

**CARNEY,
POILIEVRE:
it's go time**

► MICHAEL HARRIS PAGE 17



AGRICULTURE
and the trade war

► PAGES 15-24



Canada needs all
ELBOWS UP!

► SHEILA COPPS PAGE 9

Exclusive
news:
inside



THE HILL TIMES

Exclusive
opinion:
inside

THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR, NO. 2205

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2025 \$5.00

NEWS

Liberals, Conservatives gripped in a tie; next election will be 'like a knife fight in a telephone booth,' with Trump as disruptor, says Nanos

BY ABBAS RANA

Newly minted Prime Minister Mark Carney—who was sworn in as prime minister on March 14—secured a convincing landslide victory in the Liberal leadership election on March 9, winning 89.5 per cent of the vote and sweeping all 343 ridings, which pollster Nik Nanos says indicates Carney's national appeal. He defeated his two main rivals—Chrystia Freeland and Karina Gould—even in their own constituencies.

Nanos, chief data scientist for Nanos Research, described the leadership election result as a "crushing victory," highlighting the strength of Carney's campaign organization. He said that the outcome demonstrated Carney's ability to run a truly national campaign, ensuring no region was overlooked or left behind.

"Maybe that's one lesson that we can take from this, that perhaps when Mark Carney gets to fight the next election," said Nanos. "He's going to fight for every seat in every part of the country, that it's not going to be a situation where he gives up anywhere, because it's clear, at least from his leadership campaign, he was not prepared to give up any riding to his opponents."

Unlike members of the Conservatives, NDP, or Bloc Québécois, Liberal Party members prioritize electability over ideological alignment, Nanos said. The results, he said, validate party members' belief that Carney is the best candidate to defeat Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre (Carleton, Ont.), who had been leading in the polls for more than a year.

Continued on page 26

Carney, the thinker, enters the lion's den



Mark Carney, the economic technocrat who plunged into political street-fighting, will become Canada's 24th prime minister at a time when the country's very existence is challenged by a predatory American president. This is a drama for the ages. **Read Doug Roche's column on PAGE 12**

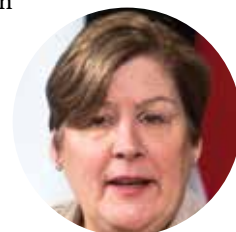
Mark Carney, pictured Jan. 23, 2025, in Ottawa. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

NEWS

Foreign interference risks must be addressed before voters go to polls, warns democracy watchdog, but Wark says holding off on election right now would be 'ridiculous'

BY JESSE CNOCKAERT

The co-founder of Democracy Watch is calling on federal political parties to "put aside partisan self-interest" and hold off calling an election until legislation is passed to help address risks of foreign interference,



Marie-Josée Hogue

such as possible disinformation spread through social media.

"Secret, unethical, undemocratic fundraising, lobbying, campaigning and other influence activities—including disinformation campaigns—are all legal, currently, and it's dangerous to have a federal election when those kinds of foreign interference activities are all legal and can be done in secret," said Duff Conacher. "I think we will have a very undemocratic and unfair election tainted by foreign interference if these loopholes aren't closed."

In a March 3 press release, Conacher urged federal parties to work together to pass legislation that could help address foreign interference, such as Bill C-65 and Bill C-290, before a federal election is called.

Bill C-65, the Electoral Participation Act, proposes a series of changes to the Canada Elections Act, including clarifying language around illegal inter-

Continued on page 5

Publications Mail Agreement #40068926
0 94922 81130 1

OPINION



Mark Carney, the economic technocrat who plunged into political street-fighting, will become the 24th prime minister of Canada at a time when the very existence of the country is challenged by a predatory American president. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

ferent to human suffering and can be blind to our greatest needs.”

Then he reveals the deep conviction that has driven him into politics: “That’s why politicians who worship the market tend to deliver policies that hurt people, and those who default to *laissez faire* leave us unprepared for the future. Put simply, markets don’t have values, people do.”

He wants to channel the dynamism of markets to create value for all, and to do this by reinforcing the core values of solidarity, fairness, responsibility, resilience, sustainability and humility. Carney seeks to advance distributive justice, equality of opportunity, and fairness across generations. These are powerful ideas to make a more livable planet.

The word “sustainability” runs through his book. He says we must develop a “clean economy” that draws the continued input of private investors. To do this, he sets out a 10-point plan for Canada on growth, borrowing and productivity. The seeds of the new Liberal platform, with Carney in charge, are planted in *Value(s)*. “It’s our job to make our markets work for all Canadians,” he writes.

Social justice permeates Carney’s thinking, but he writes in the terse manner of the boardroom. It is clear he has immense knowledge of the market and banking systems, and how they would be strengthened by making a more livable life for vulnerable people—but can he slam that point home?

This is a man who sees politics as a vocation, a medium to lift up the common good. He is touching a nerve in the fabric of Canada, and that is why people are beginning to respond to him. He gives them hope that fairness in life can be achieved.

If the Canadian people were to elect Carney, they would have a leader who shows signs of operating in the tradition of Pearsonian diplomacy. Lester “Mike” Pearson, our 14th prime minister, was also a technocrat before entering politics where he distinguished himself at home by producing medicare and the Canadian flag, and abroad by solving the Suez crisis with a soft diplomatic touch.

Today’s politics are nastier than in Pearson’s time. To succeed in the political maelstrom, Carney must show he is “tough.” Poilievre relishes cloaking himself this way, but it is not natural terrain for Carney. He has to withstand—and answer back—the derisive insults that Poilievre is hurling at him; and he has to show Trump that economic warfare against Canada hurts America’s interests, while at the same time not alienating a supreme egotist.

This calls for diplomacy that rises above the fray. That’s what Pearson had. Carney, the thinker, is not comfortable in the lion’s den, but if he survives these dehumanizing battles, he will lift up the humanity of all Canadians: high drama indeed.

Former Senator Douglas Roche is the author of *Keep Hope Alive: Essays for a War-free World, which includes a Post-script, “Hope in the Era of Trump”* (Amazon).

The Hill Times

Carney, the thinker, enters the lion’s den

If Mark Carney survives these dehumanizing battles, he will lift up Canadians: high drama indeed.

Douglas Roche



Opinion

EDMONTON—Mark Carney, the economic technocrat who plunged into political street-fighting, will become Canada’s 24th prime minister at a time when the country’s very existence is challenged by a predatory American president. Hollywood could scarcely have dreamed up the political scenario now playing out: a star central banker, who believes strongly that the market should be infused with social justice values, taking on both a slogan-spouting political opponent at home and a psychopathic bully heading the adjoining country we used to call our best friend.

This is a drama for the ages.

It is playing out on several levels. First, who do Canadians want to govern them: the 60-year-old Carney—whose resumé of accomplishments such as governor of both the Bank of Canada and Bank of England as well as UN adviser on climate change is staggeringly long—or the 45-year-old Conservative Leader Pierre Poilievre, who has spent the past 21 years as a Member of Parliament, rising to minister of two departments: democratic reform, and employment and social development?

Second, which of these two men can stand up most effectively to U.S. President Donald Trump, who has torn up the friendship agreements between his country and Canada, and seeks to impose a range of crippling tariffs us for no good reason? Third, who can best forge a unified Canadian response to the domestic economic threat, and deal most effectively with the European countries that are aghast at how Trump is blowing up the rules-based international order put in place after the Second World War to keep the peace?

No Canadian prime minister in modern history has had to deal with such a fraught agenda. At the moment, everyone is focused on the election choice: Carney or Poilievre. The usual questions are

“
NO CANADIAN
PRIME MINISTER IN
MODERN HISTORY
HAS HAD TO DEAL
WITH SUCH A
FRAUGHT
AGENDA.”

being examined by the pundits: which of the two main contenders is “stronger”? Who is the better campaigner? The better debater? Will it be a majority or minority government for whoever wins?

These questions fascinate us, but concentration on the horse race obscures a fundamental question crying out for answer: what are the basic beliefs of the new prime minister, Carney, who has entered the political arena for the first time in his life, and is not known by the wider public? Aside from a luminous pedigree, what does he stand for? Who is he?

The answers to these questions are contained in Carney’s book, *Value(s): Building a Better World for All*, which he wrote during the pandemic and published in 2021. This 507-page treatise, which won the National Business Book Award, is not bedside reading. It is a formidable examination of how market fundamentalism has corroded social values and fostered the crises of our time, such as global warming and health-care capacity.

“Having worked at the centre of markets all my professional life,” Carney writes, “I know they are the most powerful instrument we’ve ever created. Their energy and dynamism can be harnessed and directed to service greater purposes. But markets are indif-