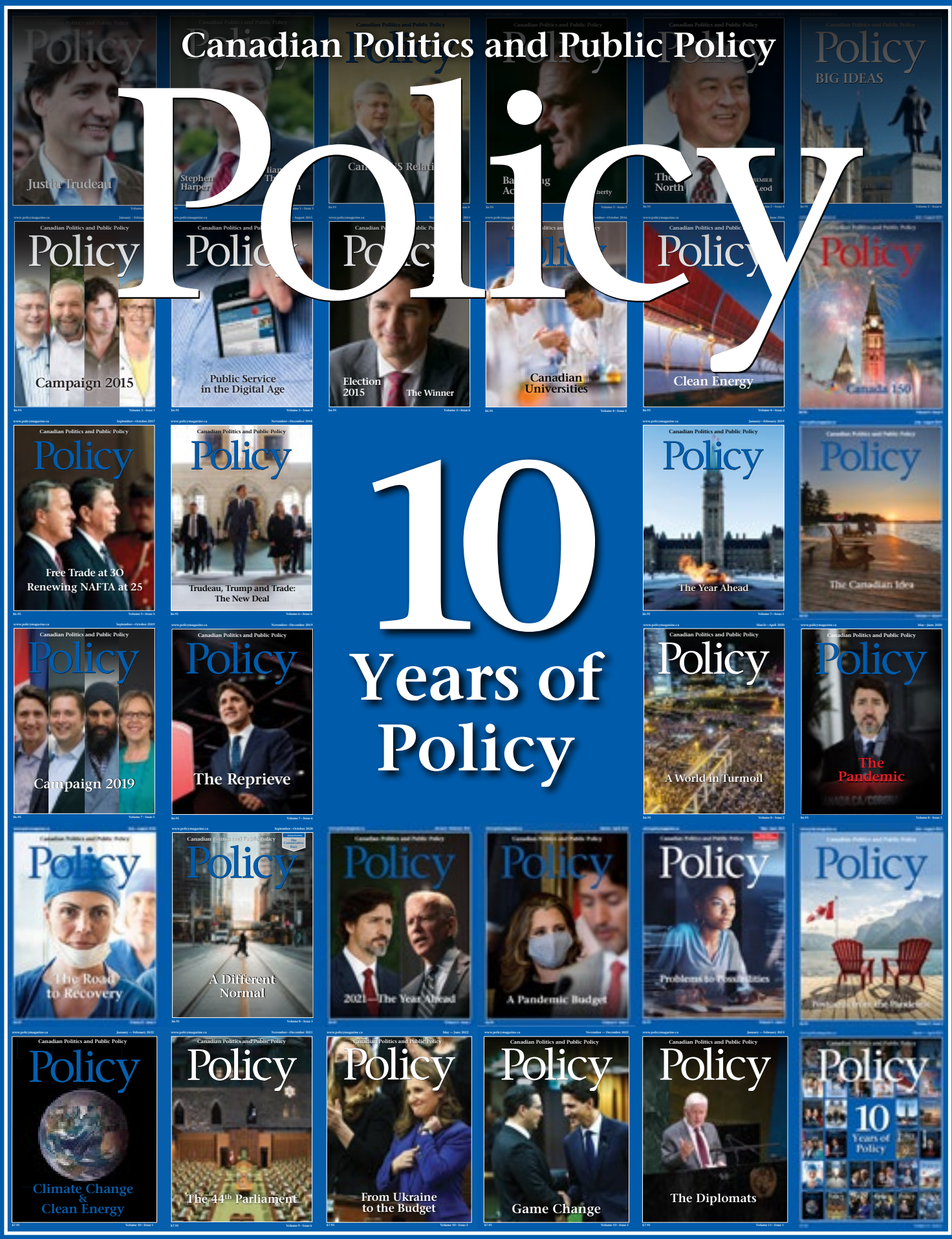

Canadian Politics and Public Policy
Policy
10
Years of
Policy
Justin Trudeau
Campaign 2015
Public Service in the Digital Age
Election 2015
The Winner
Canadian Universities
Clean Energy
BIG IDEAS
Canada 150
Free Trade at 30
Renewing NAFTA at 25
Trudeau, Trump and Trade:
The New Deal
The Year Ahead
The Canadian Idea
Campaign 2019
The Reprieve
A World in Turmoil
The Pandemic
The Road to Recovery
A Different Normal
2021—The Year Ahead
A Pandemic Budget
Climate Change & Clean Energy
The 44th Parliament
From Ukraine to the Budget
Game Change
The Diplomats
10 Years of Policy







Partnering for success

Working together for stronger, more resilient supply chains.

www.cn.ca



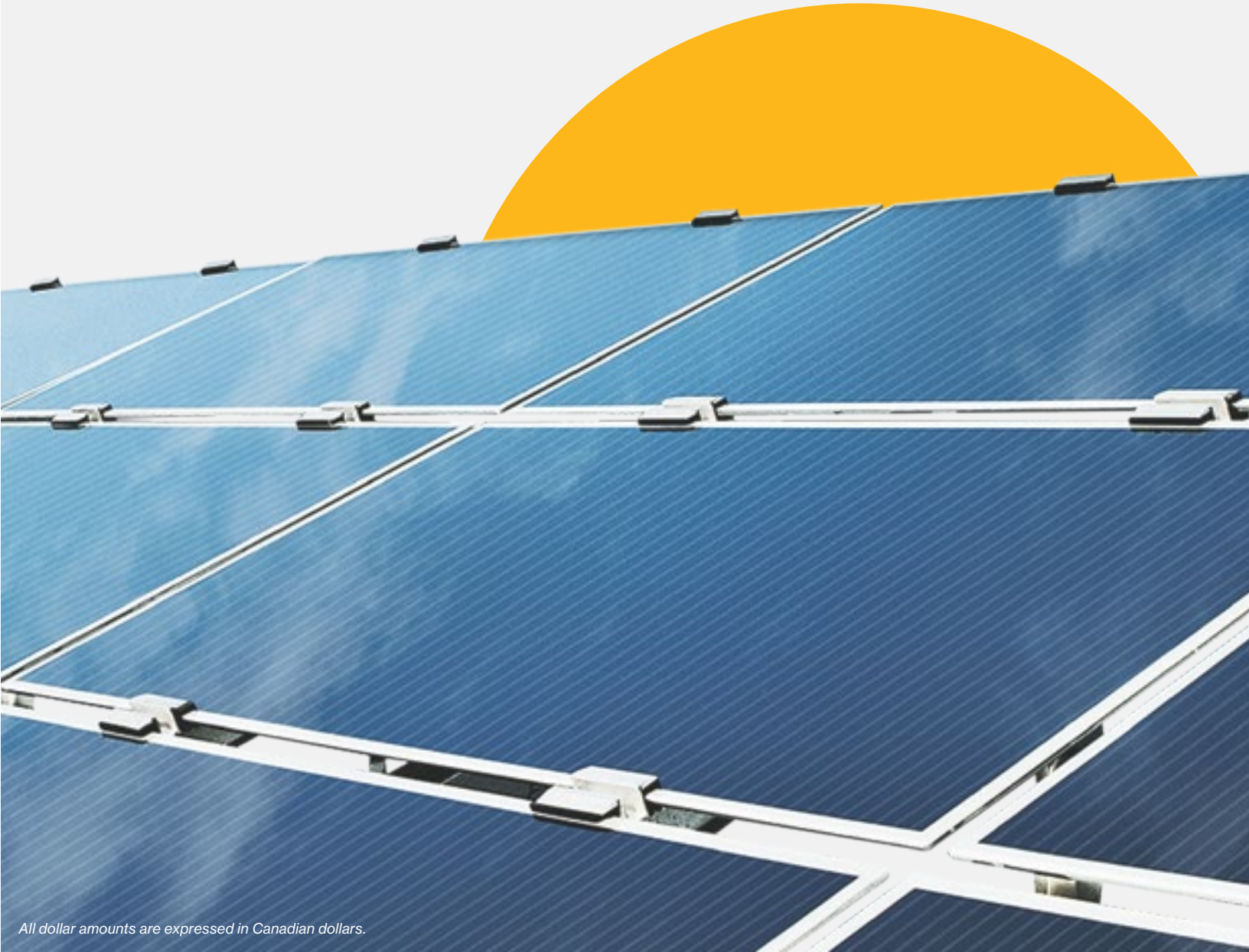


Tomorrow has been 20 years in the making.

Tomorrow is on.™
Enbridge is bridging to a cleaner energy future—and we've been doing it for over two decades. We were early adopters of wind and solar energy. And we're continuing our commitment with another $4 billion in renewable and lower-carbon investments through 2025—for today's energy needs and beyond.

tomorrowison.com

ENBRIDGE®
Life Takes Energy®



All dollar amounts are expressed in Canadian dollars.

Policy

Canadian Politics and Public Policy

EDITOR AND PUBLISHER
L. Ian MacDonald
lianmacdonald@gmail.com

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
Lisa Van Dusen
lvandusen@policymagazine.ca

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS
Thomas S. Axworthy, Andrew Balfour, Yaroslav Baran, James Baxter, Daniel Béland, Derek H. Burney, Catherine Cano, Stéphanie Chouinard, Margaret Clarke, David Coletto , Rachel Curran, Paul Deegan, John Delacourt, Susan Delacourt, Graham Fraser, Dan Gagnier, Helaina Gaspard, Martin Goldfarb, Sarah Goldfeder, Patrick Gossage, Frank Graves, David Johnston, Jeremy Kinsman, Shachi Kurl, Philippe Lagassé, Brad Lavigne, Jeremy Leonard, Kevin Lynch, Leslie MacKinnon, Peter Mansbridge, Carissima Mathen, Elizabeth May, Velma McColl, Elizabeth Moody McIninch, David McLaughlin, David Mitchell, Don Newman, Geoff Norquay, Fen Osler-Hampson, Kevin Page, André Pratte, Lee Richardson, Colin Robertson, Robin V. Sears, Vianne Timmons, Brian Topp, Lori Turnbull, Jaime Watt, Anthony Wilson-Smith, Dan Woynillowicz

WEB DESIGN
Nicolas Landry
policy@nicolaslandry.ca

SOCIAL MEDIA EDITOR
Gray MacDonald
gmacdonald@policymagazine.ca

GRAPHIC DESIGN AND PRODUCTION
Benoit Deneault
benoit.deneault1@gmail.com

DESIGN CONSULTANT
Monica Thomas

Policy

Policy is published six times annually by LPAC Ltd. The contents are copyrighted, but may be reproduced with permission and attribution in print, and viewed free of charge at the *Policy* home page at policymagazine.ca.

Price: $7.95 per issue
Annual Subscription: $45.95

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY
St. Joseph Communications,
1165 Kenaston Street,
Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 1A4

Available in Air Canada Maple Leaf Lounges across Canada, as well as VIA Rail Lounges in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto.

Now available on PressReader.

pressreader

In This Issue

3 **From the Editor / L. Ian MacDonald**
Our 10th Anniversary

4 **Lori Turnbull**
Leadership and the Politics of Authenticity

6 **Thomas S. Axworthy**
Canada's Unwritten Constitution: Vibrant but Worthy of Vigilance

9 **Allan R. Gregg**
Solving the Problems with Polling

12 **Kevin Lynch and Paul Deegan**
Lessons Learned from the Past Decade

15 **John Delacourt**
Ten Years of the Second Trudeau Era, Depending How You Count

17 **Geoff Norquay**
Moving the Conservatives Forward

20 **Robin V. Sears**
Health Care as the NDP's Legacy Issue

23 **Elizabeth May**
We Can't Afford Another Decade Like The Last One

25 **Daniel Béland**
A Decade of Shift in Quebec's Identity Debate

28 **Perry Bellegarde**
A Decade of Progress on Indigenous Rights… and Many More to Go

30 **Adam Scotti**
A Decade of Canadian Images

36 **Zachary Paikin**
Canadian Foreign Policy in a Shifting World

38 **Jeremy Kinsman**
The Decade of Accelerated Change

41 **Colin Robertson**
Moving Ahead After Ten Years of Trade Tumult

44 **Vianne Timmons**
How Universities Have Changed, and Not

46 **Don Newman**
The Trudeau Decade, Again

Book Reviews

47 **Review by Kevin Page**
Where To From Here: A Path to Canadian Prosperity
By Bill Morneau with John Lawrence Reynolds

49 **Review by John Stackhouse**
Private Power, Public Purpose: Adventures in Business, Politics and the Arts
By Thomas d'Aquino

Tribute

51 **Rosemary Thompson**
The Big Vision and Big Heart of Peter Herrndorf

Connect with us: @policy_mag facebook.com/policymagazine



From the Editor / L. Ian MacDonald

Our 10th Anniversary

Ten years ago, when we launched *Policy* Magazine, we hoped there would be a receptive audience for an independent voice of ideas on the Canadian political scene.

Or as Associate Editor Lisa Van Dusen put it at the time: "What have we got to lose?"

Nothing. I'd come from a decade as editor of *Policy Options*, at the Institute for Research on Public Policy, where Hugh Segal had hired me as editor of the magazine founded in 1980 by Tom Kent, a legendary figure in Canadian politics and journalism. Segal was someone I'd met along the way as a political columnist, and when I was later honoured to serve as principal speechwriter for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

When it came time to move on in 2012, I discussed the idea of a new magazine with friends and colleagues. I particularly recall a lunch with James Baxter and Fen Hampson at the Métropolitain Brasserie, known as "the Met", then as now a gathering place of Ottawa's political class. James, who had himself recently founded *iPolitics*, generously offered work space at his office. And Fen, a leader in the world of think tanks, thought there was room for a new entrant in a niche market that was already shrinking in terms of print products.

What to call it? It turned out that the name was not registered by anyone else, so we called it *Policy*, with the branding motto "Canadian Politics and Public Policy". The fact that we also cover international affairs says as much about our readers' interests as about the small world in which we cover them. *Policy* now includes our bi-monthly print issue, the dynamic and thriving Policy Online and The Week in Policy news digest.

Our first issue, in April 2013, featured a cover package on the Liberal leadership campaign, which Justin Trudeau won by a landslide. He was an obvious choice for the cover image, the first of many from Adam Scotti, his photographer then and now. It's fitting that this anniversary issue includes a six-page spread of Adam's photos of Trudeau, both on public occasions and during private moments with Sophie Grégoire-Trudeau and their three kids at home and on the road. Trudeau has the knack of paying no heed to the camera, and Scotti has the gift of seeing stories through a lens.

And so here we are, a decade later, with a special issue looking back, and ahead to where Canada and the world may be going. As always, we're grateful to our outstanding roster of contributing writers. Most of all, I'm indebted to our team, Lisa Van Dusen, and social media editor Gray MacDonald. Nicolas Landry handles web design and Benoit Deneault provides layout and graphic design.

We begin the issue with Lori Turnbull's look at how leadership has evolved in the last decade in "Leadership and the Politics of Authenticity". Then Tom Axworthy, present at the creation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 as principal secretary to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, notes that the balancing of the text with the "political constitution of tradition and convention," changed our history. Allan Gregg, one of Canada's pre-eminent pollsters, writes that he "can think of few professionals whose job has become more difficult or whose output more questionable today than it was 10 years ago than pollsters." Kevin Lynch and Paul Deegan look at the political, fiscal and tech upheavals and conclude that the "past decade has reminded us that we live in a highly uncertain and volatile world."

Canada's political parties and leaders have lived through this decade of change, and the manner in which they've adapted effects their prospects for success. John Delacourt, former Liberal research director, writes that the challenge for Trudeau in his third term is "to make a compelling case for hope and idealism once again." Long time Tory adviser Geoff Norquay thinks the Conservatives need to move from "simply criticizing what the government is doing to presenting an alternative." Former NDP national director Robin Sears writes that the legacy of Tommy Douglas gives standing to Jagmeet Singh in campaigning for health care reform. Green Party Leader Elizabeth May says on climate change: "We cannot afford to lose another decade." And McGill's Daniel Béland writes that a new brand of Quebec political identity has emerged under François Legault—nationalist but not sovereignist.

Perry Bellegarde, who was National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations from 2014-21, writes of the opportunities and challenges still ahead on the road to reconciliation of Canada's Indigenous peoples.

Zachary Paikin reflects "on how the world has changed in the last decade, along with Canada's place in it." Veteran foreign policy hands Jeremy Kinsman and Colin Robertson write of an era of turmoil and tumult. Memorial University President Vianne Timmons has seen both change and stability. And Don Newman offers timely thoughts in his column.

Finally, in Book Reviews, Kevin Page reviews Bill *Morneau's Where To From Here*. And John Stackhouse sees much merit in Thomas d'Aquino's memoir, *Private Power, Public Purpose*.

And in a remarkable tribute to Peter Herrndorf, Rosemary Thompson writes of his legacy of leadership for two decades at the National Arts Centre.

Enjoy.

Leadership and the Politics of Authenticity

In an era of performative politics in which the news cycle has become a parade of propaganda drops and social media has commodified the dissemination of staged "authenticity", what we really hanker for as a society is the real thing, argues Lori Turnbull. Our longtime Policy contributor and director of the Dalhousie School of Public Administration delivers a trenchant plea for politicians to excavate and embrace authentic authenticity.

Lori Turnbull

In 2017, when talking to the press about ongoing trade negotiations among Canada, the United States and Mexico, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau described then-President Donald Trump as "authentic." He said: "It may be surprising to some that he's authentic, in that the person he is on camera in public is very true to the person he is in private…So there's a consistency there that … one can work with."

These words were meant not as an endorsement but, instead, amounted to lukewarm diplomacy on the part of a prime minister trying to conduct international trade negotiations with a zealot. That said, the nod to authenticity and its salience in electoral politics deserves some consideration. In a world of sound bites, pre-approved speeches, and staged press conferences, we are all starved for something "real" – however imperfect or unrehearsed.

The concept of authenticity can be unpacked in different ways depending on the circumstances but, in politics, to be authentic is to say what you mean and to live the true version of yourself regardless of who is watching. A rare trait, to be sure. The combination of an omnipresent media, party discipline, and human fallibility can seriously limit politicians' willingness to embrace authenticity in their presentations to the public. This is true even for political leaders who are more powerful than most. There is an understandable desire to avoid looking stupid, tone deaf, or out of the loop, so politicians err on the side of being overly scripted as opposed to speaking honestly and from the heart. When they break away from this tendency, though, the results can be positive.

> ***"When he testified before the Public Order Emergency Commission on the federal government's decision to invoke the Emergencies Act to bring an end to the occupation of the national capital, Trudeau was at his best. He gave direct answers to the questions posed in a way that was unapologetic, accountable, and seemingly authentic."***

Very few successful politicians have been known to be truly authentic. Prime Minster Jean Chrétien comes to mind. He spoke without notes and did not pull punches. And, though he did not exactly throw a "punch" in this case, his approval ratings rose when he gave a protester his famous "Shawinigan handshake." No public figure ought to be celebrated for giving in to the temptation to throttle a heckler, to be clear, but his actions fit his reputation as a "street fighter" and did not present a political liability.

Before him, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau displayed authenticity in his refusal to suffer fools or to mince words. His "Just watch me" moment during the 1970 October Crisis was spontaneous and gutsy. His son, by contrast, is said to have an authenticity problem. The current Prime Minister Trudeau's previous life as a drama teacher is often used against him as evidence of his superficiality and a possible vocational ability to be someone other than his real self. His tendencies toward virtue-signalling, ethics infractions, and failure to practice what he preaches (see his Tofino vacation on the first National Day for Truth and Reconciliation) do not help. However, when he testified before the Public Order Emergency Commission on the federal government's decision to invoke the Emergencies Act to bring an end to the occupation of the national capital, Trudeau was at his best. He gave direct answers to the questions posed in a way that was unapologetic, accountable, and seemingly authentic. More of this version of Trudeau would like-

> ***"Populist authenticity is not real. On the contrary, the populist's leverage of the concept of authenticity is a perverse scenario where authenticity becomes a brand that is packaged and sold to voters who are looking for a solution to their worsening problems."***

ly increase the Liberals' chances of a fourth term.

Arguably, mainstream politics and authenticity do not mix because voters tend not to be forgiving of human error among the political class. But herein lies the paradox: the more politicians varnish themselves to avoid criticism and protect their chances for re-election, the more boring and unrelatable they become, which can encourage voters to check out altogether. Modern populism has made a political opportunity out of this reality. In *Populocracy: The Tyranny of Authenticity and the Rise of Populism*, Catherine Fieschi contends that authenticity is central to the appeal of populism and the success of populist politicians around the world, including Trump. Populism these days is often about building political constituencies based on the persona of a leader who takes pains to identify as a "regular" person rather than as a political elite.

Ontario Premier Doug Ford fits this mold. With his late brother Rob, former mayor of Toronto, he built "Ford Nation" by promising to get things done and leave more money in your pocket. Ideology is notably absent. When his approval ratings decline, he gives the public more of "himself." For example, during the pandemic, Premier Ford released videos of himself baking cakes and driving around in his truck to help people who were stranded in the snow. The appeal is about him rather than the party. The strategy is to put forward an "authentic" version of Ford that people can relate to.

To keep our wits about us, however, we must be clear that populist authenticity is not real. On the contrary, the populist's leverage of the concept of authenticity is a perverse scenario where authenticity becomes a brand that is packaged and sold to voters who are looking for a solution to their worsening problems. Many have lost trust in governing institutions, so the populist agenda asks people to trust in a person instead. But it's all a gimmick. Sure, it's possible that Doug Ford makes a great cheesecake, as his video would suggest, but it is equally likely that he's doing the best he can to come across as a regular person doing regular things, even though he's at the helm of the very machine that populist sympathizers, including members of Ford Nation, rage against.

The future of political authenticity is not populism. Instead, it is the authenticity that we rarely see anymore: the unscripted speech that changes people's opinions; the hiccup that proves that a political leader is human like the rest of us; and, the meaningful, respectful exchange with someone of a contrary mind. Rather than following trends in public opinion and giving people what they think they want, authentic political leadership would help to build a consensus around innovative ideas for progress and growth. Authenticity involves taking the risk that, in staking out a clear position, you will alienate those who disagree. This risk can be managed if one views political office as a temporary privilege rather than an indefinite entitlement.

The current leaders of the main federal political parties collectively suffer an authenticity crisis. They could all be accused of chasing votes on the margins instead of holding fast to party ideals or personal ethics. Prime Minister Trudeau and New Democratic Party leader Jagmeet Singh have all but blended their parties together via an agreement of confidence and supply that inoculates the government from any true test of confidence while it protects the NDP from an election they can't afford. Both parties will likely end up supporting a budget that could pave the way for significant private involvement in health care, which would mark a significant departure for both from their historical positions on this critical subject.

For his part, Conservative leader Pierre Poilievre is a master of political obscurity. His vague messages about freedom help him to escape accountability for taking any firm position. He has never embraced the authenticity politics of his colleague, Premier Ford, and he is to be commended for that. But as leader, he gets less authentic every day, as he distances himself from the role he played as Conservative enforcer to appear "prime ministerial." His efforts might pay off, particularly if he can become the chief beneficiary of Liberal fatigue, but such a scenario would likely lead to deep disenchantment for those who voted for him because they thought they were voting for change.

With declining levels of public trust and voter engagement, we are in dire need of an injection of authenticity into our political blood supply. We need real people to say what they mean and do what they say, even if it costs them votes. Without this, voter apathy will get worse and political competition will lose its meaning, purpose, and legitimacy. What Trudeau, Poilievre and Singh have in common is that they've all been in politics for a long time. Surely, for career politicians like them, authenticity is worth the risk.

Contributing Writer Lori Turnbull, co-winner of the Donner Prize for Political Writing, is an Associate Professor and Director of the School of Public Administration at Dalhousie University.



Queen Elizabeth, with Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, signs the Constitution Act, including the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms on Parliament Hill, April 17, 1982. --*CBC image*

Canada's Unwritten Constitution: Vibrant but Worthy of Vigilance

With constitutional norms under assault by populist governments elsewhere in the world, Canadians should not be complacent. We do have the advantage of heightened public awareness of our constitution based on its relatively recent negotiation, patriation and codification. But as Thomas Axworthy, who was part of that process, writes, the upholding of our constitutional conventions requires vigilance.

Thomas S. Axworthy

Constitutions are like icebergs: the visible parts, enshrined in law for all to see, sit upon a mass of norms, traditions, and conventions that make up most of the governmental rules of the road but are largely unknown to the wider public and receive scant attention, even from the legal and academic communities. Historically, in the

British North America Act (BNA Act) of 1867, which established the federation of Canada, it was the written provisions about the division of federal and provincial powers in Sections 91 and 92 that initially charged debates about the constitution, and, since the Constitution Act of 1982, it has been the Charter of Rights and Freedoms that has overwhelmingly engaged scholars and jurists.

But the preamble to the BNA Act, in its first paragraph, begins with the critical phrase that the new Dominion will be "federally united…with a Constitution similar in Principle to that of the United Kingdom", which means that a host of unwritten British parliamentary conventions and rules such as the monarch appointing a cabinet on the advice of an elected prime minister, rather than on his or her personal preference, became Canada's unwritten constitution, too. Britain's governance was transformed from a monarchical led executive in the 17th century to a parliamentary democracy by the 19th. This was achieved by keeping the formal institutions of King, Commons and Lords, but radically altering their functions and powers through conventions, defined by the famous legal scholar A.V.Dicey as "understandings, habits or practices" which, though they may regulate conduct of the executive or sovereign power are not, in reality, laws. To become a convention a practice must continue over time and have general adherence. Caitlin Salvino, for example, has argued that using the notwithstanding clause, however unpalatable, is not breaking a Canadian convention because section 33 has been used and renewed several times by the provinces since 1982. When practices do jell into conventions, British author Peter Hennessy has described them as "the hidden wiring" of constitutions.

Understanding the hidden wiring takes an expert electrician. William Gladstone, participant in the 1867 British House of Commons debate over the BNA Act and, subsequently, prime minister of Great Britain, reflected that the British constitution with its unwritten conventions "requires more boldly than any other the good sense and good faith of those who work it."

In January 2023, Massey College, at the University of Toronto, convened a conference to assess "the good sense and good faith" of those who work on the unwritten Canadian constitution. Professor Vanessa MacDonnell of the University of Ottawa, who spoke at the conference, and her colleague, Phillipe Lagassé distinguish between the legal and political constitution and make the case that the norms and rules that underpin our parliamentary democracy are as important as the legal constitutional acts of 1867 and 1982.The Supreme Court of Canada in the 1998 Reference re: Secession of Quebec ruling recognized that unwritten principles are "implicit in the very nature of the Constitution" and, as I can personally attest, the court sometimes makes momentous decisions based on their understanding of political conventions.

In 1981, after decades of fruitless federal-provincial conferences on how to patriate the constitution from the legal supremacy of the United Kingdom, the government of Pierre Trudeau supported by the provinces of Ontario and New Brunswick, proposed to send a constitutional package which included an amending formula and a Charter of Rights and Freedoms to Great Britain one last time, to finally bring the constitution home.

But the Supreme Court ruled that while the initiative was legal as there was no formal requirement of provincial consent, in terms of constitutional traditions, there was a convention of a "substantial degree" of provincial consent. The court did not exactly define what "substantial" meant but Trudeau respected the majority opinion on convention, so the provinces were invited to Ottawa in the first week of November 1981 to try again to negotiate an agreement. The Court, in the words of political scientist Peter Russell, had given the Trudeau government a legal green light to proceed but a political red light to stop and try again. I met with Prime Minister Trudeau at Harrington Lake soon after the Supreme Court ruling: he understood that he would have to meet the Court's convention criteria and would do so either by further negotiation or a national referendum on the constitutional package. The political constitution of tradition and convention, in this case at least, changed our history.

The 1981 Supreme Court decision was certainly dramatic, yet as MacDonnell argues, "it is in the day-to-day application of these principles by the executive and legislature that unwritten constitutional principles perform their most important role." Politicians are the most important guardians of the political constitution just as judges are of the legal constitution. Accountability demands that the legislature must hold the executive to account so, therefore, it is critical that ministers do not willingly mislead the House.

Political neutrality of the public service is central to public administration, so ministers must deftly balance the political objectives of the government with the need of public servants to tell truth to power. Judicial independence is necessary for the rule of law so the appointment of judges must be done in a fair and impartial way after adequate consultation. Executive actions are usually out of sight behind closed doors, but institutions require that participants abide by implicit norms to sustain their actions because not everything can be written down. Repeated breaches of such political norms weaken the fundamentals of the unwritten constitution and can lead to collapse of the whole democratic edifice. This has occurred in Hungary under Viktor Orban and nearly occurred in the United States under Donald Trump.

In our current populist age, are the norms of our unwritten constitution under special stress or threat? The panelists at the Massey Forum certainly thought so. Peter Biro, in his keynote address on "Degrading Norms" concentrated on the fundamental virtue of truth and how this was necessary to create and maintain trust in a democracy. Erin Kelly, a

public opinion expert, told the conference, however, that public trust in Canada is eroding.

Exaggeration, bombast and spin have always been part of politics, but in Boris Johnson and Donald Trump we witnessed two leaders who emitted cascades of lies. As a young journalist, Johnson was fired for inventing quotes but he brazenly continued this pattern throughout his career, most notably in the Brexit debate, when he campaigned in a bus emblazed with the banner, "We send the EU 350 million pounds a week, let's fund the NHS instead." *The Washington Post* created a fact checker to investigate Trump's claims and, by the end of his presidency, Trump had piled up 30,572 falsehoods or 21 fibs a day. This is so absurd that it would be amusing except that Trump and his followers so weaponized the Big Lie that he had not lost the 2020 election that they attempted a violent attack on the Capitol on January 6, 2021, to prevent the electoral votes from being counted and certified.

Marcus Kolga, a well-known expert on Eastern Europe, documented the lies of Vladimir Putin and Viktor Orban, too, but he went on to outline how their Big Lies set the stage for more serious abuses: public opinion is inflamed to blame the "other", immigrants or refugees in Orban's case, Ukrainians or the West in Putin's. Winning elections on a Big Lie, power is concentrated in the centre, judicial independence is limited, cronies are appointed to government posts, prosecutors' offices and the state media function as arms of the ruling party, the electoral playing field is titled towards the administration and, finally, the Constitution is amended to legitimize the destruction of previous norms. Orban proudly proclaimed, in 2014, that, "The new state that we are building is an illiberal state, a non-liberal state." Putin beat the same drum in 2019, proclaiming, "Migrants can kill, plunder and rape with impunity because their rights as migrants have to be protected. Every crime must have its punishment. The liberal idea has become obsolete."

> ***"Patrice Dutil, a noted public administration scholar, outlined how difficult it is for public servants to navigate their way between the demands of political staffers and the norm of good administration."***

Nothing has happened in Canada that remotely resembles the crimes of Putin, Orban or Trump. But there are warning signs that our unwritten Constitution is fraying at the edges. Adam Goldenberg concentrated on the key issue of how our judges are appointed: from its creation in 1875 until 2004, appointments to the Supreme Court were made by the prime minister after informal consultations with the Chief Justice and other notables but there was no transparency. Paul Martin took up the challenge of creating a more open system and established an elaborate formal advisory system of consultations with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, leaders from the bar, provincial attorneys general who would create a short list of candidates to send to the minister of justice and the prime minister for the final decision. Members of Parliament, either through ad-hoc committees or the Standing Committee of Justice, play a role too. Stephen Harper continued this system and Justin Trudeau opened it up even further in 2016 by allowing any qualified candidate to apply (in 2022 the Advisory Board, for example, received twelve applications to fill a vacancy from Ontario).

But even this elaborate system has had its controversies: when Chief Justice Beverley McLachlin, in 2014, gave advice about the qualifications of a proposed list of Supreme Court justices, a longstanding convention in Canada, Stephen Harper publicly complained. His nominee, however, was eventually found not to have the qualifications necessary to be a representative justice from Quebec (which is exactly what McLachlin warned about). And the current system of an Advisory Board with specified consultations is an executive decision only, not enshrined in legislation. A future prime minister could radically change it or do away with the system all together. To guard against this possibility the House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice recommended in 2017 that the system be made permanent.

Patrice Dutil, a noted public administration scholar, outlined how difficult it is for public servants to navigate their way between the demands of political staffers and the norm of good administration. Sometimes, even the most senior officials get caught in this snare. The SNC-Lavalin scandal of 2018-19 turned on the interpretation of the "Shawcross principle" which then-UK Attorney General Sir Hartley Shawcross outlined to the British House of Commons in 1951: that an AG could seek out the policy implications of a prosecutor decision from cabinet colleagues but any decision was the AG's alone. Attorney General Jody Wilson-Raybould and Justin Trudeau's PMO disagreed about what constituted undue pressure to assist SNC-Lavalin, with the end result that two ministers resigned, as did a senior official from the PMO and the Clerk of the Privy Council, the Prime Minister was criticized by the Ethics Commissioner and SNC-Lavalin eventually pleaded guilty and was fined $200 million. Who says political conventions are of minor account?

Conventions and traditions, in the words of the Supreme Court, "dictate major elements of the architecture of the Constitution itself and are, as such, its lifeblood." Our political constitution remains vibrant, but we will have to be vigilant to keep it that way.

Contributing Writer Thomas S. Axworthy is Public Policy Chair at Massey College, University of Toronto. He was Principal Secretary to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau at the time of the negotiation and adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Constitution Act in 1981-82.



Solving the Problems with Polling

Among the issues that have dominated the political and policy discourse over the past decade, the state of post-internet public opinion polling has been among the most contentious. Given the misinformation and propaganda fogging the political landscape, are polls still an accurate reflection of reality? We went to one of the best, long-time pollsters in the business, Allan Gregg, who also happens to be widely recognized as an inveterate straight shooter, for answers.

Allan R. Gregg

After decades spent in politics, public policy, media and public opinion research, I can think of few professionals whose job has become more difficult or whose output more questionable today than it was 10 years ago than pollsters.

The difficulty of the job and the questions raised about output in recent years are not a function of a deterioration in the quality of the pollsters or their understanding of public opinion. To the contrary, the nature

of the profession is a constant continuum of learning and understanding of the never-ending complexity and nuances of citizen and consumer thinking and behaviour.

Simply put, our job has become more difficult because the foundation of our discipline has been crumbling over the past two decades, largely due to the disruptive impact of the same technology that has transformed other fields of endeavour, including journalism and politics.

For the opinions of a sample of voters to be projectable back to the population from which the sample was drawn, the survey respondents have to be selected on a random basis. In other words, everyone in the "universe" of voters has to have an equal "chance" of being selected and of participating in the survey. Random probability, in turn, is a well-established principle of not only polling but physics.

We all seem to know intuitively that if we flip a coin that we will have a 50 percent chance of getting a head and 50 percent chance of getting a tail. But in fact, this knowledge is not intuitive at all but scientific, because if we flipped a coin until infinity, we would get exactly 50 percent heads and 50 percent tails. But because of random probability theory, we also know that to determine the "chance" of getting a head or tail, it is not necessary to flip the coin forever. We can just flip it 100 times and we will probably get between 45 and 55 heads and 45 to 55 tails, 19 times out of 20. If you don't believe me, try it.

The same theory applies to survey research. If, for example, single women in apartment buildings represent 12 percent of the total voting population, then if we select our sample randomly, they will have a 12 percent "chance" of being selected and after we randomly select our sample, it will contain 12 percent single women who live in apartment buildings.

When we started in the profession, everyone had a landline and responses rates were in the 70-80 percent range. While not perfect, virtually everyone had an equal "chance" to be selected for a survey and, as a consequence, the samples we generated reflected the population from which they were drawn. While we still checked to make sure there was a sample "fit" with the general population, weighting and rejigging the sample was rarely necessary.

Today, we no longer have a universal distribution system that can reach the total population and therefore not everyone has an equal "chance" of being selected for a sample.

> *"Our job has become more difficult because the foundation of our discipline has been crumbling over the past two decades."*

So, some pollsters still conduct landline surveys but they tend to skew older, more rural and less educated and do not include the nearly 46 percent of the Canadian households who no longer have a landline. Some conduct online surveys with respondents drawn from "opt-in" panels but they tend to skew younger, more urban and better educated and do not include those without access to the internet or who choose not to "opt-in" to one of these panels. Some conduct surveys using mixed methods that include a combination of landline, cell phone and internet, on the assumption that the skewedness of each method will cancel one another out, and then weigh the sample to make sure it reflects the fundamental regional, socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the total population. And then there are the interactive voice response (IVR) surveys that bombard telephone numbers with recorded questions which, quite frankly, isn't any more scientific than gathering public opinion by trying to stop people randomly to ask them questions on a street corner. In all instances, response rates today – that is, the number of people selected who actually complete the survey – tend to be in the single digit or low teen range, raising the even larger prospect that those who actually choose to participate in surveys have an obviously different "propensity" — or mindset — than those who do not.

Given the hodgepodge of these less-than-perfect methodologies, it's no wonder that many question the accuracy of polls today. Indeed, for some, the question is not "Why are so many polls wrong?" but "How can any of them be right?"

For all our difficulties, both questions, by and large, are misplaced.

First, the disparity between those without landlines, cell phones or intent has actually shrunk over the past 10 years, giving the pollster — once again — nearly universal access to the total population.

Secondly, none of this is a secret within the survey research community and there have been many brilliant minds that have been hard at work trying to find solutions to these challenges.

Indeed, ESOMAR (founded in 1947 as the Amsterdam-based European Society for Opinion and Market Research), now the global member organization that represents market and opinion research, recently conducted a massive audit of international polling results compared to actual election outcomes. Commenting on ESOMAR's findings, Canada's own Research Insights Council (CRIC) provided the following summary:

"By following the highest standards and best practices, CRIC members have been consistently accurate in predicting elections. In fact, a global analysis (ESOMAR) into the accuracy of surveys concluded that done well, surveys overwhelmingly continue to correctly predict election outcomes. The study looked at more than 31,000 surveys from 473 voting events across 40 countries spanning 1936 – 2017, and found that at a global level, the average error of surveys conducted within seven days

"COVID-19 moved qualitative research and focus groups out of a physical and into a virtual setting and, much to our surprise, the quality of our recruitment and the actual discussions that take place in these sessions has improved, while our costs of doing this kind of research have gone down. In fact, we doubt that we will ever go back to in-person, physical focus groups."

before an election is +/-2.5%. The ESOMAR study included surveys from the four Canadian federal elections prior to 2019 and found that Canadian survey researchers performed well with average errors below the global average. CRIC members also correctly predicted the results of the 2019 and 2021 federal elections that took place after the ESOMAR study."

And finally, while technological disruption and changing patterns of consumer behaviour have made it more difficult to generate random probability samples, the internet has facilitated infinitely more creative ways to gather public opinion compared to old-school telephone or in-person interviewing.

Because online interviews are self-administered – rather than through a conversation with a live interviewer – we have increased the accuracy of some areas of investigation that might elicit an otherwise "socially desirable" response. Respondents now routinely confess to "bad behaviours" like drinking and driving or self-identify as minorities whereas in the past, this was virtually never the case.

Being able to embed visuals — be they text, graphic, photos or videos — not only enhances the interview experience for the respondent, it also allows us to know more fully if the responses we are getting actually align with the question we are asking. Absent these visuals, in research designed to test advertising effectiveness for example, we had to ask questions like "Have you seen, read or heard any advertising that discussed climate change?", and "What was the main message of that advertising?", and, "Who sponsored or paid for that ad"? The responses might be "yes"; "that the risks of global warming are being exaggerated" and "Shell Oil". Well, Shell Oil never ran any such advertising, so we were completely unable to determine what part of the answer was inaccurate, be it whether the person actually ever saw an ad, whether they got the message wrong or whether they misidentified the sponsor. Today, we may ask the same questions but now we are able to show the respondent the actual ad embedded in the on-line survey and know if they are getting the message and sponsor right.

COVID-19 moved qualitative research and focus groups out of a physical and into a virtual setting and, much to our surprise, the quality of our recruitment and the actual discussions that take place in these sessions has improved, while our costs of doing this kind of research have gone down. In fact, we doubt that we will ever go back to in-person, physical focus groups.

Social media has also allowed us to "target" sub-populations with a precision never thought possible before. Back in the day, if we could identify and recruit 18-34 year-olds for a survey, we thought we were pretty sophisticated. Today, we can identify, target and recruit mothers who take their children to ballet classes (to use but one example) for a fraction of what it would cost to conduct the "youth survey" of the past, using random probability sampling.

Finally, whole new methodologies have evolved as a result of precision targeting and integrating visuals into a conversation. We now routinely conduct "on-line communities" where we recruit participants through very specific social media sites (the mothers with children in ballet classes, to continue the example) and then host a moderated discussion on a Facebook-like platform over the course of three to four days. This form of iterative dialogue allows conversations to take a course and generate new, real-time hypotheses that the researcher may not have anticipated or thought of when the research was initially designed. The platform also accommodates the injection and testing of new messages, concepts and graphics that have been developed based on the conversations or ideas that have been generated by the conversation itself. In this way, the tools not only give us insight into what public opinion is, or what underlying sentiments might be driving public opinion, but also into the factors that are most likely to change public opinion. Given this power, the communities are tantamount to focus groups on steroids.

So yes, being a pollster isn't as easy as flipping a coin anymore. And yes, we are forced to do a number of workarounds to accommodate the difficulty of reaching a representative sample due to changing patterns of information consumption. But it is still a remarkably exciting and stimulating discipline that challenges the mind.

I always tell young people entering the profession that to be a great researcher, they have to learn to love being wrong. This usually produces a perplexed look and the obvious question: "Why?" Polling may have changed over the years, but the answer hasn't. "Because when you're wrong, you have to generate a new hypothesis. And then you get to test it!" This is, after all, a science.

Allan R. Gregg, one of Canada's leading political pollsters and pundits for decades, was the founder of Decima Research in 1979. He is now a Principal of Earnscliffe Strategies and an Adjunct Professor at Carleton University's Schools of Public Administration and Political Management.

Lessons Learned from the Past Decade

The decade between the launch of Policy magazine and today has seen the consequences of revolutionary change — technological, geopolitical, social, economic and scientific — unleashed at the turn of the millennium play out in disruptions across politics, public health, energy, employment and the rise of propaganda. Intrepid Policy contributors Kevin Lynch and Paul Deegan connect all the dots for us.

Kevin Lynch and Paul Deegan

Given that the two of us were banned by Russian President Vladimir Putin last year, for reasons known only to some apparatchik at the Russian Embassy, we thought it would be appropriate to begin this look back over the past decade and peer ahead by quoting another Vladimir – Lenin in this case – "There are decades where nothing happens; and there are weeks where decades happen."

As we look back over the past decade, there are a number of events that shaped Canada and the world, and they will likely continue to test and challenge us over the next 10 years. As the late American humourist Art Buchwald once wrote, "Whether it's the best of times or the worst of times, it's the only time we've got."

The January 6, 2021 siege of the US Capitol, the very symbol of American democracy, was shocking, but it was not an aberration. Canadians came to learn this with the so-called Freedom Convoy, as did the French with Mouvement des gilets jaunes, the Brits with violent pro-Brexit mobs, countries around the world with frenzied anti-mask and anti-vaxxer protests, and, most recently, the Brazilians with pro-Bolsonaro forces storming their Congress.

Who or what is to blame for this? It would be too easy to pin it all on Donald Trump, although he is a dangerous demagogue who has been fanning the flames of extremism with false tales of a stolen election to delegitimize both the winner and the democratic process itself. There is also no question that he incited the insurrection and violence that occurred on January 6th. But there are two major contributing factors behind the rise of this new iteration of populism.

> ***"Big tech has failed miserably in addressing the dangerous disinformation carried on their own platforms. Self-regulation has not worked, and it should never have been expected to work, but we were too jazzed by all the technological innovation to care."***

First, adherents of bizarre conspiracy theories are linked together by social media, and the Big Tech companies seem to be doing next to nothing about it. In a recent *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, US President Joe Biden spelled out the problem, "We need Big Tech companies to take responsibility for the content they spread," he wrote. "That's why I've long said we must fundamentally reform Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act, which protects tech companies from legal responsibility for content posted on their sites."

Biden is spot on. Big tech has failed miserably in addressing the dangerous disinformation carried on their own platforms. Self-regulation has not worked, and it should never have been expected to work, but we were too jazzed by all the technological innovation to care.

Second, globalization and technological change have left far too many people around the world behind. We live in a world of haves – the well-educated knowledge workers – and the have nots, meaning everybody else. As income and opportunity gaps are growing, so too is despair among those with a middling education and analog skills in today's digital world.

A minimum wage job simply doesn't cut it in terms of eking out anything close to a middle-class existence these days. Canada, and every Western democracy for that matter, has to come to grips with wealth and income divides that are rising sharply and rapidly. Education and re-skilling have to be top priorities for policymakers as trade and technology changes the nature and location of jobs. If we fail to bring the disaffected and disenfranchised into the economic and political mainstream, social cohesion will erode to the breaking point.

We also have to buttress our political, economic and social institutions. Institutions matter. Freely elected parliaments, independent judiciaries and courts, non-partisan public services, free press, robust civil society are all important bulwarks against demagogues. In his new book *The Age of the Strongman, Financial Times* columnist Gideon Rachman argues: "Durable political systems ultimately rely on institutions, not individuals."

The pandemic exposed problems in global supply chains, which pushed up the prices of everything from used cars to microchips. Worker shortages put upward pressure on wages and costs. Massive fiscal stimulus from governments was added to the massive liquidity stimulus provided by central bankers. The inevitable result of too much money chasing too few goods was inflation. And the slower central banks were to respond, the more persistent and entrenched inflation became. Whether at the fuel pump or the grocery store check-out, we've all learned that the mantra of central bankers — that inflation was "transitory" — was painfully wrong.

After a year of rate hikes, central bankers have now begun to quell inflation. Going forward, the alignment of fiscal and monetary policy will be key to how quickly inflation is unwound. That said, the salad days of cheap money and ultra-low interest rates are over, and there will be structural consequences. Canada's deeply indebted housing sector is vulnerable, as low-interest mortgages come up for renewal at much higher rates. Capital will also be harder to attract for firms that have no reasonable prospect of generating free cash flow. Government debt will be much more costly and this will be particularly painful for governments like Canada that have unwisely doubled their debt. And central bankers, the oracles of the last decade, are the public villains of today.

Canada has a growth problem. For most of the period since 2008, Canada has muddled along with middling growth. That's a far cry from the prior half-century, when we enjoyed the robust growth that built today's economic and social infrastructure. With rising interest rates and soaring public debt levels, low productivity and weak innovation, massive public infrastructure deficits, a health care system that is teetering at the brink, the challenges before us are complex and difficult. Painful choices have to be made. We cannot cut our way to stronger growth, we cannot borrow our way to better productivity, and we cannot inflate ourselves out of this trap.

> ***"The federal review and approval of infrastructure projects often takes longer than the time to go from shovel in the ground to project completion. Speed matters, and foreign capital is not always patient."***

Canada is a trading nation, and a growth plan should begin with strategic investments in trade — enabling infrastructure to make it easier for goods, commodities, services and people to cross our borders. We are blessed with an abundance of natural resources and a well-educated workforce, but our onerous regulatory system makes it almost impossible to build anything. Why does it take three times longer to get a construction permit in Canada compared to the United States? The federal review and approval of infrastructure projects often takes longer than the time to go from shovel in the ground to project completion. Speed matters, and foreign capital is not always patient. As a country, we need to focus on a growth and competitiveness plan to get us out of the hole we have dug for ourselves.

It needs to be easier to be an entrepreneur and innovator in Canada. Canada dropped from fourth position on the World Bank Ease of Doing Business rankings in 2006 to a dismal 23rd in 2020. We score poorly on international innovation rankings. We appear incapable of addressing interprovincial barriers, which work to keep businesses small, local and uncompetitive.

Climate change poses an existential threat to the planet, but it also presents an incredible economic opportunity. As a nation, we have to come to terms with the duality of the climate change problem: balancing the imperative to phase out of carbon with an adjustment strategy for a sector that is our biggest single export and our highest value-added sector. Demand for gas is not going to disappear for decades, and the question is "whose gas" not "whether gas". We lack any blueprint of how to replace our carbon-based energy sector over time with something of similar "economic value" and risk a large decline in our living standards as a consequence.

Putin's heinous, illegal invasion of Ukraine has reminded Europeans that they are too reliant on Russian energy. Prior to the invasion, Russia supplied a little less than half of European natural gas. With that supply now cut off, Europe needs to turn to reliable partners, not just for today, but for the decades to come. As the world's fifth-largest natural gas producer, Canada has the capacity to help our European allies counter Russia's most effective weapons system — energy.

The question is, do we have the political will to build LNG export terminals and pipelines? Our neighbour to the South clearly sees the economic benefit from — and geopolitical need for — expanding natural gas production and LNG exports. The US has eight LNG export terminals, with five more under construction and another 20 approved or proposed. Canada has zero, although one is under construction in Kitimat. We can't kid ourselves that we can solve Europe's energy crunch today, but we can get on with the job of building pipelines and LNG export terminals both on our west coast to service Asia and on our east coast, which is days closer to Europe than US Gulf ports. It would

> *"The past decade has reminded us that we live in a highly uncertain and volatile world. The next 10 years will test us to find solutions, both at home and abroad."*

be a boon for our energy sector, and it would undermine Russia and strengthen ties with our NATO allies.

In his new book *The New Map: Energy, Climate and the Clash of Nations*, Daniel Yergin focuses on the impact of the sharp escalation of geopolitical tensions on energy transition strategies. With the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the spike in US-China tensions and the disruptions in global energy markets and prices, Yergin argues that energy transition strategies must now also reflect an energy security reality, or else governments will risk severe economic dislocations and the loss of public and political support for their climate change policies. As a major global energy producer, this changing security dynamic should be reason to readjust Canadian energy transition plans and export LNG for the global good.

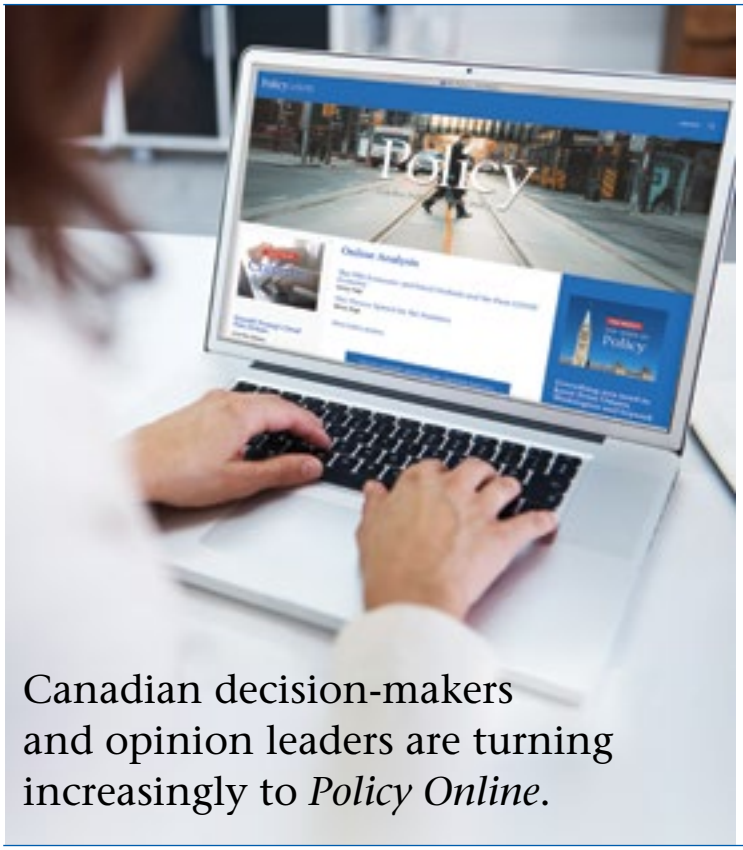
The fall of Berlin Wall and China's opening to the West were great events, but we are in a far different world today. Putin has waged war everywhere from Chechnya to Georgia to Syria to Ukraine. He is a dangerous imperialist from a bygone era. So, too, is China's Xi Jinping, who has tightened his grip on Chinese society and private enterprise in China. Under Xi, Hong Kong has slid from "rule of law" into "rule by law", China has threatened Taiwan and vital sea lanes and engaged in "wolf warrior" and, in the case of the Two Michaels, hostage diplomacy. The federal government's new Indo-Pacific strategy is a belated recognition of the need to pivot away from what has become a dangerously dependent trade relationship with China, but is vague on the "where to go and how to get there."

For Canada, one obvious place to start for diversifying trading relationships is right here in our own backyard. Since NAFTA, we have concluded bilateral trade agreements in our hemisphere with Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama and Peru. With over one billion people, the Americas are an attractive market. Fresh off the heels of the Three Amigos meeting in Mexico, Canada led in calling for a free-trade area of the Americas – an idea that was first advanced at the Miami Summit of the Americas in December 1994.

The past decade has reminded us that we live in a highly uncertain and volatile world. The next 10 years will test us to find solutions, both at home and abroad. A robust Canadian economy, strong social cohesion, and a willingness to be an effective security partner with our allies would be worthy objectives for the decade ahead. We have the capacity to do so; we just need the will.

Contributing Writer Kevin Lynch is a former Clerk of the Privy Council and former Vice Chair of BMO Financial Group.

Contributing Writer Paul Deegan is a former public affairs executive at BMO Financial Group and CN Rail and he served in the Clinton White House.



Canadian decision-makers and opinion leaders are turning increasingly to *Policy Online*.

Policy *Online*

Policy's **guaranteed readership of decision makers is expanding daily with *Policy Online* at policymagazine.ca. With Analysis from Canada's best policy minds, Columns from our most talented political players, our weekly global review—*The Week in Policy*—Book Reviews and Special features, there's always something new at *Policy Online*.**

As our political and policy community faces unprecedented challenges, *Policy* has become a forum for innovative ideas, serious solutions and great reading.

We now offer combined rates for ad space in our print edition, at *Policy Online* and/ or in *The Week in Policy*.

For further information,
contact: lianmacdonald@gmail.com

PolicyMagazine.ca

Ten Years of the Second Trudeau Era, Depending How You Count

A decade after he was Policy's first cover subject as newly selected Liberal leader, Justin Trudeau's future is now the most speculated-about subject in Ottawa, spun daily like a top by an antsy gaggle of touts, punters and proxies, so many of whom have undeclared stakes in the match-up for the next big fight. Longtime Liberal strategist, gimlet-eyed veteran political observer and Policy novelist-in-residence John Delacourt gives us the A.J. Liebling ringside rundown of a Trudeau decade that may have been more than just one.

John Delacourt

Decades, like centuries in political history, rarely align to the Gregorian calendar. Perhaps the most representative example of this phenomenon is the notion that the 20th century really began in 1917 and ended in 1989, with the fall of the Berlin Wall. Those 72 years were so full of Harold MacMillan's "events, dear boy" that there was more than enough change to contend with, and more than enough conflict and tragedy to learn from for the next century – for those in Moscow, Washington, and yes, even in Ottawa.

The second Trudeau era for the Liberals began 10 years ago, with Justin Trudeau's virtual acclamation as leader of the party. His victory and what it meant for Canadian politics was the centerpiece topic for the first issue of this magazine. Yet has it only been 10 years since then, really? I'd argue that a new, different age of realpolitik for Trudeau as Prime Minister began in January of 2019, with a Cabinet shuffle that sent Jody Wilson-Raybould from the Justice portfolio to Veterans Affairs. A short decade of innocence and idealism concluded after six years, and a new era, defined by issues and crisis management, had begun.

It is instructive, given this framing, to go back to a year-end interview Trudeau, as leader of the Liberal party, gave to Evan Solomon on CBC in 2013. There was a list of topics the new leader was called upon to address, including a reduction in Canada Post services, a scandal regarding an audit of Senator Mike Duffy's expenses that precipitated some less than ethical conversations involving a Deloitte consultant (okay, not McKinsey at least) and Stephen Harper's PMO. Trudeau offered a summary condemnation of Harper's governing style, stating it was a government that "functions in secrecy, governs by fiat and press release, announcing what they're going to do and people can like it or lump it … that's not the kind of government Canadians want." He stated, less than two years before his first campaign as leader, that Canadians had "grown tired of" Harper's style of governing. Of interest is how many times Trudeau mentioned cynicism (I counted three) to describe the defining feature — not bug — of the Harper years.

Harper's time as prime minister, when that interview occurred, was roughly the same as Trudeau's now. Yet the Harper decade seems as one era, a kind of Diefenbaker period of relative calm, when we were still debating whether climate change was a thing and pundits were confidently predicting the new axis point for the Canadian economy would not be Toronto but Calgary. The counter-narrative Trudeau seemed to be developing, even in those early days of his leadership, was of an approach that would re-instill idealism, bring new energy and optimism to the Canadian project, that work in progress where the middle class hadn't "had a raise in 30 years."

It is easy to forget, watching Trudeau in that interview, that he had been an MP on the Opposition benches for half a decade, coming in at a tumultuous time when Stéphane Dion's leadership transitioned into Michael Ignatieff's. To someone arriving in Ottawa with Trudeau's cultural and legacy political capital, it must have seemed like a garrison town after the smoke of retreat, with the Liberal bench and Leader's Office staffed with loyal foot soldiers past their best-before date (full disclosure for you, reader: I was one of them for a time) — save for a small group of allies with ties to Queen's Park and a shrewd, survivor-class group of ninja advisers, with superior skills in opposition research and campaign operations. If you were someone with aspirations to lead and rebuild the party, you had to look outward beyond this skeleton crew to a new generation, and a new way of crafting a narrative full of hope and optimism — the oxygen of any political campaign.

A farther look back, for a moment, for some additional perspective on that six-year decade. In Christina-McCall Newman's *Grits: An Intimate Portrait of the Liberal Party*, published way back in 1982, she describes when Pierre Trudeau looked to two figures, Marc Lalonde and Michael Pitfield, for counsel and

ally-ship as he formulated his vision. Here's how she described this trio:

"Their experience had persuaded them that the old bureaucratic-political axis with its generalist approach to government problems … was inadequate to cope with the complexities of the sixties. They were enamoured of cybernetics and of other technocratic ideas that they saw as a means to make government both more efficient and democratic and that fitted in perfectly with Trudeau's views on 'functionalism.'"

In 2013, there was another technocratic narrative emerging for another Trudeau. This one was created in the petri dish of tech-bro culture that gave us Facebook, Twitter and Amazon, and it held similar promises for our shiny new digital future. And like a bad screenplay that Amazon would probably green-light now, there was another Pitfield, Michael's son Tom, who became the eminence grise of all things digital in the Liberals' campaign planning.

Pitfield had learned from the success of the Obama campaign to craft a strategy of voter identification and micro-targeting, largely based on all the information Canadians had provided for free to our digital overlords. This was in that honeymoon period before Trump, and before Russian trolls had mastered mining our data and flooding the platforms with disinformation. Today the digital landscape has all the appeal – and seems as scarred – as, say Uranium City, Saskatchewan, yet it still has rich enough seams of data to yield respectable minority results that might keep Liberals in the winning column, though the Poilievre team looks like they've finally upped the Conservative game in data science, and in their courting of the convoyageurs and sundry PPC voters, they've got stronger stomachs for its darker tactics.

Yet for Canadians who live outside of Ottawa, and who at some point over the next two years have to vote, their question for a future prime minister is the same: what is the hope narrative now? The ballot question that might grant the Liberals an era beyond an actual decade cannot simply be: is — or is not — Canada broken?



Former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau with son Justin, then 24, in 1996. Pierre Trudeau spent most of his time in office contending Canada was united. Justin Trudeau may spend the rest of his time as PM contending Canada's not broken.

Over the last month, Trudeau gave another journalist a long interview, and it was a conversation that both implicitly and explicitly addressed what I contend is this second Trudeau decade in power: its plot points marked by the Wilson-Raybould drama, the Iranian air tragedy, COVID, COVID-the-sequel, the convoy occupation of Ottawa and Russia's invasion of Ukraine. So much for history by headline; that is one plot line for a history, but there is another that simmered as a subtext, defined by transformative moments for Canadians who may have only begrudgingly granted the Liberals the keys to that crumbling ghost mansion at 24 Sussex. This counternarrative is defined by the gravesites uncovered on the grounds of shuttered residential schools, by revelations about the RCMP, and the cultural rot in our armed forces, and by similar sordid abuses of power given to young men who've been blessed with the talent to excel in hockey, which is of course not just our game but a kind of religion in our small towns still. You can say these Canadians are clinging onto old settler narratives that sentimentalized or outrightly lied about our encounter with First Nations, that they blindly trust those in uniform, and that they have turned a blind eye to the toxic side of hockey culture. All of that may be true, and yet for many, these are the core components of Canadian identity, and, compounded by the tribulations of the pandemic on our economy, these Canadians don't have much to feel good about, to take pride in, to feel hopeful about.

In the interview, Trudeau leapt on this accusation, defensively. He responded as only someone who cares about the obligation to living in truth would. He said all the right things about a strong country having the courage to face up to its failures, its betrayals of trust, its crimes. He seemed to suggest that hope would reside in our ability to learn from an unvarnished take on our history, and that we would ultimately be stronger for our faith in what you might call the better angels of our nature.

You could say that within that response is something like the foundations for a new vision of Canada: something a little more grown-up to craft a narrative for a 21st century country. But you could also say it is idealistic, denying how ultimately irrational or "emotional" politics really is. We want seductive fictions, not uneasy realities as we brace ourselves for a world where we might not actually be ready to be economically competitive, progressive, "the best country in the world."

The challenge now, for Trudeau and the Liberals around him, is to make a compelling case for hope and idealism once again and not play to the wings – where the old ghosts of realpolitik loom in the shadows more and more each day.

Contributing Writer John Delacourt, former Director of Research for the Liberal Party of Canada, is Senior Vice President of Counsel Public Affairs, based in Ottawa, He is also the author of several novels.



Then-Prime Minister Stephen Harper with Pierre Poilievre, the young minister of democratic reform from 2013-15. --*Jason Ransom photo*

Moving the Conservatives Forward

When Policy's first issue was published, Justin Trudeau was on the cover as the newly selected Liberal leader and Stephen Harper was two years into his third term as Conservative prime minister. In the decade since, the federal Conservatives have had four leaders, including the current incumbent, Pierre Poilievre. Also in the past decade, longtime Tory strategist and senior adviser Geoff Norquay has provided our readers with a steady supply of deep insight on the party he knows better than just about any other Canadian.

Geoff Norquay

As 2023 begins, Pierre Poilievre is settling in nicely as Conservative leader. In his new role, his presence in the House of Commons has focused Conservative criticisms of the government more tightly, while creating a more immediate dynamic with the prime minister in question period, and caucus remains disciplined. That's a good start to build on, providing the Conservatives with the transition time to segue from opposing to proposing, from simply criticizing what the government is doing to presenting an alternative.

As much as some in the media might like it, chances of an election in the coming year are highly unlikely, and here's why:

- The Liberals are in the kind of patch that every mature government hits after seven or eight years in office, when tiredness and arrogance compete for branding prominence, where key files that have been smouldering burst into dumpster fires, and when bad judgments and ethical lapses become everyday headlines. Basic government services and systems – from health care, the processing of passports, visas and immigration cases, to airline regulation and passenger complaints and our "catch and release" bail system – continue to malfunction and underperform. The Liberals are no longer confronting mistakes made by past governments; they're now having to fix their own. Their recent gun control fiasco in the House of Commons was a spectacular own-goal, managing to unite in opposition the Conservatives, the NDP, the Bloc, Liberal backbenchers and Indigenous leaders across the country. No mean feat!
- The leaders of the two principal parties began the new year facing some personal challenges. An Angus Reid poll released in mid-December revealed that, "An emerging gender divide is unmistakable: Poilievre's favourability is nearly twice as high among men (44 percent as women (23 percent), while the inverse is true of Trudeau (35 percent among men, 50 percent among women)." And Nanos Research reported in early January that 51 percent of Canadians want to see a new Liberal leader before the next election. Clearly, both leaders need time to stabilize and strengthen their leadership positions before going to the polls.
- In a minority House of Commons, forcing an election requires one or more of the parties to see a potential electoral advantage, but it is also a numbers game. With the Liberals currently holding 158 seats in a House with 338 seats — 12 seats short of a majority of 170 — it would take the Conservatives (117 seats) plus both the Bloc (32) and the NDP (25) to force an election. Barring something unforeseen, it's difficult to think of an issue powerful enough to unite the opposition and overcome the fact that no party is either ready or desirous for a trip to the polls.

So, if there's no election in 2023, what must the Conservatives do to get policy-ready for one in 2024 or 2025?

First, take their time. My several stints advising Conservative leaders of the opposition tell me the leader and caucus will face the perennial criticism that they are moving too slowly in developing and revealing policy. Party supporters will wave their hands and shout, "Just release the platform now and you will jump ahead in the polls," but that's the wrong approach.

"For the next year, the Conservatives should stick with hanging the pain of inflation and the Liberals' incompetence in running the country on the government: passports that arrive late, air passenger complaints that are never heard, violent offenders that don't stay in custody. In the meantime, build the platform."

Party activists are true believers, watching every word uttered by the leader, and they are convinced the platform will sweep the country with its brilliance. The voters? Not so much. With no election in sight, they are just worried about the rising cost of living, their job security, car payments and getting the kids off to school and day care on time. Besides, a platform released months, if not years, ahead of an election is just an easy target for criticism and the appropriation of good ideas by the Liberals.

The cost of living and "stuff that's broken": Poilievre has hit a nerve with his "broken Canada" theme, for the obvious reason that lots of programs and services are simply not working well right now. There's an old adage the Conservatives should remember: "When your opponent is busy digging himself a hole, don't interrupt." For the next year, the Conservatives should stick with hanging the pain of inflation and the Liberals' incompetence in running the country on the government: passports that arrive late, air passenger complaints that are never heard, violent offenders that don't stay in custody. In the meantime, build the platform.

What should that platform look like? Here are some suggestions.

Climate change: Canadians overwhelmingly want to see progress on climate change and the environment, but they are pretty forgiving on performance; for a generation, they haven't penalized the Liberals for promising the moon and accomplishing next to nothing. That said, voters do demand that the Conservatives at least try. As Conservatives for Clean Growth have argued, one possible starting point is the diversity and creativity with which the provinces have already developed climate policies to meet the needs of their own regional economies. As the group suggests, "Conservatives need to stop focusing our climate policy on what we are against. Instead, focus on what Canada does best, from developing and exporting clean fuels and minerals, to building the cars of the future."

While taking down the "carbon tax" is a favourite of many Conservative supporters, the party needs to heed a recent warning from the Canadian Climate Institute, that "the

chance that future governments might change course makes investments riskier and capital harder to raise." Above all, the Canadian energy sector just wants a predictable set of policies that provide and room to plan. Do we really want to dump a bunch of new assumptions on them? A complicating factor for the Conservatives is the recent poll that found that a strong majority of Quebecers (71 percent) are much more supportive of climate action than those living in the rest of Canada (48 percent).

Productivity, competition and innovation: Canada's public policies regulating commerce and business are incredibly interventionist and protectionist with the result that our productivity is pathetic compared to our trading partners, and our comparative standard of living continues to decline. A 2020 OECD analysis of product market regulation across countries indicates that Canadian government intervention in economic activity "creates more distortions than elsewhere in the West. In addition, barriers to entry into Canada are more numerous than elsewhere, significantly more restrictive, and the regulatory framework is generally more restrictive." This has created "a thicket of regulations, patents, tariffs, occupational licensing rules, restrictions on foreign investment, and price-fixing to shelter firms from competition." As a result, our "success" in benefiting from free trade with the United States is largely "due to the depreciation of the Canadian dollar, rather than to the quality and quantity of Canadian investment and innovation."

Speaking of innovation, all these regulations and rules stifle it. The Liberals have spent billions on program after program to encourage the private sector to innovate with little result. From the "Superclusters" to the Canadian Innovation and Investment Agency that is currently being created, these approaches have yielded minimal results, because they don't enable innovation and growth in the Canadian economy. They should all be put out of existence. Pierre Poilievre has spoken convincingly of making Canada the freest country in the world; his platform should redeem that promise by dismantling some of the regulatory barriers to unleash competition and support entrepreneurship and economic growth.

Consumers first: Simply put, the next Conservative platform should put competition and consumers back in the centre of Canada's economic strategy, and finally, once and for all, dismantle interprovincial trade barriers. A 2021 report by Deloitte found that "regulations on interprovincial trade impose the equivalent of a 6.9 percent tariff on goods across Canada – a premium almost two percentage points higher than our current GST rate." The benefits of removing these barriers could include a rise in GDP of $80 billion, or 3.8 percent, an increase in average wages of 5.5 percent or about $1,800 per person; and higher government revenues of 4.4 percent. Promise it, do it, and Canadians will thank you for it.

Open the borders: In many sectors of the Canadian economy, foreign competition is effectively barred by federal regulation. As *Globe and Mail* columnist Andrew Coyne recently argued, with consumers first, "competition forces producers into an endless search for ways to improve customer service; if one company doesn't give them satisfaction, another will. Regulation, on the other hand, gives producers no incentive to please consumers, but only to do the minimum necessary to keep the regulators at bay." This situation cries out for a stark policy contrast with the Liberals: what better place to start than with cabotage to introduce foreign competition for Canada's domestic airlines, who continue to abuse and victimize passengers after receiving billions of taxpayer dollars in pandemic bailouts.

Supply management: Finally, if the party really wants to create a "true blue" platform and present a real alternative to voters, they should take a deep breath and confront supply management. Pre-pandemic research found that the average Canadian household paid an extra $300 to $444 a year due to the system. Between September 2021 and September 2022, food prices increased by 11.4 percent year over year in Canada, the fastest pace since 1981. In the same period, supply managed commodities led the way on higher prices: the poultry index: +13.7 percent, the eggs index: +15.5 percent and the dairy index: +11.0 percent.

New Zealand phased out supply management in the 1980s and today, its milk producers export 95 percent of their production through a producer-owned cooperative. Those exports were worth a whopping NZ$11.9 billion last year and were the country's biggest single export earner. And into the bargain, New Zealanders pay less than half of what Canadians pay for milk.

To be sure, buying out the contracts for the farm families who have come to depend on supply management for their economic futures would cost many billions of dollars and take some years for transition out of the current system. The money to pay for this transition would come from the increased revenue resulting from the deregulation of business described above. Ditching supply management would be a down payment on permanent cheaper food prices for all Canadians and manufacturers of food products and remove a constant irritant in our international trade relations. It would also be a clear signal that Canada believes in putting consumers first, freer markets and a more open economy.

A platform of ideas is one essential to winning an election. A program of fixes is another.

Contributing Writer Geoff Norquay is a principal with Earnscliffe Strategies in Ottawa. He was a senior social policy adviser in the Prime Minister's Office from 1984 to 1988 and director of communications to Stephen Harper when he was leader of the Official Opposition.



The moment and the man? Robin V. Sears writes that the NDP's Jagmeet Singh is the federal leader who irrefutably meets the character and authenticity requirements of reforming health care.

Health Care as the NDP's Legacy Issue

The COVID pandemic revealed many weaknesses in Canada's health care system that had long gone unnoticed and underreported. After a fresh funding proposal from Ottawa in February but still no guarantees of systemic change, longtime political strategist and policy adviser Robin Sears has a prescription for reform, and some counsel for Jagmeet Singh on how to sell it.

Robin V. Sears

Every day in Canada, thousands of men and women struggle to offer the best patient care they can. The nurses and doctors try to stave off a health care system's slow disintegration, working with fewer resources and fewer colleagues, over painfully long hours.

It's past time that we told ourselves some sad truths about the flaws at the heart of health care in Canada. As incredible as it may seem, no one is accountable for its performance, and no one manages those who work within it. By "manages" I mean the basic metrics of success or failure necessary to any system of setting goals, measuring performance, tracking outcomes and cohesively implementing change.

In every province, we have health ministries whose thousands of bureaucrats try to pull the strings of our massive health care system, but in the end simply offer surface level administration and form filling. One hospital CEO friend told me that he must fill out 79 separate accountability documents every year.

After nearly a decade of squabbling over health care funding, in 2004, Prime Minister Paul Martin reached a deal with the provinces and territories that would see a $41.3 billion injection of new federal money into the system. It came with a series of pledges to do better on primary care, wait times and home care, among many other goals. There were no accountability mechanisms built into the new money. But it was described as a "health care solution for a generation."

A Senate study of the outcome in 2012 concluded that there had been very little progress in the health care reforms, apart from a few "pilot programs." Some wait times had come down for a while and then crept back up again. No one paid any price politically or financially for those failures.

On February 7, Ottawa pledged $46.2 billion in new dollars in a similar 10- year deal. (They claimed nearly $200 billion but that was the usual political padding, bundling old money commitments with new.) To bring these eye-watering stats to a more meaningful level: Martin pledged approximately $1,300 per year for every Canadian. Trudeau pledged approximately $100 less. There are six million more Canadians today than there were then. Again, there are no deadlines, no hard targets, and no accountability mechanisms built into the deal.

Gurus of the health care policy domain, including University of Toronto's Greg Marchildon, who served on the Romanow health care commission, say repeatedly that without rewards for success and penalties for failure we are stuck on this same carousel forever. He concedes the provinces would bellow if they were faced with actual performance commitments and financial penalties, but that it must be done.

Similarly, provincial ministries of health try to force their hospital CEOs, their regional health organizations, and their professionals to meet better standards of performance. But without accountability mechanisms, they don't have to listen and don't.

Health professionals, especially specialist doctors, similarly are not accountable to anyone for their performance. The hospitals they work in, the provincial colleges of physicians they are nominally supervised by, cannot discipline them let alone fire them, unless they have clearly broken the law in their professional behaviour.

The provincial health care bureaucracies are trained to say no, and usually do, to any proposed change. They deny funding to innovation and refuse to elevate successful pilots into must-do best practices. Another health care veteran, a former deputy minister, says wryly, that provincial health bureaucrats really dislike only two groups: health care providers and their patients.

We have a health care system that administers the flows of money to those who work within it, keeping the various warring tribes of doctors' unions, hospital executives and a dozen other mutually hostile players from seizing someone else's share of the vast health care expenditure pie. What's missing? Management.

There is no real management in a hopelessly change-resistant system that is costing us hundreds of billions of dollars a year. Doctors cannot be given orders. Provinces know they face little political risk for their failure to manage successfully the systems they own and have political responsibility for.

It is therefore a fairly safe bet that there will be no noticeable improvement in our health care system by the next time Canadians go to the polls. As unfortunate as that is for voters, it presents a golden opportunity for Jagmeet Singh and the NDP.

New Democrat strategists used to study polling numbers on health care, smile and say to each other, "That's it then, once more to the well!", knowing that an election fought on health care was usually a reliable vote-getter. That will be true again in the next campaign, but with a difference.

To be believed, to defend their legacy ownership of the health care issue from Liberal poaching one more time, they will need to commit to a set of health care reforms that will be hard to digest for many in their base. Take three examples, all unanimously cited by experienced health care avdocates as urgent and essential: primary care, home care, and pharmacare.

The only way to make a big difference in access to a doctor is to inject many dollars into new community team-based health centres, independent of the hospital empires. This will take money from hospitals, will make nurses and social workers peers of family physicians, and create hundreds of new centres of local power for provincial ministries of health to attempt to undermine.

Real advances in home care are equally threatening to the status quo power centres in health. Again, money will be siphoned from other systems, and the status and pay of personal support workers will need to be significantly improved.

A national formulary — a list and pricing for all drugs set unanimously by all governments — as opposed to the existing provincial and territorial ones, will enrage Big Pharma, a formidable enemy when challenged. When it comes as part of a national pharmacare plan — again, as many gurus in the sector say it must — it will be hard to keep insurers, giant drug store chains and doctors on board as each will have their current turfs and freedoms curbed.

When we turn to management systems and goals, and the granular data systems needed to support them, there will also be winners and losers. Cardiac surgeons who consistently take twice as long to operate as their peers — a reality in every big hospital — will need to watch the clock more closely. Hospitals that consistently have hundreds of hours of empty operating theatres — again, the norm in many big city hospitals — could face provincial supervision.

In other words, if we manage the health care system based on the same norms that govern business, the academy or a corner convenience store, the changes internally will be wrenching for some set in their unaccountable ways, but we will get faster and better care.

The lack of accountability in health care and the concomitant absence of trust by patients, will require of anyone seeking to be believed as the saviour of the system a life experience and authenticity that are unimpeachable.

That person will be more credible coming from an underprivileged background, and to have, through character and determination, achieved personal and career success. If you have never had to fear what would happen to you or your family because you had no access to health care, it is hard to appreciate the panic in the minds of too many parents today.

The federal leader who irrefutably meets the character and authenticity requirements of reforming health care is Jagmeet Singh. Like Tommy Douglas, who was a tough but affable, well-loved party leader, Singh overcame great obstacles on his way to success. Like Douglas, Singh had a bruising childhood including abuse and alcoholism leading to family break-up. Douglas's guts, and his

indomitable crusade for fairness in access to health care grew out of what we today would call equally painful "lived experience." Singh's focus on the challenges faced by those on society's margins has similar roots.

But does Singh have the will and the skill to face down a larger and more powerful enemy? In Douglas's case, it was the potentially disastrous doctors' strike of 1962, in Saskatchewan, he helped break it by encouraging his successor, Woodrow Lloyd, to bring in doctors from the UK. But the NDP had to make costly concessions whose damage still afflicts our system today. Deeply reforming health care today could well precipitate a similar showdown with doctors and drug companies.



Tommy Douglas speaks at the NDP's founding convention in 1961. --*Library and Archives Canada photo*

Canadians have responded with incomparable resilience to the nightmares they have faced since the Great Recession. For many of us, this last decade — from Britain's Brexit debacle, to the presidency of Donald Trump, to the deadly mobbing of the US Capitol, to the siege of downtown Ottawa by blockaders, to the apparently endless pandemic — has forced us to become more self-sufficient, more committed to family and community as a survival strategy. The suffering has reinforced many social bonds and solidarity.

Like citizens of a nation in wartime, many people have gone out of their way to help those most afflicted by fire, flood and COVID. They are proud of their community work but they want better government-run programs, especially in health, which may be the one big policy question on the next ballot.

The near-collapse of our health care system during the pandemic opened everyone's eyes to its failures, and as even the prime minister has admitted, more money alone won't solve this crisis. Neither will Doug Ford's open door to the private sector. It will merely add another 20 percent in profit margin to our spiralling health care costs — and the unpreventable poaching of the best staff from the public system. This crisis is not a public vs. private failure, nor a funding failure, it is not even a medical failure. It is entirely a political failure.

Children die waiting years for life-saving surgery because politicians have never forced hospitals to deliver and governments have never dared to try hands-on management. Voters are beginning to understand that, and they are very angry about it.

Three to four out of every 10 dollars Canadian governments spend is on health care and we get among the worst medical outcomes in the developed world. In its 2021 report on how US health care compared to 10 other high-income countries, the Commonwealth Fund ranked Canada 10th, just ahead of America. That is a definition of political failure.

No one else has New Democrats' credentials as creators, guardians and champions of a medical system built on social justice. But their urgent health care reform solutions need to be precise in their prescriptions, serious about deadlines and performance measurement, and able to be launched now.

Most experts in the field agree that we need to do detailed real-time data collection, primary care, home care, and pharmacare as the most urgent reforms in the system. To be successful, Singh and the New Democrats will need to make credible offers on each.

Tommy Douglas spent years fighting the drug companies and the doctors' multimillion-dollar campaigns against him, trying to demonstrate the fairness and efficiency of a well-run public health care system. He gave hundreds of speeches in his crusade. He would often end his speech with a passionately delivered, heart-breaking tale of another family crushed by their lack of access to treatment.

His stories would rise to a crescendo denouncing a shameful system where young children and beloved grandparents die, deaths suffered only because they were poor. As a child polio sufferer from a genteelly poor family himself, he felt these injustices personally. He would often close in a quieter somber voice, pleading with the audience to help him end these appalling cruelties.

When he slowed finally to silence, the audience would sit frozen for a few seconds, then leap to their feet, clapping and cheering, many in tears. The unnecessary suffering we have allowed to creep into the system Tommy Douglas devoted his life to building has discredited that system. It is beginning to be seen as a national shame.

The best policy package always needs to be wrapped in a compelling human story passionately delivered. Jagmeet Singh can put his empathy and insight, and the stories of today's health care tragedies to work in the service of launching a second Canadian health care revolution.

Contributing Writer Robin V. Sears, a former national director of the NDP during the Broadbent years, is an independent crisis communications consultant based in Ottawa.

We Can't Afford Another Decade Like The Last One

Elizabeth May was leader of the Canadian Green Party when Policy magazine began publishing and she is now leader of the Canadian Green Party. In between, her work for Policy on climate change and politics has been consistent — always unique, always filed in the spirit of public service. For our tenth anniversary issue, here is Elizabeth May with a plea for humanity.

Elizabeth May

Looking back to 2013, the world has changed in tumultuous ways. Geopolitical upheaval is everywhere. We have been living through a global pandemic since spring 2020. Humanity is united as never before through a shared and mutating virus, yet we are increasingly divided.

National governments have shifted to the right and then to the left – and back again. Whether Brazil – from Dilma to Bolsonaro and back to Lula, or the US, from Obama to Trump and back to Biden. Or Canada, from Harper to Trudeau. Some nations had no changes in leadership. Putin is still in control of a fake democracy in Russia while Xi Jinping remains in control of a true totalitarian state in China. Still, there is change, from sabre rattling to sabres drawn.

Looking at how those political changes impact climate change, it is true that political leaders within nation states matter. Australia's policies have undergone a sea change. From 2013 to 2022, Australia's right-wing, anti-climate Liberal party under three prime ministers (Tony Abbott, Malcolm Turnbull and Scott Morrison) maintained appalling global and domestic policies. Last May, that ended with Labour's win and Anthony Albanese as prime minister.

Critical countries in the climate crisis really matter. US policies under Barack Obama were definitely better than Donald Trump's policies, while Justin Trudeau represents a major shift from laggard to climate champion — or so we are told.

The horror is that even after four years of Trump, the United States still had a better climate record than Canada's. This is, of course, due to a number of Clinton- era policies and Obama directives that had a momentum of their own. Trudeau's rhetoric is outstanding, but the horror is that he is still practising the eternal Liberal strategy of appeasing the oil patch (and the Alberta government) with support for fossil fuels to keep them from being too angry at other policies on transitioning – ever so slowly – away from oil and gas.

> ***"It is true that this decade finally saw all governments on earth agree to a treaty replacing Kyoto. After the 2009 failure in Copenhagen, we finally achieved an all-inclusive treaty in Paris in 2015. The Paris Agreement matters, but only if we commit to achieving its goals."***

It would be a large and false claim that there is no difference between the Liberals and Conservatives on climate action. There are many excellent programs that have been put in place to promote heat-pumps, energy efficiency, increasing electric vehicles through infrastructure and consumer rebates, and many other such worthy efforts. No one can deny that carbon pricing was a hard-fought win.

And it is also false to say that Stephen Harper did nothing on climate. Under Harper, as ever, Canada punched above our weight. Tragically, we were effective saboteurs of global action. In 2009, I watched as our negotiators at COP15 in Copenhagen blocked progress. We legally withdrew from Kyoto – the only country to do so. We monkey-wrenched key multilateral principles to which all nations had agreed, such as maintaining a shared base-year so that emissions reductions and pledges could be measured by the same yardstick. But Harper left behind a civil service committed to placating oil and gas with concretized policies of incrementalism.

Still, the difference between Trudeau and Harper on climate is, as Bill McKibben says, that, under Liberals, we lose more slowly.

Before 2013, we did experience catastrophic climate events that we thought would be the wake-up call the world needed. Nearly 2,000 people died in August 2005 in Hurricane Katrina, devastating New Orleans. In an early lesson in the intersectionality and equity layers of the climate emergency, most of the dead were poor and African American. Major media proclaimed that Katrina had changed everything. Still, emissions kept rising.

In 2013, more catastrophic events occurred and closer to home. In June, the Bow River was supercharged by unprecedented rains. Highwood, Elbow and many other rivers also flooded, causing 32 declarations of states of local emergency. The $1.7 billion price tag made the June 2013 floods

in Calgary the costliest climate event in Canadian history. But that record was smashed, also in Alberta, when the 2016 fire raged through over 590,000 hectares of boreal forest and into Fort McMurray, with a total cost of $9.9 billion.

In November 2013, as the world gathered in Warsaw for COP19, the Philippines was hit with its deadliest-ever typhoon. Typhoon Haiyan, with winds at 378 km/hour, killed 10,000 people. Yeb Sano, the lead climate negotiator for the Philippines, went on a hunger strike to get industrialized countries to act.

And it is true that this decade finally saw all governments on earth agree to a treaty replacing Kyoto. After the 2009 failure in Copenhagen, we finally achieved an all-inclusive treaty in Paris in 2015. The Paris Agreement matters, but only if we commit to achieving its goals. The harsh reality is that the key goal — to hold to no more than a 1.5 degree rise in global average temperature, as compared to before the Industrial Revolution — is slipping through our fingers. The multinational oil giants are celebrating record profits while their emissions rise and our chances of global survival diminish.

There is no good time to mention the collapse of human civilization. Most people in politics want to avoid being described as alarmists. But the planet is on fire or drowning, baking or freezing — all at once and everywhere. After years of killer droughts, this fall California experienced merciless floods. Pakistan's flood drove millions to higher ground. British Columbians have faced extreme loss of life (620 people in four days from the 2021 heat dome), more lives and property lost in the November 2021 floods, and untold acres burned to cinder from annual fires since 2017. And the heat dome killed an estimate one billion sea creatures. The toll for the natural world rarely makes the ledger. No one wants to raise the alarm that human civilization is on the point of collapse too soon. But we cannot wait until it is too late. Too late is just around the corner.

All the extreme weather events we are experiencing are happening in a 1.1 degree C warmer world. The most ambitious goal of the Paris Agreement is to hold to 1.5 degrees. And over the last decade we have made sure we cannot hold to 1.5. As United Nations Secretary General Antonio Guterres says, "We are on the highway to climate hell, foot on the accelerator."

In 2013, for the first time in human history, carbon dioxide concentrations in the global atmosphere hit the 400 parts per million (ppm) mark. For all the events of human history in 2013 that was the most significant. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, CO2 had never exceeded 280 ppm. Many observed we had left the Cenozoic Era and entered the Anthropocene. Humanity was now the driver of planetary change. Foot on the accelerator.

> ***"Our homes could generate all the energy we need. Our homes could charge up our cars. Our backyards could grow food, as could empty urban lots. Our economy could be circular and sustainable. Our jobs could be rewarding. We have all the solutions we need. And we have no time to waste.."***

The most recent readings of carbon in our atmosphere shows a galloping change. According to the World Meteorological Organization, "Carbon dioxide concentrations in 2021 were 415.7 parts per million (ppm), methane at 1908 parts per billion (ppb) and nitrous oxide at 334.5 ppb. These values constitute, respectively, 149 percent, 262 percent and 124 percent of pre-industrial levels before human activities started disrupting natural equilibrium of these gases in the atmosphere."

Even the pandemic has not slowed down the warming. The drop in emissions globally from pre-COVID 2019 to 2020 amounted to only a six percent drop. But what has surprised scientists is that the concentration of greenhouse gases (GHG) in the atmosphere moved at its fastest-ever rate between 2020 and 2021. Canada started the last decade with the worst climate record in the industrialized world. We enter this next decade holding the record. We are by far the worst performer in the G7. And our emissions are still rising.

According to the most recent warning from the world's scientists in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (Working Group 3 report in the Sixth Assessment Report, April 4, 2022) it will not be possible to hold to 1.5 degrees C, nor to stay below 2 degrees unless global emissions peak and begin to drop rapidly before 2025. Failure to achieve deep cuts well before 2030 will make any 2050 goal irrelevant – too little too late. Too little too late is Canada's new climate target.

It is not hard to know what we must do. We must cancel the TMX pipeline, which we should do for financial reasons since we own it. We should reverse the decision to allow any new drilling or new fossil fuel development, cancel Bay du Nord and close the Donkin coal mine. We must ban fracking. It is not hard to know what we must do, but why is there such overwhelming political cowardice to do it? Do we not care what future awaits our children and grandchildren?

And why are we so enmeshed in the past that we are fearful of a bright, decarbonized and resilient future? Our homes could generate all the energy we need. Our homes could charge up our cars. Our backyards could grow food, as could empty urban lots. Our economy could be circular and sustainable. Our jobs could be rewarding. We have all the solutions we need. And we have no time to waste.

We cannot afford to lose another decade. Truth be told, we cannot afford to waste a single year, nor a single month. We have barely enough time to save ourselves. The important news is that we do have that time.

Why do we hesitate when the only thing at stake is our survival?

Contributing Writer Elizabeth May, MP for Saanich-Gulf Islands, is the Leader of the Green Party of Canada.



François Legault: With his re-election in 2022, he's been confirmed as the face of the new Duplessism--nationalist but not sovereignist.
--*Canadian Press/REX/Shutterstock*

A Decade of Shift in Quebec's Identity Debate

Throughout the decades between the end of the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s and the 1995 sovereignty referendum, the "Quebec question" was shorthand for the debate over sovereignty and the constitutional status of the province within Canada. In the past 15 years, the province's identity debate has shifted away from sovereignty and constitutional politics to questions of religious and cultural diversity and human rights. McGill Institute for the Study of Canada Director Daniel Béland reports on the political trajectory from "reasonable accommodation" to "Quebec values" to a new kind of Quebec nationalism.

Daniel Béland

When the first issue of *Policy* magazine appeared in April 2013, Justin Trudeau had just been elected leader of the federal Liberal Party, physician Philippe Couillard had just been chosen to lead the Quebec Liberal Party, and Pauline Marois was just beginning her final year as the first woman premier of Quebec. The province was in what we might call the second stage of a nearly two-decade identity debate that has polarized left and right on questions of assimilation vs. pluralism to the point of eclipsing its longstanding divide over sovereignty, and whose third stage is ongoing at this writing.

At the helm of a Parti Québécois (PQ) minority government since September 2012, Marois in 2013 tried to increase the popularity of her party among francophone voters through the proposed Charter of Quebec Values. The focus

> *"Because sovereignty is no longer on the ballot, the PLQ is deprived of its traditional role of defending federalism and national unity. In the past, when the PQ was its main electoral foe, the PLQ could stress its rejection of sovereignty and its opposition to a new referendum."*

on secularism was a clear attempt to seduce Action démocratique du Québec (ADQ) voters, because the ADQ had been criticizing "reasonable accommodation" — the legal and constitutional concept that requires that institutions (such as employers and government) accommodate, up to a certain point, the beliefs and practices of all Canadian citizens — since the mid-late 2000s. The debate over reasonable accommodation had led to the creation in February 2007 by Liberal Premier Jean Charest of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission, led by historian and sociologist Gérard Bouchard and Templeton Prize-winning philosopher Charles Taylor. Later in 2007, this debate helped the ADQ finish in second place behind the Liberals, but ahead of the PQ, in the provincial election.

According to journalist Francine Pelletier, who produced a powerful and controversial documentary on the topic, the events of 2007 and, five years later, the advent of the Marois PQ minority government, are key turning points in the rise of "conservative nationalism," an approach that emphasizes the preservation of the francophone majority's language and culture in a context where support for sovereignty is declining or at least stagnant.

This last trend also means that, for the first time since the late 1960s, the federalism-sovereignty divide is no longer the main cleavage within Quebec politics. The rise of conservative nationalism and the decline of the federalism-sovereignty divide hurt both the PQ and the Liberal Party of Quebec (PLQ), two parties that dominated Quebec politics from the early 1970s through the 2018 provincial election, in the aftermath of which the Coalition Avenir Québec (CAQ) under François Legault formed a majority government.

The rise of the CAQ, the successor of the now defunct ADQ, is the symbol of the triumph of conservative nationalism in Quebec for the first time since the Duplessis era, which ended with his death in 1959 and the Union Nationale's subsequent loss to the Liberals of Jean Lesage in 1960. Although François Legault is hardly a carbon copy of Maurice Duplessis, both leaders are associated with the idea of provincial autonomy and the protection of the perceived values of francophone voters in la Belle Province.

Over the last decade, the electoral and political realignment that first manifested itself clearly during the 2007 provincial elections was completed in the context of the rise of the CAQ and the combined decline of the PQ and the PLQ. Regarding the PQ, it lost power in the aftermath of the April 2014 provincial elections, which saw the PLQ return to power under Premier Philippe Couillard. At the time, the PQ was still able to finish in second place with 30 seats, significantly ahead of the recently created CAQ, which won 18 seats that year.

At the 2018 provincial elections, however, the PQ collapsed and won only 10 seats in total. Four years later, last fall, the PQ secured only three seats despite the strong campaign performance of its current leader, Paul St-Pierre Plamondon. Beyond lacklustre support for sovereignty, a key factor behind the decline of the PQ is the rise of Québec Solidaire (QS), a left-wing party that also supports sovereignty, although not as centrally at the PQ. Because past efforts to merge the PQ and QS failed, the sovereigntist camp is clearly divided and QS is especially popular among younger francophones living in larger cities, including Montreal, where the PQ currently holds only one seat.

ironically, the decline of support for sovereignty is also widely considered to be a key factor behind the decline of the PLQ, which only won 31 and 21 seats out of 125 in 2018 and 2022, respectively. Because sovereignty is no longer on the ballot, the PLQ is deprived of its traditional role of defending federalism and national unity. In the past, when the PQ was its main electoral foe, the PLQ could stress its rejection of sovereignty and its opposition to a new referendum on the topic to score political points, something it cannot do anymore facing the CAQ, which also opposes such a referendum.

Simultaneously, the PLQ is victim of what is known is French as "usure du pouvoir," which refers to the negative side of being in power for a long period of time. In the case of the PLQ, it was in power between 2003 and 2012, under Charest, and then again between 2014 and 2018 under Couillard. During these two periods, unpopular measures were enacted and their negative impact accumulated over time. This was especially the case for the Couillard government, which was heavily criticized for its cuts in social services and a highly controversial health care reform program. To make things worse, a perceived lack of nationalistic fervour (which contrasts with the CAQ's aggressive push for provincial autonomy) has also created serious image problems for the PLQ among francophone voters.

Because of the combined decline of the PQ and the PLQ and the recent electoral stagnation of QS, which has so far failed to gain meaningful support outside large cities, the CAQ dominates Quebec's current party system, which is much more fragmented than before. This is the case not only because of the rise of QS but also, during the last provincial campaign, of the rise of the Conservative Party of Quebec (CPQ). Yet, because that party failed to win a seat in the National Assembly, despite receiving nearly 13 percent of the popular vote across the province, the CAQ remains the main vehicle for conservative nationalism, despite attempts by the PQ since the Marois years to emphasize "Quebec values," including and especially secularism.

Right now, the CAQ remains dominant among older francophone voters, a situation that has hurt both the PQ and the PLQ. At the same time, the CAQ has failed to gain much ground on the Island of Montreal, where it currently holds only two seats out of 27. On the province's electoral map, while Montreal is mainly PLQ red and QS orange, the rest of the province is overwhelmingly CAQ blue. The positions of the CAQ on immigration and the statements of Premier Legault during the campaign linking immigration with "extremism" and "violence" certainly did not help his party in Montreal, where so many immigrants and anglophones live. The same applies to Bill 21 on secularism and Bill 96 on the French language, two pieces of legislation that have proved especially controversial on the Island of Montreal,.

Beyond these remarks, these two bills have raised key constitutional questions that are relevant across the country. This is primarily the case because of the pre-emptive use of the notwithstanding clause, which is an especially controversial aspect of both Bill 21 and Bill 96. Both pieces of legislation raise important questions about the proper balance between majority rule and the protection of individual and minority rights that might only be settled by the Supreme Court, someday.

Clearly, the controversy over Bill 21 and Bill 96 has not prevented the CAQ from remaining popular among older francophones, who, on average, support both of them. As for the fact that these two laws are less popular in Montreal, it is not a significant political and electoral challenge for the CAQ, which has been able to win two consecutive majority governments without winning more than a couple of seats on the island of Montreal. Conversely, the Liberals cannot return to power without improving dramatically their electoral performance outside of Montreal, including strongly francophone areas of the province where the CAQ is now dominant.

The Liberals are currently looking for a new leader after the resignation and departure from political life of former leader Dominique Anglade following the October election. Unfortunately for the PLQ, it will take more than a new leader to address all the challenges facing the party among francophone voters, who have largely deserted Quebec's oldest political party.



Maurice Duplessis, who ruled Quebec from the right from 1936-39 and from 1944 until his death in 1959. In many ways, Legault is his political heir. --*Dominique Clement photo*

> ***"Clearly, the controversy over Bill 21 and Bill 96 has not prevented the CAQ from remaining popular among older francophones, who, on average, support both of them."***

As for the CAQ, it is now the dominant political party in Quebec and its leader, Premier Legault, remains one of the most popular premiers in the country. In this context, we cannot talk about "usure du pouvoir" yet for the CAQ. As we saw again during last year's provincial campaign, however, Legault is prone to gaffes and can be his own worst political enemy. Simultaneously, like other jurisdictions in the country, Quebec faces major challenges such as high inflation and a health care crisis, which is particularly acute in the province.

On the identity front, the future of the French language remains a key issue for francophone voters and here the PQ is pressuring the CAQ government to do more in that regard. The same applies to immigration policy, where the CAQ is seeking more powers from the federal government, partly to do more to protect French.

Yet, the CAQ also claims to be "the party of the economy," a title long held by the Liberals. There is a clear tension here between the economy and some of the identity-related measures put forward by the CAQ, which is particularly the case in the field of immigration policy, in a province where many regions face acute labour shortages. Will the CAQ be able to strike a proper balance between economic imperatives and identity politics? The answer to this question is likely to determine whether the party will remain in power for many years to come.

But looking back over the last 10 years, it has been a decade of profound political change in terms of political party brands in Quebec. The CAQ is the clear and enduring winner of this shift, which has consolidated the rise of conservative nationalism in the province. P

Contributing Writer Daniel Béland is Director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada and James McGill Professor in the Department of Political Science at McGill University.

A Decade of Progress on Indigenous Rights… and Many More to Go

The last decade has seen the overlap of two historic developments: The election of a prime minister in 2015 on an explicit promise of reconciliation between the government of Canada and Indigenous Peoples, and, one month later, the release of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Perry Bellegarde, former National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, looks back on 10 years in the life of Indigenous rights and reconciliation.

Perry Bellegarde

What comes to mind when I'm asked, "Where and how has Canada changed in the last decade where Indigenous Peoples are concerned?"

When I think back to the winter of 2012-2013, I immediately think of the "Idle No More" movement. Indigenous People and allies came together in an unprecedented groundswell of protest that – looking back – marked the beginning of a vital shift in Canadian politics.

There were specific catalysts for Idle No More, including efforts by the government of the day to fast-track resource development projects without regard for the rights of Indigenous Peoples. More than anything, however, the protests were grounded in a younger generation's rising frustration over a Canada in which Indigenous Peoples continued to be left out and left behind.

By any measure – including income disparity, life expectancy, secondary school graduation rates, infectious disease rates, suicide rates, and incarceration rates – there is vast quality-of-life gulf between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous Canadians. In 2006, at a time that Canada ranked between 6th and 8th on the UN Human Development Index, First Nations were living in conditions comparable to countries between 63rd and 78th on the list. Furthermore, the federal government's Community Well-Being Index showed that there had been no progress in closing this gap in at least a quarter-century.

This gulf exists for a reason. As more and more Canadians are now recognizing, colonial policies such as the Indian residential school system, caused profound and lasting harm to Indigenous Peoples. Decades of racist and discriminatory policies have stood in the way of Indigenous peoples healing from these harms or rebuilding flourishing societies based on our own values and ways of being.

In the winter of 2012-13, our young people were rightfully expressing their outrage and demanding action. I believe that they had a profound impact on the decade that followed.

In 2015, Indigenous Peoples became a powerful force in the federal election. Ministerial Mandate letters signed by newly elected Prime Minister Justin Trudeau made reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples a critical government priority. This included reversing the previous government's opposition to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples – a global framework for reconciliation forged through decades of international Indigenous advocacy.

That same year, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada issued its final report, carefully written based on the truths shared by almost 7,000 Survivors of the Indian residential school system. The report included 94 Calls to Action – all of which were adopted by the federal government – and identified the UN Declaration as "the framework for reconciliation at all levels and across all sectors of society."

An era of highly productive partnership with the federal government ensued, based on the Assembly of First Nations 2015 national platform, Closing the Gap. Closing the Gap ended a 20-year-long federal cap on First Nations funding and resulted in new investments of more than $45 billion in the six federal budgets between 2016 and 2021. This included $3.3 billion committed to on-reserve education, and $1.4 billion for child welfare.

The federal government also worked in partnership with the AFN and other national Indigenous organizations to co-develop and adopt key legislation to uphold the rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Indigenous Languages Act, which supports Indigenous leadership in reclaiming, revitalizing, maintaining and strengthening Indigenous languages in Canada, came into law in 2019. That same year, Parliament adopted An Act Respecting First Nations, Inuit and Métis Children, Youth and Families, which establishes a collaborative framework for Indigenous governments wishing to assume jurisdiction over child and family services. Finally, the 2021 Act Respecting the UN Declaration on the Rights of

Indigenous Peoples established a legal requirement and process for the federal government to fully implement the Declaration in law and policy.

These are all critical foundations for long-term change. While overcoming the impact of decades of colonialism and discrimination will not happen quickly, I have no doubt that the reforms of the last decade will have an enduring and widespread impact for First Nations – and will provide positive models for other countries.

Today, Indigenous Peoples– and, indeed, all people around the world – live in the midst of several unprecedented and simultaneous global challenges: climate change, threats to our natural world or biodiversity, and the ongoing impacts of the COVID pandemic and the inevitability of other outbreaks in the future. What do these threats mean for Indigenous Peoples and upholding our rights?

First, there is growing awareness that Indigenous Peoples hold teachings and solutions essential for the restoration of our natural world and adaptation to climate change. Despite the ravages of colonialism, Indigenous Peoples continue to steward some of the world's healthiest and vital ecosystems. Programs such as the Indigenous Leader Initiative and the Indigenous Guardians demonstrate that First Nations are uniquely positioned to integrate sustainable livelihoods and the protection of vital ecosystems. In this way, First Nations are creating models of sustainability that will benefit the whole world.

Second, it is important to acknowledge that far too many Indigenous families and communities continue to live in precarious social and economic conditions. While Indigenous values and traditions emphasize the importance of long-term, inter-generational thinking, our circumstances force many First Nations to struggle from crisis to crisis.

The UN Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples tells us reconciliation requires constructive action to address the ongoing aftermath of colonialism, which has wreaked havoc on Indigenous Peoples' education, cultures and languages, health, child welfare, and economic prosperity. It is more urgent than ever to invest in services, and capacity for service delivery, so that the reforms promised in Ottawa can more quickly translate into tangible improvements in everyday life. Third, achieving a global balance between economic prosperity and environmental protection cannot be separated from respecting the rights of Indigenous Peoples to govern ourselves, including making decisions about our own lands and territories. Most of the proposed solutions for achieving net zero – new clean power stations, expanded transmission lines, carbon capture and storage facilities, and new mines to provide the raw materials needed for electric vehicle battery production – rely on Indigenous lands and resources.



Thousands of Indigenous People marching on Parliament Hill in May 2015 in the walk to commemorate the conclusion of the work of the landmark Truth and Reconciliation Commission. -- *AFN photo*

Projects that are not compliant with the UN Declaration will be non-starters for Indigenous leaders, nations, and their members – all of whom expect, at a minimum, free prior and informed consent, and equitable participation in all new projects on their lands and waters. Projects that are supportive of Indigenous environmental, social, and economic self-determination priorities stand a much better chance of being built.

Clearly, we must do better to avoid and mitigate increased climate change impacts. We must meet the objective of limiting the average global temperature increase to no more than 1.5 degrees Celsius. We will be abdicating our responsibilities to future generations and to the Earth unless we meet that challenge.

Indigenous Peoples are ready to share our knowledge and contribute to the goal of sustainable development as equal members in the human family. We must execute effective plans and strategies to ensure all families have access to a decent and secure standard of living, without jeopardizing the health and well-being of future generations by continuing to devastate our Mother, the Earth, and all that she holds.

The last decade has seen tremendous advancement in the recognition of Indigenous Peoples' rights in federal law and policy. This must be the foundation moving forward. Rather than reopening old debates about subjects such as Canada's support for the UN Declaration, we need to focus our energy and resources in putting these rights into practice in every Indigenous community – and ensuring that we leave no one behind.

Perry Bellegarde, former National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, is an Adviser to King Charles III on his Sustainable Markets Initiative, Honourary President of the Royal Canadian Geographical Society and Special Adviser to the Fasken law firm.











Liberal leadership candidate Justin Trudeau with a packed hall of students at Queen's University in February 2013.

On the leadership campaign trail with son Xavier, then 5 years old.

A Decade of Canadian Images

Adam Scotti has been Justin Trudeau's official photographer since the Liberal Party of Canada leadership race in early 2013. Scotti's image of Trudeau was the cover of the first issue of *Policy* in April, 2013.

In the 10 years since, Adam has captured many defining moments of the last decade, from three federal elections through the pandemic and the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Public and private moments, many of them from behind the scenes as well as through the lens. Among them are images -- published for the first time -- of Justin and Sophie Grégoire-Trudeau and their three kids at home and growing up at the Cottage, the PM's residence on the grounds of Rideau Hall in Ottawa.

In this remarkable photo spread, Adam shares and situates those moments.

--L. Ian MacDonald

About Adam Scotti

I first started with PMJT in 2010 volunteering as a photographer during fundraisers. 2011 rolled around and I split my time writing my final exams at McGill with volunteering on the 2011 election with him in Papineau. A year later, he gave me the heads up he wanted to run for leadership. It all snowballed from there. Working on the leadership campaign led to working for the leader, and now the Prime Minister.

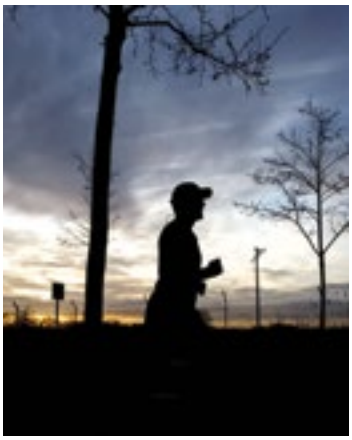














Top, the view from the PM's West Block office and meeting with staff, and receiving advice from former PM Jean Chrétien, 2021.

Above, a kiss from Sophie on election night in Montreal, October 21, 2019.

An early morning run and working late on the phone aboard the PM's plane, RCAF 01, en route to the Munich Security Conference, February 2020.

Below, returning to the residence after a press briefing during the pandemic, and with Sophie, walking Hadrien to school, September 3, 2020.



















Top, checking in at a kids' lemonade stand in Ottawa on Canada Day, 2020, and celebrating the birthday of PMO staffer Chris MacMillan and a retiring journalist on a flight home, August 8, 2021.

Making dinner at home with Xavier at the kitchen table.

Above, dancing with Sophie at the Liberal "Leadership Showcase" a week before the leadership vote on April 7, 2013.

Meeting with staff, including tying Patrick Travers's shoes in Addis Abada, February 10, 2020.

Santa, aka Mark Critch, visits the PM's office for a taping of This Hour Has 22 Minutes, December 5, 2018.

Ella-Grace, jumping for joy, and Xavier, checking in with their dad in his study in 2021.





Above, with Sophie and Ella-Grace, walking the wall at the Great Wall of China, August, 2017.

The Trudeau kids meet Barack and Michelle Obama at the White House in March 2016.

Right, inspecting the damage with residents in Newfoundland after Hurricane Fiona swept through in September 2022.

Michael Kovrig kisses the ground on arrival at Calgary Airport in September 2021 after "the Two Michaels" were finally released by Beijing.

Below, the PM, after a year in office in December 2016, looks out the window of his Centre Block Office.

Xavier and Ella-Grace tussling for a ball in the PM's Centre Block office in November 2017.

Bottom, the PM pays tribute to an Inuit woman chief at a ceremony celebrating Tsilhqot'in Title Lands in November 2018.

With Hadrien after a motorcade in Drummondville, Qc, June 23, 2018.









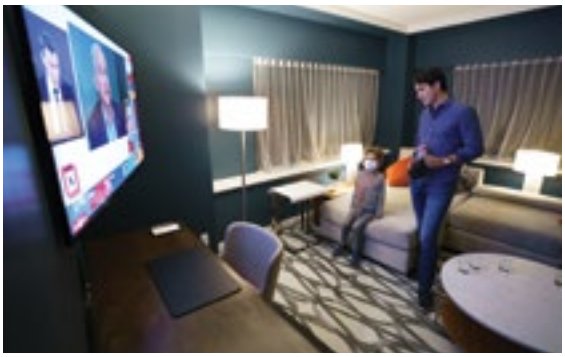














Top, waving to students at McGill University, September 15, 2017.

Above, holding hands with Sophie while receiving a COVID vaccine shot in March 2021.

Above right, Meeting with kids in Iqualit in August 2021.

Watching the election results with Ella-Grace in the PM's suite at the Queen Elizabeth Hotel in Montreal, October 21, 2019.

Left, seeing the kids off to school.

Right, another big campaign crowd in Montreal, September 13, 2019.











Above, most recently in January 2023, at the Three Amigos Summit in Mexico City—Justin and Sophie Trudeau, Joe and Jill Biden with hosts Beatriz Gutierrez Muller and Andres Manuel Lopez Obrado.

Above right, Trudeau crossing Wellington St. to the PM's Office, and then heading home with a packsack of work.

Right, the PM with former prime ministers Paul Martin, Kim Campbell, Stephen Harper and Jean Chrétien at Canada House in London for the funeral of Queen Elizabeth in September 2022.

Below, older son Xavier, at 14, nearly as tall as his dad in 2022.

Bottom, with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky in Kiev in May 2022.

Bottom right, Showing younger son Hadrien the official portrait of his grandfather, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, outside the House of Commons at the West Block on Parliament Hill.







Canadian Foreign Policy in a Shifting World

As an array of systemic competition narratives plays out across strategic arenas from Ukraine to post-pandemic supply chains to political influence contests in Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe and beyond, Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) researcher Zachary Paikin argues that Canada needs to re-assess its foreign policy.

Zachary Paikin

The tenth anniversary of *Policy* magazine presents an opportunity to reflect on how the world has changed over the past decade, along with Canada's place in it. Nearly 10 full years ago, in November 2013, crowds began to gather on the Maidan in Kyiv to oppose the decision of Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych not to sign an Association Agreement with the European Union, opting instead to deepen ties with the Russian-backed Eurasian Economic Union.

Not long thereafter, Yanukovych was toppled. Russia proceeded to annex Crimea and began its meddling in the Donbas. Hopes of building some sort of "common space" from Lisbon to Vladivostok, nominally shared throughout the post-Cold War era and already on life support, were dashed. An important turning point in history had been reached: Russia no longer sought to define its pursuit of great power status by pursuing some kind of partnership with the West, but rather by opposing it. The stage was set for the emergence of a multipolar world.

In recent decades, Canada has been mostly content to view its foreign policy through a values-based lens. This reflected its own national identity and was facilitated by the proximity of a liberal-minded, global hegemonic power in the form of the United States. But the advent of a multipolar world implies that other centres of power now exist that are able – and willing – to resist the influence, values and preferences of Western countries. The terms of international order are no longer ours alone to set.

The new global context calls for a Canadian foreign policy that is comfortable speaking the language of interests, rather than just values. Yet it remains far from clear whether Canadians are prepared to make this necessary – perhaps vital – psychological leap.

> ***"Previous generations of Canadians with a sense of their country's foreign policy often frame it through the lens of Canada's "role in the world". For them, foreign policy is less about national interests than it is about national identity – or at least these two things are thought to be synonymous."***

Russian President Vladimir Putin's ill-conceived invasion of Ukraine last February has raised doubts over whether his country remains a great power. Ukrainian battlefield successes have re-energized the West's unity and sense of purpose. However, these facts have not prevented multipolarity from remaining an emerging trend at the global level.

For example, many countries in the so-called Indo-Pacific region have refused to pick sides in the deepening US-China rivalry. While they may view Beijing's rise with a degree of apprehension, and therefore welcome a greater Western security presence in their region, favouring Western engagement should not be confused with deferring entirely to Western leadership.

Situated closer to China than we are, local actors in the "Indo-Pacific" are clear-eyed about Beijing's intentions and do not need to be warned about its predatory behaviour. Despite their misgivings, they have a nuanced understanding of their own interests. Many cannot ignore that China remains the lifeblood of their economies and, as such, do not wish for an extra-regional power like the US to exacerbate tensions needlessly by bisecting the region along ideological lines. Such a dynamic would undermine the inclusive and integrated regional order underpinning decades of Asian peace.

Similarly, a large majority of countries represented at the United Nations has condemned Russia's unprovoked aggression against Ukraine. However, most of the world – including leading democracies such as India and Brazil – has not joined the Western-led sanctions campaign against Russia. Many of these countries may disagree with Russia's actions but see little apparent benefit in severing diplomatic and economic relations with it.

Unprovoked aggression against a sovereign state is one of the cardinal sins of today's international order. The inability to rally a sizeable coalition to oppose Russia's blatantly illegal act shows how the West's chosen narrative – embracing a struggle between democracy and authoritarianism as the new core dynamic of international relations – does not hold global currency. In fact, it is no accident that this binary worldview lacks international support, as there is an inherent tension between the Western understanding of the "lib-

“A change of the generational guard may not necessarily engender a change in national sensibilities on these questions. Engrained narratives are reproduced across generations and can thus be hard to shake. But failure to choose also represents a choice: a continued decline into international irrelevance.”

eral international order” and the realities of a multipolar world.

Previous generations of Canadians with a sense of their country’s foreign policy often frame it through the lens of Canada’s “role in the world”. For them, foreign policy is less about national interests than it is about national identity – or at least these two things are thought to be synonymous.

Such an approach may have worked in previous historical eras. For much of the Cold War, as a leading member of one of just two international power blocs, Canada could carve out a role as an “honest broker” and defender of multilateralism amidst a superpower standoff. In the unipolar era that followed, the world seemed ripe for Canadian engagement based on liberal values. The period of unrivalled American power allowed for the expansion of a Western-backed “liberal international order” which went beyond mere rules-based cooperation between states, toward a project of global transformation rooted in liberal democracy and the market.

The rise of rival powers, combined with Western missteps such as the Iraq War and the Great Recession, has rendered increasingly implausible the vision of a global order based on liberal values and Western hegemony. But while the “liberal international order” may have declined over recent years, Canada’s relative influence in global affairs has waned even more markedly.

Canada’s shrunken global profile owes itself partly to freeriding and neglect, the country’s last foreign policy review having taken place nearly two decades ago. But it is mostly the result of structural factors. With the world no longer divided into capitalist and communist blocs, Canada now finds itself positioned in a terrain of global scope in which the West’s share of global GDP is in relative decline. And geographic isolation, combined with a mostly reactive approach to foreign policy, mean that Ottawa is not a key player in either European or Asian security dynamics – two theatres where much of the future of global order will be written.

The failure to craft a global liberal order coinciding with the advent of multipolarity suggests that we now inhabit, at least in certain respects, a post-liberal order. In such an order, a Canadian foreign policy rooted in values-centric megaphone diplomacy is a recipe for isolation rather than influence. And confident assertions of our supposed “role in the world” cannot hide the fact that we are no longer a middle power.

In an international order where liberalism no longer holds a monopoly on conceptions of modernity or universality, albeit one still undergoing a transition whose endpoint remains uncertain, the task for the next generation of Canadian foreign policy thinkers will be twofold. First, can Canada genuinely learn to think about its international engagement through the lens of interests rather than mostly values? And second, can it reach a consensus understanding of the geographic reach and thematic scope of its national interests beyond its borders?

Given Canada’s reduced international stature, the aforementioned questions may tilt toward encouraging acceptance of a foreign policy of reduced – albeit more targeted – scope. Highlighting the need to preserve the “rules-based international order”, although a laudable and necessary aim, glosses over the crucial and more fundamental question of what truly remains a core national interest in a world where the rules are already being litigated among the great powers. And with middle power status gone for the foreseeable future, likely gone with it are the hopes of being a decisive force in shaping global governance and regional order-building, even if certain forms of niche engagement can be periodically carved out.

On the one hand, Canadians could embrace the notion of having a smaller global footprint. A strategy focused on securing core national interests could be easier to sell than some vague and grandiose idea that “the world needs more Canada”. On the other hand, deciding what is – and, perhaps more importantly, what is not – a core national interest also means confronting idealists and ethnocultural groups with harsh truths. Challenging an engrained sense of national identity may not be a vote getter.

A change of the generational guard may not necessarily engender a change in national sensibilities on these questions. Engrained narratives are reproduced across generations and can thus be hard to shake. But failure to choose also represents a choice: a continued decline into international irrelevance, albeit without being compensated with the benefits of a more clearly defined and limited policy focus. If Canada continues to spread itself thin on the world stage, this lends itself by default to a national foreign policy whose terms are set by the United States.

If there is one engrained narrative that animates a sizeable proportion of Canadians, it is the need to preserve a semblance of autonomy from our southern neighbour. To the extent that Canadians care about foreign policy, it may ironically be a longstanding habit that one day creates the conditions for a national rethink – one aimed at arresting decades of intellectual inertia and policy drift.

Dr. Zachary Paikin is a researcher at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels. He is also a non-resident research fellow with the Institute for Peace & Diplomacy, a North American foreign policy think tank with a presence in Toronto, Ottawa and Washington, DC. He is co-editor (with Trine Flockhart) of the recent volume Rebooting Global International Society: Change, Contestation and Resilience, published by Palgrave Macmillan (2022).

The Decade of Accelerated Change

For the past decade, Jeremy Kinsman — former Canadian Ambassador to Russia, Italy and the European Union, and former High Commissioner to the United Kingdom — has been Policy magazine's GPS, providing a level of insight and analysis previously confined to the indispensable diplomatic briefings he so long provided to ministers and prime ministers. Herewith his briefing on the past decade of telescoped change.

Jeremy Kinsman

Back in the day, Bob Dylan drawled "the times they are a-changin". In our time, change is accelerating, shifting alignments, power rankings, assumptions, global memes and 1930s. Nationalism's back, like in the thirties, illiberal, autocratic, aggressive, and globalist only in the polarizing effect of its radiation through the cesspool of digital amplification.

Where is Canada in this? How have Canada's foreign policy projections and influence changed in the last decade or so?

One fact that is unchangeable is the overwhelming importance of our bilateral relationship with the United States. Mexican dictator Porfirio Diaz famously bemoaned being "So far from God and so close to the United States." Canadians get that sense of opportunity and apprehension in our own way.

It was a comfort that January's Three Amigos Summit in Mexico City partially re-set Ronald Reagan's shared strategic vision for North America, which Donald Trump had squashed. But proportional weights sustain huge bilateral dependencies: the US GDP is $25 trillion, ours $2.2, and Mexico's $1.4; the US takes nearly 75 percent of our exports, 80 percent of Mexico's.

Additionally, our US bilateral preoccupation has always co-existed in a foreign policy dyad, adjacent to enduring Canadian commitment to a multilateral rules-based system that acts as a hedge against such over-reliance on our potentially volatile neighbour and provides Canada with a more visible international role. It is when Canada has effectively managed both elements of the dyad that our foreign policy has been most effective.

When Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland met on the margins of the trilateral summit in Mexico City with her US counterpart, Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen, she presented the emerita Berkeley professor with a new edition of former Secretary of State Dean Acheson's 1970 Pulitzer Prize-winning memoir, *Present at the Creation*.

Presumably, Freeland knew that her scholarly colleague would have already come across Acheson's epic account of the "creation" of the postwar rules-based international order. The gift was meant to convey a Canadian identity point — *this is who Canadians are* — globalists, right from the "creation's" get-go.

These two legacy priorities — the bilateral challenge and our multilateral vocation — are (and must be) interrelated, not competitive. Some have argued that our global activity should generally be deployed to shore up political capital in Washington to support our dominant bilateral interests. But experience has shown that we accrue political capital with key American constituencies by demonstrating that Canada can reach parts of the world in our own, unique way to strengthen the global system.

We did so, from Lester Pearson on, while contesting some US choices — to bomb Hanoi, suffocate Cuba, invade Iraq, and so on.

Pierre Trudeau became a world figure. His global contacts and policy preoccupations such as North-South relations and the nuclear arms race synchronized with Jimmy Carter, but annoyed Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, while Reagan tolerated them.

Brian Mulroney re-set the bilateral priority en route to NAFTA, but also operated as a globally engaged leader with first-rate relationships, from Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin to François Mitterrand and Margaret Thatcher. He and External Affairs Minister Joe Clark pressed the international campaign against the inhumanity of apartheid in South Africa. President George H.W. Bush was sufficiently impressed to have promoted the idea of Mulroney as UN secretary general, a prospect the former PM ruled out at the time.

Jean Chrétien's Team Canada missions blitzed key world markets. He said "non" to invading Iraq, promoted Lloyd Axworthy's Canada-led campaign for norm-changing initiatives for human security that enabled the anti-personnel land mines treaty, the International Criminal Court, and the UN R2P initiative, the "Responsibility to Protect." I once asked Chrétien to name his closest "soul mates" out there, expecting to hear "Clinton and Chirac". He had extremely good relationships (often friendships) with many world leaders including his golfing buddy Clinton, but he cited leaders from Brazil, Mexico, and Italy as the ones with whom he had immediate policy comfort. He understood well the need to tend to both elements of the dyad.

Paul Martin, who basically invented the G20, was dean of globalist finance ministers (with arguably the most successful national balance sheet). As prime minister, he put Indigenous peoples on the international agenda.

But it was on Martin's watch that we started to lose focus and that internationalist impulses went interventionist, with a gung-ho chief of defence staff spreading maps on the carpet of 24 Sussex, first of Darfur, and then of Afghanistan.

Stephen Harper went all-in on Afghanistan. Well-meant as solidarity within NATO, the all-consuming effort forfeited other foreign policy opportunities. We overestimated our impact. Mired in a losing struggle against the Taliban's stronger political hold on its homeland, Harper definitively ended the exhausting expedition in 2014.

Harper was driven by values and antipathies. He connected only with like-minded "allies", usually fellow conservatives. His PMO imposed a conservative line on our embassies, ruling out even the phrase "human security." Abroad, saving money and avoiding risk replaced initiative, and at home, he imposed on the disruptive Department of Foreign Affairs a series of process-focused deputy ministers from domestic government departments, with no foreign policy experience. As one relevant senior official recalls: "He allowed his staff to completely undermine the ability of the department to think and move with the agility needed to allow Canada to play a leading role on the world stage."

It wasn't because of foreign policy that Justin Trudeau won a landslide 2015 election, though Canadians clearly preferred US President Barack Obama's global policy instincts over Harper's.

Trudeau had earlier formed a "Foreign Policy Council" co-chaired by Marc Garneau and retired General Andy Leslie (I was a participant). It debated with him how to show the world, post-election, that "Canada's back," a prospect that became increasingly real as Trudeau's polls improved. Trudeau himself participated from the perspective of an activist internationalist, providing hope that Canada might indeed come "back,"



Brian Mulroney with Mikhail Gorbachev at the Kremlin following the funeral in Moscow of Gorbachev's predecessor, Konstantin Chernenko, on March 14, 1985.

but politics and circumstances have driven things in other directions.

The break-out option preferred by his new PMO was to announce another run for a rotating seat on the UN Security Council to redeem our failed bid in 2010 under Harper. Ex-diplomats on Trudeau's Council, the late Mike Bell, twice Ambassador to Israel and to Egypt and Jordan, and former Ambassador to Russia Ralph Lysyshyn, and I urged them to understand that we would need first to show Canada's "back." Our likely UNSC competitors, Ireland and Norway, were major UN contributors of forces and ideas, and had a significant head start.

The UNSC election was top priority for our new Ambassador to the UN, Marc-André Blanchard, a senior Quebec campaign organizer. But in June 2020, we lost again.

We never did show that "Canada's back." The PMO's eager confidence that the youthful, positive, and attractive PM could win over a world that needed good news encouraged appearances over substance from the start, emphasizing *Vogue* photo-shoots and beneficial charity mixers with celebrities, over engagement and coalition-building to enhance substantive multilateral cooperation. We organized a conference on the reform of peacekeeping but then ducked out of our only commitment, a medivac support operation in Mali, after only a year.

Had she won her 2016 election, a warm working relationship with internationalist president Hilary Clinton might have enabled a substantive policy formulation process to emerge from Trudeau's PMO. But Trump's election took the oxygen out of the air, once it

became clear that danger couldn't be headed off by cultivating first daughter Ivanka or consulting billionaire Trump pals like Stephen Schwarzman ("just flatter him"). We would need to defend NAFTA against "America First."

Then-trade minister Freeland delivered a major foreign policy win with the forward-looking and innovative Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) with the EU that both Liberals and Conservatives had chased since 1972 (and which Quebec Premier Jean Charest decisively accelerated).

While Foreign Affairs Minister Stéphane Dion was highly interested in substance, the department's capacity to produce rapidly was throttled from a decade's fixation on turgid process. In any case, Dion didn't connect with Trudeau or his PMO.

After replacing Dion in an ineptly executed shuffle, Freeland led an A-team of officials and diplomatic representatives in the US and saved NAFTA from Trump's "America First" cyclone. But the successful headline struggle left her with little bandwidth for much else. The Prime Minister was hardly a substantive global figure and marred his sorties with stuff like the India dress-up fiasco and lecturing the Chinese about the role of women. The 2018 G7 Charlevoix Summit meant to promote "Women and Girls" was trashed by Trump, who went on to trash NATO, climate accords, Angela Merkel, and much else.

In reaction, Freeland teamed with like-minded German counterparts to launch a "friends of multilateralism and democracy" defensive support group. But otherwise, there was disappointingly little evidence of substantive global engagement initiatives from the renamed "Department of Global Affairs."

While Joe Biden's 2020 win over Trump boosted hope for both Canada-US relations and multilateralism, COVID-19 became another all-consuming crisis. It hemmed in Freeland's short-lived but meritorious successors, François-Philippe Champagne and Garneau, who were already constrained by her oversight role as Deputy Prime Minister, from which Freeland kept her hand on the Canada-US tiller, and insured unwavering support for Ukraine.

Canada's commitments to defending Ukraine are only partly due to the empathies and politics of its sizeable domestic diaspora. Putin's invasion created another bandwidth-devouring crisis that challenges Canada's DNA on the most vital of the postwar norms of the rules-based international order whose "creation" Dean Acheson (and Freeland) exalted: the prohibition of "invasion or attack by the armed forces of a state on the territory of another state, or any military occupation."

> *"The prime minister, who is underrated on substance, is reportedly held back by political managers who seem to presume the public is more tuned to Canada than to its role in the world."*

Cabinet focus on the multiple challenges of the Ukraine imperative should not, however, prevent a globalist government from sustaining parallel if less intense attention to the other overriding global issue — the "polycrisis", the interlinked globalized threats of climate change, pandemics, migration, debt, and general hopelessness for the vulnerable majority of the world's eight billion people, for whom progress has been absent. UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres warns that the postwar multilateral system is too siloed and dysfunctional to reform and defend the rules-based order.

The changing world is again divided. Speaking from the standpoint of a rapidly rising new world power, and from that of a nationalist and sectarian governing party, Indian Foreign Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar has said the "world order which is very, very Western (is) being hurried out of existence.... to be replaced by a world of 'multi-alignment'." He faults the western mind-set which presumes that "Europe's problems are the world's problems, but the world's problems are not Europe's."

Meanwhile in Canada, a Trudeau government task force produced an overdue Indo-Pacific strategy. It calls for deepened ties with the multiple actors in the fastest-growing part of the world, but also solidarity against perceived Chinese coercion in the region. The episode of experience with arbitrary Chinese force from the two Michaels' arrests, which was a toxic file for two years, had a teachable traumatic effect (though not noticeably accompanied by reflection over what happened between Canada and the US side at the start).

So, with a minority government entangled in fairly inward-looking national issues, pretty exhausted personnel in Ottawa who have little time or energy to think much about the longer-term balance of bilateral and multilateral, or doing much on foreign affairs beyond commenting and reacting, we are where we are.

The prime minister, who is underrated on substance, is reportedly held back by political managers who seem to presume the public is more tuned to Canada than to its role in the world, a choice reinforced by our pathetically parochial news media.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly is certainly trying to be creatively active. But mostly, we have been comfy in the cheering section for (the pretty damn good) Team Biden, while suppressing nervous thoughts about US elections in 2024. Defence of the multilateral system, and communicating its value, is projected mostly by our high-profile and activist UN Ambassador, Bob Rae.

Still, Freeland's diplomatic reminder that we were "present at the creation" is a sign that Canada's inter-generational, internationalist DNA is still in our organic system.

We can, she can, and the PM should, make it active again.

Contributing Writer Jeremy Kinsman served as Canada's Ambassador to Russia, Italy and the European Union and as High Commissioner to the UK. He is a Distinguished Fellow of the Canadian International Council.

Moving Ahead After Ten Years of Trade Tumult

Between the systemic lessons of the COVID-19 pandemic and those related to the world's geopolitical ructions of the past 20 years, many of the disruptions, obstructions and frictions in the global trade regime of the past decade have clarified recently. While Canada has taken a lead in World Trade Organization reform, longtime diplomat Colin Robertson has some further advice on how to move forward.

Colin Robertson

Canada's global trade and productivity is heading in the wrong direction and with the return of great power competition and protectionism, we need to adapt and adjust.

The World Bank numbers tell the trade story. In 1987, the year the original Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (FTA) was negotiated, Canada's trade-to-GDP was 51 percent. By 1994, as North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was implemented, it had risen to 64 percent and in 2000, it peaked at 83 percent. By 2021, it had declined to 61 percent, down from 66 percent in the pre-pandemic year of 2018.

The fault is not with our trade negotiators. Since the mid-1980s, Canadian governments complemented the ongoing multilateral negotiations within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) process — the precursor to the World Trade Organization (WTO) — with a series of high-standard trade deals beginning with the Canada-US FTA (1987-88), NAFTA (1993-94), the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement with Europe (CETA) in 2016, the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) in 2018 and then the renegotiated NAFTA, known in Canada as the Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA) in 2020. Uniquely among our G7 partners, our 15 free trade agreements (FTAs) now cover 61 percent of the world's GDP, comprising 1.5 billion consumers in 51 countries.

> ***"Like the UN, the WTO needs reform. There is a growing recognition that global institutions are hamstrung by large autocracies that don't just flout the rules but attempt to rewrite them from within, often by proxy."***

As Canadian trade performance has slipped, so has our productivity. Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) data reveals that from 2007-2020, Canada's real GDP per capita grew annually by 0.8 percent, placing us in the third quartile among advanced nations. While longer-term economic forecasting is always dodgy, their forward projection for the next decade put Canada in the bottom quartile. It may be wrong, but we need to take heed.

Productivity matters because it is the measurement of a nation's production of goods and services based on the amount of inputs — labour, capital, energy, or other resources — used in creating goods and services.

Global geopolitics is also changing and forcing us to rethink how we do trade policy. For decades, it was all about trade liberalization based on agreed rules and shared norms designed to promote openness. Now, it is about setting standards for transparency, labour and environment, and new sectors like e-commerce as well as border adjustment levies based on carbon content and climate commitments.

With more countries pursuing protectionism at home, the trade zeitgeist is now veering towards zero-sum competition. The degradation of the post-GATT status quo began with with China's accession to the WTO in 2001. Despite hopes that China would become a "responsible stakeholder", China never bought into the rules-based order, continued its subsidies and state control, and used its membership in the WTO to obstruct and bend the organization toward its own needs and norms.

Now the US and the European Union are re-embracing industrial policy with subsidies and tax credits. This is setting off a global race to attract new industry, especially in manufacturing. The US also says subsidizing clean energy is good for the climate and that they can both re-industrialize and de-carbonize at the same time. As Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen put it: "We view this period as a time when we renewed America's economic strength. We are positioning America to build, innovate, and lead in the 21st century."

The allies, especially in the EU as French President Emmanuel Macron forcefully made clear when in Washington, see it as an American grab for the jobs that will be created by the new "green" economy. President Biden has promised "tweaks" to assuage their concerns.

In geostrategic terms, it would make more sense for the US to lead the allies

who share the same values, to harmonize industrial policy with agreed disciplines on subsidies. For those who fail to meet their climate commitments, there will be border adjustment levies.

Meanwhile, the rules-based trading system that generations of Canadians worked hard to build and sustain isn't working as intended. The WTO can no longer negotiate global trade agreements and its vital dispute settlement capacity is paralyzed and while Canada is leading efforts to fix it, we aren't there yet. We still depend on previously negotiated disciplines on, for example, anti-dumping, export subsidies for agriculture, and its information technology agreement. WTO research is indispensable and, like the United Nations General Assembly, it remains a key link in the multilateral chain.

But like the UN, the WTO needs reform. There is a growing recognition that global institutions are hamstrung by large autocracies that don't just flout the rules but attempt to rewrite them from within, often by proxy.

So, how can Canada adjust, adapt and take advantage of our key inputs including our natural resources, our educated work force and our policy predictability — through transitions in Conservative and Liberal governments — on liberalized trade?

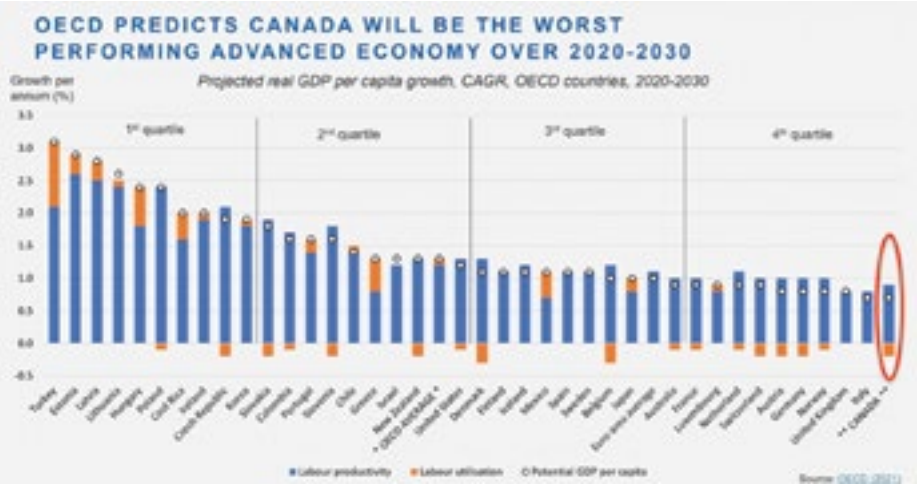
Here are ten ideas to stimulate discussion and policy action:

1. We need an industrial strategy that puts the emphasis on productivity investments. A compelling case for both is contained in reports by Canada's Industry Strategy Council (2020) and the Senate Prosperity Action Group (2021).

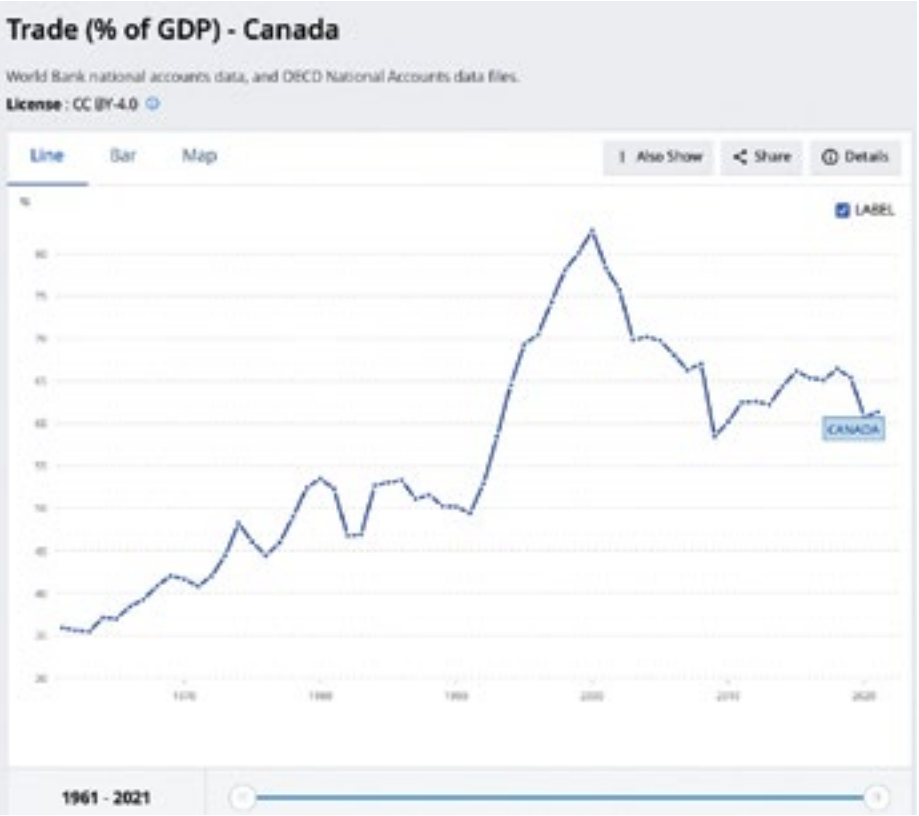
Specifically, this means becoming a digital and data-driven economy; becoming the ESG world leader in resources, clean energy, and clean technology; building innovative and high-value manufacturing in areas such as EV batteries, where we can lead globally because of our natural resources, coupled with a skilled and innovative workforce; and leverage our agri-food advantage to feed the planet.

In practical terms, it means building out the work begun with the National Policy Framework for Strategic Gateways and Trade (2007) and taking a long-term perspective by developing a rolling, 50-year trade corridors and gateways national infrastructure plan. We can learn lessons from the kind of P3 exercise that is building the Gordie Howe Bridge.

Long-term funding should rely not just on taxpayers but on our largest pension funds — the "Maple 8" — whose managers will ensure value for money.



Source: OECD The Long Game: Fiscal Outlooks to 2060 (October, 2021)



Source: World Bank

A caution: Industrial policy enjoyed its hey-day in the 1950s and 1960s but then fell out of fashion because it generated higher prices for consumers, excess public spending, investments untethered from market realities, and trade disputes with allies. As the great 20th-century mandarin and diplomat, Sylvia Ostry, once told us: "Government is really bad at picking winners but losers are very good at picking the pockets of taxpayers."

2. We need to bust our internal trade barriers: Premiers can fix this by liberalizing trade, the unfinished business of Confederation. Study after study demonstrate that these continuing barriers rob governments, business and consumers.

As the IMF Canada report (2019) concluded: "Barriers to domestic trade is a longstanding issue and nothing short of a sustained and concerted collective effort is needed to break down barriers that are impeding Canadian businesses from competing on a level playing field and scaling-up." A recent Macdonald-Laurier Institute study (2022) argues for adopting mutual recognition whereby the regulatory requirements met for one provincial or territorial government automatically satisfy the requirements for another.

In unilaterally dropping barriers, former Alberta premier Jason Kenney set the bar and diagnosed the problem: "Behind every barrier to trade, competitive procurement, or labour mobility there is some interest group seeking protection. There are no strong political incentives to trump that resistance, and internal trade will never be a retail political issue."

3. We need a "C.D. Howe moment". It starts with the appointment of a minister with the authorities of a Howe, who can work closely with industry and labour across the areas of energy, agri-food and defence with the goal of cutting through red tape and executing a plan to build our digital and physical infrastructure while fueling and feeding our allies.

4. Make what the market will buy rather than what we want to sell. According to Global Affairs assessments, our trade utilization rate— the share of trade entering under the negotiated preferential rates — is poor. For CETA it is 57 percent while for CUSMA it is 69 percent. While posted in Hong Kong, I marveled at the success of the Hong Kong Trade Development Council. Their secret: their agents abroad focused on what the market wanted and then their headquarters identified companies that could make the product. It required close knowledge of capacity combined with practical skills development. Our Trade Commissioner Service can learn from their experience.

5. Market Canada as a premium brand. Canada ranks third in the index of countries with the best quality of life. In the Index of Economic Freedom, Canada is ranked 1st among 32 countries in the Americas region. Our cities are the most livable in North America. Our marketing should pitch Canadian goods and services as a premium brand. Our resources — mined, grown and harvested from land and sea— are developed responsibly and sustainably and help to feed and fuel the world. Our manufacturing is innovative and of top quality and our banking and insurance institutions are secure and reliable — a distinction made clear to the world after the 2008 financial crash. Our education system ranks in the top five of nations and we rank in the top ten of innovative nations. Our cultural diversity is one of our greatest assets and we continue to welcome newcomers, with half of those living in our largest city, Toronto, born outside of Canada.

6. Link trade and talent: Look anywhere in the world and Canada is consistently in the top tier of those places people want to visit, study or live. But Canada's fertility rate — 1.4 children per woman — falls below replacement so we need to link more closely our trade, investment and labour objectives with our immigration strategy. Our tourism promotion should also pitch Canada not just as a place to visit but as a place to study, work and live.

7. Use our diaspora: As John Stackhouse recounts in his *Planet Canada: How Our Expats Are Shaping the Future* we have talent abroad that we should harness. I learned this while serving as our Consul General in California. The young Canadian engineers we enlisted into the Digital Moose Lounge in Silicon Valley were my best entrée to the hi-tech companies whose investment we sought. Many of them have since become key members in the C-100 of Canadian venture capitalists in Silicon Valley. It was a similar story in Los Angeles where the doors to film and video production in Canada were opened by the talent working in Hollywood. In Singapore and Hong Kong our alumni associations are often more active than those in Canada and, again, they open doors.

8. Set objectives and scorecard results: As a standing item at meetings of the prime minister and premiers, they should agree to annual trade and investment objectives then scorecard the results. Trade ministers can then do the follow-up at their regular meetings. The scorecard needs to be widely distributed and easily available so Canadians can see successes and shortcomings

9. Coordinate policy development with our research institutes: We need more intelligence and research capacity on trade. Expanding and diversifying trade and inbound investment should be the overriding goal of our trade development plans, country-by-country and, in the case of the US, state-by-state. Data show that Canada's exports are the fourth most concentrated by destination out of 113 countries, principally due to the large share of exports going to the United States. It is the biggest consumer market in the world, as we have learned on resources like oil and gas. But, when you have only one buyer, they set the price. Given Canadian dependence on trade, we would benefit from a coordinated approach to policy prescriptive research and analysis aimed at diversifying our markets.

10. Educate Canadians on Why Trade Matters: We need an ongoing public information campaign to inform and educate Canadians of the value of trade to our economy. Few have any idea that trade — internal and external — generates two-thirds of our national income. Economists estimate that incomes in Canada are 15 to 40 percent higher thanks to freer trade. Canada is home to over 50,000 exporters and 120,000 importers. Provincial governments should mandate teaching the importance of trade to the local community and their province as a part of the curriculum in schools.

Contributing Writer Colin Robertson, a former career diplomat, is a Fellow and Senior Adviser with the Canadian Global Affairs Institute in Ottawa.

How Universities Have Changed, and Not

Canadian universities, like universities everywhere, have withstood more change in the past 50 years than ever before, including the rise in female enrolment and, in the past two decades alone, the impact of the internet and the disruption of a global pandemic. Policy contributing writer Vianne Timmons, who has led two Canadian universities, reports on how both universities and students have adapted.

Vianne Timmons

I vividly recall heading off to university. It was 1976, and my mother took me to the local bus stop. I had a small suitcase to carry – no wheels in those days. She kept fixing my coat collar and told me not to speak to strangers (I'm not sure how I was supposed to accomplish that at university). Off she went, leaving me there waiting for a bus, heading off on my university adventure. This is in stark contrast to move-in days at Memorial University, when parents pull up in trucks and vans unloading fridges and televisions for their children's rooms.

Canadian universities have a rich history. Université Laval was established in 1663. It was the first North American institution to offer higher education in French. The University of New Brunswick was founded in 1785 and is the oldest English-language university in Canada. First Nations University in Saskatchewan is one of the oldest post-secondary education centres in Canada. Young or old, the purpose of universities — creating an educated society — remains true to this day.

Universities have definitely changed in recent decades and yet, in many ways, they have not. The three primary pillars are still teaching, research and service. We still have the same career ladder and tenure. The majority of university presidents are, to paraphrase a grade four student I met a few years ago, "Old, tall men with grey hair and glasses." And the excitement of that first entry into post-secondary life that I felt is still there on move-in days.

Within these pillars, though, there have been changes. Pedagogy is much more focused on experiential and interactive learning. Remote and on-line learning is now a normal mode of delivery. Community-based research is more common and communities are becoming true partners in research endeavours. Collaborative and interdisciplinary research has also increased over the past few decades, with teams working on issues, often from around the globe.

> ***"I always say universities should not reflect the world in which we live, but the world in which we want to live. And that world includes people who are Indigenous, Black, gay or neurodiverse."***

One aspect of university life that I have seen change is the engagement of parents and even grandparents in their children's education. This was apparent during the pandemic, when I fielded many calls and emails about vaccine and mask mandates. I often get calls asking me to intervene in issues regarding academics, parking and mental health supports.

An important and welcome change over the past few decades has been in the many supports and accommodations for students with learning challenges. My daughter has some learning difficulties, but with the help of the amazing team at her university's centre that supports students with disabilities, she graduated with a bachelor of arts.

There is also a major movement to look at equity, diversity and inclusion on campuses. Universities are putting resources into ensuring campuses are safe for all students and that administrators, faculty and staff reflect our diverse population. I always say universities should not reflect the world in which we live, but the world in which we want to live. And that world includes people who are Indigenous, Black, gay or neurodiverse.

Another positive change has been the number of international students in Canadian universities. Universities have set up international offices to support recruitment and retention of international students. It has enriched all students' learning as they get a global perspective in the classroom. Problematically, many universities have become reliant on international students fees as part of their operational budgets. But international students are good for the national economy; they contribute about $21 billion to the Canadian economy annually.

Indigenization of campuses has also been a major focus over the past two decades. This became even more of an imperative when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report was released in 2015. This has led to many initiatives such as supports for Indigenous students, cluster hiring of Indigenous faculty, a focus on curriculum revisions and including Indigenous ceremonies on campuses, such as smudging ceremonies, powwows and watching drumming circles.

There has been significant outreach to Indigenous communities and changes to how research is undertaken with these communities. There are also complex challenges with universities' roles in validating claims of Indigenous identities and working on decolonization initiatives in colonial institutions.

Students attending university today were born into a post-internet world. They have access to endless information. This has impacted universities as, historically, professors were the knowledge keepers and their purpose was to impart this knowledge to students. Now, professors' roles have changed; they use the internet to supplement instruction, communicate with students and teach completely remotely.

Starting as a new president during the pandemic, I found it very helpful to introduce myself to Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador virtually. That first blooper of me falling on ice outside my Airbnb was a real hit! Later, I used Twitter videos to connect with the community and learn about Memorial's impact. The internet became a platform for connection, communication and celebration during a time of isolation and fear. The pandemic changed the way I familiarized myself with Memorial and forced me to be more creative. The pandemic demanded a lot of creativity.

All of the recent changes to universities, especially in the last two decades, helped when the pandemic hit in 2020. The biggest change was the complete transformation to remote and on-line learning in a very brief period of time. You would think that students would be able to manage this as they seem to maneuver through cyberspace effortlessly. This was not the case, as they needed lots of support and very quickly, those supports were transitioned to on-line programs.

One challenge in Newfoundland and Labrador was poor internet access in rural and northern settings and faculty, staff and students had to be creative to ensure course completion. All of these activities took massive effort and happened in record time. Through the pandemic, professors and staff had to move their offices home. While that happened in many employment settings, moving courses from in-person to on-line is very intense work. When the pandemic measures were lifted, we saw faculty fatigue. In my 30-plus years of university teaching, I have never seen this level of exhaustion.



Memorial University President Vianne Timmons, with her dog "She-Bear", chats with students on "move-in day" on campus in St. John's last fall. --*Rich Blenkinsopp photo*

But adversity often leads to opportunity. During the pandemic, two rural learning communities were established to help those with limited internet connection, which proved helpful. We have now expanded this initiative to provide a network of learning and collaboration spaces in communities throughout the province by partnering with community and provincial organizations. These hubs will provide the infrastructure to support skills and business development, and lifelong learning.

Are universities going to change post-pandemic? There has been a notable increase in on-line courses, and many student supports are now both on-line and in-person. There are staff who are continuing to work from home as they found they could complete their tasks effectively. Student mental health supports have increased and there is demand for more. There are definitely fewer face-to-face meetings as virtual meetings have continued post-pandemic. Overall, universities have modified the way they work, but they have not changed dramatically.

When I walk the campus and see students gathering, whether it is socially or for studying, I am always reassured that universities serve an important need. Beyond research, teaching and service, our campuses are a refuge for our youth; a place where they learn about themselves, make lifelong friends and become independent.

That was what my mother hoped for as she left me at that bus stop. It happened to me. It happened centuries ago to students at Université Laval, and I suspect it will happen for my grandchildren. Plus ça change…

Contributing Writer Vianne Timmons is President and Vice Chancellor of Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador. Previously, she was President of University of Regina.



Column / Don Newman

The Trudeau Decade, Again

History, the saying goes, is just one darned thing after another. That has certainly been the case for the readers, writers and publishers of this magazine in its decade of existence.

When Policy first appeared in 2013, Canada had a stable majority government. The Conservatives and their leader, Stephen Harper, had finally achieved their objective. The general election of 2011 had elected them with clear majority and another benefit as well — voters had dispatched the Liberals, Canada's "natural governing party", to third place in the House of Commons with just over 30 seats.

In April of 2013. the Liberals elected a new leader; Justin Trudeau, the young, good looking and unproven, son of former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, who had dominated Canadian politics from 1968 to 1984 in another decade-and-a-half that was transformational for Canada. Harper was so unimpressed that, in 2015 when an election was due, he called it a month early because he thought an elongated campaign would expose Trudeau as immature and unready to lead a government. He was wrong. Trudeau got more impressive the longer the campaign lasted. By election night, the Liberals had won a majority and Harper promptly retired from public life.

Since then, it has been the age of Justin. He has been re-elected twice, each time with a minority government. But after the second minority he moved to secure the Liberals' place in power by entering into an agreement with the New Democrats to have their support on confidence votes, which, if lost by the government, could trigger an election. The confidence and supply agreement could be ended early, but as it stands, will be in effect until October 2025, when by law there has to be an election.

That agreement has taken some of the pressure off the government as it deals with the changes these past 10 years have brought.

In his second mandate, before the agreement with the NDP, Trudeau had to deal with a once-in-a-century occurrence; the COVID-19 pandemic that took 50,000 lives in this country with the death toll still climbing, although the case numbers are dropping and the plague is on the wane. In power, and working closely with the provinces, the Trudeau government went on an international vaccine-buying campaign, and, domestically, rushed into place a variety of income support programs for both individuals and businesses that were financed with ultra-low interest rate loans from the Bank of Canada.

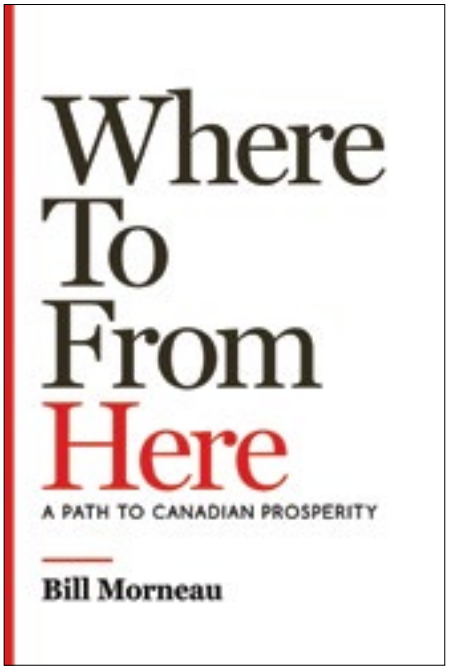
Not everyone was impressed. In February, 2022, thousands of protesters descended on Ottawa in a convoy of 18-wheelers, clogging the streets around Parliament Hill, shutting down the nation's capital and forcing the Trudeau government to invoke the Emergencies Act so that the police could clear the streets. The truckers said they were protesting the limits to freedom of restrictions imposed by governments to combat the spread of the pandemic. Unlike the truckers, most Canadians thought the restrictions were necessary.

Now, the fallout from the socioeconomic upheaval of the pandemic is coming due. The cost of living in Canada is as high as it has been since the end of the 1990s, with post-pandemic inflation a world-wide phenomenon being accelerated by another global event—the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the energy and food inflation it has created. On top of that, there is the military aid that NATO countries — Canada among them — are sending to Ukraine to hold off the Russian advances. A little farther out on the military horizon, the increased military spending — and the spectacular price tags attached to new ships and planes Canada is committed to acquiring — is adding to budgeting worries.

Trudeau says he plans to run in the 2025 election. He must say that to maintain his influence until he has decided if he actually will run. He will still be young enough but, like milk, prime ministers have a best-before date. He will have been in office 10 years, and that is about the maximum for a prime minister in this age. But if he does go — willingly or not — Justin Trudeau will know that he has served during a time that has shaped the country like few others. P

Contributing Writer and Columnist Don Newman, an Officer of the Order of Canada and Lifetime Member of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, is Executive Vice President of Rubicon Strategy, based in Ottawa.

BOOK REVIEWS



'Where To From Here': Morneau's Exit Memo and Mission Statement

Where To From Here:
A Path to Canadian Prosperity
By Bill Morneau with
John Lawrence Reynolds
ECW Press/January, 2023

Reviewed by Kevin Page

Where To From Here is a political economy book by the former Finance Minister Bill Morneau. It tells the story of the successes and stumbles of the Liberal government from a finance minister's perspective; from the taking of power in 2015 to his resignation in the summer of 2020. Like the popular book from a fellow cabinet minister who also resigned, Jody-Wilson Raybould (*Indian in Cabinet: Speaking Truth to Power*), there is advice to improve governing and the lives of Canadians.

I wanted the book to address three questions:

One, what was it like for a successful businessman to transition to federal finance minister with no prior legislative experience?

Two, what role did the finance minister play (or not) in shaping and implementing the Liberal policy agenda, including fiscal policy?

Three, what would it take for a finance minister to resign in the middle of a global health and economic crisis?

The book covers these questions and more.

> ***"The former finance minister admits that the government struggled to maintain policy momentum once many of the 2015 election platform commitments were launched."***

Morneau struggled with a career transition. He found politics "harsh" and "confusing". The thick skin required to handle the darker and edgier sides of partisan politics and national media scrutiny is largely developed with experience. Prior to becoming a federal finance minister, Morneau's experience with politics was largely as an adviser to governments or running large boards for charitable organizations. He was on the outside looking in.

It is a big transition to go from running a large international human resource company to becoming a federal finance minister responsible for implementing a very progressive policy agenda. Having said this, Morneau did his best to go up the learning curve.

He worked hard to get the nomination and to win the hearts and minds of voters in his riding of Toronto Centre. He knocked on doors. He connected with people. He tells a touching story of an interaction with a 13-year-old volunteer whose family came from Bangladesh. She shared a note. They needed access to housing. He kept the note. He went into politics for the right reasons – responsive government. His government kept their promises on strengthening housing policy. We are all better for it.

With the nomination, Morneau contributed to the development of the 2015 Liberal election platform. He had ideas on pensions and the economy that were grounded in business experience. That platform and the stellar campaign performance by Justin Trudeau paved the way to a Liberal majority victory.

I thought it was a mistake for Prime Minister Trudeau to nominate an inexperienced politician to the position of finance minister. It is too big a jump for such a powerful cabinet position. A less bold move by the PM would have been to appoint a senior stalwart like Ralph Goodale or Scott Brison. Why not take a strong candidate like Bill Morneau and give him some cabinet experience in an economic portfolio (Industry, Natural Resources, Transport, Innovation, etc.) before consideration for Finance?

If we look back in time, there have been some strong but independent relationships between prime ministers and their finance ministers: Harper and Flaherty; Chrétien and Martin; Mulroney and both Mazankowski and Wilson. Was Bill Morneau bound to fail?

With his appointment to Finance, the book tells the story of how Mor-

neau reached out for advice to previous finance ministers and prime ministers. He got great advice. With a serious work ethic, he went to work picking a strong team of advisers, getting to know his department and mandate. It was a textbook approach. Nonetheless, he was forced to jump from the fire into the frying pan.

On policy, the book is largely (but not entirely) focused on the implementation of the Liberal 2015 election platform. Morneau rightly expresses a deep satisfaction with his work in steering the implementation of legacy initiatives related to the child benefit, worker income tax benefit, income tax reform, pensions, housing, infrastructure, and First Nations policies. It is a long and impressive list of policy successes that was largely front-end loaded in the government's mandate. It was done with a relaxation of fiscal constraints but in keeping with a declining debt-to-GDP ratio.

Reading the book, one can sense the deep expertise and interest of Morneau in areas of pensions, tax reform and housing. Ideas and words on policy directions and risks flow naturally with numbers.

Along with these policy successes, Morneau is open about policy stumbles, including small business tax reform and the Canada Infrastructure Bank. The former finance minister admits that the government struggled to maintain policy momentum once many of the 2015 election platform commitments were launched. They were not the first government to experience the challenge of rejuvenation as the political cycle lengthens through the mandate.

Many readers will enjoy the sharing of back-channel stories on a range of domestic and international policy initiatives. One of the strong themes of the book is the importance of building trusting relationships to make progress on public policy. It is a virtue understood and executed well by Morneau in his business experience. The challenge was to build relationships in a political space marked by different partisan and ideological perspectives, a range of skill sets, large egos and media scrutiny.



Happier days: Finance Minister Bill Morneau delivers his first budget in 2016 to a standing ovation from Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and the Liberal front bench. --*Adam Scotti photo*

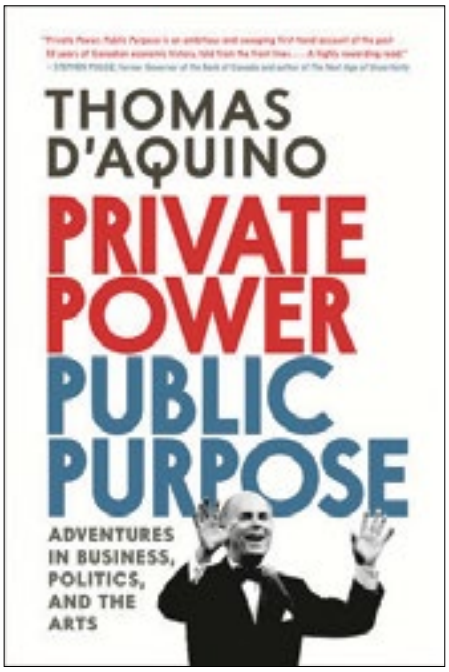
> ***"We learn that Finance Canada and the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) were not in sync on the size of fiscal supports necessary to address COVID-19. Finance wanted less. PMO wanted more. In retrospect, Morneau and Finance were right."***

The book opens and closes with the meeting between the prime minister and finance minister at Rideau Cottage in the summer of 2020. Morneau resigned amid a contracting scandal involving his interactions with the controversial WE charity, saying at the time that he was leaving to pursue the post of secretary general of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), but he was effectively shown the door in the middle of a global health and financial crisis. Rumours were circulating. We learn that Finance Canada and the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) were not in sync on the size of fiscal supports necessary to address COVID-19. Finance wanted less. PMO wanted more. In retrospect, Morneau and Finance were right.

This book will be read by people interested in trying to understand the legacy of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and the ongoing Liberal government.

I recommend this book to people thinking of making the transition from private to public life. We need more people like Bill Morneau to become interested in being an elected representative. We need to read the impact of a 13-year old Bangladesh- Canadian girl who shared a note on her family housing problem with a wealthy Canadian businessman and future finance minister. Bill Morneau kept the note, and the promise. **P**

Kevin Page is the President of the Institute of Fiscal Studies and Democracy at the University of Ottawa, former Parliamentary Budget Officer and a contributing writer for Policy Magazine



'Private Power, Public Purpose', or What I Saw at the Policy Revolution

Private Power, Public Purpose: Adventures in Business, Politics and the Arts
By Thomas d'Aquino
Penguin Random House, February 2023

Reviewed by John Stackhouse

Entering the 1980s, Canada was convulsing politically and economically. The provinces and Ottawa were at intense odds over the nature of the country, while business and government were at odds over the nature of the economy. For Thomas d'Aquino, the new solitudes presented an opportunity.

A corporate lawyer, business consultant and former staffer to Pierre Trudeau, d'Aquino had worked in the private and public sectors, in Canada and abroad. He knew the Thatcher and Reagan revolutions were on the rise, Wall Street was in vogue, and the "Me" generation — baby boomers with MBAs and mortgages — was agitating for change. Canadian business, d'Aquino thought, could help lead Canada into an uncertain new world of political, generational and technological transformation.

In Europe, d'Aquino had seen the practice of business advocacy on public policy, and knew how rare it was in Canada, where the distance between Ottawa and Bay Street seemed as vast as the country itself. Frustrated by the country's challenges to embrace a rapidly changing world, he set out to raise the voice of business in public policy by taking the reins of a sleepy lobby group called the Business Council on National Issues. No longer would the business of business be just business. Under d'Aquino, a revamped Business Council would take on every and any national issue that impacted Canadian prosperity, even if it didn't always serve the immediate interests of its members.

Over the next three decades, through Liberal and Conservative regimes, d'Aquino ensured there was a corporate contribution — sometimes feisty, sometimes amicable — to every national conversation. He also used the BCNI to help three generations of CEOs better understand the complexities of government, and of the political economy. Some of those who dealt with him, in business and government, could find him presumptuous, as he turned the Business Council into a kind of fiefdom that gave him more prominence, prestige and, at times, power, than a lobby group might otherwise seek or merit. But as he lays out in his memoir, *Private Power, Public Purpose*, d'Aquino was on a mission from Day One to elevate the interests of business and focus the ambitions of government, for the betterment of Canada.

Now 82, Tom d'Aquino's journey to the pinnacle of private power and public prominence speaks to a post-war Canada that may seem foreign today. The son of Italian immigrants, he grew up in modest comfort in Nelson, in the B.C. Interior, making his way to the University of British Columbia and a career in law. The sudden death of his father, when he was 18 and just starting UBC, shocked d'Aquino's early adult life and seemed to make him restless for both change and adventure. He finished law school, and with his wife Susan Peterson, who later became one of Canada's top Finance bureaucrats, set out into the world. Rather than joining the counter-culture of the 1960s, the future power couple were establishment-bound, moving to Europe and then back to Susan's hometown of Montreal, where Tom landed a corporate job and was swept up by Trudeaumania.

D'Aquino projects himself as a kind of philosopher-kingmaker, trying to live up to his namesake, the Dominican friar, philosopher and jurist, Saint Thomas Aquinas, writing "the historical weight and significance of my name has never been lost on me." He didn't seek to be a company man or a political hack, landing instead on the peripheries of power. The insider's outsider — and increasingly, the outsider's insider.

After the 1968 election brought Trudeau to power, d'Aquino gave up corporate life to become a political aide, eventually to the prime minister. He stayed for Trudeau's first term, which he calls the "golden age" of Canadian public policy, and then switched careers again to work in London as an international consultant, before settling back in Ottawa and hanging out his own shingle. Perplexed and frustrated by the parochialism of Canadian leaders, he convinced the country's top CEOs to let him take the Business Council on National Issues in a new direction, with as much weight on national issues as on business counsel.

D'Aquino's first big foray was with the Macdonald Commission on the economy in 1983, which created a kind of Ottawa Consensus on economic liberalism. Once the report was public in 1985, he used the Council's growing voice and powerful membership to advocate for free trade, tax reform and a smaller government role in the economy. He also dared to challenge the Mulroney government on pension de-indexing, arguing that even in the face of a fiscal crisis — created by the Trudeau years — budgets shouldn't be

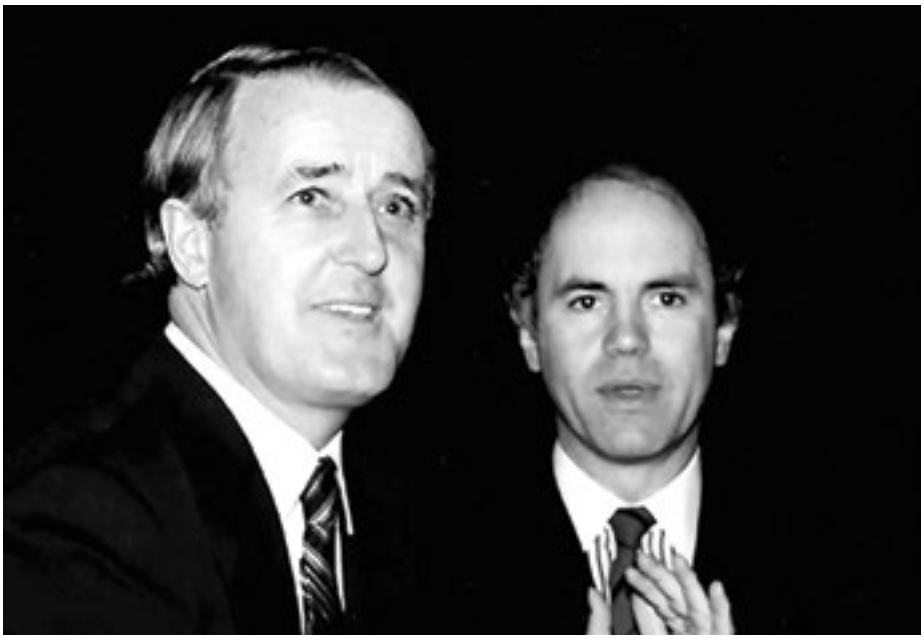
balanced on the backs of pensioners. The Business Council soon became a critical ally for Mulroney's Conservatives as the country divided itself anew over free trade, particularly as d'Aquino applied his able debating skills to take on the popular voices of trade unions, culture groups and anti-FTA voices like Maude Barlow.

D'Aquino deepened his influence when the Conservatives were chased to the political wilderness in 1993, by making himself relevant to the Chrétien Liberals, with research and advocacy campaigns that ensured they didn't revert to a Trudeau-style economic agenda. Equally, as Quebec separatism and Western alienation threatened to tear the country apart, he ensured the country's leading business voices spoke up for Canada. In the same spirit, after 9/11, he helped put the weight of business behind the Armed Forces as they prepared for a new period of American-led combat. And after the Enron scandal brought a new critical eye to corporate governance in the early 2000s, he was able to rally Canadian business leaders around new commitments to boardroom accountability — saving them from further government intervention.

In many ways, d'Aquino was right for the times, arriving in the early years of a new media age that shaped public policy in a 24/7 news cycle of cable TV. He was also fortunate to enter the public arena before the internet and social media became a bare-knuckle sport that no longer favours the country club camaraderie he enjoyed.

D'Aquino writes in a lively and personal style, taking the reader with him on fly fishing trips with world leaders, dinners with prime ministers and private jets with global CEOs. He offers less reflection on the limits of public purpose or introspection on the foibles of private power, including the shortcomings of his mission, notably the hollowing out of corporate Canada and frustratingly small levels of private sector research and development.

The BCNI eventually became the Council of CEOs (a culturally off, if factually correct name) and today's Business Council of Canada. It continues to be a leading voice for the private sector, and often a wise counsel to governments. But it's also had to adjust to a rapidly changing society and economy, be it on climate change or diversity.



Tom d'Aquino introduces Brian Mulroney at a free trade event in 1988. John Stackhouse writes that d'Aquino and the Business Council "became a critical ally" for free trade supporters in that historic election. --*PMO photo, National Archives of Canada*

Despite d'Aquino's efforts, big business continues to face challenges of public trust, including grocery pricing, airline performance and telecom reliability. In an atmosphere of perpetual finger-pointing, it's become too easy for politicians — left, right and centre — to blame the challenges of our times on business. Some of that scarring formed during the financial crisis, which coincided with the end of d'Aquino's time at the Business Council, and deepened in the ensuing recession. Remarkably, some of that skepticism changed during the pandemic, when Canadian businesses took on unprecedented responsibilities and largely succeeded. But in the new abnormal, business is again a punching bag, forcing leaders to think anew about the solitudes of private pursuit and public responsibility.

The book's professed mission is to explore "power and purpose," and its final chapters on leadership offer a range of thoughtful insights on what it takes to run a large company, including ambition, humility and tenacity. It offers less on how leadership needs to change — and is changing — in a world rocked by political, social and technological divisions. D'Aquino got a glimpse of that future in his final months at the helm, when Stephen Harper and his ministers began telling business leaders that Ottawa was about to change, and the Rideau Club would no longer be a nexus of power.

More than a decade later, the debate rages over the public and private role of perceived gatekeepers. The distance between Ottawa and Bay Street may be shorter, thanks to the Business Council and others. But the distance between both places and Main Street may be greater, posing a new challenge for a new generation seeking to balance private power and public purpose. P

John Stackhouse, Senior Vice President in the Office of the CEO of RBC, is also a Senior Fellow at the C.D. Howe Institute and at the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto. He is a former Editor-in-Chief of the Globe and Mail, and author of several books, including Planet Canada: How Our Expats Are Shaping the Future (Penguin Random House, 2021).

TRIBUTE

The Big Vision and Big Heart of Peter Herrndorf

Rosemary Thompson

Peter A. Herrndorf's love of Canada infused everything he touched. He believed that artists and journalists could help us understand the great expanse of our country—to bring us together to define what it means to be Canadian, in all our complexity and beauty.

He dedicated his own life to championing the artistic life of the country through broadcasting, publishing, educational television and, finally, through the performing arts at the National Arts Centre.

He did it with big vision and big heart.

When we tried to find the perfect description of his vision for the NAC's role in the country, it was crystallized into this phrase: "Canada is our stage."

It meant that what happened on the stages of the national capital was important. More important still was working with artists and arts organizations across the country to build opportunities for the performing arts in every part of Canada.

On November 3, 2009, the second day of my job at the NAC as director of communications, Peter took me out for lunch at Le Café, and gave me a handwritten list of 10 things he wanted me to work on. He was very clear about what he wanted to achieve, and how to work with the incredibly talented team he had assembled to turn his vision into a reality.

I looked at the list again the day after his death on February 18th and nearly everything he wrote down was realized. On the list were projects such as: launching Prairie Scene, an ambitious festival featuring hundreds of artists from Manitoba and Saskatchewan; the National Arts Centre Orchestra tour to Toronto's Roy Thomson Hall; sending the Orchestra to Vancouver for the 2010 Cultural Olympiad; and the unveiling of a sculpture of the legendary jazz pianist Oscar Peterson that would sit outside the NAC on the corner of Elgin and Mackenzie King. (It would be unveiled by Queen Elizabeth II in June 2010, in front of a crowd of 10,000 people).



Peter Herrndorf, as Rosemary Thompson writes, "believed that artists and journalists could help us understand the great expanse of our country." *--B. Tony Hauser photo, National Arts Centre*

That list alone reveals what a gifted leader we have lost. And it doesn't include the founding of the Indigenous Theatre which came after many years of thoughtful consultations and conversations with Indigenous artists who made it happen.

Peter would write these lists for everyone at the NAC when he was home in Toronto on the weekends with his family. When he wasn't going to Raptors games with his son Matthew, or Blue Jays games with his daughter Katherine, or having dinner with his wife, Eva Czigler, he was thinking about what he wanted to achieve and how his team in Ottawa could help him do it.

Peter didn't have a computer, or a cell phone in those days. He communicated through handwritten lists and notes, telephone calls, and in-person conversations. While some may have thought that was a throwback, I always believed it was the secret of his success. Peter was never distracted. His only focus was the people who surrounded him. He listened carefully to how they were doing, what they needed, and how he could help them succeed.

Peter wanted to be surrounded by what he called "superstars". He loved baseball, and in many ways, he was like a high-powered general manager. He recruited the very best people from across the country. He gave them some direction. And then he let them fly. He managed creative teams with a very light touch. He set his expectations at a high level and would check in with you from time to time to see how you were doing.

> ***"Peter didn't have a computer, or a cell phone in those days. He communicated through handwritten lists and notes, telephone calls, and in-person conversations. While some may have thought that was a throwback, I always believed it was the secret of his success."***

Checking in often happened as he walked into the building on Mondays when you could hear his booming laughter all the way down the hall. He would peek into the National Creation Fund office to find out what new productions they were financing. Next stop was the NAC Foundation to hear what incredible donation had come in over the weekend. Then he would check into the Communications office to see what media we had lined up. He would say, "I want embedded media on the Orchestra Tour," to which I'd reply, "Peter, media embed on election campaigns and armed conflict, not typically Orchestra tours." He'd smile, and I'd visit every editor and publisher in Canada to convince them to send media to cover our artistic tours. On it went until he reached his office at the end of the hall.

Peter also spent a lot of time backstage in the Green Room and in the staff cafeteria filled with musicians, dancers, technicians, actors, choreographers, and stage hands. He listened to how their rehearsals were coming along, responded to any challenges they were having, and cheered them on as a co-conspirator to their success. It's also how he learned about how the place worked, what the issues were, and how he could help.

He knew everyone by name. He knew about their families, their joys, their struggles. He shaped a culture of belonging at the NAC that I've never seen duplicated anywhere else.

He cared about everyone at the NAC, from the security guards to the kitchen staff, to the artists that are the NAC's beating heart. When he was proud of something you did, a handwritten note would arrive on your desk. If a team really hit it out of the park, he'd send a bouquet of flowers.

Such big vision. Such big heart.

As a Harvard Business School graduate, Peter Herrndorf understood the value of building great teams, and seeing them realize extraordinary things. That's how we built the pitch for the architectural and production renewal of the NAC. After a national competition, he hired the architectural team at Diamond Schmitt Architects, quietly built a case for support, and began the diplomatic and public affairs mission that ultimately led to two back-to-back investments — by the Conservative government in 2014 and by the Liberal government in 2016 — that totaled $225.4 million. The transformation changed the NAC from a windowless concrete bunker into a sun-filled, transparent, vibrant and accessible institution that opens up to the capital today.

Upon learning of his death, many of his colleagues at the NAC gathered to share memories, tears, and hugs to honour a leader we will never forget. When Peter stepped down from his role as President and CEO of the NAC in 2018, I remember asking him what he would miss the most. I thought he might say the founding of the Indigenous Theatre, the NAC Orchestra's tours to Europe or Asia, the two royal tours, or the monumental opening of the new building.

What he said was surprising, and so revealing.

"I'm going to miss being in the main foyer at intermission, when all of the halls are full, and the audience pours out, and they are laughing, or deep in conversation, and enjoying the performances in all of our venues. That is my favourite moment at the NAC, when there are thousands of people here, enjoying the performing arts."

The day of his passing the NAC lived up to Peter's fondest wish. All day long the place was filled with kids attending a lively arts festival. And in the evening, thousands of audience members were enjoying the very best in music, dance and theatre.

For all of us who worked with him, it is incredibly difficult to say goodbye. But what we can do is remember his lists, his encouraging handwritten notes, his legendary Christmas cards, and his habit of singing to you on your birthday.

> ***"He knew everyone by name. He knew about their families, their joys, their struggles. He shaped a culture of belonging at the NAC that I've never seen duplicated anywhere else."***

We also need to remember his belief that journalism, public broadcasting and the arts play a critical role in the life of the country, and in helping us understand each other as Canadians.

And we must follow the path he forged for us, and confidently step forward, following his example to build a better future for Canadians.

We need to remember his vision, and his very big heart. P

Rosemary Thompson is the Executive Director of the Coalition for a Better Future and served as the Executive Director of Communications, Public Affairs and Corporate Secretary of the National Arts Center from 2009-2018.


Montreal daycare, *iStockphoto*


UW GTA, *iStockphoto*


UHN Foundation

An Opportunity for Ottawa to Provide Additional Funding to Provinces and Territories

An open Letter to the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance

Dear Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance,

Following the health care transfers to the provinces and territories announced in February, Budget 2023 presents the Government with a timely opportunity to provide additional funding to charities by including our proposal in the budget to remove the capital gains tax on charitable donations of private company shares and real estate. It's estimated this measure would increase federal cash by $200 million a year, every year going forward.

As you know, the fiscal cost of the charitable donation tax credit is borne two-thirds by the federal government and only one-third by the provinces.

And the largest beneficiaries would be Canada's charities, notably in hospitals and health care across the country, in the cities and towns where the Canadian people live.

All our hospitals are facing an urgent crisis due to the shortage of doctors, nurses, and support staff. The strain on our health care system has resulted in extended wait times, short term closures of crucial departments, and even the inability to reach emergency services in a timely manner.

With the rising cost of living, essentials such as groceries and gasoline prices have soared. We are experiencing the highest inflation rate seen in 40 years. Combined with rapidly rising interest rates, many Canadians are having difficulty sustaining daily life with their current income.

A record number of people used food banks in Canada in 2022, with high inflation and low social assistance rates cited as key factors in the the rise, according to a new report.

The annual report from Food Banks Canada said there were nearly 1.5 million visits to food banks this past March, 15 percent more than the same month in 2021, and 35 percent more than in March 2019, prior to the pandemic.

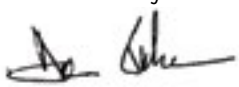
United Way Centraide Canada is working to provide everyone with access to enough nutritious, affordable and appropriate food, through funding hundreds of agencies and food banks across Canada.

Given the fiscal deficits faced by the federal government, provinces and municipalities have limited ability to address the crisis. This is where the private sector can step in and help combat this challenge.

The removal of the capital gains tax on charitable donations of listed securities in the 2006 budget has resulted in charities receiving over $1 billion virtually every year since then.

This proposal is good policy. It is also good politics.

Yours sincerely.



Donald K. Johnson O.C., LL.D.
Director, UHN Foundation
Chair, Vision Campaign, Toronto Western Hospital
Member, Advisory Board, Ivey Business School, Western University
Chairman Emeritus & Director, Business / Arts
Member, 2023 Major Individual Giving Cabinet, United Way Greater Toronto
Member, Honourary Board, The National Ballet of Canada

"Budget 2023 presents the Government with a timely opportunity to provide additional funding to charities by including our proposal in the budget to remove the capital gains tax on charitable donations of private company shares and real estate. It's estimated this measure would increase federal cash by $200 million a year, every year going forward. This proposal is good policy. It is also good politics."







Building a Sustainable Future

From board diversity to biodiversity, climate risk to community relations, Barrick's commitment to managing sustainability effectively and responsibly has long been entrenched in its DNA and Barrick approaches it with the same diligence it applies to understanding its orebodies and accounts.

BARRICK

www.barrick.com | NYSE : GOLD • TSX : ABX

Barrick Gold Corporation's 19-country portfolio holds 14 gold mines, including six of the world's Tier One operations as well as three strategic copper producers, all with long-term business plans based on declared resources.

dPA 6584