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Canadian Politics and Public Policy

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Cover photo by Adam Scotti

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From the Editor / L. Ian MacDonald

Game Change

Welcome to our new issue, *Game Change*, on the changing players in the Canadian political context, both in Ottawa and the provinces.

It's a new game, in Parliament as well as in federal-provincial relations, with a post-pandemic context still defined by crisis based on economic, political and geopolitical chaos.

It starts with Pierre Poilievre's graduation to Conservative leader and opposition leader facing a Prime Minister Justin Trudeau said to be eyeing a fourth election. And on the fed-prov scene, October saw the expected re-election of François Legault by a landslide in Quebec, and the installation of Danielle Smith as the new Conservative premier of Alberta.

We begin at the national level, with Lori Turnbull's take on the game -- how Poilievre's elevation from question period gadfly to party leader could change the dynamic in the House. Veteran Tory observer Geoff Norquay looks at the state of the Conservative party under Poilievre. John Delacourt, former research director of the Liberal Party, considers a question on many minds—whether Trudeau will want to keep his own options open as he nears completion of a decade in office. And Robin Sears, onetime national director of the NDP, looks at Jagmeet Singh's balancing act in supporting the Liberals for three more years.

At the provincial level, both Legault and Smith come with agendas that put their provinces on a road to political conflict with Ottawa.

In Legault's case, he is defending two Quebec laws on culture and language. Bill 21 prohibits public servants — including teachers — from wearing religious clothing and symbols such as hijabs, yarmulkes and crucifixes on the job. And Bill 96, updating Quebec's 1977 Charter of the French language, Bill 101, raises serious issues of English-language minority rights in education as well as the workplace. Both bills also touch on immigration, and the terms under which new Canadians would be welcome in Quebec.

David Johnston, recently retired as the Official Languages Commissioner's Regional Representative in Quebec and Nunavut, writes that "The use of the notwithstanding clause in Bill 21 and 96 is intended as a unilateral declaration of autonomy" within Canada.

As for Smith, she has promised a Sovereignty Act that would proclaim Alberta's independence in matters of inter-provincial and international trade, both clearly federal jurisdictions under Section 92 (10) of the Constitution Act. While she walked it back following her swearing-in, saying Alberta would comply with Supreme Court decisions, she caused a firestorm when she said that Albertans who had chosen not to be vaccinated against COVID-19 were "the most discriminated against group that I have witnessed in my lifetime." From Calgary, former Conservative MP Lee Richardson shares his perspective.

And Daniel Béland, Director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, looks at Legault's strong renewed mandate and observes that immigration is not only a major internal issue in Quebec, but also has "major implications" for fed-prov relations.

In *Canada and the World*, Philippe Lagassé of Carleton University looks at the future of the Crown in Canada with the accession of King Charles III following the passing of his mother, Elizabeth II, after her unprecedented reign of 70 years.

In a timely update on Vladimir Putin's illegal invasion of Ukraine, our lead foreign affairs writer, former ambassador to Russia Jeremy Kinsman, grippingly explores the Russian autocrat's leadership prospects following a succession of defeats on the battlefield and his diminished standing on the world stage. "Can Putin be fired? Sidled out? Usurped? By whom?" he asks. "In time, the people will decide Russia's fate."

Looking at the global impact of Putin's invasion of Ukraine, Colin Robertson views it as "the latest in a series of catalytic events including the pandemic and the pressing urgency for action on climate change."

Where is the Trudeau government going with its Bill C-18 to protect and compensate Canadian newspapers for their content posted by BigTech digital platforms? Jamie Irving and Paul Deegan of News Media Canada share the perspective of Canada's newspapers, large and small.

The Hockey Canada scandal, and its coverup of sexual misconduct in its world junior hockey program, has been the talk of the country. I look at the contrast with September's 50th anniversary celebration of the famed 1972 series between Team Canada and Russia, including hundreds of people lined up for a book signing of *Montreal to Moscow*, by Terry Mosher with an introduction by the legendary Yvan Cournoyer.

Finally, in Book Reviews, two of Canada's sharpest political minds and one great story: Bill Fox reviews Steve Paikin's *John Turner: An Intimate Biography of Canada's 17th Prime Minister*. Paikin makes "a compelling case," Fox writes, "that Turner's was a life of consequence."

And Memorial University President Vianne Timmons, former President of University of Regina, reviews Dale Eisler's *From Left to Right: Saskatchewan's Political and Economic Transformation*. "I recommend this important book," Timmons writes. "I enjoyed it immensely."

Enjoy.



The truckers blockade of downtown Ottawa, brought traffic to a complete halt in the national capital for three weeks in February, shutting down government, closing businesses around the Parliamentary Precinct and making it unsafe for residents to leave their homes. --*Michael Elzo, iStock*

The Bouncy Castle, the Hot Tub and the Besieged Capital: The Politics of Public Order

This post-pandemic winter will be fraught with — amid a glut of less lofty propaganda — Richard III references about discontent. For Canadians, some of that discontent will arise from the reanimation by the Public Order Emergency Commission of last winter's debates over the blockades of the capital and key border crossings. Director of the Dalhousie University School of Public Administration Lori Turnbull weighs the odds of that process changing dreadful marches to delightful measures.

Lori Turnbull

Perhaps even more so than usual, the tone and content of debates in the House of Commons for the coming months will be affected by events and proceedings occurring outside its walls.

Specifically, the Public Order Emergency Commission is tasked with producing a report on whether the federal government's use of the Emer-



Demonstrators against vaccine mandates noisily make their point in protests outside the Prime Minister's Office, at the corner of Wellinginton and Metcalfe streets, just off Parliament Hill. --*Franklin McKay, iStock*

gencies Act in response to what has become known as the "freedom convoy" was legitimate.

The Liberal government will insist that the emergency power was justified and necessary to restore order in areas where blockades were disrupting business and community life, including in the parliamentary precinct. Critics – including a Conservative Party now led by convoy supporter Pierre Poilievre – will claim that the government overstepped with the purpose of silencing "protesters" who dared take issue with COVID-19 restrictions related to vaccines, masks, and travel.

The debate will come to a head next spring, when the Commission's report delivers a judgment on whether the Liberals were in the right. If the report raises any doubt about the propriety of the federal government's actions, it would give the Conservatives an opportunity to bring forward a motion of non-confidence in the government.

Given Poilievre's support for the blockaders during his leadership campaign, he would face pressure to hold the government to account with every tool at the opposition's disposal. That said, if such a motion were to pass and an election were called, Poilievre could find himself with a disappointing result at the polls – particularly if he remains as polarizing a figure as polls show him to be now.

> ***"The testimony will likely consist mostly of details and descriptions we have already heard. Politicians' accounts will be largely rhetorical in nature and this will carry over into parliamentary debates and televised political panels."***

To be clear: the Commission's proceedings are not going to grip the country. Even in dramatic moments such as testimony from Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and former Ottawa police chief Peter Sloly, it is unlikely that we will learn much in the way of new facts. There will probably not be a "gotcha" moment that would cause a shift in public opinion or create a new conversation.

Instead, the testimony will likely consist mostly of details and descriptions we have already heard. Politicians' accounts will be largely rhetorical in nature and this will carry over into parliamentary debates and televised political panels. Regardless of the findings of the report, the government will use the Commission's proceedings as an opportunity to tell their story about the severity of the consequences of the blockades of both the nation's capital and border crossings both for the economy and for public safety.

The Conservatives will likely portray the government as overreaching, intolerant of criticism, and disrespectful towards anyone who does not support their political agenda. They will say that Trudeau's empathy does not apply to everyone. It will be a battle of narratives that goes far beyond the circumstances of the blockades and the government's response. Ultimately, the Commission's proceedings and the testimony that it hears will become fodder for political parties as they struggle to connect with voters before the next election.

Ostensibly, the blockades started out as a protest among truckers who objected to mandatory vaccines for those crossing the Canada-US border. This was never the real story, of course, as over 90 percent of professional truckers were fully vaccinated. But as trucks big and small rolled toward Parliament Hill from across the country, the movement became more complex in its purpose and identity.

Participants and sympathizers were motivated by a range of COVID-related issues, including vaccine mandates, masking requirements, business closures, and social distancing rules. The blockaders claimed to be deeply resentful of what was por-

trayed as sustained and unjustified government intrusion in the lives of Canadians via public health mandates during the pandemic.

The blockaders' apparent anger at the Trudeau government — amid the unprecedented protest props of hot tubs, blaring music and a bouncy castle inflated at the foot of Parliament Hill — was matched by the anger of citizens and business owners who remain traumatized by memories of constant horns and fear of walking the streets. The Canadian flag was appropriated by occupiers of the capital city and waved alongside obscenity-filled signs bearing the prime minister's name.

The unprecedented events of the blockades suggest a divide in Canadian politics, one that parties are all too eager to exploit. There is ample survey data to indicate that such a divide exists, though it is not clear whether it will endure. Both Trudeau and Poilievre have been accused of fanning the flames of wedge politics to solidify political constituencies around them at the expense of national unity or a sense of common project.

Leader-centrism further exacerbates "for or against" politics by putting the emphasis on the leaders rather than parties, which tend to share at least some values that can be used to build bridges and find common ground.

None of this bodes well for parliamentary proceedings this fall. The leaders of the two largest political parties are polarizing in their own right and have a lot to prove. Poilievre is trying to overcome this and build broader public appeal by talking about pocketbook issues that often seem to escape the attention of the Liberals. However, if the Commission's report finds that the threshold for the Emergencies Act was not met, Poilievre will face pressure to put his money where his mouth has been with respect to the "freedom convoy."

After all, his alliance with its participants and supporters helped him to win the leadership. Convoy participants donated over $460,000 to the Conservative leadership race, 70 percent of which went to Poilievre. However, it could be a risky business to force an election on the Liberals' use of the Emergencies Act, even if the report raises issues with it. Most Canadians do not support the blockaders or their tactics.

> ***"Of course, whether the Liberals are defeated on a confidence motion is up to Jagmeet Singh and the New Democrats. They will have to determine whether an early end to the confidence and supply agreement with the Liberals is the best way forward for them."***

Of course, whether the Liberals are defeated on a confidence motion is up to Jagmeet Singh and the New Democrats. They will have to determine whether an early end to the confidence and supply agreement with the Liberals is the best way forward for them, which will depend largely on whether the key promises of the agreement have been achieved by then and whether the NDP feels in a position to take any credit for the results.

They also need to weigh the possibility that a 2023 election could result in a plurality of seats for Poilievre and the Conservatives, particularly if the Trudeau brand is further tarnished by then and Poilievre has found ways to resonate in key ridings. If this is the case, and Singh is not willing to prop up a Poilievre minority, an early election would be a bad move.

Meanwhile, the Liberals' minds are elsewhere. They are more focused on Canada's place in the world rather than on domestic political irritants. The Liberals' approach to policy, governance, and priorities has always been based on their sense of virtue. Now that they are in their third mandate and feel that they can boast of virtuous governance on a list of domestic issues, including childcare, pension reform, and economic aid during COVID, they are now shifting their attention to doing the same abroad. Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland is promoting a world order that separates state actors into two camps: liberal democracies and autocracies (read: good guys and bad guys).

In a recent speech to the Brookings Institution in Washington, Freeland said: "I'm now proposing that the only way for us to do well is to do good." By that she means that we must align ourselves with trading partners who share our values, reject those who don't, and come to the rescue of allies who need assistance. But this is where the dichotomy between global and domestic politics is exposed for the falsehood it is: if Canada is to participate meaningfully in this new global arrangement, it will be costly and require a rethink of our reliance on traditional approaches to trade relationships. As Heather Scoffield has observed in the Toronto Star, the economic implications of this global reset would be felt by Canadian sectors, businesses, and citizens.

If the Liberals plan to win another mandate (and obviously they do, whether Trudeau stays on as leader or not), they risk not taking Poilievre seriously enough as a threat. They are giving the Conservatives and the NDP too much opportunity to resonate on bread and butter issues. To stay competitive, the Liberals need to explicitly reconcile their global agenda with domestic realities. This will require clear communication at home, both within and outside Parliament. Otherwise, the other parties could see mutual advantage in bringing the government down next spring. P

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.



Pierre Poilievre and his wife Anaida wave to the audience in Ottawa on September 10 after his sweeping first ballot win in the Conservative leadership race. Anaida made a strong impression of her own in her introduction of him, speaking in perfect French as she told her own story of growing up in an immigrant family in the East End of Montreal.. --*CPC*

After the Tory Convention—The Rule of Law

Pierre Poilievre made a strong start as Conservative Leader with an magnanimous acceptance speech in which he also shared his story as an adopted child, while his wife Anaida introduced herself as an immigrants' daughter who learned French in Montreal. Poilievre also began distancing himself from the blockades that occupied Ottawa. Veteran Tory insider Geoff Norquay shares his impressions.

Geoff Norquay

Pierre Poilievre is successfully launched as the new Conservative leader, following a smashing victory in the party's leadership race. For an individual with a reputation of being at times divisive and harsh, he's been spending a lot of time building bridges.

After his win was announced on September 10, spectators were dazzled

when his wife, Anaida, first took the stage to give her husband a lengthy and emotional introduction. The new first lady of Conservative politics talked about how she immigrated to Canada from Venezuela with her family, settled in a working-class neighbourhood in the east end of Montreal, and spoke of both the challenges faced by new Canadians and the importance of preserving one's language and culture. The charismatic speech revealed her as a formidable and compelling asset in reaching out to new Canadians – and demonstrating general "relatability" – in future campaigns.

> *"Poilievre's victory speech was remarkably generous to his fellow-contestants in the leadership race. He commended the personal contributions each made to the party and to public life."*

When it was his turn, Poilievre's victory speech was remarkably generous to his fellow-contestants in the leadership race. He commended the personal contributions each made to the party and to public life, and addressed all their spouses individually as well, adding a personalizing touch. Surprisingly for many – following the bitter campaign – he saved his warmest words for his arch-rival, Jean Charest, whom he effectively cast as a national hero of Canadian unity.

Subsequent days saw him quickly calm party grudges with old rivals, including Charest, Erin O'Toole and Peter MacKay. He and Anaida also hosted Brian and Mila Mulroney for dinner at Stornoway, resulting in some warm and positive comments from the former prime minister – and a clear signal that all members and groups of the Tory party are welcome in the fold.

Poilievre has taken the time to get things right. He met with every member of his caucus before naming his shadow cabinet; his appointments include no fewer than 51 shadow ministers and 20 associate shadow ministers, showing he knows that the best way of keeping caucus happy is to keep them busy with meaningful work that reflects their individual interests.

In many ways, time is on Poilievre's side. With the Liberal government supported by the NDP through their supply and confidence agreement, an election is unlikely for at least a couple of years. As a result, there is lots of time for the pain of the spiralling cost of living to inflict additional damage on the government's credibility. There is also time for the deliberate and comprehensive policy process the Conservatives will need to deploy in developing their platform for the next general election campaign.

In the meantime, there's a particular issue that involves substantial risk for Poilievre and the Conservatives, one that will require thoughtful skill in managing. It's the "Public Order Emergency Commission," the inquiry led by Justice Paul Rouleau of the Ontario Court of Appeal into the circumstances surrounding the federal government's invoking the Emergencies Act to deal with the truckers' blockade that paralyzed downtown Ottawa for three weeks last February, as well as the border blockages that seriously disrupted Canada-US trade.

COVID-19 caused governments at all levels to interfere in the personal lives of Canadians more than any event since the Second World War. Of the many consequences of the pandemic, the blockade is the most complex and troubling. The problem was that there were two protests going on at the same time. Many of the truckers had a valid issue – as they saw it, the overreach of a federal government attempting to safeguard the majority against the civil rights of a minority who chafed against pandemic restrictions. They correctly viewed their march to Ottawa as the exercise of their right to demonstrate against government policies with which they disagreed.

The second protest was something darker and more ominous, but at this point we only know the outlines of how serious it was. As David Vigneault, director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) told a House of Commons committee last May, "The concern we had with the convoy, at the outset and throughout, was the fact that we have seen in Canada, in other jurisdictions, violent extremists using these protests and demonstrations to engage in acts of violence, to recruit members, to be able to spread their ideology further." No doubt we will learn more about this dark side as the inquiry unfolds.

At the beginning of what turned into an occupation of downtown Ottawa, Pierre Poilievre gave an impromptu interview in which he carefully distinguished between the "hard-working, law-abiding and peaceful truckers who are fighting for their freedom and livelihood" and others who "say inappropriate things." He said that "it is possible to hold individually responsible anyone who does and says something that is unacceptable."

> *"COVID-19 caused governments at all levels to interfere in the personal lives of Canadians more than any event since the Second World War. Of the many consequences of the pandemic, the blockade is the most complex and troubling."*

It is unfortunate that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau did not follow this advice when he tarred those who rejected vaccine mandates and other pandemic restrictions with a host of negative brushes designed to collectively disparage them: "They are extremists who don't believe in science. They're often misogynists, also

> *"Thousands of lives were disrupted, many businesses were forced to close and millions of dollars in personal wages and company incomes were lost."*

often racists. It's a small group that muscles in, and we have to make a choice in terms of leaders, in terms of the country. Do we tolerate these people?" Still, the continuing risk to the Conservatives is the unreserved and undifferentiated support many caucus members gave to the blockade, and reminders of this fact will not be helpful for many watching voters.

The problem for the leaders of both parties is that as the occupation dragged on, the distinctions between the motivations of the various demonstrators were lost against a larger reality – that thousands of lives were disrupted, many businesses were forced to close and millions of dollars in personal wages and company incomes were lost.

Tax-paying citizens lost the right to enjoy their private property and walk their streets free of insults and personal intimidation for the outlandish offence of wearing masks – masks they had been advised to wear by their public health authorities. In other words, the blockade became in the minds of many, a massive abrogation of the rule of law, and an exercise in crowd bullying.

As Howard Anglin, Stephen Harper's former Chief of Staff, argued in a thoughtful op-ed in the *National Post* in June, the rule of law, "at its broadest, means a society that is governed by predictable rules, duly enacted by accountable officials, publicly disseminated, and consistently enforced." Anglin argues that Canada has suffered from "recent breakdowns in the rule of law" that are "the result of uneven enforcement or non-enforcement." As Anglin noted, "much of the Freedom Convoy's success was a direct result of failures of law enforcement by the municipal, provincial and federal governments."

There are many other recent examples of the rule of law being ignored in Canada. In June-July of 2021, 68 churches were damaged or destroyed by fire in the wake of the discovery of hundreds of unmarked graves on the sites of former residential schools. An extensive Internet search discovered just one reference to charges being laid by police. And all parts of the country have seen statues of "colonial" figures – Sir John A. Macdonald, Queen Victoria and Egerton Ryerson – toppled or defaced by the enforcers of wokeness while the police looked on.

In the winter of 2020, just before the world was overtaken by the pandemic, Indigenous protesters blockaded several national rail lines in solidarity with those opposed to the Coastal GasLink pipeline project that crosses the traditional territory of the Wet'suwet'en First Nation in northwestern British Columbia.

In just a few days, more than 150 freight trains were idled after the blockades were set up in British Columbia and Ontario. Via Rail service disruptions impacted 1,070 trips and roughly 165,000 passengers. Despite grievous damage to national commerce and the domestic transport of goods, the federal government refused to deploy the RCMP to unblock the railways, siding with the Indigenous demonstrators at the expense of the national economy and common sense.

Speaking in the House of Commons, Trudeau asked Canadians to be patient with his government while it sought a negotiated end to the Indigenous protests, because it would have been "off-brand" to enforce the law in the same way the government later would with the blockade. The impasse was settled only after vigilantes in several locations began clearing the tracks using force.

When faced with breakdowns in the rule of law, politicians at all levels in Canada are fond of saying, "We don't tell the police who to investigate or whom to charge." We all know why they say that; no one wants political interference in the discretion authorities must retain to preserve their independence. But what happens when obvious lawlessness is ignored by the authorities, both political authorities and law enforcement? People lose confidence in consistent enforcement, become understandably cynical about the motives of government, or about the sanctity of laws designed to protect *both* minorities from the excess of majorities, and majorities from the actions of minorities.

So, here's an idea for the Conservatives as they prepare their platform for the next election. Instead of relitigating the issue of vaccines (and for heaven's sake, it's a safe bet that everyone wants to leave this issue behind), why not take on the inconsistent enforcement of the laws that were put in place to protect us all?

They could start with a clear statement that a Conservative government would work to ensure that public order laws were applied consistently and evenly regardless of whether the transgressors be from the left or right. This would likely be controversial, but not as problematic as living in a society where laws look much better on paper than how they are actually applied. It would also be a significant contribution to addressing the *real* public policy issue that lies at the heart of the trucker blockade.

In his recent leadership campaign, Pierre Poilievre made much of taking on the gatekeepers for what they are doing *to* Canadians; perhaps it's time for him to address what they are *not doing* to enforce the rule of law. P

Contributing Writer Geoff Norquay was Senior Adviser on Social Policy to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, and later served in the Opposition Leader's Office under Stephen Harper. He is a Principal of Earnscliffe Strategies in Ottawa.

The Radical Proposition of Trust and Trudeau's Response to his Latest Opponent

It may say as much about how the world has evolved since 2015 as about where Justin Trudeau is in the life of his prime ministership that our Liberal scribe, John Delacourt, can file a Trudeau piece and every line seems to contain fresh insight. Amid endemic COVID, post-transitory inflation, a war on democracy, an unhinged Putin and a new Poilievre across the aisle, what's up with Justin Trudeau these days? Read on…

John Delacourt

In Canadian politics — specifically how it is discussed and debated within the Ottawa bubble — there are perennial long-lead stories that surface in the longeurs between budgets, contentious votes and sundry scandals, regardless of who's in power. There's the perennial, trans-partisan first-lady-and-infidelity trope, the "Et tu, Brute?" meeting among caucus malcontents plotting a leadership coup, and the secrets-of-Versailles tales of Governors-General carrying on imperiously and breaking the house china.

These plot lines are carved in stone, it seems, like the gargoyles adorning the Peace Tower. When newsrooms weren't as desperately under-resourced as they are now, reporters lowest on the totem pole would be sent out to investigate these will-of-the-wispy rumours, camping out in bars, chasing down the usual MPs with loose lips who might have a ship or two they'd like to sink.

The one variation the Trudeau government has added to this stock of almost-true stories in recent years is the "Walk in the snow: will he or won't he?" canard. In the weeks that have followed Pierre Poilievre's Conservative leadership victory, you could draw a map of concentric circles starting from the corner of Sparks and Metcalfe, and the farther out you traced it, all the way to the corner tables of say, Mamma Theresa's, the more you'd overhear this conjecture once again.

But the thing is, the closer you get to the centre, the less you hear it. From those who actually meet with Justin Trudeau and have conversations in preparation for the next campaign (yes, they still happen, despite how distant a prospect it might be on anyone's calendar), there is no indication that the prime minister is somehow disengaging or reflecting on succession planning. If anything, "dialed-in" and focused is how he's described by those in the room with him. And those close to Poilievre will even concede the PM is a formidable, seemingly tireless campaigner when he's out on the road — so perhaps it isn't a great idea to get him out there while he's still showing up for work.

The compelling question might simply be why these rumours persist of some imminent resignation, especially when a clear, stark, partisan divide is emerging with the ascent of Poilievre's star in the parliamentary firmament — however virtual or hybrid Parliament might remain in the months ahead.

One reason might be that the prime minister has been stepping back from being the public point man on every file. Prior to the last campaign, there were critics — and I count myself among them — who were wondering why the PM wasn't giving more air time to the considerable talent within his cabinet. That seems a distant memory given, say, the import of Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland's October 11th speech at Washington's Brookings Institution, the energy – and air miles – François Phillipe Champagne has brought to his industry and innovation files and the profile and leadership Mélanie Joly and Anita Anand have taken at Foreign Affairs and Defence in response to what EU High Representative Josep Borell, in a significant speech of his own recently, called the "messy multipolarity" of crises the world is facing – not least with Russia and Ukraine. In a variation of the "Et tu, Brute" theme, the conjecture remains that these star turns from cabinet are also driven by leadership aspirations.

And yet, taken together, Freeland's and Borell's speeches might provide the best context for why the prime minister might not have been sitting back, watching YouTube videos on cryptocurrency late into the evening like the new leader of the opposition, and looking for investment opportunities with his government pension. There's not a lot of down time when the world is on fire; the challenges of the pandemic created crises that were normally administered by cities and provinces, while at the same time he has been

caught on the other side of the vise by issues that transcend what individual governments can control, never mind solve – from supply chain snarls to extreme weather events to the complex theatres of conflict that have emerged throughout the world. Perhaps we shouldn't have mistaken Trudeau's closed office door for quiet quitting; it is more likely, similar to many of us, he's just been Zoom-called relentlessly over the last three years.

Yet, if he's still very much in the driver's seat, what does he make of this new opposition leader revving his engines so noisily? And how do he and his Liberal team counter this perceived surge in interest and approval of what Poilievre and his reinvigorated shadow cabinet seem to be enjoying among Canadians – if the snapshot polls are to be believed?



Justin Trudeau, doing what he does better than anyone--meeting people. -- *Adam Scotti*

What those close to the PM will tell you is that, no, contrary to some reports that Trudeau is either dismissive of the new leader or cynically relying on scare tactics with Canadians, he takes Poilievre seriously. He views him as an effective communicator who's honed his rhetorical cut- and-thrust as an attack dog for Stephen Harper, the eminence grise of the kind of divisive politics that never said no to a rousing Niqab ban or a roundhouse rabbit punch on centrist voices within his own party. To bemoan the fact that there is an appetite for this kind of Wrestlemania politics, (especially among male voters – a lingering issue for Liberals) is to shake your fist at the weather.

The challenge that momentum for Poilievre presents is not going to get solved in a couple of months for the Liberals, as they'll openly admit. But it would be a mistake to shift their focus, they believe, and focus on Poilievre alone and his more controversial, clickbait pronouncements on the Bank of Canada or cryptocurrency investment strategies. As Trudeau's speech to his own caucus on Parliament's return made clear, the focus remains on Canadians — and only 14 percent of them are actually on Twitter, we shouldn't forget.

The Liberals are also focused on the tangibles. You could call it the anti-air war. The GST rebate, the new dental care bill, the money saved each month in the bank account that the child care agreement has made possible — these are longer-term dividends for political capital that put trust in ordinary Canadians' ability to pause, reflect, have an adult conversation with their spouses or themselves about whether actions actually matter more than bluster and rage farming. Trudeau's team is betting that once there's some policy actually on the table, and Canadians start to get a sense of what Poilievre's offering, it'll taste a lot like Grandpa's, warmed-over Milton Friedman casserole of supply side economics.

This is not to say Trudeau and his team don't see some glaring issues that have to be addressed, if Canadians are to sum up the Liberal years and ask themselves if they've earned another mandate. The question of basic service delivery, post-pandemic – with passport offices, with your-call-is-important-to-us delays with Revenue Canada, and with front-line health care, most importantly – is perceived as a question of serious, decisive leadership at the top. To suggest that Canadians should take a look at what other G20 countries are going through on these same fronts is to look for cold comfort ahead of a wintry economic forecast; you may be right but no one cares. Canadians want these everyday issues fixed, and every day that they're not is a good day for the opposition. No one knows this more than Trudeau himself.

But don't expect Trudeau the aging boxer to come out of his corner swinging and playing into the kind of UFC-in-the-House, politics of spectacle Poilievre's invigorated team would relish. He's older – we all are after our lockdown years – and he's faced a tsunami of big world problems that no one could have ever imagined in that brief era of sunny ways that seems a lifetime ago.

There may be an argument to be made that Liberals should not put such trust in the better angels of our nature, given what can seem mounting evidence to the contrary — now submitted, by the way, to the inquiry into the occupation of Ottawa by truck drivers last February. Yet elections, when they come, are rarely, if ever, rational, and this kind of trust might just be the radical proposition that catches fire. P

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Jagmeet Singh's Balancing Act

Jagmeet Singh's leadership of the New Democratic Party has settled into a combination of style and substance that has quietly re-branded the party for a new generation while still hewing to the political principles of his antecedents. As Singh juggles all the usual demands of leadership plus the intricacies of his confidence deal with prime Minister Justin Trudeau, veteran strategist and longtime NDP observer Robin Sears maps out Singh's leadership landscape.

Robin V. Sears

Every successful political leader needs to be a proficient juggler, synchronizing their narrative grasp on the caucus, the activist base, the media, and, last but not least, the opposing jugglers.

For a federal NDP leader, there's another ball to handle: getting anyone to pay attention. There is always a tendency for the media, and therefore the Canadian public, to write off Canada's social democrats in what is most easily defined as a two-way combat between Tories and Liberals.

None of an NDP leader's choices on effective pushback against this simplistic view is without risk. They can shout louder and make more outlandish claims and promises, and risk being seen as a lefty Maxime Bernier. They can cast themselves as the only real people's party set against the indistinguishable defenders of the rich, Liberals and Conservatives. This got a little strained under Stephen Harper. It invites ridicule in casting Justin Trudeau and Pierre Poilievre as peas from the same pod.

They can try attack politics, pouring scorn and derision on the character of their opponents, their integrity, and the tendency to corruption of the two opposing leaders. Such attack politics were re-invented in the modern era by Preston Manning, honed by Mike Harris, and perfected by Stephen Harper. Angry invective pumped Poilievre into the leadership. Tories are best at it, Liberals sometimes are, New Democrats never. Always squeamish about mudslinging, and a disapproving base, it is not in their toolbox.

Successfully juggling among these not-entirely-satisfactory choices is what distinguishes an NDP leader of greatness — Tommy, David, Ed and Jack, as they are always known to partisans — from all the others. Jagmeet Singh has an additional challenge. He needs to keep juggling while walking a very long tightrope. His relationship with his parliamentary partner, Justin Trudeau, requires a delicate balance between effective critic and savvy policy deliverer.

Singh's partisans appear to be mostly satisfied with his balancing act. Shifting between attacks on the Liberals always-dilatory delivery of promises, and claiming credit when they finally deliver half a loaf seems, so far, to be acceptable to most New Democrats.

The media are less kind. Several columnists have recently wondered aloud about the need for an NDP at all. Sadly, many Canadian news organizations have fallen into an American-style pugilistic lens on politics — who lands the most savage punches, who inflicts the greatest pain in the boxing ring, is the political winner. The traditional and more authentic approach to political analysis: who makes the best case for change, who shifts public opinion to support a key policy, who, in the end, delivers competently, loses out to the one who employs the most viral rhetorical tactics.

Singh took a massive gamble on his confidence deal with Justin Trudeau. It is still not clear whether it was wise. He will be able to claim, by the time of the next election, that once again New Democrats, with a knife to Liberal throats, have delivered the latest policy change of greatest benefit to working Canadians: universal dental care. The challenge is that most Canadians do not know that the CCF/NDP created old-age pensions, Medicare, anti-corruption election law, childcare and a dozen other victories Liberals claim as their own.

To New Democrats' fury, it rarely seems to hurt them. This time may be a little easier for Singh, as the Trudeau government is now infamous for its preference for political theatre over governing competently, let alone delivering. He, not Trudeau, will be the dental care pioneer.

If he deems it wise, Singh may defeat the government on an issue of Liberal treachery in one policy domain or another. He could join every other party determined to sack Trudeau over the inevitable next Liberal political scandal involving a privileged politician prioritizing private interest over public good. The next big test will come in the spring, if the Liberals fail to deliver on climate or health care in their next Budget

Today, however, there is a new variable — Pierre Poilievre as Conservative leader. Poilievre has been characterized as a politician who has never deviated from his principles, sticking to the same small government, low-tax mantra for many years. More likely is that we will soon see Poilievre the chameleon emerge.

Following his victory, Poilievre began dropping his appeals to belligerence, his touting of Bitcoin as infla-

tion protection, his buy-in to Davos as the head of a global conspiracy, and his threats against the independence of the Bank of Canada. He is now attempting a post-leadership shift to a more adult form of politics, at least minimally grounded in fact and reality. The specifics of how he would achieve higher growth, lower taxes, and a smaller government may never be clear, but Poilievre's most serious weakness is climate. So far, he appears no more serious about this pivotal file for younger voters than his three predecessors. It could defeat him.

If he were to follow Brian Mulroney and Jean Charest's advice on big-tent politics combined with a serious commitment to re-building party unity, he will be more of a threat to both the orange and red teams. He would be wise to drop his phony battle with Canadian journalism. As Tory leaders from John Diefenbaker to Stephen Harper learned to their cost: if you unite all the giant news organizations against you, you will lose. Poilievre has pushed the tactic a step further: the media is not just biased, they are the enemy. He has yet to mimic Trump further by declaring the mainstream media "the enemy of the people."

All three leaders are joined in a common struggle for the same slice of voters: aggrieved and cynical Canadians who have given up on political engagement. O'Toole's and Poilievre's efforts to paint conservatism as a natural ally of the working class strained credulity. Perhaps the Tory leader could tempt some of these voters — as Doug Ford did — by handing out cash to every driver in Canada. Given the Tories' history on issues from the minimum wage to the social safety net, the "friend of the workers" tagline will be a tough sell. Reagan and Trump did it, Harper almost did, so the potential for a major class re-alignment in Canadian politics is far from improbable.

Singh faces a new and more difficult juggling act as well: of relations between the federal party and its provincial cousins. He has permitted friendly fire from NDP candidates at both the federal and provincial levels against the NDP government in B.C., and last month the Saskatchewan NDP delivered the most egregious insult to their federal cousins of all, banning Singh from attending the provincial party convention.



Justin Trudeau and Jagmeet Singh meet at the PM's office. Their deal on "confidence and supply" keeps the minority Liberal government in power until the next election in October 2025. But will Singh and the NDP get credit for programs like dental care to fight inflation? -- *Adam Scotti*

In Alberta, Singh previously juggled the pro- and anti- pipeline views in the party for then-Premier Rachel Notley with some success. A likely return of an NDP government in Alberta next year will make the juggling more difficult again. The likely new Ontario party leader, former federal party president, Marit Stiles will soon make known her determination to maintain party unity among Ontario New Democrats, federally and provincially. Her quid pro quo, like Horgan's and Notley's, will be "no surprises" — no public attacks from either side, active ongoing consultation between the leaders, and real consequences for those who break with party unity.

So, Singh has more balls to juggle than any other leader. He also has several assets that are not well known. He has proved unflappable and authentic in moments of crisis, from Trudeau's blackface fiasco to being spat at by white supremacists. Steady, confident leadership in a crisis is an invaluable political foundation.

Secondly, he is now a well-seasoned leader with two campaigns under his belt and a strong, devoted team surrounding him. He has learned to be a better listener than when he first arrived. Finally, he is genuinely likable. Few who encounter him come away other than charmed.

It will be an interesting political winter in federal politics. The performance of the three leaders will potentially set the political stage for many years after their own departures. If Poilievre gives up his unity stance, the party could again split. If Trudeau continues down his increasingly harsh partisan path, Liberal defeat and long-term decline may once again return. Additionally, the federal Liberal powerhouses — Ontario and Quebec — today have provincial cousins on life support.

Singh has shown himself to be an increasingly adept juggler. It is hard to see him being bumped into dropping a ball. Now, he just has to deliver another two years of flawless performance. P

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François Legault's Double-Down Mandate and Minority Language Rights

Quebec Premier François Legault's landslide second mandate seems to have ratified his controversial targeting of both minority language and religious rights in the province. Within a larger global context of systematic assaults on human rights, Legault's efforts to disrupt Canada's democratic status quo, especially with a new Alberta premier adopting similar tactics, seems ominous. David Johnston, longtime journalist and former Quebec representative of the federal Commissioner of Official Languages, breaks down the political and legal angles of the story.

David Johnston

If the October 3rd Quebec election proved one thing, it was that the Coalition Avenir Québec (CAQ) breaking of the longstanding Liberal (PLQ)-Parti Québécois (PQ) duopoly in Quebec provincial politics four years ago was not an anomaly.

Premier François Legault's party even won more seats (90 of 125) and a greater share of the popular vote (41.0 percent) than it did in 2018 (74 seats, and 37.4 percent).

And it did so despite a more competitive playing field than in 2018. A right-wing upstart, the Parti conservateur du Québec, unrelated to the federal party, took 13.9 percent of votes, up from 1.5 percent in 2018.

The big losers were three opposition parties who were in the last legislature — the Liberals, the PQ and Québec Solidaire (QS). All three got fewer votes, and a smaller share of the popular vote, than they did in 2018. Support ranged from a high of 15.4 percent for QS to a low of 14.3 percent for the Liberals. However, the concentration of Liberal support in western Montreal gave the party 21 seats, vs 11 for QS, mostly in eastern Montreal, three for the PQ, and none for the Conservatives.

> ***"Legault wants the federal government to transfer two new powers to Quebec — powers of selection over the family-unification class of immigrants, and of temporary workers."***

The disparity in seat distribution saw renewed calls in Quebec for electoral reform. But Legault, not surprisingly, said that was not going to be a "top priority" for his new government.

In the days after the election, he made it clear what his top priorities were. He named two, and underscored that both were going to present positioning challenges for parties at the federal level.

His first priority, he said, was immigration, the issue that dominated the Quebec election campaign. Legault wants the federal government to transfer two new powers to Quebec — powers of selection over the family-unification class of immigrants, and of temporary workers. On the last day of the campaign, the premier said he was considering holding a referendum on the issue in Quebec, something he had ruled out the previous spring. Three days after the election, he hinted again at a referendum, saying obliquely: "If Quebecers want the government of Quebec to have more powers in immigration, nobody is going to be able to resist that."

The second priority, he said, relates to language. Quebec passed new legislation in May, Bill 96, that among other things has modernized the Charte de la langue française, aka Bill 101. Bill 101 in its original form, introduced in 1977, respected federal jurisdiction and never sought to apply to federal operations in Quebec, including private companies under federal regulation – e.g., banks, telecommunications and inter-provincial transport companies. However, Bill 96 — the language bill which, as with Bill 21 restricting the rights of government workers to wear religious garb in the workplace, saw Legault invoke the notwithstanding clause of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms— has amended the language charter to assert that "all enterprises" in Quebec must now comply.

At public hearings last fall on Bill 96, Justice Minister Simon Jolin-Barrette said "all enterprises" included companies in the federally regulated private sector. Ginette Galarneau, president of the Office québécois de langue



Coalition Avenir Québec Leader François Legault swept the October 3 Quebec election. His party faces challenges that include climate change, the cost of living and a battered health-care system. *—Ivanoh Demers/Radio-Canada*

française (OQLF), testified at the hearings that there are 3,000 federally regulated companies in Quebec, only 240 of which have registered voluntarily with the Office since 1977, including only 189 that have obtained their francization certificates.

This is an issue that I watched very closely in the year before my retirement from the federal Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages this past July. I served eight years as the commissioner's regional representative in Quebec and Nunavut, supervising an office of five people in Montreal.

In the weeks before my departure, it became clear to me that Quebec's ambitions were more far-reaching than just the private sector. In mid-July, our Montreal office was contacted by Aéroports du Québec, the third-party agency contracted by the federal ministry of transport to run the Quebec City airport on its behalf. We were shown a letter it had received from the OQLF, dated July 5th, instructing the airport authority, which is legally subject to the federal Official Languages Act, to register with the Office within six months (January 5, 2023). Days later, I learned that Aéroports de Montréal had received a similar letter. The Montreal airport authority's lawyers had concluded that the government of Quebec has no legal authority to take linguistic control over federal airports. That is the consensus legal opinion of experts who I have consulted.

Three weeks after he was elected Conservative leader in August of 2020, Erin O'Toole raised the stakes on this issue when he met with Legault and said the party now supported putting the federally regulated private sector under Quebec's controls. That promise by O'Toole meant that all three oppositions parties, including the New Democrats and Bloc Québécois, now supported breaking with the legal principle of equality of status of English and French in federal operations, at least in Quebec. And it meant that any private member's bill tabled to facilitate such a handover to Quebec would pass, no matter how MPs in the minority Liberal government voted.

This was an uncomfortable position for the Liberals, and so a month after O'Toole's pledge, the throne speech of September of 2020 broke new ground, with the Liberal government expressing an intention to promote French not just outside Quebec, where francophones are a minority, but inside Quebec, too.

It followed up on that speech up with Bill C-32, a proposal to modernize the Official Languages Act (OLA). As part of the modernization, C-32 proposed creating a new section to extend language-of-service and language-of-work rights to the federally regulated private sector — but only French-language rights, on the grounds that French, not English, is threatened both in Quebec and the rest of Canada. As it is now, the OLA only applies to the federal public and para-public sector, as well as Crown corporations and some former Crown corporations such as Air Canada and Via Rail.

C-32 died on the order paper before the 2021 federal election but was brought back in slightly different form in March of this year, as Bill C-13. The main difference is that C-13 proposes to deal with the federal private sector in a new separate law, thus preserving the notional equality of status for English and French in the OLA. C-32 is currently undergoing public consultations by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Official Languages, and a "pre-study" by the Senate OL committee. Like C-32, C-13 proposes that the new rules on language would apply everywhere in Quebec, as well as in regions outside Quebec where there are high concentrations of francophones.

Although C-13 provides no rights for English, it does leave room for companies in Quebec to use English on a discretionary basis. To be sure, it's a better deal for Quebec anglophones than anything under the new Bill 101 as created by Legault's Bill 96. But Quebec's English-speaking community leadership is still dead set against C-13 and its fundamental break from the principle of equal legal status for English and French. The Quebec Community Groups Network — the principal English-language rights advocacy voice in the province — has warned that the loss of English-language rights in the federal private sector would be a slippery slope; that Quebec wouldn't stop there. Those two airport letters suggest they are right.

The Quebec election was a painful one for the anglophone community. QCGN sent letters to the main political parties, asking them for answers to a variety of minority-rights questions. Only the Liberals responded. Premier Legault, who also holds the title of minister responsible for relations with English-speaking Quebecers, refused to meet at all with QCGN,

or even the editorial board of the Montreal Gazette. The cordiality he had shown in 2018 was now gone. I was reminded of something that my former boss, former Commissioner of Official Languages Graham Fraser, wrote in *Policy Magazine* in 2018, just before the Quebec election that year. In that article Fraser, then working as a journalist, described covering Legault's first speech to his riding association back in 1998 and hearing Legault describe how he had grown up with anglophones in Montreal's West Island and how, "I hate them as much as you do."

In the last week of the Quebec election campaign, there was a revealing development on Parliament Hill relating to Quebec and language. MPs were called to vote on Bill C-238.

This private member's bill brought forward by Bloc Québécois MP Claude de Bellefeuille contains a provision to ensure that "any federal work, undertaking or business operating in Quebec is subject to the requirements of the Charter of the French Language." In other words, not just the federally regulated private sector, but the public sector, too. NDP MPs voted in favour of the bill, as did Bloc MPs. It's not clear whether the NDP realized going into that vote that the concluding paragraph of the new Bill 101 as amended by Bill 96 is where Quebec invokes the notwithstanding clause, meaning the party voted to approve the pre-emptive use of the notwithstanding clause to suppress minority rights.

There was some suspense as to how the Conservatives would vote. After all, O'Toole had made a promise, but the party had a new leader – Pierre Poilievre, who had won the leadership just three weeks earlier. As it happened, the Conservatives voted no, as did the Liberals, so C-238 was defeated. But the Conservative no was a tepid one. Party official languages critic Joël Godin explained, "Let's just say that a private member's bill is much weaker than a government bill."

Whether Canadians outside of Quebec care at all about C-13 or language is questionable. During the time that I spent at the Office of the Commissioner, there was a sense internally that the country is changing, that multiculturalism has become more important to Canadians than official languages as a defining national value. Many of my colleagues had come to believe that Bill 21 — containing the restrictions on what public servants can wear — represents a far greater potential threat to national unity than Bill 96.

> ***"From a Quebec nationalist perspective, pre-emptive use of the notwithstanding clause in Bills 21 and 96 is intended as a unilateral declaration of autonomy within Canada for Quebec, at least on issues relating to identity."***

There is some evidence for this. The government of Manitoba has pledged to intervene against Bill 21 in the Supreme Court, while the cities of Winnipeg and Toronto, among others, have voted to help fund the plaintiffs. By contrast, opposition to Bill 96 has been quite mild, although public opinion could change as court challenges to that law as well rise up to the SCC.

Bill 21 will be the first of the two pieces of legislation to reach the high court. The Quebec Court of Appeal has reserved the weeks of November 7th and 14th to hear two different appeals of the Quebec Superior Court Bill 21 ruling from April 2021. Most likely the SCC will hear its own appeal in 2024, a year ahead of the scheduled 2025 federal election.

What Bills 21 and 96 have in common is the pre-emptive use of the notwithstanding clause. In his ruling on Bill 21, Quebec Superior Court Justice Marc-André Blanchard said the law is unconstitutional but valid nonetheless, given Quebec's use of the notwithstanding clause. However, Blanchard raised several questions about the clause, including its pre-emptive use, that appeal court judges are expected to address. In May of this year, federal Justice Minister David Lametti announced the Liberal government had decided that it will, after all, intervene in the Bill 21 appeal, once it reaches the SCC.

From a Quebec nationalist perspective, pre-emptive use of the notwithstanding clause in Bills 21 and 96 is intended as a unilateral declaration of autonomy within Canada for Quebec, at least on issues relating to identity. Close readers of Policy Magazine will have noticed that former primer minister Brian Mulroney had nothing good to say about the clause in an interview with editor L. Ian MacDonald in the September-October issue.

But Mulroney isn't the Conservative leader anymore, Poilievre is. O'Toole may have promised Legault that a Conservative government led by him would not intervene in the courts against Quebec on Bill 21. On the other hand, an important Conservative value is at stake – freedom of religion. How the Poilievre Conservatives position themselves on Bill 21 will bear watching.

But here's the takeaway:

Twice since 1980 there have been referendums in Quebec to take Quebec out of Canada. Now there's a government in Quebec working to take Canada out of Quebec.

Suddenly, it's not just Quebec anymore.

For the new premier of Alberta, Danielle Smith, inspired by the Legault government, is pledging to do the same thing with her new "sovereignty" bill.

And, in a wider political context in which democratic disruption has become a strategic value all its own, the real target seems to be the power of the Canadian government. P

Contributing Writer David Johnston served as Regional Representative in Quebec and Nunavut of the federal Commissioner of Official Languages from 2014 to July 2022. Previously, he worked at The Montreal Gazette for 33 years, concluding as editorial page editor.



Danielle Smith on the day she became leader of the United Conservative Party and incoming premier of Alberta. As Lee Richardson notes, a leadership campaign is one thing, a general election, coming next May, could be quite another. --*CBC*

Danielle Smith and the Alberta Version of Tactical Populism

In a provincial adaptation of Pierre Poilievre's path to power, Danielle Smith has repurposed the populist playbook for an Alberta divided by pandemic propaganda, economic uncertainty and old-fashioned anti-Ottawa sentiment. Former federal Conservative MP and veteran Alberta political advisor Lee Richardson explores the sources and implications of Smith's surprising ascendancy.

Lee Richardson

On October 11, Danielle Smith was sworn in as the 19th Premier of Alberta. With many in Alberta and a lot more outside the province still marveling at the implosion of Jason Kenney, they are now asking, "how did this happen?"

Kenney came to Alberta in a new blue pickup truck, portraying himself as a true-blue Albertan, but he was soon seen as "all hat and no cattle", failing to define who was and what he stood for. To a growing segment of aggrieved Albertans, particularly rural Albertans, Smith is the real deal. She bluntly speaks of the unspoken issues to those who feel they've had no voice. Those who feel forgotten, ignored or left behind are not all in rural Alberta.

This is not the politically homogenous Alberta of Peter Lougheed. The province is divided. A broadening base of Albertans is disillusioned, frustrated, defiant.

Defiance is often an impulse to avoid change — to keep things the way they are (or were, in better times). Many Albertans feel they have compromised too often, remained silent for too long. Tired of feeling that if they questioned public policy, they were not only wrong, but bad people. Many feel that more than just their populist grievances are sneered at by elites, but that their very essence is under attack; their traditional, fundamental values and beliefs threatened.

No longer simmering in the sanctuary of their churches, or festering in more extreme alliances or new fringe parties, the growing resentment found cohesion in an unlikely catalyst.

While COVID-19 was the death knell of Kenney in Alberta, his protegé, Pierre

Poilievre, had capitalized on its surprising significance in the federal Conservative leadership contest by backing anti-mandate protesters in the blockades of Ottawa and Canada-US border crossings. His strident messaging brought thousands of new supporters to the party and his leadership campaign.

Danielle Smith saw an untapped source of new supporters for her campaign and the link that would give her the edge in a then-tight leadership race in Alberta. Already opposed to mandates, she eagerly and decisively won support at the epicentre of the anti-vaxxer minority and captured the sympathies, organization and funding of the base. Brooks-Medicine Hat is the constituency Smith chose to contest in the November 8 byelection to gain the new premier a seat in the provincial legislature. Coincidentally, Medicine Hat is the home of Tamara Lich, a primary organizer of the blockades in Ottawa as well as a spokesperson, organizer and fundraiser for the protest. Lich is currently facing trial on a number of mischief and obstruction charges stemming from the blockades.

Television images of the chaos in Ottawa and the threat of violence at the Coutts, Alberta, border crossing had offended Albertans and their respect for the rule of law, public order, and common decency. Most Albertans felt a collective responsibility to get vaccinated and wear a mask for the benefit of the community, some thinking it was selfish if not downright irresponsible to object to vaccination or mandates for other than legitimate medical reasons.

Still, beneath the public disdain there lingered a growing empathy for the underlying causes of the movement and a shared sympathy for those the hardships the COVID mandates and lock downs had caused. What began as an anti-mandate protest had grown into a symbolic catch-all for broader populist grievances, captured in a new, vague propaganda-friendly redefinition of "freedom". It became personal.

To Albertans whose health concerns were outweighed by the fact that they could not work from home, were out of work, had children out of school, or otherwise had their lives disrupted by COVID-related restrictions, the mandated lockdowns seemed disproportional, unfair and overreaching.

Street Church pastor Artur Pawlowski, well known for his "Defense of Christianity" as well as organizing anti-gay and anti-abortion protests in front of Calgary's City Hall, saw his small group of regulars grow to hundreds marching in the streets when he added "anti-mandate" to his rhetoric. Pawlowski has been accused of organizing, promoting and attending illegal gatherings, including church services that ignored Alberta's COVID-19 rules on masking and physical distancing. One of the principal organizers of anti-mandate protests across Alberta, Pawlowski was arrested by Alberta RCMP and charged under the Critical Infrastructure Defence Act in relation to the Coutts border protest.

> ***"Many Albertans feel they have compromised too often, remained silent for too long. Tired of feeling that if they questioned public policy, they were not only wrong, but bad people."***

But expressions of anti-mandate resentment, frustration and anger were not confined to the usual rabble-rousing suspects. In Mirror, Alberta, restaurateur Christopher Scott ignored Public Health Act gathering restrictions by refusing to close his Whistle Stop Café during COVID lockdowns and made national headlines, as CTV News reported, "attracting swarms of supporters to his door".

GraceLife Church on the outskirts of Edmonton drew international attention after the arrest of pastor James Coates for continuing to hold over-capacity indoor services despite surging COVID infections and multiple public health orders. Parishioners were said to believe that the pandemic is not real and was made up by government. The church's lawyer said, "Their first loyalty is to obey God, not government". Christianity Today (which the *Washington Post* calls "evangelicalism's flagship magazine) wrote, "The GraceLife case has drawn the attention of those both in Canada and the US who fear government overreach during pandemic."

The Statement of Principles of the United Conservative Party of Alberta begins,

"As a party, we stand united on the following principles that guide our vision for a stronger Alberta:

A robust civil society made up of free individuals, strong families, and volunteer associations.

Freedom of speech, worship and assembly…"

In her leadership acceptance speech, Smith spoke to those principles and defended her proposed, more politically significant Alberta Sovereignty Act, which would grant the legislature discretion to refuse to enforce federal laws and court decisions. "No longer will Alberta ask for permission from Ottawa to be prosperous and free," she said. "We will not have our voices silenced and censored." The loudest cheer from supporters came with, "We will not be told what we must put in our bodies in order to work or travel."

In her first meeting with the UPC caucus, the incoming premier asked for and received support of the Sovereignty Act and made it clear her cabinet would be in solidarity on the issue. The Sovereignty Act trumped all other issues and all other contenders by combining grievance populist issues, standing up to Ottawa, and purportedly protecting our freedom.

Smith had identified the strongest wedge between herself and other candidates, seized the anti-mandate/lockdown sentiment and parlayed the issue to gain the required support, as had Poilievre. Two politicians for whom success had remained elusive based on more authentic politics — for Poilievre over 18 years as a gadfly MP and cabinet minister and for Smith as the failed leader of the Wildrose Party — had found success by other means.

Despite criticism of the Sovereignty Act, Smith says she won't back down, although she walked it back on her first day in office, saying Alberta would comply with any constitutional decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada. Nor will she apologize for declaring the unvaccinated as "the most discriminated against group" in her lifetime. She either believes that, or at least believes that is what her supporters want to hear.

In any event, by the end of the brief sitting of the Alberta Legislature, likely November 29 to December 22, both issues may well be forgotten. A watered down, constitutionally correct Sovereignty Act will be introduced, debated and passed. The dogs will bark, but the caravan moves on.

Premier Smith and a United Conservative Party will plan to begin the new year with a clean slate and a focus on a winning platform for a general election ahead in the spring. January will provide time for renewal, policy development, budget preparation and election readiness. Less optimistic UPC MLAs and some current ministers may "take a walk in the snow" to contemplate their own future in a Smith government and their potential of defeat in May. Some may decide their best option is to resign before the spring session begins.

> ***"Tired of fighting with perceived external enemies and negative rhetoric, voters want to know what the parties stand for, not just what or whom they're against."***

Smith will have to unite the fractured party and present a clear, positive platform to Alberta voters to remain in office. Current polls suggest an NDP victory or at least that the election is theirs to lose. Opposition Leader Rachel Notley must begin to appear as a premier-in-waiting. Albertans yearn for leadership, integrity and competence. Not all conservatives have moved to the hard right, not even in the UCP. It should be noted that it took six ballots of the pre-cast preferential vote for Smith to reach majority territory at 56 percent. A centrist constituency is looking for a place to call home.

Tired of fighting with perceived external enemies and negative rhetoric, voters want to know what the parties stand for, not just what or whom they're against. Speaking at a recent *Policy Magazine* lunch in Ottawa, pollster David Coletto said, "It's becoming more about what voters don't like than what they do. The big question is, how do you find the balance between being an acceptable alternative to enough people but at the same time being compelling enough that you motivate your base to come out and vote for you."

On or about May 29, Alberta voters will decide which candidate provided the right answer. P

Contributing Writer Lee Richardson, a former Chief of Staff to Alberta premiers Peter Lougheed and Alison Redford, also served as an Alberta MP under prime ministers Brian Mulroney and Stephen Harper. He lives in Calgary.



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Column / Don Newman

Canada's Place in a Changing Global Economy

The mantra is a familiar one: "Canada is a trading nation. It must be out in the world dealing and exchanging goods with as many countries as possible."

Canadian politics are soon to be dominated by a three-way debate about the country's economic future. A debate that could stand that premise on its head, reshape how Canada does international business and guarantees its international security. The arguments will be put forward by factions in the governing Liberal Party and will resonate in the Conservatives in the Official Opposition. And it could affect the supply and confidence agreement between the governing Liberals and the New Democrats that is meant to keep the Trudeau government in office until 2025.

The debate will partially centre around how and if Canada should use its remarkable stocks of natural gas, hydrogen and oil that are increasingly in demand in an energy-starved world that is becoming more constrained by shifting geopolitical rivalries and realities.

And it will also centre around how quickly Canada can shift its trading patterns and reposition its supply chains to eliminate autocratic governments and replace them to do business with democratic friends and allies that share our values.

Canada has pledged to hit the target to limit GHG emissions to net zero by 2050. But can Canada develop those resources for its own use and for foreign export markets and still be a leader in global efforts to reduce GHG emissions both in this country and worldwide?

Environmentalists say the target can be attainted if Canada restricts the development of its resources, pursues alternative fuel sources, practises conservation and places a cap on the use of carbon energy sources and a carbon tax to dissuade the use of carbon-based fuels.

Pragmatists say all conservation measures have a place in the Canadian economy, but that resources still have to be further developed, pipelines and other infrastructure built and export markets for natural gas, hydrogen and oil vigorously perused. As global warming and its impact on climate and weather disruptions become more apparent, people and governments become more cognizant of the dangers that could lie ahead.

But the global energy crisis triggered by Russia weaponizing the energy it usually sells and ships to Europe as part of its war against Ukraine, has made Europe and other parts of the globe realize they have to find other sources to meet its energy needs. With its abundant supplies Canada is a sought after supplier.

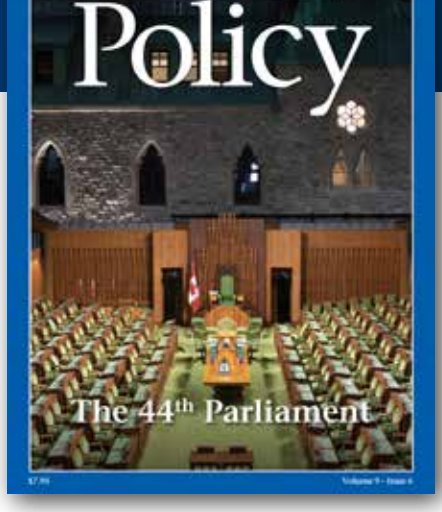
The current Liberal government of Justin Trudeau is the "greenest" in history. But it is also the government that's twinning the Trans Mountain pipeline and on its watch a liquefied natural gas (LNG) pipeline line is about 70 percent finished to transport gas across British Columbia to the West Coast for export. The facts of economic life have forced it to be that way.

Those are just the projects now under development. The basis of the world economy is shifting, and Canada will be forced to shift along with it. The Russian invasion of Ukraine is at the moment just the most visible part. The increasing belligerence of China in the Asia-Pacific and particularly its increased pressure on Taiwan mean what has been the engine of a great deal of the world's growth for the past 30 years is going to change. China and the United States are already in a trade war and that only seems likely to worsen. Less significant overall but very significant to Canadians is that relations between our country and China are strained as they have not been in years.

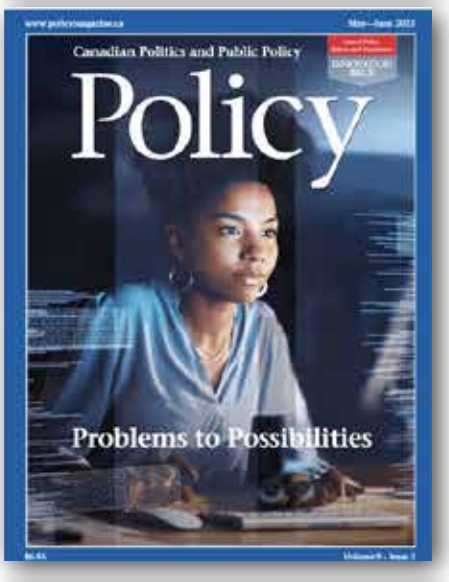
That is why, along with the energy issues Canada, will also have to redesign its economy to realign its supply chains and export markets with countries that are known friends rather than unpredictable enemies.

Recently in Washington, Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland made a speech calling for just such a new economic order. This would have countries with shared democratic values deepen their economic relations, reorient their supply chains to exclude adversarial, autocratic governments and strengthen energy and economic links. Such moves are necessary now, she said, because anyone who thinks democracies can have normal economic relations with countries like Russia and China is engaged in wishful thinking. P

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









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Policy

François Legault's Next Fed-Prov Test: Immigration

The October 3rd Quebec election mattered on a number of fronts, not the least of which as a boosted mandate for Premier François Legault's challenges to the status quo federal-provincial division of power, notably through the use of the notwithstanding clause of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. McGill Institute for the Study of Canada Director Daniel Béland breaks down the implications.

Daniel Béland

On the evening of October 3rd, just before 8:00 pm, the time when official results of the 2022 Quebec elections would start trickling in, I was discussing the anticipated victory of the Coalition Avenir Québec (CAQ) with several journalists gathered at the stunning Théâtre Capitole in Quebec City. This is where the party had organized its election night victory bash, a fitting location for what was widely expected to be a celebratory evening for the incumbent government. The question we discussed was not whether the CAQ would return to power with a majority but how long it would take for the major networks to announce this foregone conclusion. In the end, not long after 8:00 pm, it took barely 10 minutes for one of the networks to predict that François Legault's party was heading towards a majority government.

When the dust had settled, we realized the true scope of the CAQ's victory: with 41 percent of the votes, the party had won 90 seats out of 125, an impressive score indeed. Remaining in power after winning 16 more seats than it won in the 2018 Quebec elections, the CAQ still faces a fragmented opposition led by a much- weakened Liberal Party of Quebec (PLQ), which won 14.4 percent of the votes and 21 seats in total, 10 fewer than in 2018. Finishing in third place, the left-wing Québec Solidaire (QS) party got 15.4 percent of the popular vote but only 11 seats, one more than they had won four years ago. As for the Parti Québécois (PQ), it received 14.6 percent of the votes and only three seats, Finally, the Conservative Party of Quebec got nearly 13 percent of the votes but failed to elect a single MNA.

> ***"If immigration is a major issue within Quebec domestic politics, it is also an issue that has major implications for intergovernmental relations between the province and the federal government."***

Clearly, the current electoral system advantages the CAQ, which is why Premier Legault, who had supported electoral reform back in 2018, when his party was in the opposition, is now supporting the first-past-the-post status quo.

Having won so many seats and facing such a fragmented opposition, the CAQ under Legault is absolutely dominant in all the regions of Quebec, except in the big cities, especially Montreal, where the LPQ and QS won most of the seats, beating the CAQ and the PQ, which ended up with respectively two and one seats out of 27 on the island of Montreal. This situation reflects the fact that the CAQ is especially popular among older francophone voters, who are underrepresented in Montreal compared to other parts of the province.

Paradoxically, due to the prominence of the debate over immigration and its perceived link to the future of French language, Montreal is a major political issue for the CAQ, something that became clear during the campaign when then-Minister of Immigration, Francization and Integration Jean Boulet uttered controversial remarks about immigration, stating that "80 percent of immigrants go to Montreal, do not work, do not speak French or do not adhere to the values of Quebec society." Although Legault condemned this statement from Boulet and said that he had "disqualified" himself as an immigration minister, the Premier himself made controversial remarks about immigration during the campaign, for instance saying that increasing the number of immigrants admitted to Quebec right now would be "suicidal" for the French-speaking majority in the province.

These controversies point to the perceived link between immigra-



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Quebec Premier François Legault meet in Montreal in May 2019. -- *Adam Scotti*

tion, which remains concentrated in the Montreal area, and the future of the French language, which is seen as facing an existential threat by many francophones in the province. In this context, Quebec nationalists are now prioritizing what is known as the francisation des immigrants, something clearly stressed by the current name of the department in charge of immigration policy in the province: the Ministry of Immigration, Francization and Integration. Beyond language, in Quebec immigration is also tied to the ongoing debate over systemic racism, a term Premier Legault has long rejected, arguing that, although there are racists in Quebec, there is no system of racism in the province, a controversial and problematic view that has strained relationships between the CAQ government and both racialized minorities and Indigenous peoples.

If immigration is a major issue within Quebec domestic politics, it is also an issue that has major implications for intergovernmental relations between the province and the federal government. This is the case because, in the name of the protection of the French language, the CAQ is advocating for gaining more powers from Ottawa in the field of immigration policy. Since the signing, in 1991, of the Canada-Québec Accord relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens, the province has gained major powers over immigration and the integration of newcomers, something that has paved the way to a regionalization of immigration policy across the country, documented by Mireille Paquet in her book "Province Building and the Federalization of Immigration in Canada".

Yet, although Quebec has more autonomy in the field of immigration than any other province, the 2022 CAQ platform states that, "The time has come for Ottawa to accept that Quebec has all the necessary powers welcoming and integrating its immigrants while giving them the means to learn the French language if they do not already master it." More specifically, beyond the provincial selection of economic immigrants currently in place, the Legault government seeks control over the selection of both temporary foreign workers and immigrants admitted in the name of family reunification.

> *"In the context of immigration policy and well beyond, the re-election of the strongly nationalistic and autonomist CAQ poses a direct intergovernmental challenge to the Trudeau government."*

On the day after the CAQ's victory, however, both Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and federal Heritage Minister Pablo Rodriguez did not express support for these demands, the latter claiming that the province "has the tools in hand right now to select the vast majority of its immigrants" and that the Quebec government should simply do more to use the power it already has in this contested policy area. Typically defiant when dealing with the Trudeau government and claiming to have a strong electoral mandate to move forward with his immigration demands, Legault declared that "If Quebecers want the Quebec government to have more powers over immigration, nobody will be able to resist this."

In this context, we can expect more intergovernmental clashes between Ottawa and Quebec City over immigration in the months and perhaps the years to come. The CAQ won big on October 3rd but Premier Legault knows that his electoral success is grounded in an autonomist form of nationalism that stops short of sovereignty but seeks to protect and increase provincial powers. Stopping short of promoting sovereignty and rejecting the idea of a new referendum on the topic, to keep his electoral coalition together, he needs to make bold immigration demands vis-à-vis the Trudeau government partly because he needs to demonstrate a strong commitment to both provincial autonomy and the protection of the French language.

Ultimately, from a political standpoint, it is irrelevant whether Rodriguez and others are right about the fact that Quebec already has all the immigration power it needs to protect and promote French in the province because Legault's stance in immigration is highly charged both electorally and symbolically, which probably means it is unlikely to go away anytime soon, and may indeed play out more for political than for substantive purposes.

In the context of immigration policy and well beyond, the re-election of the strongly nationalistic and autonomist CAQ poses a direct intergovernmental challenge to the Trudeau government, who will need as many seats as possible in Quebec to remain in power when the time comes for the next federal elections. While the installation of Danielle Smith as the new premier of Alberta portends a whole other source of intergovernmental tension, electorally speaking, the Belle Province is much more important for the federal Liberals than Alberta.

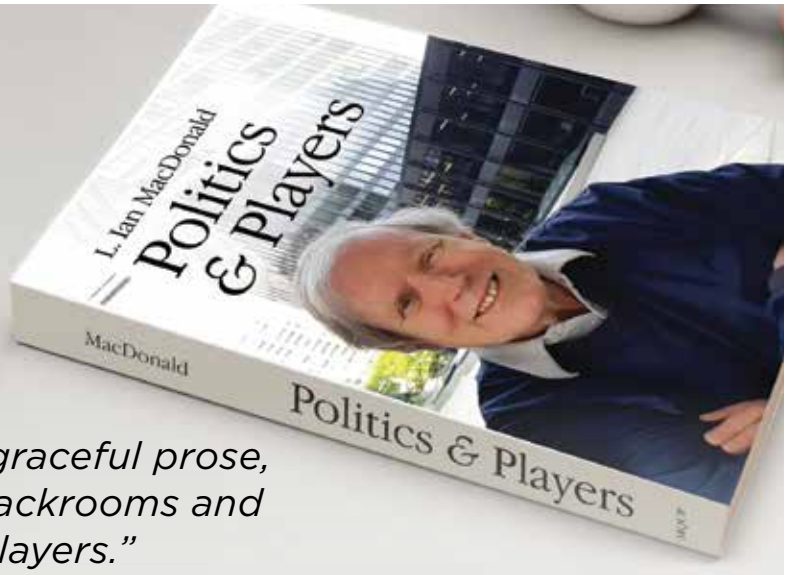
Handling Premier Legault without alienating francophone Quebec voters could prove very challenging. In immigration policy and beyond, Legault has identified more provincial autonomy as a core priority. That the Trudeau government is likely to struggle with his demands may be a political premium of that strategy. P

Policy Contributor 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.

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King Charles III and the Kingdom of Canada

The death of Queen Elizabeth II on September 8th unleashed an outpouring of affection for Britain's longest-serving monarch in Canada and around the world. While the transition to the reign of King Charles has been seamless, writes Carleton University governance and constitutional scholar Philippe Lagassé, it may also be time for Canada to consider the nature of its relationship to the Crown, even if the fundamentals will not be changing anytime soon.

Philippe Lagassé

King Charles III's succession to the throne has been seamless. The Queen's death was absorbed with a proper period of mourning and reflection, with the new King carefully balancing his personal grief and the responsibilities of his new office. Aside from one rather pathetic attempt to make a "gotcha" moment out of the King's frustration with a leaky pen, Charles III has defied critics who hoped that his accession would be accompanied by missteps and public skepticism.

The beginning of the King's reign has been marked by a sense of continuity and stability in the United Kingdom. These are early days, of course, but there are currently no indications that the succession will affect British support for the monarchy.

The situation in the King's other realms is different. Jamaica and the Bahamas are likely to become republics in Charles III's lifetime. This may lead other, smaller realms to reconsider their relationship with the monarchy as well. New Zealand is unlikely to become a republic in the near future, though an Australian move in that direction might trigger a more serious consideration of the question. Australia's commitment to the monarchy — which prevailed in a 1999 referendum with 55 percent support — is fragile, and if Australian republicans can agree on an alternative to the monarchy, they could very well win a referendum and begin the long, complicated steps required to bring about the transition.

> ***"The only way to end the monarchy in Canada would arguably be for the UK to become a republic, yet even that shock might not be enough."***

Anyone who has followed the Canadian republican debate knows that it would be practically impossible to sever our ties with the British monarchy. Canadian courts have told us that we automatically take the British monarch as the Sovereign of Canada. We did not patriate any laws of royal succession when Canada became independent from the United Kingdom in 1982. Instead, we decided to leave matters of royal succession with the British Parliament, with Canada's Parliament merely expressing its assent to any changes the UK makes to its rules.

Altering this arrangement would likely require the agreement of all provincial legislatures and the houses of the federal Parliament. A republican alternative to the Crown, meanwhile, would almost certainly require this unanimous amending procedure. Moreover, since the Crown is a party to treaties with Indigenous peoples, and the honour of the Crown is central to Canada's relationship with Indigenous peoples, one could argue that constitutional convention requires that they be consulted before Canada were to replace the monarchy. A replacement for the Crown in the constitution would need to be accepted as a new treaty partner and an equal fount of honour.

Any effort to replace the Crown in the Canadian constitution, therefore, faces the dual challenge of reaching an agreement on an alternative and the seemingly insurmountable veto points provided by our amending formula. Indeed, the only way to end the monarchy in Canada would arguably be for the UK to become a republic, yet even that shock might not be enough, depending on how Canadian courts would interpret how we know who holds the office of the Sovereign in the absence of a British monarch.

The Canadian Crown, then, is not going away anytime soon. While the Canadian public is increasingly indifferent toward the monarchy, the institution is more entrenched here than anywhere else. In keeping with Canadian tradition, there will still be quarterly op-eds in major newspapers imploring us to move on from the monarchy, but these will accomplish little.

Many Canadians will rightly question the Crown's role in colonization, oppression, and systemic racism in Canada, yet abandoning the institution

cannot be offered as a viable option to address these wrongs for the foreseeable future. Once Canadians accept this, we may be able to stop focusing on form and pay greater attention to substance. Simply put, the real question we have before us is not whether to retain the Crown, but what we want our monarchy to look like.

The new King's approach to his reign may help us here. Charles III is apparently committed to reducing the number of working royals and tightening the monarchy's spending. Fewer working royals may mean fewer royal visits to Canada and less royal involvement with various Canadian charities, non-profits, and military regiments. These relationships may endure, of course, but they should not be taken for granted. Generational shifts may make royal patronage less appealing and fewer working royals make lead organizations to look elsewhere. The Britishness of the royal family could help propel this change as well. Younger members of the royal family can often be seen supporting British national teams and taking part in patriotic events. As much as monarchists in other realms may insist that the royals are not uniquely British, this sentiment sounds increasingly misplaced.

A smaller, less expensive royal family, furthermore, is likely to be still more locally focused under Charles III. While the King will still serve as the dutiful monarch of all his realms, he and his family will likely be less present outside of the British Isles, particularly as some of the remaining realms become republics. Should this occur, Canada would do well to take its cue from the King. Very few Canadians clamour for royal tours, and while the King should be invited to visit on occasion, it may suit the interests of both the royal family and the Canadian government to make them far less frequent.

In the UK, the Royal Mint has already announced a new coin featuring the King's effigy. Australian coins will soon feature Charles III as well. The Royal Canadian Mint has not yet done the same, though it is highly likely that the King will soon appear on Canada's coins. Removing the Sovereign's image from the coinage would be such a break with established practice that it would be seen as bad form at best, and a clear insult at worst. Crowns will also continue to adorn the crests of state agencies, and royal monikers will surely be left in place.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau with the then-Prince of Wales, now King Charles III, in Ottawa in May 2022. -- *Adam Scotti*

Yet there are a number of other symbols that could change. Queen Elizabeth may very well stay on the 20-dollar bill for some time. If and when she is replaced, we encourage a debate about who should take her place. King Charles may win out, but even monarchists should want this to be seen as a considered decision, rather than the default.

The citizenship oath to the monarch should be re-examined as well, if only because it fosters confusion and is arguably a form of compelled speech. Australia's oath of citizenship is to the state, its people, and Australian democracy, which provides a clearer sense of what we are asking new citizens to show loyalty toward.

Canadians could look at institutional changes as well, depending on how directly they want the King involved in Canada's affairs. The Governor General could appoint their own successor under the Letters Patent 1947. This could be done without fully supplanting the King's prerogative, which could be left in place to dismiss errant Governors General. The Canadian government could also explore an amendment to section 26 of the Constitution Act 1867, which empowers the monarch to appoint additional senators on the recommendation of the Governor General. If this section could be amended by Parliament alone, it could be updated to remove the Sovereign from the equation, leaving the appointment of additional senators at the sole discretion of the Governor General. Since this change would better insulate the King from potential Canadian controversies, the reform may be welcomed by the Palace.

Adopting these measures will displease fervent monarchists and republicans alike. Monarchists will chafe at efforts to diminish the role of the Crown and royal family in Canadian affairs. Republicans will complain that 'monarchy-lite' is not enough. Most Canadians, though, will likely be fine with it. The monarchy is here to stay, but Canadians should be able to happily ignore it. As King Charles looks to firm up "the firm" in the UK, leaving his Canadian kingdom to its own devices may suit him just fine, too. **P**

Contributing Writer Philippe Lagassé is an Associate Professor and Barton Chair at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University.



Putin, writes Jeremy Kinsman, embodies "the worst combination of ego, autocratic instinct and longevity in uncontested power." But at the end the day, the Russian people themselves will determine his fate. — *CBC image*

Putin vs. the Russian People

Over the last decade of his more than two decades as absolute ruler of Russia, Vladimir Putin has repulsed domestic opposition, re-pressing civil society and human rights defenders in the Russian iteration of anti-democracy operations worldwide. But, as former Canadian Am-bassador to Russia Jeremy Kinsman writes, Putin's increasingly dysfunc-tional relationship with the Russian people has its roots in the trauma of the last century as well as in the power abuses of this one.

Jeremy Kinsman

Part One: The Despot's War

For weeks before Russia invaded Ukraine on February 24, US intelligence agencies had publicly predicted it was Vladimir Putin's intention. Most experts and commenta-tors, even most NATO countries, believed he was bluffing to intimidate Ukraine into debilitating concessions. If Russians did cross the border, they expected only a limited demo thrust of armour, to cow Ukraine into submission. A brazen full invasion was deemed unthinkable — an 18th century power play that had no place in 21st century Europe. Besides, how could Russia occupy a country of 44 million?

In ordering his armed forces to take the capital, Kyiv, to decapitate the Ukrainian government, to occupy the country and end its existence as a sovereign state, Putin stared down the objections of a stunned world trying to grasp how it had got him so wrong.

Putin's obsession with making Russia great again had indeed been spun into delusion by his addiction to 18th century assumptions beyond our imagination, mainly that "might means right." But having misread almost everything, Putin's plan of conquest is failing. For the sake of the world, it must fail.

That great idiom about fate — "Cometh the hour, cometh the Man" — has a wor-thy personification in Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky. At the outset, US officials offered to spirit the Ukrainian leader to safety from the expected Russian juggernaut speeding toward Kyiv. Zelensky curtly retorted that what he needed was "ammunition, not a ride."

He has united a divided Ukraine to stanch the invasion, out-soldiering the Russian army, which has seemed incompetent in every task save criminal abuse of those places it briefly occupied. The high-tech arms for Ukraine to fight with have been invaluable, the US providing already over seven times the value of Ukraine's annual military budget.

Putin has miscalculated on every level. He believes a long war will work in his favour as Western will fractures against the divisive wear and tear of energy shortages and consequent inflation. But he has woefully underestimated the unity of Western countries, as German Chancellor Olaf Scholz promised recently in Prague, "for as long as it takes." Longer-term, the prognosis for the Russian economy is crippling. Russia's principal market for oil and gas, Europe, has already re-oriented long-term supply.

Born in the midst of Russia's horrible 20th century, Vladimir Putin is truly "homo sovieticus," suffering from limitations a closed totalitarian society imposed on its citizens, including ignorance about what makes

the rest of the world, especially Western democracies, tick. He misunderstands as weakness and decline the normal democratic cacophony of competing voices and forces in liberal democracies. He simply doesn't get it, and so he has got wrong the rapport de forces at every level of comparison, except possibly that of thermonuclear posture.

Putin is the worst combination of ego, autocratic instinct, and longevity in uncontested power. His competitive nature insists he be seen as the smartest person in any room. He is the nation's only decider, unnourished by contrary opinion, seeing himself as the only one strong enough to do the really rough things that his mis-sion calls for. His belief in the decisive impact of power is a great danger. He brandishes nuclear threats, believing his adversaries will buckle before him.

He is consumed by grievance over the perceived relegation of his country from imperial and superpower greatness to the world's B-Team. He has sought a coun-ter-narrative of Russian exceptionalism spun from cult-like historical musings of leadership of a Eurasian civilization. But his notion of "Russkiy mir," a "Russian world sphere," will mean a Russia alone in the world.

Putin especially doesn't get the post-Second World War normative interdiction of invasion of a neighbour. To Russians, the Second World War was about defending the motherland. To other victorious allies, the war's lesson for the ages was about "Never again"; the adoption of an irreducible new norm that would make a repeat of Europe's murderous wars unimaginable. Putin didn't get that our normally short-termist, competitive democratic leaders would defend the inviolable norm against invasion as an existential global necessity.

Putin was probably pleased when President Joe Biden and some others in the West at first described the Ukraine War as a clash between democracy and autocracy, on the assumption that it would turn off non-democratic members of the UN. He apparently hadn't expected that the wider world would increasingly wish — as a vote in the UN General Assembly on October 12 illustrates — to safeguard its dependence on the post-World War Two norm of defence of sovereignty. Even abstaining China and India have begun to express growing misgivings over the disruption of his war.

A champion of "whataboutism," Putin thought that the ultimately catastrophic US/UK invasion of Iraq in 2003, undertaken without international support (as en-joyed by the 1991 U.N. expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait), provided cover as a precedent.

But just as Americans eventually rejected the Iraq invasion as self-destructive, Russians will sooner or later turn against Putin's losing war on another country's soil. On September 21, any Russians still trying to ignore the war swiftly under-stood, when Putin ordered a partial military mobilization, that the war was now coming for them.

> ***"Vladimir Putin is truly "homo sovieticus," suffering from limitations a closed totalitarian society imposed on its citizens, including ignorance about what makes the rest of the world, especially Western democracies, tick."***

Part Two: 'Why Can't We Be Normal?'

When I was serving as Canada's ambassador to Russia during the early 1990s, the two-word answer most often heard to the ordinary question, "How are things?" (как дела?) was "Vsyo normalno...." (все нормально)

"Everything's normal."

It could mean anything. For instance:

- "My life is as much a sea of shit as ever."

- "What can we expect in this circus of a country?"

- "The thieves are getting richer."

- or, from *politsiya* to a rubbernecking driver slowing to gape at roadside bodies, "Move on".

But the fatalistic acceptance of what is "normal" has a flip side, that expresses the Russian wish to have "normal" lives, by the standards of the European world they welcomed joining thirty years ago.

In October 1993, a violent attempt to overturn the young democratic Yeltsin regime terrorized Moscow, the result of a struggle between the reformist executive and the Soviet-era parliament that resisted reforms amid rampant social and economic upheaval. The parliament declared a new president, and sent its private ar-my of Afghanistan war vets armed to the teeth on flatbed trucks racing along the ring road, shooting up the city and the TV tower, blanking the news out. No one knew who would win. By Monday morning, TV was back on to show tanks firing on the insurgent parliament (all but two shells were blanks), enough to end the coup. But 173 had died from the weekend's street fights (Not from the tanks, as some faulty Western memoirs have it). That morning, traumatized TV panels asked, aghast, "Why can't we be normal?"

There had been nothing "normal" about Russia's horrible 20th century. In 1937-38 about 1,000 citizens were executed per day, including most of the General Staff. Bullets to the back of the neck in the Lubyanka basement over two years of madness: artists, intellectuals, wise guys, and nobodies — 700,000 murdered, their families and tens of millions of others left traumatized.

PTSD can be an affliction to whole peoples, not just to traumatized individuals, even inter-generationally, as Helen Epstein describes in "Children of the Holocaust." Some countries cope with it: Henry Kissinger termed Germany "A normal country with an abnormal memory." But Russia's abnormal memory continues to hobble its citizens 3 - 4 generations after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

For Putin, that legacy of trauma, projected in a disproportionately defensive, vindictive relationship with power and a swaggering, compensatory nationalism, is playing out now in his treatment of Ukraine and belligerence toward the world.

The Russian people experienced two major breaks in domestic oppression in the 20th century: The Second World War and *glasnost*.

In 1941, Hitler's invasion substituted an external threat for internal terror. Rus-sians ultimately prevailed at the appalling cost of 26 million lives. Does Putin grasp that the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45, since revered as the touchstone of inherent Russian greatness, is the only war in 170 years the Russians have won? Because they were defending their homeland.

"In the 20th century, they lost to Japan in 1905, and to the Finns in 1940. The Russian Imperial Army collapsed in 1917, precipitating the October Revolution. And then, Afghanistan. In each ignominious defeat they were the invaders, defeated by peoples defending their homelands, as Ukrainians are doing today. Perhaps it explains why Putin is so keen to declare as annexed the still-unpossessed parts of the Donbas, to rally dubious Russians to a concocted script of patriotic self-defence.

The second major break from Soviet oppression was Mikhail Gorbachev's decision in 1986 to award citizens their freedom with *glasnost*. Gorbachev believed the burdensome psychological legacy of the past was an obstacle to the massive and unprecedented transformation from communism to its opposite that he intended — without really knowing how to implement it. (Who did? Certainly not Western "advisers" who didn't have a clue, apart from "shock therapy", which was much more shock than therapy.)

For a few years, euphoria reigned. Gorbachev created Memorial, the NGO devot-ed to researching the mass crimes conducted against Soviet citizens that Putin later suppressed and that has shared the 2022 Nobel Peace prize. The secret police were dismantled as a force of oppression. Gorbachev ended the Cold War. America was "approved" by 80 percent of Russians, Gorbachev by not much less.

It fell apart, doomed by incompetence, corruption and what former Washington Post correspondent David Remnick termed in *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*, the "wreckage of everyday life." The cops weren't banging on the door at 3 a.m. anymore, they were shaking down citizens at every traffic junction for a bribe. Men drank themselves to death, not knowing what to do with their "freedom."

Russians supported the break-up of the USSR, which Boris Yeltsin brokered in order to replace Gorbachev, ushering in the most non-violent end of any empire in history. But its loose ends stranded millions of ethnic Russians as minorities in new republics. Russians began to feel like losers.

At the conclusion of their frightful century, they placed their hope in a new president whose only promise in his New Year's Day acceptance speech was — ironi-cally in retrospect — to sustain democracy. In return, Russians accepted to settle down as part of a bargain in which Putin would deliver stability and security to the wrecked country.

Putin built his reputation on always doing what he promised. The missing caveat is always, "*what I believe in*." Putin never truly grasped democracy and in power soon ceased his efforts, subtracting still-fragile democratic space from early on.

He did deliver prosperity — or rather the soaring price of energy did. But after hunkering down for a decade, professionals, students, and the many who by then had travelled and experienced norms everywhere in the West, impatient over their own state of imposed political infantilism asked again, "Why can't we be more normal?" They poured into the streets in 2011. He cracked down with batons and jail.

Today, Russia has reverted to the old normal of a police state. Putin boasts that Russians are resilient, and will prevail in a long war. Analysts assess that 60 per-cent of Russians have gone along passively with Putin's war by not thinking about it, keeping their heads down out of PTSD muscle memory.

But Putin is right to fear the counter-resurgence of possibly more powerful Russian DNA. He saw revolution in East Germany. It scared him in 2011 in Russia. It is why he went so far as to condone the attempt to kill opposition figure Alexei Navalny. He knows that Russians can rise up.

To paraphrase Ernest Hemingway in *The Sun Also Rises*, when things fall apart, it happens first gradually, and then suddenly. By attacking a neighbour whose peo-ple were integrated into Russian psychology and habit, not as vassals, as Putin pre-tends, but as family, he riskily tested how far he could manage how people think. He has propaganda proxies assisting him in that effort; once superficially smooth international operators such as Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov and former President Dmitry Medvedev who now recite Putin's preposterous lies about Ukraine's "Nazi" regime, illustrating the damage done to the Russian psyche by living under lies for three generations.

Now, with the reality of mobilization, and at least 80,000 body bags, the war and Putin's lies are coming home to ordinary people. The recent escalation in long-range bombing of Ukrainians — who are defeating Russian soldiers close-up every day — won't win many Russian hearts and minds. As the young and bright take Russia's future to the exits, apprehension of generalized economic loss is growing. There is shame apparent that the very name "Russian" has been debased, undermining the most important asset of a leader in war — which even Stalin had in 1940-45 and that Zelensky enjoys a surplus of — the support and commitment of the people.

There was, several years ago, a scholars' debate in Russia as to whether it was in-deed "Putin's Russia" or, alternatively, whether he might be just "Russia's Putin," that anyone in that job would be doing more or less the same. Then, when what he was doing divided from what many people wanted, the slogan emerged of "Russiya bez Putina": "Russia without Putin."

Can Putin be fired? Sidled out? Usurped? By whom? In time, the people will decide Russia's fate. They have made Russian history before and will again. P

Contributing Writer Jeremy Kinsman is a former Ambassador to Moscow from 1992-96, High Commissioner to London as well as Ambassador to the EU and Rome. One of Canada's most experienced foreign affairs hands, he is now a Distinguished Fellow of the Canadian International Council.



President Joe Biden and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau at the G7 meeting in Germany in June 2022. --*Adam Scotti*

Managing the Clash of World Orders

Since the anti-democracy weaponization of political leadership became most egregiously apparent with the Trump presidency, global security has been hacked by a series of largely manmade crises — from a socioeconomically amplified pandemic to an economically disruptive war to the kamikaze preposterousness of Liz Truss's Brexit-chaser prime ministership — all of which have demanded responses from a rules-based order under systemic, narrative attack. Former longtime diplomat and current Canadian Global Affairs Institute fellow Colin Robertson advises on what the free world should do next.

Colin Robertson

In setting the stage for this year's annual United Nations General Assembly, Secretary General Antonio Guterres spoke of a world "blighted by war, battered by climate chaos, scarred by hate, and shamed by poverty, hunger, and inequality." Guterres warned that the "geostrategic divides" between the liberal democracies and autocracies are "the widest they have been since at least the Cold War."

Much of the rest of the world, including the most populous nations, many

of which aspire to great power-status — India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Nigeria, Brazil, Bangladesh, Mexico — hedge or equivocate in the titanic struggle between autocracy and democracy, committing only when it serves their own interests.

The Russian invasion of Ukraine is the latest in a series of catalytic events including the COVID pandemic and the pressing urgency for action on climate change. That turmoil is exacerbated by inflation, debt, disruptions of supply chains, and real shortages in food and energy. As Guterres ruefully acknowledges, the key multilateral institutions established after the Second World War to prevent conflict and manage a rules-based system are seemingly inadequate to the tasks.

After more than a decade of challenges by China and Russia to the rules-based, democracy-led world order — from China's use of its Belt and Road infrastructure project to debt-trap and corrupt fragile democracies into its autocratic orbit to Russia's annexation of Crimea — Moscow and Beijing seemed to be functioning on the assumption that the West could be either intimidated by coercion and belligerence or bought with trade and economic leverage. They also exploited and amplified diminishing faith in the power of our values both at home and abroad, as a propaganda asset.

For all its ambitions, the European Union has thus far failed to achieve its own strategic autonomy. The post-modern period in European security, when economic and soft power provided it with political leverage, has hit the wall of aspiring new world order tactical obstruction. European leaders had at least 16 years, starting from the first complete cut-off in Russian gas deliveries to Ukraine in winter 2006, to diversify gas supplies. Instead, they ignored the risks and increased their energy dependence on Russia.

With the war in Ukraine moving into its eighth month and no prospect of a ceasefire, we need to keep in mind the following:

First, hard security must be the priority for the liberal democracies.

Hard power is the language China and Russia understand best and they complement it with cyber-intrusions, misinformation, disinformation, and other interventions in the democratic process.

The United States remains the ultimate guarantor of security for the liberal democracies. The US provides the bulk of boots on the ground and the necessary armaments to deter and defend the rules-based order. Ukraine is a prime example. By a wide margin, the US is the biggest supplier of arms and money to Ukraine.

"Hard power is the language China and Russia understand best and they complement it with cyber-intrusions, misinformation, disinformation, and other interventions in the democratic process."

Joe Biden is set on restoring American leadership but it is a leadership conditioned on the allies pulling their weight and investing more in their own defence. So, the allies, including Canada, must share the burden of defence.

It should not be a heavy lift. The aggregate military expenditure of EU members is $225 billion, twice that of Russia's $100 billion military budget and roughly three-quarters of China's $290 billion. Europe has the capacity, with a GDP 30 times that of Russia and three times its population. Italy's (and Canada's) economy alone eclipses that of Russia.

But does the EU have the will?

Long-term stability in Europe and Asia will continue to depend on Washington's ability to build local balances of power and promote regional orders. Despite best efforts during the Trump administration, notably by the French, Germans and others, including Canada, without the US as backstop an Alliance for Multilateralism does not work.

Multipolarity means that the US will build ad hoc balancing coalitions like the QUAD and AUKUS. With the US main strategic focus "the growing multi-domain threat posed by the PRC", the Europeans must shoulder more responsibility for their defence while Canada must do more in the Arctic.

For Canadians and Europeans — especially the Germans — it means relearning the language of hard power. NATO, once derided by French President Emmanuel Macron as "brain dead", is now the most important organization on the European continent and it will coordinate more closely with Asian partners. Its new Strategic Concept designates Russia as the most "direct threat" to the Alliance and labels China as the "systemic challenge". Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg's August trip to the Canadian North was indicative that NATO will play a role in Arctic security.

New French Ambassador to Canada, Michel Miraillet, was blunt when he recently described Canada's defence capacity as "riding a first-class carriage with a third-class ticket" but he simply voiced publicly what his fellow NATO ambassadors say privately of Canada. Canada falls behind its NATO allies, spending just 1.36 percent of its GDP on defence, despite the 2014 commitment by all allies to reach 2 percent by 2024.

Testifying recently before the House of Commons Public Safety and National Security Committee, Chief of Defence Staff Wayne Eyre acknowledged that "readiness" in Canada's armed forces has declined and that "the military that we have today is not the military that we need for the threats that are appearing in the future."

Second, Russia and China are actively seeking to increase their global influence with non-aligned and neutral nations.

> *NATO, once derided by French President Emmanuel Macron as "brain dead", is now the most important organization on the European continent and it will coordinate more closely with Asian partners.*

China's Belt and Road initiative already includes 139 nations and China and Russia would like to elevate the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: China, India, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, Iran, Egypt and, eventually, Turkey if Tayyip Erdogan gets his way. The SCO is a rough counterpart for dictators to the G7 democracies that account for 29 percent of global GDP and 11 percent of global population). By contrast, the SCO represents one-third of global GDP, about 40 per cent of the world's population, and nearly two-thirds of the Eurasian landmass. It includes four nuclear powers.

Weakened by the Ukraine war, Putin has attempted to compensate for his battlefield losses by threatening the use of tactical nuclear weapons. His response to defeat in battle includes his unpopular mobilization of young Russian men to form new troops, the sabotage of the Nord stream 1 and 2 gas pipelines and the forced and fraudulent referendums leading to annexation of Ukrainian territory.

The sabotage of these pipelines — yet another example of hybrid warfare the most notable examples of which are Russian cyberattacks — should convince Europeans that they can never again become dependent on Russian energy. At its Madrid summit in June, NATO promised to boost its "resilience to cyber and hybrid threats". It now needs to develop a doctrine of response.

Third, the anti-autocracy coalition is nothing like as strong as we in the West would like to imagine.

The implications of a two-decade effort by China to gain influence in multilateral, especially the UN alphabet soup of agencies, are now becoming public. The UN Human Rights Council voted 19-17 (with 11 abstentions) to reject an American-led resolution to investigate a report by the UN Human Rights Commissioner alleging human rights abuses in China's Xinjiang province.

We draw heart from the UN votes on Russia's invasion of Ukraine: in early March 141 nations condemned the Russian invasion; in April suspending Russian membership in the Human Rights Council; and on October 12 when 143 nations called on Russia to reverse its annexation of the four Ukrainian provinces.

But when it comes to applying economic sanctions, those nations that have applied them — G7, EU, Norway, Switzerland, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Australia, and New Zealand — represent only 16 percent of the world's population.

And when it comes to helping Europe with energy, despite Joe Biden's fist-bump with Mohammed bin Salman and outreach to Arab nations by Western leaders, the West finds itself without friends inside the OPEC+ group for the first time in recent history following their decision to curtail rather than expand production.

Looking forward, as a first task the West must get its act together on the provision of energy and food. Otherwise, we face internal protest and more migrants from failed and failing states.

Canada is uniquely positioned to help our European allies. We have energy, food and fertilizer but we need better infrastructure to get it where it's needed. It will require the kind of 'Team Canada' effort we achieved during the Second World War and since.

The Ukraine war underlines the debate on values versus interests. Abandoning or soft-pedaling the values dimension towards Russia and China in favour of the Realpolitik of market access is a mistake. We cannot depend on Russia for energy, nor on China for critical minerals and strategic goods.

The Ukraine conflict also reminds us that leadership, intelligence, arms and allies all matter. But so do morale and the conviction you are fighting for something you believe in. Narratives are important and our messaging needs to hammer home that Russia has violated territorial sovereignty and, indefensibly, broken the rules of war in its treatment of civilians.

If the autocracies are the external threat, the internal challenge to democracies come from home-bred would-be autocrats, among other sources. There was a hope after the Biden and Macron victories that the nativism and populism leveraged by Brexit, Trump, Modi and Bolsonaro had run its course. It now appears that the force of populism and its underlying drivers that go back to the 2008 financial crisis as well as the inequalities created by globalization and the power of social media are very durable.

The challenge from within, encouraged and supported by outside forces, is real. It is something our increasingly borderless and well-sourced operational intelligence communities are now addressing. We have seen the value of making their intelligence public to discredit, for example, the Russian false narrative on Ukraine and on Russian interference in democratic elections. Their work should not be limited to documenting anti-democratic behaviour within our nations. They also need increase their deterrent capacities to meet the new challenges of hybrid warfare including hacking, narrative engineering and disruption.

The defining divide of our time is not that of right versus left but between democracy – and its fundamental open nature - versus autocracies' essentially closed systems. And the menace within is as serious as the threat from afar. P

Policy Contributing Writer Colin Robertson, a former career diplomat, is Vice President and Fellow at the Canadian Global Affairs Institute in Ottawa.

An Agenda for a Viable News Publishing Industry

Among the many elements contributing to the devaluation of democracy over the past two decades, the financial and reputational weakening of journalism has been a key factor. Most recently, the Big Tech platforms that both compete with news organizations commercially and undermine the truth by disseminating propaganda have reached a compromise with mainstream publishers in democracies that, for now, seems to satisfy both. How will Canada adapt that model in a way that protects its citizens in an evolving information ecosystem?

Jamie Irving and Paul Deegan

In a column published in September, David Walmsley, editor-in-chief of the *Globe and Mail* wrote, "Making a positive difference to someone's life is the greatest gift a journalist can give. Perhaps an individual is heard for the first time, or an injustice is settled. Those moments when a news editor picks up a phone to hear a scared voice say, 'You are all I have left, I have nowhere else to turn.' The last stand between hope and defeat. It is a sacred contract, as old as journalism itself."

Spot on. The question is: how do we ensure journalism not only survives but thrives in the digital age?

Clearly, the news publishing industry is challenged. After peaking at more than $4.6 billion in 2008, Canadian newspaper revenues fell to below $1.5 billion in 2020. During that period, Google and Facebook saw their combined Canadian revenue grow from a little over $1 billion to over $8 billion. Today, Google and Facebook enjoy more than 80 percent of online advertising revenues.

As a result, we've seen community papers shuttered, page counts reduced, and far too many good journalists let go.

During the 2021 federal election campaign, the Liberals, the Conservatives and New Democrats all made commitments to introduce news remuneration legislation.

Why do we need legislation?

First, the need for strong, independent local news has never been higher – it keeps communities connected and informed on issues that are impacting them directly. Covering city hall, provincial and territorial legislatures, our courts, and indeed holding our parliamentarians to account is vital to our democracy. According to Pollara, a leading research firm, Canadians agree: 90 percent of respondents said they believe it's important that local media outlets survive, and 80 percent said legislation was needed.

> ***"The market capitalization of Google is about $1.8 trillion; Meta is over $500 billion. Together, that's in the ballpark of the GDP of Canada."***

Second, there is a significant imbalance of power between tech giants and Canadian news outlets. To put this in perspective, the market capitalization of Google is about $1.8 trillion; Meta is over $500 billion. Together, that's in the ballpark of the GDP of Canada.

Third, with the prospect of legislation, Google and Meta started picking winners and losers. They negotiated content licensing agreements with a dozen or so publishers, including *Le Devoir*, *The Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*. More recently, Google signed a deal with Postmedia. As William Turvill of the UK-based Press Gazette noted, "There is some evidence to suggest that the threat of this legislation is already paying off for Canadian publishers … Google, perhaps in anticipation of Ottawa's crackdown, has already started offering more generous payments for signing up to (Google) News Showcase."

Don't get us wrong. We're happy for those publishers. They should be getting compensated for their content. But we now have a situation of haves and have nots among Canada's news publishers. And that's not fair – especially to smaller publishers who have been left out in the cold.

As the government looked around the world at different models, they settled on a model which is similar, but an improvement on what the Australians have done. We believe the Australian approach is far better than simply taxing the web giants and then getting government in the business of redistributing the monies to publishers. Picking winners and losers isn't something government is particularly good at, and publishers deeply value independence.

Former Australian prime minister Scott Morrison's government introduced the News Media and Digital Platforms Mandatory Bargaining Code in February 2021. The initial reaction from Google was, "It would give us no real choice but to stop making Google Search available in Australia." Meta's response was even more hardline, "People and news organizations in Australia are now restricted from posting news links and sharing or viewing Australian and international news content on Facebook. Globally, posting and sharing news

> *As a matter of principle, we believe that publishers, large and small, should benefit equally from any settlement – based on their proportionate investment in newsroom employees.*

links from Australian publishers is also restricted." Under pressure, both companies backed down.

In April 2022, Heritage Minister Pablo Rodriguez introduced C-18, An Act respecting online communications platforms that make news content available to persons in Canada.

Why do we at News Media Canada support this legislation?

First, it allows us to negotiate collectively. Currently, the Competition Act bars us from forming a collective. Given the overwhelming power imbalance, publishers will be in a stronger bargaining position if they stand together.

Second, it includes an enforcement mechanism. Baseball-style final offer arbitration ensures that parties put their best offer forward and the arbitrator picks one or the other. The hammer of arbitration incents both sides to reach a fair settlement on their own.

Third, similar legislation in Australia is working. According to a report by Rod Sims, the former chair of the Australian Competition & Consumer Commission, the amounts paid to news organizations are over $200 million annually. More important than how much, is who reached content licensing agreements. Country Press Australia, an affiliation of 160 smaller regional newspapers, was able to reach settlements with Google and Meta. More recently, a group of 24 small Australian publishers reached a deal with Google.

According to Robert Whitehead, digital platform initiative lead with the International News Media Association, "There's no question that small- to mid-size publishers have been the surprise winners from the Australian media bargaining code. The big three commercial players started the momentum … but it has been the smallest players who have gained the most, relative to their size."

In an article written by Bill Grueskin of Columbia Journalism School, he refers to a journalism professor in Sydney, "She can't persuade many students to take internships these days because it's so easy for them to land full-time jobs—and that change coincides with the gusher of code money: "I swear to God, I have not seen it like this in 20 years."

As a matter of principle, we believe that publishers, large and small, should benefit equally from any settlement – based on their proportionate investment in newsroom employees. We have developed an approach that we believe is transparent and fair to members of News Media Canada and the National Ethnic Press and Media Council who wish to participate. Simply put, any settlements from collective negotiation would be shared among publishers on a pro rata basis – based on their total salaries and wages paid to eligible newsroom employees – less expenses associated with collective negotiation. A recent report from the Parliamentary Budget Officer estimates that news businesses will receive total compensation of $329.2 million annually from digital platforms.

Going forward, Google and Meta have roles to play in the news media ecosystem. It is in their self-interest to have rich, trusted content that our journalists produce. At the same time, they enjoy a dominant position in the marketplace, where search and social engines are designed to keep the user within a walled garden and extract value from content. As publishers, we simply want to be able to come together collectively to negotiate fair value for the content our journalists produce, so we can reinvest in our newsrooms.

C-18 is important legislation that will help stop the bleeding in Canada's news publishing business, but it alone is not a silver bullet. There are other measures that governments can take.

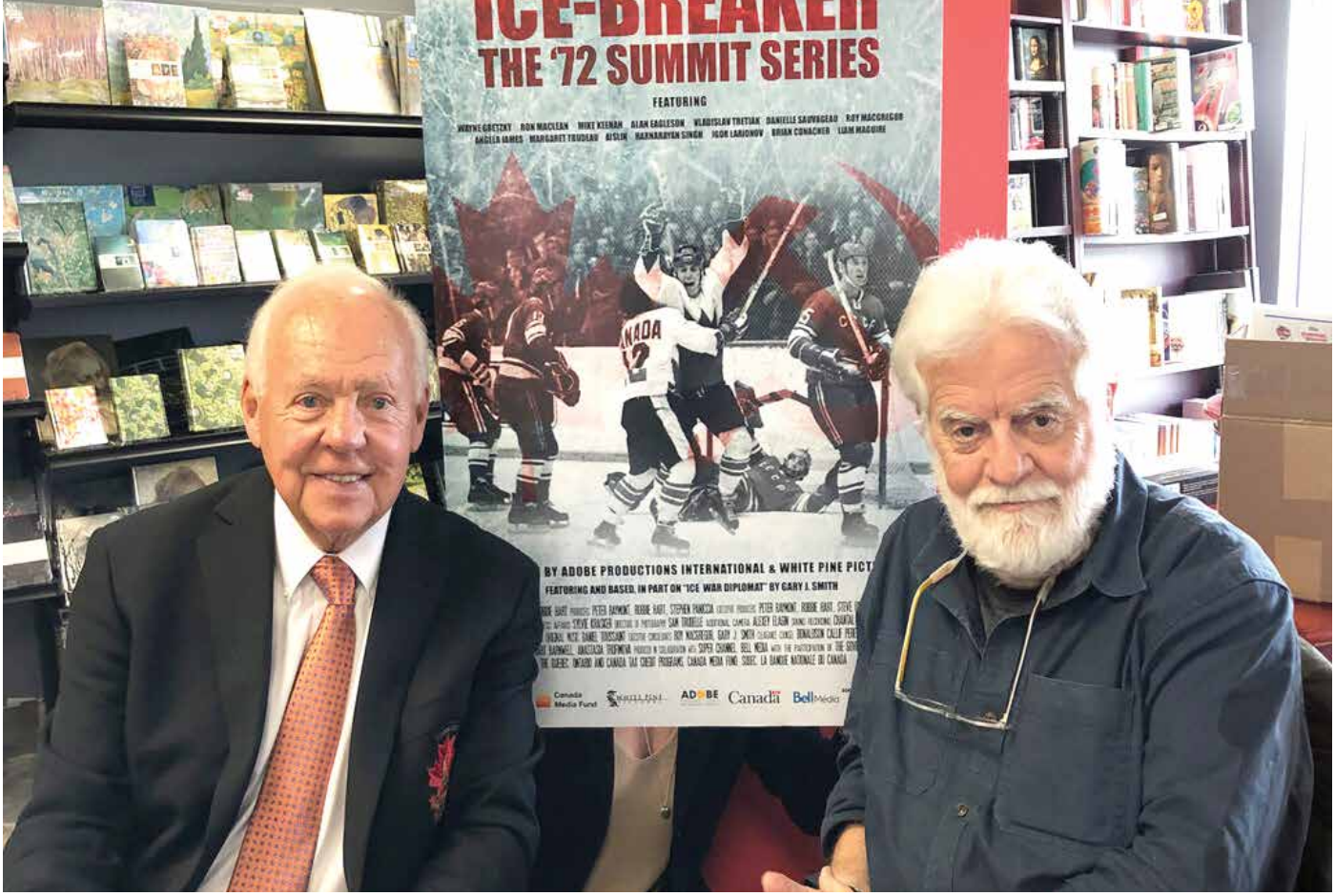
First, the Competition Bureau needs to investigate the dominance of Google and Facebook in Canada's online display advertising market. Anti-competitive behaviour results in higher prices, reduces choice, hinders innovation for ad tech services, and harms advertisers, publishers, and consumers. Second, the federal government should eliminate commercial advertising associated with CBC/Radio-Canada's news properties and shows.

Third, under the federal Directive on the Management of Communications, heads of communications can currently purchase media space directly from media outlets for campaigns that have a total media buy of $25,000 or less. We believe their discretion should be increased to $100,000. Fourth, the federal government should align federal advertising procurement practices with its broader socio-economic objectives. Support for trusted sources of information (i.e., local newspapers) should be given preference over social media companies that do little to address hate speech on their platforms. According to the Annual Report on Government of Canada Advertising Activities 2020 to 2021, the Government spent $11,649,636 on Facebook/Instagram advertising, which is greater than all federal government print advertising combined, which stood at $9,312,472.

Fifth, provincial governments should follow the enlightened approach of the Ford government in Ontario and exempt newspapers from extended producer responsibility levies aimed at reducing waste packaging. Newspapers are a vital product that provide a public good; they are not waste packaging.

Across Canada and across partisan lines, now is the time for our elected officials to act. News deserts provide openings for disinformation and fake news, which undermine social cohesion and our democracy. As the *Globe and Mail*'s Walmsley has wisely warned us, "A world where people are blinded from facts is a dangerous one." P

Jamie Irving is Chair and Paul Deegan is President and CEO of News Media Canada, which represents news publishers who employ 3,000 journalists in every province and territory of Canada.



Yvan Cournoyer and Terry Mosher with a poster for the documentary "ICE-BREAKER: THE '72 SUMMIT SERIES" in which Cournoyer embraces Paul Henderson after his historic series-winning goal with only 34 seconds to play in the final game in Moscow. —*Mary Hughson photo*

Hockey Canada—From the Hall of Fame to a Hall of Shame

L. Ian MacDonald

The puck stops here.

That's what they should be telling themselves at Hockey Canada, now engulfed in a stunning scandal of lies, cover-ups and payoffs that have diminished their brand and brought discredit to our national game.

And it's already a classic case study in Comms 101—How Not to Do Damage Control in a Crisis. It starts at the top, and it goes back years, if not decades, in an organization created to represent the best. And has ended up instead as symbol of the worst.

From the hall of fame to a hall of shame.

And it starts at the top, with the executive and management of Hockey Canada, shamelessly blaming their self-inflicted wounds on others. They've been dumped by sponsors, shunned by would-be hosts of events, and had their federal funding cut off. They were told by the prime minister himself that their only option was the resignation of their board and management, and still they blamed others for the hole which they dug for themselves.

In response to revelations of a culture of misogyny and sexual assault at elite levels of junior hockey going back nearly two decades, Hockey Canada interim board chair Andrea Skinner complained to a parliamentary probe in October of being cast as "a scapegoat".

And this despite reports, as Ian Austen wrote in the *New York Times* weekly Canada Letter, that Hockey Canada "created a slush fund from registration fees, including those for children and had used it to, among other things, pay $3.5 million to settle a lawsuit by a woman who accused eight members of the world junior team of sexually assaulting her in 2018."

There's a difference between rising young hockey stars styling themselves as ladies' men on the one hand, and participating in a gang bang on the other. It's called rape, and it's in the Criminal Code. So is obstruction of justice. People can go to jail.

Alan Eagleson, the architect of the 1972 Canada-Soviet hockey series, would know about that, having copped a guilty plea for six counts

of fraud and being sentenced to 18 months in prison in a Toronto court in 1997. A quarter century on, looking at Hockey Canada's entrenched culture of entitlement, it's fair to say even "the Eagle" wouldn't have been so insensitive. self-absorbed and stupid.

And then there's the list of sponsors cancelling their endorsements, not to mention their financial support, with Hockey Canada for the coming season, including the men's world junior championship being co-hosted by Moncton and Halifax over the Christmas holidays.

The cancellation lineup is a Who's Who of corporate Canada—Tim Horton's, Esso, Scotia Bank, Telus and Nike. And retail giant Canadian Tire has permanently severed its ties with Hockey Canada. The mayors of Moncton and Halifax weren't sure they wanted their cities' names associated with Hockey Canada. New Brunswick Premier Blaine Higgs talked about pulling $1.25 million in provincial support for the tournament and Nova Scotia Premier Tim Houston declared "meaningful changes" were necessary at Hockey Canada before proceeding with an event that came to Canada only after Russia forfeited the hosting role because of its invasion of Ukraine.

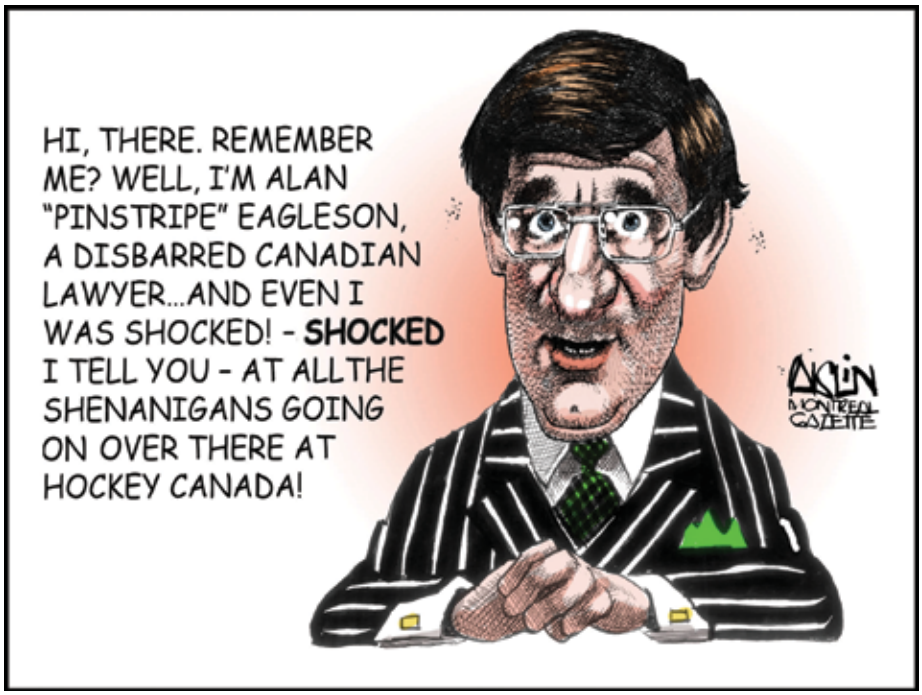
Well, as Gordie Howe used to say to rookies, elbows famously up in the corners: "Welcome to the NHL." And by October 8, Skinner had indeed submitted her resignation. On October 11, the entire management and board of Hockey Canada also resigned. Given the overwhelming outrage, the outcome was inevitable.

The Hockey Canada scandal happened to coincide with the culmination of a season of celebration of the 50th anniversary of the famed 1972 September Summit Series.

The celebration of one has been a striking contrast with the shame of the other.

There's more to it than nostalgia, there's a sense of yearning for the heroes of those days.

You could see it on the Saturday of Thanksgiving Weekend during a signing by Terry Mosher for *Montreal to Moscow*, his new bestselling book of Aislin cartoons, drawings and stories on the 1972 series, with an introduction by Yvan Cournoyer, who won 10 Stanley Cups with the Montreal Canadiens, including four consecutive Cup victories as captain from 1976-79, and is now a goodwill ambassador for the Habs.



Mosher and Cournoyer were at Librairie Clio at Plaza Pointe Claire. Clio's is one of those important independent bookstores where it's a pleasure just to browse for Canadian fiction and non-fiction titles.

Terry and Yvan signed without pausing for four straight hours, as people lined up for autographed copies and selfies. They sold hundreds of books, so many that Terry's wife, water colour artist Mary Hughson, drove home to get another box just as they were running out of stock.

And people of a certain age all remembered where they were on that famous September night, when Team Canada completed a three-game comeback as Paul Henderson scored the winning goal, to break a tie with only 34 seconds to play.

In the most famous hockey photo of all time, Henderson jumped into Cournoyer's arms, a moment also framed in an Aislin cartoon of them at the summit of what he called "Canada's very own Mount Rushmore."

Cournoyer was in on the winning goal, and explained how he'd set it up at the end of a long shift which found him stranded across the ice from the Team Canada bench, but in the Russian end.

"I was exhausted," he said, "so I stayed there and that's when I got the puck." He said he just passed it toward the goal, where Henderson fired it at Vladislav Tretiak. Phil Esposito then got the rebound over to Henderson, who tipped it into the net, his third winning goal in as many games in Moscow.

What has been neglected in most of the histories is that Cournoyer had scored the tying goal with only seven minutes left in the game.

"Without your tying goal," he was reminded, "there would have been no winning goal."

As for how it played at home, Cournoyer said: "We had no idea that the country had stopped to watch the game."

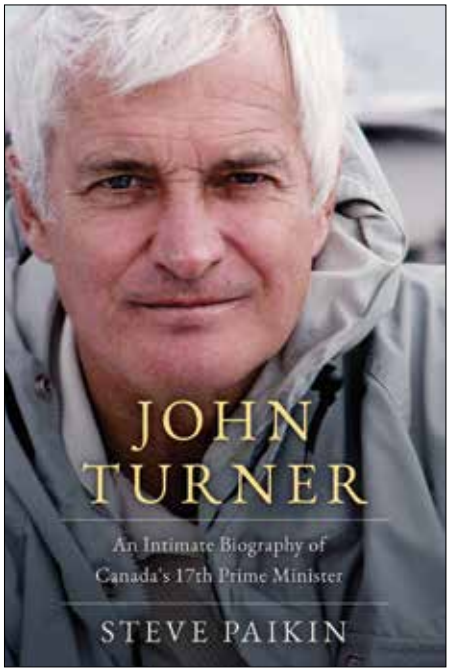
He does now, from people at book signings and from looking at the video of the game.

"Now I can see it," he said. "I watched it last night for the first time," at home with Evelyn, his wife and partner of 39 years.

The good guys won at the very end. P

L. Ian MacDonald, Editor and Publisher of Policy Magazine, is also a lifelong Habs fan.

BOOK REVIEWS



The Man Behind the Myth: An Intimate Biography of John Turner

John Turner: An Intimate Biography of Canada's 17th Prime Minister
By Steve Paikin
Sutherland House Books/ October 2022

Reviewed by Bill Fox

The story of John Napier Turner, Canada's 17th prime minister, is a story of expectations – on the part of his family, on the part of his political party, on the part of the country. Expectations largely unmet, in the minds of many.

Yet, in this "intimate biography", author Steve Paikin makes a compelling case that Turner's was a "life of consequence." A life of outsized achievements and equally outsized disappointments. A life of privilege and duty. A life of faith buffeted by fate.

As Paikin so skillfully records, even the manner of Turner's passing was otherworldly. The global pandemic denied Turner the tribute he deserved. Strict restrictions were imposed on the number of people permitted to gather at his funeral mass. Hymn singing was forbidden. And, as was the case so often in his life, the sniping didn't end with Turner's death. Some obituaries made a point of leading with the fact that Turner led the country for only 79 days, or 11 weeks — a petty, discretionary proof point as to why readers have less and less time for legacy media.

Paikin's portrayal of Turner is at once more considered and more complete.

The biographical building blocks are set out in Paikin's work – the Olympic-calibre sprinter, the Rhodes Scholar, the dashing man about town with the matinée-idol good looks who dated a royal princess. As are the predictions of success: a mother who once said of her son, "If he can't be prime minister, he can always be pope"; a young Montreal lawyer named Brian Mulroney who, in the early 1960s, told a friend, "He's going to be prime minister someday."

> ***"Turner knew Canadian politics had to pivot from the rights-focused discourse of the early 1980s inherent in constitutional reform and patriation to an economic focus. And he knew full well Canada was in a mood for change."***

Even these retellings benefit from Paikin's exceptional access to Turner, with whom the host of TVOntario's public affairs program The Agenda was in regular contact over the years. That access continued posthumously — to Turner's family, including his wife Geills, his surviving children, his closest associates and the treasure trove of papers Turner and his entourage had kept. The result is storytelling that rings with authority and authenticity.

Paikin takes readers behind the highlight reel of Turner's political life and shares the details that put in context the stories so familiar to the politically engaged of Turner's time.

Paikin provides key insights into Turner's character — as a young parliamentarian on vacation in Barbados, he rescued former prime minister John Diefenbaker, who was struggling to free himself from a dangerous undertow — and didn't tell anyone the story. How, at the height of the October Crisis in 1970, Turner told his wife, "If I ever get kidnapped, don't let anyone pay a ransom."

Readers are reminded of Turner's singular accomplishments as Canada's first minister of consumer and corporate affairs, as the justice minister who carried through Pierre Trudeau's decriminalization of same-sex relationships and abortion, as a successful minister of finance who balanced budgets, but whose most cherished title was "Member of Parliament".

The work is unsparing in Paikin's analysis of areas where Turner was less successful — his failure to keep pace with an ever-evolving political agenda, his curious acceptance of the intrigue that is an inherent component of partisan policies, his unawareness of advancements in social norms. It was never appropriate for a male to pat a female colleague on the derrière; it was politically fatal to do so on camera in 1984.

Paikin points out that Turner's political instincts when he assumed the Liberal Party leadership in 1984 weren't as sharp as they needed to be on other issues. Shrugging off traditional Liberal support for linguistic minorities as a matter best left to the provinces was staggeringly ill-considered. The outgoing Trudeau's offer to take the heat for a series of excessive patronage appointments should have been accepted. And forsaking the opportunity of a summer of photo opportunities with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth and the Pope in favour of an election call was a political miscalculation that puzzles to this day.

The author is equally candid about key elements of the Turner's persona – his fondness for certain four letter expletives or a glass of scotch. As Paikin states, "His use of blue language at unexpected moments was both hilarious and wildly inappropriate."

Paikin deals directly with the issue of Turner's relationship with his wife Geills, who wasn't always seen by critics as helpful to Turner's political career — critics, as Paikin notes, who insisted on applying a conventional political-partner frame to a person who had spent her life defying convention.

Turner, perhaps surprisingly, did struggle with his self-confidence on occasion, according to Paikin.

But the irony of John Turner, politician, is that Turner himself foresaw many of the shifts in public opinion that would lead to many of his political disappointments.

Turner knew Canadian politics had to pivot from the rights-focused discourse of the early 1980s inherent in constitutional reform and patriation to an economic focus. And he knew full well Canada was in a mood for change.

Turner's time as Liberal leader was largely defined by two accords. And Turner's positions on both put him in direct conflict with powerful factions within the Liberal Party.

Turner's support for the Meech Lake constitutional accord and his opposition to the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement were positions of conviction, and not electoral convenience as some assumed at the time. History suggests Turner was more right than wrong on Meech, arguably more wrong than right on free trade, in both instances at significant political and personal cost.

Turner's uneasy relationships with both his predecessor, Pierre Trudeau, and his successor, Jean Chrétien, is a key theme of Paikin's work.

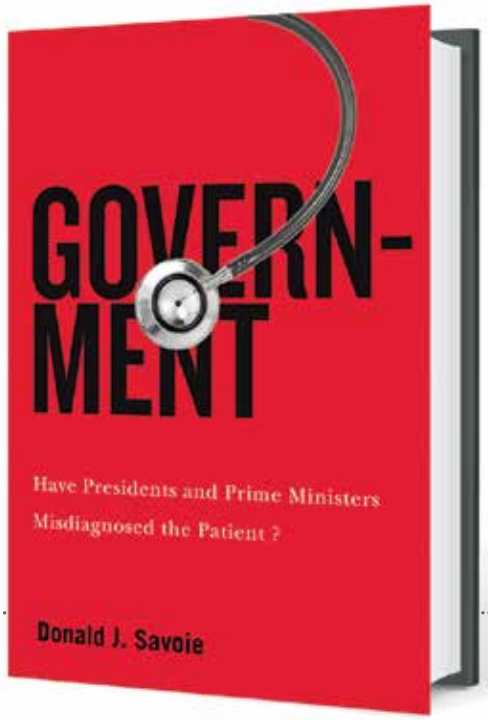
Turner was subjected to a level of disloyalty from his own party leadership that will leave readers slack-jawed in amazement. Turner was told repeatedly by individuals he had put in positions of authority that he simply had to go. Paikin carefully chronicles how Pierre Trudeau refused to take the stage in a show of unity when Turner was elected party leader in 1984, how then party president Iona Campagnolo emboldened dissidents at the same convention when she declared leadership rival Jean Chrétien "second on the ballot but first in our hearts". The shocking coup that wasn't quite a coup launched against their own leader by Liberal strategists at a key moment in the middle of the 1988 campaign is both treachery and farce.

The former Liberal leader's staccato-like speaking style was deemed ill-suited for the "cool" medium that is television. Yet Turner's televised leaders' debates with Brian Mulroney in 1984 and 1988 are the stuff of legend. Each enjoyed a pivotal moment. Each knew what it was to personally shift momentum in a national campaign. Each came away with a respect and appreciation for the other. Mulroney, who as Canada's 18th prime minister would succeed Turner, described his political adversary as "a gallant warrior and a very worthy opponent," a view shared by many who had the good fortune to work on Parliament Hill during Turner's time. Paikin records this respect and appreciation was not always shared by many Liberals.

On his return to private life, Turner had to listen to a lot of "the man didn't measure up to the myth" type of commentary, a man who wouldn't or couldn't adjust. Paikin asserts Turner was able to rise above the descriptive as the "King Lear" of Canadian politics, and quotes the former prime minister as saying, "I couldn't have asked for more, I deserved a good deal less."

Paikin, like his friend the historian Arthur Milnes, declares a passion for a better understanding of politics, politicians and history. In "*John Turner: An Intimate Biography of Canada's 17th Prime Minister*", Paikin succeeds admirably on all counts. P

Bill Fox was Washington and Ottawa bureau chief for the Toronto Star and press secretary and director of communications for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. He is currently a fellow in the Riddell Graduate Program in Political Management, Carleton University. His latest book, Trump, Trudeau, Tweets, Truth, A Conversation, is available now from McGill Queen's University Press.



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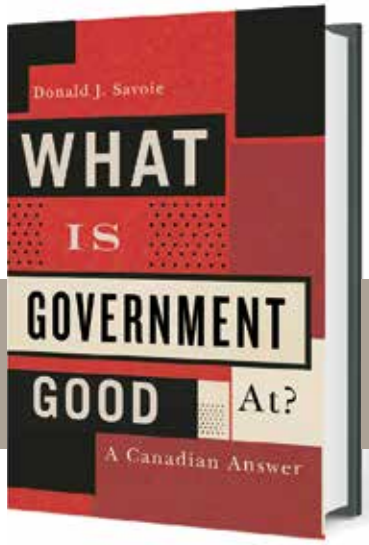
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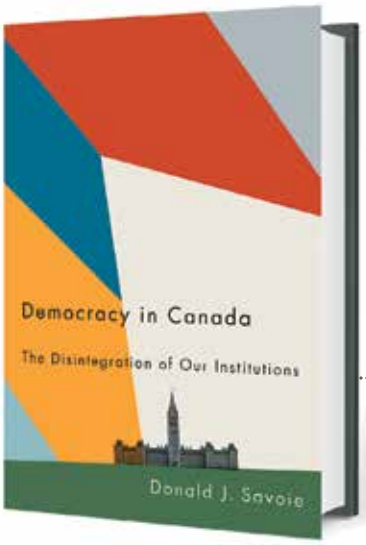
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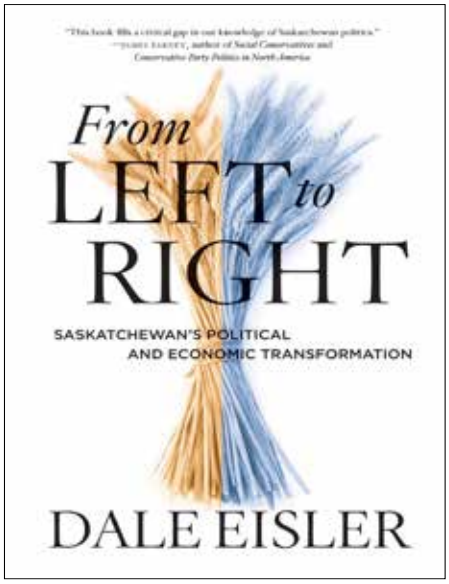
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A Masterful Story of Modern Saskatchewan

From Left to Right: Saskatchewan's Political and Economic Transformation
By Dale Eisler
University of Regina Press/ April 2022

Reviewed by Vianne Timmons

When I was asked to review Dale Eisler's new book, *From Left to Right: Saskatchewan's Political Transformation*, I jumped at the opportunity. As a very busy university president, the deadline would make sure I read the book, and I was looking forward to learning more about the province I fell in love with in my last job. I was not disappointed.

Dale is a storyteller. His words capture personalities and events so that the reader feels like they are at the table during discussions, or in the conversation. He also educates the reader to the connections among politics, the economy and world events. He weaves a tapestry that pulls in threads and paints a complex and intricate mural.

I lived in Saskatchewan for 11 years, fascinated with the stories of the many politicians who had an impact, not just on the province but the nation. Dale connects provincial and national events so that one can understand how our federal and provincial jurisdictions co-exist and yet are fraught with challenges. This is a book about Saskatchewan politics but is also so much more. It is a book about the importance of our Canadian resources, how global events impact locally and how the economy both influences and is influenced by politics.

The beginning of the book introduces us to how events in Saskatchewan, such as the introduction of universal Medicare in 1967, were driven and adopted. Dale notes "the Saskatchewan Medicare model was embraced and implemented as a national program; the magnitude of what Saskatchewan had pioneered became entrenched as a defining moment not just for the province but for the nation." He also introduces us to the changes in farming, the growth of Crown corporations, the story of potash mining in the province and the impact these have on policy and politics. These individual stories — well researched and well told — draw out the many connections between a resource economy and how it plays out politically.

This book also presents the reader with an understanding of populism in Saskatchewan and then proceeds to draw a relationship to its recent global rise. I found this section very enlightening. Dale is able to take complex ideas and present them so that the reader can make connections to larger political events.

I have always been interested in the rise and fall of political parties and Saskatchewan is a perfect case study of how voters can shift their alliances. The connections between policies — both provincial and federal — such as the Crow Rate, the divide between rural and urban voters and how our politicians respond and react, all provide a compelling narrative.

One strength of the book is how Dale describes the men who have served the province. He is able to capture their personalities and how voters relate to them. I knew Brad Wall personally and Dale describes him as a "dream weaver." I was witness to many of his speeches over the years I lived in the province and whether his message aligned with my beliefs or not, I always loved to listen, as he is an exceptional orator. Dale captures the qualities of each leader and their characters beautifully.

> ***"It is a book about the importance of our Canadian resources, how global events impact locally and how the economy both influences and is influenced by politics."***

The book is about how Saskatchewan politics changed over four decades but it is also a story about resilience and determination. After the economically challenging 80s, Saskatchewan was the first province to table a balanced budget. The tenacity of the politicians who ran the province is admirable. It was a difficult path but they stayed firm under the leadership of Roy Romanow. It was accomplished through rural hospital closures, deep spending cuts and tax increases. These actions eventually led to the rise of the Saskatchewan Party and to the decline of the NDP. I found it interesting that it was the NDP that took a path that many would describe as conservative.

Federal/provincial strife and western alienation are also captured in this book. Dale describes the influence of Pierre Trudeau on Saskatchewan politics and how this remained to be transferred to our present prime minister, his son, Justin Trudeau. All

> *This book is a great read, one that does describe the Saskatchewan politics and shift from left to right over four decades. The book is comprehensive, the chapters are easy to read and flow beautifully.*

through the book, we are led back and forth between federal and provincial politics. It makes this book much more than a story about a province, it is also a story about our country.

The book unfortunately does not address the impact of politics on and by the First Nations Peoples of Saskatchewan. Dale does make one reference in the middle of the book, it is fleeting and definitely not connected to the political scene. I found the same regarding the influence of Saskatchewan women. He mentions Linda Haverstock and Louise Simard however, he does not describe the role they had (or did not have) in Saskatchewan politics. The book describes the politicians who have been influential and I recognize many have been men, but there have been a number of women politicians who have also had an impact. So often, indigenous people and women's roles are not recognized, it is important that we make them visible.

This book is a great read, one that does describe the Saskatchewan politics and shift from left to right over four decades. The book is comprehensive, the chapters are easy to read and flow beautifully. As mentioned earlier, Dale's ability to tell stories, describe characters and make connections is masterful. This book would appeal to political junkies; students of political science, public policy, economics, business and history. I highly recommend this book as I enjoyed it immensely. P

Policy Contributing Writer Vianne Timmons is President and Vice-Chancellor of Memorial University of Newfoundland, and a former President of University of Regina.



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UHN Foundation

A Way to Help Canada's Charities Serve More Canadians

An open letter to Members of Parliament,

The fall sitting is always a busy time for parliamentarians. In November and December alone, the House and Senate are sitting for six and seven consecutive weeks respectively before the holidays.

The context is challenging—continued stimulation of the post-pandemic economic recovery while managing inflation amid rising interest rates.

There is a window for success and that is for Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland to include an exemption from the capital gains tax in the fall update of Budget 2022, in accordance with the Budget Implementation Act (BIA).

Minister Freeland and the government can do so by announcing a legislative package that includes the balance of the 2022 budget measures—decarbonization plans, notably carbon capture and storage and any legislation resulting from the upcoming Fall Economic Statement (FES).

The required charitable donation amendments can be included in any of the bills to be tabled before Parliament this fall or the announcement can be with a specific coming into force date, say January 1, 2023, and tabled in a future bill.

The government can simply remove the capital gains tax on donations of privately held shares and properties to be donated, as Ottawa did on publicly listed stocks back in 2006.

Since then, it is estimated that charities across Canada are receiving $1 billion a year in donations of listed shares and properties. Eliminating the capital gains tax on donations of privately held shares and properties would stimulate additional donations estimated at $200 million a year with foregone tax revenues estimated at only $50 to $60 million a year. In other words, a net benefit of approximately $150 million a year to the FISC, to say nothing about the enormous benefit our charities, and the Canadians they serve, would reap.

The beneficiaries will be hospitals and healthcare organizations, universities and colleges, arts and cultural organizations and social service agencies. These organizations, which employ more than two million Canadians, endorse this initiative and supporters have been advocating it for many years.

They've never needed help more than now. The Canada Helps platform forecasts in its 2022 "The Giving Report" that while the demand for charitable services will increase by over 25 percent this year, the number of Canadians donating will decline by 25 percent.

And with the highest inflation in 40 years, the situation is only more challenging.

That's where Parliament comes in as outlined here.

In French, this is called "le gros bon sens." Simple common sense.

It's the right thing to do. For Canada, and for Canadians.

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, 2022 Major Individual Giving Cabinet, United Way Greater Toronto
Member, Honourary Board, The National Ballet of Canada

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