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(HANSARD)

Thursday, November 26, 2026

The Honourable RAYMONDE GAGNÉ,
Speaker

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THE SENATE

Thursday, November 26, 2026

The Senate met at 1:30 p.m., the Speaker in the chair.

Prayers.

SENATORS' STATEMENTS

DIABETES AWARENESS MONTH

Hon. Jane MacAdam: Honourable senators, November is Diabetes Awareness Month, and November 14 was World Diabetes Day. Diabetes affects more than 4 million people in Canada and remains one of the most significant, costly and preventable drivers of health system expenditures.

Behind that number are individuals and families whose lives are permanently altered. Diabetes is a lifelong condition that demands constant vigilance 24 hours a day, seven days a week, across every stage of life. The daily burden is never carried alone. It affects patients and their families every single day, bringing emotional and financial strain and requiring sustained support as they navigate a condition for which complications can be serious and life-threatening.

Nowhere is that lifelong reality felt more deeply than when diabetes strikes in children. While type 2 diabetes accounts for 90% to 95% of cases, roughly 5% to 10% live with type 1, an autoimmune condition in which the body cannot produce its own insulin. Often diagnosed in young children, type 1 diabetes transforms childhood overnight. All of a sudden, parents are monitoring blood glucose through the night and managing insulin at school, at play and through every age and stage of their child's life.

This year, Diabetes Canada is leading a vital call to action to "Stop the Stigma." Every day, people living with diabetes face harmful misconceptions, blame and judgment about what caused their condition or how they manage it. This stigma is not harmless; it affects mental health, isolates families and can make people feel hesitant to ask for help or seek the medical care they need.

Challenging these myths and replacing judgment with understanding are essential to supporting the diabetes community. Although a widely accessible cure for diabetes remains out of reach, groundbreaking trials, including stem cell and immune therapies, are underway and advancing. More action is needed to support people living with diabetes. Across Canada, people need reliable access to essential medications, fair access to diabetes technology and continued research that leads to better health outcomes.

Honourable senators, for the millions of Canadians living with diabetes, from young children newly diagnosed to seniors who have managed it for decades, and for the families affected, recognition, understanding and support matter every day.

Thank you. *Meegwetch*.

Hon. Senators: Hear, hear.

HIGH-SPEED RAIL

Hon. Andrew Cardozo: Honourable senators, as a senator from Ottawa, I have a strong interest in better rail service in this region. The Alto project has strong pluses and minuses. Unfortunately, Budget 2026 proposes strong, new expropriation measures for the high-speed railway. Expropriated farmers may not only have their farms and communities divided but may have to pay more than $12,000 to appeal decisions.

This project is moving ahead fast, with growing opposition to what is developing as a serious rural-urban divide in the debate. Some of the measures announced in the budget will only exacerbate this.

This is a juncture where we need to take a deep breath and make sure that this is the project that's best for this region. While Alto is designated as a nation-building project, my fear, and the fear of an increasing number of people, is that it could become a nation-dividing project.

While there are many good reasons to have high-speed rail, it may be just too expensive and too divisive. If I can riff off the movie *Field of Dreams*, what if we build it and no one comes?

Before we make that final decision, let's look at alternatives. There are three numbers that I keep in mind: 100, 200 and 300. Currently, VIA Rail Canada averages about 100 kilometres per hour. Alto is designed for high speeds of about 300 kilometres per hour. We should take a serious look at an option in between, with trains capable of running at around 200 kilometres per hour, and, more importantly, trains that run on time. Call it high-efficiency or high-frequency rail. This can be achieved by building tracks parallel to the ones currently used by VIA Rail that would be owned by VIA.

Also, whereas VIA trains regularly stop to give freight trains the right-of-way because they don't own the lines, in the new model, passenger trains would always take priority over freight trains.

Canada is a country of big cities, small towns and rural areas. We need to find a better balance. Above all, how many people would actually take the train? We need to look closely at the ridership forecasts for both options. Do Canadians actually want to take the train in sufficient numbers to make this scale of investment worthwhile?

A railway is a long-term investment. With high-speed rail, we risk building a white elephant: expensive, unloved and unused. Before Parliament grants new expropriation powers to Alto, let's compare the two options openly and give high-frequency, high-efficiency rail the serious consideration it deserves.

Thank you.

Some Hon. Senators: Hear, hear.

HON. PAMELA WALLIN, O.C.

Hon. Mary Robinson: Honourable senators, today, I wish to recognize a former colleague who departed this chamber in the same manner that she served within it — with grace and humility.

She never sought the spotlight, even though her distinguished career and breadth of experience could easily have made way for that. Instead, Senator Pamela Wallin chose to lead through the strength of her voice, wisdom and service, leaving a lasting mark on this institution.

Her voice in this chamber and beyond these walls is one that Canadians have known for decades. Hers is one of those rare voices you can hear even when reading something on paper. Her voice in this chamber was more than a recognizable tone or the mark of an accomplished broadcaster. It was the voice of experience, curiosity and wisdom.

I have always appreciated her insight because it came from a lifetime of listening, learning and engaging with people from every walk of life. She often shared stories from her remarkable career, recalling interviews and lessons she had learned along the way. As Alan Alda of "M*A*S*H" once shared with her, "Listening is being able to be changed by the other person."

Pamela's stories were never meant to impress us but rather to teach, encourage and broaden our perspectives. Senator Wallin possesses a remarkable ability to draw upon her experiences to illuminate a point, challenge conventional thinking and, when necessary, call out something that just doesn't hold water.

Throughout her distinguished career as a journalist, she understood that her responsibility was not simply to tell stories but to ask difficult questions, hold power to account, uncover the truth and give voice to those who might otherwise go unheard.

• (1340)

In many ways, those same principles define our work as senators. Our role is not merely to debate legislation; it is to scrutinize it, challenge assumptions, hold governments to account and ensure voices from every region of Canada are heard and respected.

Senator Wallin embraced that responsibility fully, whether questioning ministers, examining legislation or reminding us of our constitutional obligations. She has been a steadfast defender of this institution and the Senate's vital role in Canadian democracy. She would never allow its purpose or importance to be casually eroded.

She brought a strong Prairie perspective to this chamber, grounded in the values of her home province of Saskatchewan: independence, practicality, resilience and common sense.

As a pioneer in Canadian journalism, a diplomat and a public figure, she has opened doors for generations of women who will follow. Her career demonstrates that leadership and influence are earned through competence, courage and authenticity.

Although Senator Wallin has retired, her message endures: Uphold our constitutional responsibilities, be a voice of reason, ask difficult questions and never stop defending the institutions that serve Canadians.

To our retired colleague Senator Pamela Wallin, thank you for your service, your mentorship, your friendship and, above all, your voice.

Hon. Senators: Hear, hear.

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

Hon. Yuen Pau Woo: Honourable senators, next week we mark the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. If there was ever a time for solidarity with the Palestinian people, it is now.

Just last week, one year after the so-called ceasefire in Gaza, here is what the UN said:

> Flooding in Gaza has compounded an already dire situation, with . . . 46,000 households affected and over 40,000 family shelters damaged. The —

— humanitarian —

> — response is held back by Israeli restrictions alongside funding shortfalls.

They continued, saying:

> In the West Bank, demolitions by Israeli forces displaced 150 Palestinians in one week, including in areas affected by the —

— Israeli —

> — E1 settlement expansion plan and the Jordan Valley, as well as in East Jerusalem.

They also said:

> Displacement has had a disproportionate effect on young Palestinians, leading to disruption in schools affecting nearly 28,000 students and education personnel across the West Bank.

Further, they said:

> Settler violence and access restrictions continued to displace families and disrupt the olive harvest, with 410 harvest-related settler attacks recorded since 1 September 2026.

For its part, Oxfam and the Conflict and Environment Observatory have found that Israeli military operations have resulted in the contamination of soil, debris and water across more than 99% of Gaza's territory.

Honourable colleagues, Canada is not a disinterested party when it comes to Gaza and the West Bank. In September 2025, we recognized the State of Palestine. This adds to our responsibility to uphold international law in Gaza, as we are doing in Ukraine.

This means not just tut-tutting the Israeli government from time to time with pious statements. It has to include concrete actions to not be complicit in war crimes and to prevent genocide.

Today, to mark the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, my office is releasing a volume with the collected speeches of senators on my Motion No. 13, calling on the Government of Canada to examine its risk of complicity.

In his foreword to the volume, Michael Lynk, an emeritus professor of law at Western University and former UN special rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, had this to say:

> The very purpose of the Genocide Convention is not only to punish the perpetrators of genocide. It is also to prevent genocide from occurring in the first place whenever there are yellow lights flashing that such an atrocity might be underway somewhere in the world. . . .

His words are all the more important in light of the recent International Court of Justice ruling on the genocide in Myanmar. The ruling has come too late for many Rohingya. It is also too late for at least 75,000 Palestinians killed in Gaza. But it is not too late for Canada to redeem itself as a consistent defender of international law, and it is not too late for solidarity with the Palestinian people.

Thank you.

UKRAINIAN FAMINE AND GENOCIDE ("HOLODOMOR") MEMORIAL DAY

Hon. Leo Housakos (Leader of the Opposition): Honourable senators, on November 28, Canadians will observe Holodomor Memorial Day, remembering the millions of Ukrainians deliberately starved to death by Joseph Stalin's Soviet regime in 1932 and 1933.

In one of the most fertile lands on earth, Soviet authorities seized grain and food and sealed the borders, trapping starving families where they stood. Hunger was used as a weapon. Stalin used it in an attempt to break the Ukrainian people and crush their longing for freedom. That is where he failed. Despite Soviet efforts to bury the crime, survivors carried forward the memories that the regime sought to silence.

Despite efforts to erase the Ukrainian language, culture and identity, Ukrainian heritage survived and flourished in all corners of the world.

Here in Canada, Ukrainian families kept the memory alive and refused to rest until the world acknowledged what had been done to their people.

In 2008, Parliament answered. Bill C-459, sponsored by MP James Bezan, recognized the Holodomor as genocide, and ever since, Canada has set aside the fourth Saturday in November to remember it.

Honourable senators, that remembrance carries a responsibility. It is a call to action because the same hand of tyranny is reaching for Ukraine again. Russia's invasion has killed civilians and flattened communities. With winter closing in, Russian forces are striking power and heating infrastructure, trying to freeze Ukrainian families into submission. The weapon has changed, but the goal has remained the same: to break a people who refuse to surrender their right to decide their own future.

Our remembrance must come with resolve to sustain support for Ukraine, protect civilians, demand accountability for atrocities and uphold Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Above all, we must never lose the moral clarity needed to stand up to authoritarians around the world. It is the clarity Canada has shown for years, from former prime minister Stephen Harper telling Vladimir Putin to his face — and very publicly — in 2014 to get out of Ukraine, to the support that Canada continues to offer to Ukraine to this very day.

Honourable senators, at the heart of this memorial day are the people we remember: children who never grew up, parents who could not feed their families and communities devastated by starvation. We owe it to them to preserve survivors' testimony, teach this history and honour their memories by standing up to human rights and the dignity of every person.

On November 28, let us join Ukrainian Canadians in solemn reflection. May the victims of the Holodomor never be forgotten. Thank you, colleagues.

[*Translation*]

CONFERENCE OF THE PARTIES

Hon. Rosa Galvez: Honourable senators, I've just returned from COP 31 in Antalya, the longest climate conference in history. It ended without an agreement due to a lack of consensus on fossil fuels.

I would like to acknowledge my colleagues, Senator Muggli and Senator Coyle, who were also in Antalya.

[*English*]

Like many of you, I believe public policy must be grounded in evidence. At COP 31, scientist Johan Rockström set out the facts. The rate of global warming has more than doubled over the past decade, and 7 out of 16 key climate indicators are at record levels. Glaciers are melting faster, forests are losing their ability to absorb carbon and seven out of nine planetary boundaries have been exceeded. To limit the overshoot to 1.5 degrees, emissions must fall by 6% a year and be halved by 2035. We have a 10-year window in which to act.

Some progress continues to be made. More than 25 countries have announced road maps to transition away from fossil fuels, and governments have agreed on a just transition. Nearly 40 countries, including those of the European Union, the United Kingdom, Norway, Panama and Pacific island states, rejected a text that no longer reflected the Dubai commitment.

Adaptation is a matter of survival, yet COP 31 ended without a new finance goal. Developing countries, which have contributed the least to this crisis, need $305 billion a year to adapt and face a funding gap of $277 billion. Supporting them is a shared responsibility.

• (1350)

Many of you, including me, vacation in the Caribbean. I urge you to inquire how fast sea water levels rise and how frequent tornadoes, pollution and ocean acidification are impacting the security, health and economy of the citizens of these nations.

On the other side, Canada is not immune to global warming. Floods are already making homes uninsurable, shifting the costs onto families and public budgets. This evidence should inform decisions about future energy projects. The International Energy Agency warns of a coming oversupply of liquefied natural gas, or LNG, and courts in Norway and South Africa now require emissions from exported fuels to be assessed.

Fossil fuel investments are a growing financial risk.

[*Translation*]

Let's ask ourselves the following questions: Are the projected returns on new oil and gas projects realistic? Are we prepared to face the rising costs of climate impacts here at home? Will Canada come forward with its own transition road map? Quebec is doing just that.

Thank you. *Meegwetch*.

[*English*]

ROUTINE PROCEEDINGS

LAWFUL ACCESS BILL, 2026

NINTH REPORT OF NATIONAL SECURITY, DEFENCE AND VETERANS AFFAIRS COMMITTEE PRESENTED

Hon. Marty Deacon: Honourable senators, I have the honour to present, in both official languages, the ninth report of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security, Defence and Veterans Affairs, which deals with Bill C-22, An Act respecting lawful access.

(*For text of report, see today's* Journals of the Senate*, p. 1381.*)

The Hon. the Speaker: Honourable senators, when shall this report be taken into consideration?

(On motion of Senator Deacon (*Ontario*), report placed on the Orders of the Day for consideration at the next sitting of the Senate.)

• (1400)

EXERCISE OF POWERS UNDER THE BUILDING CANADA ACT

SECOND REPORT OF SPECIAL JOINT COMMITTEE TABLED

Hon. Patti LaBoucane-Benson (Legislative Deputy to the Government Representative in the Senate): Honourable senators, I have the honour to table, in both official languages, the second report (interim) of the Special Joint Committee on the Exercise of Powers Under the Building Canada Act, which deals with the Review of the Governor in Council's and the Minister's Exercise of Their Powers and Performance of Their Duties and Functions Under the Building Canada Act.

[*Translation*]

CORRECTIONS AND CONDITIONAL RELEASE ACT

BILL TO AMEND—FIRST READING

The Hon. the Speaker informed the Senate that a message had been received from the House of Commons with Bill C-221, An Act to amend the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (disclosure of information to victims).

(Bill read first time.)

The Hon. the Speaker: Honourable senators, when shall this bill be read the second time?

(On motion of Senator Martin, bill placed on the Orders of the Day for second reading two days hence.)

[*English*]

AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

NOTICE OF MOTION TO AUTHORIZE COMMITTEE TO EXTEND DATE OF FINAL REPORT ON STUDY OF ISSUES RELATING TO AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

Hon. Mary Robinson: Honourable senators, I give notice that, at the next sitting of the Senate, I will move:

> That, notwithstanding the order of the Senate adopted on Wednesday, September 24, 2025, the date for the final report of the Standing Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry in relation to its study on such issues as may arise from time to time relating to agriculture and forestry be extended from December 31, 2026, to December 31, 2027.

QUESTION PERIOD

TRANSPORT

HIGH-SPEED RAIL

Hon. Jim Quinn: Senator Moreau, with Bill C-43, the government is seeking significant new expropriation powers to build a high-speed rail network, including taking private property without public hearings, sending disputes to private arbitration and preventing a landowner from building on their land for four years, even though the land might not be expropriated.

Can you explain why the government is asking Parliament to deviate from the normal processes under the Expropriation Act and instead have exceptional powers for the high-speed rail project? Is this a unique situation, or are there other projects where the government is contemplating similar exceptions to the normal process of expropriation?

Hon. Pierre Moreau (Government Representative in the Senate): Thank you for the question, Senator Quinn. It's rather appropriate. I was listening carefully to Senator Cardozo's statement at the beginning of our work today.

Building Canada's first high-speed rail network is a generational undertaking that is expected to boost GDP by $35 billion annually, create over 51,000 good-paying jobs and generate approximately $800 million in annual tourism activity. Given the complexity and unprecedented scale of this project, the proposed measures are intended to provide greater certainty and predictability for both project delivery and affected landowners. That's what the Quebec government did when contemplating building Réseau express métropolitain, or REM. The government is committed to a fair and transparent process, giving Alto more time to reach voluntary agreements before resorting to expropriation and making sure that the expropriation will proceed with due process.

• (1410)

Senator Quinn: Given that there are no public hearings regarding the expropriation of land for high-speed rail, what role do you see the Senate having to provide increased oversight and transparency of these expropriation powers, given that they fall outside of the mandate of the Building Canada Act and its oversight committee?

Senator Moreau: Thank you again, senator. The Senate has an important role in scrutinizing legislation and ensuring that appropriate safeguards are in place to protect the interests of Canadians. The proposed changes seek to provide greater certainty to landowners through clearer timelines, advanced notice, opportunities to raise concerns and fair compensation. That's the main objective of the bill. Thousands of Canadians have already participated in Alto's public consultation, and engagement will remain important as the project advances.

CANADIAN AIR TRANSPORT SECURITY AUTHORITY

Hon. Yonah Martin (Deputy Leader of the Opposition): A recent investigation by CTV's "W5" program revealed that nearly 7,000 airport workers with criminal records were granted security clearances over the past five years. This comes amid ongoing concerns about baggage-tag switching schemes that have exposed innocent Canadian travellers to serious criminal consequences. Canadians expect our airports to be secure and our screening processes to be rigorous.

Why did your government allow such significant gaps in oversight to happen, and what immediate measures will be implemented to restore public confidence in airport security?

Hon. Pierre Moreau (Government Representative in the Senate): The issue is more complex than your question implies, Senator Martin. You know that driving while impaired can result in a criminal record. Do you think that people who have been convicted of driving while impaired cannot dispense coffee at an airport or bring luggage to an airplane?

There's more to say about this important issue. The minister is well aware of the situation, and he answered questions concerning this matter yesterday. You don't have to think that criminals who have been through murder trials would work in an airport.

Senator Martin: Well, Senator Moreau, the report also found that Transport Canada does not track the types of offences involved and cannot provide data on how many applications linked to suspected organized crime were rejected. I understand the nuances and the many different types of cases, but the government lacks even basic data on criminal offences and organized crime connections.

How can Canadians have confidence that airport security clearances are protecting the public?

Senator Moreau: As you said, there are clearances and procedures in place. The government is aware of that, and the minister is aware of the situation. It is more complex, so don't imply that criminals work in airports in Canada. People with criminal records have to be brought back into society, and we have to make sure that they can have a job. And that's the most important —

[*Translation*]

The Hon. the Speaker: Thank you, Senator Moreau.

[*English*]

ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE CHANGE

CONFERENCE OF THE PARTIES

Hon. Mary Coyle: Senator Moreau, for the first time since 2009, climate negotiations collapsed at COP31 in Antalya, Türkiye, with the 200 nations present failing to agree on a cover decision. Many countries felt that the final draft text did not go far enough, with no mention of fossil fuels anywhere in the text, despite scientific consensus that they drive global warning.

Canada's Minister of Environment and Climate Change stated that she was disappointed with the COP31 outcome but that Canada is still committed to the Paris Agreement and multilateralism. Senator Moreau, with the minister's important commitments to both the Paris Agreement and multilateralism, how will the Canadian government work with like-minded partners to get negotiations back on track for COP32, which is to be held next year in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia?

Hon. Pierre Moreau (Government Representative in the Senate): Thank you for your question and your commitment to environmental issues, senator. The government acknowledged that the result of COP31 was not as expected, but this will not stop any plans to reach net zero by 2050. Canada will continue active dialogue with all willing partners to ensure the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change process works.

Additionally, Canada is investing over $5 billion in international climate finance to reduce global emissions and fight climate change in cooperation with other countries. As you heard me say recently in this chamber, Budget 2026 is committing $50 billion in electrification initiatives, including investment in renewable energy infrastructure, emerging low-carbon technologies and energy efficiency in Canadian industry, manufacturing and more.

Senator Coyle: Thank you, Senator Moreau. Canadian negotiators participated in the International Conference on the Just Transition Away from Fossil Fuels in Santa Marta, Colombia, in April 2026. This was held between COP30 and COP31. Tuvalu and Ireland are co-hosting the 2nd International Conference on the Just Transition Away from Fossil Fuels in 2027. Senator Moreau, will Canada continue to support the process of transitioning away from fossil fuels? If so, how?

Senator Moreau: The historic investment in clean energy in Budget 2026 will help Canadians transition away from fossil fuels. Electricity is essential to our daily lives. As our population continues to grow and Canadian households and businesses switch from fossil fuels to electricity to heat their homes, power, transportation and fuel industry demands will rise significantly and the electricity system will need to expand. That is why the government is laying the foundation for a clean, reliable and affordable electricity grid that will power a strong, clean economy for the 21st century.

FINANCE

SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED BUSINESSES

Hon. Tony Loffreda: Senator Moreau, Budget 2026 proposes new incentives to encourage investment and help Canadian businesses grow, including the Canada Growth Incentive. However the Standing Senate Committee on Banking, Commerce and the Economy's recent report *From Potential to Prosperity: The urgent case for greater investment in Canada's SMEs* identified persistent financing gaps that —

[*Translation*]

The Hon. the Speaker: Senator Loffreda, I'm sorry to interrupt. I think the interpretation has stopped. We'll do a test and come back shortly.

(The sitting of the Senate was suspended.)

(The sitting of the Senate was resumed.)

• (1420)

[*English*]

BUSINESS OF THE SENATE

The Hon. the Speaker: Honourable senators, I would like to take a moment to remind you to silence your mobile devices and turn off the vibration once the sitting has begun, and to avoid touching your microphone with papers when giving a speech in the Senate. The sound of vibrating devices on desks, which extends to the seatmates of a senator giving a speech, and impact noises from accidentally hitting a microphone could incur interruptions in interpretation.

FINANCE

SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED BUSINESSES

Hon. Tony Loffreda: My question is for the Government Representative in the Senate. Senator Moreau, Budget 2026 proposes new incentives to encourage investment and help Canadian businesses grow, including the Canada growth incentive. However, our Banking Committee's recent report *From Potential to Prosperity* identified persistent financing gaps that prevent promising Canadian businesses from expanding and that contribute to the loss of Canadian ownership and intellectual property. Tax incentives can encourage investment, but entrepreneurs must also be able to secure the capital needed to invest, innovate and create jobs.

Will the government publish an action plan responding to the committee's recommendations, with clear deadlines and measurable targets for improving small- and medium-sized businesses' access to financing?

Hon. Pierre Moreau (Government Representative in the Senate): Thank you for the question. The government is aware, Senator Loffreda, of the committee's report, and we will await their response.

The government knows that small businesses create jobs and support local communities across Canada. Budget 2026 aims to lower costs and make it easier for them to grow. The government is proposing a new $15-million capital gains exemption to encourage investment in Canadian businesses. The government is also making it less expensive for businesses to invest and expand, helping Canada stay competitive through expanded Business Development Bank of Canada, or BDC, financing and support for businesses affected by tariffs. The government is helping businesses manage costs, reach new markets and protect Canadian jobs. Regarding financing for SMEs, the government has expanded options for them via BDC, especially in light of the trade situation with the United States. That includes the Pivot to Grow program, which —

[*Translation*]

The Hon. the Speaker: Thank you, Senator Moreau.

[*English*]

Senator Loffreda: Thank you for that answer. Capital is key in every aspect of business, as you know.

Will the government commit to reporting annually on the amount of additional private capital mobilized for Canadian SMEs and on whether that investment translates into business growth, job creation and the retention of Canadian-owned businesses and intellectual property in Canada? It's a huge concern — keeping businesses in their communities in Canada.

Senator Moreau: I understand the Banking Committee is calling for numerous fundamental changes to the Canadian financial system. Unfortunately, I'm unable to comment at this time on the government's intent to commit to annual reporting, but the government will continue working to make it easier for small businesses to grow, create jobs and succeed. It is aware of the committee's report.

INNOVATION, SCIENCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

DATA CENTRES

Hon. Andrew Cardozo: My question is for the Government Representative in the Senate. I'm finding myself in radical agreement with President Trump. I hope that gets people's attention.

Last week, he threatened to heavily tax American companies that build data centres outside of the United States. This is good. The question for us is this: How do we build data centres in Canada that meet our needs?

In September, the government released a document entitled "Canada's Responsible Data Centre Development Principles." The Federation of Canadian Municipalities has issued a similar document. Will the government consider working with provinces, territories and municipalities to develop a gold standard for data centres that build Canadian sovereignty and national security, as well as respect the environment?

Hon. Pierre Moreau (Government Representative in the Senate): Thank you for the question. The government is always working with provincial governments and municipalities where it is possible to find solutions. The government is committed to building Canada's AI infrastructure in a way that is sustainable, accountable to host communities and grounded in Canadian sovereignty.

• (1430)

The government announced, as you mentioned, Canada's Responsible Data Centre Development Principles, a national framework setting clear expectations for how these projects are built. Any project seeking federal support must create lasting local benefits, avoid shifting electricity costs onto Canadians, minimize water use and environmental impact, be transparent about local impacts and bring strategic value to Canada.

The government will work with municipalities and provinces across the country to ensure those criteria are met.

Senator Cardozo: That's good news. Thank you very much, senator.

My supplementary question is this: Would the government consider the role for a Crown corporation in developing, building and helping in the development of Canadian-owned data centres? That could mean a reformed Canada Post or National Research Council or a new Crown corporation.

Senator Moreau: At this time, I have no information regarding your supplementary question, but I will raise the issue with the Minister of Artificial Intelligence and Digital Innovation, and I will get back to you with an answer.

INDIGENOUS SERVICES

INDIGENOUS HOUSING

Hon. Krista Ross: Senator Moreau, an October 22 Canadian Housing and Mortgage Corporation article on housing maintenance in Canada highlighted that Indigenous populations are about three times more likely to live in housing in need of major repairs than the non-Indigenous population. In fact, First Nations people living on-reserve are five to six times more likely to live in a home that needs major repairs. The report also states that housing that requires major repairs is approximately 13 times more likely to contain mould or mildew and 4 times more likely to have pest infestations.

When it comes to housing, the consequences — often relating to health — are ultimately borne by people. When homes deteriorate, the consequences are felt most acutely by people who are already facing great challenges in housing and are in precarious positions.

At a time when housing affordability is critical across the country, is the government focused on the repair of existing properties? Also, is there a specific focus on the maintenance of housing supply for Indigenous communities in addition to new construction?

Hon. Pierre Moreau (Government Representative in the Senate): Thank you for the question. The government is investing $4.6 billion in water and wastewater infrastructure. Since April 2025, 11 long-term drinking water advisories have been lifted.

Since spring 2025, more than 1,000 housing and infrastructure projects have been completed in First Nations communities on-reserve. Budget 2026 built on that progress by investing $32 billion in Indigenous housing and infrastructure, with a particular focus on First Nations communities on-reserve; $3 billion for Indigenous housing, including $2.8 billion primarily for First Nations housing on-reserve, plus more than $715 million to accelerate shovel-ready housing projects; a new $250-million monetization pilot, alongside other First Nations' —

[*Translation*]

The Hon. the Speaker: Thank you, Senator Moreau.

[*English*]

HOUSING, INFRASTRUCTURE AND COMMUNITIES

AFFORDABLE HOUSING

Hon. Krista Ross: In general, with regard to the housing program, within the number of new builds, only a percentage is required to be dedicated to affordable housing. In my home province of New Brunswick, there is a wait list of approximately 14,000 households for public housing.

What sort of dialogue is happening between the Minister of Housing and his provincial counterparts on the issues of public housing and affordable housing?

Hon. Pierre Moreau (Government Representative in the Senate): My understanding is that the minister is working with his provincial counterparts.

Budget 2026 is delivering on housing for all Canadians by building inclusive housing at scale and speed, both market housing and non-market housing. In the budget, Build Canada Homes will help triple annual non-market housing starts to over 24,000 over the next decade. We're trying to work on every aspect of the problem.

IMMIGRATION, REFUGEES AND CITIZENSHIP

VISA APPLICATION PROCESSING

Hon. Salma Ataullahjan: Government leader, at a recent meeting with the journalist Mehboob Ali Shaikh, I again heard concerns about the long-standing absence of Canadian visa issuance services in Pakistan, as well as the significant delays faced by applicants.

Since 2022, the government has promised to expand visa-processing capacity, including through the establishment of a new office in Islamabad. Yet, many Canadians of Pakistani origin continue to see their parents, grandparents and other loved ones wait months for decisions on visitor visa applications. These delays are causing significant hardship for families seeking to host their relatives in Canada.

Senator Moreau, when will your government fulfill its commitment and improve Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada's visa-processing capacity in Pakistan?

Hon. Pierre Moreau (Government Representative in the Senate): I don't have an answer relating specifically to Pakistan, but the government is making an effort to accelerate the pace of the process.

I will obtain more information and get back to you with an answer.

Senator Ataullahjan: Thank you, Senator Moreau.

I am referring specifically to simple visitor visas for tourists and family members wishing to visit Canada and contribute to our local economy, not applications for temporary or permanent residents.

I have raised this issue with three Liberal immigration ministers over the past four years. When will your government finally take these concerns seriously?

Senator Moreau: Please give me an opportunity to raise the question for the first time with a single minister. I will do that and get back to you with an answer. Hopefully, I will be successful.

[*Translation*]

NATIONAL DEFENCE

CADET PROGRAM CUTS

Hon. Richard Martel: Senator Moreau, the Minister of Defence announced that cadet activities will continue as originally planned until March 31.

Having been involved with the cadets in Chicoutimi myself, I know the value of this program. It instills in our young people the values of respect, discipline, leadership and community involvement.

Given the Canadian Armed Forces' recruitment challenges, it is important to maintain this program, which promotes a positive image of our military and sparks an interest in military service. I've seen many of these young people go on to become reservists or pursue careers in the Canadian Armed Forces.

With many activities planned for April and May, can the government commit to providing stable, long-term funding for this program beyond March 31?

Hon. Pierre Moreau (Government Representative in the Senate): The cadet program has been the subject of many questions and criticisms recently. The Minister of National Defence announced additional funding to keep the program going. Senator Tannas asked a similar question last week.

I can't comment on future government funding. However, in his statement, the minister emphasized that the government recognizes the importance of the cadet program, which I take as a positive sign for the future of the program.

Senator Martel: Senator Moreau, as you know, distance and transportation costs in the regions are an added challenge.

Can the government assure us that grants to the cadet units will be reinstated as well, so that our volunteers don't have to make up for funding shortfalls out of their own pockets?

Senator Moreau: As I understand it, the program has been extended, considering that it was announced by the minister. I don't have details about whether the program covers all travel expenses. I can look into it and get back to you.

It's important to know that the government recognizes the program's importance and that the government is funding everything covered as of this moment. I think the program's future looks bright.

[*English*]

PUBLIC SAFETY

CORRECTIONAL SERVICE CANADA

Hon. Bernadette Clement: Senator Moreau, on Monday, I visited the Ottawa-Carleton Detention Centre, where I had the opportunity to speak with administration, as well as folks who are incarcerated.

Everyone spoke about the so-called SAFER program. "SAFER" stands for Security Assessment for Evaluating Risk. It is an AI tool that assigns each incarcerated person a score, and that score determines their security classification.

The program is now in place across all of Ontario's jails, but it is also the subject of a class-action lawsuit, the allegation being that the program breaches Black inmates' rights under section 15 of the Charter. The claim alleges that Black inmates are assigned higher security classifications at higher rates than non-Black inmates, leading to more restrictive conditions of confinement and perpetuating anti-Black racism.

Senator Moreau, is Correctional Service Canada, or CSC, aware of this program? Is it planning to implement something similar? How will it ensure that Black and Indigenous people are not further harmed by the use of AI within CSC?

• (1440)

Hon. Pierre Moreau (Government Representative in the Senate): Thank you for the question. I will bring your concern to the attention of the department, but at this time, I'm unaware of any plans to implement this or a similar program.

Justice for inmates is a personal right and also an essential condition of their socialization and personal reformation. It implies both respect for the person and property of others and fairness in treatment.

I will also say that historical systemic injustices have resulted in overrepresentation of Black people in Canada's criminal justice system and as victims of crime in Canada. Canada's Black Justice Strategy is tackling anti-Black racism and systemic barriers in the justice system while improving access to justice and supporting victims, survivors and communities.

Budget 2026 provides more than $135 million for the next phase of the strategy, working directly with Black communities to build a fairer justice system and expand opportunities.

[*Translation*]

Senator Clement: Thank you for that answer.

[*English*]

And thank you for always referencing Canada's Black Justice Strategy. However, the *Toronto Star* reported, in June 2026, that the government has been considering the use of an AI tool to create profile reports of offenders. The pilot was intended to run from February to May of this year.

What were the results of that pilot? Is there any further plan to use this tool or something similar? How did it factor into the experiences of Black and Indigenous people who are already overrepresented in the justice system and subject to racism inside and outside of Correctional Service Canada?

Senator Moreau: Thank you for that supplementary question. The government is aware of the risks of using such a tool. My understanding is that the trial has not yet been used in real cases, and more comprehensive testing would be required if the work proceeds further. But, as I said, I have no information on Correctional Service Canada implementing tools of this nature at this time.

IMMIGRATION, REFUGEES AND CITIZENSHIP

PROCESSING BACKLOG

Hon. Paula Simons: My question is for the Government Representative.

In Alberta right now, school boards face a real dilemma. Extreme processing delays at Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, or IRCC, mean that some parents who are legally in this country are not receiving the paperwork their children need to stay in school when they need it. The Alberta government is now refusing to let those children enrol in classes. What is your government doing to improve processing times so that students in Alberta do not lose a year of education?

Hon. Pierre Moreau (Government Representative in the Senate): Thank you, Senator Simons, for the question. While education and school enrolment fall under provincial jurisdiction, the government recognizes the importance of timely immigration assessments in providing certainty to families. IRCC is taking steps to reduce application backlogs and improve processing efficiency, with the objective of processing 80% of applications within established service standards.

IRCC has also enhanced its online tools to provide applicants with forward-looking processing estimates and more detailed application status updates. I appreciate the concern raised, particularly given the potential consequences for children and their families. Administrative delays should not unnecessarily disrupt a child's education.

Senator Simons: Thank you. I am very happy to hear that.

In theory, IRCC does provide necessary documentation for parents who are maintaining their immigration status and simply awaiting a visa renewal. Unfortunately, they do not provide any such bridging paperwork for parents who are changing status and applying for permanent residence. Will your government consider changing the system so that Alberta children caught out by that policy do not miss a year of school?

Senator Moreau: I will bring your concern to the department, but I can tell you that IRCC has mechanisms in place to help eligible applicants maintain their temporary resident status while awaiting decisions on their applications. More broadly, through Budget 2025, the government announced targeted initiatives to fast-track permanent residence for 33,000 temporary skilled workers and process up to 115,000 additional permanent residence applications from protected persons —

[*Translation*]

The Hon. the Speaker: Thank you, Senator Moreau.

JUSTICE

RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL DENIALISM

Hon. Michèle Audette: Senator Moreau, on June 8, 2022, Kimberly Murray was appointed as the Independent Special Interlocutor for Missing Children and Unmarked Graves and Burial Sites associated with Indian Residential Schools. Her mandate was to recommend a legal framework to support the search for missing children, the protection of burial sites and access to relevant documents. In her final report, released on October 29, 2024, she made numerous recommendations to the federal government.

Senator Moreau, which recommendations have been implemented since the report was tabled? Can the government provide a specific timeline for those that have not yet been implemented?

Hon. Pierre Moreau (Government Representative in the Senate): Thank you for your question, Senator Audette. The government recognizes that residential school denialism only compounds the harm caused to Survivors, families and all Indigenous communities across Canada.

On September 30, I was present when the memorial cloth was presented. The deep wounds caused by this situation were in plain sight.

According to my information, 164 funding agreements have been put in place through the community support fund, for a total of $280 million. Unfortunately, I don't have a timeline for the implementation of the remaining recommendations. However, the government's commitment —

The Hon. the Speaker: Thank you, Senator Moreau.

Senator Audette: Thank you. I saw you there on September 30, and I appreciated the fact that you stayed from start to finish.

The report also talks about the implementation of practical measures to address denialism and disinformation about the history of residential schools. In 2024, the government announced $5 million over three years for a public education initiative to combat residential school denialism.

How have these funds been used to date, and what amounts have been committed or disbursed?

Senator Moreau: You are right. Budget 2024 allocated $5 million. According to the information that I have, these funds did not go out in 2025-26. There was a delay to enable the government to finalize its approach and the method for disbursing the funding.

I believe the government is now finalizing everything with all of the partners and communities, so the funding should be disbursed shortly.

[*English*]

DELAYED ANSWERS

ANSWER TO ORDER PAPER QUESTION TABLED

IMMIGRATION, REFUGEES AND CITIZENSHIP—
AGRI-FOOD IMMIGRATION PILOT

Hon. Patti LaBoucane-Benson (Legislative Deputy to the Government Representative in the Senate) tabled the reply to Question No. 54, dated September 28, 2026, appearing on the *Order Paper and Notice Paper* in the name of the Honourable Senator Robinson, respecting the Agri-Food Immigration Pilot.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

COMBATTING FINANCIAL CRIMES AND DRUG TRAFFICKING BILL

SECOND READING

On the Order:

Resuming debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Loffreda, seconded by the Honourable Senator Moncion, for the second reading of Bill S-8, An Act respecting certain measures relating to proceeds of crime, terrorist financing, sanctions evasion and the detection of non-mailable matter transmitted by post.

Hon. Michael L. MacDonald: Honourable senators, I rise to speak as the critic of Bill S-8, the combatting financial crimes and drug trafficking act. This bill seeks to make it harder for criminals to move illicit money through Canada's financial system and to use the mail to traffic illegal drugs and other contraband.

Part 1 amends the Proceeds of Crime (Money Laundering) and Terrorist Financing Act to strengthen Canada's defences against money laundering, terrorist financing and sanctions evasion. It tightens oversight of money services businesses, known as MSBs; restricts certain large cash transactions and third party cash deposits; and sets rules for crypto-currency ATMs. Part 2 amends the Canada Post Corporation Act so that police can use existing legal powers to intercept items while they are still in the mail.

I will begin with the financial measures and then turn to the postal system.

MSBs provide important services to Canadians, including money transfers and currency exchange. However, these services can also be exploited to move illicit funds. Bill S-8 would tighten registration requirements and expand the grounds on which the Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada, known as FINTRAC, can refuse or revoke a registration.

The bill would also give the Minister of Finance new powers to review registrations and impose conditions where necessary for national security or to safeguard the integrity of Canada's financial system.

Subject to exceptions, the bill would prohibit businesses, professionals and those who solicit donations from the public from accepting cash payments, donations or deposits of $10,000 or more, whether in a single transaction or across a series of related transactions specified by regulation.

• (1450)

The bill would also generally prohibit banks and certain other institutions from accepting a cash deposit from someone who neither holds the account nor is authorized to give instructions on it.

Crypto ATM operators are already subject to anti-money-laundering rules, including requirements to register with FINTRAC, identify customers, keep records and report certain transactions. Bill S-8 would impose additional requirements specific to these machines.

For example, clauses 4 and 5 would require operators to keep records of transactions and verify the identity of each customer, subject to exceptions set out in regulations.

Clause 6 would require operators to report every transaction to FINTRAC within 15 days. Those reports would include the customer's identifying information and the digital wallet addresses involved.

Clause 7 would limit each customer's total transactions at a given machine to $1,000 over any consecutive 24-hour period.

Clause 10 would require operators to give FINTRAC up-to-date information about each machine, including where it is located, how much cash it can hold, where the cash comes from and how it is transported and the digital wallet address used to operate the machine.

For someone caught in a scam, this bill could help in two ways. It could give investigators a clearer record of where the money went, and it would limit how much the victim loses at any one machine.

Operators already have to verify a customer's identity for a cryptocurrency exchange of $1,000 or more, but clause 5 would extend that requirement to smaller transactions, subject to exceptions set by regulation. The report to FINTRAC would link the person using the machine to the transaction and record the wallet addresses involved.

FINTRAC describes scams in which a fraudster gives a victim a QR code and tells them to put cash into a crypto ATM. The machine then sends the cryptocurrency to the address in that code. Currently, the only person whose identity can be verified is the victim. With the changes introduced in Bill S-8, the receiving address will give investigators a starting point to trace the funds and perhaps determine who actually owns and controls the wallet.

The $1,000 limit could reduce how much a victim loses at any one machine. However, a fraudster could still direct the victim to another machine and persuade them to send more money.

I hope the committee's study will shed light on both of these questions: How far can investigators get with the receiving wallet address? How much protection would the $1,000 limit offer if a fraudster directed a victim to more than one machine?

Clause 30 addresses the operation of unlicensed crypto ATMs. Crypto ATM operators already have to register with FINTRAC, and Quebec already requires a licence under its own law. Clause 30 would make it a federal offence to knowingly operate a crypto ATM unless the operator holds a provincial licence for that machine. The offence would apply even if the operator is already registered with FINTRAC.

In practical terms, this would mean authorities could act against an unlicensed operator before the machine is used in a scam. If the operator lacks the required licence, the store owner who hosts the machine and the people who load or collect its cash could also face liability. That could make it harder for unlicensed operators to find places for their machines and people to service them.

However, for a small retailer, hosting a crypto ATM may simply be a way to attract customers and earn extra income. Those were the two most common reasons given by the 20 retailers interviewed for a 2018 study commissioned by the Canada Revenue Agency. This means a shopkeeper might simply provide the space while someone else actually runs the machine.

A shopkeeper may know perfectly well that the machine in the store is a crypto ATM, but how can they tell whether the operator is licensed to run that particular machine in that particular province? I hope the committee's study will clarify how shopkeepers can check that a licence is valid and what protection they would have if they took reasonable steps to check and still got it wrong.

I also have some concerns about what the bill means for Canadians' privacy. Clause 24 would allow banks and other regulated businesses to collect and use personal information they receive from the RCMP or another prescribed public authority without the individual's knowledge or consent. The authority would have to state in writing that it is sharing the information without the individual's knowledge or consent to detect or deter money laundering, terrorist financing or sanctions evasion. It would also have to state that, in its view, informing the individual or seeking their consent would compromise that work.

I can see why that would help. Police may know that several people are linked to a suspected money laundering network, while a bank may see only a series of ordinary-looking transactions. Putting those pieces together can help the bank identify suspicious activity it might otherwise miss.

However, suppose the police link the wrong person to that network. The bank could start scrutinizing that customer's transactions more closely. Even if the customer asks to see the information, the bank could refuse access under clause 38. If it refuses on that ground, it would have to notify the Privacy Commissioner in writing.

Clause 24 would also protect the bank from civil or criminal proceedings for collecting or using the information in good faith under the provision. I hope the committee's study will clarify who oversees the use of this information, how long banks can keep it, how a customer can get an error corrected and whether the customer could see the information once the risk of compromising the authorities' work has passed.

The question of privacy also arises in Part 2 of the bill, which deals with mail in transit. The Canada Post Corporation Act generally protects mail in transit from seizure, subject to limited exceptions. In practice, that can prevent police from intercepting a package suspected of containing fentanyl, even when they could otherwise obtain a warrant.

Clause 52 would allow police to use existing powers under the Criminal Code, the Controlled Drugs and Substances Act and the Cannabis Act to seize or hold items while they are still in the mail. Clause 53 would make a related change to the offence of opening or interfering with mail so that actions expressly authorized under those laws can proceed.

Honourable senators, we have considered this problem before. In 2023, Senator Carignan supported the objective of Senator Dalphond's Bill S-256. He reminded us that, as far back as 2015, the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police had called for a change so that police could obtain judicial authorization to intercept letters and parcels containing contraband while they were still in the mail.

Senator Carignan pointed to a Saskatchewan fentanyl case that illustrates the problem. In *R. v. O'Dell*, police seized a package at a postal outlet without a warrant but then obtained one before opening the package. The court found that the initial seizure was unlawful and that the Canada Post Corporation Act did not authorize it. The case demonstrates why the authority to take a package out of the mail matters as much as the authority to open it.

I share Senator Carignan's view that police should be able to act on lawful authority while an item is still in the mail. Police would still need a warrant wherever the law requires one, and the Charter's protection against unreasonable search and seizure would continue to apply. However, I hope the committee's study will clarify what safeguards would apply when police rely on an existing exception to the warrant requirement to seize mail in transit.

Because clause 52 applies to letters as well as parcels, it also raises a question about the privacy of personal correspondence. What safeguards will protect the contents of a letter, and how will police and Canada Post handle mail that turns out to have no connection to an offence?

Clause 52 would generally require notice to Canada Post after an item is seized or held. It would also limit liability for certain claims arising from those actions. But what if someone's mail is held in error or damaged while in custody? How would that person find out what happened? What recourse would they have? I hope the committee will hear from police and Canada Post about how they would handle those situations.

Honourable senators, Bill S-8 is an important step forward in combatting financial crime and stopping the use of the mail to traffic illegal drugs, and I support the bill in principle. However, I encourage the committee to examine whether the cryptocurrency ATM measures will help investigators identify the people behind the fraud, whether small businesses can readily verify that an operator holds the required licence and whether the bill provides adequate safeguards for personal information and private correspondence.

• (1500)

I look forward to the committee's work and reporting back to the Senate. Thank you very much.

The Hon. the Speaker: Are senators ready for the question?

Hon. Senators: Question.

The Hon. the Speaker: Is it your pleasure, honourable senators, to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Senators: Agreed.

An Hon. Senator: On division.

(Motion agreed to and bill read second time, on division.)

REFERRED TO COMMITTEE

The Hon. the Speaker: Honourable senators, when shall this bill be read the third time?

(On motion of Senator Loffreda, bill referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Banking, Commerce and the Economy, on division.)

ADJOURNMENT

MOTION ADOPTED

Hon. Patti LaBoucane-Benson (Legislative Deputy to the Government Representative in the Senate), pursuant to notice of November 25, 2026, moved:

> That, when the Senate next adjourns after the adoption of this motion, it do stand adjourned until Tuesday, December 1, 2026, at 2 p.m.

The Hon. the Speaker: Is it your pleasure, honourable senators, to adopt the motion?

Hon. Senators: Agreed.

(Motion agreed to.)

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE PROMOTION PROHIBITION BILL

SECOND READING—DEBATE CONTINUED

On the Order:

> Resuming debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Brazeau, seconded by the Honourable Senator Sorensen, for the second reading of Bill S-203, An Act to prohibit the promotion of alcoholic beverages.

Hon. Yonah Martin (Deputy Leader of the Opposition): Honourable senators, with leave of the Senate, I move the adjournment of the debate for the balance of my time.

The Hon. the Speaker: Is leave granted, honourable senators?

Hon. Senators: Agreed.

(Debate adjourned.)

CRIMINAL CODE

BILL TO AMEND—SECOND READING—DEBATE CONTINUED

On the Order:

> Resuming debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Pate, seconded by the Honourable Senator Moncion, for the second reading of Bill S-208, An Act to amend the Criminal Code (independence of the judiciary).

Hon. Yonah Martin (Deputy Leader of the Opposition): Honourable senators, with leave the Senate, I move the adjournment of the debate for the balance of my time.

The Hon. the Speaker: Is leave granted, honourable senators?

Hon. Senators: Agreed.

(Debate adjourned.)

CHRISTIAN HERITAGE MONTH BILL

SECOND READING

On the Order:

> Resuming debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Housakos, seconded by the Honourable Senator Martin, for the second reading of Bill S-249, An Act respecting Christian Heritage Month.

Hon. Mary Jane McCallum: "Bless me, Father, for I have sinned"

> The man was strapped to the large wheel that continued to turn endlessly. At the base of the cycle, the sharp points of metal, which were anchored to the ground, tore into his stomach. At the peak of the cycle, salt was poured into his wounds. The flames of the fire threw great heat in the labyrinth and roared closely to the wheel. As the wheel reached ground level, the pitcher of water was just outside his reach, and the heat was unbearable, so his thirst was even more unbearable.

This image of hell that I envisioned won me first prize in religion class in residential school — hell was one of the core teachings. This fear of hell has remained with me throughout my life, and I was made to believe I would end up in hell, and I still do today. How did this happen?

As a child, I didn't yet have life experience to use as a sounding board, and in the situation I was forced to experience in residential school, I wanted acceptance. So anything that was taught to me, I gave more than 100% — as I always had. In this case, I was going to be the best sinner because I thought that was what the system wanted.

When I was a child, the notion of sin that was taught to me in residential school went against how I understood spirituality: lifelong learning and failure, mentorship, love, tolerance, forgiveness and compassion. Instead of learning about tolerance and forgiveness through confession, I learned shame, and I learned it very well.

Every moment in life shapes our identities. Through the alien practice of confession in a confessional, I slowly learned to reshape my identity. As a young child, I was under the control of deliberate power that mapped out my life and my boundaries. I was assigned a role, and I decided to excel at it. The reshaping of my identity through the rite of confession was shaped by the expectations and under the direction of the nuns and priests, but the interpretation was mine — the interpretation of a little girl.

I entered residential school as a little girl of 5 who already had a spiritual connection. This spirituality was a way of life by my family and my people — the Cree and the Dene in Brochet. There was always bannock and tea on the table for visitors. The men took off their hats at the door, which signified respect, and the guests were seated at the table.

• (1510)

After the guests were fed, there was conversation, storytelling, teasing, fiddling and laughter. The spirituality of hospitality, nurturing, laughter and sharing brought closeness to my family and community.

When my mom passed on, I took to hanging around with an Elder, Caroline, who took me to many places. This gentle, caring woman and I would get into a canoe and paddle to islands to go berry picking. As we walked through the land, she found a black kettle left behind by others. She said, "How could people throw away a perfectly good pot?" I remember how she cherished and cooked so many good stews in that pot. The Elders and the people were already adept at recycling.

Her silence when she paddled taught me mindfulness. The sound of the paddle slicing through the water and the drops of water as they hit the surface from the paddle were mesmerizing. Her slow, methodical search for food demonstrated her patience. The spirituality that influenced even the smallest of her actions revealed her belief in a higher power.

Daily activities like these were demonstrations of the spirituality and humanity within my people.

The little girl, aged 5, entered the cold steel doors of the strange huge building and was met by two women who wore long black dresses and spoke a foreign language. She stood in front of the other girls, unruly curls hanging down to her bum. Beside her was her little trunk filled with candies her dad had packed.

She had left the little community in the woods by plane, a scary, noisy machine made of metal that took off from the frozen lake. Her sister had been beside her during her travel, but it was of little comfort, as everything she saw was overwhelmingly strange and frightening. She had cried almost the whole way. She just wanted to be home with her mama, papa, brothers and sisters in the small warm cabin in the woods.

When nighttime came, she could no longer hold back her tears. She cried from her heart and soul because she was so lonesome, displaced and heartbroken. She cried for many nights over the winter, and her brother was brought from the next building to stay beside her and comfort her.

Over the next two years, she watched and copied what the other little girls did, as she was still learning to speak and understand English. She went to the classroom, carrying her doll, and learned to be quiet. She watched as the women in the long black dresses strapped students but couldn't understand what the students had done, though she understood pretty quickly that all the students were bad. It seemed to her that she was here to learn how bad she was.

She went to church with the rest of the students and was comfortable, as she used to go to church with her mama. What intrigued her most was a little room where the students would disappear, alone. They would then reappear and kneel at a pew. What went on in that little room? She heard other students talking, and she learned that only after you confessed were you allowed to take Communion.

She was so excited when she started to take lessons so she could go into the little room.

So began her introduction into the world of "sin." On Sundays, the students were expected to line up in front of the confessional and have the priest hear their sins so they could be forgiven. Remember, senators, that the majority of these priests, and some of the nuns and staff, were sexually abusing the children.

The little girl sat in the pew and stewed about her first confession. She was very excited that she was now one of the bigger girls who would be allowed to go to confession. She had learned to speak and understand English. It was hard work to try to think about the sins she had committed, but she was committed to remembering.

The little girl stood in front of her locker, holding her tongue. She thought:

> Oh, why can't I learn not to run and play after dinner? Why can't I listen? Now all the other girls are being punished because of me. Sister has told me so many times how bad I am and how God does not like bad girls, but I was so happy and excited that I just had to run and peek to see if Sister was coming, instead of standing quietly in front of my locker as we were told to do.

The little girl was told to go to her bed and take her bottom pajamas down. Sister strapped her bottom with the bottom sole of a moccasin. This was an almost nightly event. She thought:

> Why can't I learn not to whisper after 7:30? Why am I so bad and so disobedient?
>
> I am sure that Sister can see inside me. I have to learn not to laugh. I must learn to look as if I am serious and thinking about being good.
>
> Bless me, Father, for I have sinned. This is my first confession. I screamed 20 times and ran down the hall 10 times. I did not listen in class when the teacher was talking, as I was daydreaming. I was lazy. I got into a fight with another girl and had my dress torn. I lost my comb. I did not go straight to my locker after lunch as I was supposed to. I whispered after 7:30 every night, and Sister spanked me. I cheated 30 times and stole 20 times. I lied 80 times. I am sorry for these and all the sins of my past life.

I remember all my confessions.

At the age of seven, she was proud of herself because she could think of so many sins to confess. The cheating and stealing were the greatest sins she could think of, and they made the confession longer. Father should be proud of how great a sinner she was — and I am serious about that. Confessing about the lying at the end should cover her lying about the cheating and stealing during the confession. I was lying.

So began her introduction into how she judged and continues to judge herself today. She was learning to be who she was told she was. The boundaries of her life were set by the sisters through rules, punishment and reward, but the boundaries were unclear. One of those boundaries involved the notion of sin and the perception of perfection. The little girl was chastised daily about how bad and unworthy she was. She thought:

> I'll be worthy if the sisters see me pray and obey the rules. I'll be worthy if Sister smiles at me. I'll be worthy if Sister sees how well I can clean up and stay in a straight line as I walk down the hallway.

However, she would always get into mischief, unintentionally at first, then intentionally as she got older. Curiosity and love of imagination and adventure were not admirable qualities to have at residential school.

She was playing by herself and making sand pies in tin cans by the edge of the forest. The forest marked the boundary of the playground, and students were forbidden from entering the forest unless they were going into the grotto to pray. Today, she had no intention of praying and acting saintly but just enjoying the sunny day and making pies for her pretend family. At the edge of some bushes, she saw a glint and positioned herself to better see what treasure lay waiting in the bush. She saw it was some tin cans that she was now coveting from her spot. She looked around to see if there were any sisters watching, and when she felt she had looked in all the right areas, she dashed into the bush to fetch her cans.

• (1520)

Over the intercom, she immediately heard, “Mary Jane, please come to the main door right away.” She walked over to the door, where Sister was waiting for her, and Sister took her to the third floor and told her to kneel and pray until she came back.

As she was kneeling, trying her hardest to pray, her bony knees made it difficult to kneel on the bare floor. She noticed that the statue she was praying to was made of soft stone material. She started scratching “Blessed Virgin Mary” on the base of the statue and couldn’t stop. Pretty soon she was done.

A few minutes later, Doreen came in, as she had also been sent to pray. Finally, Sister came and started talking to the girls. She saw the scratching on the statue and asked, “Who did this?” Promptly pointing to Doreen, the little girl said, “She did.” Sister told her to leave and kept Doreen back.

Years later, when she saw Doreen, she ran to her to apologize for what she had done. Doreen didn’t even remember the incident.

> Bless me, Father, for I have sinned. It has been three weeks since my last confession. I disobeyed Sister and did not pray as I was told to do. I was bad because I did not listen. I was bad because I blamed another girl for something I did to the holy statue. I had bad thoughts. I was angry. In religion class, Sister told us about the three parts of God, and I told her I didn’t understand. She told me that it was a sin to question and that I must have faith —

The Hon. the Speaker pro tempore: Senator, I’m sorry to interrupt. The time for your speech has expired. Are you asking for five more minutes to conclude?

Senator McCallum: Yes.

The Hon. the Speaker pro tempore: Is leave granted?

Hon. Senators: Agreed.

The Hon. the Speaker pro tempore: Leave is granted.

> **Senator McCallum:** She told me that it was a sin to question and that I must have faith, but I don’t know what that is. I cheated 10 times and stole 15 times. I lied 60 times. I’m sorry for these and all the sins of my past.

Then she started not telling what she was doing.

> Bless me, Father, for I have sinned. It has been two months since my last confession. Since then, I have missed going to church on Sunday four times. I have been greedy, lazy and vain. I have lied 30 times. I am sorry for these and all the sins of my past life.

Father asked her, “Are you finished?” Then he asked, “Do you let boys do bad things to you?”

When I read this story to the people on the reserve, many women told me he had asked them that question. It was my last confession.

I went to look for one of my favourite nuns, and I found her. I went for over 10 years to see her in Saint-Hyacinthe, and that was the beginning of my cathartic experience. Sister Pat gave me the eagle feather and told me it was a healing feather.

At one point, I asked to speak to the nuns as a group. The night before, Sister Pat gifted me with this. In my talk to the sisters at the motherhouse, I told them I was there to thank them for their years of dedicated service and that the good nuns had been lumped in with the bad. I also repeated what Sister Pat had told me: “Some of us did the best we could with what we had.”

With the years of shame-based upbringing that reshaped my identity in residential school, I had learned not to love myself because I was led to believe I didn’t deserve love.

In a meeting with a Maori PhD scholar that was co-presenting with my husband in Florence, Italy, in 2019, we talked about residential schools. He told me that he asked his father, “Dad, why do you continue to preach about God, knowing what happened to our people in residential schools?” His dad responded, “My son, the god that they knew is not the god that I know.”

And I thought . . . yes.

The little girl of 5 opened the door of the cabin in the trapline and looked up at the full moon that cast a bright light on the snow. The snow on the Jack pine tree branches and the snowbanks were pristine and the forest was quiet. She looked up at the moon excitedly and looked to see if she could see the face of her mother on the moon. She wondered if her mom could see what a good little girl she was.

The night I looked up at the beautiful moon, I knew my mom was somewhere in a place called heaven and I was full of hope, innocence, love and expectation. That was my identity when I entered residential school.

We all have different experiences in this country called Canada. It is critical that we hear and acknowledge these histories, including the more difficult chapters.

Why would we be led to believe that God had made savage, dirty, stupid little Indians? It made me examine how Christianity shaped us as children in residential schools and that it is my truth that cannot be erased.

In my quest to love myself, that was the start of my journey to make peace with God. However, I still had rebellion in me. When I went to church with the nuns, I decided to go to Communion without confessing. I said to Sister, “Why should I confess to another sinner? The Creator knows what is in my heart and soul.” Sister said, “I know,” and she pointed the way to the Communion.

Thank you for listening.

Hon. Senators: Hear, hear.

Hon. Sharon Burey: Thank you, Senator McCallum. "The god that they knew is not the god that I know."

[*Translation*]

Honourable senators, I rise today to express my support for Bill S-249, An Act respecting Christian Heritage Month, which was sponsored by our colleague, Senator Housakos.

This bill proposes that December be designated Christian heritage month in Canada. This time of year was chosen because it holds special meaning. December takes us from the season of Advent to the celebration of the birth of Christ. It is a season of anticipation and hope that encourages Christians to put their faith into practice through acts of compassion, justice and service.

[*English*]

For me, this bill is not simply about marking a month on the calendar. It is about understanding the people, values, institutions and acts of service that have helped shape Canada. It is about recognizing the diverse expressions of Christian faith that continue to enrich communities throughout our country, and it is about confronting the complexities and truths of our heritage, faith and traditions.

For when we do not know the truth about our histories, we are destined to repeat the tragedies, atrocities and inhumanity of the past. Even more importantly, we leave a vacuum that can be filled with misinformation, disinformation, hate and intolerance.

In Canada today, we have a tradition of acknowledging heritage months as a way to celebrate the diversity and pluralism of Canada. Heritage may be defined as the traditions, achievements and beliefs that form part of the history of a group or a nation.

Honourable senators, I recently had the profound honour of receiving the Assumption University's Christian Culture Series Gold Medal Award in Windsor, Ontario. Established in 1941 by the Basilian Fathers, the award recognizes lay people whose lives contribute to Christian ideals in modern society. I remain deeply grateful to the board and directors of Assumption University and to its president, Dr. John Cappucci.

• (1530)

Receiving this honour led me to reflect on what Christian culture has meant in my own life. I shared my reflections on the importance of community and how, through shared values and service, we discover a place we can call home.

For me, that means honouring the dignity of every human being through compassion, integrity and service. It means embracing the words of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in his letter from the Birmingham Jail:

> We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly.

My late sister, April Burey, a lawyer and human rights advocate, expressed a similar truth when reflecting on the *R. v. R.D.S.* decision:

> I have faith that *R.D.S.*, by its outward creation of no dichotomies, will lead us all to the inner discovery that equality is indivisible.

I would not be standing in this chamber were it not for the values instilled in me by my parents, Rev. Eric Burey and Rev. Mary Burey. They taught me about faith, hard work and service. Above all, they taught me to recognize the dignity and divinity of every human being.

Those teachings shaped my journey, from a young child in Jamaica who dreamed of becoming a paediatrician, to serving children and families in Northern Ontario and Windsor, and eventually to serving here in the Senate of Canada. When my family and I arrived in Windsor, the community was facing a crisis in children's mental health. There was no coordinated response from hospitals or the community. Something had to be done.

Health care professionals, Hôtel-Dieu Grace Healthcare, Maryvale, community agencies, the Rotary Club, the Teen Health Centre and many others came together. Through a shared purpose and sustained effort, I was privileged to help spearhead a path forward, establishing inpatient child and adolescent mental health services, stabilization services and coordinated outpatient care.

That work taught me something fundamental: When we come together, share our stories, listen deeply and draw on our shared values, our willingness to cooperate unlocks the promise and potential of solutions not yet imagined.

This, too, is part of Canada's Christian heritage. We see it in hospitals, schools, shelters, food banks and social service organizations. We see it in religious communities and laypeople who cared for the sick, educated generations of children, welcomed newcomers, accompanied families and responded to poverty and injustice.

My own diverse community of Windsor-Essex illustrates this beautifully. Windsor was founded through the coming together of Indigenous, Black, English and French people. The historic Sandwich First Baptist Church stands as a testament to faith, courage and determination. Its congregation offered refuge and community to people escaping enslavement through the Underground Railroad. In those pews and hideaways, formerly enslaved Africans found refuge and freedom in Canada. A history understood in its completeness and complexity allows us to be ourselves.

The prayers, labour, sacrifice and faith of Black Canadians helped build this country. Black history is Canadian history, and Black Christian history is part of Canada's Christian heritage.

At the same time, honourable senators, an honest understanding of heritage must embrace the fullness and complexity of our history. Christian institutions have contributed enormously to Canada, but institutions acting in the name of Christianity have also caused profound harm, particularly to Indigenous Peoples. We must not turn away from that truth.

The far-reaching and ongoing impacts of colonialism and the residential school system call on us to examine our values and heritage, and to seek truth, accountability, reconciliation and respect with humility. As former Chief Mary Duckworth of Caldwell First Nation said, "Reconciliation is not just a word; it must be an action."

Christian Heritage Month can create space for these honest conversations. It can help Canadians learn about both the contributions and the failures of Christian institutions. It can encourage us to preserve what brought healing and human flourishing, while confronting what caused suffering — lest we forget.

Honourable senators, Canada is a diverse and pluralistic country. Supporting Christian Heritage Month does not diminish the traditions, histories or heritage of others, nor does it seek to impose Christian beliefs on anyone. In Canada, we celebrate Jewish, Islamic, Hindu and Sikh heritage months, among many others.

We can acknowledge the profound influence of Christianity on Canada while fully respecting freedom of conscience and religion and the equal dignity of people of every faith and of no faith. Indeed, our commitment to the Constitution and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms demands it.

In my own life, faith has consistently drawn me into community: towards other people, towards dialogue and towards service. It has taught me that, when we share our stories, we discover that we have more in common than what divides us.

At a time of war, division, loneliness and uncertainty, Canadians need opportunities to rediscover the values that bind communities together: compassion, justice, service, forgiveness, hope and love. A heritage month gives us an opportunity to tell the stories of those who came before us, and encourages young people to ask about their families, their communities and the values that shaped them.

Honourable senators, I support Bill S-249 because it invites Canadians to remember, learn and serve.

Throughout my life, I have found that it is through service that we come to know ourselves and discover meaning and purpose. It is in giving that we receive, and in receiving that we also learn to give. By loving our neighbours as ourselves, we can be renewed and transformed.

May Christian Heritage Month inspire us to build stronger communities, seek reconciliation, serve those in need and recognize the inherent dignity of every person.

After much deliberation and sober second thought, colleagues, I support referring Bill S-249 to committee.

Thank you, *meegwetch*.

[*Translation*]

Hon. Josée Verner: Honourable senators, I rise today to speak in support of Bill S-249, which would designate the month of December as Christian heritage month.

Today, I want to focus on the civic, cultural and historical contributions that Christian citizens have made to building Canada in their day-to-day lives. This bill aligns with other federal laws establishing commemorative months, such as the celebration of Jewish, Arab or Sikh heritage. A motion was also adopted by the House of Commons in 2007 to recognize Islamic heritage.

I support this bill because it does not directly reference Christianity as the dominant doctrine, dogma and institution in civil society and public affairs. That era is long gone in Canada, which is governed by the religious neutrality of the federal government and each of the provinces.

That being said, what does "Christian heritage" mean? It refers to the heritage of the three principal branches of Christianity in Canada, namely Catholicism, Protestantism and Orthodoxy, as well as their sub-denominations.

• (1540)

Honourable colleagues, as you all know, I am originally from Quebec, where Catholicism was introduced when Jacques Cartier arrived in 1534. Its presence grew steadily after Quebec City was founded in 1608 by Samuel de Champlain, who explored the territory with the goal of establishing New France. I live in that city today, and I see first-hand the profound influence that Christian heritage has had on its history and development.

In that context, I invite you to visit the Notre-Dame-des-Victoires Church, which stands in the centre of Place Royale in the historic district of Old Quebec. It is the oldest stone Catholic church in Canada, and in North America, where mass is still celebrated. The present building was erected in 1688 on the very site of Samuel de Champlain's original settlement in 1608. Thanks to its stone construction, it survived the British bombardment during the siege of Quebec in 1759. The church was designated a national historic site of Canada on June 24, 1988, 300 years after its construction.

A little further up in Old Quebec stands the Notre-Dame-de-Québec Cathedral-Basilica, the seat of the oldest Catholic diocese in North America and thus a major historical and tourist attraction. It has also been designated a national historic site of Canada and was added to the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Just a short walk from the basilica is the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, which was designated a national historic site of Canada in 1989. Inaugurated in 1804, it was the first Anglican cathedral built outside the British Isles. The Augustinian and Ursuline monasteries in Old Quebec were both founded in 1639. To this day, they bear witness to the establishment of the first female religious communities in Quebec and Canada.

These two communities, along with many others that followed, gradually spread throughout Quebec and, over the decades, developed an impressive network of schools, hospitals and other social services that still exist today. One such institution is the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, which has been carrying out its mission for nearly 400 years.

The legacy of the Augustinian Sisters was so significant that their monastery was meticulously restored between 2009 and 2014. This project transformed it into a non-profit wellness and retreat centre, designed to allow the sisters to continue with their original mission, but with a secular approach. It also enabled the consolidation of the community's extensive archives, which had previously been scattered across 12 monastery-hospitals in Quebec. Many items from these archives are now accessible to the public and to researchers through a museum and a library.

In the field of education, the Séminaire de Québec was founded in 1663 by Monseigneur François de Laval, the first Bishop of Quebec. In doing so, he created an institution to train clergy and laid the foundation for Quebec's post-secondary system, which is now secular. The founding of seminary was followed by that of Université Laval in December 1852. It was the first francophone university in North America.

Honourable colleagues, the contribution of Christian heritage is not limited to churches, health care and education, or even the many municipalities in Quebec named after saints. It has also made its mark on the economy. Visitors to Lévis can see the first credit union, founded in December 1900 by Alphonse and Dorimène Desjardins. It was the first cooperative financial institution in Canada and North America and has since evolved into the Desjardins Group. Its headquarters are still located in Lévis. Its operations were founded on the Christian values of mutual aid and social justice to protect workers from financial exploitation and usury. This was in line with Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, published in 1891, which denounced unbridled capitalism and called for the protection of workers' dignity and rights through the creation of mutual aid associations.

To ensure public trust and the success of the first credit unions, the Desjardins relied directly on the presence of parishes and the active support of the Catholic clergy. In fact, the clergy played a major role in the opening of credit unions throughout Quebec and in francophone minority communities across Canada.

At one time, the clergy and a host of religious communities also helped ensure the survival of French in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada. It goes without saying that speaking French is not strictly associated with Christianity, even though many well-known religious swear words have made their way into francophone popular culture. I'm just joking, but my francophone colleagues know what I'm talking about.

However, we can definitely say that their role was so pivotal that French became one of the two official languages of Canada and of the province of New Brunswick. I am reminded of the words spoken by the Right Honourable Stephen Harper at the Salute to Champlain ceremony in Quebec City on July 3, 2008, as part of the city's four hundredth anniversary celebrations. He said, "This is what defines Canada, a country born in French . . . ."

On a more personal note, I believe that Bill S-249 also helps to recognize the Christian values that inspired members of our families to improve the lives of people in their communities. Éléonore Potvin, my grandmother's aunt, was born in Angers, east of Gatineau. In 1894, she co-founded the congregation of the Servantes de Jésus-Marie, which was dedicated to education and supporting families. As Sister Marie-Zita de Jésus, she became the community's first superior. Both Gatineau and L'Ange-Gardien have streets named in her honour.

The motherhouse was built on Rue Laurier in Hull in 1902, on part of the land now occupied by Jacques-Cartier Park. From there, the congregation grew to include five more monasteries elsewhere in Quebec and Ontario. Remarkably, the motherhouse building still stands on Laurier Street, just a stone's throw from where I live. Every day, I can pay my respects to this relative of mine on my way to the Senate.

In a similar vein, my late father-in-law, André Lacroix, was a permanent deacon at the Saint-Benoît-Abbé parish in Sainte-Foy. He worked in his community for decades, often with charitable foundations.

Honourable senators, before I conclude my speech, I would like to add my voice to those of Senator Housakos and other colleagues who have risen to reaffirm that Bill S-249 must not be seen as an attempt to whitewash the darker and more painful chapters of Christianity's history in Canada. I am thinking of the residential schools and the all too numerous tragedies perpetrated by members of religious orders who perverted Christian values to inflict unimaginable and inhumane abuse and suffering on children.

Christian heritage month must also be a time for us to remember the victims of these dark chapters in the history of Christianity in this country. Honourable colleagues, I shall conclude by saying that, for me, Christian heritage encompasses all the aspects I touched on over the last few minutes. It has been shaped by historical figures, institutions across various sectors of civil society, buildings and the French language. It has also been shaped by people in my family and my community.

• (1550)

This heritage deserves to be commemorated so that future generations remember the role it played in making Canada what it is today, along with the darker episodes that also form part of our collective memory. For these reasons, I'm asking you to support the bill at second reading so that it can be examined in committee.

Thank you.

Hon. Senators: Hear, hear.

[*English*]

Hon. Salma Ataullahjan: Honourable senators, I rise in support of Senator Housakos's Bill S-249, which would designate December as Christian heritage month.

However, before I speak, I want to thank you, Senator McCallum, for trusting us with your story.

Most of you know I'm Muslim, but many may not know that my education was in a convent school. I spent nine of my formative years in a Catholic boarding school called the Convent of Jesus and Mary. The education I received there helped shape who I am and what I value.

A beautiful old church is attached to the school. I remember how, quite often, when students were struggling or needed a quiet place, they would sit at the back of that church. It is a place where students could gather their thoughts. The church, a place of worship, holds a special meaning for me, because my own faith recognizes the importance of protecting such places, explicitly naming churches, monasteries and synagogues alongside mosques.

Pakistan has some of the most beautiful old churches, and there is a history and photography book about them called *Churches of Pakistan*.

Speaking of Pakistan, at this time of year, you can see big Christmas trees in shopping malls and restaurants all over the country. That may surprise some people who know that Pakistan is a Muslim-majority country. But Christmas is an important celebration for Pakistani Christians, and for Muslims, Jesus, peace be upon him, is one of our prophets.

Those unfamiliar with the Quran may not know that he is mentioned more often in our holy book than the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him. You may notice that, when speaking their names, I say, "Peace be upon him," because that is a sign of respect and honour in Islam.

You may also be surprised to know that Mary has a whole chapter devoted to her in the Quran and is considered the holiest of women.

My familiarity with Christianity and other religions is one reason I have always been puzzled when people fight over religion. To me, the purpose of religion is to make us better and more compassionate people. Surely, one measure of that is how we treat someone whose beliefs differ from our own.

In my own faith, giving to people in need is a duty. When I spoke about Islamic Heritage Month in October, I talked about zakat, one of the five pillars of Islam. It requires Muslims who meet the conditions to set aside a portion of their wealth for those in need. I recognize that same sense of responsibility when Christians speak about loving their neighbour. Both teachings ask something practical of us: When someone needs help, what are we prepared to do for them?

We can see how Christians in Canada have answered that question over generations. Christian communities have helped establish schools and hospitals, and that tradition of service is still very much alive. We see it when a congregation helps a refugee family settle in a new city or when volunteers stock the shelves of a church food bank. Senator Housakos spoke about the wide scope of that work in his speech.

Speaking from personal experience, I have seen the good work that Christians do for others. In 2004, years before I was appointed to the Senate, there was an Afghan boy, Djamshid Popal, who flew to Canada accompanied by a Canadian military medic due to severe heart valve damage. A Canadian Army doctor had discovered him in a remote village northeast of Kabul. Diplomats issued emergency visas for him and his father to fly to Canada, and he was diagnosed at the Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario. He underwent a six-hour operation at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children to replace two heart valves and repair a third. A month after the surgery, he and his father returned to Afghanistan because he missed his mother.

I helped raise funds for this little boy, and I distinctly remember a lovely group of women from a Christian church who kept sending donations to the Popal family, not only during their stay in Canada, but also after they returned home to Afghanistan.

I remember meeting them. They were worried about the family. They thought that they should buy them a goat so they would have a continuous milk supply, or that maybe they should buy the mother a sewing machine so she could make clothes and earn an income. Eventually, I had to tell the ladies, "Okay, you've helped him enough. You can stop now." But they felt it was their duty to help someone in need.

I think of those women when I hear people speak as though our religious differences have always kept us apart. The history of Canada's first purpose-built mosque tells a different story. When Hilwie Hamdon and other Muslim women raised money to build Edmonton's Al Rashid Mosque, Christian and Jewish neighbours helped them. The mosque opened in 1938. It stands as an early example of Canadians helping their neighbours establish a place to practise their faith.

Nearly 80 years later, in 2017, six men were killed while praying at a mosque in Quebec City. On the first Friday after the attack, Jewish organizers in Toronto brought people together to form what they called "rings of peace" outside local mosques.

Christians and others stood with them as Muslims went inside to pray. Similar gatherings took place in Ottawa and Edmonton.

Those rings of peace always come to mind whenever I hear someone use religion to turn people against one another. I find it especially troubling when such efforts to encourage mistrust between people of different faiths come from leaders because their words can make it seem acceptable to look upon our neighbours with suspicion.

When I think of Christian — as well as Jewish — communities in Canada, I think of neighbours, friends and members of my own family. I also think of the people who helped Muslims build a place to pray and who, generations later, stood outside our mosques so people could go in and pray in peace. That history deserves to be better known, especially when we hear people suggest that our faiths make it impossible for us to stand together.

For Christian Canadians, a heritage month is an opportunity to tell these and other stories of their faith in their own words.

When my old school celebrated its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary in October this year, I thought about the girls who had come through those doors before me and those who came after. The sisters there taught us to respect one another's faiths, and we put that into practice every day. When it was time for the Angelus, those of us who were Muslim stopped what we were doing, stood up and kept silent, while the Catholics among us said their prayers. We learned to accept and understand each other. On Sunday mornings, the Catholic girls went to mass. When priests and bishops visited the school, we showed them respect. That was part of how we learned to live together, and it has stayed with me since.

When I came to Canada, I found that many Muslim families I knew chose Catholic schools over public schools for their children. They saw that those schools teach values they were already teaching at home. They wanted their children to grow up with faith, to treat others with respect, to value human dignity and to understand that we have a responsibility to the communities we live in. I recognized those values from my own school years.

My old school's anniversary made me think about how much the sisters had passed on over generations, and how much of what we learn as children stays with us when it is our time to teach.

Setting aside December would give Christian communities across Canada a common occasion each year to bring generations together so that younger Canadians can hear directly from the people who kept their traditions alive.

In deciding what we pass on, we have a responsibility to tell history honestly. Colleagues who have spoken on this bill acknowledged the harm that Christian churches involved in the residential school system caused to Indigenous children, families and communities. Survivors' testimony is essential to understanding what happened and what it has meant for the generations that followed. Churches that helped operate those schools have a particular responsibility to teach their own members about the part they played. That, too, is part of the history a Christian heritage month should help us pass on.

As a Muslim Canadian, I value what I have learned from Christians who have shared their faith through the way they live and the way they treat their neighbours. I hope that they can also come to understand my faith a little bit better through knowing me. I will welcome the chance, each December, to learn even more about them.

• (1600)

I firmly believe that if we take the time to get to know about each other's faith, it would lead us down a path to peace and acceptance, which would make this world a better place.

We have heard thought-provoking and powerful speeches of support for this bill, so let's call the question. Thank you.

The Hon. the Speaker pro tempore: Are senators ready for the question?

Hon. Senators: Question.

The Hon. the Speaker pro tempore: Is it your pleasure, honourable senators, to adopt the motion?

Hon. Senators: Agreed.

(Motion agreed to and bill read second time.)

REFERRED TO COMMITTEE

Honourable senators, when shall this bill be read the third time?

(On motion of Senator Housakos, bill referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights.)

THE SENATE

MOTION TO URGE GOVERNMENT TO ESTABLISH A FEDERAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK THAT ENSURES PARITY BETWEEN MENTAL HEALTH AND ADDICTION CARE AND PHYSICAL HEALTH CARE— DEBATE CONTINUED

On the Order:

> Resuming debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Burey, seconded by the Honourable Senator Black:
>
> That the Senate recognize:
>
> (a) that the World Health Organization and the Canadian Mental Health Association have identified mental health parity as a critical objective for an equitable health care system; and
>
> (b) the urgent need to address disparities in mental health care access and coverage; and
>
> That the Senate urge the Government of Canada to establish a federal legal framework that ensures mental health and addiction care are treated on an equal footing with physical health care.

Hon. Tony Ince: Honourable senators, I rise today to speak in support of Senator Burey's inquiry on mental health parity.

What could this look like in practice? What does it mean for someone trying to access care or for someone experiencing a mental health crisis?

Similar to how other senators have brought forward the experiences of specific populations, including Senator Muggli's speech on older adults and on the agriculture community, I want to share what we've heard from young Black men and boys.

Over the past few months, I have been working to better understand the mental health challenges facing this population through a series of community round tables. So far, they have been held in Winnipeg, Brandon and Toronto. These conversations convened health practitioners, academics, community organizations, students and individuals with lived experience. I want to share three key points on what we have heard so far.

First, mental health parity means an early recognition of mental health needs and addressing the circumstances that contribute to them. We cannot achieve mental health parity if we only respond when someone reaches a crisis. It means recognizing mental health needs as early and as seriously as we recognize physical health concerns.

In each of our round tables, high school students were incredible contributors to the conversation. They were often the first to speak. They spoke openly about the expectations they feel at home, at school and in society. Newcomers spoke about growing up in immigrant households where mental health was not openly discussed and described the challenges of seeking help. We cannot expect young people to seek support if we have not first created an environment where they feel comfortable recognizing and discussing what they are experiencing.

One participant raised the fact that society often sees the outcome of someone's trauma but not the trauma itself. We need to move beyond responding to the consequences of trauma and start recognizing and addressing its underlying causes. This means understanding what contributes to poor mental health. We talked about the relationship between adverse childhood experiences, food insecurity, chronic stress, housing insecurity and mental health outcomes.

Mental health parity should affirm that prevention and early intervention are just as important as treatment after a crisis and that mental health does not exist in isolation from the social and economic conditions in which people live.

Second, mental health care must be accessible and culturally responsive. This was a recurring theme in both Manitoba and Toronto. Participants repeatedly spoke about the shortage of Black mental health professionals. It is important to have professionals who understand the cultural context in which someone has grown up. Having to constantly explain yourself can be re-traumatizing and can itself become a barrier that prevents people from seeking help.

This is not to suggest that only Black professionals can support Black patients, but it's about making sure that mental health care providers can provide culturally responsive care.

Participants also shared that traditional talk therapy is not the only way to address mental health. For some community organizations, a basketball court or a barbershop can be a more comfortable starting point for young Black men and boys than a therapist's office. One participant spoke about young men going to play basketball because they did not want to go home.

Let's ask ourselves: Are we recognizing the signs of distress in the same way we would recognize the signs of physical health concerns? We need to meet young people where they are, rather than expecting them to navigate a system that does not align with how they communicate or seek support.

Mental health parity is about creating more entry points into care. One of the most difficult discussions was about the intersection of masculinity, racism and mental health.

• (1610)

One participant spoke about the intersection of patriarchy and racism, meaning the pressure to embody society's definition of masculinity without necessarily having the resources and support systems to meet those expectations.

Participants also spoke about how experiences of racism can become so normalized that individuals do not necessarily recognize the impact these experiences have on their mental health. When discrimination is an everyday reality, seeking support for its consequences may not even occur to someone.

These experiences matter when we consider access to care. A system cannot provide equitable treatment if it does not understand the different circumstances and barriers that shape a person's mental health.

Third, our institutions must be equipped and accountable for providing proper mental health care. It is not enough to encourage people to seek support if the systems they encounter are not ready to receive them.

Some participants shared concerns about the treatment of Black men experiencing mental health issues in emergency departments, including cases where they have been handcuffed to hospital beds. Think about that contradiction.

Communities are working to create safe spaces, mentorship opportunities and programs to uplift young Black men. They are encouraging young people to speak openly about their struggles and to seek help. However, when someone reaches a point of crisis and enters an institution for care, they encounter an experience that further traumatizes them.

This goes back to my first point: If we cannot identify and respond appropriately to someone experiencing early signs of distress, how can we expect to provide an effective response when that person reaches a crisis?

Important work is happening in communities across the country, where trust is built through relationships and understanding their culture, but we cannot continue to place the burden on community organizations to fill gaps that were left by health care systems.

Most importantly, when we discussed recommendations, participants shared that mental health care requires a whole-of-society approach. Senator Burey's motion helps move us in that direction.

The work of community organizations is important, but the responsibility of providing equitable care must be shared with health care systems, and the government must give them the support and resources that they need to ensure they are held accountable.

Thank you, Senator Burey, for your work on this motion. Thank you, colleagues, for giving me this opportunity to share my work with community. Thank you. *Meegwetch*. *Wela'lin*. *Todah*. *Shukran*.

Hon. Kim Pate: Honourable senators, I speak today in support of Senator Burey's motion recognizing mental health parity as a critical objective for an equitable health care system, and urging the Government of Canada to establish a federal legal framework that ensures mental health and addiction care are treated on an equal footing with physical health care.

Canada's current mental health crises are a choice. It is the direct and avoidable consequence of policy choices not to ensure access to safe housing, income, social and other supports and services that are inseparable from mental health and well-being.

For nearly five decades, I've witnessed some of the most acute and horrific consequences as these choices play out in Canada's prisons. The people whom I meet in prisons have mostly been abandoned by health and mental health systems and other systems meant to support and assist. They are survivors of abuse, violence against women and colonial violence. They are disproportionately Indigenous and Black. Indigenous women with mental health and addiction issues linked to past histories of trauma and abuse are the fastest growing prison population. They are those for whom the promise of Charter and human rights to equality has not been honoured — people who plummet through the massive cracks into the one system that cannot refuse them.

Too often, the default response within prisons is to place people with mental health issues within the harshest and most isolating conditions of confinement as a means of managing, controlling and sometimes even punishing behaviour. These travesties persist despite Canadian courts and clinicians recognizing that 15 days spent in isolation amounts to unconstitutional torture, that irreversible physical, cognitive and mental health harms can begin after as few as 48 hours of isolation, and that those with disabling mental health issues should never ever be isolated.

I have crouched and knelt on many cement floors in prisons in areas labelled as "segregation" or "mental health or medical observation" or "treatment units" or "preventive security" or "voluntary limited association ranges" or "structured intervention units," where isolation has, over the years, been said to be disciplinary or administrative or medical or even protective or voluntary.

Regardless of the moniker, isolation cells mostly look the same. The conditions remain the ones long known not only to exacerbate but to create disabling mental health issues to such a degree that they are recognized at law as torture. The screams and cries of human beings suffering the irreversible mental health consequences of being shut in tiny spaces and deprived of human contact still echo down the ranges, and long after that, they live on in my consciousness and they haunt.

I have spoken previously of horrific instances of anguish and harm that I've witnessed first-hand. These are not abstract or hypothetical situations. These are the ways real people are treated. I have no doubt that if you too had those experiences, you could never forget the faces and voices of people in torment and despair, and I know that you are well aware that, because of the closed nature of prisons, most abuses are never publicly revealed.

For at least a decade of sustained focus, the Senate has urged action to eliminate practices of segregation and isolation in federal prisons and to invest in community-based options for supporting and treating those with disabling mental health issues. Through our 2019 amendments to Bill C-83 — which were unfortunately declined by the government — our endorsement of the Human Rights Committee's 2021 report and recommendations on the human rights of federally sentenced persons, and our passage twice over of Tona's law, this chamber has shed some light on the front line of a mental health crisis that is too often overlooked behind prison walls.

Tona Mills, like too many Indigenous women, was effectively deputized — by the inadequacy, inaccessibility and inexistence of housing, income, mental health and other supports — to take care of herself.

She received no therapeutic assistance or support to address the trauma of sexual abuse. When her efforts to meet her needs led her to strike back at men who abused her or to shelter in an empty building to escape abuse or call authorities on herself, she was expeditiously criminalized and incarcerated. In particular, 9 in 10 women in federal prisons are survivors of abuse. Like so many survivors, Tona initially resisted strip searches by prison authorities. The result was a vicious cycle of further uses of force, isolation, charges and a characterization of her as dangerous that took decades to deconstruct.

In the meantime, Tona spent more than 10 years in segregation, resulting in irreversible consequences for her physical and mental health. Characterized by the prison system as having conduct, behavioural and personality disorders, when she was finally assessed in a psychiatric hospital, she was diagnosed with isolation-induced schizophrenia.

• (1620)

Some three decades after she was first criminalized, Tona was finally released from hospital. After a few short months of living in the community, she was diagnosed with terminal cancer. She succumbed last winter. A few weeks later, this chamber passed Tona's Law. Our colleagues in the other place will take up the legislation in the coming weeks.

Tona's Law consists of measures that Tona spent her life, and gave her dying breath, advocating: first, meaningful court-based oversight and remedies for abusive uses of isolation, as recommended more than 30 years ago by then-Justice Louise Arbour following the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Events at the Prison for Women in Kingston, where Tona spent years in segregation; and second, breathing life into existing measures permitting funding agreements with communities by which Indigenous Peoples as well as others confined in federal prisons can be transferred or released to the community, with necessary supports for their care, including mental health care, supervision and integration.

The fact that Canada's health and mental health systems are already overstretched and under-resourced should not excuse the increasing use of prisons. This is an issue of parity and the consequences of Canada's policy decisions. Nearly five decades of experience have made clear to me that we have the necessary resources to ensure that every Canadian can access adequate support and treatment. It is a question of how we choose to use those resources.

Within prisons, pathways to community settings are already permitted under various sections of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act and would be further encouraged by Tona's Law. Through the funding agreements contemplated by these provisions, resources necessary to provide wraparound services to an individual in the community could be provided by the federal government in a way that would not cost the government an extra penny and would likely generate savings.

According to the Parliamentary Budget Officer, the government — meaning Canadian taxpayers — currently contributes upward of $579,000 per year for each person with mental health issues whom the federal prison system chooses to place in an isolation cell, providing inadequate care at exorbitant costs. Moving that person to the community eliminates that cost, freeing resources to be spent on more individualized and effective care. In the community, people would also have the opportunity for their mental health to improve or stabilize, resulting in less demand for emergency and acute care in the long term.

There is now ample evidence that, no matter the resources, training and additional personnel thrown at the problem, carceral settings remain focused on security-driven measures aiming to eliminate any risk to corrections and control the behaviour of prisoners without ensuring effective mental health care.

In 2024, in the *Warren* case, this track record led a judge to sentence a man with disabling cognitive and mental health issues to a hospital instead of a prison. Mr. Warren sets fires as an ongoing consequence of horrific childhood trauma. The judge reasoned that his indeterminate sentence for arson, if served in a federal prison, would violate Mr. Warren's Charter rights by amounting to a lifetime of isolation with no hope of treatment.

Mr. Warren, however, continues to languish in prison. While contesting the decision in court, prison authorities reached out to oversubscribed provincial forensic hospitals, offering no resources or supports, effectively asking them if they would take him off their hands.

Corrections has received funding to invest in pathways to the community, including millions of dollars in 2018 to contract additional external mental health beds in provincial forensic psychiatric hospitals. That funding has not been spent transparently, has not resulted in meaningful improvements and instead appears to have been diverted internally and used by corrections itself to try to provide more of the same inadequate and ineffective services.

It is for these sorts of reasons that the former Correctional Investigator strongly opposed a decision of the federal government to invest an extraordinary amount — $1.3 billion and climbing — in building yet another prison-run and prison-controlled treatment centre. He stated:

> . . . for many years, my office has consistently stated that individuals with severe and persistent mental illness — those experiencing acute psychiatric crises, chronic self-harm or suicidal ideation — should not be housed in federal penitentiaries. These individuals require specialized care that correctional institutions are not equipped to provide.

He went on to say:

> Those with acute needs should be transferred to external, community-based psychiatric hospitals that are better suited to providing long-term care.

Abandoning people with disabling mental health issues to systemic rights violations in federal prisons also means that taxpayer money is spent by the government in court, often defending indefensible actions and then paying out millions upon millions of dollars after the fact as compensation. What is more, these prison conditions undermine the sentencing goals of public safety, rehabilitation and community integration. Most people will one day be released from prison, and it is in all of our interests to ensure that they have the resources and supports they need to be healthy and safe in the community.

The mass violation of the human and Charter rights of those with disabling mental health issues in federal prisons is the consequence of years of under-resourcing and the erosion of Canada's economic, health and social safety supports. Budget 2026 suggests more of the same. In terms of parity, mental health initiatives in the budget focus not on sustained and foundational programs and funding but on one-off, time-limited projects that amount to only about 1% of what is currently spent on health care.

In terms of the supports needed to meaningfully strengthen Canada's tattered social safety net and tackle the interrelated challenges of mental health and addictions, homelessness, poverty and victimization, Budget 2026 is a no-show. Its commitment to ending homelessness in the next decade is laudable but distant and arrives at a time when too many similar, vital and long-term promises about community well-being are not being honoured, from the missed 2025 Truth and Reconciliation Commission, or TRC, commitment to eliminate the overrepresentation of Indigenous Peoples in prisons to the 2030 commitments to climate targets and cutting rates of poverty in half.

Canada is allowing those most in need of support to be left behind, fall into desperate and unsafe circumstances — poverty, homelessness, addictions and mental health crises — and face impossible choices as they try to negotiate these circumstances. These situations increase their risks of being victimized, exploited and criminalized.

The choice that Canada faces is, by contrast, a relatively easy one: keep spending massive amounts of our collective resources on criminal law and prison-based responses to mental health needs that entrench systemic and ongoing violations of the rights of those who are already marginalized and vulnerable or invest those same dollars in preventing and treating mental health issues at the earliest opportunity and as much as possible in the community.

Canada has the resources, honourable colleagues. We can build up the safe, healthy and welcoming communities to which Canadians are entitled and that all of us want to call home. The human, social and financial costs of further abdication and inaction are quite simply untenable.

Thank you, Senator Burey, for providing us with this opportunity to explore the need for and many vital dimensions of a national mental health strategy.

[Senator Pate]

Meegwetch. Thank you.

Hon. Salma Ataullahjan: Honourable senators, I rise in support of Senator Burey's motion that calls for a federal legal framework that places mental health and addiction care on an equal footing with physical care.

I thank Senator Burey for bringing this motion forward. It asks us to confront a gap between encouraging Canadians to seek help and ensuring that care is available when they do. Someone who seeks treatment might find that appropriate counselling or psychotherapy is unavailable through publicly funded services. Without private insurance or the means to pay, they might be unable to obtain the care recommended to them. For that person, our commitment to mental health remains a promise they cannot benefit from.

My work on women's, children's and minority rights has taught me to ask a question whenever we make a commitment to equality: What will it change for the people facing the greatest barriers? That question must guide our approach to parity.

• (1630)

In some racialized communities, including my South Asian community, mental illness can be seen as a sign of weakness. I have had countless conversations with men and women who suffered in silence due to the fear of being judged. I have seen that fear extend to families, too. Some keep a young person's diagnosis private because they worry that it will affect their chances of marrying. When the truth eventually comes out after the wedding, the same stigma can strain the marriage and, in some cases, can contribute to divorce. When the stakes are that high, we can understand why someone might think twice before asking for help.

At an event honouring doctors this past weekend, I spoke with psychologists who told me about a change they are seeing in some racialized communities. Their patients sometimes come in because their children have persuaded them to see a mental health professional. And the parents are going. When someone takes that step, they should be able to get the care they need.

For some immigrant women, language and caregiving responsibilities can make that care harder to reach. A publicly funded service may offer little help if a woman cannot communicate with the provider or attend the appointments available to her. These circumstances must inform how governments pursue parity and how their progress is assessed. Expanding coverage matters. So does ensuring that people can use the services covered.

For children, access must also be timely. Their development and schooling continue while they wait. For someone seeking addiction treatment, help must be available when they are ready to receive it. Delays can carry consequences that become harder to address.

This is why parity requires a lasting government commitment. People need continuity of care, and providers need the capacity to deliver it. A legal framework can help sustain progress across successive budgets and changes of government.

A federal legal framework can give that commitment an enduring foundation. To be meaningful, it should establish clear objectives and public reporting that allow Canadians to judge whether access is improving. Are coverage gaps narrowing? Are people receiving appropriate treatment sooner? Are services reaching those who have faced the greatest difficulty obtaining care?

As Senator Burey emphasized, that framework should be developed in consultation and cooperation with provinces, territories and Indigenous governing bodies, respecting their jurisdictions and priorities. That cooperation should include agreement on clear objectives and how progress will be reported.

Honourable senators, from a rights perspective, the measure of this commitment will be whether people can obtain the care they need, including those whose circumstances have too often placed it beyond reach.

Senator Burey's motion gives us an opportunity to make equal footing a governing principle for mental health and addiction care. I am pleased to support her motion. Thank you.

Hon. Senators: Hear, hear.

(On motion of Senator Gerba, debate adjourned.)

[*Translation*]

FUTURE OF CANADIAN NEWS MEDIA

INQUIRY—DEBATE CONTINUED

On the Order:

> Resuming debate on the inquiry of the Honourable Senator Cardozo, calling the attention of the Senate to the future of Canadian news media and its long-term funding model, including that of CBC/Radio-Canada.

Hon. Amina Gerba: I move that further debate be adjourned until the next sitting of the Senate for the balance of my time.

(On motion of Senator Gerba, debate adjourned.)

THE SENATE

MOTION TO CALL ON GOVERNMENT TO ISSUE A FORMAL PUBLIC APOLOGY TO MOTHERS AND CHILDREN WHO WERE VICTIMS OF FORCED ADOPTION PRACTICES IN POSTWAR YEARS—DEBATE ADJOURNED

Hon. Chantal Petitclerc, pursuant to notice of May 26, 2026, moved:

That the Senate:

(a) recognize and acknowledge that during the postwar decades, hundreds of thousands of unmarried mothers in Canada were coerced into surrendering their babies for adoption due to forceful pressure from religious organizations, social workers, the medical community and others, particularly in maternity homes and hospitals;

(b) note that other countries such as Australia, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Belgium and the Republic of Korea have all issued formal apologies for the postwar forced adoption practices that took place in their countries;

(c) express profound regret to the mothers affected by this practice, who have experienced lasting emotional, psychological and physical trauma as a result of lifelong separation from their children due to Canada's forced adoption practices;

(d) acknowledge the enduring negative impact on adoptees, who were denied the opportunity to grow up with their families and communities of origin, including the loss of identity, familial connection and access to personal history; and

(e) call on the Government of Canada to issue a formal public apology to the mothers and children who were victims of the shameful forced adoption practices in Canada in the postwar years.

She said: Honourable senators, I would be pleased to explain my reasons for seeking your support for this motion at a later date.

I therefore move that further debate be adjourned until the next sitting of the Senate.

(On motion of Senator Petitclerc, debate adjourned.)

(*At 4:36 p.m., the Senate was continued until Tuesday, December 1, 2026, at 2 p.m.*)

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