakes are high for Canadians as the world reshapes itself in an era when the political parameters and the international framework that have dominated for half a century in the post-World War years are teetering.

The potent trends behind these changes came together in the past week in an unusual constellation of events, beginning with the midterm elections in the United States.

The failure of the Republicans to bring about the expected “red wave” at a time when the resident of the White House—in this case a Democrat—usually suffers major losses in the U.S. Congress shook up American politics in a way not seen since Donald Trump's emergence seven years ago.

There were numerous currents at work in the Nov. 8 outcome. These included a backlash against the U.S. Supreme Court's anti-abortion ruling, an uptick in youth voting, and the failure of some of Trump's handpicked candidates to deliver for the party at a time when inflation and Biden's unpopularity should have made for a Republican landslide.

Many thought the Republican elite's outraged reaction to this embarrassing failure of the Trump brand might break the former president's grip on his party and signal that he, and his big lie about 2020 election fraud, are wearing thin. Others, aware that half of Republicans believe the big lie, caution that Trump can't be counted out.

But Canadians are right to see the Nov. 8 result as a slight positive in a deeply disturbing picture of extremist hostility in American politics. If it is a sign of Trump's waning influence, it could be a major development for Canada, which has a great deal to

lose from the seemingly limitless political, economic, and trade turmoil inspired by Trump and his followers next door.

On the international stage, U.S. President Joe Biden held the first in-person meeting of his presidency with Chinese leader Xi Jinping on the sidelines of the G20 summit in Bali.

The follow-up from the three-hour discussion is likely to have profound implications around the world for years. Biden said afterwards that he didn't see a “new Cold War” as a necessary outcome of the increasing tensions between Washington and Beijing. However, he said the two leaders didn't resolve any of their countries' many differences, particularly over the U.S. promise to defend Taiwan should China attempt to militarily assert its claim to the self-governing island. But Biden and Xi did arrange to step up bilateral communications, which holds out some hope of an improvement in a relationship that has recently hit a new low.

Whether ties will be improved is an open question. Biden may not want to say so, but Cold War-like conditions already formed the backdrop of his face-to-face with Xi. The U.S. National Security Strategy released in October envisions a long-term ideological

struggle with Beijing, and the Americans have been galvanizing allies in Europe and Asia to deal with a more assertive China.

For what it's worth, China's Foreign Ministry said Xi objected in the meeting to Biden's framing the U.S. rivalry with China as “democracy versus authoritarianism,” also saying that “China does not seek to change the existing international order.”

In any case, the U.S. has put Beijing on notice that, after years of Trump's ineffective trade sanctions, the current administration is taking aim at China's economic Achilles heel. This comes in the form of new export controls on the most advanced semi-conductor chips needed for AI and other cutting-edge technologies and indispensable for defence production. The U.S. is also investing tens of billions of dollars in building chip factories at home.

Canada is moving in step with the U.S. In the past week, Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly previewed Ottawa's long-awaited Indo-Pacific strategy by signalling that Canada's decades-long effort to improve trade integration with China will be reshaped. While trade will continue, Canada will balance its approach so as to be more confrontational with Xi's regime and restructure our

trade ties away from China. China “seeks to shape the global environment into one that is more permissive to interests and values that increasingly depart from ours,” Joly said.

In the name of national security, the federal government has taken a tougher stand on Chinese investment in Canada's critical minerals sector, recently telling three of China's state-controlled firms to divest their holdings in Canadian lithium mining companies.

Also this past week, the withdrawal of Russian troops from the occupied Ukrainian region of Kherson was another humiliation for President Vladimir Putin and a major inflection point in the conflict. While by no means definitive, it could add important momentum to Ukraine's military in its campaign to drive out Putin's army.

According to the Chinese, Xi told Biden that China is “highly concerned” about the current situation in Ukraine. If he really wanted to prove he's not trying to undermine the rules-based world order, Xi could end his silence on Ukraine and pressure Putin to end the Russian invasion.

*Les Whittington is a regular columnist for The Hill Times.*  
*The Hill Times*



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# Editorial

## Editorial

### Little to celebrate so far from Canada's COP27 attendance

It's week two of the United Nations' 27<sup>th</sup> Climate Change Conference, also known as COP27, and so far, there have been few positives to remark upon from the Canadian delegation led by Environment and Climate Change Minister Steven Guilbeault.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau stayed home for the first week of the global gathering that began on Nov. 6, before heading east on Nov. 11 to attend the ASEAN summit in Cambodia and then onto the G20 Summit in Indonesia. He'll head to Thailand for an APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting on Nov. 18—the last day of COP27—before flying to Tunisia for La Francophonie.

Canada has its first-ever pavilion at this year's COP summit, and along with Parliamentarians and public servants, its delegation includes Indigenous and youth delegates from the north. But the Canada Pavilion also features oil-and-gas industry representatives, including from the Pathways Alliance—part of an overall trend of increased industry presence at the global summit, with reportedly more than 600 fossil-fuel lobbyists registered to attend, up 25 per cent from last year's COP26 in Glasgow, Scotland.

Guilbeault met with American climate envoy John Kerry on Nov. 10 to tout collaboration between the U.S. and Canada on reducing methane emissions from oil-and-gas operators. The same day, Guilbeault's department pushed the progress metre an inch forward by publishing a proposed framework outlining its new methane regulations, with draft regulations expect-

ed early next year (Canada committed to reduce methane emissions from the oil-and-gas industry by 75 per cent below 2012 levels by 2030 in October 2021.)

Aside from highlighting previous commitments (or new details of already announced funding), Guilbeault has also spoken in favour of having an "open and frank conversation about loss and damage"—regarding a push, backed by a number of African nations, for richer countries to help pay the bill for climate-related damage. Germany, Belgium, Scotland, and Denmark, meanwhile, have committed real dollars to a potential climate-linked loss and damage fund—something observers have cast doubt on becoming reality, after a slew of speeches and few announcements during week one of COP27.

And, so far, that's about it.

Details of the feds' promised oil-and-gas emissions cap—which they committed to at COP26—are still awaited. Whether Canada will actually meet its climate pledges, including its net-zero by 2050 promise, is still a big "TBD."

Global summits are what participants make them. Attending is a good first step, but to deal with the very real climate emergency already increasingly impacting people around the world, countries need to be ready to take bold action, not just to make bold speeches.

So far, the clearest outcome of COP27 seems to be growing doubt over the summit's ability to achieve results—beyond contributing to emissions.

*The Hill Times*

## Letters to the Editor

### Convoy protesters should have to face families of the COVID dead, says letter writer

You know how it is when everyone is responsible for everything—then nobody is responsible for anything. Having said that, we all feel someone will do something and the buck gets passed on in the process, and at the end of the day the job remains undone and blame game begins.

Given the jurisdictional problem between the federal, provincial, and municipal governments, Ottawa always finds itself in a very peculiar scenario being the nation's capital located in the province of Ontario. And then there is the National Capital Commission and the RCMP.

When the Freedom Convoy realized there was a problem for enforcement, they took full advantage of it and decided to hang on a little bit longer.

I watched the inquiry whenever I got a chance, but what was missing was nobody asked, "What would the truckers have done if they were the government and what would they say to those families

that lost lives to COVID-19 despite the rules of engagement in place?"

Could they say they were doing it for them? Canada lost more than 46,000 lives, even with mandates, and could have lost even more if there were no mandates. The government of the day in any country did what needed to be done to prevent the loss of life, and what would convoy members have done if they were the government? Family members who lost loved ones should have been invited to tell their stories and let the protesters face them and see what they would say to their faces.

Money raised should be shared with those families or some kind of bursary or scholarship to honour and remember them should be established. When I spoke to a few friends of mine, including a registered nurse, they agreed and said it is the least that can be done. I hope somebody will pay attention.

**Anant Nagpur**  
Ottawa, Ont.

### War an unfortunate permanent feature of human existence: Ottawa reader

In addition to protecting Canada's land and maritime areas, the Canadian Armed Forces are active around the world. This includes NATO operations, marine patrols, and the provision of military training.

The fact that Canada is not officially at war does not lessen the danger to CAF personnel, especially United Nations peacekeepers in active conflict zones and contested areas.

"Approximately 130 Canadian Armed Forces members have died during peace support operations and many more have suffered physical and psychological wounds that can last a lifetime" since 1948, according to Veterans Affairs Canada. Of course, this number does not include the toll of Canada's 12 years in Afghanistan: 158 military fatalities, seven civilian deaths, and more than 2,000 Forces members wounded in body and soul.

Every November, Canadians honour those who have served in the military,

especially the dead and wounded. Unfortunately, war remains a permanent feature of human existence, mainly serving the interests of those wielding economic power.

Poppies remind me that wars are fought by working people who are often discarded when their courage is spent. While every combat veteran is a hero, the same cannot be said for leaders who send them to war and those who profit from military strife.

Under the warrior's code, soldiers have little choice regarding even the most dubious missions. Rather than protest or refuse orders, the majority accept the risk of injury, death, and the ugliness of killing. In the horror of battle, soldiers willingly die for their peers, as do their enemies.

If our war dead could speak, I doubt they would reference nobility and honour from their eternal perspective.

**Morgan Duchesney**  
Ottawa, Ont.



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# The tech party is over

Elon Musk, pictured at the Kennedy Space Centre's vehicle assembly building on May 30, 2020. There is no such thing as a free-speech warrior; instead these are people who don't like your speech, and Musk is no different, writes Erica Ifill. Photograph courtesy of Flickr/NASA HQ PHOTO



For all the time that Elon Musk has been actively online, you'd think he'd remember the golden rule of social media: the internet always wins.

Erica Ifill

Bad+Bitchy



OTTAWA—Grand opening, grand closing. The tech party is over.

For 15 years, the FAANG (Facebook, Amazon, Apple, Netflix and Google) companies drove investment patterns and economic growth with the ostensible invincibility companies with such high valuations attain. However, the music has stopped, the last pot has been washed, and the party is over. Not since the early internet era of Pets.com have we seen such a massive slowdown in the technology establishment.

Facebook, or Meta, is laying off 11,000 people in its largest trimming exercise in the company's history; Twitter has been taken over by a megalomaniac and is swirling around the bowl; Instagram is what Facebook ruined with its choice of marketplace over connections; Snapchat is still irrelevant to most; and Netflix now has ads to drive subscriptions. At least we still have TikTok and Apple, who killed Facebook's ad business.

And now we're stuck with Trump-lite, Elon Musk.

Musk is a billionaire founder whose track record of success is mediocre at best. His "success" at PayPal was largely due to Peter Thiel; his electric vehicle company, Tesla, has a habit of its cars spontaneously combusting; and SpaceX, his aerospace company, has at least avoided that fate. In other words, Musk is a white man with a lot of money who failed up, and for that he is lauded as genius by unctuous nerds. He bought Twitter on Oct. 27 and is currently running it into the ground: advertisers are fleeing; Twitter's chief privacy officer, chief information security officer, and chief compliance officer resigned last week after Musk laid off roughly half of the staff, many of whom worked in content

moderation and monitored hate speech (and then later figured out that he actually needed them); he charged \$8/month for a verified blue check, originally given free to identify those esteemed accounts from fakes or impersonators, before the internet clapped back forcing Musk to suspend the paid program, Twitter Blue, and putting him in greater hot water with advertisers. Oh, did I mention that through Musk's great financing mind Twitter might go bankrupt and the Federal Trade Commission may be coming to get them?

For all the time that Musk has been actively online, you'd think he'd remember the golden rule of social media: the internet always wins.

Many people think Twitter is a waste-of-time, frivolous social media network, and that's why I don't consult those people on anything because they don't understand the world in which they live. Twitter is one of—if not *the*—most powerful social media network on this side of the Atlantic. It is the watercooler of the 21<sup>st</sup> century where news breaks, social issues are unpacked, history is unearthed, and coups, uprisings, and revolutions foment and galvanize. However, given its importance, Twitter has never

made a lot of money—if any. Its user acquisition profile has been flat over the years, and in 2021, Twitter only made \$5-billion in revenues, whereas Instagram took in \$47.6-billion in revenues.

But the issue is the idea of such an important communication resource being owned by a Libertarian (which is the gateway to fascism) who glorifies free speech. There is no such thing as a free-speech warrior; instead these are people who don't like your speech, and Musk is no different. After years of talking up the explicit right to, say, call someone the n-word, he is systematically firing anyone who goes against him, who critiques him, or who impersonates him (Musk famously tweeted, "comedy is now legal on Twitter" before banning Kathy Griffin for jokingly impersonating him).

This was never about free speech, this was always about control.

As reported by *The Toronto Star*, the National Contagion Research Institute concluded that "use of the N-word on Twitter skyrocketed by over 500 per cent on Oct. 28." This is a day after Musk took over. *The Washington Post* expresses many people's concerns, noting rising "fears that his pledge of unrestricted free speech

could fuel a new wave of online hate." And that is exactly the point. Musk doesn't care about free speech, he cares about how much of the Overton window he can shift rightward at will.

The whole point of owning a social media network that features prominent societal actors is that one can control which speech is acceptable and which is not. And this can have far-reaching implications on society and will end up further marginalizing vulnerable groups through hate speech, which invariably leads to offline action. This is what happened to Clara Sorrenti (known as Keffals), a trans streamer who was doxxed through the internet message board Kiwi Farms. Unfortunately, these instances will continue to rise, without laws or enforcement being able to do much about it. And that's why concentration of so much power in one man's (and I do stress, man) hands is so destructive. Unfortunately, that's the type of capitalism we have been told is the most productive and innovative. Maybe we should've taken a look at the consequences of that before promoting it as public policy.

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

## Comment

# Is immigration the next Ottawa-Quebec battle?

Quebec nationalists face a 'Hobson's choice': accept new immigrants as equal to 'old stock Québécois,' or shrink to a tiny fraction of the continent.

Andrew Caddell

With All Due Respect



**K**AMOURASKA, QUE.—In 1960, Kamouraska was home to 2,000 people. The baby boom was at its peak, there were dozens of dairy farms, and tourism created summer jobs. Today, there are fewer than 600 permanent residents, and while a tourist mecca in summer, it is quiet in the winter. There are many elderly,

few young families, and fewer farms. This summer, as everywhere in Canada, employers were desperate to find employees.

In other provinces, the solution to declining birth rates and labour shortages is immigration. And as the 2021 census indicated, population growth has been due to immigration. Hence the announcement Ottawa would increase the threshold to 500,000 new arrivals annually.

This number is double what the Harper government sought and is in line with analysts like Doug Saunders, author of *Maximum Canada*, who believe Canada can sustain a population of 100 million people.

However, in Quebec, the announcement was greeted with caution. Premier François Legault has warned of the "threat to French" of immigration and refused to raise Quebec's share from 50,000 to 25 per cent of the national total: 125,000. Last week, Legault said, "We have to find a way, in the 50,000, to have more of them who speak French."

This is a rejection of the strategy of the Charter of the French Language, Bill 101. In the 1970s,

Premier René Lévesque and the father of Bill 101, Camille Laurin, told me the language law's obligation for immigrants to attend French schools was the solution to declining Francophone birthrates.

Today, however, non-Francophone immigrants are perceived as a problem. While fluent in French, some speak their mother tongue at home, and many also speak English. This trilingualism, rather than a huge asset, is interpreted by nationalist demographers and pundits as a "decline" in French. Speaking the language is not good enough: immigrants now must be mother-tongue French.

But much of the Francophonie is found in Muslim Africa. Under the secularism law, Bill 21, practicing Muslims can't work as teachers, police officers, or in the courts. Two weeks ago, an African driver was handcuffed and detained by Montreal police, for no reason. These are not signs of a welcoming society; one commentator says Legault's preferred immigrant is "a white millionaire from France."

Quebec's chattering classes are predicting immigration will be

the next confrontation between Ottawa and Quebec. Premier Legault wants immigration powers to create his Francophone "nation." This would mean an expansion of Quebec's presence abroad, and immigrants applying as if Quebec were a sovereign state.

As it is, that is how Quebec interprets itself to aspiring immigrants, according to a booklet provided to them.

The booklet, upon which an online assessment is based, declares "Québec is a French-speaking democratic nation that welcomes immigrants from around the world." It points out: "Québec society has also made French the language of Government and the Law, as well as the everyday language of work, education ... and business."

All of which is untrue, as English is constitutionally guaranteed in the courts, there are three English universities, and 1.25 million Anglophone Quebecers. The booklet goes on: "As a state, Québec differs from other provinces in Canada, notably with respect to the impetus of popular will." Furthermore, the Crown does not exist: "The Lieutenant

Governor does not have a seat in the National Assembly, but assents to bills the legislature passes." The federal government is brushed off as running "military defence, foreign policy and criminal law." A grade nine student would get an "F" for an essay like this booklet.

Quebec's population is 8.6 million people. With a huge influx of immigrants in the rest of the country and reductions in Quebec, it is bound to become a smaller proportion of Canada's population.

This offers a "Hobson's choice" for Quebec nationalists: accept new immigrants as equal to "old stock Québécois," or shrink to a tiny fraction of the continent. The business community desperately wants the population and the economy to grow, and they see trilingualism is an asset internationally, especially in cosmopolitan Montreal.

By restricting immigration, Legault's short-sighted vision is a Quebec "nation" that's North America's Finland: a tiny homogeneous population in a massive territory. It is yet another example of how nationalism could be suicidal for Quebec and the French fact in Canada.

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 town councillor in Kamouraska, Que. He can be reached at [pipson52@hotmail.com](mailto:pipson52@hotmail.com).

The Hill Times

# Warmongers are watching the wrong channel

If Russian forces could barely advance into Ukraine before their logistics and resupply collapsed into chaos, what chance could they have to conduct large-scale military operations in the barren Arctic?

Scott Taylor

Inside Defence



**O**TTAWA—It has been nearly nine months since Russian President Vladimir Putin ordered the invasion of Ukraine. What was expected to be a lightning-strike armoured assault to capture Kyiv has turned into a long, drawn-out farcical rout of the Russian military.

Last week, Putin's senior defence officials went on Russian state television to announce they would be making a temporary tactical withdrawal from the Ukrainian city of Kherson.

With Ukraine having successfully destroyed or damaged the major bridges, the Russian military can no longer supply and sustain the roughly 40,000 soldiers in their Kherson bridgehead on the west bank of the Dnipro River. The fate of those Russian troops will be determined in the days ahead, as Ukraine's military continues to advance faster than the Russians can evacuate their forces back to the east bank of the Dnipro.

Of the original Russian invasion force of 120,000 combat troops, United States intelligence estimates that nearly 90,000 Russians have thus far been killed, wounded, captured, or have deserted.

To make up the loss of front-line combat capable units, Putin reluctantly ordered the mobilization of 300,000 ill-motivated reservists.

In terms of equipment, Russian losses have been equally heavy, with shattered armoured vehicles littering the Ukraine landscape from Kyiv to Kharkiv to Kherson.

To replenish this arsenal, Putin is able to tap into the vast fleets of moth-balled Soviet Union-era armoured vehicles. However, if the Russian first string of soldiers and weapons failed to defeat Ukraine's forces, it is unlikely that these less-trained, less-motivated conscripts with antiquated tanks will somehow reverse the course of the war.

The best result Putin can hope for now is to slow the Ukrainian counter offensive, dig in on the east bank of the Dnipro, and hope that crippling oil and gas shortages across western Europe force Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's allies to demand a negotiated settlement.

While much of the credit for Russia's defeat goes to the Ukrainian military's courageous defence, their success would not be possible without the training, weapons, munitions, and money supplied by NATO countries.

This is, by definition, a proxy war between Russia and NATO, fought on Ukrainian soil. For the NATO cheerleaders, the good news is that western weapons and intelligence gathering remains vastly superior to the previously much-hyped Russian war machine. The bad news for the NATO cheerleaders is that any future fear-mongering is likely to fall on deaf ears.

The standard talking point among the Colonel Blimp brigade is that Putin's invasion of Ukraine has made the world that much more dangerous. They argue that if a madman can simply invade a sovereign state to overthrow the existing regime, then none of us are safe.

This narrow view of geopolitics conveniently omits the recent U.S. invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, and, in the case of Libya, the western allies did not even bother trying to prop up a puppet regime. NATO simply bombed Libya into continual anarchy. But I digress.

On Feb. 24, as Russian tanks crossed the Ukraine frontier, it was admittedly a very scary development.

However, we now know that those vaunted Russian warriors are nowhere near a NATO standard.

Yet we still have fear-mongers here in Canadian defence circles who point to the Arctic to remind Canadians that this dangerous rogue Russian regime is our northern neighbour.

Geographically, that is true, and Russia has done far more to develop its Arctic resources than Canada. However, if Russian ground forces could barely advance a few hundred kilometres into Ukraine before their logistics

and resupply collapsed into chaos, what chance could they have to conduct large-scale military operations in the barren Arctic?

Likewise, the warmongers will then pivot and claim that Putin's invasion of Ukraine has emboldened China to take action against Taiwan.

If that is indeed the case, I'm not sure exactly what example the Chinese would wish to follow.

The Russian military is being ground into oblivion by NATO's sophisticated weaponry used in conjunction with its superior satellite intelligence gathering systems. While NATO has not declared war on Russia, member states—including Canada—have been quick to empty out their own arsenals to keep Ukraine winning the fight.

If China is watching this war, there are many lessons to be learned and the most important would be that a U.S.- and NATO-backed adversary will still dominate the battlespace.

NATO countries may not have the political will to expend their own soldiers' lives, but it seems they will happily supply weapons to a proxy nation to weaken their rivals.

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

The Hill Times



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# Cases up, costs down: feds report \$227.1-million in lost revenue, public money and property in 2021-22

Numbers related to lost or accidentally damaged public property, however, are expected to change after errors in Natural Resources Canada's figures were identified.

Laura Ryckewaert

The federal government wracked up a total of \$227.1-million in lost revenue, public money, and public property due to fraud, accidents, or offences in 2021-22, a 30 per cent decrease from the year prior, according to the 2022 Public Accounts.

But while the dollar figure attached to losses has dropped, the number of reported cases has risen.

For public property, the number of incidents involving

theft, loss, damage, or vandalism are overall up 30.4 per cent, with 18,474 incidents reported in 2021-22 compared to 14,164 the year prior. The total value attached, though, has dropped from \$109.3-million in 2020-21 to \$62.5-million.

A notable factor in this change is the fact that the Public Accounts for 2020-21 included costs associated with two fatal accidents in April 2020 and May 2020 that led to the deaths of seven Canadian Armed Forces members and the loss of a CH-148 Cyclone helicopter and a Snowbird plane.

The number of cases of lost public money due to an offence, illegal act, or accident more than doubled, from 43,201 in 2020-21 to 120,538. But again, the value attached decreased (by roughly 30.4 per cent), from \$179.4-million in 2020-21 to \$124.9-million.

In terms of lost revenue, however, the trend is flipped: 15 fewer cases of fraud or willful misrepresentation were reported in 2021-22 (at 75 total, compared to 90 the year prior), but the total dollars

involved rose from \$37.5-million in 2020-21 to \$39.7-million.

That said, the numbers involving lost or damaged public property are expected to change after *The Hill Times* flagged odd numbers listed for Natural Resources Canada. Specifically, one case involving a computer, tablet, or laptop was reported, valued at \$1; two cases related to informatics, electronic equipment, or other telecommunications were valued at \$2; and three cases involving machinery, equipment, furniture, and furnishings were noted, valued at \$3. The department has confirmed these numbers are incorrect and said it is working to review and correct them.

Tabled by Treasury Board President Mona Fortier (Ottawa-Vanier, Ont.) on Oct. 28, the 2022 Public Accounts detail federal spending, and losses, incurred between April 1, 2021, and March 31, 2022.

Of the \$39.7-million in revenue lost due to tax evasion or fraudulent claims, only 47 cases totalling roughly \$5.4-million have been confirmed through court



Treasury Board President Mona Fortier tabled the 2022 Public Accounts in the House of Commons on Oct. 28. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

convictions, including 13 cases of income tax fraud totalling \$3.6-million and 29 cases of GST/HST fraud totalling \$1.6-million. Only \$203,659 related to these 47 cases has been recovered so far, but it's estimated that all but \$689,216 will be recovered in subsequent years. Another 27 cases totalling an estimated \$33.9-million are still before the courts, 20 of which involve suspected income tax fraud with a combined estimated cost of \$24.6-million.

For the \$124.9-million in lost public money reported in the 2022 Public Accounts, the largest amount—\$45.1-million—was attached to 12,099 cases of forged or fraudulently endorsed payments reported by Public Services and Procurement Canada (PSPC). In the 2021 Public Accounts, "forged or fraudulent endorsement of payment instrument or other" cases were listed under the Receiver General, under the wider PSPC umbrella. That year, there were 8,301 cases totalling \$25.2-million, meaning the 2022 numbers represent increases of 45.8 per cent (in terms of cases) and 78.8 per cent (in terms of dollars). PSPC reported another 7,998 cases of misdirected electronic payments, totalling \$9.2-million.

The highest number of cases of lost public money by category were reported by Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada, with \$4,924 cases of overpayment or fraudulent health and dental benefits claims, valued at \$4.2-million. Second-highest in terms of cases were fraudulently claimed EI benefits, with Employment, Workforce Development, and Disability Inclusion (EWDI) reporting 23,295 such cases, valued at \$43.5-million. That's a sharp increase from 2020-21, when 6,925 cases of fraud involving EI benefits

were reported, valued at \$14.7-million—in other words, the number of cases more than tripled, while the dollars involved almost tripled. The department has already recovered \$6.1-million of the \$43.5-million in lost public money related to EI benefits, with another \$37.4-million expected to be returned in future years.

Overall, of the \$124.9-million in lost public money for 2021-22, almost half—\$60.9-million—has already been returned, and the feds expect that only \$6.01-million won't be recuperated.

Breaking down the numbers related to public property, the increase in overall case numbers in the 2022 Public Accounts is a result of more incidents of lost or damaged property, which jumped 62.3 per cent with 14,847 such cases reported, compared to 9,146 in 2020-21. However, in terms of dollars, the cost of accidentally lost or damaged property was down 44.3 per cent, dropping from \$105.9-million in 2020-21 to \$58.95-million. (But again, Natural Resources Canada is set to update its reported numbers, and the 2021 Public Accounts included two costly, fatal accidents.)

Of the overall \$62.5-million in costs related to public property in 2021-22, \$57.1-million isn't expected to be recovered.

Looking at the currently available numbers by category, the top three increases in cases of lost or damaged property related to weapons and accessories (from 577 such cases in 2020-21 to 3,357); materials, tools, and supplies (from

531 cases to 1,649); and other telecommunications, informatics, and electronic equipment (from 778 cases to 1,373).

The overall number of incidents of theft or vandalism reported by the feds, meanwhile, were down 27.7 per cent in 2021-22, from 5,018 cases in 2020-21 to 3,627. The value attached, however, is up 6.1 per cent, from \$3.3-million to \$3.5-million in 2021-22.

Despite the overall 27.7 per cent drop, cases of stolen or vandalized property only actually decreased in two categories: materials, tools, and supplies (from 3,689 cases in 2020-21 to just 159), and access cards or security badges (from 19 to 10). The stark drop related to materials, tools, and supplies offset increases in other categories. The top three increases by category related to: machinery, equipment, furniture, and furnishings (from 359 cases in 2020-21 to 1,488); other telecommunications, informatics, and electronic equipment (from 45 cases to 475); and cellular devices (from 63 cases to 472).

In terms of associated costs, based on the current numbers, the largest overall jump in 2021-22 was in relation to buildings or real property.

In 2020-21, 497 cases of vandalism and 109 cases of accidental damage totalled \$2.9-million. By comparison, the 2022 Public Accounts detail 579 cases of vandalism to buildings or real property and 284 cases of accidental damage, totalling \$48.9-million. Most of that increase is attached to accidental damage, which jumped by \$45.7-million. Twelve departments and agencies reported damage or vandalism to public buildings or real property in 2021-22. While the Correctional Service of Canada reported the most cases (505, all but three of which were vandal-

ism), the highest associated cost was reported by Parks Canada (at \$43.34-million, of which \$43.26-million was accidental damage).

Parks Canada did not respond to questions by filing deadline.

Fisheries and Oceans reported the second-highest cost associated with damage or vandalism to real property, at \$2.26-million, almost all of which (\$2.25-million) related to 41 cases of accidental damage. According to the department, the four cases of vandalism (valued at \$15,095) "involved damage to fences, windows and graffiti," while the costs associated with accidental damage were "primarily from three cases." That includes \$1,050,000 in estimated costs to repair breakwater damage in Bay de Verde, N.L., "due to a severe storm event in January 2022," \$400,000 to repair damage to "rubble mound breakwater" in Schooner Bay, B.C., due to a November 2021 storm; and \$262,771 to remove a "community stage and wharf" in Little Paradise, N.L., which was damaged by Hurricane Larry in September 2021 and had to be removed for safety reasons.

The largest decrease in cost by category (based on current numbers) was unsurprisingly related to Crown vehicles and other transport—the category the two aircraft involved in fatal accidents were previously reported in—which dropped from \$92.2-million to \$5.5-million.

It's worth noting that while the overall cost is down significantly, case numbers related to lost, stolen, vandalized, or damaged Crown vehicles and other transport jumped slightly, from 1,156 cases in 2020-21 to 1,494 (the majority of which—1,242 cases—related to loss or damage). The RCMP reported the highest numbers, in terms of cases and dollars attached,

with 1,062 overall cases valued at \$3.9-million. Of those, 110 involved theft or vandalism, valued at \$352,482.

In terms of weapons and accessories—which saw the largest increase in overall case counts, from a total of 586 in 2020-21 to 3,358—most of that was reported by the Canada Border Services Agency, which noted 3,129 cases of lost or damaged weapons and accessories, valued at \$3,266. National Defence, which reported 207 such cases of loss or damage, had the highest associated cost, at \$53,451. Only one of the 3,358 cases recorded in the 2022 Public Accounts was theft or vandalism; valued at \$950, it was reported by the RCMP.

Looking at the numbers for materials, tools, and supplies, more than half of the \$808,449 in estimated costs for all reported cases related to one incident of theft noted by the Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC), valued at \$500,000.

In an email response, PHAC explained that "a tractor trailer carrying \$500,000 worth of medical gowns was stolen during shipment."

It was "subsequently retrieved with the majority of the load," valued at \$499,200, "intact."

Diving into the numbers for cellular devices, 370 of the 472 stolen or vandalized cellphones were reported by the Canadian Food Inspection Agency (CFIA), valued at \$420,350. In an email response, the agency explained that in 2021-22 there was "an isolated incident" in which "370 smartphones were stolen from a CFIA building," where they were being stored before being deployed to users. As a result, "there was no information on the devices." A police report was filed, noted the agency.

"Storage has been moved to another location and additional security measures have been implemented to secure those assets," read the response.

That theft alone accounted for 31.4 per cent of the \$1.3-million in total costs associated with lost, damaged, stolen, or vandalized cellular devices. Of that total, \$474,682 was due to loss or damage (1,498 cases), while \$863,840 was due to theft or vandalism.

For computers, tablets, and laptops, the Treasury Board Secretariat (TBS) reported the highest number of cases overall at 345, of which six related to theft and 339 related to loss or damage. According to TBS, while nine devices were damaged, 330 were "reported missing during a storage inventory update," leading to an internal investigation.

"As a result of this investigation, two employees are no longer employed by TBS and one of them was arrested by the Ottawa Police. As the police investigation is ongoing, TBS is not in a position to comment further," read an email response.

"Whenever a device is reported lost, damaged or stolen, the device is locked to avoid unauthorized access and its service is immediately suspended," noted the department.

All but one of the 345 stolen, damaged, and missing devices were Microsoft Pro tablets, plus a MacBook Pro.

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The Hill Times

## Lost public property from theft, vandalism, or accidents (2021-22)

### Materials, tools, and supplies

- Stolen/vandalized: 159
- Lost/damaged: 1,649
- Total cost: \$808,449
- Worst (by \$): Public Health Agency of Canada
- Worst (by #): Global Affairs

### Buildings or other real property

- Vandalized: 579
- Damaged: 284
- Total cost: \$48,944,374
- Worst (by \$): Parks Canada
- Worst (by #): Correctional Service of Canada

### Other telecoms, informatics, electronic equipment

- Stolen/vandalized: 475
- Lost/damaged: 1,373
- Total cost: \$865,261
- Worst (by \$): RCMP
- Worst (by #): Canada Revenue Agency

### Uniforms

- Stolen/vandalized: 6
- Lost/damaged: 48
- Total cost: \$38,126
- Worst (by \$): National Defence
- Worst (by #): National Defence

### Weapons and accessories

- Stolen/vandalized: 1
- Lost/damaged: 3,357
- Total cost: \$60,199
- Worst (by \$): National Defence
- Worst (by #): CBSA

### Machinery, equipment, furniture, furnishings

- Stolen/vandalized: 1,488
- Lost/damaged: 1,802
- Total cost: \$2,031,914
- Worst (by \$): National Defence
- Worst (by #): National Defence

### Crown vehicles and other transport

- Stolen/vandalized: 252
- Lost/damaged: 1,242
- Total cost: \$5,548,787
- Worst (by \$): RCMP
- Worst (by #): RCMP

### Computers, tablets, and laptops

- Stolen/vandalized: 134
- Lost/damaged: 1,147
- Total cost: \$1,574,460
- Worst (by \$): National Defence
- Worst (by #): Treasury Board

### Access cards or security badges

- Stolen/vandalized: 10
- Lost/damaged: 743
- Total cost: \$16,452
- Worst (by \$): RCMP
- Worst (by #): RCMP

### Combat uniforms

- Stolen/vandalized: 51
- Lost/damaged: 1,704
- Total cost: \$1,271,507
- Defence was the only department to report losses.

### Cell phones

- Stolen/vandalized: 472
- Lost/damaged: 1,498
- Total cost: \$1,338,522
- Worst (by \$): CFIA
- Worst (by #): Employment & Social Development

Source: 2022 Public Accounts of Canada

Total cost: \$62,498,051

Graphic courtesy of Infogram

## Total lost revenue, money, public property

Category	2019-20	2020-21	2021-22
Lost revenue	\$36,967,723	\$37,451,486	\$39,722,059
Lost public money (accidents and offences)	\$168,909,719	\$179,356,721	\$124,891,850
Lost public property (accidents and offences)	\$36,237,061	\$109,258,795	\$62,498,051
Total	\$242,114,503	\$326,067,002	\$227,111,960

—Source: the 2020, 2021, and 2022 Public Accounts of Canada.

## 2022 Public Accounts, totals by category

Category	# Stolen or Vandalized	\$ Stolen or Vandalized	# Lost or Damaged	\$ Lost or Damaged	Overall Total #	Overall Total \$
Materials, tools, supplies	159	\$641,854	1,649	\$166,595	1,808	\$808,449
Crown vehicles & other transport	252	\$568,404	1,242	\$4,980,383	1,494	\$5,548,787
Computers, tablets, laptops	134	\$162,255	1,147	\$1,412,205	1,281	\$1,574,460
Cellphones	472	\$474,682	1,498	\$863,840	1,970	\$1,338,522
Other telecommunications, informatics, electronic equipment	475	\$250,326	1,373	\$614,935	1,848	\$865,261
Machinery, equipment, furniture, furnishings	1,488	\$265,927	1,802	\$1,765,987	3,290	\$2,031,914
Access card or security badge	10	\$175	743	\$16,277	753	\$16,452
Buildings or real property	579	\$1,119,669	284	\$47,824,705	863	\$48,944,374
Weapons and accessories	1	\$950	3,357	\$59,249	3,358	\$60,199
Uniforms	6	\$1,187	48	\$36,939	54	\$38,126
Combat outfits	51	\$60,000	1,704	\$1,211,507	1,755	\$1,271,507
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,627</b>	<b>\$3,545,429</b>	<b>14,847</b>	<b>\$58,952,622</b>	<b>18,474</b>	<b>\$62,498,051</b>

—Source: 2022 Public Accounts of Canada

## News

# 'We tried to stop it': chair of Indigenous coalition bidding for Trans Mountain went to court to block the project

The Western Indigenous Pipeline Group is a coalition of Indigenous communities that has partnered with Pembina in its attempt to buy Trans Mountain.

BY KEVIN PHILIPUPILLAI

Squiala First Nation Chief David Jimmie is often asked how he went from opposing one of the largest infrastructure projects in Canada to now leading one of the groups that is trying to buy it from the government.

Jimmie, the chair and vice-president of finance for the Western Indigenous Pipeline Group (WIPG), told *The Hill Times* that he had a lot of soul-searching to do after he and his B.C. community exhausted all their legal options in their efforts to draw attention to environmental and cultural concerns about the Trans Mountain expansion project.

"We tried to stop it. We really did. And I'm really proud of the work that we did," he said, but eventually looked toward an ownership model as a way to be "heard around the table."

The Western Indigenous Pipeline Group, headquartered in Kamloops, B.C., is a coalition of at least 30 Indigenous communities that have signed on to seek an ownership stake in the government-owned Trans Mountain pipeline and its expansion. WIPG has partnered with Pembina Pipeline Corporation to form Chinook Pathways, which is the entity that will bid for Trans Mountain.

Jimmie is also the president of the Ts'elxweyéqw tribe, the chief and CEO of Squiala First Nation, and the president of the Stó:lō Nation Chiefs Council.

In his capacity with the Ts'elxweyéqw tribe, Jimmie and other community members engaged with Kinder Morgan Canada, the previous owner of the Trans Mountain pipeline, when they first heard about its proposal to twin the nearly 70-year-old existing pipeline. They conducted an independent study to assess the possible environmental and cul-

tural impacts, and came up with 89 recommendations for how the federal government could address or mitigate their concerns.

"Once we had all of that information," said Jimmie, he and other members of what was then the Stó:lō Collective went in front of the National Energy Board, the predecessor to the Canada Energy Regulator. "And essentially we were not heard at the table," said Jimmie.

The affected communities also went to the Federal Court of Appeal, twice, but despite some success the final result was that the project received a stamp of approval from the federal government. Having exhausted all their legal options, said Jimmie, he and his community had to decide what to do next. "If you can't be heard through the system that's been created by the government for us, what are our options to carry forward our concerns?"

It was in looking for a way to get a voice at the table, said Jimmie, that he began to think more about engaging with the project through a governance structure. This led him to conversations with WIPG, and eventually to his current position as chair and vice-president of finance for the group. Not all the communities within the Stó:lō Nation have signed on with WIPG, however.

"I'm not a pro-pipeline person," said Jimmie, "but when you look at different partnerships that are negotiated, whether it's different forms of economic development or real estate projects, it's always taking a look at the board structure and where your voice could be heard as a true decision-maker. And that's what led to us joining."

"It wasn't about money and it's never been about money. Most of the communities that we meet with, it's not the first question that comes up. The first question that always comes up, and in our case it's the same, is environmental stewardship. It's understanding how you can participate at the table and inform decisions when it comes to impacts to your territory."

## Competition to sign up Indigenous communities along the pipeline route

WIPG and the other Indigenous coalitions that are looking to purchase the Trans Mountain pipeline, such as Nesika Services and Project Reconciliation, are competing to sign up First



Chief David Jimmie of the Squiala First Nation is the chair of the Western Indigenous Pipeline Group. Photograph courtesy of Velour Productions

Nations and Métis communities whose territories will be affected by the newly expanded pipeline.

An earlier federal government process identified 129 affected communities, but some of those have said they are not interested in participating, while there could be others that were not included in that count. Jimmie declined to give a precise number, but said WIPG has so far signed up "over 30" communities.

WIPG has adopted a regional governance model in which First Nations and Métis communities in five regions—Vancouver Island, the B.C. interior, the Métis Nations of Alberta and B.C., the lower Fraser, and Alberta—each elect representatives to sit on the WIPG board. Member communities within each region would also determine their own regional governance structures, independently of the WIPG executive.

"The impacts to Vancouver Island communities, where there are the shipping routes, are completely different than impacts to communities in Alberta, or the interior, or Fraser-Salish," said Jimmie. "It's not for me to go into Alberta and say how they should be running their businesses. It's their territory and they know it the best."

Given the enormous cost increases the Trans Mountain pipeline expansion project has seen, with the cost estimate rising to \$21.4-billion in February 2022, it is possible that whoever buys the pipeline from the government will be taking on significant debt that will need

to be repaid over the years from the pipeline's operating revenue. The greater the financial obligation, the more pressure there will be on the owners to resist environmental or other measures that might eat into the revenue stream.

Asked about the challenge of balancing financial imperatives with stewardship concerns, Jimmie said, based on the discussions he's had with the various communities, "it's not going to be a big fight if you need to take away some of the revenue in order to address some of the environmental concerns."

## Partnership with Pembina

WIPG is the only one of the potential Indigenous buyers that has partnered with a pipeline company to make its bid to the federal government. Chinook Pathways is a 50-50 partnership between WIPG and Pembina Pipeline Corporation, meaning that if Chinook Pathways is successful, Pembina would replace Trans Mountain Corporation as the pipeline operator.

The other groups looking to secure an Indigenous ownership stake in Trans Mountain are working with models that would leave Trans Mountain Corporation, the successor to Kinder Morgan Canada, in place.

Pembina spokesperson Shawn Roth said in an email that Pembina was "honoured to be selected" by WIPG as its industry partner, and confirmed that Pembina remains committed to their shared goal of pursuing equity ownership of the Trans Mountain pipeline, following the completion of construction on the pipeline expansion.

When asked why WIPG is looking to bring in a new pipeline operator, Jimmie said WIPG was looking for an operator that aligned with its values. He said he was encouraged by the "strong relationship" Pembina has developed with the Haisla Nation on another 50-50 partnership, the Cedar LNG Project. That project, which is still going through the environmental assessment process, would set up the first Indigenous-majority-owned liquefied natural gas (LNG) export facility in Canada, in Kitimat, B.C.

Still, Jimmie said it had been a "tough negotiation" to make sure the agreement with Pembina met WIPG's priorities. "It takes a long

time to build relationships with large organizations like Pembina."

"We fought very hard to negotiate that partnership. It took about eight to 10 months," he said, to negotiate key details such as meaningful representation on the board's management committee and on environmental oversight committees.

## Waiting for details from the government

Government officials have conducted initial consultations with Indigenous communities that are interested in acquiring ownership stakes in the Trans Mountain pipeline, but the interested parties say the government has not yet released details of its rollout plan, possibly because it hasn't decided exactly what that will look like yet.

When asked about the government's plans for the divestment process, and the structure of any possible deal, Finance Canada spokesperson Caroline Thériault said in an email that "the government intends to launch a divestment process after the expansion project is further de-risked and after consultations with Indigenous groups about economic participation have further progressed. We will announce the next step toward that important objective in the coming months."

Conservative natural resources critic Greg McLean (Calgary Centre, Alta.) previously told *The Hill Times* it's not surprising that the government would be keeping negotiations towards a Trans Mountain sale "pretty close to the chest, as they should."

Jimmie said the timeline and process for the sale will be entirely up to the government, but added that two key milestones will be the projected in-service date, when the expanded pipeline becomes fully operational, and the final date by which the government wants to have Trans Mountain off its books.

"Start working backwards from an in-service date," said Jimmie, "and time is going to become really short."

*The Hill Times* previously reported on the possibility the government might look to a recent Enbridge deal in northern Alberta as a model for the structure of a possible Trans Mountain sale. The Alberta deal, announced on Sept. 28 by Enbridge and a group of 23 Indigenous communities, will see the Indigenous groups acquire an 11.57 per cent stake in seven of Enbridge's northern Alberta pipelines in exchange for \$1.12-billion.

But Jimmie said the Enbridge deal was "a totally different model" from what WIPG is interested in for the Trans Mountain pipeline, because, to his knowledge, the structure of the Enbridge deal gives the new Indigenous part-owners "a small percentage of revenues" but no meaningful control over pipeline operations or impacts in their territory or in monitoring.

"What we're really fighting for," said Jimmie, "is the governance feature of our model."

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*The Hill Times*



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## Opinion



The dental care benefit is a perfect example of how government should be looking to innovative, customer-centric solutions to public service delivery, writes Jennifer Tramontana. Photograph courtesy of Pexels

# Prepaid payments boost rollout of Canada's new dental care benefit

For those eligible for the program, prepaid products can complement direct deposit and address many of the limitations of cheques.

Jennifer Tramontana

Opinion



Eligible Canadians will soon receive access to a new national dental care benefit that will give children with families who make less than \$90,000 a year as much as \$650 per child to care for their teeth.

To qualify for the initial phase of the benefit, families will need to attest that they have booked a dental visit for their kids, that they don't have private insurance, and that they will have out-of-pocket expenses for the appointment.

Families who receive this support will also have to keep their receipts in case they are audited. If this process and record-keeping requirement sounds overly complicated and inconvenient, that's because it is. Luckily, there's a better solution already out there.

Open-loop prepaid products are already a proven and trusted

payment mechanism to make the dental care benefit a more accessible process for citizens, and a more transparent, efficient, and secure process for government.

Despite the success of Canada's rapid and unprecedented financial response to the pandemic in delivering needed support quickly, it exposed flaws in the way benefits are distributed. While most Canadians who received this financial aid chose to enrol in direct deposit, a sizeable number—including many of the most vulnerable Canadians—continued to rely on paper cheques.

The drawbacks of relying on cheques is well documented: it can be difficult to deposit funds, meaning recipients need to count on costly cheque-cashing services; cheques can be lost or stolen; and cheques are more likely to result in fraud.

There is also the issue of unclaimed cheques. During 2019, the Government of Canada issued more than 30 million cheques to disperse funds to citizens and business, leaving more than 800,000 unclaimed payments with an outstanding value of \$370-million.

These are significant issues. They raise questions of equity for marginalized people, value for taxpayer dollars, and, quite frankly, general efficacy of government benefits should the status quo continue. Prepaid alleviates these concerns.

With an appeal to businesses, consumers, and governments, open-loop prepaid solutions are known for their efficiency, security, and flexibility of electronic payments without involving

credit, or having to be tied to a bank account. Open-loop prepaid products have a large acceptance footprint and can be accepted online and in-store—anywhere the card network is accepted. Prepaid is also flexible, regulated, and protected by the same fraud and loss protections offered by credit card networks.

It's clear the mainstream financial sector has already embraced this shift. Since 2015, Royal Bank of Canada has supported the replacement of paper cheque disbursements within the public sector in Canada through the Right Pay government prepaid platform. From the start, the Right Pay platform was built for flexibility and limitless scalability to support the largest payment programs in Canada within the Ontario Disability Support Program and Ontario Works.

The new dental care benefit presents the perfect opportunity for the Government of Canada to adopt a similar approach.

The dental care benefit is a perfect example of how government should be looking to innovative, customer-centric solutions to public service delivery. Canadian companies, fintechs, and financial providers are willing and ready to assist.

For those eligible for the program, prepaid products can complement direct deposit and address many of the limitations of cheques. They are particularly well suited to meet the needs of the unbanked or underbanked, who tend to be from the most vulnerable segments of society and who would see a greater benefit to receiving prepaid cards versus a cheque.

Should government want to top-up the initial payment for dental care down the line, it's also easy for funds to be directly deposited by government on an ongoing basis. The reloadable nature of prepaid eliminates the need to send out multiple cheques and would provide a more convenient and cost-effective solution for citizens.

There's also the added benefit of speed. Prepaid funds can be delivered in real-time and deposited to citizens' accounts in seconds—with a government confirmation that payment has been received and deposited. For the consumer's benefit, funds are loaded electronically on a reloadable card (or smartphone) without reliance on the mail.

The use of prepaid payment products would also ensure that funds are spent by recipients where they were intended to go, namely for dental care. Using prepaid payments that are directed towards a single purpose like the dental care plan would allow funds to be restricted to specific merchant categories, such as health and dental services. The unused portion of dental care payments could be returned to government on expiry.

All these controls cut down on the potential for fraud and misuse.

The level of partnership between Canadian governments and fintech companies in the prepaid ecosystem is trailing other countries. These solutions have been in use around the world for many years and Canada's reliance on cheques is a significant outlier.

In the United States, government beneficiaries no longer

receive payments via cheque. Instead, they rely on prepaid to deliver benefits, with more than 3.5 million actively used cards every month. In Europe, the use of electronic vouchers has also reached the European Union's political agenda in the context of considering effective payment methods for vulnerable and at-risk individuals.

The experience of Canadian governments leveraging prepaid technologies has been limited, but nevertheless underscores the public interest case for the broader adoption of prepaid as a part of the government's payment disbursement toolkit.

We continue to encourage the federal government to include prepaid technology among the methods used to disburse federal support payments. Such a change will provide recipients with an alternative that will allow them to avoid the costs, inconvenience and limitations associated with paper cheques. This would also address other equity and inclusion issues for vulnerable populations who rely on cheques.

The Canadian government has taken the initiative towards modernizing its payment delivery mechanism, but it must do more. Given the increased concerns around fraud from issuing cheques and relying solely on traditional direct deposit methods, it is imperative we ramp up our embrace of prepaid through partnerships between the Canadian government and fintech companies. We believe prepaid solutions can quickly, securely, and equitably serve all Canadians better and more cost-effectively.

Jennifer Tramontana is the executive director of the Canadian Prepaid Providers Organization, a not-for-profit organization that serves as the collective voice of the \$8.7-billion open-loop prepaid payments industry in Canada.

The Hill Times

# Israel's new government will test Canada's shared values

It will become vitally important for the Canadian government to demonstrate clearly that it opposes moves towards unfettered majoritarianism.

Esther Enkin &  
Ben Murane

Opinion



Canada's relationship with Israel is likely about to become the most strained it's ever been. It will be vitally important for our government to anchor the relationship in our shared democratic values as Israel's new government takes power.

Until now, Israeli governments have argued that Israel and Canada share the values of democracy and equality. Even though we have imperfections, they argue, Israel is a strong democracy. After all, does Canada not also have imperfections?

However, this argument and Canadian-Israeli ties have undergone increasing stress in recent years—and may reach a pivotal point in the coming year. Israel has only itself to blame for this ongoing re-evaluation: a decade under prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu's successive governments has seen laws passed demoting Arabs to second-class citizens, incitement against political opponents, attempts to wholesale deport African asylum seekers, and near annexation of the occupied West Bank.

It would be wrong to blame the re-evaluation of Canada's ties with Israel on anti-Israel propaganda. Already in 2018, the most extensive survey ever of Canadian Jewish attitudes revealed that a majority of the Jewish community doesn't believe that Israel has been genuine in its desire for peace. In fact, young Canadian Jews are the most distrusting of Israel's intentions, even in light of high levels of Jewish education and rising antisemitism.

Enter into this already-contested Canadian debate Israel's most right-wing coalition in history. Prime minister-elect Netanyahu is presently bargaining with not only his traditional partners—the warhawks and ultra-religious—but also the openly racist, proudly homophobic, and de-

fiantly anti-democratic Religious Zionism party. With centrist parties unwilling to sit in government with a prime minister under indictment, these extremists will receive the majority of their demands, including key cabinet posts.

Over the final weeks of campaigning, these extremists published detailed proposals for dramatic reshaping of Israeli law and society. They are repeating their demands as coalition negotiations get underway. These proposals include freeing Netanyahu from his corruption trials, legalizing gay “conversion therapy,” deporting “disloyal” citizens, creating a “Ministry of Migration” to encourage Arab citizens to self-deport, accelerated dispossession of Palestinian land, and a litany of judicial reforms aimed at unfettered majoritarian power by the government.

However, Israel's saving grace is ironically the government that is being replaced. The previous ruling coalition was the most diverse in the country's history—including an Arab party for the very first time. Under it, the scapegoating and incitement of Netanyahu's past decade paused, and the fragile coalition nevertheless demonstrated an alternative that includes Jewish-Palestinian partnership.

Like in other democracies buffeted by the winds of populist illiberalism, the pro-democracy bloc and anti-democracy bloc each command about half of voters, and often one wins by a hair. It would be simply wrong to abandon those in Israel or elsewhere who exemplify shared values by fighting for their country's democratic principles.

It will become vitally important for the Canadian government to demonstrate clearly that it opposes moves towards unfettered majoritarianism. This can be done in many ways both public and private.

Canada should refuse to meet Israeli politicians who are unabashed racists, such as the leaders of the far-right National Religious party. Our government should communicate clearly that circumscribing the power of Israel's judiciary is a red line for any democracy. Canadian political leaders should also be prepared to affirm Israeli initiatives that do share Canadian values—such as those of Israel's most significant civil and human rights groups, many of whom are funded by Canadian philanthropy.

Shared values of equality and democracy are the basis of the Israel-Canada relationship. We must be prepared when Israel's new government tests the strength and depth of those values. For Israelis' own sake, they must find Canadian democratic values to be unshakable.

*Esther Enkin is a board member and Ben Murane is the executive director of the New Israel Fund of Canada, the largest Canadian organization advancing and protecting democracy and equality in Israel.*  
*The Hill Times*

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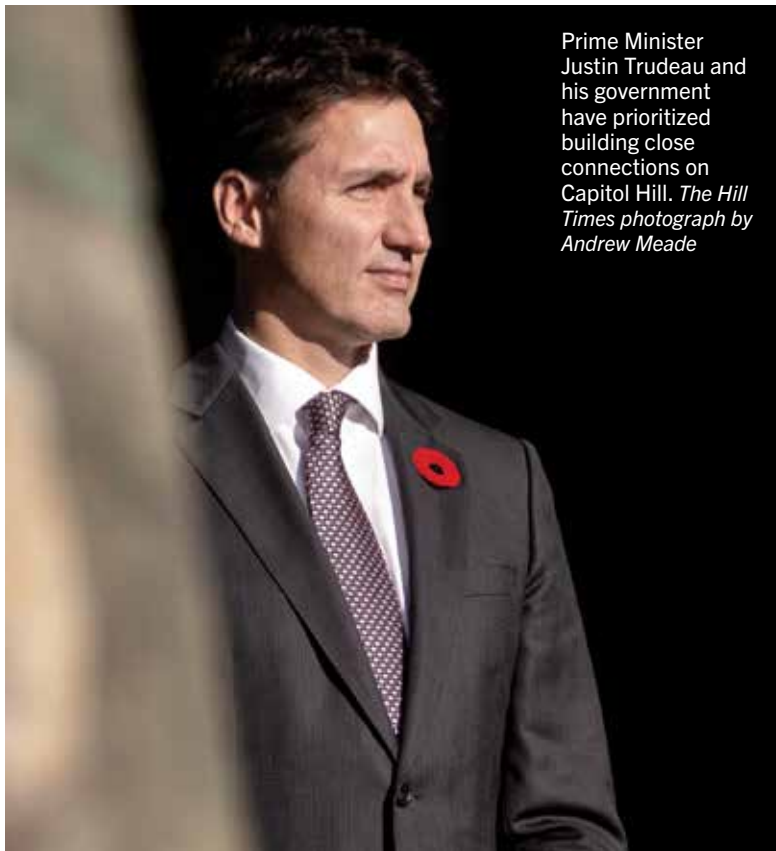




## News

# ‘We’ve got to speak with everyone’: new Congress will bring new Canadian outreach efforts on Capitol Hill

‘Ultimately, you need to build relationships with everyone, and you need to be relentless,’ says former PMO Canada-U.S. relations staffer Simon Beauchemin.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his government have prioritized building close connections on Capitol Hill. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Continued from page 1

to Politico—218 is needed to have the majority. In the Senate, Democrats hold 50 seats compared to the Republicans’ 49.

Building connections on Capitol Hill has been a consistent strategy for the Canadian government, which proved consequential during the NAFTA renegotiations and for the removal of steel and aluminum tariffs in 2019, as well as during the fight against a protectionist American tax credit on electric vehicles earlier this year.

Spotlighting the importance of Canadian links in the U.S. Congress, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) and a handful of his cabinet ministers held meetings on Capitol Hill before the North American Leaders’ Summit in November 2021. He also met with House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and other Congressional members at the Summit of the Americas this past June.

Outreach to Congress is co-ordinated through Canada’s embassy in Washington, D.C.—located just blocks from Capitol Hill—which has a dedicated Congressional affairs team. That effort includes the Prime Minister’s Office (PMO), cabinet ministers and offices, as well as non-governmental stakeholders.

“We really, really cannot wait for things to come up for us to march down on Capitol Hill and demand that they be reversed,” said Louise Blais, a former Canadian consul general in Atlanta, Georgia. “The best Canadian strategy is for ongoing engagement. That’s across the political spectrum, and even the far right or far left. We’ve got to speak with everyone.”

“We have sometimes to look past our own social values to engage,” she said. “The United States

is a complex country. It has social norms that are different in certain parts of the country than Canada, but I don’t think that should prevent us from engaging across the board.”

Blais, now a senior special adviser at the Business Council of Canada, said a divided Congress offers more levers for Canada to employ in its outreach efforts.

She said American engagement has to take place away from Washington as well.

“We can always do it inside the beltway,” she said. “Canadian diplomats, Canadian trade associations, and business leaders have got to understand the fabric of the American political landscape now and you can only do that if you really criss-cross the United States—go to meet governors in their state, meet Congress men and women back in their district [to] understand what makes them tick and understand what their constituency concerns are.”

Blais said often Canada is not top of mind in the U.S., so there is a need to brief Congressional members on unintended conse-

quences of American policies on the Canada-U.S. relationship.

“That’s day in and day out,” she said.

Washington, D.C.-based trade consultant Eric Miller, president of Rideau Potomac Strategy Group, echoed the need to speak with all in Congress.

“This is kind of like a government relations exercise,” he said. “At the end of the day, when you have shared values you can emphasize them, but not to the point of putting off others.”

With a system of decentralized power, Canada needs to identify interests, he said, which means finding those connecting interests, even if with unlikely allies who hold values that largely conflict with the Liberal government.

While the federal government may hold divergent views on abortion rights and democratic norms with some members of Congress, those members could still hold important votes over initiatives that impact Canada.

Unlike recent outreach efforts, there are no longer dedicated advisers who work exclusively on the Canada-U.S. file inside the PMO, meaning American

outreach is returning to the more typical efforts that were seen prior to the Trump administration.

In 2017, the PMO created a special Canada-U.S. relations unit led by now-deputy chief of staff Brian Clow, which included adviser Simon Beauchemin and special assistant Diamond Isinger. Later, Elise Wagner joined the team after Isinger’s departure from political life. As previously reported by *The Hill Times*, Wagner is now International Trade Minister Mary Ng’s (Markham-Thornhill, Ont.) policy director, leaving the PMO without anyone exclusively tasked to handle the Canada-U.S. relationship. However, senior PMO staff are still very active on the file, including chief of staff Katie Telford, Clow, and foreign affairs advisers Patrick Travers and Oz Jungic.

“You can’t deny that the unit itself doesn’t exist per se,” said Beauchemin, now senior director of trade and investment with National Public Relations. “But, it is safe to say that it is still a huge priority for the government.”

He noted that PMO staffers, as well as staff in cabinet offices, are very focused on the file.

Beauchemin said the Canada-U.S. unit was created as Ottawa was dealing with an American president unlike any other it had dealt with before.

“So, you needed to have a rapid reaction force that was able to co-ordinate to make sure things happen very quickly, but I don’t think President Biden is the same kind of person here,” he said. “That doesn’t reflect at all on whether the relationship is important or not, it’s an absolute priority and always will be.”

Greg MacEachern, a senior vice-president at Proof Strategies, said despite no one exclusively holding Canada-U.S. responsibility, it still remains an active file for the PMO, noting that Telford and Clow have strong ties in the U.S.

“The dedicated Canada-U.S. unit doesn’t exist as there is no one currently at PMO that has Canada and the U.S. in their title, however that is not to say that the relationship with our largest trading partner is not currently within several people’s duties at PMO,” he said.

“The United States is always going to be a key priority for Canada,” he said, noting that the Canada-U.S. unit was created as a result of the Trump administration and his public target on Canada.

While there are still challenges, Canada is no longer dealing with an American president who is moving in a multitude of directions in a “less than coherent way,” he said.

A PMO spokesperson didn’t immediately respond for comment before publication deadline.

Isinger said newly elected officials offer a chance for the Canadian government to build new links across the U.S. and in Washington.

“Beyond that, the Canada-U.S. relationship and its opportunities and challenges remain pretty continuous no matter who the administration is of the day. There are still the same changes to work together. There are still the same concerns,

for example about U.S. protectionism, or U.S. policies, or approach to Canada’s agenda. So, I expect those will continue,” she said.

In the coming weeks, Isinger said Canada’s embassy in Washington and political staff in Ottawa are going to be considering how they can reach out to new elected officials in the U.S., noting that effort will also include cabinet ministers being active in building those relationships, especially among relevant Congressional committees.

Beauchemin said the Canadian government isn’t focused on partisan stripes when building relationships in the U.S.

“Ultimately, you need to build relationships with everyone, and you need to be relentless,” he said. “You need to be really getting down to what the interests are of individual Congress people—senators, representatives, what have you—and governors and deal with them on that basis.”

Miller said Canada needs to think about the machinery that it uses to engage with the U.S.

“Part of the problem ... is that we put the infrastructure together for a limited period of time to deal with whatever crisis and then we take it all apart again,” he said, adding, though, that it isn’t always necessary for the PMO to deal with the U.S. on a war footing.

“In times when it is quiet is the times that you should be building,” he said. “There needs to be a serious rethink about how we approach relations with the U.S., because ultimately, the only people in the U.S. that are 100 per cent on Canada’s side all the time is the embassy.”

Blais said Canada reacted effectively to American protectionism during the Biden administration, but there is a greater need to be proactive and prevent harm to Canadian interests.

“It was a little misguided [to think] that things would go back to normal [under U.S. President Joe Biden] and we didn’t have to be as co-ordinated as we had to be in the NAFTA renegotiations,” she said. “That proved to be wrong.”

“We have to sustain engagement. We can’t just do it just always in reaction to something that comes up,” Blais said.

With a slim majority in the House of Representatives, Blais said the speaker could build a coalition around in the centre and work across party lines, avoiding the far left- and far right-wing flanks of the Democratic and Republican parties.

“Biden knows Congress and we’ve seen him work very effectively with the most difficult of allies in Congress,” she said, noting that the midterm results might not bring about gridlock.

“But at the end of the day, the big economic pieces that were promised by the Biden campaign have been delivered. I think what you might see going forward is a little more focus on the social agenda which by definition won’t have as much of an impact on Canada,” she said.

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# ‘Just be sustainable’: Green Party renewal will require message of stability, prioritization of issues

‘It is so critical that, as Greens, we put democracy ahead of politics,’ says Ontario Green MP Mike Morrice.

Continued from page 1

against other parties in the House with a roster of well-resourced critics for specific files, Kuttner said the Greens need to focus what resources the party does have on directly serving constituents and potential voters.

While Kuttner clarified that they believe the Green Party should have a consistent foreign policy—rooted in its core values of non-violence, anti-imperialism, and respect for universal human rights, self-determination, diversity, and social justice—they argued it can’t be an effective advocate for those things unless the leader can successfully grow the party first.

“Until then, we’re going to be focusing on things that we can [advocate for], like the climate crisis,” Kuttner said, adding that a number of foreign policy issues are deeply rooted in that crisis as well.

Annamie Paul officially resigned as Green Party leader just over one year ago, on Nov. 10, 2021, following her failure to get elected in Toronto Centre, Ont., and the party’s generally dismal showing in the 44<sup>th</sup> general election. The Greens won only 2.3 per cent of the popular vote in that election, down from 6.6 per cent in 2019.

Paul, the first Black and Jewish woman to lead a federal party in Canadian history, subsequently turned in her membership and said her leadership had been destabilized from within and that she had reportedly faced racism and sexism.

Only two Green MPs—Mike Morrice (Kitchener Centre, Ont.) and former leader Elizabeth May (Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C.)—were re-elected in 2021, with the party having already lost one seat in the House of Commons, from its high of three, months prior to the election when now-Liberal MP Jenica Atwin (Fredericton, N.B.) crossed the floor over statements made by Paul in May 2021 that Atwin said she felt did not sufficiently condemn Israel over an 11-day war with Hamas that resulted in the deaths of at least 230 Palestinians and 12 Israelis.

In a tweet, Paul had called “for an immediate de-escalation in the violence and a return to dialogue



Interim leader Amita Kuttner, right, takes part in a press conference with Green MP Mike Morrice on May 17. After a year as interim leader, Kuttner says they feel confident they’re leaving the Green Party in good hands with a new executive director, party president, and leader—or leaders—as of Nov. 19. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

as a means to seeking a peaceful resolution.” In response, Atwin said the statement was “totally inadequate,” and called for an end to apartheid.

Three days later, Paul’s then-senior adviser Noah Zatzman accused “a range of political actors” of “appalling anti-Semitism and discrimination.” The next month, Atwin crossed the floor to join the Liberal Party, citing “distractions.”

Prioritization will be key for the next leader in all aspects of the job, said Kuttner, as they will no doubt have far more goals in mind than they can actually accomplish.

“Keep track of everything you want to accomplish and then pick what you can focus on,” Kuttner advised, adding that the new leader will have to remember to “pace themselves” and not burn out trying to address everything at once.

“Just be sustainable about your energy because you will have to keep it up for a while,” said Kuttner.

As for the concern raised by May—the only leadership candidate currently sitting in the House—that the party will continue to become “less relevant” without a leader who is sitting in Parliament, Kuttner said, to them, that isn’t a big concern.

While other parties or the media may take the leader less seriously without a seat in Parliament, Kuttner said it won’t effect whether the leader can do their job.

“There’s something to be said for the attention you get and the ability to work across party lines and in the back rooms of Parliament, but I don’t think they need to be elected immediately,” Kuttner added. “We’ll be fine.”

The stages of near-death and rebirth that the party has gone

through over the past two years were always going to be painful, said Kuttner. But after nearly a year working toward “stabilizing” the party as interim leader, Kuttner said they feel confident they will be leaving it in good hands, including those of its new executive director Kevin Dunbar—who started on the job on Nov. 15—and party president Ian Soutar, who was elected on Nov. 2.

“I feel like I planted seeds across the whole country, but it will be up to a new set of people to actually bring that garden into bloom,” said Kuttner.

The Green Party’s other elected Parliamentarian, Morrice, was praised by leadership candidate Anna Keenan, who is running to be co-leader alongside Chad Walcott, as an “effective and focused” representative of what a Green MP could accomplish, citing his work on the Canada Disability Benefit.

Morrice, who spoke with *The Hill Times* on Nov. 10 before joining the Canadian delegation to COP27, said the new leader will need to continue to do what Greens that have been successful electorally, both provincially and federally, have done: focusing on the priorities of the Canadians living in the communities they hope to represent.

“It is so critical that, as Greens, we put democracy ahead of politics, and we focus on Green values, from respect for diversity to social justice to participatory democracy,” Morrice explained. “Whether it is urgent action required on the climate crisis, justice for people with disabilities, addressing the housing crisis in meaningful ways, or turning down the partisanship—all of those approaches and priorities are what Greens are known for across the country.”

Morrice also said he isn’t concerned with whether or not the next leader has a seat in Parliament immediately after the election, but said when the opportunity comes, it will be important for them to demonstrate their electability in whatever riding they hope to represent.

What will be more important for the “next season” of the party under the new leader, said Morrice, will be amplifying the work of the caucus and the priorities they’ve been working on, including addressing climate change, the housing crisis, and providing a guaranteed liveable income for Canadians with disabilities.

“That’s a big part of what I’m hoping to see [the Green Party] can build from after this,” said Morrice.

## New leader needs to ‘strengthen perspective’ on policies that matter to voters, make ‘new first impression’

The first test for the new leader could come in a little more than three weeks, with a by-election in the previously Liberal-held riding of Mississauga-Lakeshore, Ont., scheduled for Dec. 12.

The Green candidate in that race, Mary Kidnew, who founded the party’s Mississauga-Lakeshore riding association and received the nomination in July, prior to the start of the leadership campaign, said both May and leadership competitor Sarah Gabrielle Baron have already been “very supportive” of her campaign. Kidnew said Baron had reached out to offer support from “day one” of her nomination.

While Kidnew thanked both Baron and May for the “shout outs” during the recent leadership debate, she declined to say who was her

favourite out of the six candidates, but said whoever the next leader is, they will need to “strengthen the perspective” of the party to show Canadians that Green candidates represent more than just a vote to protect the environment.

“I don’t want to say we’re not just about the environment—we are about the environment—but that we’re about understanding that it’s all connected,” Kidnew explained. “Our economy, our well-being, our future is all connected, and we have to take care of each other.”

Kidnew said that the party needs to demonstrate that it isn’t a one-issue party focused on the environment, but rather that it’s the “lens” through which it views the issues that matter to Canadians.

“The lens is how we look at things, and Greens look at things differently,” she said.

As for what the party as a whole will need to do in order to give itself, and Kidnew, the best chance at adding another seat, or at the very least, mounting a competitive campaign, Kidnew said the party hasn’t waited for a new leader to rally behind her.

“I’ve already gotten so much from the party,” Kidnew told *The Hill Times*, adding that she’s already received messages from party members from “coast to coast” offering to make calls to voters or donate financially to the campaign.

Kidnew said from her perspective, the party is already re-united, and it will be the job of the new leader to get that message out to voters.

“It’s about getting that perspective out that we are together, and we’re all moving forward,” Kidnew said.

Sean Yo, who worked on Paul’s leadership campaign and ran her unsuccessful 2020 by-election bid in Toronto Centre, Ont., said now is the Green Party’s “moment” to step up to the job it’s been working to “earn for a long time now”: getting elected to Parliament.

Yo, who also ran Mike Schreiner’s successful 2018 campaign to become the first Ontario Green MPP, said the new leader will need to hit the ground “sprinting” towards getting the party prepared for the by-election, which he said will be a very important test as their first opportunity to show they’re up to the challenge.

The other key to success for the leader will be to begin making a “strong and effective connection with the grassroots members, federal council, and local EDAs [electoral district associations].”

“The leader needs to have strong relationships across the board,” Yo explained, adding that task could be less challenging if one of the two co-leadership teams are elected.

“Our message is going to be around climate and protecting the people and places we love, and earning the trust and the vote of Canadians,” said Yo. “I think that with the new leader, and this early test, I’m optimistic that we’re going to make a good new first impression, as we reintroduce the Green Party to Canadians.”

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## News

# Canadians' appetite for extremist organizations like Diagonon will need a 'whole-of-society approach,' say experts

'Perfect storm' of geopolitical events and two years of pandemic isolation have left Canadians looking for 'easy answers to complex questions' and someone to blame, says Barbara Perry.

Continued from page 1

seized weapons and ammunition, including a ballistic vest featuring a patch adorned with a white diagonal line on a black background, the same symbol used by followers of the Diagonon movement.

According to an RCMP intelligence report shown to the commission during testimony from Diagonon founder MacKenzie on Nov. 4, the Mounties said they believed the vest belonged to one of the accused, Christopher Lysak, who their open-source information-gathering had connected to MacKenzie through their mutual association with Diagonon.

"The militia-like network—members have repeatedly said they are armed and prepared for violence—has often expressed sentiments akin to accelerationism, viewing a coming collapse, or civil war as necessary to right the tilted course of the country," the RCMP wrote, citing articles from the Canadian Anti-Hate Network (CAHN).

MacKenzie, a former member of the Canadian Armed Forces, said the RCMP's description and Ontario Provincial Police Superintendent Patrick Morris' testimony describing Diagonon as an "extremist entity that holds extremist views," was an "Astro-turfed" narrative created by the Canadian Anti-Hate Network, which he said is not a "credible" source of information.

MacKenzie also testified that any member of the Diagonon community could have produced the patches independently and said that Lysak was simply a "long-time fan of the podcast" who he had met twice. Since then, MacKenzie testified that Lysak had called him twice from prison to "simply say 'hi.'"

In response, CAHN executive director Evan Balgord submitted



Barbara Perry, director of the Centre for Bias, Hate, and Extremism at Ontario Tech University, says that while MacKenzie may act like he doesn't take himself seriously, others do. Photograph courtesy of Barbara Perry

a sworn affidavit to the commission on Nov. 14, highlighting the CAHN's extensive work monitoring MacKenzie's hours of online content and providing numerous examples of Islamophobic and anti-Semitic comments and conspiracy theories.

In an interview with *The Hill Times*, Balgord said he and his colleagues at the CAHN were disappointed that MacKenzie's cross-examination had not sufficiently demonstrated MacKenzie's history of hateful rhetoric, including statements blaming Jewish people for starting wars and controlling the government as well as praising the Protocols of the Elders of Zion which details a conspiracy about Jewish world domination as "describing what's happening right now."

"I think that's important because when [MacKenzie] testified for the commission, we heard him talking about how he's a comedian ... about how all these things are a big joke," Balgord explained. "While [Diagonon] might use humour, I don't find it funny."

Balgord said while MacKenzie and members of the Diagonon community use "ingroup/outgroup" humour to signal who their enemies and allies are, he said there is just as much rhetoric that is far more serious, including statements that have the potential to incite violence.

While Balgord said the CAHN didn't believe it was likely MacKenzie would personally commit an act of violence—a potential made even more unlikely due to his current incarceration—he said there is a concern with MacKenzie's ability to create the

conditions to incite ideologically motivated extremism.

"They take an audience and convince them that there's an existential threat, that there are people to blame and that their grievances cannot be addressed through traditional means," Balgord said. "They convince them that violence is justified, righteous, and inevitable."

Unlike other IMVE groups, "accelerationist" communities like Diagonon don't speak about the impending violence in the usual defensive and "vainglorious" style couched in protecting family or property, but rather "with glee."

"They're gleeful because they see it as their enemies getting what's coming to them," Balgord said, pointing to examples of MacKenzie telling his viewers that journalists "deserved" the death threats they were getting or that doctors working at hospital in Boston to improve health care services for people of colour should be hung.

When asked about his comments that could be construed as inciting violence, like those cited in a Feb. 21 briefing compiled by the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, MacKenzie testified that he had been misunderstood.

"This is the good guys versus the bad guys [Canadian government]," MacKenzie is quoted as saying in the document, as well as indicating that the "showdown" had finally begun. "This is the beach, get yourself there," the document also quoted MacKenzie, explaining that "the beach" is a Diagonon reference to the Second World War and D-Day.

"I certainly didn't mean it in any kind of violent context," MacKenzie told the commission.

MacKenzie also downplayed much of the online rhetoric as "inside jokes," including a statement he made in a Feb. 15 video saying that he could not wait until the Diagonon flag is seen as a hate symbol, which he described as "tongue-and-cheek."

"We find it amusing that our, I guess, enemies ... do believe this and believe these absurd claims of ours," MacKenzie explained.

Barbara Perry, director of the Centre for Bias, Hate, and Extremism at Ontario Tech University, told *The Hill Times* that she has seen a similar defence mounted by similar "accelerationist" organizations like The Proud Boys.

"It's a hangover from the Alt-Right," Perry explained. "They've been doing it since 2014, and it's

been very successful and effective in terms of deflecting criticism."

As with Diagonon, the Proud Boys originally presented themselves as "a bunch of over-aged frat boys on a lark" who didn't take themselves seriously either, Perry said.

"But others grasped onto that narrative and claimed them as their own, just as they have now with Diagonon," Perry explained.

Originally founded in 2016 by Vice Media co-founder Gavin McInness, taking its name from the song "Proud of Your Boy" from the 2011 Broadway production of Disney's *Aladdin*, members of the Proud Boys would go on to organize and participate in the deadly 2017 Unite the Right Rally. More recently, five leaders of the group, including its former chairman, were federally indicted on seditious conspiracy charges in relation to their participation in the Jan. 6, 2021, United States Capitol Building attack. A month later, on Feb. 3, the Canadian arm of the organization folded after the federal government designated the Proud Boys as a terrorist organization.

Perry said that examining the broader trajectory of both Diagonon and MacKenzie's history of racist and anti-Semitic rhetoric online didn't strike her as genuinely unserious either.

"They take themselves seriously, and they want others to take them seriously," Perry said. "But it's all 'Wink, wink, nudge, nudge,' because they want it to fly under the radar for everyone else."

Perry said MacKenzie's record of violence and weapons charges, coupled with his racist and xenophobic rhetoric had the makings of a "very dangerous situation."

MacKenzie testified remotely on Nov. 4, from a Saskatoon correctional facility due to criminal charges in three provinces, including harassment, uttering threats, assault, pointing a firearm at another person, and 10 counts of possessing restricted firearms or prohibited magazines.

"This is not just a joke for him, this is who he is," Perry added.

## 'Significant rise' in IMVE 'lone-actor and small-cell activity' since 2019: King

Michael King, director of research for the Organization for the Prevention of Violence (OPV), told *The Hill Times* that the spreading of extremist ideas using ironic humour and memes

was a fairly unique tactic among ideologically motivated extremist organizations, which he said had been re-energized following the 2020 U.S. presidential election and the COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns.

"The spreading of their ideas via memes is a big thing and seems to be way more present among IMVE [ideologically motivated violent extremist] actors," King said, also noting the similarity in strategies between Diagonon and the Proud Boys. "It's almost like strategic learning from different generations or iterations of far-right extremists."

In September, OPV released a report outlining the changes in hate-motivated violence, extremism, and terrorism in Alberta and Canada for the past three years, beginning in 2019, which found that there had been a "significant rise" in ideologically motivated extremism and anti-authority movements in the country.

Perry also said that the Centre for Bias, Hate and Extremism had identified Quebec, western Ontario, and Alberta as three separate ideological concentrations of IMVE, they had also identified dozens of different strains with "an awful lot cross-pollination." "These are all hybrids now," Perry explained. "There are no more pure pillars within the movement in terms of racial, gendered, or religious narratives."

While more traditional white nationalist and anti-government groups like the Sons of Odin and the Three Percenters have mostly dissolved or splintered, King said that IMVE actors have begun to shift toward more "lone-actor and small-cell activity" and away from organized activities to avoid detection and make themselves less predictable.

One of the strains gaining the most traction in the country are "accelerationist" ideologies purported by groups like Diagonon, which foresee some major societal upheaval like a civil war as not only inevitable, but a desirable end state that they hope to hasten society towards, King said.

King also said that the "amorphous" nature of organizations like Diagonon allows people to pick and choose their preferred ideologies from numerous different sub-strands of IMVE.

"Someone can go livestream or put up a blog, and they don't have to necessarily subscribe to just one of the main forms of IMVE *du jour*," King added. "They're cherry-picking whatever really resonates with them."

This new "salad bar" extremism, as King describes it, also explains why it can be difficult to sift through the seemingly contradictory or misplaced grievances, including protesting provincial and municipal pandemic measures by parking trucks outside of Parliament or blockading border crossings.

As far as how to counter the rise of IMVE, Perry said it isn't be a matter of "legislating our way out," but said having regulations surrounding online hate "with some teeth" would help.

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Opinion

Feature

# With political will, long-range artillery systems are in Canada's sights

Canada is not currently in a position to produce long-range artillery systems without aid from other allies, but if there is continued political will, then those partnerships can make this a reality in 24 months.

Robert Dimitrieff

Opinion



Canadian production of long-range ballistic artillery and direct-fire systems is within reach if there is political will in Ottawa to do so. The capital investments required are actually relatively small for the strategic capabilities and capacity that can be brought online.

Many in Canada seem ill-informed about the industrial capabilities that have been developing right here at home over the past 25-plus years. While a great deal of this industrial capability has been developed to serve the energy sector, nuclear power, and other advanced manufacturing supply chains in civilian applications, this same small and medium-sized enterprise industrial base (largely found in Ontario and Quebec) is already being used to support the United States government with the Canadian Commercial Corporation Act and the Defence Production Sharing Agreement, as well as through U.S. manufacturers. That notwithstanding, the details of this reality seem to evade the radar of many in Canada.

A recent *Hill Times* column suggested that it is not possible in the foreseeable future to produce long-range artillery systems in Canada. This only illustrates that the article's author does not know what industrial capabilities and capacity exist in Canada to start with, nor are they aware of what is required and how long it will take to close the capability gap from where the Canadian industrial base is today to where it needs to be to produce this type of hardware.



Members of the 5<sup>e</sup> Régiment d'artillerie légère du Canada conduct a fire mission with an M777 Howitzer during an exercise at Second Canadian Division Support Base Valcartier in Quebec on April 6. DND photograph courtesy of Corporal Marc-André Leclerc

Canada is not currently in a position to produce long-range artillery systems without aid from other allies. The fact is this has not been done in Canada since the Korean War. Investments must be made. However, if there is continued political will across allies then partnership with the United States, the United Kingdom, and other nations—including other NATO members—with prime manufacturers who agree to share technical knowledge can make this a reality in a timeframe of 24 months or less.

The most immediate and obvious option is the M777 howitzer system. This would require Canada to partner with the U.S. and the U.K., and to make commercial arrangements with designer BAE Systems. This option would be of immediate value to Canada and three of the other Five Eyes allies who have all sent M777 howitzers to Ukraine, while also using the M777 in their own defence forces.

All of this, of course, will require our allies to agree that there is value in Canadian participation. Given the current geopolitical situation, a strong case can be made.

Such an arrangement would allow Canadian industry to dovetail with existing supply chains, providing both surge capacity and risk mitigation by way of an alternative path of critical production for the shared global fleet of howitzers.

The question to pose to those in government is: does Canada recognize the strategic imperative to invest in closing this capability gap today, so as to be capable of delivering support for these types of systems and options to both the Canadian Armed Forces and allies in two years' time?

The global industry currently supplying these weapons systems to Ukraine in support of its bid to defend itself against Russian aggressors is already strained and operating at full capacity. Industry in Canada can do nothing about this without government as a partner. The question is: is there a legitimate need to "mobilize to a wartime footing"?

Canadian industry stands ready to mobilize its collective energy and capability in support of Canada's national and international interests. It is outright wrong to believe that Canada has nothing more to offer in the foreseeable future.

Robert Dimitrieff is CEO of Patriot Forge Co., the largest metal forging producer in Canada.

The Hill Times

# Remembrance Day in Ottawa

The Hill Times photographs by Sam Garcia



Wreaths are set-up in front of the National War Memorial for the Remembrance Day ceremony in Ottawa on Nov. 11.



Veterans march down Elgin Street to the War Memorial.



RCMP officers in the parade down Elgin Street to the National War Memorial.



Veterans Affairs and Associate Defence Minister Lawrence MacAulay.



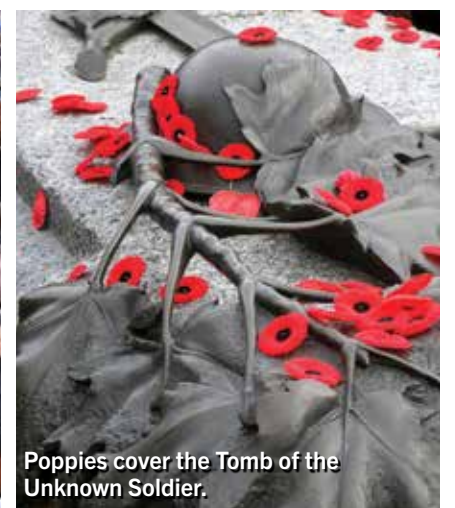
Chief of the Defence Staff General Wayne Eyre.



German Ambassador to Canada Sabine Anne Sparwasser was among the dignitaries in attendance.



The crowd surrounds the Tomb of the Unknown soldier to lay their poppies.



Poppies cover the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.



Laura Ryckewaert  
**Hill Climbers**

# Policy adviser exits for revenue, innovation ministers



National Revenue Minister Diane Lebouthillier, left, and Innovation Minister François-Philippe Champagne have both recently bade farewell to policy advisers in their ministerial offices. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

Plus, Transport Minister Omar Alhabra has promoted a new press secretary in his office, and there are additions to note for Heritage Minister and Quebec Lieutenant Pablo Rodriguez.

National Revenue Minister **Diane Lebouthillier** and Innovation, Science, and Industry Minister **François-Philippe Champagne** have both said goodbye to policy advisers in recent weeks.

**Jonas Fadeu** left the revenue minister's policy team at the end of September after roughly four months on the job. Before joining Lebouthillier's office, Fadeu had been an articling student with the Montreal law firm Desmarais Desvignes Crespo.

**Jessica Morrison** continues as director of policy to Lebouthillier.



Madwa-Nika Cadet is now the Liberal MNA for Bourassa-Sauvé, Que. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

Lebouthillier also recently bade farewell to **Wei Shu Wang**, who, up until October, had been assistant to the minister's parliamentary secretary, Liberal MP **Peter Fragiskatos**. Wang, who's been the national finance chair for the Young Liberals of Canada since June, had joined the revenue minister's office at the beginning of this year.

A new assistant to the parliamentary secretary has yet to be hired. Similarly, the office is still in need of a new director of communications, with parliamentary affairs director **Andrew Richardson** continuing to act in that role following **Justine Lesage's** departure for the private sector in late August. **Chris MacMillan** continues as press secretary to Lebouthillier, whose office is run by chief of staff **Faizel Gulamhussein**.

In Champagne's office, policy adviser **Madwa-Nika Cadet**, who was recently on maternity leave, has officially left the minister's office after being elected to sit as a Liberal member of Quebec's national assembly on Oct. 3.

Cadet ran in the provincial riding of Bourassa-Sauvé and won over the second-place Coalition Avenir Québec (CAQ) candidate by a margin of 15.1 percentage points, or 3,655 votes. The seat was previously represented by Liberal MNA **Paule Robitaille**, who opted not to seek re-election. The Quebec Liberals won 21 out of the national assembly's 125 seats, down from 27 prior to the election. Premier **François Legault's** CAQ picked up 14 seats to reach a total of 90.

Cadet had been working for Champagne since the end of 2020. She previously worked as a lawyer with *Professionnels en prévention et règlement des différends* in Montreal, as an associate with *Dentons*, and as a legal analyst with the World Bank Group, among other past jobs.

**Boyan Gerasimov** is director of policy to the innovation minister, and continues to oversee: senior policy advisers **Kevin Deagle** and **Peter Opdam**, and policy advisers **Bianca Hossain**, **Shahad Khalladi**, and **Jaxson Khan**.

**Ian Foucher** is acting chief of staff to Champagne.

## New press secretary for Transport Minister Alhabra

Transport Minister **Omar Alhabra's** office has had a change in press secretaries, with **Nadine Ramadan** recently promoted to the role following **Laurel Lennox's** exit.

Lennox had been working for Alhabra since January 2021 and was promoted from issues management and legislative affairs adviser to press secretary this past spring. Lennox previously interned in the transport minister's office over the summer of 2020, under then-minister **Marc Garneau**, after which she worked as an assistant in Garneau's Hill office as the Liberal MP for Notre-Dame-de-Grâce-Westmount, Que., for a few months. During the 2021 federal election, she worked on Garneau's successful re-election campaign.



Ramadan joined Alhabra's office in February as an issues manager, and now wears the title of press secretary and communications adviser to the minister. She's a former assistant to Emergency Preparedness Minister **Bill Blair** as the Liberal MP for Scarborough-Southwest, Ont., and a former constituency assistant to now-Liberal MP **Michael Coteau** during his time as the Ontario MPP for Don Valley East, Ont.

Among other past jobs, Ramadan worked as a compliance analyst with the



Nadine Ramadan is now press secretary to the transport minister. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*



Heritage Minister and Quebec Lieutenant Pablo Rodriguez has a couple of new faces in his office. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy's G70 and G20 research groups and a clinical research assistant with the University Health Network while working towards a bachelor's degree in neuroscience, psychology, and history at the University of Toronto. She was also involved with two publications at the school: *The Varsity* newspaper, where she spent time as both lead copy editor and science writer, and Victoria College's *The Strand* newspaper, for which she was co-editor of the science section.

**Valérie Glazer** continues as director of communications to Alhabra.

Plus, **Lana Abu Lughod** has been hired as an executive assistant to both Alhabra and his chief of staff, **Mike Maka**. She's a former assistant to Mississauga-Erin Mills, Ont., Liberal MP **Iqra Khalid**.

Heritage Minister and Quebec Lieutenant **Pablo Rodriguez** also has some new staffers on board, including **Malachy Schwartz**, who joined the minister's heritage team as a special assistant for digital media on Sept. 20.

Schwartz spent the summer as a communications intern in the Liberal research bureau and graduated with a bachelor's degree in political science and photography from Concordia University in 2021.

**Sarah Lezmy**, who'd been a communications adviser to Rodriguez as Quebec lieutenant since July 2021, moved over to his heritage team in September. A former assistant to Quebec Liberal MP **Peter Schiefke**, Lezmy tackled communications and digital media for Rodriguez's successful 2021 re-election campaign in Honoré-Mercier, Que.

**Malek-Michel Jamali** has in turn joined Rodriguez's Quebec team as a new communications adviser. He was previously a special media manager to Agriculture Minister **Marie-Claude Bibeau** and marked his first day in Rodriguez's office on Sept. 12.

A former constituency assistant to Quebec Liberal MP **Angelo Iacono** and Treasury Board President **Mona Fortier** as the Liberal MP for Ottawa-Vanier, Ont., Jamali had been working for Bibeau since February.

**Ashley Michnowski** is communications director to Rodriguez as heritage minister, while **Jacques Martineau** oversees the Quebec communications team. **Laura Scalfidi** is press secretary to the minister.

**John Matheson** is chief of staff for Rodriguez's heritage office, and **Geneviève Hinse** is in charge of the Quebec lieutenant team.

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*The Hill Times*

## Greens to announce new leader on Nov. 19

MONDAY, NOV. 14—  
WEDNESDAY, NOV. 16

**Beyond Resettlement**—Carleton University hosts a conference, “Beyond Resettlement: Exploring the History of the Ugandan Asian Community in Exile,” from Nov. 14-16. In commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the expulsion of Asians from Uganda, this conference will explore the historical context of the expulsion, Canada’s response and reception of a large number of these refugees, the larger diaspora of Ugandan Asian refugees, and the lived experiences of the community in Canada over the past 50 years. This event will take place at Carleton University. Visit [carleton.ca/uganda-collection/program/](http://carleton.ca/uganda-collection/program/) for information and to register.

TUESDAY, NOV. 15—  
WEDNESDAY, NOV. 16

**Infoway Partnership Conference**—Health Minister Jean-Yves Duclos will take part in Canada Health Infoway’s 2022 Infoway Partnership Conference from Nov. 15-16. Other participants include Dr. Stephen Lucas, deputy minister of Health Canada; Dr. Alike Lafontaine, president of the Canadian Medical Association; and Steven Posnack, deputy national co-ordinator, U.S. Health Information Technology. This event will take place at Le Westin Montreal. To register, visit: [infoway-infouroute.ca](http://infoway-infouroute.ca).

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 16

**House Sitting**—The House returns on Monday, Nov. 14, and will sit for five straight weeks, Nov. 14-Dec. 16, every weekday. And that will be all for the House calendar for 2022.

**Public Order Emergency Commission Hearings**—The Public Order Emergency Commission, headed by Paul Rouleau, began on Oct. 13, and will run until Nov. 25. The hearings will take place every weekday at 9:30 a.m. ET and may run until 6 p.m. or later if required. For more information: [publicorderemergencycommission.ca/public-hearings/](http://publicorderemergencycommission.ca/public-hearings/) And for general inquiries about the commission’s mandate, please contact [info@poec-cedu.gc.ca](mailto:info@poec-cedu.gc.ca).

**Talk by Patricia Gauthier**—The Chamber of Commerce of Metropolitan Montreal hosts a luncheon presentation in French with Patricia Gauthier, president of Moderna Canada, who will explain how Moderna chose Greater Montreal as the location for its new plant and how it will help Canada be better prepared for the next pandemic. This event will take place at Le Centre Sheraton, 1201 René-Lévesque Blvd. West, on Wednesday, Nov. 16, 11:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. Visit [ccmm.ca](http://ccmm.ca) to register.

**Book Launch**—The Bill Graham Centre for Contemporary International History hosts the launch of David A. Wilson’s new book, *Canadian Spy Story: Irish Revolutionaries and the Secret Police*. Wilson takes readers into a dark and dangerous mid-19th century world of betrayal and deception, spies and informers, invasion and assassination, from Canada to Britain where a group of Irish revolutionaries, known as the Fenians, set out to destroy Britain’s North American empire. This event will take place at the Vivian and David Campbell Conference Facility, 1 Devonshire Pl., Toronto. Wednesday, Nov. 16, 4-6 p.m. Register to attend online or in person at [billgrahamcentre.utoronto.ca](http://billgrahamcentre.utoronto.ca).

**Music Night on the Hill**—Music Canada and SOCAN are hosting a Parliament Hill Reception on Wednesday, Nov. 16. The reception, titled “Music Night on the Hill—Nuit de la musique sur la Colline,” will celebrate Canada’s



The Green Party will turn the page on the interim leadership of Amita Kuttner, with results announced for the next elected leader beginning at 8 p.m. on Nov. 19. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

dynamic and growing music industry. There will be live performances by Savannah Ré, Aysanabee, and Lili-Ann De Francesco. Guests will meet with the creators, artists, labels, music publishers, and others driving our music ecosystem. Doors open at 5 p.m. Register via Eventbrite.

**Indigenous Language Revitalization Reception**—MPs are invited to a special evening in recognition of Indigenous Language Revitalization and the First Nation Education Foundation, a unique collaboration with First Nations communities to preserve and revitalize at-risk Indigenous languages. This event will be hosted by the Progressive Contractors Association and Christian Labour Association of Canada. Room 403, Wellington Building, Ottawa, Nov. 16, 5-7 p.m. Invitation only: [info@mapleleafstrategies.com](mailto:info@mapleleafstrategies.com)

**Women in Diplomacy**—Reem Alkhaled, ambassador of Kuwait to Canada and chair of Women Heads of Diplomatic Missions of Ottawa, and the University of Ottawa host a panel discussion on “Women in Diplomacy.” Speakers include Alkhaled, Moroccan Ambassador Souriya Otmani, Netherlands Ambassador Ines Coppoolse, Malaysian High Commissioner Anizan Siti Hajjar Adnin, and Panamanian Ambassador Romy Vasquez Morales. This event will take place in Room 4007, Faculty of Social Sciences, 120 University Priv. Wednesday, Nov. 16, 6-7:30 p.m. Register via Eventbrite.

**Cosmic Thread**—The Embassy of Colombia in Canada hosts the “Cosmic Thread” fashion show featuring Colombian fashion designer Laura Laurens’ latest collection presented in Paris in October 2022. This event will take place in the Horticultural Building, Lansdowne Park, 1525 Princess Patricia Way, Ottawa. Wednesday, Nov. 16, 6:30 p.m.

Contact [eventosecanada@cancilleria.gov.co](mailto:eventosecanada@cancilleria.gov.co).

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 16—  
FRIDAY, NOV. 18

**Science and Innovation Policy Conference**—Don’t miss the biggest science and innovation policy conference happening in Ottawa at the Westin Hotel from Nov. 16-18. Policymakers of all levels of government and leaders of science and innovation enterprises from across the country will meet to discuss the most pressing challenges in our country and their policy options. With the overarching theme of “Navigating Uncertainty; Targeting Sustainability,” the conference expects more than 1,000 participants and 350+ speakers from all sectors in 60+ panel sessions and will include a spectacular Gala Dinner. To register please visit [sciencepolicyconference.ca/registration/](http://sciencepolicyconference.ca/registration/). For more info about the conference, check out the website at [CSPC2022.ca](http://CSPC2022.ca)

THURSDAY, NOV. 17

**Canadian Web3 Council Event**—The Canadian Web3 Council invites Parliamentarians and staff for a breakfast information session on the basics of Web3 and digital assets on Thursday, Nov. 17, 8 a.m.-9:15 a.m., Room 430, Wellington Building, 180 Wellington St., Ottawa. RSVP to: [rsvp@web3canada.ca](mailto:rsvp@web3canada.ca) Invitation only.

**The Case for Supply Management and Fairer Food Systems**—McGill University hosts a lecture on “The Case for Supply Management and Fairer Food Systems.” Faculty lecturer in Canadian Studies Jodey Nurse will explore how Canada’s system of supply management in the dairy, egg, and poultry sectors has served as a bulwark against neoliberal policies and how, by generally supporting the system, Canadian

governments and citizens have accepted the idea that the state has an important role to play in sustaining rural populations, supporting family farms, and provisioning Canadians with local, affordable, and stable food supplies. This event will take place in the Faculty Club, 3450 rue McTavish, Montreal. Thursday, Nov. 17, 4 p.m. Register via Eventbrite.

**Alex Trebek Distinguished Lecture Series with Pramila Patten**—The University of Ottawa hosts a lecture, “Breaking the silence conflict-related sexual violence: the role and impact of the United Nations,” featuring Pramila Patten, under-secretary-general and special representative of the secretary-general on sexual violence in conflict, to discuss the evolution of her mandate since its establishment in 2009 as well as her strategic priorities in combating this scourge. This event will take place at the Shaw Centre, 55 Colonel By Dr. Thursday, Nov. 17, 6 p.m. Register via Eventbrite.

SATURDAY, NOV. 19

**Green Leadership Election**—The Green Party of Canada will announce its newly elected leader, wrapping up a race that officially began on June 28.

MONDAY, NOV. 21—  
FRIDAY, DEC. 2

**Pearson Centre Fall Conference**—Former New Brunswick premier Brian Gallant and Linda Silas, president of the Canadian Association of Nurses’ Unions, will co-host the Pearson Centre’s fall conference, headlined “The Urgent Challenges.” The conference, which will take place from Nov. 21-Dec. 2, will address economic and social policy issues and will involve leading experts, and business, labour and associations and elected decision-makers, the Pearson Centre

says. Over the two-week conference, the experts will talk about the economy; the future of work and post-pandemic and long-term challenges; the challenges of making e-vehicles a reality; the challenges of health care; the challenges of addressing the polarization in society and politics; and the challenges of Canada’s innovation and space agenda. For more information: [thepearsoncentre.ca](http://thepearsoncentre.ca) or [info@thepearsoncentre.ca](mailto:info@thepearsoncentre.ca)

TUESDAY, NOV. 22

**Financial System Update and Fireside Chat with Carolyn Rogers**—Bank of Canada Senior Deputy Governor Carolyn Rogers will take part in a fireside chat on “Assessment of risks to the stability of the Canadian financial system,” hosted by Young Canadians in Finance. This event will take place at the University of Ottawa, Desmarais Building, 55 Laurier Ave. E. Tuesday, Nov. 22, 12-1 p.m. Visit [ycif.org](http://ycif.org) to register.

**Canadian Essentials Book Launch**—McGill-Queen’s University Press and the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada host the launch of two new books: *COVID-19: A History*, by Jacalyn Duffin, and *Canada and Climate Change*, by William Leiss. The “Canadian Essentials” series arms politically active readers with the understanding necessary for engaging in—and improving—public debate on the fundamental issues that have shaped our nation. This event will take place at the Faculty Club, 3450 rue McTavish, Montreal. Tuesday, Nov. 22, 4-6 p.m. Register via Eventbrite.

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# DEFENCE



How effective have Canada's efforts been in supporting Ukraine during the war with Russia? Is there more the federal government could do? Could Canada have a role to play as a peacekeeping nation in negotiating a peace in the long term?

The 2022 federal budget released in April boosted spending for the Canadian military by about \$8-billion. How far off is Canada from meeting the NATO target of setting the annual defence spending to at least two per cent of GDP?

In June 2022, Canada's defence minister announced funding for Canada's continental defence capabilities, including a modernization of the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD). What is the importance of an upgrade to Canada's NORAD capabilities? What new and emerging military threats could a modernized NORAD help Canada to face?

The most recent budget promised a defence policy review, as an update of the 2017 defence policy. Is a review necessary after five years? Has Russia's invasion of Ukraine affected the need for a review, and what should be the goals of a defence policy review?

What role does the Canadian military play in addressing climate security dangers? Do the Armed Forces have sufficient resources to respond to domestic emergencies related to climate change?

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