

Gang of 24 comes up a dollar short, and a day late



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Don't expect Trudeau to take a walk in the snow



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Meanwhile, on a planet far, far away

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Exclusive opinion: inside

Exclusive news inside



# THE HILL TIMES

THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR, NO. 2171

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, OCTOBER 28, 2024 \$5.00

NEWS

## Security clearance politicking reflects a minority Parliament on its 'last legs,' say observers

BY STEPHEN JEFFERY

Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre's refusal to seek a security clearance has shown the difficult balance governments face in weighing partisan interests with national security intelligence about other parties' internal workings, according to an expert on the Westminster system.

"The government doesn't want to act on intelligence alone, wouldn't be in a position to act, and knows that whatever it does would be highly contentious and seen as partisan," said Philippe Lagassé, professor and William and Jeanie Barton Chair in International Affairs at Carleton University.

"As a result of that, the natural inclination is to try to get the leader of the opposition to be briefed so that they can act, but then the political incentives for the opposition leader don't line up."

During his appearance at the foreign interference commission on Oct. 15, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) said he had "the names of a number of parliamentarians, former parliamentarians, and/or candidates in the Conservative Party of Canada who are in engaged [in], or at high risk of, or for whom there is clear intelligence around foreign interference."

Trudeau said he had directed CSIS to "try and inform" Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.) so that he could protect the party against foreign interference attempts. But he

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NEWS

## Impasse between PM Trudeau and dissidents frustrates Liberal grassroots, and a 'distraction' to governing, say insiders



**Drama inside Grit caucus:** Pictured clockwise from top left: Grit MP Wayne Long (who wants Trudeau out), Immigration Minister Marc Miller (who defended Trudeau in scrum), Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (who wants to keep his job), Liberal MP Brenda Shanahan (national caucus chair who shut down a June request for a national caucus meeting), Treasury Board President Anita Anand (who defended Trudeau in scrum), and Liberal MP Nathaniel Erskine-Smith (who wants the drama to end). *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade. See story by Abbas Rana and Ian Campbell on p. 6

NEWS

## May calls for official public inquiry a decade after Hill shooting

BY CHRISTOPHER GULY

Ten years after Michael Zehaf-Bibeau stormed Centre Block after fatally shooting Cpl. Nathan Cirillo at the National War Memorial, Green Party Leader Elizabeth May says there should "absolutely" be an official public inquiry to reveal "the massive security failure" on that "horrific day," and that the RCMP should be removed from protecting the Parliamentary Precinct.

"I can't imagine any other modern democracy where a gunman could get into a parliament and there's no public review," said May (Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C.). "This was a very large and damaging event. There needs to be a public, common understanding of the facts from people whose memories are still good, and from those who were there at the time."

She called for such an investigation following the 10-year commemoration of Oct. 22, 2014, when Parliament Hill was in lockdown as Zehaf-Bibeau exchanged gunfire with RCMP and Commons security officers in Centre Block's Hall of Honour. The gunman was killed by shots from then-sergeant-at-arms Kevin Vickers and RCMP Constable Curtis Barrett.

In an interview with the *Ottawa Citizen* published on Oct. 18, 2024, Vickers said that he was surprised that there has not been an open, parliamentary review of that day's events, and called for the public release of all witness statements. He also called for the release of security video footage in which Zehaf-Bibeau is shown exchanging fire with Commons security officer Cpl. Maxim Malo,

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Christina Leadlay

## Heard On The Hill

# So far, 39 MPs not running in next election, or 11.5 per cent of the Commons



## MPs not running, so far



Marie-Claude Bibeau, Filomena Tassi, Nathaniel Erskine-Smith, Emmanuel Dubourg, Pam Damoff, Francis Drouin, Ken McDonald, Seamus O'Regan, Anthony Rota, Carla Qualtrough, Dan Vandal, Karen Vecchio, Ed Fast, Colin Carrie, Louise Chabot, Jean-Denis Garon, Monique Pauzé, Charlie Angus, Rachel Blaney, Carol Hughes, Alain Rayes, and Pablo Rodriguez. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade, Sam Garcia, and Cynthia Munster, House of Commons website, and courtesy MPs' offices. Artwork by Naomi Wildeboer

The next federal election is scheduled for October 2025, but it could also be just around the corner in this minority government. So far, 39 MPs are not running, or 11.5 per cent of the 338-member House.

While this number seems high, it is still fewer than the 44 incumbents who didn't run in the 2015 election. Currently, there are 22 Liberals, six Conservatives, four Bloc Québécois, five NDP, and two Independent MPs not running. In 2019, 31 incumbent MPs didn't re-offer, according to Library of Parliament data. And in the 2021 election, 29 incumbents had confirmed they would not run again, according to a list *The Hill Times* ran a month before the vote.

Here's the list of incumbent MPs not running again, broken down by party and the percentage by which they won in 2021:

There are 22 Liberals out of the 153-member caucus—or 14 per cent of the Grit caucus—not running again: **Omar Alghabra** (Mississauga Centre, Ont.) 54.2%; **René Arseneault** (Madawaska-Restigouche, N.B.) 55.2%; National Revenue Minister **Marie-Claude Bibeau** (Compton-Stanstead, Que.) 36.7%; **Pam Damoff** (Oakville North-Burlington, Ont.) 46.8%; **Francis Drouin** (Glengarry-Prescott-Russell, Ont.) 46.1%; **Emmanuel Dubourg** (Bourassa, Que.) 60.4%; **Nathaniel Erskine-Smith** (Beaches-East York, Ont.) 56.6%; **Ken Hardie** (Fleetwood-Port Kells, B.C.) 45.2%; **Helena Jaczek** (Markham-Stouffville, Ont.) 51%; **Wayne**

**Long** (Saint John-Rothesay, N.B.) 46.4%; **Lloyd Longfield** (Guelph, Ont.) 42.1%; **Ken McDonald** (Avalon, N.L.) 50.1%; **John McKay** (Scarborough-Guildwood, Ont.) 61.1%; **Michael McLeod** (Northwest Territories) 38.2%; **Joyce Murray** (Vancouver Quadra, B.C.) 43.6%; **Seamus O'Regan** (St. John's South-Mount Pearl, N.L.) 56.2%; Sport Minister **Carla Qualtrough** (Delta, B.C.) 42.3%; **Yves Robillard** (Marc-Aurèle-Fortin, Que.) 44.1%; **Anthony Rota** (Nipissing-Timiskaming, Ont.) 38.8%; FedDev Minister **Filomena Tassi** (Hamilton West-Ancaster-Dundas, Ont.) 44.3%; **Tony Van Bynen** (Newmarket-Aurora, Ont.) 43.8%; and Minister of Northern Affairs **Dan Vandal** (Saint Boniface-Saint Vital, Man.) 43.8%.

There are six Conservatives out of their 119 MPs—or five per cent of the caucus—not running again: **Colin Carrie** (Oshawa, Ont.) 39.7%; **Ed Fast** (Abbotsford, B.C.) 47.9%; **Robert Kitchen** (Souris-Moose Mountain, Sask.) 76.4%; **Ron Liepert** (Calgary Signal Hill, Alta.) 59%; **Karen Vecchio** (Elgin-Middlesex-London, Ont.) 49.9%; and **Gary Vidal** (Desnethé-Missinippi-Churchill River, Sask.) 48.8%.

There are four Bloc Québécois MPs—or 12 per cent of the caucus—not re-offering: **Stéphane Bergeron** (Montarville, Que.) 45.3%, **Louise Chabot** (Thérèse-De Blainville, Que.) 41.2%; **Jean-Denis Garon** (Mirabel, Que.) 46.5%; and **Monique Pauzé** (Repentigny, Que.) 51.7%.

There are five NDP MPs out of the 25-member caucus are not

running, or 20 per cent of the caucus: **Charlie Angus** (Timmins-James Bay, Ont.) 35.1%; **Rachel Blaney** (North Island-Powell River, B.C.) 39.5%; **Richard Cannings** (South Okanagan-West Kootenay, B.C.) 41.3%; **Randall Garrison** (Esquimalt-Saanich-Sooke, B.C.) 42.8%; and **Carol Hughes** (Algoma-Manitoulin-Kapuskasing, Ont.) 40.2%.

Two Independents who are not re-offering are **Alain Rayes** (Richmond-Arthabaska, Que.) 49.9% and **Pablo Rodriguez** (Honoré-Mercier, Que.) 60%.

## Liberal Sean Casey blows some steam off, runs a half marathon



Liberal MP Sean Casey high-fives supporters on Oct. 20. *Screen shot courtesy of Instagram*

Speaking of running—literally—Liberal MP **Sean Casey**, one of three Liberal MPs to publicly ask for Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau**'s resignation two weeks ago, decided to let off some steam when he completed the Prince Edward Island half marathon in his riding of Charlottetown on Oct. 20.

"It's been quite a week. Thought I'd go for a run," the self-described "aging runner" posted on Twitter that day along with a supercut video showing the four-term MP high-fiving supporters en route, kissing his wife **Deirdre Ayre-Casey**, and crossing the finish line.

According to Race Roster, his ran the 21.1 km route in 2:03:33. Nice pace!

## Liberal MP Kirsty Duncan returns to the House



Liberal MP Kirsty Duncan was welcomed back to the House on Oct. 21. *Screen shot courtesy of Parlvu.ca*

Another longtime Liberal MP, **Kirsty Duncan**, has also completed a marathon of sorts: cancer treatment.

She returned to the House of Commons for the first time since taking medical leave in January 2023. The five-term MP for Etobicoke North, Ont., received a standing ovation from her colleagues on Oct. 21, and spoke with a strong voice, thanking them for their support over the course of her "multiple surgeries, radiation, and ongoing chemotherapy."

"I know there are people on the Hill who have gone through cancer or are going through it now, and my heart is with you. Cancer touches all of us, and it's hard," she said. Duncan has kept people up to date on her recovery, and has posted her journey through cancer treatments and her physical workouts on social media.

## Fred DeLorey worked on Andy Fillmore's mayor bid

Here's a noteworthy political crossover: **Fred DeLorey**, who's a former Conservative Party national campaign manager, lent a hand to former Liberal MP **Andy Fillmore** in Fillmore's successful bid to be mayor of Halifax, which he won handily on Oct. 19. DeLorey was his strategic adviser.



Fred DeLorey. *The Hill Times* photograph by Cynthia Munster

"While Andy and I come from different political backgrounds, this campaign was a testament to how diverse perspectives can unite for the greater good. Congratulations to Andy and team on a well-deserved win," wrote DeLorey on X on Oct. 20. "Well done @FredDeLorey and the rest of the team," Liberal MP **Francesco Sorbara** chimed in.

## Actions speak louder than words: Bricker

Pollster **Darrell Bricker** shared his thoughts on political fundraising and messaging in an interesting six-part thread on X recently.

"To see truth in politics don't listen to what politicians, parties say, look at what they do," Bricker wrote on Oct. 19, describing how both the Conservatives and the People's Party have been "bombarding" Canadians "with paid media at a weight I can't remember seeing even during an election."

The CEO of Ipsos Global Public Affairs noted this was a testament to the right-wing parties' fundraising chops, that after 10 years in government, the "vulnerable" Liberals have "fallen so far behind CPC in fundraising they can no longer respond."

According to data from Elections Canada, so far in 2024, the Tories have raised \$20,529,162; the Liberals \$6,872,998; the New Democratic Party \$2,643,681; the Bloc Québécois \$664,804; the Greens \$777,076; and the People's Party \$380,083. Data for Q3 is expected to be published on Oct. 30. The Conservatives have a lot of cash.

The pollster said when Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** was popular, his messaging was all his party needed, but that now "what makes you strong can also make you weak."

Bricker also mused that the Liberals' leadership drama "continues to damage them," benefiting the Conservatives who are capitalizing on this with a "torrent" of "time for a change advertising."

"I have never heard a campaign say they have too much advertising," he concluded.

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January 2023

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## News

# Tripling of boreal wildfire emissions since 2001 show 'growing vulnerability' of Canada's northern forests: new U.K. study



A wildfire burns through a Canadian boreal forest in 2016. A study led by a British university found carbon dioxide emissions from forest fires had increased 60 per cent since 2001. Photograph courtesy of Stefan Doerr

Meanwhile, firefighters and wildfire survivors gather in Ottawa to call for stopping 'the problem at the source' by moving to clean energy and better forest management.

BY STEPHEN JEFFERY

Organizations converged in Ottawa last week to demand greater action to protect Canadians against climate change-caused disasters, while a new study showed carbon dioxide emissions from wildfires in the world's boreal forests—including Canada's—have almost tripled since 2001.

"If we don't act now, we'll continue to lose talent and experience. Fires will grow beyond our ability to control them, and more communities will face catastrophic losses," said Vancouver firefighter Harold Larson at an Oct. 23 press conference. "With climate change making wildfires worse,

this is not a risk we can afford to take."

Larson was among a group of firefighters and wildfire survivors who delivered petitions to parliamentarians calling for action to support wildland firefighters. As of press time, 6,824 people had signed the call for federal lawmakers to buy key equipment for paid and volunteer firefighters, train more firefighters to meet the growing demand, and to help free up provincial funds to improve pay and conditions.

The group also called for stopping "the problem at the source" by switching to clean energy and improving forest management.

Among those delivering the petitions was Jenny Saulnier, whose house was destroyed in the wildfires that swept through Nova Scotia in May 2023. She told reporters that climate change was fuelling the wildfires that would continue to threaten Canadians unless action was taken.

"If we don't act, this kind of devastation will happen again and again," she said.

The trip to Ottawa was organized by platform My Climate Plan. In a press release issued on Oct. 23, co-founder Adam Lynes-Ford said firefighters need double the resources they currently have. "They risk everything to protect us; now we must support them," he said in the release.

The delivery of the petition followed the publication of a study in *Science* that showed carbon dioxide emissions from forest fires had increased 60 per cent since 2001. In boreal forests such as those in Northern Canada, the number of emissions tripled, according to the study led by Dr. Matthew Jones from the University of East Anglia in the United Kingdom. Approximately 28 per cent of the world's boreal zone lies in Canada.

The study found that there had been a decrease in fire emissions in tropical forests mostly due to fewer deforestation fires, but that drop was outweighed by the rise in northern boreal forest fires. The increase in non-tropical forest fires amounted to an additional 500 million tonnes more than two decades ago.

Jones, who is part of the Tundall Centre for Climate Change Research at the University of East Anglia, said in an Oct. 17 press release that the study showed the importance of making progress toward net-zero emissions.

"Increases in both the extent and severity of forest fires have led to a dramatic rise in the amount of carbon emitted by forest fires globally," he said in the release. "Startling shifts in the global geography of fires are also underway, and they are primarily explained by the growing impacts of climate change in the world's boreal forests."

Beyond the immediate release of carbon emissions, wildfires outside the tropics also posed a risk for carbon storage, which was reliant on carbon being stored in forests permanently. Jones said the greater forest fire emissions showed the "growing vulnerability of forests."

"We know that forests rebound poorly after the most severe fires, so there is huge interest in how the observed increases in fire severity will influence carbon storage in forests over the coming decades," he said. "This demands our close attention."

The *Science* study is not the only recent publication that has examined the emissions from wildfires. In August, *Nature* published NASA research indicating that Canada's record 2023 wildfire season released approximately 640 million tons of carbon, more than Russia or Japan's total fossil fuel emissions in 2022. If measured as a country, the wildfires would have been fourth in terms of annual global emissions, only beyond China, the United States, and India.

Canada's 2023 wildfire season burned more than 15 million hectares, and forced the evacuation of more than 230,000 people. In comparison, this year's wildfire season to date has burned 5.4 million hectares. Despite being far lower than last year's record

season, this year would still be the second-worst since 1995 in terms of total area burned.

## Resiliency, co-ordination key themes at summit

The day before wildfire survivors and firefighters took to the Hill, Climate Proof Canada held its second National Climate Adaptation Summit in the capital, with four recommendations presented to parliamentarians.

Climate Proof Canada members include insurers, municipalities, Indigenous organizations, disaster relief groups, and environmental and research organizations.

One of the key recommendations was the immediate commitment to a whole-of-society approach to disaster preparedness, and to explore the development of a co-ordinating national emergency management agency, "where each level of government and sector enables the other to do their part to close existing capacity and capability gaps."

The organization also called for the implementation of a national recovery strategy by 2028 to ensure all levels of government established emergency management planning and processes, funding in the fall economic statement to administer the national flood insurance program for high-risk households via a new subsidiary of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, and a new education program about extreme weather protection and physical risk for homes and businesses.

Climate Proof Canada chair Jason Clark said the federal government would need to invest at least \$5.3-billion annually in the National Adaptation Strategy over the next five years.

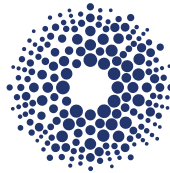
"After the most-destructive season in Canadian history for insured losses due to severe weather, it has never been more urgent to make our communities more resilient to climate change," he said.

The summit included discussions with Emergency Preparedness Minister Harjit Sajjan (Vancouver South, B.C.) and Environment Minister Steven Guilbeault (Laurier—Sainte-Marie, Que.), as well as Conservative MP Dane Lloyd (Sturgeon River—Parkland, Alta.), his party's emergency preparedness critic; NDP MP Laurel Collins (Victoria, B.C.), her party's environment critic; and Liberal MP Yasir Naqvi (Ottawa Centre, Ont.), parliamentary secretary to Health Minister Mark Holland (Ajax, Ont.).

Climate Proof Canada also awarded six communities with the 2024 Community Resilience Recognition for projects related to health and well-being, climate change, economic, housing, emergency management, and infrastructure resiliency. The recipients included Ontario's City of Hamilton and Dufferin County; Quebec's City of Beauséjour; Saskatchewan's City of Saskatoon; the Paddle Prairie Metis Settlement in Alberta; and Nova Scotia's Halifax Regional Municipality.

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# 2023 REPORT CARD ON VISION HEALTH IN CANADA



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BLINDNESS  
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## Vision health and care in Canada



**1.2M+**

Canadians live with vision loss



Vision loss has profound health, financial, and societal impacts

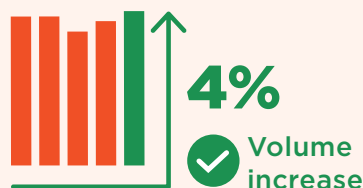


COVID-19 caused missed treatments and longer surgery wait times

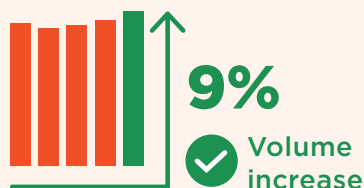
## Post-pandemic recovery of vision health care system

Comparing 2023 to 2019 data, most services have recovered but challenges remain

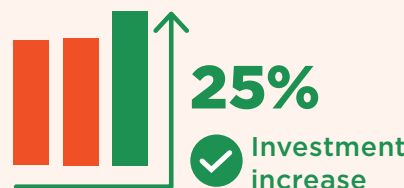
Ophthalmic day surgery



Pharmaceutical claims



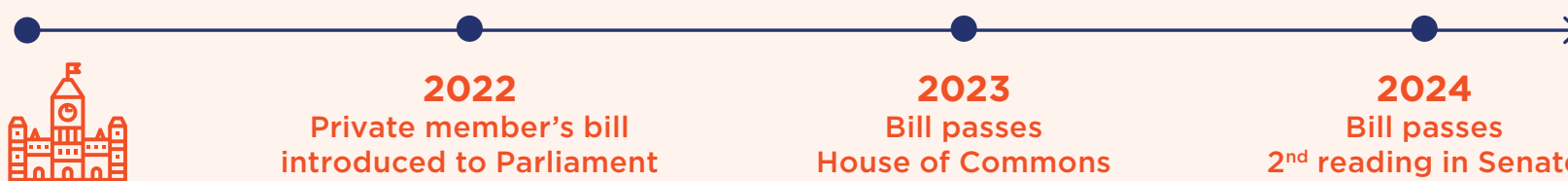
Vision research



Cataract surgery wait times



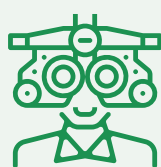
Initiated in 2022, the National Strategy for Eye Care remains unapproved as of 2024



## Emerging issues



Health care workforce shortages and supply chains



Access to regular eye exams



Role of AI in health care



Trust and access for Indigenous communities



Access to assistive devices programs

## News

# Impasse between Trudeau and dissidents frustrates Liberal grassroots, is a 'distraction' to governing, say insiders

The attempt to oust the PM at caucus was 'unorganized' and 'haphazard,' says ex-Liberal staffer Nick McRoberts, but other forms of pressure must be tried because the party can't win with Trudeau. Meanwhile, pollster Greg Lyle says the longer the infighting continues, the better it is for opposition parties, especially the NDP.

BY **ABBAS RANA & IAN CAMPBELL**

Plagued with caucus dissent, a gridlocked minority Parliament, bleak public opinion polls, and a mounting slate of domestic and foreign policy problems, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau faces an immense challenge to carry on effectively in his job.

"More and more Liberals are recognizing Trudeau can't recover, and they would like a chance of winning the next election," said pollster Greg Lyle, president of Innovative Research, in an interview with *The Hill Times*.

Lyle said the prime minister's circumstances are "only going to get worse."

"There's no scenario in which people wake up one day and say, 'You know, I was wrong about Justin Trudeau. He's got every chance of coming back and winning a majority in the next election.' That is never going to

happen," said Lyle. "It's just every day his job is going to be harder and harder."

At the Oct. 23 national Liberal caucus meeting on the Hill, 24 MPs presented a written document to Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) requesting that he step down. Liberal MP Patrick Weiler (West Vancouver-Sunshine Coast-Sea to Sky Country, B.C.) was the first to speak at the closed-door weekly meeting, and read the letter to caucus in Trudeau's presence. The document—which contained only the text of the letter, not the signatures of the 24 dissenting MPs—was later handed to the prime minister.

Liberal caucus sources say about 50 MPs spoke at the meeting, with roughly half of them in support of Trudeau, and the other half opposed to him carrying on as leader.

Some of the MPs who openly called for the prime minister to step down were Weiler, Yvan

Baker (Etobicoke Centre, Ont.), Wayne Long (Saint John-Rothesay, N.B.), Rob Oliphant (Don Valley West, Ont.), George Chahal (Calgary Skyview, Alta.), Anthony Housefather (Mount Royal, Que.), Sameer Zuberi (Pierre-fonds-Dollard, Que.), Ali Ehsassi (Willowdale, Ont.), Parm Bains (Steveston-Richmond East, B.C.), Brendan Hanley (Yukon), René Arsenault (Madawaska-Restigouche, N.B.), Chris Bittle (St. Catharines, Ont.), Sean Casey (Charlottetown, P.E.I.), Sophie Chatel (Pontiac, Que.), and Ken McDonald (Avalon, N.L.).

Among the MPs who spoke in favour of Trudeau remaining were Health Minister Mark Holland (Ajax, Ont.), and Liberal MPs Yasir Naqvi (Ottawa Centre, Ont.), Taleeb Noormohamed (Vancouver Granville, B.C.), Shafqat Ali (Brampton Centre, B.C.), Chandra Arya (Nepean, Ont.), Sukh Dhaliwal (Surrey-Newton, B.C.), Charles Sousa (Missis-

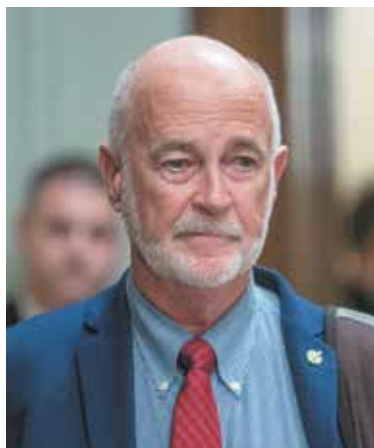
sauga-Lakeshore, Ont.), Joanne Thompson (St. John's East, N.L.), and Adam van Koevorden (Milton, Ont.).

The dissenting MPs asked Trudeau to reconsider his future, and to announce by Oct. 28 whether he planned to continue. Despite giving a deadline, they did not specify what action they would take if their demands were not met.

The following day, on Oct. 24, Trudeau told reporters he plans to stay.



Immigration Minister Marc Miller, a personal friend of Trudeau, has been one of the prime minister's most outspoken supporters. Despite previously describing the efforts to oust Trudeau as 'garbage,' he was singing a different tune after caucus, saying he was 'extremely proud' of his colleagues. 'I know it sounds a little off brand . . . but I'm extremely proud of them airing things out in private and having a frank conversation that was really truthful,' he told reporters. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Newfoundland and Labrador MP Ken McDonald has publicly said he signed a document that was circulating in the weeks before the Oct. 23 meeting aimed at getting Trudeau to resign. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



New Brunswick MP Wayne Long, who is not running in the next election, has also said he signed the document. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Liberal MP Brenda Shannahan is the party's national caucus chair. She previously shut down a late June request for a national caucus meeting following the party's surprising by-election loss in Toronto, citing 'logistical' reasons. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Innovation Minister François-Philippe Champagne said Liberal MPs had 'a great discussion. When you have a caucus, you need to hear all voices. But what really matters at the end is that we come out of that caucus meeting united, resolved in delivering for Canadians, and resolved in winning the next election.' *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Liberal MP Nathaniel Erskine-Smith declined to share any details, but described the meeting as a 'healthy' conversation. 'I think that's the worst part about some of these things, where people leak from caucus. It's unhelpful; it means that people aren't willing to share.' He said MPs must 'stop the palace intrigue' and instead 'focus on what's most important': work in Parliament, and standing up against the Poillievre Conservatives. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



After news broke of a pledge to push Trudeau out, Liberal MP Chandra Arya sent a caucus-wide email saying removing Trudeau would be a strategic error. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade





Prime Minister Justin Trudeau arrives at the House of Commons foyer before Question Period on Oct. 23, 2024. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

“As a party, we’ve always had robust discussions about the best way forward,” said Trudeau. “We’ll continue to have them with me as leader.”

In reaction, some dissident MPs said that they were under the impression Trudeau intended to seriously reflect on their feedback. They said rebuffing their request so quickly was dismissive.

“Those who made representations were numerous, were clear, and to take only one night to reflect and come back with this is [disappointing],” said one dissenting MP, who spoke on a not-for-attribution basis to candidly offer their views.

“That’s not showing that the caucus was heard. It’s ignoring the sentiments of the caucus.”

Long, another dissenting MP, told *The Toronto Star* that Trudeau “needs to reflect more. A lot more.”

“I don’t think 18 hours is enough time to really give pause,” said Long. “I honestly hoped he’d take the weekend.”

But the same day, Casey told reporters outside West Block that he was “moving on” from the push for Trudeau to resign. “There’s so much energy burned on all this, and that isn’t where it needs to be now this case is clearly closed,” he said.

“This is a decision that he had every right to make, and he made it. I did my job by voicing what I was hearing from my constituents, and now I’ve got to take my energy and direct them to winning my seat and not on internal party matters. As far as I’m concerned, it’s closed,” Casey said.

Casey said Trudeau had listened, but “he wasn’t swayed” by what was said in the caucus meeting. “Our views weren’t the only ones,” he said.

“I don’t think having this feeding frenzy for another two or three days would have helped anyone if his mind was made up anyway, so it is what it is,” said Casey.

## No mechanism to break the impasse

With no formal mechanism like the Reform Act to bring the issue to a resolution one way or the other, observers said the matter may drag on and continue to dog Trudeau, and the party as a whole.

Nick McRoberts, a former Liberal staffer from Atlantic Canada, said that grassroots Liberals in the region are feeling “frustration” with the way events are unfolding, and are worried it will lead to “a pretty catastrophic election.”

“You have the two sides coming at each other, and no one’s happy, and we’re about to go into an election season,” said McRoberts, who is now a vice-president at the consultancy Winston Wilmont. “That’s not going to resonate with voters, but most importantly, it’s not going to resonate with volunteers and donors, and that’s what wins campaigns.”

He said if the party wants to talk about winning, “or even just surviving the next election, we cannot have this tiff.”

“This process seemed highly unorganized. It seemed haphazard,” he said, describing the reaction of grassroots Atlantic Liberals to the Oct. 23 leadership challenge. He said many also viewed it as “courageous,” but “there was no threat behind asking him to leave. There was no ‘or what.’”

While it is “ultimately the prime minister’s decision,” said McRoberts, the current situation does not serve the party.

“We do still have a chance of maybe forming a minority,” said McRoberts. “That’s not going to happen under Justin Trudeau.”

He said with no mechanism to remove Trudeau by force, a better approach might be the type of persuasive pressure applied by former Jean Chrétien-era staffer Eddie Goldenberg in a recent op-ed that called on Trudeau to step down and consider other ways to serve Canada in the future.

Lori Turnbull, a political science professor at Dalhousie University, said it seems an “airing of the grievances” at caucus “did nothing.”

“It depends on whether the caucus members who are disgruntled feel that is a meaningful gesture,” she said. “Do they feel like getting whatever the heck they had to say off their chest—is that all they needed?”

If it is, she said, “perhaps it’ll all quiet down,” but if they “really believe that [Trudeau] needs to step aside ... then that accomplished nothing.”

She said a lot will depend on what happens when the dissenters self-imposed Oct. 28 deadline comes to pass. They need to “put something meaningful behind it,” she said.

Turnbull said it appears they want Trudeau “to leave on his own accord,” but that looks unlikely.

“I don’t know if [Trudeau] would leave, even if the 24 of them decided to leave caucus,” said Turnbull. “I think he’d let himself be defeated in the House before he walked away from the leadership. ... He absolutely believes that this is his position. It’s his job. He’ll decide when he leaves, not anybody else.”

That leaves the dissenters “jammed,” said Turnbull.

One of the few measures available to them to force the issue—leaving caucus or voting against the government—would only increase the likelihood of the government falling. That would cause an election while Trudeau remains leader—the very scenario the dissenters want to avoid.

“That still doesn’t really help them because then they end up in an election with him,” she said.

There is no other formal mechanism in either the party or caucus to break the impasse.

“I think not having the Reform Act is a big part driving it,” said McRoberts. “We don’t have a mechanism within the party to remove the leader unless we lose an election.”

Turnbull said with the act in place, “nobody would do a secret letter.”

“The dissenters would be better off, and Trudeau would be better off,” she said.

“There would be a decision, and everybody would have to live with it.”

Instead, she said, they’re left with “weird pressure campaigns that are ultimately going to get nowhere.”

Lyle said the longer the infighting continues, the better it is for opposition parties—especially the NDP—because they can present themselves as the best alternative for non-Conservative voters.

“If you’re the Tories or the NDP, you’re sort of sitting there going, ‘This is great. He should stay. The longer, the better,’” Lyle said.

## A distraction to governing

Turnbull said, the matter is “a distraction,” but Trudeau has tools at his disposal to keep governing in the face of dissent.

“He’s a powerful person,” said Turnbull. “He has the PMO, he has a cabinet, he has the public service working for him and his government to achieve their objectives.”

But McRoberts said there will be increased friction for the prime minister when he goes to use many of these levers, as long as questions about his leadership persist.

“This is what the narrative is going to be,” said McRoberts. “Is it an Ottawa story? Is it a bubble story? Probably. But Ottawa is where governing happens.”

The prime minister is also contending with a gridlocked minority Parliament that has been tied up for weeks by opposition parties in an ongoing privilege debate.

McRoberts said the show of unity around Trudeau in the Question Period immediately following the high-stakes caucus meeting may not indicate the day-to-day level of co-operation he will enjoy from members of his own government going forward.

“I think you’re going to be met with a lot of gridlock between MPs offices and PMO,” he said.

He added a likely exodus of senior staff from ministers’ offices will be a further drag on the government getting its work done.

“There are going to be significant personnel and interpersonal challenges that will cause, not necessarily the ability to govern, but the quality of interactions in that governance to diminish,” said McRoberts. “To the point that the prime minister might say, this is not an environment that I want to work in.”


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# Editorial

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## Editorial

### There should be a public inquiry into the 2014 Hill shooting

Last week, MPs marked the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the terrible attack on Parliament Hill, and paid tribute in the House to Cpl. Nathan Cirillo, the young man who was shot and killed by Michael Zehaf-Bibeau while he was on sentry duty at the National War Memorial on that cold, clear fall morning on Oct. 22, 2014. The tributes ranged from formal to emotional.

The prime minister, the Conservative leader, and other high-profile MPs thanked House security guard Const. Samearn Son, specifically, who was unarmed and shot while trying to stop Zehaf-Bibeau from entering Centre Block 10 years ago. Son was in the House last Tuesday to hear the tributes. They also thanked former sergeant-at-arms Kevin Vickers, who, along with RCMP Const. Curtis Barrett, shot and killed Zehaf-Bibeau. They thanked House security guards, including Alain Gervais, Joël Lepage, and Jean-Benoit Guindon, and RCMP officers on the Hill that day. NDP MP Charlie Angus praised the people who happened to be passing by the National War Memorial that morning and ran to help Cirillo: Barbara Winters, Martin Magnan, and Margaret Lerhe. Angus also got emotional remembering everything.

"I did not sleep much that night. Early the next morning, I felt the need to go to the cenotaph in the darkness to be where

Nathan Cirillo had been killed, and there were hundreds of people already there. They were there from all walks of life. I have never forgotten that moment because I thought, this is who we are as a nation. This is what we do in the face of violence. We do not return hate," Angus said.

Although there were four reviews of the Hill shooting, there was never a full-blown public inquiry. Vickers recently told the *Ottawa Citizen* that he's surprised there's never been an open, parliamentary review, and said the security video footage from that day, along with all witness statements, should be publicly released.

Green Party Leader Elizabeth May is calling for a public inquiry into security that day. "I can't imagine any other modern democracy where a gunman could get into a parliament and there's no public review," May told *The Hill Times*.

Vickers and May are right. Even though it's been 10 years, there should be a proper public inquiry into what happened that day, and all security videos and witness testimonies should be released to the public. Parliament experienced one of the darkest days in its long history, as Bloc Québécois MP Louis Plamondon put it last week, and the public should know how and why it happened so it never happens again.

*The Hill Times*

## Letters to the Editor

### The hatred in the Middle East, writes Vernon, B.C., reader

We live across the street from the local mosque, and I often look out our kitchen window and watch cheerfully energetic, young children playing in the parking lot. They're doing what most of us did when we were their age: chasing each other, riding bikes, kicking balls and other 'Let's-have-fun-together' activities. Laughter is their constant companion.

The contrast between the horror, suffering, anguish, and destruction in the Middle East is mind-boggling.

While reflecting on that seemingly endless insanity, I recalled Rodgers & Hammerstein song, *You've Got to*

*Be Carefully Taught*: "You've got to be taught to hate and fear. You've got to be taught from year to year. It's got to be drummed in your dear little ear. You've got to be carefully taught. You've got to be taught to be afraid of people whose eyes are oddly made and people whose skin is a different shade. You've got to be carefully taught. You've got to be taught before it's too late, before you are six or seven or eight, to hate all the people your relatives hate. You've got to be carefully taught."

What more is there to say?

Lloyd Atkins  
 Vernon, B.C.

### Anti-Zionism is not antisemitism: Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East

Re: "So much pain, and there's been no winners": MPs mark Oct. 7 anniversary," (*The Hill Times*, Oct. 7). The rise of antisemitism in Canada is a serious issue that warrants our attention. Unfortunately, it appears that B'nai Brith's 2023 report perpetuates the partisan effort to conflate anti-Zionism with antisemitism. In our view, the data provided by B'nai Brith is unfairly politicized. It is important to recognize that there is no inherent conflict between the fight against antisemitism and the struggle for Palestinian liberation, yet some pro-Israel advocacy groups in Canada are fostering such a divide through these misleading reports.

While B'nai Brith's 2023 report of antisemitic incidents found 5,791 examples, an investigation by Global News, which reviewed police data from major Canadi-

an cities, found just 465 incidents in the same span. One antisemitic incident is too many, to be sure, but conflating legitimate criticism of Israel with antisemitism is a dangerous and disingenuous way to advance a political agenda.

Media outlets must recognize that supporting Palestinian liberation and opposing Israel's apartheid policies are not acts of antisemitism. Media must stop blurring this distinction, as antisemitism should not be weaponized to suppress the fight for Palestinian liberation.

Lynn Naji,  
 junior analyst,  
 and

Jason Toney,  
 director of media advocacy,  
 Canadians for Justice and Peace in the  
 Middle East

### Disagree with Caddell's 'hit piece' on Elghawaby: Siddiqui

Re: "It is time for Amira Elghawaby to step down," (*The Hill Times*, Oct. 9). I am saddened and disturbed that such a reputable publication as *The Hill Times* would make space for a hit piece to be published under its prestigious label. Andrew Caddell cannot believe that Amira Elghawaby would have the gall to call out French elites in Canada. He wants to pretend they have done nothing wrong when, in fact, they

have trampled on human rights, the Charter, and sealed their disdain for freedom of religion through Bill 21.

He cannot fathom that such a society he holds near and dear is inherently bred with racism and hate. I query how Caddell would respond when faced with the imagery coming out of Gaza.

Fawad Siddiqui  
 Vaughan, Ont.



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# Don't expect Trudeau to follow his father's footsteps and take a walk in the snow this week

In last week's palace revolt, there is no heir apparent standing in the wings. Although several candidates are already preparing, including some in cabinet, there is no single juggernaut organizationally.

Sheila Copps

Copps' Corner



OTTAWA—Prime Minister Justin Trudeau dodged a bullet from his own party last week.

A document signed by 24 caucus members set out the reasons why they think he should resign. One surprise element in the doc-

ument was the deadline for his decision.

He has been told in no uncertain terms that he must make his future known one way or the other by Monday, Oct. 28.

The number of caucus members who did not sign the document is just as noteworthy as the number who did.

In a caucus of 153 members, some 130 chose not to participate in this ultimatum.

That doesn't mean that they are all happy with the leadership, no matter what cabinet members have been saying for the cameras.

With poll numbers stagnating and a 19-point gap to close with Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, many ministers and MPs are repeating privately what the dissidents said at the Liberal caucus meeting on Oct. 23.

Some are voting with their feet, decided they are not seeking re-election for all kinds of good reasons. Most of them cite family and quality of life issues, but the cloud hanging over everyone's head is winnability.

If they don't make a move soon—and drastically—they are all risking defeat in an election expected next year.

Media reports said Trudeau listened attentively to the criticism and got emotional at times when he recounted the sacrifices his own family has made on his behalf.

In his own words, the prime minister has said that his decision to continue in politics was a factor in the end of his marriage.

That is an incredible sacrifice to make, and at some point, he has to evaluate whether it is really worth it.

The past year has been an unsuccessful effort to reboot the Liberal image.

The move to shake up cabinet and bring in younger, more diverse voices has not resulted in any upswing in Liberal support.

If anything, that shakeup actually accelerated Trudeau's downward spiral as caucus grew more concerned when two relatively safe Liberal seats were lost in byelections in the key battlegrounds of Toronto and Montreal.

Trudeau has consistently refused to use paid advertising as a way to change the channel on his leadership. When he was elected in 2015, he promised to do away with government advertising that was deemed to be partisan.

But that promise is blowing up in his face as most Canadians have no idea that the federal government has introduced enhanced pharma care, national daycare, increased dental care and cross-Canada school food programs.

Liberal MP Nathaniel Erskine-Smith underscored the decision to end advertising as a mistake in a media interview after the caucus last week. He also called for an end to the "palace intrigue."

His wish may be granted as most Liberal MPs don't want to stab themselves in the back.

Back in the days of the fight between Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin, a similar letter circulated for weeks.

Martin supporters in the caucus had been working for years to smooth the way for their guy to take over, and this letter-writing campaign garnered more than 70 signatures.

The difference is that there was well-oiled machine behind the man who wanted to force Chrétien out.

Martin was widely viewed as a successful finance minister who could be a three-term prime minister himself.

In last week's palace revolt, there is no single heir apparent standing in the wings. Although several candidates are already preparing—including some in the current cabinet—there is no single juggernaut organizationally.

The Oct. 28 deadline is a recognition that the time to replace Trudeau is running short if he were to decide that he wants to step down and prompt a leadership race.

With loss of the supply-and-confidence agreement with the New Democratic Party in September, the uncertainty of an early election also has Liberal members spooked.

They know that even if Trudeau goes, the time to put together a leadership scenario is a minimum of five months, and even that is cutting it short.

They may not have five months if all opposition parties decide they want to vote non-confidence.

Trudeau exited caucus last week pledging to reporters that "the Liberal Party is strong and united."

That may be wishful thinking. They are certainly united in wanting some specific changes to how the government is getting its message out. And some simply want him out.

But don't expect Trudeau to follow his father's footsteps and take a walk in the snow this week.

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

The Hill Times

# U.S. election offers Liberals a little glimmer of hope

The presidential election results may help the Liberals, but it won't be their political salvation.

Gerry Nicholls

Post Partisan Pundit



OKAVILLE, ONT.—Despite all the bad news barraging the federal Liberals, they do have a glimmer of hope when it comes to spinning their political narrative in a more positive direction.

That "glimmer of hope" is the impending American presidential election.

No matter who ultimately triumphs in that election—whether that be Democratic nominee Kamala Harris or her Republican rival Donald Trump—the Liberals will have an opportunity to concoct a political message that could help revive their flagging fortunes.

To see what I mean, let's examine the possible political consequences of the U.S. presidential race.

First off, if Trump were to win, it would give Prime Minister Justin Trudeau a golden opportunity to ring alarm bells, to warn Canadians that right-wing populist hordes are massing on our southern border, and that now—more than ever—Canada will need a strong progressive government to safeguard our values and culture.

What's more, Trudeau would almost certainly claim that Conservative Party Leader Pierre Poilievre would be nothing but a

Trump puppet should he form the next government.

Given that polls tell us Trump is unpopular in Canada, and given that "us-versus-them" nationalistic rallying cries tend to resonate with the public, such a message from Trudeau would certainly strike a chord.

Indeed, *Toronto Sun* columnist Warren Kinsella argues a Trump victory could be a key event.

Writing on X recently, he declared, "Mark my words, Canadian Conservatives: the best and last shot the Trudeau Liberals have is Trump winning on Nov. 5. Do Not, Do Not underestimate what that means to your plans."

So, what happens if Harris wins the election?

Well, in such a case, I'd expect the Liberals to make dramatic appeals to aspirational cosmopolitanism.

Essentially, their message would be something like, "Our American cousins have turned

their backs on populism and embraced progressivism. Canadians must do the same, we must be on the right side of history."

This sort of message would play to the natural desire people have to be "on the winning team." As I like to say, voters like to be onboard a "moving train."

So yes, I guarantee you, the Liberals have already prepared a "Trump wins" message and a "Harris wins" message.

But will either be enough to turn the tide?

Of course, given all the variables at play in politics, that's a hard question to answer, but my sense is even if the U.S. election outcome does help the Liberals develop a better narrative, it still won't be enough to trigger an avalanche of Liberal support.

For one thing, a Trump victory might not actually cause widespread alarm among Canadians.

I say that because even though Trump is, generally speaking,

unpopular in Canada, according to a recent Environics poll, his support amongst Canadians has actually gone up since 2020, especially among younger men aged 18-34.

Environics executive director Andrew Parkin explained that "the expression of support for Trump (in Canada) is aligned with a general expression of dissatisfaction with the status quo."

On top of that, a recent Pollara poll indicated that 43 per cent of Canadians believe a prime minister Poilievre would be best suited to deal with another Trump presidency.

By contrast, only 24 per cent believed Trudeau would be better suited.

Hence, a Trump victory might help Poilievre.

In the event of a Harris victory, yes, that would likely inspire many Canadians, but such an emotional uplift would probably be only temporary.

After all, I suspect the "unsatisfaction" with the status quo, Parkin talked about, would quickly reassert itself.

In short, the American election results may help the Liberals, but it won't be their political salvation.

Gerry Nicholls is a communication consultant.

The Hill Times

## Comment

From the Liberal Party's point of view, the only thing worse than Justin Trudeau, pictured, remaining as prime minister is his leaving, writes Michael Harris. And the Liberals are giving Pierre Poilievre a free pass on the details of his policy by presenting Canadians with a Jerry Springer-type distraction—their internal destructive psycho-drama. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



# Gang of 24 comes up a dollar short and a day late

The cardinal rule of politics and governance is presenting a united front to the public. Rubbing their noses in the party's dirty laundry is the death march of being out of touch. Bottom line here? From the Liberal Party's point of view, the only thing worse than Trudeau remaining as prime minister is his leaving.

Michael  
Harris

Harris



**H**ALIFAX—Not to be a party-pooper, but there is not much drama in the soap opera of the Liberal Party's meltdown.

Yes, the gang of 24 has put Prime Minister Justin Trudeau between the Rock of Gibraltar and a hard place. And yes, the prime minister's claim that the party is strong and united could win the *Guinness Book of Records* for whistling past the graveyard.

Unless he is a political masochist, Trudeau may well decide to step down. And he may not. Never forget, the prime minister doesn't have to, no matter what grumpy MPs worrying less about Liberal values and more about their seats say about secret ballots to get Trudeau out of the job.

But that is not really the question anymore. Whatever path Trudeau takes, the point is this: the damage has already been done, and there is no escaping it, no repairing it. With or without Trudeau.

The cardinal rule of politics and governance is presenting a united front to the public. Rubbing their noses in the party's dirty laundry is the death march of being out of touch.

That is what the gang of 24 has done. They have texted journalists from washrooms about the latest twists and turns in this exercise of self-destruction. They have made a vote of non-confidence in their own leader public. And no matter what they call it, some of them have laid down an ultimatum for the prime minister: decide by Oct. 28 whether you plan to stay or go.

Normally, ultimatums come with an "or else." So far, the gang of 24 hasn't made clear what they plan to do if Trudeau decides to stay.

Would they vote against the government in the next non-confidence vote? Would they sit as Independents, making the minority government even more fragile? Would they just take their bats and go home?

How bad a game of chess are the dissidents playing? So bad that the Liberals will be checkmated at the next election by a guy who, by the Nanos numbers, is almost as personally unpopular as Trudeau himself. Someone who has promised powerful pay-cheques and cheaper groceries, but without saying how he would accomplish that little miracle.

Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre doesn't have to. The Liberals are giving him a free pass on the details of his policy by presenting Canadians with a Jerry Springer-type distraction—their internal destructive psycho-drama.

How foolish is it to set a deadline for the prime minister to decide his future when the government is facing the Bloc Québécois' deadline for the government to sweeten the Old Age Security to the tune of \$16-billion—or else?

There is a wise saying in politics: "don't turn one bad story into two." By putting the prime minister on the clock, the gang of 24 has turned one bad story into a week of bad stories, and that

will hurt. Who can have confidence in a government that turns on its own leader, no matter the outcome?

It is worth noting that approximately 15 per cent of caucus took to the microphones to ask Trudeau to go. A former Prime Minister's Office staffer in the government of the "Little Guy from Shawinigan" told one television network that that would be a good day back in Jean Chrétien's time. Which is just to say, politics is full of aggrievement. It is normal.

But whether you think that such a small group should be able to remove a prime minister elected by Canadians is an arguable point. What is not in dispute is that the timing of this palace intrigue could not have been worse. After years of hard slugging through the serious economic challenges, largely brought on by the pandemic, the government's policies are beginning to send up green shoots.

The Bank of Canada cut the interest rate by 50 basis points to 3.75 per cent, extending a string of four rate cuts this year. Just as important, the central bank has brought the inflation rate to 1.6 per cent, the lowest rate since February 2021, even undershooting its target of two per cent.

The government is hanging tough on its commitment to get justice for Hardeep Singh Nijjar, despite India's shameful refusal to co-operate in the investigation

into that case, and several other instances of outrageous interference in Canada. All of the good news has been drowned out by the hue and cry to get the prime minister to resign.

It is always wise to be careful what you wish for. The gang of 24 is pushing a very tricky and dangerous proposition, especially in a minority government situation. They want to change the once shiny pony in mid-stream without even a decent mule waiting in the wings to take over the job.

Trudeau may well decide to go. He's been through a lot.

Here's what that would mean for a beleaguered Liberal Party. The Grits would have to arrange a leadership convention to replace him, a process that could prove divisive, ill-timed, and likely doomed to failure.

If the new leader were to be drawn from the current cabinet, it will still be the Titanic, just another captain. Any cabinet minister who won the post has been in on every decision and policy that Poilievre has been ridiculing for years. The Conservative leader would ask what is the difference between having the organ grinder, or the organ grinder's monkey.

Bottom line here? From the Liberal Party's point of view, the only thing worse than Trudeau remaining as prime minister is his leaving.

With no obvious saviour in sight, with the knives already out for a minority government, and with the time well past to allow a leadership candidate not in caucus to establish a connection with Canadians, the gang of 24 has come up a dollar short and a day late.

*Michael Harris is an award-winning author and journalist.*

*The Hill Times*

# Canada-India tension underscores a growing threat

Governments that support human rights and freedoms shouldn't wait until their diaspora communities are at risk before they raise human rights concerns with other nations, including their allies.

Farida Deif

Opinion



“An extraordinary situation is compelling us to speak.” This was the ominous opening of an

uncharacteristically candid public statement issued by the RCMP about their ongoing investigations into the alleged role of Indian government agents in criminal activity on Canadian soil.

This newest bombshell development comes a little over a year since Prime Minister Justin Trudeau accused India of involvement in the killing of a Canadian citizen, Hardeep Singh Nijjar, a prominent Sikh separatist leader in British Columbia. The Indian government has rejected the allegations, and has long maintained that the Canadian government has failed to act against Sikh separatists who pose a national security threat to India.

The current investigations led by the RCMP and based on evidence gathered in the Nijjar case resulted in a new wave of recriminations, and the expulsion of diplomats by both countries. The latest allegations made by Canada include homicide, extortion, and other violent criminal activity.

They come amid the Narendra Modi government's escalating crackdown on critics and minority communities at home, and allega-

tions of attempting to stifle dissent beyond its borders. The United States and Pakistan have also accused Indian intelligence agencies of targeting suspected terrorists and separatist leaders for assassination in their countries.

Prime Minister Modi even boasted about these actions in an election campaign rally in May. “Today, even India's enemies know: this is Modi, this is the New India,” he said. “This New India comes into your home to kill you.”

The Indian government has also targeted its critics in the diaspora by cancelling visas of overseas Indians, and barring them from entering the country. There are also credible allegations that its agents have engaged in online disinformation campaigns against academics and activists in several countries.

These developments put into sharp focus the growing global threat of what is being called transnational repression, when governments essentially reach beyond their borders to suppress or stifle dissent. For decades, Human Rights Watch has documented how

governments target human rights defenders, journalists, civil society activists, disfavoured minorities, and political opponents deemed to be a security threat. Many victims are asylum seekers or recognized refugees in their place of exile.

The scope of the problem is staggering: a report Human Rights Watch published earlier this year documented 75 cases of transnational repression over the past 15 years by more than two dozen governments across four regions. These cases implicate authoritarian governments primarily, but also democracies like India.

In many ways, India under Modi's Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party has been emboldened by the notable rise in the nation's global standing in recent years as a key geopolitical actor. Countries including Canada, the United States, Australia, Japan, the United Kingdom, as well as the European Union have deepened economic, trade, and security ties with India. Until these cases of transnational repression surfaced on their doorsteps, governments such as Canada's were often reluctant to

publicly raise human rights concerns with the Modi government.

This was clearly a misstep, the impact of which is now being felt. But there is still time for governments to correct course. The RCMP set up a multidisciplinary team back in February to investigate and co-ordinate a response to the Nijjar case. Diaspora communities at risk should not have to wait until an extreme violent crime—like an assassination—is committed before these task forces are formed. Care also needs to be taken to ensure that such efforts do not serve to repress and undermine the rights of the very communities they seek to protect.

The breadth and scope of transnational repression necessitates a concerted effort by governments to establish a national system to investigate cases along with specialized training for policymakers, diplomats, and bureaucrats about ongoing threats.

These steps are critical in ensuring that diaspora communities find genuine safety for themselves and their families wherever they live. Governments that support human rights and fundamental freedoms shouldn't wait until diaspora communities in their own countries are at risk before they're willing to raise human rights concerns with other countries, including their allies.

Farida Deif is the Canada director at Human Rights Watch. *The Hill Times*

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## Opinion



Forest fires in Alberta in 2023. This mitigation failure and regression is happening as the climate science is telling us that climate change is accelerating. Climate change is now an existential crisis, writes Bill Henderson. Photograph courtesy of Cpl. Marc-André Leclerc, DND

# Mitigation failure: slip-sliding away

As things worsen and slip-sliding away gets impossible, real mitigation will eventually be considered and then—if the disaster chaos doesn't make it impossible—implemented. But not bending the curve early enough will mean doing the right thing will happen far too late.

Bill Henderson

Opinion



GIBSONS, B.C.—“The planet is warming at a record pace. So why are many companies retreating from their climate targets?”

read the headline of a recent CBC article.

Seems like many big firms including Microsoft, Shell, and Volvo, for example, are having a hard time decarbonizing; they made bold promises to meet climate targets, and are now finding meeting these targets either difficult, costly, or even unattainable.

Sort of like governments globally. Most governments are not meeting their nationally determined contributions, their emission targets, and—as we see in Canada—politicians are running campaigns that reduce mitigation as being too costly, or too “woke.”

According to a new paper from mostly Canadian authors in *Communications Earth & Environment*, climate scientists must be looking at the biz guys and at governments because, according to this survey, most expect that we will not effectively mitigate, and that our continuing use of fossil fuels will take us past 2C of warming with more than half expecting a rise in global mean temperature of at least 3C this century. (And the climate scientists surveyed—all IPCC authors and participants—are conservative, not alarmists.)

This mitigation failure and regression is happening as the climate science is telling us that climate change is accelerating. The temperature rise over the past two years has been gobsmack-

ingly bananas. Climate change is now an existential crisis.

After decades of increasing emissions, we have raced to exceed the 1.5C guardrail; we are abutting an uninhabitable ceiling in parts of the world; extreme weather is already a major threat in more vulnerable countries, an escalating damage and costs problem in developed nations, and a growing threat to the global economy; and we are dangerously close to if not over thresholds where feedbacks threaten major abrupt climate change and/or “Hothouse Earth.”

And new, improving climate science is suggesting that catastrophic warming predictions may be more plausible, and that IPCC mitigation scenarios haven't emphasized the importance of immediate emission reduction versus overshooting and then returning to below 2C mitigation targets later in the century.

So we should be accelerating emission reduction, but globally we are backing away from the imperative, immediate mitigation.

What's going on here?

How about: because economic and governmental decision-makers procrastinated and wasted at least two decades before Paris, mitigation became a Herculean task that was not possible in economic and political business-as-usual.

After the Paris Accord and the IPCC special 1.5 paper, everyone agreed that we had to bend the curve with effective emission reduction to stay somewhat safe below a 2C temperature rise and as close to only a 1.5 rise as possible. But the procrastination lesson was not learned, and we stayed in pretend mitigation. We didn't confront the basic underlying problem of fossil fuel production and use.

The energy transition conception of mitigation is ineffectual: energy transitions historically take far longer than our target deadlines and are additive—the new sources of energy do not displace but add to existing fuels. Emissions have continued to climb despite rapid renewable capacity growth.

For only one simplified example, in the energy transition conception of mitigation, we need half the vehicles on the road globally to be EVs by 2030 to halve vehicular emissions. This is clearly not possible. Better to quietly change the targets.

The only mitigation possible in the economic and political status quo is pretend mitigation, and now business and governments are giving up on even pretending. There is no way that renewable capacity can be built fast enough and integrated into electrical power systems to meet our targets, and keep a fossil fu-

el-based socio-economy running. Fossil fuels will not be displaced in a world where the demand for energy continues to grow and is essentially limitless, and where investment in fossil fuel production is increasing.

So business and governments are backing away from their climate pledges.

Even as we're learning that the risks and dangers are far, far worse than we imagined in 2015 at Paris. And we should have learned the lesson that each year of not meeting our climate targets just steepens the curve of what we must accomplish to get climate back under control.

The only real solution—but not allowed to even be considered—is emergency government, nationally and globally, to unblock for needed action, and a regulated wind-down of all fossil fuel production and use on a new draconian carbon budget schedule. An emergency powering down must require the government supported evolution of a new, post-fossil fuel socio-economy where we do more with much less energy and material throughput.

This has been the only real solution, the only path to safety, from at least the turn of the millennium.

Not possible; a hallucinatory dream; not compatible with reality. Heresy in our it's-the-economy-stupid politics.

As things get worse and slip sliding away becomes impossible, real mitigation will eventually be considered and then—if the disaster chaos doesn't make it impossible—implemented. But not bending the curve early enough will probably mean that doing the right thing will happen far too late.

Bill Henderson is a long time climate activist.

The Hill Times

# Meanwhile, on a planet far, far away

The enemy without—climate change, of course—is scratching at the window, unheard and ignored. In one way or another it's coming for us all.

Susan Riley

Impolitic



**C**HELSEA, QUE.—The political scene today—on this continent, for sure—too often sounds like a high-volume donnybrook, a Wide World of Wrestling triple bill, featuring wild accusations, vulgar name-calling, mutinous plots, and dire threats against various minorities and “the enemy within.”

Meanwhile, the enemy without is scratching at the window, unheard and ignored. That “enemy,” of course, is climate change and it is coming for us all in one way or another. It really doesn't care how you vote. It doesn't care how many conferences you hold, or multi-year targets you set, or axe-the-tax-wielding rivals you excoriate.

It is, quite literally, at our doorsteps. Yet, campaigning politicians of almost all stripes stick to their talking points, blinders firmly secured. True, they mention other pressing issues—from health care to housing to the Middle East—but they seem more focused on trashing one another and peddling false stories. Climate change doesn't make the cut. Too serious. Not enough fun.

Last week, British Columbia came within a seat or two of electing a Conservative government headed by long-time climate nay-sayer John Rustad, while flood waters raged through parts of Vancouver.

It isn't British Columbia's first costly climate emergency. In recent years, it has experienced everything from damaging wild fires, to destructive floods and landslides, to a deadly heat dome, to a now-regular series of “atmospheric rivers,” which aren't as romantic as they sound.

All forgotten. Judging by headlines, climate was downplayed in the recent campaign, which delivered a sharp rebuke to David Eby's New Democratic Party government.



David Eby, left, Donald Trump, Justin Trudeau, Kamala Harris, David Rustad, Pierre Poilievre, and Danielle Smith. Politics is a thankless business, so perhaps we shouldn't begrudge our leaders the fun they are having with issues like foreign interference, Trump's admiration for Hitler, Rustad's flirtations with crazy conspiracies, or Shakespearean plots within the federal Liberal caucus, just to name a few. But for the next campaign, they should maybe get themselves a row-boat and flame-retardant clothing. Just in case. Photographs courtesy of Wikimedia Commons/Flickr/British Columbia Government and The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade, illustration by Neena Singhal

As I write, the final seat count is unknown, although—in a delicious comeuppance—the two Green Party members elected may end up holding the balance of power, and with it an opportunity to bring climate issues to the fore. As to Eby and Rustad, there isn't much daylight between them on a couple of key climate policies, notwithstanding differences in tone.

Both are ready to ditch B.C.'s pioneering carbon tax, despite generally favourable reviews since a right-leaning provincial government introduced it in 2008. For Eby, the provincial tax goes if the federal tax does, although he says he will maintain the more effective B.C. tax on large emitters. For Rustad, the provincial tax goes immediately, along with an expected overall loosening of environmental regulations.

Rustad was booted from the centre-right B.C. Liberal Party in 2022 for questioning climate science. He has repeatedly said he believes climate change is real, but “it is not a crisis. It is not an existential threat.” It is just something that is happening, and there's not much one province can do about it.

Eby's rhetoric is much stronger, but, like Rustad, he supports expanding the province's LNG industry, despite recent reports that exported liquified, fracked gas has a larger carbon footprint than coal. Another non-issue in a campaign that centred on housing affordability, cost-of-living, and

other “pocketbook” issues—all of concern, and all impacted by a changing climate.

As defeated Green Party MLA Sonia Furstenu told reporters: “It is a strange time in politics when, during an atmospheric river, people came out to vote for a party that's denying the reality of climate change.” Denying the urgency of the crisis, at least, as their rubber boots fill with floodwater.

This obliviousness is many times worse in neighbouring Alberta. Premier Danielle Smith has waged war on every federal climate initiative, including some—like setting targets for methane emissions—that the oil and gas industry has accepted. Indeed, Alberta has achieved its 2025 methane emissions reduction goal three years early.

However, having vigorously opposed a federal attempt to reduce emissions from fossil gas used to generate electricity, Smith has now turned her sights on a long-promised, long-delayed, federal pledge to put a cap on greenhouse emissions from the oilsands. This is considered key if Canada is ever to meet its climate goals, given that 40 per cent of national emissions come from Alberta's oil and gas industry. But Smith's focus isn't policy, and it certainly isn't climate change: it's the fight.

Even more progressive provincial premiers—including Manitoba's Wab Kinew and newly elected New Brunswick premier Susan Holt—are shunning the

federal carbon tax and, in both cases, have campaigned on removing provincial fuel taxes. While this will offer some relief to drivers—although the cost of gasoline has declined markedly in recent months—it will do nothing to encourage people to switch to EVs, or public transit (where those options exist). In provinces with rural populations that are dependent on vehicles and who are scattered over long distances, cheaper gasoline is a boon, but it does not exactly scream “energy transition.”

These very rural and northern constituents are often on the front lines of climate disaster, and that costs, too, in the form of burned out communities, flooded farmland, and large swathes of forest destroyed. Outside of cities, climate change often puts livelihoods at risk, not just suburban basements or back gardens.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's federal government continues to negotiate climate action with recalcitrant premiers—including Doug Ford who has recently declared war on bike lanes!—with dwindling results. Even the federal NDP, along with most provinces, has turned on the carbon tax, a modestly useful tool which has been successfully demonized by Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre.

The depressing irony, of course, is that while Trudeau is cast as an enemy of oil and gas, the sector has grown faster under his regime than it did

when Stephen Harper was PM. That is the result of many factors in a notoriously volatile industry, but there is no doubt the pipeline Trudeau bought in 2012 from some itinerant Texans has expanded production of crude oil in Alberta, and by extension, associated greenhouse gas emissions. After six months operation, the newly enlarged pipeline has boosted Alberta's oil production to a record five billion barrels per day with growth projected to continue until 2025.

Bay Street loves it, as do the oil giants, and the increased production is predicted to add 0.2 to 0.4 to the national GDP. That isn't likely to look as comforting when the final \$34-billion bill for the pipeline expansion comes due. Already, oil and gas producers are objecting to higher tolls and, based on the power that industry wields, taxpayers will no doubt be stuck with the cost.

Meanwhile, three days after Hurricane Helene briefly interrupted the American presidential election, Donald Trump declared climate change “one of the great scams of all time.” (And he should know.) He also summoned 20 top United States oil executives to Mar-a-Lago last April, and told them if they raised \$1-billion for his campaign, he would role back any environmental regulations that interfered with their exploding profits. (Speaking of exploding, Trump has also gone on improvised rants about dangerous electric-powered boats and combustible hydrogen cars.)

This is unsurprising: more disappointing to anyone who would like the floods, fires, hurricanes and perishing heat spells to slow down rather than accelerate is Kamala Harris' studied avoidance of climate issues. She was against fracking in 2019, but has flipped, supposedly to win Pennsylvania (although Joe Biden won the state despite a commitment to transition away from oil and gas in the last election.)

If Harris were to win, she is expected to continue Biden's expansive climate policy—described as the Inflation Reduction Act to make it more palatable—which includes generous subsidies for clean energy and a pause on new LNG projects until associated methane emissions can be dealt with. Despite that, the U.S. continues to export more oil and gas than any country and, like Canada, is working at cross purposes in pursuit of two goals: a clean environment without noticeable economic sacrifice for ordinary people.

Politics is a thankless business, so perhaps we shouldn't begrudge our leaders the fun they are having with issues like foreign interference, Trump's admiration for Hitler, Rustad's flirtations with crazy conspiracies, or Shakespearean plots within the federal Liberal caucus just to name a few.

But for the next campaign, they should maybe get themselves some row-boats and flame retardant clothing. Just in case.

Susan Riley writes regularly for The Hill Times.

The Hill Times

## Opinion

# It's time for the House to admit it was wrong, and to move on

There is no constitutional basis in the law, powers, and privileges of the House to order documents to be given to the RCMP through the Office of the Law Clerk, particularly when there's no parliamentary purpose or proceeding for which said documents are to be used or considered.

Steven Chaplin

Opinion



It is time for the House of Commons to admit it was wrong, and to move on. There has now been three weeks of debate on a questionable matter of privilege based on the misuse of the House' power to order producing documents relating to sustainable projects. There is no constitutional basis in the law, powers, and privileges of the House to order documents to be delivered to the RCMP through the Office of the Law Clerk, particularly when there is no parliamentary purpose or proceeding for which the documents are to be used or considered. Neither the House nor a

House Speaker Greg Fergus agreed with the Conservatives last month that parliamentary privilege had been violated because the government didn't comply with a vote approved by MPs to release all SDTC documents to the House law clerk within 30 days. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



committee is intended to see—let alone consider—the documents.

The power to order the production of documents is not a stand-alone power. It is power that is ancillary to a proceeding. The power can only be used for a purpose, and that purpose must be parliamentary. The power allows the House to order producing documents when a government agent or another witness either refuses or is reluctant to provide information to enable the House to do its business. In short, there must

be an underlying parliamentary purpose or function to support what amounts to a summons for the production of documents. In this case, an order for departments and agencies to provide documents to the RCMP through the law clerk is completely untethered to any parliamentary business, and therefore lacks any constitutional—or legal—basis, including any basis in parliamentary law.

Any summons I have seen issued by the House, a court, a tribunal, or other body having the

authority to summon witnesses or papers is connected to a proceeding over which the body issuing the summons has jurisdiction. A person is asked to attend to give evidence, or to provide evidence for the public or parliamentary body to carry out its functions and inquiries. A summons is based on the needs of the body issuing the order.

It is this connection that protects the use of the power from abuse, that is being used for improper or impermissible purposes. It is the intended use

in a parliamentary proceeding that cloaks both the powers to order documents and the production of said documents with parliamentary privilege. In turn, it is this resulting privilege that protects the divulging of documents from the possible application of other legal protections, such as those found in the Access to Information Act, the Privacy Act, and other applicable laws. The entire matter from start to finish falls within the business and, therefore, the protection of the House.

The Constitution protects parliamentary “proceedings” from scrutiny by the courts and the application of ordinary law. This privilege extends to witnesses and documents used in proceedings. As such, there needs to be a proceeding to which privileges and the use of powers will apply. It is only when the entire process remains within a proceeding that the privileges and protections of the House apply, and the ordinary application of law—including aspects of the Charter—is and should be displaced. It is this continued protection that allows the House to compel production in the face of laws and constraints that would otherwise apply.

While part of the general and constitutional law, parliamentary privileges and powers are extraordinary and, therefore, must remain limited to protecting and guaranteeing the House's functions and proceedings. In this instance, the use of the order to obtain documents other than for a proceeding fails to meet this fundamental aspect of the Constitution.

This case clearly demonstrates why the use of any power by the House must remain within the constitutional scope of the House's functions. As has been pointed out by the RCMP and others, the use by the police and prosecution of documents—particularly those whose production is compelled—is strictly regulated by the Criminal Code provisions requiring warrants, and by the protections provided the holders of documents by the Charter. In effect, the intended purpose of the House order cannot be achieved, and may complicate or completely compromise any police investigation.

It is both correct and understandable for officials bound by statute or law to protect certain information to refuse production of documents until they are satisfied that the order is constitutionally valid, and that the documents produced will remain protected by parliamentary privilege.

Neither is evident in this instance.

It is time for the House to admit its overreach before the matter inevitably finds its way to the courts which do have the ability to determine and limit the House's powers, often beyond what the House may like.

Steven Chaplin is a former senior legal counsel in the Office of the House Law Clerk and Parliamentary Counsel.

*The Hill Times*

# Productivity and innovation actions are a decade too late

If we fail to act with a sense of urgency, we could end up as the poor attic of North America.

David Crane

Canada & the 21st Century



**T**ORONTO—At a recent off-the-record lunch, I heard the leader of an important financial services company declare that Canada was on the verge of an economic crisis because of our dismal performance in innovation-led productivity.

While it is a sign of progress that our poor productivity performance has finally risen in public discourse, the reality is that we are already in an economic crisis. We are having discussions now that we should have been having a decade ago—or even more—when it was clear that the economy’s potential growth rate was slowing, and that it could only be improved by rising innovation and productivity growth.

Even today, there is an excess of complacency when we need urgency. Oil and gas exports cannot carry the economy much longer.

What will deliver our jobs and wealth creation to sustain our quality of life in the future? While we have committed more than \$50-billion in public funds to subsidize a domestic electric vehicle industry, much of that investment is to keep existing operations in Canada, not to create additional production. The new investment is in battery systems, but electric vehicles also mean fewer auto parts and fewer workers.

As Greig Mordue, former Toyota executive in Canada and now a professor in advanced manufacturing at McMaster University, has noted, in 2000, Canada produced three million vehicles, employing 54,000 workers. But today it produces about 1.1 million vehicles, and employs about 37,000 workers. It’s unlikely there’s much room for growth, if any. Electric vehicles require about one-sixth of the parts an internal combustion engine requires, and can be produced in 30 per cent less time. The retention of the industry in Canada, while welcome, should not be seen as a big spur for future growth.

If our nation is to get serious about its future and the wide-ranging challenges and opportunities we face, we need to approach innovation and productivity from a much better base, starting with a better institutional framework for policymaking and performance review.

This means, first, an expert body—a productivity commission or economic council—to better define where Canada should put its priorities, propose policies to stimulate innovation and productivity, evaluate existing policies, and focus on specialized areas where better analysis is needed—for example, why our financial community is a weak link in building a more innovative country. Staffing would rely on a leadership core, but would depend heavily on temporary assignments with leading experts in Canada and from other countries.



Innovation Minister François-Philippe Champagne. Canada needs to approach innovation and productivity from a much better base starting with a better institutional framework for policymaking and performance review, writes David Crane. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

We also need to develop a much better understanding of the implications of new technologies, and their future widespread impact. This means creating a technology foresight unit within government to examine the society-wide implications of new technologies—for example, in the current context, artificial intelligence and the green economy.

Technology foresight is an important tool to advance understanding of the implications of technical change, and help nations plan their long-term economic, social and environmental policies. In Canada, this could be run from the Privy Council Office, making it a government-wide exercise, with technical support from the National Research Council. We do have an chief science adviser’s office, but its work and impact have so far been modest.

Moreover, since innovation policy depends on both the federal and provincial governments, we need much closer collaboration between the two levels. But the last time there was a federal-provincial meeting of ministers responsible for research, science and technology in Canada was in September 2001.

According to Industry Canada, the ministers met “to discuss ways to improve research and development performance and make Canada one of the most innovative countries in the world.” The lack of a united federal-provincial effort for innovation since then is appalling—even more so when there is a much weakened sense of national purpose in this country today.

Meanwhile, without waiting for new institutions to be up and running, there are important things we could do now. Since technological progress is a core driver of economic progress, and since ambitious entrepreneurs are the source of many of our new commercially useful technologies, policies should aim to support the potential for success of these entrepreneurs and the scaling up and growth of their companies. One possibility to look to is the United States’ Small Business Innovation Research (SBIR) program, which underwrites the research and development of new technologies that meet actual needs of that country’s governments and agencies.

There are many areas where we can support ambitious entrepreneurs in solving real problems. One is in housing. The

government has—belatedly—announced a two-year, \$50 million Homebuilding Technology and Innovation Fund, but it is counting on industry to supply an additional \$150 million. The plan seems ill-conceived. There should be many opportunities for innovation in housing design and construction, but a better approach might be to hold competitions—SBIR-style—and provide money up front to ambitious entrepreneurs to tackle innovation needs. Agriculture and food processing is another example, as are clean water and sanitation systems, public transportation, and smart city technologies.

So is defence. Canada is upping its defence spending, moving closer to its promise to spend two per cent of its GDP on defence, and with it the parallel commitment to spend 20 per cent of that amount on equipment. Under the federal government’s Industrial and Technological Benefits Policy, firms awarded contracts of \$100 million or more—and in some instances less than that—are required to spend an equivalent amount on procurements within Canada. This can amount to billions of dollars.

We should set a target so that a specified share of that spending must go to small and mid-size Canadian entrepreneurial companies to develop new technologies and own the IP. This could be doubly significant since so many defence technologies may have civilian applications as well.

So there is much we can do if we seriously try. But if we fail to act with a sense of urgency we could end up as the poor attic of North America.

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

*The Hill Times*

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## News

# ‘No sugarcoating the fact that changes are needed’: watchdog calls on feds to act now to fix procurement

The federal procurement watchdog is also ‘considering’ a review of Indigenous procurement, but has yet to set up reasonable grounds or scope.

BY IREM KOCA

Federal Procurement Ombud Alexander Jeglic says he is “absolutely frustrated” with the slow progress on fixing persistent issues plaguing federal procurement.

Jeglic released his annual report for 2023-24, titled *Time for Action*, on Oct. 21. The report underscores the urgent need for efforts to address long-standing procurement issues amid growing scrutiny from parliamentarians and Canadian taxpayers.

“There is no sugarcoating the fact that changes are needed,” Jeglic wrote in his report. “It is time to start to address these issues directly to make sure they do not impact our future the way they have impacted our past.”

“Am I frustrated that more has not been done to this date in terms of foundational changes? Absolutely,” said Jeglic in an Oct. 23 interview with *The Hill Times*.

“If you go back as far as 10 years, many of the issues we were trying to raise are still relevant today, [they] have not been successfully addressed.”

At the same time, Jeglic said “I’m also energized by what I’m seeing,” adding that there is a growing awareness around the importance of a transparent and efficient federal procurement system, particularly after revelations from the ArriveCan and McKinsey investigations.

“That’s why I believe the theme for the annual report is so important. We must not lose this energy or momentum, and ensure that key players remain focused on this issue,” he said.

## Creating chief procurement officer role could help

Jeglic’s report reiterated his office’s push to create a chief

procurement officer (CPO) role to address persistent issues within the system. The report noted that a CPO could focus on long-standing gaps in policy creation and implementation, and the lack of professionalization within the procurement sphere.

“There is no mechanism currently in the system to contemplate good performance in solicitation processes, and equally so, there’s no process by which to take into consideration poor performance,” Jeglic said. He said that this is why the government used such restrictive criteria to prevent poor performers from participating, and that they might have a specific entity they want to include—or exclude—from the process.

Jeglic added that his office has not done an overall review to provide a complete picture of the characteristics of firms that have been favoured in past government contracts.

Creating the CPO faces some obstacles with a lack of consensus on the role, including from people in the system who may “have to give up their piece of the pie to this global CPO position,” he said.

“The issue, really, is there’s huge accountability within federal procurement, and there’s multiple departments implicated, but ultimate accountability is unclear, and the main thrust of the creation of the role is to have [someone at the] senior level who has ultimate responsibility for federal procurement,” Jeglic told *The Hill Times*.

Jeglic’s report recommends creating a government-wide Vendor Performance Management program which would track supplier performance across departments, and hold vendors accountable for poor contract performance while rewarding strong performers, according to the report. Such a program could prevent favouritism towards certain vendors, Jeglic argued.

## Unfair treatment is a top issue: suppliers

Federal suppliers complained 73 times about evaluation criteria for contracts that were unfair, overly restrictive, or biased, pushing that category to the top of 10 procurement issues the Office of the Procurement Ombudsman (OPO) tracked in the last year. There were 32 reports

of unfair or biased criteria, 22 reports of restrictive criteria, and 19 reports highlighting bias for or against individual suppliers, or classes of suppliers. In 66 cases, stakeholders cited challenges in federal procurement, describing the process as “too long and burdensome,” with vague or contradictory information and difficulties using procurement systems.

Payment issues were reported in 24 cases where those trying to get federal business believed evaluations were incorrectly conducted, or contracts were awarded to the wrong bidder in 44 cases. In 11 cases, departments were reported to have deviated from the terms and conditions of contracts.

Jeglic emphasized the barriers suppliers face due to the complexity of federal procurement, which he said limits competition. The second most common issue raised to his office this year was the complexity of the process, with overly restrictive evaluation criteria and complicated language in solicitations discouraging contractors.

“These are things that have significant impacts throughout the system. We’re losing people because the system is too complex,” Jeglic told *The Hill Times*.

Jeglic’s report also underscored the principles of fairness, openness, and transparency in public procurement. He warned that favouritism can manifest through overly restrictive selection criteria—an issue the ombud highlighted in the ArriveCan report—or deviating from prescribed evaluation methods to benefit specific suppliers.

Jeglic said the lack of proper documentation hampers accountability and public trust in how taxpayer dollars are being spent.

## Jeglic mulling Indigenous procurement review

The procurement ombud has also proposed regulatory changes to widen its authority, including the ability to review complaints related to contracts awarded under the Procurement Strategy for Indigenous Businesses (PSIB) set-asides program.

“We are considering a review of Indigenous procurement, but in order to launch a review, we need to establish reasonable grounds,

and the scope,” Jeglic told *The Hill Times*.

A Sept. 17 motion proposed by Conservative MP Garnett Genuis (Sherwood Park–Fort Saskatchewan, Alta.) at the House Government Operations and Estimates (OGGO) Committee, which is studying Indigenous procurement, asks Jeglic to study it, too.

Jeglic said he can “anticipate” doing a study once his office receives a formal request from OGGO, and noted he has been made aware that it is likely forthcoming. Jeglic did not elaborate on the details of what an Indigenous procurement review would look like, saying it would be “premature” to discuss.

Contracts set aside pursuant to the PSIB are not subject to trade agreements, and therefore are not subject to the jurisdiction of either OPO, or the Canadian International Trade Tribunal. This means neither group has the authority to investigate complaints from unsuccessful Indigenous bidders or suppliers, which Jeglic said creates a fairness issue.

Jeglic also noted that some Indigenous-owned businesses have said they would welcome his office having jurisdiction to investigate these types of complaints, while others said the recourse mechanism should be Indigenous-led, with which the ombud disagrees.

Jeglic said other actors have responsibility in this area, such as Indigenous Services Canada, which must conduct an audit of the eligibility of Indigenous suppliers who are bidding for contracts, and have responsibility for the integrity of the Indigenous Business Directory. He noted there have been multiple instances over the years where issues were brought to OPO’s attention, but the ombud could not take formal action because they fell outside his legal mandate.

The federal government has had a procurement strategy for Indigenous businesses since 1996 to boost participation. It was revamped in 2021, and became the PSIB with a mandate requiring at least five per cent of contract value to be allocated to Indigenous firms. In 2018, more than \$170-million in contracts were awarded to Indigenous companies under PSIB, which represents only one per cent of the total value of contracts awarded by the federal government that year. The value of government contracts

awarded under the program reportedly rose to \$862-million in the 2022-23 fiscal year.

According to government records, from 2022 to 2023 the government awarded businesses \$33.5-billion in contracts, while 6.27 per cent—amounting to \$1.6-billion—were awarded to Indigenous businesses.

Other regulatory changes Jeglic asked for are the power to compel—rather than request—federal departments to provide the necessary documentation requested to conduct reviews and investigations, and the authority to recommend compensation to suppliers exceeding 10 per cent of a contract’s value.

## OPO asking for more funding

Jeglic said his office needs more funding than the currently allocated budget of \$4.1-million to support its growing workload. He said the office’s budget has remained static for 15 years since its creation in 2008.

For the 2025-26 fiscal year, the OPO has asked the government for an additional \$1-million, followed by \$3.4-million for 2026-27, and approximately \$4.7 million for 2028 and beyond. The OPO also receives one-off funding when a minister or parliamentary committee tasks it with doing a specific procurement review, but this doesn’t allow the office to hire full-time staff, according to Jeglic. Instead, the office often ends up needing to bring in temporary staff who may lack the tailored experience needed for the job, so the experience needs to be built up on the job.

“On paper, it might look like the problem is being addressed. It’s really not. It’s just exacerbating the problem,” he said.

This also means that the office is pushed to hire consultants or contractors due to lack of funding hindering the OPO from hiring full-time staff. The federal government’s use of consultants and outsourcing government work has been highly scrutinized during the unfolding of the ArriveCan scandal.

“The irony was not lost on us,” said Jeglic, whose review into ArriveCan unveiled the deep-rooted issues in Canada’s procurement system.

“We refuse to do it because we just did not want to hire external consultants to review external consultants. We use internal government resources, but we funded them to our office on a short basis, consistent with the timing of the review,” he explained.

This fiscal year, the office had 582 procurement-related cases tied to reported issues, compared to 474 the previous year. It has also received 62 written complaints, and launched five reviews of formal complaints from Canadian suppliers related to the awarding of federal contracts. The office also completed five practice reviews, including three planned reviews and two ad-hoc reviews related to the ArriveCan application, and contracts awarded to McKinsey & Company.

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# Liberal caucus should have adopted Reform Act for process to oust Trudeau, says Grit MP Casey

Having the mechanism would provide 'more structure' and make any decision 'a bit more final,' says Liberal MP John McKay. 'It may not be a happy result' but it would be a 'clear expression' of the will of caucus.

BY IAN CAMPBELL & ABBAS RANA

As a growing challenge to the prime minister's leadership embroils the Liberal caucus, some members say the party would be better off if it had adopted the Reform Act process for triggering a leadership review.

Liberal MP Sean Casey (Charlottetown, P.E.I.), who has publicly called on Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) to resign, told *The Hill Times* on Oct. 21 that "in hindsight, absolutely," the caucus should have adopted the Reform Act.

Casey has told multiple outlets that conversations with his constituents have convinced him Trudeau cannot win the next election, and "there was wishful thinking that he'd come to his senses." With an election drawing closer, and no sign of Trudeau planning to step down, Casey voiced his concerns publicly. His move came amid reports that 20 or more Liberal MPs had signed a document calling on the prime minister to reconsider his future.

In the days leading up to the Oct. 23 national caucus, several Liberal MPs—who spoke on a

not-for-attribution basis in order to candidly discuss strategy—told *The Hill Times* that one idea being considered by dissenting Liberal caucus members was to request a secret-ballot vote on Trudeau's leadership. At that time, they said their strategies would evolve right up to the start of the high-stakes meeting, and continue to be adjusted as events unfolded.

At the Oct. 23 caucus meeting, according to Liberal sources, Liberal MP Patrick Weiler (West Vancouver—Sunshine Coast—Sea to Sky Country, B.C.) read a letter that laid out the case for Trudeau's resignation, and said 24 MPs had signed a document in support of this. The MPs called on him to resign by Oct. 28, but did not state what actions they would take if he does not step down by that time.

Holding a secret-ballot vote would be similar to the process the Reform Act outlines. But with no formal mechanism in place for MPs to force such a vote or to require the leader to abide by its results, it remains Trudeau's choice if he will step down.

## 'It would make everything much clearer': Casey

Passed in 2015, the Reform Act allows parliamentary caucuses to adopt four powers. All caucuses with official party status are required by law to vote at their first post-election meeting on whether to adopt them for that session.

The measures available are: the power to elect the caucus chair; the power to elect an interim leader, should one be needed; the power to vote on the expulsion or re-admittance of a member of caucus; and the power to remove the leader.

Each measure is voted on separately, and a party can adopt any combination of the four.

The Liberals' first national caucus meeting of this session

came seven weeks after the 2021 election—a delay that drew the ire of some members—where MPs voted unanimously against all four measures, national caucus chair Brenda Shanahan (Châteauguay—Lacolle, Que.) said at the time.

Neither the Liberals nor NDP have ever adopted any of the Reform Act provisions in the three Parliaments they have been available. The Bloc Québécois has previously adopted three of them, but did not adopt any in this Parliament. The Conservatives adopted all four measures this session, marking the first time any party has elected to adopt the provision granting caucus the power to remove their leader. Four months later, on Feb. 2, 2022, the Tory caucus put that measure to use by ousting then-leader Erin O'Toole—prompting the leadership race that led to Pierre Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.) becoming Conservative leader.

Casey said "the benefit of the hindsight" reveals the Liberal Party would have been better off with this measure in place, too.

"As we look at it now, it would make everything much clearer," he said.

*The Hill Times* has reported that members of the dissenting group say they have made serious efforts to raise the leadership issue for months, but have been effectively "blocked" by the caucus chair and PMO at every turn. They highlight that, after the Toronto-St. Paul's, Ont., byelection loss in June, nine MPs sent a written request to Shanahan for a discussion, but it was denied for "logistical" reasons.

Liberal MP John McKay (Scarborough-Guildwood, Ont.) told *The Hill Times* on Oct. 22 that having the Reform Act in place would allow a clearer process to address the present leadership question.

"It would have given every-



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau is facing growing caucus discontent, and some Liberal MPs now say it would be better if the caucus had formal rules in place to remove him. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

issue that seems to be at hand," said McKay, who is not seeking re-election.

He said he did not plan to go to the microphones to speak at the Oct. 23 meeting, and said it is up to Trudeau to decide what he will do. "It's his decision because there is no other mechanism," said McKay.

However, he said the clarity of the Reform Act could benefit the party as a whole—not only offering Trudeau's detractors a clear process to bring forward their concerns, but also offering the leader a definitive resolution to the issue if he survived such a vote.

"[It] provides a bit more structure to the process, and—because it's bit more structure—then the decision process is also a bit more final," he said. "So if, in fact, the decision is for the leader to stay, then that's it."

McKay added that "it may not be a happy result, but the result would be at least a clear expression of the will of his caucus."

The process outlined in the act states that—in a caucus that has adopted these provisions—a written notice signed by at least 20 per cent of members can trigger a leadership review. This is conducted using a secret ballot, and a majority vote of 50 per cent is needed to force a leader out.

That means, in the current 153-member Liberal caucus, the act would require 31 MPs to trigger the vote, and 77 MPs to oust the leader, if its rules were in place.

McKay said he thinks these thresholds might be a little bit too low, but that he is generally supportive of the act.

Despite Shanahan having said the caucus' 2021 vote against the Reform Act was "unanimous," McKay said he had been in favour of it, and "the way votes get reported is quite interesting."

He said the party should consider adopting the measures in future sessions. However, he said it can be difficult to build caucus support for these provisions at the start of a session, when the vote is required.

"The problem is that people are flush off an election win or loss, as the case may be, and that may influence how they perceive the qualities of the leadership," said McKay.

Two other Liberal MPs offered a perspective in the days prior to the Oct. 23 meeting.

Liberal MP Ken Hardie (Fleetwood-Port Kells, B.C.) said it's now a moot point.

"If I'd eaten fewer lobby cookies, I'd have been a few pounds lighter, too," said Hardie, with a chuckle. "That's 20/20 hindsight, obviously."

Liberal MP Darrell Samson (Sackville-Preston-Chezzetcook, N.S.) declined to offer a clear answer, saying these are discussions that should be conducted inside the caucus room.

"It's an inside question. I'm not open to sharing at this time. In retrospect, everything looks better, of course," he said.

## 'Better off with rules': Blidook

Kelly Blidook, a political scientist at Memorial University, said all parties would benefit from the clarity the Reform Act offers. He noted new MPs are asked to decide about adopting the Reform Act before they "get their legs underneath them." Over time, he said, they discover the Reform Act "is something you need when you need it."

"Essentially, they're easily manipulated by their leadership," said Blidook, who studies political institutions and representation. "They've just come off of an election. ... A lot of MPs are feeling like their leader is the whole reason they're there in the first place. And so I think it's easy for the leader's office to come along and say things like, 'You know, this Reform Act is a bad idea.'"

He said some MPs may have concerns that adopting the act would "cause drama" or "make the party look bad." However, "in most cases, you're better off with rules than the lack of rules," said Blidook.

He said those concerns need to be "balanced against precisely what we're seeing right now."

"This looks much worse," said Blidook. "If they'd simply had the Reform Act, they'd have a formal mechanism."

He said such a mechanism would offer an "end point" to the leadership turmoil, whether that vote went for or against the leader.

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## News

# B.C., N.B. elections forecast tough road for incumbents, with many Canadians 'struggling'

Premiers of all political stripes that once looked 'invincible' are struggling to get re-elected across the country, says pollster Dan Arnold.

BY IAN CAMPBELL

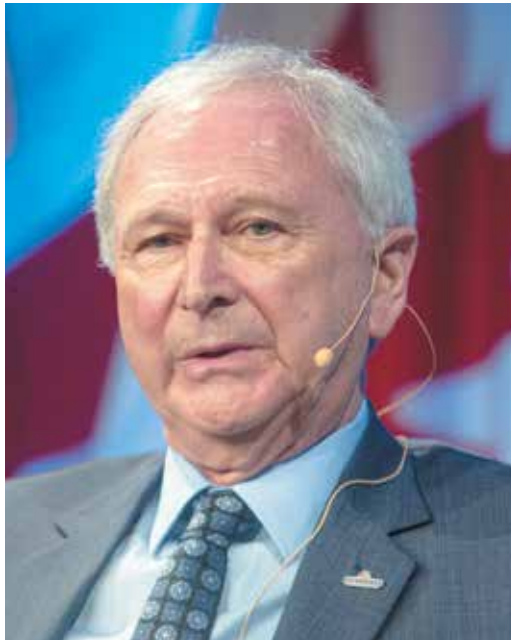
The recent election campaigns in British Columbia and New Brunswick offer a "masterclass" in the current perils facing incumbent parties, including the federal Liberals, says pollster Nik Nanos.

Nanos told *The Hill Times* both provincial elections highlight the formidable obstacles to a government when "time for a change" numbers are high.

On Oct. 21, the New Brunswick Liberal Party swept Blaine Higgs' majority Progressive Conservative government from office. Under leader Susan Holt, the Liberals won 31 seats, compared to 16 for the Conservatives, and two for the Greens.

Days earlier, the Oct. 19 B.C. election saw David Eby's NDP majority government sustain heavy losses. The present count has the B.C. NDP at 46 seats in the legislature, compared to 45 for the Conservatives, and two for the Greens. However, with several seats decided by only a handful of votes, the parties are presently awaiting recounts and the arrival of mail-in ballots. Even a small shift in the tally of seats could affect the ability of either the NDP or Conservatives form a government.

Taken together, these elections point to a pattern of provincial incumbents of all political stripes



British Columbia Premier David Eby, left, and outgoing New Brunswick Premier Blaine Higgs both faced electorates that were looking for change in recent provincial elections. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

continuing to struggle. That's a trend that's seen in polling, other recent provincial campaigns, and elections globally.

## 'A post-COVID malaise'

Former Liberal PMO staffer Dan Arnold, who was involved in polling for the New Brunswick Liberal campaign, said voters in Canada and around the world appear to be in "a post-COVID malaise about high inflation that is making it very difficult for any government to at least be comfortably re-elected."

"If you look at kind of the cycle of provincial elections between 2019 and 2022—so kind of the COVID cycle of elections—every one but Nova Scotia, the incumbent was reelected," said Arnold, who is now chief strategy officer at Pollara.

He said voters have now entered a new cycle where incumbents are losing, starting with the change of government in Manitoba in October 2023, which saw the

NDP led by Wab Kinew end eight years of Progressive Conservative rule.

That trend has continued to plague even premiers who looked "invincible" not long ago, said Arnold, including Eby who is now "sitting at home waiting for votes to be recounted to find out if he will still be premier or not."

Arnold said this also applies to other previously seemingly unbeatable premiers, such as Saskatchewan's Scott Moe who is in "a bit of a dog fight" to retain government in his province's Oct. 28 election, as well as Quebec's François Legault who is trailing in the polls, but has a longer runway until he must face voters.

"So it is certainly looking like it's a much less friendly time for incumbents right now than it would have been later in kind of the COVID window," said Arnold, "when a lot of the COVID governments were getting re-elected in Canada." He noted this is also playing out around the world in countries like France and the United Kingdom.

## Canadians 'not feeling' better off

That's likely to persist until voters feel an improvement in their own pocket books, said observers.

Inflation has been steadily dropping, coming in at 1.6 per cent year-over-year in Statistics Canada's latest CPI report released Oct. 16. The Bank of Canada has been steadily cutting interest rates, implementing its fourth consecutive rate cut on Oct. 23—dropping its key overnight lending rate by 50 basis points to 3.75 per cent.

But despite those trends, that doesn't mean the political climate

for incumbents will shift right away.

"Even if things are a little better, Canadians still don't feel positive about their personal finances," said Nanos. "There's still a significant proportion of Canadians that are struggling to pay for the groceries or for housing."

Former Conservative staffer Laura Kurkimaki, now a vice-president at McMillan Vantage, said that despite lower inflation and interest rates, "people are still not feeling it."

She noted that anyone who locked into a mortgage or car payment earlier in the year is still paying high interest rates, and rent and grocery prices also remain high.

Former NDP staffer Mike McKinnon, who has worked in federal and B.C. provincial politics, offered a similar view.

"Incumbency is really difficult right now," said McKinnon, who is now a senior consultant at Enterprise Canada. "When people are feeling the effects of global inflation, lack of access to health care, and rising housing costs, they look at who's in charge and say 'it's time for you to go.' So the change dynamic across the country is very strong."

Nanos said for the federal Liberals that means they need to try to push off the next election "as far as they can," but he added "I'm not even sure whether with the current leader and the current policy direction whether that'll even be enough."

He said even if the numbers on paper are better, the Liberals will be left campaigning on "joyless prosperity."

"The reality is that the next federal election will be a change election," said Nanos.

The governing Liberals are looking at "an extremely tough, uphill battle," agreed Kurkimaki, whether Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) stays or the party gets to choose a new leader.

"It's just about whether or not Trudeau is now a drag on the party brand, which it sounds like he is," said Kurkimaki, noting that in most polling the Liberal brand now out-polls Trudeau's personal popularity.

She added that in the New Brunswick election, Holt "distanced herself from Justin Trudeau throughout the entire campaign," noting that's something "you would not have seen a few years ago in Atlantic Canada."

## Voters persuaded by 'immediate' help: Arnold

Arnold says this environment suggests the federal Liberals' best chance to prevail in a change election is to "show voters that you are focused on what matters to them, and you are doing things to immediately help them."

"From testing that I've seen in New Brunswick and a few other provincial elections ... probably things that are more immediate in nature, in terms of, you know, 'we're going to cut the gas tax on day one,' or 'we're going to take the tax off of energy prices on day one,'" he said.

He said those policies seem to be "resonating at the provincial level," and there will likely be "a much greater appetite" in a federal campaign for parties that convince voters they can offer "relief to people immediately, as opposed to longer term plans."

He said incumbents can also try to frame the opposition as offering a change that's undesirable.

"Anytime there is a strong desire for change, the only way to really get elected is to convince people that the change that is being offered is a change that will make your life worse," said Arnold.

"In B.C., you could say David Eby made a semi-successful job of doing that. In New Brunswick, Higgs was clearly unable to convince people that Susan Holt was a scary alternative."

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Wab Kinew delivers a victory speech alongside his family and supporters after he was elected to the premier's office in Manitoba on Oct. 3, 2023. Photograph courtesy of X



Former Liberal staffer Dan Arnold said voters have 'a much greater appetite' for policies that offer 'relief to people immediately.' Photograph courtesy of X

# Security clearance politicking reflects a minority Parliament on its 'last legs': observers

Many of the questions during an emergency debate on India's alleged interference in Canadian politics turned instead to Poilievre's refusal to seek a security clearance.

Continued from page 1

noted that those measures were complicated by Poilievre's decision not to apply for a security clearance.

"The decision by the leader of the Conservative Party to not get those classified briefings means that nobody in his party—not him, nobody in a position of power—knows the names of these individuals and can take appropriate action," he said.

Poilievre and Conservative MPs have long argued that being granted a security clearance would effectively "gag" him from speaking about the issue of foreign interference. The Conservative leader argued as much in a statement released shortly after Trudeau made the allegations before the commission.

"Receiving a secret briefing would, according to Justin Trudeau's chief of staff, prevent a recipient from using 'the information in any manner,' and 'even where that is not the case, briefing political parties on sensitive intelligence regarding an MP could put the leader or representative of a political party in a tough position, because any decision affecting the MP might have to be made without giving them due process,'" the statement said.

Poilievre also said his chief of staff had received classified briefings from the government, and at no time had the government spoken of any current or former Conservative parliamentarian of "knowingly participating in foreign interference." He accused Trudeau of lying.

The issue of foreign interference and security clearances had already returned to the headlines before Trudeau's testimony. Two days earlier, the RCMP alleged that Indian government officials were tied to "homicides and violent acts." On the same day, Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly (Ahuntsic-Cartierville, Que.) expelled six Indian diplomats, including High Commissioner San-



Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre has argued that receiving a security clearance would 'gag' him on issues such as foreign interference. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

jay Kumar Verma. India expelled an equal number of Canadian diplomats shortly after.

On the first sitting day after the expulsions on Oct. 21, NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh (Burnaby South, B.C.) urged an emergency debate on the issue. He also used a scum about the debate to accuse Poilievre of putting "his party ahead of the country."

"The fact that Pierre Poilievre refuses still to get security clearance, refuses to understand the gravity of what's going on, particularly when there are allegations of foreign interference that directly touch his party, the fact that he refuses to get briefed on this, sends a message to the Indian government, to Prime Minister Modi, to the Modi government, that he is willing to look away while they engage in criminal activity on Canadian soil," he said.

Responding to a question from Singh in the House as to whether Trudeau "directly urged the leader of the Conservatives to get his security clearance," Public Safety Minister Dominic LeBlanc (Beauséjour, N.B.) said: "we've been clear, we think all party leaders in this House should have the required security clearance so they can receive information concerning the threats to this House or the threats to Canada involving foreign interference."

Many of the MPs' questions focused on Poilievre's lack of security clearance during the emergency debate.

In response to a question from NDP MP Brian Masse (Windsor West, Ont.), Conservative deputy leader Tim Uppal (Edmonton Mill Woods, Alta.) said Poilievre had

received a briefing from Trudeau's national security and intelligence adviser Nathalie Drouin, the CSIS director and the deputy minister of foreign affairs when the RCMP announced its findings on Oct. 14.

"The only difference is that the leader of the opposition is the only leader who will not be gagged by the prime minister by taking that oath," he said. "The job of the leader of the opposition is to hold the government to account, and if he were to take that oath, he would not be able to do that."

Of the other party leaders, Singh and Green Party Elizabeth May (Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C.) have security clearance, and have read the classified portions of a National Security and Intelligence Committee of Parliamentarians report that said committee members saw evidence of parliamentarians engaged either "semi-witting or witting" in foreign interference.

Bloc Québécois Leader Yves-François Blanchet (Beloeil-Chambly, Que.) is in the process of seeking security clearance. Bloc MP Alexis Brunelle-Duceppe (Lac-Saint-Jean, Que.) said during the emergency debate in French of the security clearance that "there are just a few small formalities left. He did indeed decide to move forward responsibly so that he could verify whether Bloc Québécois candidates or members have been directly or indirectly, wittingly or unwittingly involved in foreign interference."

Brunelle-Duceppe added his belief that "it is simply a matter of responsibility when a person decides to lead a party, especial-

ly when they want to lead the country."

## 'Permanent campaign mode'

Lagassé said the current situation around MPs' access to classified information dated back to the Afghan detainee debate in the 2000s.

"That's also around the time when we were seeing a far greater use of privilege to demand documents and to demand classified information be revealed to the House," Lagassé said. "So all these are interrelated issues, I think, that are connected in large part to the expansion of minority parliaments in Canada and the ability of the houses to demand more information."

Lagassé said that in addition to a minority government, the debate also reflected "a parliament that's on its last legs," when the willingness to compromise and negotiate grew less likely.

"If an election resulted in a majority, a lot of these questions would go away. This is the other reality, once the opposition party can no longer use that information or this controversy to generate political points, they may be more willing at that point to say, 'OK, let's see what we can do within our own tent and clean ourselves up,'" he said. "So I think part of this is really reflecting the fact that we are in the permanent campaign mode, which is just making everything, even the simplest of compromises, more difficult."

Questions were also raised following Trudeau's testimony

about the potential politicization of security and intelligence. On *The Bridge with Peter Mansbridge* podcast on Oct. 18, Spark Advocacy chief strategy officer and partner Bruce Anderson said Trudeau may not have gone far enough in attacking Poilievre's position.

"There's a really strong argument to be made against the way that Mr. Poilievre is handling himself on it," he said.

"[Trudeau] needs to be consistent, the Liberals need to be consistent in saying there's a real problem here, which is that somebody who is on the brink of potentially becoming the prime minister of the country is playing games around this question of security clearance, he doesn't want to act like a statesman, he doesn't want to represent himself as somebody who respects any institutional norms."

## Bill continues at committee

Outside the politicking on security clearances, a private member's bill continues to make its way through the House that would amend the process permitting parliamentarians to seek such clearances.

The Procedure and House Affairs Committee has been studying Conservative MP Alex Ruff's (Bruce-Grey-Owen Sound, Ont.) private member's bill C-377, An Act to amend the Parliament of Canada Act (need to know).

The bill would amend the Parliament of Canada Act to specify that an MP or Senator who applies for a secret security clearance is deemed to need access to the information for which the application is made.

During an appearance before the committee on Oct. 1, Ruff said the bill would only prevent the government from being able to deny a parliamentarian from applying for the secret security clearance.

"The bill does not guarantee that a parliamentarian's application would pass, should they apply," he said. "They still must go through the same government security vetting and clearance process."

Ruff noted that Bill C-70, Countering Foreign Interference Act, permits CSIS to share classified information beyond the federal government, including to provincial, municipal, and First Nations governments, and other stakeholders. But he noted that "one key caveat that still needs to be cracked is that those individuals still must gain a security clearance to be briefed."

The bill passed second reading on June 5 with the support of all present Conservative, Bloc, NDP, and Green Party MPs. Liberal MPs Nathaniel Erskine-Smith (Beaches-East York, Ont.), Anthony Housefather (Mount Royal, Que.), and Sherry Romanado (Longueuil-Charles-LeMoine, Que.) also voted in favour, as did Independent MPs Alain Rayes (Richmond-Arthabaska, Que.) and Kevin Vuong (Spadina-Fort York).

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## News

# May calls for official public inquiry a decade after Hill shooting

It's 'a uniquely Canadian thing that something that significant would happen and there'd never be an inquiry,' said Green Leader Elizabeth May, while Kevin Vickers told the *Ottawa Citizen* he's surprised there's never been a parliamentary review, and that witness statements and security footage should be released.

Continued from page 1

who shot the 32-year-old gunman in the chest. There have been four independent reviews, and 161 recommendations, according to the *Ottawa Citizen*.

Vickers did not respond to an interview request from *The Hill Times*.

May said she also wants "a full public airing" into that unprecedented security breach on Parliament Hill.

"Accountability should have been had for failures," she said. She noted that a report released in the United States on Oct. 15 into the July 13, 2024, assassination attempt against former U.S. president Donald Trump "uncovered not only numerous mistakes that led to the events of July 13 in Butler, Pennsylvania, but also deeper, systemic issues that must be addressed with urgency."

"Without that reform, the Independent Review Panel believes another Butler can and will happen again," said the report.

On Oct. 22, 2014, following a 7 a.m. meeting, May left Centre Block sometime between 8-8:30 a.m., to return to her office in the Confederation Building where she was eventually holed up for at least eight hours that day.

Zehaf-Bibeau had entered Centre Block that day at 9:53 a.m., according to a publicly available yet heavily redacted version of the Ontario Provincial



People try to save Cpl. Nathan Cirillo after he was shot and later died while on sentry duty at Ottawa's National War Memorial on Oct. 22, 2014. The gunman subsequently stormed Centre Block where he was shot and killed outside the Library of Parliament. *The Hill Times* photograph by Mark Burgess

Police (OPP) investigation into Zehaf-Bibeau's death, which describes actions taken by officers with the House of Commons' security service and RCMP officers.

May said that the Commons security officers "put their lives at risk protecting all of us," and that their response was "excellent," while the RCMP officers "surrounding the building failed in their duty." But following the 2014 attack on the Hill, then-Conservative prime minister Stephen Harper's government amended the Parliament of Canada Act to create the Parliamentary Protective Service (PPS) in 2015, which amalgamated the Commons and Senate security services under the RCMP's operational command.

The RCMP released a report on June 3, 2015, but there has never been a full public inquiry into the shooting. The House of Commons also released a report on June 3, 2015, by then-House speaker Andrew Scheer (Regina—Qu'Appelle, Sask.), acting House clerk Marc Bosc, and then-deputy sergeant-at-arms Patrick McDonnell.

"You don't have security for your Parliament where the chain of command in the RCMP goes to the government. It's always been the case that the non-partisan Speaker of the House is responsible for security," said May, who would like to see the PPS solely in charge of protecting the parliamentary precinct.

Referring to a "Master Security Plan" developed in 2009 between the Mounties, the House and Senate security operations, then-auditor-general Michael Ferguson said in his June 2012 report that

"a next step could be to unify the security forces for Parliament Hill under a single point of command, making it possible to respond to situations more efficiently and effectively."

That unification resulted in the creation of the PPS through an omnibus bill, C-59, which the Harper government introduced in the House in May 2015, and which received royal assent on June 23, 2015.

While C-59 was being debated in Parliament, May reminded her colleagues in a May 12, 2015, House speech that the Commons Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, and the previous Privileges and Elections Committee "always ruled that police forces coming onto the precinct on official business require the permission of the Speaker."

In the *Citizen* story, Vickers said that "there are hybrid models that could have been developed to accommodate everyone's concerns and needs while maintaining the independence of Parliament," and that he believed he was appointed Canada's ambassador to Ireland—a post that he began in January 2015—to facilitate the RCMP's security command on the Hill.

The March 2015 OPP review and recommendations regarding the RCMP's security posture on Parliament Hill on Oct. 22, 2014, is posted online, but details such as video footage from that day have been removed. All the recommendations have also been redacted.

On June 3, 2015, the House released an incident-response summary when future federal Conservative leader Scheer was

Speaker, and noted that the Commons "was cautious not to provide detailed comments or analysis on the events that took place within Centre Block prior to a comprehensive security assessment and review."

"Any information that is shared with the public will always be subject to a stringent review to ensure that its release would not compromise the safety and security of everyone on Parliament Hill," said the report.

A joint message from Bosc, the acting clerk at the time, and McDonnell, who is now sergeant-at-arms, said "although we have a fundamental commitment to transparency, unfortunately, we cannot provide more information than that which is presented here as it could be used towards malicious ends."

May said that she "could not believe that Andrew Scheer as Speaker wasn't interested in having any kind of a public review of the security. But, of course, he always did what Harper wanted, and Harper wanted to change our security system and put [it] into the government of the day as opposed to [Parliament]."

May said she believes the former Conservative prime minister put the RCMP in charge of operations because "it bothered him" that his personal security detail was "not allowed with him in the Chamber" in the Commons.

*The Hill Times* attempted to reach Harper, but to no avail. Scheer also did not respond to an interview request, and both McDonnell and Bosc declined to comment on the events of Oct. 22, 2014.

This newspaper also reached out to House Speaker Greg Fergus (Hull—Aylmer, Que.), and was told by Mathieu Gravel, director of outreach and media relations in his office, that "the Speaker does not comment on security matters."

"Following the events of Oct. 22, 2014, on Parliament Hill, the House of Commons administration conducted a review of security measures [in] the precinct and implemented a number of security initiatives to address identified vulnerabilities," Gravel said in an email. "For the safety and security of everyone on Parliament Hill, specific details about security practices and enhanced measures will not be shared."

In a statement to *The Hill Times*, the RCMP referred to the OPP independent investigation that was requested "to ensure impartiality, transparency and full

accountability." But the federal police force had no further comment.

Meanwhile, a statement from the PPS said that since its inception on June 23, 2015, it has "endeavoured to significantly enhance our protective services and security capabilities, and have greatly strengthened our collaboration with key intelligence, security, and law enforcement partners," but that "for everyone's safety" would "not comment on specific security measures or initiatives."

May said that some of the House security officers who responded to the assault on the Hill "put their contemporaneous notes into a safe for future reference in case there should ever be a proper public inquiry into what happened."

What troubles her to this day was that Zehaf-Bibeau—whom the Green leader characterized as suffering from "mental health issues," rather than a "jihadist" as the *Citizen* story described him or as someone who perpetrated a terrorist attack, as Harper said in the House the day after the assault—was allowed to be in the Parliamentary Precinct armed with a rifle and to enter Centre Block.

May credits the driver of a black Chrysler 300 ministerial limousine parked in front of the East Block for alerting the RCMP to spring into action.

Zehaf-Bibeau approached the vehicle that he used to drive up to Centre Block, and told the driver to "get out of the car and I won't kill you," according to the OPP summary.

May recalled that "it was the quick thinking of the chauffeur who, before jumping out of the vehicle, threw the car into reverse so it banged the car behind it. That was the only thing that alerted all the sleepy officers in their cars around the building that something was going on."

The OPP report noted that the limousine "sped directly" at an RCMP officer in her police cruiser.

"But the failure to even put on the siren in the police car would have given [Constable] Samearn Son and those in Parliament a lot more warning when they realized a ministerial limo had been hijacked," said May, who recounted how the gunman pointed his rifle at Son's chest, and that the unarmed House security officer—who is still on duty today—ended up with a bullet in his leg that day.

Revealing details from Oct. 22, 2014, would also shine a light on those, like Son, who demonstrated courage and bravery, according to the Green leader.

"We have a lot of new MPs who have no idea what happened, or they pass by the officers who protected us that day with absolutely no idea that they're walking by heroes because how would they? We've never had a commission of inquiry or anything public," she said.

"It's just kind of a uniquely Canadian thing that something that significant would happen and there'd never be an inquiry."

*The Hill Times*



Laura Ryckewaert  
**Hill Climbers**

# Environment Minister Guilbeault hires a new press secretary

Plus, an update on the transport team now under Minister Anita Anand, including Anson Duran's exit as chief of staff.

Environment and Climate Change Minister **Steven Guilbeault** has hired a new press secretary for his office: **Hermine Landry**.

The minister has been without a press secretary since **Kaitlin Power**—who had worn the title of both press secretary and senior communications adviser—exited in September to become director of communications to Indigenous Services Minister **Patty Hajdu**.



Hermine Landry is now press secretary to Minister Guilbeault. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Landry started with Guilbeault's team at the beginning of this month, and was most recently working on the Hill part-time as a guide with the Library of Parliament. She's also previously worked part time as a cultural diplomacy officer with Global Affairs Canada in Ottawa, and spent a few months in 2023 as an intern in the office of Nanaimo-Ladysmith, B.C., NDP MP **Lisa Marie Barron**.

According to Landry's LinkedIn profile, she's in the midst of working towards a master's degree in international development and globalization at the University of Ottawa, having already earned a bachelor's degree in communication and political science from the school earlier this year.

In other communications staff news for the office, **Maheep Sandhu** recently moved over from Energy and Natural Resources Minister **Jonathan Wilkinson's** team to become a senior adviser for strategic communications for Guilbeault.

Sandhu, who'd last held the title of strategic communications and parliamentary affairs adviser in Wilkinson's office, marked his first day working for Guilbeault on Sept. 26.

Sandhu had been working for Wilkinson since April 2022, starting as a communications adviser. He was promoted to his most recent title last year. Sandhu is also a former assistant to Rural Economic Devel-



Maheep Sandhu has joined the environment minister's office. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

opment Minister **Gudie Hutchings** as the MP for Long Range Mountains, N.L., and is a past manager of community climate hubs with Climate Reality Canada in Montreal.

In Guilbeault's office, Landry and Sandhu will be working closely with director of communications **Oliver Anderson**, director of media relations and strategic outreach **Bruce Cheadle**, and communications adviser **Selin Ozturk**.

**Joanna Dafeo** is chief of staff to the environment minister.

## Update on Minister Anand's transport team

It's been a little over a month since Treasury Board President **Anita Anand** took over the transport portfolio from now-independent MP **Pablo Rodriguez** who resigned from cabinet and from the Liberal caucus ahead of his planned Quebec Liberal leadership run.

In the immediate aftermath of the Sept. 19 mini-shuffle, Rodriguez's transport team remained in place to support Anand, but there have since been a handful of staff exits to report with chief of staff **Anson Duran's** recent departure topping that list.

Duran took charge of Rodriguez's transport office this past March when he was promoted from deputy chief of staff and director of policy, a role Duran had filled since September 2023. Before then, Duran had been a senior policy adviser to Innovation, Science, and Industry Minister **François-Philippe Champagne** since the 2021 election



Anson Duran has left the Hill. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

In a recent LinkedIn post, Duran wrote that he's ended his time working for the federal government after seven years "with a feeling of accomplishment, but also with the same hope and conviction" he had when he first got involved in politics.

"I am most grateful for the friends I made along the way and for the support I had from family and my wife," he continued, giving "special thanks" to now-Labour and Seniors Minister **Steven MacKinnon** for taking a "chance" on him in 2017, to former transport minister **Marc Garneau** "for his wisdom," to Champagne "for his friendship," and to Rodriguez "for his trust in choosing me as his Chief of Staff."

A former lawyer with Robinson Sheppard Shapiro in Montreal, Duran first landed on the Hill in 2017 as an assistant to MacKinnon as the MP for Gatineau, Que. In 2018, he was hired as a policy adviser to Garneau as then-transport minister, who later promoted him to "senior" status. Prior to joining Champagne's team, Duran spent more than a year and a half working as a Quebec regional affairs adviser in Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau's** office.

Deputy chief of staff and director of parliamentary affairs **Vasken Vosguian** is now acting chief of staff for transport to Anand.



Vasken Vosguian is now acting chief of staff to the transport minister. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Vosguian is a former assistant to Foreign Affairs Minister **Mélanie Joly** as the MP for Ahuntsic-Cartierville, Que., and has been working for ministers since 2017, starting as executive assistant to the chief of staff to then-Treasury Board president **Scott Brison**. By the time he bade farewell to the Treasury Board team following the 2019 election, Vosguian had worked his way up to senior special assistant for legislative affairs.

He went on to serve as a legislative affairs and issues manager to then-Digital Government Minister **Joyce Murray**—who had been the most recent Treasury Board president prior to the 2019 election—and as a legislative assistant and later senior parliamentary affairs adviser to Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister **Chrystia Freeland**. After the 2021 election, Vosguian became director of parliamentary affairs to Rodriguez as then-heritage minister, and followed him to the transport office last

year. He was promoted to add deputy chief of staff to his title this past March.

**Monique Lugli** remains chief of staff to Anand as Treasury Board president.

Along with Duran, director of strategic initiatives **Agathe Alie**, who had supported Rodriguez as both transport minister and Quebec lieutenant, has left.



Agathe Alie has exited post-shuffle. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Alie had been working for Rodriguez since 2020, starting as director of operations and outreach in his office as Quebec lieutenant. After Rodriguez was named heritage minister, in addition to Quebec lieutenant, following the 2021 election, Alie stayed on to support him in both capacities as director of strategic initiatives—a role she continued to fill after Rodriguez swapped the heritage portfolio for transport last year. Prior to 2020, Alie was principal director of public affairs for the Cirque du Soleil Entertainment Group. According to her LinkedIn profile, she's now working as a self-employed consultant.

**Nicholas Wright**, who'd been special assistant for public appointments to the transport minister, has similarly exited. Wright was first hired to the transport office under then-minister Garneau in 2020 as a special assistant for both appointments and Atlantic regional affairs. He dropped his regional responsibilities after **Omar Alghabra** took over the transport portfolio at the start of 2021.

Issues manager **Olivier Pilon** will soon be making his own exit, and is set to bid farewell to the transport team as of Nov. 1.

Pilon was hired to Rodriguez's office this past May, and before then had been press secretary to the public services and procurement minister, starting under then-minister **Filomena Tassi** and continuing after **Jean-Yves Duclos** took over the file in July 2023. On the Hill, Pilon has also previously been a communications assistant to Tassi as then-labour minister, and a special assistant for communications and Quebec regional affairs to then-associate finance minister **Mona Fortier**.

Also leaving is senior adviser for Quebec **Taos Ait**, but he isn't going far, and is set to join the Quebec lieutenant's office now under Duclos. Prior to joining Rodriguez's office last year, Ait worked for the Liberal research bureau.

Otherwise still part of the transport team at present are: **Trish Sibal**, director of policy; **Wilder Walker-Stewart**, senior policy adviser; policy advisers **Julie Harb** and **Nina Sartor**; **Sarah Jackson**, director of operations; **Daniel Kucirek**, Ontario regional affairs adviser; **Rahul Walia**, regional adviser for the Pacific, Prairies, North, and Atlantic; **Bibi Saleema Hakim**, parliamentary affairs adviser; **Laura Scalfidi**, director of communications; **Laurent de Casanove**, press secretary; and **Yasmine Bubteina**, executive assistant.

Stay tuned for an update on changes to the Quebec lieutenant team post-shuffle in the near future.

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The Hill Times



Stuart Benson

## Party Central

# Bipartisan palate cleanser at Parliamentary Centre's Democracy Awards

Former Progressive Conservative prime minister **Brian Mulroney** and former NDP leader **Ed Broadbent** were posthumously honoured at the 2024 Democracy Awards on Oct. 23 in recognition of not only their contributions to Canada's democracy, but also the examples they each set.

The event demonstrated that, while the House of Commons may be separated by two sword lengths, for democracy to function, sooner or later, everyone has to put their weapons down and actually get to work.

Hosted by the Parliamentary Centre in partnership with the British High Commission for the past three years, the event was the perfect bipartisan palate cleanser for **Party Central** after a long day of hurry-up-and-wait while the knives were drawn behind the sealed doors of the Liberal caucus meeting, followed by duelling potshot volleys across the aisle at Wednesday's Question Period.

Unlike previous years when the reception was held on the front lawn of British High Commissioner **Susannah Goshko's** residence, Earncliffe, this year's reception was held in the mission's newly completed headquarters right next door.

While the new building—in the modern, open-concept style with mostly glass windows and steel beams—is absolutely stellar, this was the first venue **Party Central** has attended that required a staff member to usher attendees through multiple security airlocks. However, once through security and up onto the second floor, the view of the Ottawa River is immaculate.

Unfortunately for Goshko, she won't get the chance to benefit from that convenience of the super short commute as the official residence is currently under renovation, and Goshko's current tenure in Ottawa ends later this month. While **Party Central** doubts her replacement, **Robert Tinline**, is super concerned with this reporter's opinion, Tinline will have some big shoes to fill to match Goshko's standard as party host.

As the rest of the guests completed their odyssey through security, they were greeted with the soft-piano stylings of local piano aficionado **Kimberley Dunn** and a glass of "London Calling," the night's specialty cocktail. The blue-ish-grey concoction—a mixture of egg whites, Earl Grey simple syrup, and a dairy-based vodka called *Vodkow* distilled in nearby Almonte, Ont.—was strangely delicious, if a little annoying to consume with a moustache.

While most of the crowd mulled either around the bar, or placed their bids at the silent auction, almost all eyes were on the centre table where the night's guests of honour **Ben Mulroney** and **Paul Broadbent** chatted with NDP national director **Anne McGrath**, and **Graham Fox**, Hydro-Québec's vice-president of public affairs.

While **Party Central** and several other photographers and videographers buzzed around trying to manage the impossible—a candid photo of four people's faces at a round table—a much more photogenic VIP gave them a brief reprieve.

While **Party Central** means no disrespect to NDP Leader **Jagmeet Singh**, the fanfare of his arrival to the shindig may have been somewhat fuelled by his platoon: his young daughter **Anhad Kaur**.

Among the rest of the crowd, **Party Central** also spotted Australian High Commissioner **Scott Ryan**; New Zealand's High Commission-

er **Cecile Hillyer**; **Maureen Boyd**, former journalist and chair of the Parliamentary Centre, with her husband **Colin Robertson**, vice-president of the Canadian Global Affairs Institute; **Paul Thomas**, director of the parliamentary internship program, alongside the interns themselves busy helping with party administration; **Michael Wernick**, former Privy Council Office clerk; House of Commons Speaker **Greg Fergus**, and Liberal MPs **Anita Vandenberg** and **John McKay**. There was also a delegation of parliamentarians from the Ukraine's national legislature, the Verkhovna Rada.

With all of the VIPs now in attendance, Pendulum Group's **Heather Bakken**, the event's lead organizer and president of World Press Freedom Canada, gathered the crowd's attention with the help of some Mulroney-Broadbent-based trivia, courtesy of *Politico's* **Nick Taylor-Vaisey**. Unfortunately, due to the nature of the trivia topics, most of the questions were answered either by the two men's sons, or McGrath before the questions could be finished.

Following the trivia, Pendulum Group's **Yaroslav Baran**, the Parliamentary Centre's board chair; **Jaime Pitfield**, the centre's president and CEO; and Goshko made brief speeches ahead of the night's award ceremony about the importance of the centre's work, championing parliamentary democracy, and good governance globally.

Goshko noted that, globally, "democracy is in retreat," with autocracies becoming stronger, and the level of democracy enjoyed by the average person worldwide in 2023 descending to levels last seen in 1985.

Luckily, the night's posthumous honorees were two of the best examples of how best to fight for democracy in the 80s—or "social democracy," depending on the man—and two individuals who knew each man best were on hand to share some of their wisdom.

While **Party Central** only has limited column space, and you can watch the entire proceedings on CPAC, one part of Mulroney's speech, describing his father's relationship with former British prime minister **Margaret Thatcher**, seems particularly relevant.

"He could always tell whether he was on her good side or bad side depending on what country [Thatcher] was representing," Mulroney said, noting that during her regular "round table meetings" with world leaders, the seating arrangements were assigned alphabetically.

"If he was on her good side, Canada would sit next to England," Mulroney explained. "If he was on her bad side, Canada would sit next to France...next to Germany...next to Great Britain," Mulroney explained. "As a child, that always made me laugh. It always reminded me that politics—be it domestic or international—is about people."

And while, on paper, there couldn't be two men more obviously on different sides of the sword-lengths, Mulroney noted that his father's final word on the record, on any subject, was reminiscing "with kindness in his voice, warmth in his heart, of a man with whom he parried."

Despite the violent connotation of the distance between the two sides, Mulroney said his father believed, and taught him to see it, differently.

"At some point you put your weapons down, and Dad remembered that."

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Ben Mulroney accepts the 2024 Democracy Award on behalf of his late-father, Brian Mulroney.



NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh, left, presents Paul Broadbent with the 2024 Democracy Award on behalf of his late-father, Ed Broadbent.



Paul Broadbent, left, and British High Commissioner Susannah Goshko.



Liberal MP John McKay, second right, joins members of the delegation from Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada: Deputies Fedir Venislavskyi, left, Solomiia Bobrovska, Vladyslav Sverdlov, and deputy Yehor Cherniev.



Mulroney, left, and NDP national director Anne McGrath.



Mulroney, left, shares some baby photos of his own with Singh, and his daughter, Anhad Kaur Singh.



Maureen Boyd, left, and Mulroney.



Heather Bakken, left, and Politico's Nick Taylor Vaisey quiz the crowd with Mulroney-Broadbent-based trivia.



Michael Wernick, left, PSG Senator Andrew Gardozo, and Ross Speer.



Australian High Commissioner Scott Ryan, left, and Goshko.

The Hill Times photographs by Stuart Benson



Broadbent, left, and the Singhs.



Broadbent, left, McGrath, and Graham Fox.

# U.S. Ambassador Cohen to deliver remarks at American Chamber of Commerce on Oct. 29 in Toronto



U.S. Ambassador David Cohen, pictured at the Politics and the Pen gala in Ottawa last May, will deliver remarks at the American Chamber of Commerce in Canada's annual U.S. Thanksgiving Dinner. Tuesday, Oct. 29, at 6 p.m. ET at the Royal York Hotel, 100 Front St., Toronto. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

## MONDAY, OCT. 28

**House Sitting**—The House sits Oct. 21–Nov. 9, and breaks on Nov. 11 for Remembrance Day week until Nov. 15. It resumes again on Nov. 18, and is scheduled to sit from Nov. 18 to Dec. 17.

**Bank of Canada's Monetary Policy Report**—Mario Lefebvre, regional director of the Bank of Canada's Quebec Office, will outline the bank's Monetary Policy Report at an event hosted by the Ottawa Economic Association and the Association des économistes québécois. Monday, Oct. 28, at 5 p.m. ET at the Bank of Canada, 234 Wellington St. W. Details: cabc.ca.

**Saskatchewan Election**—Voters in Saskatchewan head to the polls today for the provincial general election.

## TUESDAY, OCT. 29

**Canada Green Building Council Reception**—Liberal MP Julie Dabrusin, NDP MP Charlie Angus, and Green MP Mike Morrice host a reception for the Canada Green Building Council. Celebrate the green building sector's contribution to an innovative and low-carbon economy in Canada. Tuesday, Oct. 29, at 5 p.m. ET at TwentyTwo, 22<sup>nd</sup> Floor of the Westin Hotel, 11 Colonel By Dr. Contact: jfagelson@cagbc.org.

**U.S. Ambassador to Deliver Remarks**—U.S. Ambassador David Cohen will deliver remarks at the American Chamber of Commerce in Canada's annual U.S. Thanksgiving Dinner. Tuesday, Oct. 29, at 6 p.m. ET at the Royal York Hotel, 100 Front St., Toronto. Details: amchamcanada.ca.

**UNDP Human Development Report**—The Aga Khan Foundation Canada hosts a discussion on "Human Potential: Insights from the UNDP Human Development Report 2024" featuring Heriberto Tapia with the UNDP's Human Development Report Office, Sharon Armstrong with Global Affairs Canada, and Davlatsulton Dorgabekova, CEO, Aga Khan Foundation Kyrgyz Republic. Tuesday, Oct. 29, at 10 a.m. ET at the Delegation of the Ismaili Imam, 299

Sussex Dr., and online. Details via Eventbrite.

## TUESDAY, OCT. 29—THURSDAY, OCT. 31

**CAEH24: The National Conference on Ending Homelessness**—The Canadian Alliance to End Homelessness will host its 11<sup>th</sup> annual Conference on Ending Homelessness from Tuesday, Oct. 29, to Thursday, Oct. 31, in Ottawa. Registration is open. Details: caeh.ca.

## WEDNESDAY, OCT. 30

**Open Doors at Justice Canada**—Justice Canada annually hosts an 'Open Doors at Justice' event to engage in dialogue with the public and stakeholders on various topics related to making government more open and accessible. Wednesday, Oct. 30, from 2–4 p.m. ET at the Department of Justice, 284 Wellington St., and virtually. Details via Eventbrite.

**Lecture: 'The Limits of Canadian Tolerance?'**—McGill University hosts this year's Mallory Lecture, titled "The Limits of Canadian Tolerance? Out-of-status migrants, public opinion, and the future of immigration policy," featuring University of British Columbia professor Irene Bloemraad. Wednesday, Oct. 30, at 4 p.m. ET at the Faculty Club, 3450 rue McTavish, Montreal. Details: mcgill.ca.

**Pearson Centre Leadership Awards**—The Pearson Centre hosts its Leadership Awards 2024, saluting organized labour for its leadership on advancing progressive social change. Laureates include Linda Silas, president of the Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions; and Sean Strickland, executive director, Canada's Building Trades Unions. Wednesday Oct. 30, at 5:45 p.m. at One King Street West, Toronto. Details: thepearsoncentre.ca.

## THURSDAY, OCT. 31

**GreenPAC's Breakfast on the Hill**—Innovation Minister François-Philippe Champagne and Conservative MP Dan Albas will take part in GreenPAC's

annual Breakfast on the Hill, which brings together Senators and MPs from all parties with business, academia, non-profit, and youth leaders who care about making positive environmental change. Thursday, Oct. 31 at 7:30 a.m. ET at the Fairmont Château Laurier, 1 Rideau St. Details via Eventbrite.

**Chinese Ambassador to Deliver Remarks**—China's Ambassador to Canada Wang Di will deliver remarks in English at a lunch event hosted by the Montreal Council on Foreign Relations. Thursday, Oct. 31, at 11:30 a.m. ET. Online and in-person at Plaza Centre-Ville, 777 Robert-Bourassa Blvd., Montreal. Details: corim.qc.ca.

## FRIDAY, NOV. 1

**Panel: 'Looming and Open War'**—The Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies hosts a panel discussion on "Looming and Open War: The Role of 'Intel' in a Time of Shifting Geopolitics," and a keynote address by Peter Mattis with the Jamestown Foundation. Friday, Nov. 1 at 8:30 a.m. ET at the Canadian War Museum, 1 Vimy Pl. Details via Eventbrite.

## FRIDAY, NOV. 1—SATURDAY, NOV. 2

**Kosovar Refugee Diaspora 25 Years On**—The Embassy of Kosovo, Carleton University, and the Bill Graham Centre host a two-day conference, "Canada, Kosovo, and the Kosovar Refugee Diaspora 25 Years On." Friday, Nov. 1 gala at the Chelsea Hotel, 33 Gerrard St. W., Toronto. Saturday, Nov. 2 panels at the University of Toronto's Campbell Conference Facility, 1 Devonshire Pl. Details: billgrahamcentre.utoronto.ca.

## SUNDAY, NOV. 3

**Online Campaign School**—Equal Voice's national online campaign school starts today. Over six consecutive weeks, women and gender-diverse individuals will gain the skills, knowledge, and resources they need to run for political office in Canada. NDP MP Leah

Gazan is among the speakers scheduled for Nov. 10. Sunday, Nov. 3, from 1–3 p.m. ET happening online: equal-voice.ca.

## MONDAY, NOV. 4

**Canada's Envoy to OECD to Deliver Remarks**—Madeleine Chenette, Canada's ambassador to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, will deliver remarks at a webinar hosted by the C.D. Howe Institute. Monday, Nov. 4, at 12:30 p.m. ET. Details online: cdhowe.org.

**Book Launch: 'The Adaptable Country'**—McGill University hosts the launch of Alasdair Roberts' new book, *The Adaptable Country: How Canada Can Survive the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. In a turbulent world, authoritarian rule is a tempting path to security. Canada's challenge is to show how political systems built to respect diversity and human rights can also respond nimbly to existential threats. Monday, Nov. 4, at 4 p.m. ET at the Faculty Club, 3450 rue McTavish, Montreal. Details: mcgill.ca.

## TUESDAY, NOV. 5

**Senator Omidvar's Retirement**—Today is Ontario ISG Senator Ratna Omidvar's 75<sup>th</sup> birthday, which means her mandatory retirement from the Senate.

**U.S. Presidential Election**—The U.S. presidential election will happen on Tuesday, Nov. 5. Former U.S. president and current Republican candidate Donald Trump will face off against the Democrats' presidential candidate, current Vice-President Kamala Harris.

**Enbridge Gas CEO to Deliver Remarks**—The Empire Club of Canada hosts Enbridge President CEO Michele Harradence who will discuss with Hannah Thibedeau about "How Canada's Largest Gas Utility Is Becoming North America's Largest." Tuesday, Nov. 5, at 11:30 a.m. ET. Details: empireclubofcanada.com.

**Premier Doug Ford in Ottawa**—Ontario Premier Doug Ford will deliver remarks at a lunch event hosted by the Economic Club of Canada. Tuesday, Nov. 5, at 11:55 a.m. ET at the Fairmont Château Laurier, 1 Rideau St. Register: economicclub.ca.

**CPRA Reception**—The Canadian Parks and Recreation Association invites MPs and their staff to join them for an exclusive reception with leaders in the recreation and parks sector from across Canada. Tuesday, Nov. 5, at 12 p.m. ET in Room 310, Wellington Building, 180 Wellington St. Contact colleen@cpra.ca.

**IRPP Fall Lecture**—The Institute for Research on Public Policy hosts a lecture. American author and political scientist Hahrie Han, an expert in political organizing and social movements, will offer an analysis of the U.S. presidential election. Tuesday, Nov. 5, at 5 p.m. ET at the National Arts Centre, 1 Elgin St. Details online: irpp.org.

**Canola Parliamentary Reception**—The Canadian Canola Growers Association and the Canola Council of Canada host an invitation-only reception. Tuesday, Nov. 5, from 6–9 p.m. at the National Arts Centre, 1 Elgin St. Details: julial@coga.ca.

**U.S. Election Watch Party**—The Canadian International Council's National Capital Branch hosts a lively watch party to track the results of the 2024 U.S. presidential election in real time. Tuesday, Nov. 5, from 7–9 p.m. ET, at The Bridge Public House, 1 Donald St. Details via Eventbrite.

## WEDNESDAY, NOV. 6

**Bank of Canada Senior Deputy Governor to Deliver Remarks**—Carolyn Rogers, the Bank of Canada's senior deputy governor, will deliver remarks at a lunch event hosted by the Economic Club of Canada. Wednesday, Nov. 6, at 11:45 a.m. ET at the Sheraton Centre Toronto Hotel. Details: economicclub.ca.

**Vimy Gala**—The Conference of Defence Associations Institute hosts the 32<sup>nd</sup> annual Vimy Gala, the most exclusive defence and security recognition gala of its kind. Former chief of defence

staff Walter Natynczyk will receive this year's Vimy Award. Wednesday, Nov. 6 at 6 p.m. ET at the Canadian War Museum. Details: cdainstitute.ca.

## THURSDAY, NOV. 7

**'Salute to Service and Security'**—The Canadian Club of Ottawa hosts a special lunch event in honour of Remembrance Day. Lt.-Gen. Michael Wright, commander of the Canadian Army, will deliver remarks on "Salute to Service and Security: Honouring Our Veterans." Thursday, Nov. 7 at 11:30 a.m. ET at the Fairmont Château Laurier, 1 Rideau St. Details: canadianclubottawa.ca.

**Kimberly Murray to Deliver Remarks**—Kimberly Murray, independent special interlocutor for missing children and unmarked graves and burial sites, will deliver remarks at a lunch event hosted by the Canadian Club of Toronto. Thursday, Nov. 7, at 11:45 a.m. ET at the Fairmont Royal York, 100 Front St. W. Details: canadianclub.org.

**Blue Skies Ahead**—BlueSky Strategy Group hosts a panel discussion, "Blue Skies Ahead," examining the future state of the Canada-U.S. relationship. Participants include Evan Solomon, GZERO Media; Laura Dawson, Future Borders Coalition; and Robert J. Johnston, GEOCAP Advisers. Thursday, Nov. 7, at 12 p.m. ET happening online: info@blueskystrategygroup.com.

**Book Launch: 'The Trudeau Record'**—The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives host the launch of its new book, *The Trudeau Record: Promise and Performance* edited by Katherine Scott, Laura Macdonald, and Stuart Trew. Thursday, Nov. 7, at 5 p.m. at Metropolitan Brasserie, 700 Sussex Dr. Details via Eventbrite.

**Lecture: 'Home Truths to Homeward Bound'**—The Institute for Research on Public Policy hosts a talk on "Home Truths to Homeward Bound: Deeply Affordable Housing to Address Canada's Housing Crisis". Housing expert Carolyn Whitzman will review the federal policies that have led to the current housing crisis, and examine how new government efforts can prioritize deeply affordable housing for Canadians who need it most. Thursday, Nov. 7 at 5 p.m. at IRPP, 1470 rue Peel, #200, Montreal. Details: irpp.org.

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