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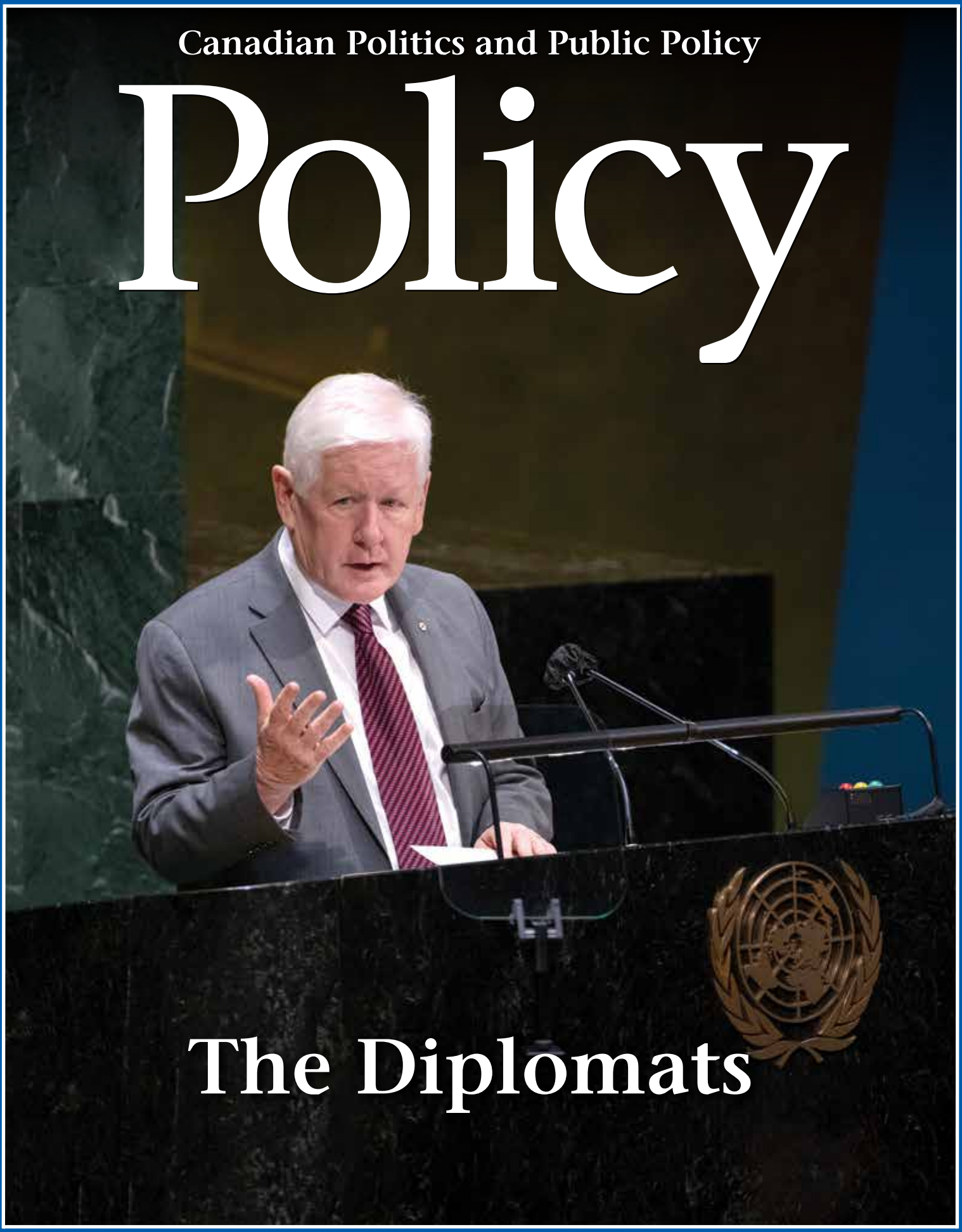

The Diplomats

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Canadian Politics and Public Policy

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In This Issue

Book Reviews

From the Editor / L. Ian MacDonald

The Diplomats

Welcome to our special issue, *The Diplomats*, on the Canadians who represent our country to the world, a very different world in terms of issues and opportunities than the one inherited from previous generations.

We begin with a personal recollection and reflection from Bob Rae, Canada's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations, who shares memories of a cherished predecessor on that global stage, his own father, Saul Rae. Like father like son. As Bob writes in *Memories of My Father*: "Modern Canadian diplomacy has to speak with confidence, candour, humour and honesty and to ensure that its acts and deeds match its words."

In a riveting dispatch from Ukraine, Canadian Ambassador Larissa Galadza writes: "From Kyiv, I can see and feel the work of Canadian Heads of Mission around the globe as they find ways to move the world to choke off President Putin's and Russia's war machine."

Jeremy Kinsman, an old diplomatic hand and our lead foreign affairs writer, observes that "Canada's version of 'soft power' needs diplomats to be able to speak semi-autonomously in the agitated global marketplace."

Nadia Theodore, Canada's new Ambassador to the World Trade Organization, says in an interview that "we are in an sweet spot of expertise meeting opportunity" at the WTO.

Former Ambassador to NATO Kerry Buck reflects on the role of women in diplomacy. "Senior women diplomats across countries understand how tricky it can be to be a woman working in international diplomacy," she writes. "We stick together and offer support to each other in ways that male diplomats might not, because they don't have to."

Ailish Campbell, our Ambassador to the European Union, offers a perspective from Brussels, as she notes, "in the context of war"—Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Many of the repercussions against Putin's criminal acts, from retaliation to sanctions, from the EU to NATO and the G7, have unfolded on the diplomatic stage in Brussels after consultations and conversations behind the scenes.

Peter Boehm served as Canada's G7 Sherpa, and now keeps a close eye on foreign affairs and diplomacy from his seat in the Senate, where he chairs the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade. He took time for a virtual conversation of email exchanges with *Policy* Associate Editor Lisa Van Dusen, who has been our lead in assembling *The Diplomats* cover thematic.

Michael Manulak of Carleton University's Norman Paterson School and Oxford's Duncan Snidal offer their thoughts on *How the Internet has Changed International Diplomacy*. As they write: "Now 'Zoom Diplomacy' and digital diplomacy generally have brought transformative change,"

In his column, Don Newman offers some insights into the changing lineup of practising diplomats he's seen in a remarkable career spanning more than half a century. "Foreign policy and international affairs have passed from experts at foreign ministries and embassies," he writes, "to a much larger community of special interests."

Some of those special interests' hands were apparent in the backstage diplomacy involved in the release of Canadians Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor after a thousand days in captivity in China, where they had been seized following the arrest at Vancouver Airport of Meng Wanzou, CFO of Huawei Technologies, in response to an extradition request by US authorities. It's called hostage diplomacy, and as Mike Blanchard and Fen Osler-Hampson write in their book, *The Two Michaels*, their release "was the result of intensive behind the scenes diplomacy led by Canada's Ambassador to Beijing, Dominic Barton." No career diplomat, but an international business consultant and former CEO of McKinsey and Company.

In *Book Reviews*, we lead with a delightful essay from Bill Fox on John Honderich's memoir of his life at the *Toronto Star*, completed shortly before his sudden passing last year at the age of 75. Honderich was the heir apparent of Beland Honderich, and shared his father's signature question in the newsroom: "What does it mean to Metro?" As in Toronto. And Fox, himself a former "*Star* man" writes that John practised "the *Star*'s philosophy" to "get it first, serve it up, play it big," Fox concludes that his friend was "determined to be the son who did the job."

From *Policy* Social Media Editor Gray MacDonald, we offer a strong review of *Hope is a Woman*'s Name by Amal Elsana Alh'jooj. Gray writes that the memoir "covers a journey that has taken her from a childhood herding sheep…to an international life of activism for peacemaking and minority rights."

Finally, Colin Robertson looks at *Master Negotiator* by Diana Villiers Negroponte, an important book on a great American diplomat, James A. Baker, US Secretary of State under the first President George Bush, who led the peaceful transition from the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet empire, to the New World Order.

Enjoy.

Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations Bob Rae and Haitian Foreign Minister Jean Victor Geneus after a Security Council meeting on the security and economic crisis in Haiti. --*UN Photo/Laura Jarriel*

Memories of My Father: Sharing a Mission, 50 Years Apart

When Bob Rae was appointed Canada's ambassador to the United Nations in 2020, the political backlash was nonexistent. Rae is respected by all parties, and there was an element of anticipation — what sort of diplomat will he be? There was also the symmetry of his own father, Saul Rae's, service in the same post 50 years earlier. As Rae has fervently upheld the Canadian values of democracy, human rights and pluralism amid an illegal war in Ukraine and other crises, the question about his diplomatic style has been answered. Here's the story of his late father's path to the UN, and his own.

Bob Rae

My father Saul joined the foreign service in the summer of 1940. With the help of a Massey Fellowship, he had gone from the University of Toronto to the London School of Economics, where he received a doctorate in 1938, and after a postgraduate year at Oxford, went to work with George Gallup in Princeton, New Jersey. He married my mother, Lois, who was English, in the fall of 1939, and together they drove up to Ottawa in an old Ford. He soon went to work as executive assistant to Norman Robertson, who had been promoted to under-secretary

(What we would now call a deputy minister) when the hard-driving Dr O.D. Skelton died of a massive heart attack.

The Department, as it immodestly called itself, was located in the East Block on Parliament Hill. It consisted of fewer than a hundred employees, with missions in London, Paris, Washington and Geneva, and its entire preoccupation in 1940 was the prosecution of the war effort. The prime minister of the day, Mackenzie King, had his offices in the same building, as did his small personal staff and the Privy Council. My Dad's "class" at that time included Herbert Norman, Arthur Menzies, Ralph Collins, Ed Ritchie, and others who would go on to become pillars of Canadian diplomacy. The foreign service grew during the war with new recruits, and then more substantially in the years after 1945, when Canada was playing an ever-increasing role in creating the institutions that marked the post-war international order.

Work was endless, morale was high, and my father's life was a strong combination of deep policy engagement and boundless mirth and humour. He had spent his early days on the vaudeville stage, with his sister Grace and his younger brother Jackie, in an act dubbed "The Three Little Raes of Sunshine". His love of music and comedy never left him, held in check only by a fear that he might not be taken as seriously as some of his fellow diplomats.

After working at the centre of things in Ottawa for a couple of years, he was sent off to join General Georges P. Vanier in Algiers, leaving his pregnant wife behind. When France was liberated, he went to Paris to reclaim the Embassy. My mother and my sister Jennifer were reunited with him there and brother John arrived in October of 1945, baptized as John Alain Rae. Dad served as Secretary of the Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference.

Postings to Ottawa (I arrived in August of 1948), London, New York (as assistant to Lester Pearson when he served as president of the UN General Assembly), Hanoi — serving alone for more than a year with the International Control Commission — Washington (David arriving in 1957), Geneva, Mexico, the UN again, and finally at The Hague, from where he retired in 1980.

> ***"Our comfort level with exclusively quiet diplomacy, where white men in striped suits settle issues privately in a corner, or where nation states assume that asserting the primacy of sovereignty will somehow answer all questions, must be irrevocably thrown out the window."***

He was happiest serving abroad, as The Department grew bigger, eventually moving to the Pearson Building, a fortress on Sussex Drive. He felt that life in diplomacy was becoming too bureaucratic, too layered, too hierarchical, and much less personal. In his early days, everyone knew everyone, there was no wide gap between officials and politicians, and he felt it was more possible to make an impact.

It was in Washington that I became aware of what my Dad did, and how he did it. His most obvious professional characteristic, to me, was hard work. He was indefatigable; working in the evenings, sitting in a chair in his study going over "telegrams", reports, editing reports of others, writing speeches for himself and others. He remained an avid reader of history, political analysis, and novels until his death in 1999.

On Saturdays, he would take me into work at the old Canadian chancery on Embassy Row in Washington — the Canadian embassy before the Arthur Erickson landmark was erected in our prime spot on Pennsylvania Ave. — and tell me to read a book while he continued with his routine. He enjoyed mentoring younger colleagues, who were frequent guests at our home, and appreciated, in those days, being able to work with two ambassadors who were both mentors and friends — Arnold Heeney (who had been Clerk of the Privy Council in the East Block during the war), and Norman Robertson.

The friends my father made in The Department and in the wider world were friends for life. He had a career he believed in, whose values were deeply felt, and made, with my mother, a life marked by great humour, love, and devotion that they shared in full measure with their children.

My father served as ambassador to the UN in Geneva from 1962-67, and in New York from 1972-76. It was a time when the membership in the UN grew rapidly, and decolonization was the order of the day. The economic and social structures created in the years after 1945 were being tested by the arrival of developing countries, who felt that the UN itself needed to do more to correct the global imbalance. The Cold War was in full swing, albeit with modest progress on disarmament and nuclear testing, and Middle Eastern conflict (the Suez Crisis in 1956, the Six-Day War in 1967, and the Yom Kippur War in 1973) was a constant preoccupation. Throughout it all, he maintained strong personal relationships with diplomats from all sides — he spoke fluent French, English, and Spanish after his tour of duty in Mexico, and knew all the senior officials at the UN well. He had the highest regard for them.

My own path to a formal diplomatic career was much more circuitous. Being a student at the International School of Geneva in the 60s had a lifelong influence, and throughout my first chosen career in politics I kept up a strong interest in global affairs, both as an MP and political leader in Ontario. When the Oslo Accords were signed in 1993, we organized a reception for both the Canadian Jewish and Palestinian communities at

Retired UN Ambassador Saul Rae at the family cottage in Portland , Ontario in 1984 with son Bob, then NDP Leader in Ontario. --*Rae family photo*

the Ontario Legislature, and I took a delegation of business leaders to Israel, the West Bank, and Jordan. As premier, I travelled frequently to the US, Europe, and Asia, and was part of the first Team Canada mission to China in the fall of 1994.

Later, I helped set up the Forum of Federations, an international NGO based in Canada whose mission is to study and promote pluralism and better governance. Because of the circumstances surrounding the end of the Cold War, the Forum got drawn into dealing with conflict resolution and constitution-making in a number of countries, and my own work in this field took me to many places — Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Mexico, Brazil, South Africa, Nigeria, Sudan, Kenya, the Middle East, Iraq, St. Kitts and Nevis, Eastern Europe, the UK, Spain, and, of course, the older federal countries such as the US, Canada, Germany and Switzerland. I wrote about my experiences in global governance, the perils and benefits of mediating disputes of all kinds, and saw firsthand the evolution of Canadian diplomacy around the world.

My re-election to the Canadian Parliament in 2008 led immediately to my five-year appointment as Liberal Party spokesman on foreign affairs. In 2017, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau appointed me special envoy to Myanmar and asked me to help develop Canada's approach to the Rohingya crisis, then to humanitarian and refugee issues more broadly. On July 6th, 2020, he appointed me Canadian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations, where I've taken on the job my Dad held 50 years ago.

In those days, there was no internet, social media, COVID-19, worries about climate change, brutal, kinetic aggression by Russia against Ukraine, or debates on digital divides or LGBTQ rights. The sheer volume of meetings of all kinds on these and so many other issues has exploded. The Canadian mission has expanded, now sharing a floor in a Midtown office building with the Canadian consulate in New York, and we connect by secure video conference with Global Affairs colleagues in Ottawa, and with meetings of Cabinet committees.

But some things have not changed: the public meetings of the UN are marked by endless repetition of talking points, more often than not prepared by officials in capitals whose main purpose seems to be to make sure that all boxes of strict conformity with domestic correctness have been ticked and no possible tangent left unexplored. There are contentious divides, but they are more complex. The divide between richer and poorer, authoritarian and democratic, digitally connected and unconnected, egalitarian and patriarchal, dogmatic and pluralist, climate concerned and climate complacent, the list goes on — there are many fault lines, not just the obvious ones.

Canada took its place as a middle power after the Second World War, and we have never left. What has changed is the world around us. The rise of China and other rapidly industrializing countries, the explosion of new technologies, and the presence of deeper threats, mean that our comfort level with exclusively quiet diplomacy, where white men in striped suits settle issues privately in a corner, or where nation states assume that asserting the primacy of sovereignty will somehow answer all questions, must be irrevocably thrown out the window. And it must be replaced by a firm recognition that global engagement has to be at the centre of domestic decision-making in every country, and that decision makers have to be prepared to act more coherently and quickly in real time, explaining why they are doing what they've concluded they have to do.

Ending gender bias, homophobia, misogyny, racism, all fears that repress people and make life so difficult for millions of human beings is sometimes falsely called "political correctness" or "wokeness". Personal lives and careers in the foreign services of every country, includ-

Special envoy Bob Rae briefs Prime Minister Justin Trudeau on the Rohingya crisis at the APEC summit in Da Nang, Vietnam, in October 2017. Then-Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland (second from left) and Gerry Butts, then the PM's Principal Secretary (right) are among the senior officials in the meeting. --*Adam Scotti photo*

ing Canada, have been devastated by these terrible prejudices and it is only right that we use our diplomatic voices and policies to put them firmly behind us, and to embrace the values of equality, diversity, and inclusion.

Civil society played a key role in the creation of the UN, and the UN Charter's preamble begins with the words, "We, the peoples of the United Nations…". The most active engagement with public opinion requires the greatest openness, transparency and inclusion in everything we do. There is no avoiding the scrutiny and judgment of the global commons, as much as some might feel more comfortable doing business that way. Modern diplomacy is messy, confusing, often loud, and never reaches conclusions that everyone can wholeheartedly accept.

As Leonard Cohen reminded us, "There are no perfect offerings, there is a crack in everything. That's where the light gets in." The light is sometimes accompanied by smoke, spin, and platitudes, and some compromises are better than others, and everybody knows how disheartening some choices can be, but the search for perfection brings its own form of terror.

> ***"Dad often quoted Robert Browning's words, 'Man's reach must exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for?'"***

To cut through the din of lies, disinformation, propaganda, and the equal sins of duplicity, self-serving rhetoric and an inability to make decisions in a clear and timely way, modern Canadian diplomacy has to speak with confidence, candour, humour, and honesty, and has to ensure that its acts and deeds match its words. We all know in our own lives how difficult this can be, and how we inevitably fall short of the mark.

Dad often quoted Robert Browning's words, "Man's reach must exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for?"

Canadian diplomacy has not irrevocably declined, but it sometimes loses its way, its sense of its own context and history, its awareness of both its strengths and weaknesses.

Because of the ravages of a stroke suffered in his 60s, my Dad was never able to write his memoir. It was to be titled *Shake Thoroughly Before Using: For External Use Only*. After my first few months in New York, some brave employees, noting my tendency to shake things up a bit, sent me a plaque engraved "Hurricane Bob". When I was appointed to this job, a reporter asked me what my father would have to say. I'm sure he would have said, "Finally. What took you so long?" And I would have answered, "I had to make a few stops along the way."

Bob Rae is Canada's Permanent Representative to the United Nations and a contributing writer for Policy magazine.

Dispatch from a Wartime Ambassador

Canada is home to more Ukrainians than any other country in the world beyond Ukraine itself and Russia. So, when Vladimir Putin invaded Ukraine on February 24, 2022, Canada's response was not only strategic through NATO and tactical via sanctions, it was deeply emotional. Ambassador Larisa Galadza, who was born in Canada and whose eight grandparents emigrated from Ukraine, filed this piece from Kyiv on December 16th.

Larisa Galadza

Living in Kyiv has meant experiencing many forces: the force of evil; the force of determination that is way beyond survival instinct; the force of an explosion, felt through the wall against my back and that I later learn has snuffed out beautiful life; and the force of nature — cold and darkness that is heavier and deeper because we are in a time of war.

But for me, there are two forces that I feel particularly these days as I sit at my desk, or across from Ukraine's leadership, doing the ambassador job.

First is the force of diplomacy — the work of people far away from Ukraine whose energy, determination, and creativity are buoying the efforts that allow Ukrainians to fight on all fronts — military, economic, humanitarian, and informational. From Kyiv, I can see and feel the work of Canadian Heads of Mission around the globe as they find ways to move the world to choke off President Putin's and Russia's war machine financially, politically, and morally. From early on in the invasion, I knew that if there was one country that understood Ukraine and its people, and could advocate for it with particular credibility, it would be Canada. Every foreign diplomat I meet in Kyiv recognizes the inherently special relationship we have with Ukrainians, and that's precisely what we set out to leverage on this war's diplomatic front.

In multilateral arenas like the United Nations and through bilateral discussions, Canadian politicians and officials are making sure Ukraine is a top agenda item. This is easy to do with our like-minded community, but we have looked beyond traditional partners and allies, and invested creative capital into influencing countries that may not fully share our Canadian values, but are not entirely siding with Russia either. By doing our homework, identifying mutual interests and calling out disinformation, we have been successfully able to influence how much support for Ukraine's cause — our collective cause for a rules-based order — is received from the international community.

Countering Russian disinformation has become a regular undertaking for Canadian diplomats. Canada has made it a part of its strategic approach to hold Russia to account for its lies at bilateral meetings, at multi-stakeholder platforms, and anywhere else we have a voice. We know that the sole purpose of Russia's disinformation is to create chaos, and to think that the truth is unknowable. For example, when President Putin blamed Western sanctions for food insecurity, we engaged with partners around the world to fight Russian fiction with facts. Canadian diplomats targeted messaging to countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East, and Africa. We made sure it was well known that Russia was destroying agricultural infrastructure and holding grain hostage in Ukraine, while trying to barter for sanctions relief.

We are glad that our efforts have proven to be a strong complement to Ukraine's own diplomatic efforts, and the right tactic for getting stronger language on multilateral resolutions and increased numbers of votes condemning Russia at the United Nations General Assembly throughout the year. As a result of outreach of this kind, Ukrainians have seen greater support from countries that have tended to abstain or remain neutral when it comes to Russia-related resolutions.

Second is the force of Ukraine's ambition — one needs not be a close observer of the war to realize that Ukrainians are stopping at nothing to quash Russian aggression on all battlefronts, and achieve victory. Ten months into the war, the determination is more solid than ever to fight Russia back to the other side of the borders that were recognized internationally in 1991. Canada supports this goal.

Beyond that, Ukraine sends grain to the world's most vulnerable populations, aims to launch the first-ever prosecution of a country for the crime of aggression, and is determined to build not only its own defence arrangements, but also to strengthen the international peace and security architecture so that no country has to fight like this again.

It also continues on the path of legal, judicial, and governance reforms, prepares to withstand brazen war crime attacks on its critical infrastructure, expects Russia to pay damages and reparations, and works to accelerate its accession process for membership in the European Union and the North Atlantic

Ambassador Galadza participates in the Ukrainian Leadership Academy's recent Forum on Opportunities on Dec. 11, 2022. --*Volodymyr Neizvestnyi photo*

Treaty Organization (NATO). Ukraine has set for itself, and its partners, a history-defining task of huge ambition. For us, their Western partners, each of these ambitions comes with expectations as to our own involvement.

As we determine what that involvement can be, we must work to maintain the strong unity that proves our like-mindedness and institutional resilience (more diplomatic work!). To be frank, it is daunting for governments that are post-COVID-19, hard-hit by inflation, and engaged in a multitude of domestic challenges. And yet, inspired by Ukrainians' sheer determination — their willingness to pay the ultimate price for what we so often take for granted — we too are brought into this ambition.

The ways Ukrainians set these goals can seem counterintuitive to a western bureaucrat. In our systems, we work up problematics, analyze options, consult across government with stakeholders and like-mindeds, and work through layers of approvals and signoffs; Ukrainians think fast, then act. They understand what it is they must achieve and announce boldly that they shall do so. President Zelensky's 10-point peace plan, which he set out at the G20 in Bali in November 2022, is a prime example. Vision motivates and keeps everyone — including us, their partners — focused. President Zelensky knows this and he is right: it works.

What Ukraine, and Russia's invasion of Ukraine, have managed to do to the long-standing policies of their partners was unthinkable just 10 months ago. Finland and Sweden will soon be in NATO. Germany and Japan are providing lethal aid. Switzerland has frozen Russian assets. Canada has sanctioned 1577 individuals and entities since February 2022. Would diplomats in January 2022 have believed this could happen? Further, what Ukrainians have done for their reputation in the world could not have been masterminded by the priciest global PR firm — the prevalent (let's face it) notion that Ukraine was somehow a "Little Russia" is gone forever. Russia did not do this; Ukraine and Ukrainians did.

What's behind these forces of unprecedented diplomacy and ambition? A powerful interplay of values and interests, but mostly interests. At a recent dinner, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba spoke about the power that is unlocked with his counterparts in the Global South when he identifies a problem they have in common. The leader of a UN body travelling through Kyiv, discussing voting trends on Ukraine-related resolutions in the General Assembly, told me that human rights commitments do not necessarily motivate countries to move from supporting Russia to supporting Ukraine. Rather, it is their interests that govern their behaviour.

Russia's illegal and unjustifiable invasion of Ukraine has brought Canadian interests into stark focus. While a sizeable diaspora is an important force, the fact of the matter is that security in Europe, and the survival of the system that serves middle-power interests, is actually at stake. Yes, we value these things, but only when you convey this in the language of interests do you have a clear sense of what must be done to end this war. This clarity unleashes creativity and initiative, and the resulting force is palpable.

As for the force of Ukrainian ambition, what is more powerful than the interest to survive? There is nothing more basic, and Ukrainians understand that survival is only possible if they advance ambitiously, unapologetically on all fronts.

One final note: Ukrainians tell me regularly that they feel Canadian and Western support — not that they know about it, but that they feel it. "We feel that we are not alone," said the couple whose roof is now rebuilt because of Canadians and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The marine fighting on the frontlines testifies to the feeling of connectedness because he knows we want the same thing as him. Even the presence of the diplomatic community in Kyiv is held up by Ukrainian friends and colleagues as a sign that we are confident in Ukraine's victory.

Russia's tragic and foolish invasion of Ukraine has unleashed many forces. The forces of diplomacy and national ambition are elements of Ukraine's fight for survival. We are all warriors in the effort — because that is in our interest.

Larisa Galadza was appointed Canada's ambassador to Ukraine in 2019. Prior to this, she served as Director General of the Peace and Stabilization Operations Program at Global Affairs Canada. Since February 24, 2022, she has been deeply involved in Canada's response to Russia's illegal and unjustifiable invasion of Ukraine. Ambassador Galadza is based in Kyiv.

The Strengths and Weaknesses of Canada's Diplomacy Game

Like so many elements of power projection, diplomacy has spent the past two decades adjusting to a context of unprecedented disruption, normalized propaganda and covert and overt threats to the rules-based international order that depends on it. Policy international affairs writer and former Canadian ambassador to Russia, the European Union and the United Kingdom Jeremy Kinsman examines the state of Canada's diplomacy game at the most critical juncture in international affairs since the Second World War.

Jeremy Kinsman

There was a time when an ambassador could be described as "an honest gentleman sent abroad to lie for the good of his country," as British author, politician and diplomat Sir Henry Wotton said in 1604. Diplomats were emissaries for states competing for supremacy, often agents of deception, sent to conduct secret talks in foreign courts in a non-democratic world.

Today's diplomats are open, alive to the truth that it is the people who make history, more than potentates (are you listening, Vladimir Putin?). Canada needs its professionals with eyes and ears to the ground around the world, and leaders who have influence.

A half-century ago, an adult board game called *Diplomacy* was, briefly, a passion among younger foreign service officers in Ottawa. It drew from the delineations — geographical and political — of 19th century Europe, when might made right. Gamers played the roles of the seven European Great Powers just before the First World War, instructing armies and navies to invade their neighbours, or ally with others for safety. Over several hours, to the despair of orphaned partners and spouses, players cut deals (best in a house with several rooms), and then betrayed them. The effects reverberated the next day at the office. Before long, pushback at home and in diplomatic workplaces at home and abroad ended the fun.

In our real world, Russia's throwback invasion of Ukraine has jolted humanity back to the pre-1914 world of would-be empires of coercive force that caused the carnage of the "war to end all wars." After the postwar League of Nations failed to put an end to aggression, and Hitler's next world war cost 126 million lives, the UN was created in 1945 to ensure "never again" and make territorial invasion obsolete.

> ***"Our version of 'soft power' needs diplomats to be able to operate semi-autonomously in the agitated global marketplace."***

Rules-based multilateral diplomacy became a Canadian specialty. Our diplomats became designers, fixers, and frequent chairs of innumerable committees. The tone was set at the top by internationalist prime ministers, and activist foreign ministers like Joe Clark and Lloyd Axworthy.

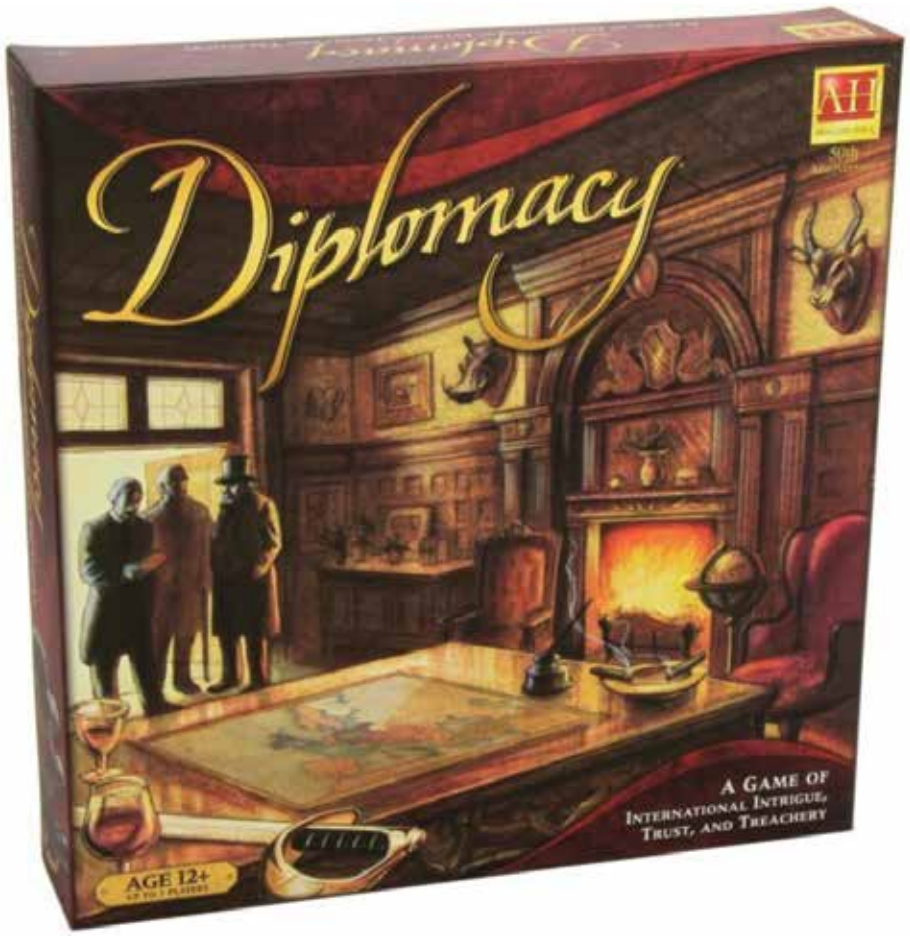
Their eclectic personal contacts created networks of global influencers (before the word became a hashtag) that truly covered the world, beyond vital NATO, OECD, and North American partnerships. These contacts enormously validated the access and influence of our diplomats overall. Canadians had global diplomatic reach abroad because we engaged widely from the top and locally on the ground.

Canadian diplomacy was best exemplified by Pearson's brokerage of the 1956 Suez crisis that inaugurated UN peacekeeping. Some foreign policy imperatives became national *questions d'etat*, pursued in secret; managing the long aftermath of Charles De Gaulle's call for a "Québec libre!", recognizing Communist China, or freeing British diplomat James Cross with Fidel Castro's help. However, more and more, domestic and political pressures squeezed the bandwidth for foreign affairs in prime ministerial attention. Now, leaders are tempted to hype moves on the international stage for media at home. Outward relationships become secondary to the domestic audience that is the dominant consideration, especially for a minority government. Canadian media, cash-strapped for representation abroad, have become overwhelmingly parochial.

A default communications position is to enfold Canadian foreign policy into chorus support for our allies. During the Cold War, Canada's policies prioritized our alliances but their wider globalist perspective and context were additional diplomatic strengths. "Who is my neighbour?" Pierre Trudeau asked in Parliament in 1981, answering that our "neighbours" were everywhere.

The Economist urges us, in *The World Ahead 2023*, to face the "reality" that in our changing, troubled, and fractured world, "unpredictability is the new normal." But it's not new. Histo-

ry, like life, is full of surprises. Pierre Trudeau's foreign policy briefing for ministers in November 1980, urged us to "expect the unexpected." Surprises may seem somewhat crazier today, but Pol Pot and his killing fields, Lockerbie and Chernobyl remind us that events, to put it politely, have always happened. However, we seem less well-equipped now to lift our game to meet the opportunity to operate within the wider dispersal of influence among middle powers. For example, Canadian aid workers cannot address the dangerous and growing humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan because 2001 legislation labelled the Taliban a terrorist group. Other Western countries amended similar national laws enacted after 9/11 to permit humanitarian remittances in today's changed circumstances. But Canadian bureaucratic paralysis stymies adaptation.



"A half-century ago, an adult board game called Diplomacy was, briefly, a passion among younger foreign service officers in Ottawa," writes Jeremy Kinsman. --*Avalon Hill Games*

Canada needs agility to advance diplomatic initiatives abroad. We should valorize initiatives by professional diplomats on the ground to interpret and connect to countries that increasingly assert unique identities. Our version of "soft power" needs diplomats to be able to operate semi-autonomously in the agitated global marketplace. The excessive executive power at the government's core needs to resist its centralizing instincts, illustrated by the Harper PMO wanting all public speeches by ambassadors to be vetted. Ottawa's bureaucratic "centre," has long resented foreign service separateness, colonizing Global Affairs with appointments from domestic government departments. It partly explains why we now evacuate needed diplomatic personnel from posts that become risky, as in Kabul and Kyiv. Foreign Service tradition kept diplomatic shoes on the ground even when bombs start dropping.

Today's diplomacy is public as well as private. It relies even more on field professionals to navigate the super-charged digital communications culture of rampant social media, disinformation and propaganda. The initial wave of "one-world" democratization unleashed by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 legitimized embassies reaching out directly to citizens. It made diplomatic accreditation a virtual duality. The basic confidential relationship with the host state was paralleled by a public one with NGOs and civil society, though re-emerging authoritarian governments began painting NGOs as internal adversaries more than a decade ago to neutralize them as democracy and human rights-advocating threats to power.

Our diplomats pitch Canada's merits and interests. The Trade Commissioner Service's invaluable partnership with Canadian business pre-dated our entry into government-to-government diplomacy. Diplomats pursue markets, technology, finance, and defence pacts. They vaunt Canada's internationalist, pluralist brand, connect our civil society and centres of excellence and showcase Canadian performers and artists, though the Harper government cut "all that cultural stuff," as the late Jim Flaherty once put it to me. A dumb move, as was cutting support for universities abroad offering Canadian studies (which the Trudeau government has, oddly, still not restored). Above all, public diplomacy relies on reputational credibility. We need to stay current in our claim that we can lead, not just follow.

Our military focus has shifted from peacekeeping to supporting our allies in the unfortunate wars of the 21st century, especially Afghanistan. We still organize peacekeeping conferences, but curtail actual commitments, as in Mali.

Credible leadership is earned mostly at the top. Chrystia Freeland as foreign minister convened in Vancouver an international ministerial conference in 2018 on North Korea, where we didn't even have an embassy, primarily to help politically endangered US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson. Trump dumped Tillerson a few weeks later, went his own way with "Rock-

> *Justin Trudeau's international image is an asset to Canadian diplomacy. Foreign leaders welcome meeting their pleasant and reasonable colleague, who is by instinct and interest more substantive than Canadians know.*

et-Man" Kim Jong-un (which led nowhere), and the Vancouver conference was instantly forgotten by everyone.

Justin Trudeau's international image is an asset to Canadian diplomacy. Foreign leaders welcome meeting their pleasant and reasonable colleague, who is by instinct and interest more substantive than Canadians know. It has not been revealed that when the secessionist crisis of Tigray recently threatened not just famine but outright war in Ethiopia, Trudeau spent a very helpful hour talking over the options with the Ethiopian PM, encouraging him in private to align with non-forceful approaches. But sometimes, the PMO's compulsion to go public, prompted by the need to defend against "gotcha" critics, gets diplomacy wrong.

The PMO naturally welcomes the accompaniment of byline media on big diplomatic trips (they need to pay their way). But the travelling pool then has to be fed news. It comes less easily given that Trudeau is not a major player, though on today's overriding issue of ensuring the survival of Ukraine's democracy and the defence of the all-important post-Second World War norm against aggression, Canada has been front and centre.

Putin didn't go to Bali for the G20 Summit for obvious reasons, but sent his Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov. Canada's activism-inclined foreign minister, Mélanie Joly, briefed the Canadian press contingent that she would "not meet with Lavrov" That Lavrov hadn't asked to meet was beside the communications point. Trudeau was then asked if he would meet with Lavrov. He said reasonably that he had no reason nor intention to do so.

The press then asked if he'd meet with Chinese President Xi Jinping, who was meeting Australian and Japanese prime ministers. The PM, on the defensive from opposition critics at home pushing reports Chinese consular officials had made cash advances to some candidates in our 2019 election, was stuck for an answer.

By alphabetical order, China sits next to Canada at G20s, so a short introductory pull-aside when media were in the room was hastily negotiated. The PMO then briefed Canadian media that Trudeau had pressed Xi Jinping over China's interference in Canada's elections. Reports dutifully emerged hailing the PM's act of national self-defence. The next day, Xi initiated his own pull-aside to express dismay that "Everything we discussed has been leaked to the paper; that's not appropriate," adding that they should focus first on establishing their relationship.

Should this report have been the centrepiece of Trudeau's rare meeting with the leader of the world's second-largest economy, with whom our relations are in the tank? Is that "diplomacy" or grandstanding for the home audience? Shouldn't we first deploy evidence, expel the offending diplomats, and charge alleged candidates? Yet, a few days later, under questioning in Parliament, the Prime Minister said "there has never been any information given to me on the funding of federal candidates by China."

This example of "open and public diplomacy" in which a leader plays to the electoral audience at home, or to demographic electoral sub-sets, side-swipes professionalism and undermines credibility on which relationships depend.

Diplomacy is not about lecturing. Israeli PM Yitzhak Shamir, in a meeting on the eve of the 1991 Gulf War in his tiny Knesset office, told Foreign Minister Joe Clark that Palestinians were "animals." Clark could have challenged him, or left. But his substantive view was clear from the fact he'd spent the previous day in Ramallah. He'd never be Shamir's pal, but he couldn't dump the prime minister of Israel just before a war against Saddam Hussein that would rely on Israeli self-restraint to succeed.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney led the seminal debate at the 1990 Harare Commonwealth Summit that was meant to enshrine respect for human rights as a criterion for membership. When the heated session broke up, Kenyan autocrat Daniel arap Moi contested Mulroney's argument in private. Mulroney told Moi exactly why we could not turn our eyes away from human rights abuse and corruption and regard them as inevitable, normal, and none of the Commonwealth's business. The draft Harare Declaration went through the next day without objection. Did Mulroney authorize briefing Canadian media on this likely decisive conversation? Absolutely not.

When Prime Minister Jean Chretien raised in China with president Jiang Zemin the case of a young man jailed since Tiananmen in 1989 — he wasn't Canadian, but his sister was — he was on a plane the next day, a transaction made in silence.

As a contrary example, Prime Minister Harper briefed Canadian media before a G20 meeting a decade or so ago that he would meet with China's president to give him hell about the imprisonment of Canadian-Chinese Uyghur mullah Huseyin Celil. An ex-Canadian ambassador to China accurately predicted to me immediately that a) Harper wouldn't get the meeting and b) the hapless Celil would have his sentence doubled.

So, diplomacy has changed in a lot of ways for diplomats and leaders. But one thing is constant: Relationships of trust are a prerequisite to getting important things done. They require perpetual investment and meticulous curation, both from the top in Ottawa and on the ground from our foreign service professionals around the world. P

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

Canada's ambassador to the World Trade Organization, Nadia Theodore (third from left) at a WTO meeting on trade and environmental sustainability in Geneva. --*WTO Photo*

Trade Diplomacy in a Time of Flux: Q&A With Nadia Theodore

Nadia Theodore was appointed in August 2022 as Canada's ambassador to the World Trade Organization in Geneva. She is the first woman to serve in this position. Prior to this, she served as consul general in Atlanta before spending two years as a senior vice president at Maple Leaf Foods.

Policy Associate Editor Lisa Van Dusen conducted this Q&A with Ambassador Theodore by email.

Lisa Van Dusen: Between post-lockdown supply chain kinks, the weaponization of trade under a certain former American president and the World Trade Organization's evolution over the past two decades as a proxy battleground for geopolitical competition, trade has had some reputational issues lately. Having spent more than a decade immersed in trade policy, including on the negotiating teams for the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement between Canada and the European Union, and now as WTO ambassador, what's your take on the state of trade from the front lines?

Ambassador Nadia Theodore: It's funny because the examples you have provided, to me don't speak to a diminishing relevance of trade but quite the opposite. They represent examples of how critical trade still is and is recognized as such. The fact that disruptions to, and diminution of, the ability of goods and services to flow across borders garners strong negative reaction is evidence of the fact that people understand global trade to be crucial — whether to the success of their business, big or small, or to the prosperity of their economies and communities. But what I will say is that international institutions and multilateralism in general are having some reputational issues lately as folks realize that some of the old ways of doing things and the siloed way that we used to approach much of global governance issues, including global economic governance, is no longer serving us and won't get us the results we are looking to for the future. From the trade world, there is finally a mainstreaming of the various intersections of international trade and the most significant global challenges we face. From where I sit, the work on the role of trade in building not just better economies, but better societies and a better planet, is intensifying – and that is a good thing.

LVD: In broader diplomatic terms, there's an impression emerging after years of Brexit-driven, Trump-driven, China-driven disruption that, with NATO unity in the face of Russian aggression in Ukraine, with the US midterm results and with at least a greater understanding of what the threats to democracy and global stability are, some sanity is returning to international relations. Trade diplomacy being the vanguard of multilateralism, do you see that as too optimistic?

ANT: One can never be too optimistic! Seriously though, I don't think that any one type of diplomacy has a monopoly on new ideas and a modern way of doing things. All disciplines have innovations that we can draw from and better yet, taking an integrated approach to public diplomacy and its various facets for me is the key to success. WTO Director General Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala understands this better than many. She has truly elevated the idea of looking at the role that trade can play to help solve global challenges and how international organizations and institutions can accomplish more if we work together. Her leadership at the WTO makes it easy to remain optimistic.

LVD: Where does Canada fit in this moment of flux?

ANT: Well, listen, I am a Canadian diplomat and a senior executive in the Canadian federal public service, so my answer is likely somewhat predictable! Canada is in an opportune position. We are in a sweet spot of expertise meeting opportunity and we are leveraging our expertise at a time when leadership is needed. This is true in a myriad of organizations and contexts, but at the WTO specifically, we are co-convenors to the Trade and Environmental Sustainability Structured Discussions; we are the convenors of the Ottawa Group, which focuses on WTO reform issues; we played an instrumental role in seeing the successful conclusion of the Agreement on Fisheries Subsidies. And I could go on.

On almost any global issue, when bridges need to be built or when the conversations move into the solution sorting phase, Canada is called upon. We are known for our pragmatic, inclusive approach and that is no different in the WTO context. Canada believes that high, resilient and inclusive growth requires global systems and global cooperation and we are ready to roll up our sleeves and do the work required for success, both at home and on the global stage.

LVD: Your tenure as Canadian consul general in Atlanta seemed like both a long-overdue triumph of logic over the factors that had delayed a Black woman's appointment to the posting and a powerful moment for Canadian representation. What did you learn while you were there?

ANT: I have thought a lot about my time in Atlanta. My biggest lessons from my time there and what has stayed with me the most is what I learned about successful policy making and successful diplomacy in today's world. We live in a world where things are no longer linear. With any given issue or situation, there are a whole host of relevant factors, inputs and perhaps most importantly, a whole range of potential outcomes and usually, no one potential outcome is any more likely than another. It is messy and winding and the ability to predict and count on any one particular outcome based on historical context or dominant narratives is difficult if not impossible. The well-used phrase "the trend is your friend" no longer holds true.

> ***"From the trade world, there is finally a mainstreaming of the various intersections of international trade and the most significant global challenges we face."***

The countries, businesses, institutions that will thrive in this heightened reality will be those that truly understand and pay attention to having people in policy making, relationship-building and decision making functions that have different ways of looking at the world, different ways of showing up in the world, different contexts in which the world looks at them and different ways of approaching problems.

That's what I mean when I talk about having more people who look more like me and my ancestors than perhaps like you or your ancestors, around the decision making table, with real authority and decision-making power. It's not just about what I look like – it's about how what I look like and who I am shapes the way I look at the world, how I look at solving problems, what doors to rooms I may more easily be able to open and what I see when I get into those rooms that others might not see. When I look back at my time in Atlanta, the things that I am most proud of and the areas where I believe I had the most impact, materialized when I and the Department embraced what I brought to the table that was different and when we used that difference to open ourselves up to different possibilities and different solutions to problems. The more we can replicate that openness and innovation in diplomacy and feed it into our policy-making, the greater advantage Canada will enjoy on the global stage. The good news is that I believe that Canada gets it and is set up for success.

LVD: You've been back in Geneva now for just over three months. Have you got a sense yet of what you want the next four years of your mandate to look like?

ANT: One of my favourite quotes is from Toni Morrison: as you enter positions of trust and power, dream a little before you think. I actually have those words on a sticky note on my computer screen. I am trying very hard to take the first six months to listen, learn and execute on the fantastic foundations that have been set by the mission team and by my predecessors, in particular the immediate past ambassador, Stephen de Boer, who was an incredible leader in Geneva. Even though it is really hard for me not to jump in with my own unique priorities, I think that taking the time to dream a little at the front end serves leaders in spades if you can discipline yourself to do so. Having said that, I have started fleshing out what I want success to look like for me and my thinking is converging around: digging into Canada's role around inclusion, reforming globalization or re-globalization as some are calling it, environment and digital. More to come!

Nadia Theodore is Canada's Head of Canada's Mission to the United Nations, the World Trade Organization and other International Organizations in Geneva.

Policy Magazine Associate Editor Lisa Van Dusen was a senior writer at Maclean's, Washington columnist for the Ottawa Citizen and Sun Media, international writer for Peter Jennings at ABC News and an editor at AP National in New York and UPI in Washington.

Former NATO Ambassador Kerry Buck (far right) at the inauguration of the new Canadian Permanent Mission to NATO during the 2018 NATO Summit in Brussels with (L to R) LGen Marquis Hainse, Military Representative of Canada to NATO (now retired), then-minister of National Defence, Harjit Sajjan, then-minister of Foreign Affairs Chrystia Freeland, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, Chief of Defence Staff Jon Vance (now retired). --*Adam Scotti photo*

Changing the Face of Security: Being a Woman Ambassador to NATO

Canada's diplomatic corps includes high-profile women in senior roles, from Ambassador to the United States Kirsten Hillman to WTO Ambassador Nadia Theodore to Ambassador to Ukraine Larisa Galadza. Ambassador Kerry Buck served as Canada's permanent representative to NATO from 2015 to 2018. As the first woman to serve in that role, she generously shares her experience as a woman both in the foreign service and in the male-dominated halls of NATO headquarters.

Kerry Buck

In 2015, I was appointed Canada's Ambassador to NATO: the first woman in that position in the 66 years since Canada joined the alliance. I was not the first woman permanent representative to NATO; this honour had gone to my Lithuanian colleague in 2004, when Lithuania had joined the Alliance, appointed Ambassador Ginte Damusis and broken the glass ceiling. My American friends Toria Nuland and Rose Gottemoller became, respectively, the first American woman Ambassador to NATO (2005) and first woman Deputy Secretary General of NATO (2016). In 2015, when I arrived at NATO, there were only three other women ambassadors out of a table of twenty eight allies.

They, too, were the first of their kind to be appointed by their countries.

While we in Canada tend to take gender equality as a given, the fact is that all of the NATO appointments I just listed are current events, not ancient history. The very low number of women heads of mission at the NATO table is not surprising: NATO permanent representatives are among the most senior ambassadorial appointments in western foreign ministries. The 17 (male) Canadian PermReps who preceded me included six deputy ministers of Foreign Affairs, numerous ambassadors to the United Nations and to the United States, two foreign policy advisors to the prime minister, a governor general (Jules Léger, to spare you the Googling) and a lieutenant general. NATO ambassadors are, obviously, focused on security and defence and both senior ambassadorial posts and international security are still heavily male-dominated across western allies — even more so in the rest of the world.

It can be hard to write about what it's like to be a woman ambassador to NATO when, having never been a male ambassador, I have nothing to measure against. I can, however, reflect on my own experience making my way as a woman diplomat in the security and defence fields.

In some ways, my path to NATO ambassador followed the same arc as many of my allied colleagues. Prior to coming to Brussels, I and many of my new NATO colleagues had occupied the position of political director in our respective foreign ministries; the senior diplomat responsible for major geopolitical security issues. Every big conflict — Syria or Crimea, for instance — and every broad security issue, such as terrorism or nuclear proliferation, would end up on our desks. We negotiated with each other in the G7 and had a loose circle of political directors from other nations we reached out to when we needed to align our policy positions. I had also spent most of my 24 years as a diplomat doing multilateral negotiations.

And, as an exception to the longstanding approach of the Canadian foreign ministry to prioritize generalists, I had managed to develop a specialization in security issues. All of these factors meant that I arrived in Brussels already knowing the people and policy positions of major allies, with a solid understanding of how to negotiate at the NATO table.

> ***"Senior women diplomats across countries understand how tricky it can be to be a woman working in international security. We stick together and offer support to each other in ways that male diplomats might not, because they don't have to."***

These building blocks of trust and networks built over time really matter to diplomacy. Professional diplomats develop knowledge and contacts over the years that allow them to understand issues, countries and regions in-depth. This, in turn, enables them to identify early on opportunities for their countries to influence and lead. They use their international relationships to help turn opportunities into action on the ground, whether it be bolstering peace, creating new markets or development. For the NATO job, the fact that I already knew the multilateral terrain well, had gained credibility on security issues and had longstanding relationships of trust with the major voices at the NATO table, made me a more effective voice for Canada right from the start, more so than if I had been parachuted in without that background.

The day Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg formally welcomed me to NATO, the embassy put a notice out on social media. One Canadian critic used the opportunity to complain online: a) that I had no military background and b) was not a man. To be honest, I am not sure my gender had any impact on the way I approached my job as Canada's ambassador to NATO. When I sat across the negotiating table from other NATO allies, I was "Canada" and not a woman named Kerry. In fact, a recent academic study looked at data on 80,000 ambassadorial postings and conducted in-depth interviews with 75 of them and found that most ambassadors interviewed saw no particular gender patterns within diplomacy.

What is certain, however, is that my path on the way to becoming ambassador was very much affected by my gender. Throughout my career, I had my share of explicit and implicit misogyny: one drunk boss called me into his office then angrily shoved me; another pounded on my hotel room door for hours one night, yelling to get in; yet another called me a sexist name in front of my executive committee peers – I could go on, and other women colleagues had similar experiences. What we learned from these experiences was that, although the system could offer quiet support, as with so many workplaces for so long, it was unwilling to do anything to curb the perpetrators. I hope this has changed. What I also learned was that the negative was more than offset by the colleagues, employees and mentors — both male and female — who inspired, guided and supported me throughout my diplomatic career.

When I was first appointed political director in 2010, I was only the second Canadian woman in the position. My office was on the 8th floor of the Pearson Building, the same floor as the deputy minister. At that time, there had never been a woman undersecretary of state: every morning I walked by a long line of photographs of male deputy ministers going back to 1909. In an interesting twist on this head-office reality, former head of the UK diplomatic service Sir Simon McDonald had a wall of mirrors erected in the Foreign Office, each representing a top job a woman had yet to fill, and encouraging passing women to put their face in the frame.

Senior women diplomats across countries understand how tricky it can be to be a woman working in international security. We stick together and offer support to each other in ways that male diplomats might not, because they don't have to. I was lucky to have among my political director counterparts two colleagues who became good friends and mentors: Wen-

dy Sherman, a senior US diplomat and Helga Schmid of the European External Action Service. Both offered invaluable support as I learned the ropes as a new political director for Canada. At one point, after I had arrived at NATO, the three of us met for dinner in Brussels. Helga and Wendy recounted a story about the casual sexism senior women diplomats still see all too frequently. The political directors who had negotiated the Iran nuclear deal were mostly women. As they were finalizing negotiations, some of the foreign ministers went out to dinner. Wendy wrote later in Politico, "As we worked to get to closure on the last details of the agreement, text messages began to transmit back to some of us that some ministers were making derogatory jokes about how much more efficient the process would have been if men were in charge."

Wendy also told me the backstory of how she became the first woman undersecretary for political affairs at the State Department. When she was first being considered for the job, she was told there were misgivings about her as a team player. She later wrote about the experience:

"Throughout my career, I'd been called 'tough'. It was a compliment that was regularly paid to women in Washington who demanded excellent work, but of course, it always sounded less begrudging when it was said of a man. In the competition for the political affairs job, 'tough' had somehow become 'too assertive'. Critiques like this one, along with being called 'ambitious' or 'aggressive,' are often lodged against women."

In the end, she got the job after her (male) predecessor, Bill Burns, vouched for her collegiality. I and many of my Canadian women colleagues experienced similar things: careers pushed sideways because we "took up too much space", male-dominated policy tables that gave less weight to women's voices, senior women moved into more "traditional" roles, for instance in human resources and out of security.

While today some of the explicit sexism has started to disappear, the power imbalances remain. I mention my own experiences and those of women colleagues because they illustrate the ways in which gender can affect not only how you do your job, but, more often, how you are seen to be doing your job. I learned that women have to work harder to be recognized and, even when they do, often need to be validated by men before it counts. As women, we need to take care not to downplay our own capabilities and to become more comfortable with power. And we need to support each other.

Kerry Buck serving as ambassador to NATO in her Brussels office. --*Vera Alexander*

These are some of the lessons I had already learned by the time I arrived at NATO in the summer of 2015. I started my ambassadorial posting just as the international security environment was starting to shift away from the relative calm of the 1990s and 2000s. Russia had just invaded Crimea and allies were waking up to the need to rebuild deterrence by placing more troops in the east of the Alliance. Many more women were joining the North Atlantic Council: partway through my term I had seven women colleagues, including from the US, UK and France. And NATO Secretary General, Jens Stoltenberg, wanted to do more on gender.

To my mind, these created opportunities, and I saw room to carve out a leadership role for Canada. Although Canada had, many decades before, pulled most of our permanent troops out of Europe, our new government had also said they were "bringing Canada back" to the world stage. And "women, peace and security" had long been a Canadian priority. So I went to work, using the contacts and credibility I had at NATO and my hard-earned knowledge of how to get decisions out of the Ottawa machine. I am proud of the work I did to orchestrate Canadian command of a new battlegroup in Latvia, a role that has become even more important with Russia's war in Ukraine. And I am proud of NATO's adoption of its Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, a continuation of work I started back in 1991 on the issue of violence against women. And lastly, I'm proud of the model my NATO colleagues and I set for the women who might succeed us in senior international security positions. I learned that when women take on powerful roles, they can change the way people think of the offices they fill. Or at least start to. P

Kerry Buck was Canada's Ambassador to NATO from 2015 to 2018. Prior to that she held senior diplomatic positions on International Security, Africa and the Maghreb, Latin America, the Afghanistan Task Force and the Middle East. She most recently served as Assistant Secretary to Cabinet, Economic Sector at the Treasury Board Secretariat until 2021. She is currently a Senior Fellow at the University of Ottawa and the Bill Graham Centre for Contemporary International History at Trinity College.

Letter from Brussels: The Power of a United Response

It is now widely recognized that Vladimir Putin's aim of dividing NATO by invading Ukraine has failed. Canada has other alliances at stake in this war, including its relationship with the European Union. Canadian Ambassador to the European Union Ailish Campbell writes from Brussels with an update on a bilateral-multilateral relationship that has, in this tumultuous year, doubled down on shared values.

Ailish Campbell

This article is dedicated to the memory of Mauro Petriccione, the EU's Chief Negotiator for CETA, who passed away unexpectedly in August 2022. He will be deeply missed by his Canadian friends.

On February 24, 2022, Russia — under the authority of President Vladimir Putin — invaded the sovereign territory of Ukraine for a second time, following Russia's 2014 invasion of Crimea. In December 2022 as I write this reflection, Ukraine has been defending itself with the help of support and supplies from allies, including Canada, for 10 months. War has returned to Europe.

As an extraordinary effort was being expanded for the military support and supply of Ukraine, an equally extraordinary set of discussions had begun in G7 capitals on an economic and humanitarian response to Russia's war. At the core of the discussions in Europe was, and remains, the unique, complex institution of 27 member states that is the European Union. Through the efforts of European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen, coordination with the G7 and others was mounted for an unprecedented set of sanctions on Russia and Belarus. Calls with Washington, Ottawa, and Tokyo were held daily.

A warm and direct relationship had developed between Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and European Commission President von der Leyen, forged during the COVID-19 crisis when the EU had supplied Canada with millions of doses of mRNA vaccines. Now, in the context of war, this relationship and others across the G7 helped accelerate action. Canada also has deep on-the-ground knowledge, based on our large and active Ukrainian diaspora and the longstanding Canadian Armed Forces training mission in Ukraine, Operation UNIFIER.

Canada was also able to move quickly to accelerate its support given our close ties with President Volodymyr Zelensky, the unwavering advice of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Chrystia Freeland, and cross-party support for Ukraine in Parliament. The EU leadership also knew Canada had the technical chops to keep pace with the United States on sanctions and export controls, something Brussels also required.

With support from leaders, senior officials engaged with the EU to discuss how to enact export controls to degrade Russia's ability to service its energy sector and to repair equipment. Ministers of finance coordinated with central bank governors, and by the end of February a ban on transactions with the Russian central bank, aiming to prevent Moscow from accessing its large amounts of foreign reserves, was in place. An expanded number of sanctions were also announced on individuals.

These measures were soon followed by coordinated restrictions on transactions with numerous Russian banks, with important carve-outs for developing nations to continue to transact for essential food supplies, medicine and other essential goods. Sanctions and support measures of this speed and magnitude require the dedication and expertise of colleagues in Ottawa and across our global network. A key lesson is that diplomacy is always a team sport.

Throughout the spring of 2022, the EU and the Brussels-based European Commission (the EU's public service), were demonstrating their geopolitical force. The EU was using its economic clout as a single market of over 445 million citizens to ensure political action in support of Ukraine. In March 2022, Prime Minister Trudeau travelled to Brussels for both an Extraordinary Summit of NATO Heads of State and Government and bilateral meetings with EU leaders, including President von der Leyen and President of the European Council Charles Michel. In his meeting with President von der Leyen, a new dedicated working group on green transition, with a focus on clean energy including hydrogen, was launched. The meeting also allowed for a renewed focus on Canada's ability to supply critical minerals and hydrogen. Trudeau also made a second appearance at the increasingly powerful European Parliament. At its heart, the PM's message to the European Parliament was this:

"The resolve of our united response to this invasion has been stronger than anything Putin expected. Not just from governments, but from

Ambassador of Canada to the European Union Ailish Campbell presents her diplomatic credentials to European Council President Charles Michel in February, 2021. --*EU photo*

citizens in all of our countries. It's that spirit and resolve that we must take forward with us. The European Union has mobilized to defend democracy. And, as always, you can count on the friendship and full support of Canada, every step of the way. Together, we must support democracies all around the world, including those that are the most fragile, and fight authoritarianism with more investments and more leadership."

Last March, the EU also hosted an Extraordinary Foreign Affairs Council. Normally comprised only of EU member-state foreign ministers, with no other invitees welcome as part of the closed-door discussions, this meeting was expanded to include NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mélanie Joly, US Secretary of State Antony Blinken, and the then-Foreign Secretary of the UK, Liz Truss. The focus was squarely on the response to both the kinetic war Russia had launched in Ukraine, and the hybrid war unleashed on Europe and the world, including the weaponization of energy, and food insecurity caused by cutting off grain routes. It also focused on efforts to combat inflation, disinformation and cyberattacks.

Only eight weeks later, in May 2022, Minister Joly participated in a second Foreign Affairs Council with EU Foreign Ministers, alongside Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba. The humanitarian response, including the EU's welcoming of over seven million displaced Ukrainians — mostly women and children — was also critical to the discussion. In his virtual address, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba was passionate about the need for expanded support to Ukraine in all aspects, including further sanctions and more military support. Minister Joly also participated in a Canada-EU Joint Ministerial Committee at that time, expanding further on joint efforts to secure land and sea corridors for grain exports and a full court press to hold Russia to account at the United Nations. These joint efforts between Canada and the EU to address Russia's war of aggression in Ukraine have continued.

Our combined sanctions and export controls to date, Canada's full embargo on Russian oil and the EU's work to vastly reduce its Russian gas imports are all testament to this. In addition, the G7+ oil price cap, agreed in December 2022, aims to reduce the market price of Russian oil and gather more information on the more difficult-to-regulate areas of services, including for transportation and insurance, necessary to further diminish Russia's export capabilities.

I began this piece with a focus on coordinated Canada – EU support for Ukraine, as I believe that, above all, it is this crisis in which the EU has proven its ability to act in concert with Canada's interests and values in the most challenging of circumstances. I would now like to outline four other areas.

Trade: Democracies must make an effort to build resilient supply chains among trusted partners and allies. Canada and the EU will continue efforts to build on the cornerstone of our Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA), negotiations, first launched in 2009. Two-way bilateral merchandise trade hit a record high in 2021, reaching $100B (€67.5 B), representing a 33 percent increase compared to pre-CETA levels. Exports by Canadian SME exporters to the EU have improved by almost 17 percent over the past five years. This demonstrates that bilateral trade is growing significantly between Canada and the EU, and also that businesses of all sizes are accessing the benefits of the agreement.

At the CETA Joint Committee in December 2022, Minister Mary Ng and European Commission Executive Vice President Valdis Dombrovskis highlighted the strength and resilience of our partnership and committed to continuing to adapt the trade agreement through strengthening cooperation on sustainable development, and holding discussions to enhance the enforceability of CETA's environment and labour

provisions. They also agreed to further clarifications with respect to the Agreement's investment protection provisions, which will lead to a Joint Interpretative Statement. Recent CETA ratifications developments — with positive votes in the Netherlands and Germany — were also welcomed. CETA entered into force provisionally in 2017, meaning that most of the agreement now applies, including eliminating duties on 99 percent of all tariff lines. Using CETA to deepen secure supply chains alongside other economies, paramount for Canada with the US, will further demonstrate the value of trusted, strong partnerships.

Innovation for the green transition and tech transformation: The collective challenge of our generation remains competent stewardship of the planet through protecting the environment, addressing climate change and transitioning towards a cleaner, climate-neutral economy. Canada and the EU will continue efforts to advance and address climate change and biodiversity protection globally. Canada remains steadfast in its commitment to meet the goals of the Paris Agreement, and to important tools such as carbon pricing. Like the EU, Canada has enshrined our objective of climate neutrality by 2050 into law. As the EU advances on its energy security – vital for its economic stability, growth and competitiveness – Canada remains a trusted partner for the supply of innovative clean technologies to boost supply and conservation, and on actions to address climate change and protect the environment. We will also deepen our work on safe and secure data flows as well as digital credentials through regulation and joint standards, and on platform regulation in our respective jurisdictions and internationally. Deepened cooperation on ethical artificial intelligence and increased cyber resilience are two critical areas for more work across our government, academic and private sectors.

As Anu Bradford outlined in her book The Brussels Effect the EU is a regulatory superpower, and one which Canada must both work with and continue to influence from "inside the tent" of our strong partnership. Not only do we have CETA through which to advance shared objectives, we also have our Strategic Partnership Agreement (SPA) — a treaty-based set of dialogues that has been expanding to include more structured work on environment and technology in recent years.

Global partnerships, including in the Indo-Pacific: Canada and the EU must continue to work to advance a rules-based international order, global health, food security and peace for our security and that of our partners. Cooperation for democracy promotion is critical, where the EU has particular influence through its enlargement process and Eastern Partnership in the Balkans and Caucuses. Canada's Indo-Pacific Strategy is also well aligned with the EU Strategy for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific. Both feature a values- and rules-based approach to enhanced engagement in the region, aimed at maintaining a free and open Indo-Pacific and improving our security and people ties.

> ***"The story of the EU's improbable development, linked as it has been to its ability to adapt during crises, reminds us that more innovation is coming in international institutions and that Canada is an agile partner."***

The EU's Global Gateway initiative is another area for partnership, launched as the flagship strategy to invest globally in infrastructure. Canada has a strong track record in the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and multilateral development banks as well as FinDev Canada, our development finance institution to advance sustainable development. Deepened cooperation on joint actions to fulfill the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda will further enhance the Canada–EU toolkit, and is necessary to demonstrate to partners in the Caribbean and the Americas, Africa and across Asia that we are committed to their well-being and progress, not only to that of our home regions.

The diversity of ways in which Canada and the EU cooperate leads to my final point about the ways in which the EU is Canada's essential partner.

The EU pushes us to adapt to new architecture for foreign and economic relations:

The story of the EU's improbable development, linked as it has been to its ability to adapt during crises, reminds us that more innovation is coming in international institutions and that Canada is an agile partner. Whether this in in the field of security cooperation for Ukraine, Arctic governance or regulating AI, the existing state-based architecture must adapt. The EU, for all its complexity, reminds us that nations can combine and project their interest and power in new and enduring ways. Canada must continue to be a capable partner to these new, emerging forms of collective action that are in our interest and ready to respond to those that are not.

As the first woman to hold the post of Canada's Ambassador to the EU, I reflect on another strong woman, Sylvia Ostry. Ostry was the first female Deputy Minister of Trade. She was always pushing boundaries, and looking for the unexpected even as she worked inside traditional government structures. She inspired me to move to Brussels the first time I was here in 1998 to study EU labour markets and monetary policy. "Never study the obvious, always look for what's coming," Sylvia would counsel. Sage advice for our uncertain times, and yet another reason for us to deepen our partnership with the EU so that Canada can continue to be a stronger, more capable and resilient international force. P

Ailish Campbell was appointed Canada's Ambassador to the EU in August 2020. Previously, she was the Chief Trade Commissioner of Canada at Global Affairs Canada, and Assistant Deputy Minister of Economic Development and Corporate Finance at Finance Canada. She began her public service career in 2002 as a negotiator on the WTO Doha Round.

Senator Peter Boehm chairs the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, which is currently studying Canada's foreign service in the 21st century. --*Senate of Canada photo*

Policy Q&A with Senator Peter Boehm: Is Canada's Foreign Service 'Fit for Purpose'?

There may be few people in Canada who can match Senator Peter Boehm's knowledge of both sides of Canadian diplomacy — the practice of diplomacy as managed engagement with the rest of the world and the complexities of the Ottawa head office that oversees that engagement. Boehm served as Canada's Sherpa for seven G7s, as Ambassador to Germany, as Ambassador to the Organization of American States, as Deputy Minister of International Development, Associate Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, as Assistant Deputy Minister for the Americas, North America and Consular Affairs, as Minister (political and public affairs) at the Canadian Embassy in Washington and in a variety of earlier diplomatic positions, including assignments in Cuba and Costa Rica.

In his current role as chair of the Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade (AEFA), Peter Boehm is overseeing the committee's study on "the Canadian foreign service and elements of the foreign policy machinery within Global Affairs Canada. In simple terms, an exploration of whether Canada's foreign service is fit for purpose in the 21st century. The committee is expected to report in spring 2023.

Policy magazine Associate Editor Lisa Van Dusen had the following exchange with Senator Boehm by email:

Lisa Van Dusen: At a time when it seems we may need diplomacy more than ever, it's been besieged by many of the same issues governments are

grappling with more broadly — the impact of technology, institutional fragmentation, the post-9/11 rise of the intelligence community, the ongoing challenge by autocracies to the rules-based international order of which diplomacy and multilateralism are key features…how do you see this moment for diplomacy in existential terms?

> *"Effective training, particularly in difficult foreign languages, critical technology and cybersecurity have taken on a greater sense of urgency in today's world."*

Senator Peter Boehm: Whether during multilateral negotiations or being present on a posting at an embassy, diplomacy is first and foremost human interaction undertaken on behalf of state actors. The digital revolution has changed it. So, one could argue, did the pandemic. When I began my career as a foreign service officer, my messages and reports were written in longhand and then encrypted. As I continued, we graduated to desktop computers, followed by BlackBerries, iPads and iPhones by the time I retired. The pandemic brought us Zoom, Teams and other virtual platforms. This type of interaction worked to a point — even leaders used it effectively — and there was no carbon footprint and heavy travel cost. Yet the missing ingredient was the opportunity to go into a corner with someone to garner support for a position, work out a compromise or build an alliance among others to counter a position inimical to our interests. The challenges are great but our "tradecraft" has somehow kept pace: whether through a closer and more realistic collaboration between intelligence communities and the diplomats (post-9/11 as you suggest) or dealing with direct threats, often powered by disinformation on social media, that could negatively impact the rules-based international order that has been with us, with some modifications, since the end of World War II. And that is the over-arching objective of our Senate study: to underscore the importance of a modern and engaged foreign, international trade and development ministry for a country like ours that has global reach, interests and presence. I think the fact that, in May, Minister Mélanie Joly launched an internal departmental study on the future of diplomacy was a welcome development as it also seeks to address these challenges. I suspect our two studies have much in common and that they are complementary. Our committee visited Washington at the beginning of December and the Americans are well into State Department modernization at all levels. The British, Germans and Nordics are also engaged in exercises designed to make their foreign ministries and diplomatic services abroad fit the current zeitgeist. France is also doing so, but has taken a more radical approach to staffing and career development. This might be a global moment for foreign service adjustment.

LVD: While your AEFA study of the foreign service is still underway, can you give Policy readers a sense of the broad themes that have emerged, including any issues that may have surprised you?

SPB: In essence, the themes are the same that were addressed in 1981 in the Royal Commission on Conditions of Foreign Service, led by Pamela McDougall. They include recruitment, employment and retention; spousal employment abroad and duty of care for all staff; how to attract the proverbial "best and brightest" to serve their country; how to improve the framework (The Foreign Service Directives) that supports the efforts of Canadian personnel abroad when dealing with living in challenging locations, often accompanied by family members; assessing the concept of "rotationality," which is to say striking that balance for the individual between years abroad and at headquarters but also the ratio of positions abroad against those in Ottawa. In their own review, the British have called for "more foreign, less office". To that, add the importance and human resource management of our locally-engaged staff abroad, the backbone of all our missions. Effective training, particularly in difficult foreign languages, critical technology and cybersecurity has taken on a greater sense of urgency in today's world. We all would do well to have mentors who can show us the ropes of diplomacy while reassuring us that we are on the right path. Management, departmental culture and "identifying/managing the talent" (promotion and secondment processes) are vital to the success of any organization. What is now Global Affairs Canada was the Department of External Affairs when I joined, which begat DFAIT when international trade was added in 1981, and DFATD in 2013 when CIDA was amalgamated. Also, there is greater inter-departmental and agency coordination on international affairs than ever before because of the need to have specialist engagement on migration, environment, policing, defence and intelligence issues to name but a few. So, the specialist versus generalist argument is another enduring discussion item. But

> *"In their own review, the British have called for 'more foreign, less office'. To that, add the importance and human resource management of our locally-engaged staff abroad, the backbone of all our missions."*

the big, newer theme is whether the foreign service effectively represents in person and culture the diverse country that Canada has become. One statistic that stands out to me is that the average age of a foreign service officer below management or executive rank today is 47. I joined the foreign service in my twenties and enjoyed the good fortune of a long career path. This average in my view reflects inconsistent recruitment, lack of planning and suggests that talent could be better managed. However, on the positive side, that number is also significant in that, as of last summer, 47 percent of Cana-

Senate AEFA committee members Peter Harder, Marty Deacon, Peter Boehm, Mary Coyle, Amina Gerba and Mohamed-Iqbal Ravalia on the 6th floor of Canada's embassy in Washington, December 7, 2022. --*Courtesy photo*

da's ambassadors, high commissioners and consuls general abroad were women. Moving forward on diversity does not, however, stop there. While good progress has been made in seeing our country's diversity reflected among officers at the working level, including in intersectional aspects, it should also be visible among senior management and heads of mission. Personally, I would like to see more indigenous representation in the ranks.

LVD: This is such a huge endeavour — as you said, no similar study has been done since 1981. What has that looked like in practical terms?

SPB: Since April 7, 2022, when we began meeting on this study, the Committee has held ten meetings on the subject and heard from 32 witnesses; we will hold one more on December 15, the last before Parliament's winter recess. The witnesses so far have included ministers, deputy ministers, former diplomats and deputy ministers, senior representatives from other government departments and agencies, academics, union representatives and members of the Global Affairs Canada Young Professionals Network. There will be more witnesses to come. At our request, the department has provided us with important statistical data on the workforce, its demography and trends on the balance between positions at headquarters and abroad, the personnel categories or streams (political/economic, trade, international assistance, administrative/consular, information/technology, administrative assistant, locally-engaged staff). We have a lot of data to sift through and analyze. Our trip to Washington provided us with not just the State Department's perspective on modernization but also that of members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee who, like us, are overseeing such efforts and, in their case, are appropriating the funds to effect change. We will also seek to compare renewal efforts being undertaken by other governments.

> ***"The specialist versus generalist argument is another enduring discussion item. But the big, newer theme is whether the foreign service effectively represents in person and culture the diverse country that Canada has become."***

LVD: One of the briefs submitted for the AEFA study was from a former foreign service officer whose romantic notions of seeing the world on a diplomatic passport had been, if not shattered, at least somewhat deflated. If you were leaving the University of Edinburgh today with your PhD in history, would you take the foreign service exam?

SPB: Indeed, I would take the exam. I had written it twice and realized that a foreign service career became the option when my attempts at getting a university teaching job did not bear fruit. Whether I would pass it as it is presently constituted and advance to the interview stage is a different matter altogether. At the moment, and for some time now, it is a different exam with an emphasis on cognitive problem solving. I was encouraged to see that the exam is again being offered, hopefully on a more regular basis and with an effort to "onboard" officers more quickly. The fact that there are members of different occupational groups (FS, EC, ES, PM) essentially doing the same work at headquarters but not all being able to compete for positions abroad can put romantic notions of diplomatic service to rest fairly quickly. New officers are arriving now with a remarkable skillset, very much attuned to today's global challenges and requirements. Some say they will try the foreign service for a few years and see how it goes since, as ever, important life choices also come into play. And if you are fortunate, you get to work on exciting policy and operational files, see fascinating places, appreciate your own country as you are in its service and learn a lot about yourself. I have no regrets.

Senator Peter Boehm, a regular contributor to Policy magazine, is a former senior diplomat and current chair of the Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade. He served as Canada's Sherpa for seven G7 summits.

Policy Magazine Associate Editor Lisa Van Dusen was a senior writer at Maclean's, Washington columnist for the Ottawa Citizen and Sun Media, international writer for Peter Jennings at ABC News and an editor at AP National in New York and UPI in Washington.

United Nations Secretary General Antonio Guterres on a video call with frontline mental health workers in Pakistan and South Africa. --*UN Photo/Eskinder Debebe*

How the Internet Has Changed Multilateral Diplomacy

Of all the elements of liberal democracy that have been altered by the Fourth Industrial Revolution — from representative government to journalism to the intelligence community to free speech to electoral infrastructure to the integrity of public information — diplomacy is among the most under-reported spheres of transformation. Michael W. Manulak of Carleton University and Duncan Snidal of Nuffield College, Oxford, help fill the gap.

Michael W. Manulak and Duncan Snidal

"My God, this is the end of diplomacy!" declared British Prime Minister Lord Palmerston upon receiving his first telegraphic message in the 1860s. Now "Zoom diplomacy" — and digital diplomacy more generally — are provoking similar reactions. Why send diplomats abroad when international meetings can be convened so readily without anyone ever leaving the Quai d'Orsay, Foggy Bottom or the Pearson Building?

While the telegraph *did* alter substantially diplomatic practice, predictions of the demise of diplomacy were greatly exaggerated. The same goes for the digital revolution in diplomacy. The return to in-person meetings, in-

cluding the recent United Nations climate change conference in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, and the G20 Summit in Bali, Indonesia, suggests that videoconferences and other digital technologies will not soon replace conference diplomacy or resident ambassadors.

Yet, despite a return to in-person meetings, it is worth considering the longer-term impact of digital technologies on intergovernmental relations. Zoom diplomacy is, of course, just the latest phase of a now three-decade long digital transformation in international relations.

While the extensive use of social media platforms such as Twitter has also transformed public diplomacy, we focus here on the deeper and more fundamental implications of new technologies for the conduct of multilateralism and the design of international institutions.

Digital modes of diplomacy have many advantages. For governments, the costs of posting delegates abroad or hosting an international meeting can be significant. While this may not limit meetings among top officials, lower-level exchanges that can be moved online are more likely to succumb to the requirements of fiscal discipline. Even for wealthy governments, resources are scarce and cost considerations will sometimes favour online meetings that previously would have been convened in person.

Another factor is time. The time requirements — particularly for senior government leadership — of trips abroad are considerable. The proliferation of summit-level meetings, for example, represents a significant draw on leaders' time, leading in recent years to steps to cluster international meetings together. In times of domestic political turbulence, the time pressure of international travel is felt most acutely. In addition, the ability of world leaders to come together on short notice online during international crises is especially valuable, as the G7 response to Russia's war of aggression in Ukraine has made clear.

Online exchanges also reduce the carbon footprint of diplomacy, an important consideration in the midst of our climate crisis.

But digital meetings lack certain key advantages of in-person gatherings — including the greater privacy of offline communication, the personal element, the opportunity to conduct discreet corridor conversations, the greater possibility of fast agreements, the ability to make highly visible joint commitments, and the possibility of serendipity. For such reasons, in-person diplomacy will continue even as states take up the advantages afforded by online meetings. Assuming that digital platforms will continue to play a role in diplomacy, the operative question is: how much of a role? How will digital diplomacy further change traditional diplomacy?

> *"Heads of state or government are steering an increased share of international interactions directly through informal venues."*

While it is impossible to answer these questions definitively, our research has shed historical light on the disintermediating role of information, communication and transportation technologies on diplomatic affairs. These technologies all reduce the significance of distance, which has historically served as a chief motivator for diplomatic representation. So far, there have been three main implications for diplomacy.

First, new technologies have made international cooperation less formal. Instead of relying on traditional intergovernmental organizations, such as those of the United Nations system, serviced by international secretariats and often requiring permanent diplomatic missions, states are increasingly opting for informal mechanisms. Alternatives such as the Proliferation Security Initiative or the Alliance for Multilateralism, which are run by government officials based in capitals, have become increasingly common. These institutions do not require the creation of secretariats or delegation by leaders to diplomatic missions abroad, but instead build on recurring summits organized through Informal Intergovernmental Organizations (IIGOs). High-level exchanges are coupled with ongoing interactions among networks of lower-level national officials based in capitals, rather than via professional diplomats posted to formal international organizations.

Indeed, since the 1990s, there has been a quadrupling of the number of IIGOs, such as the G20 or the BRICS. There has been a similar explosion in the number of lower-level Trans-Governmental Networks, such as the International Network of Drinking-Water Regulators or the International Association of Anti-Corruption Authorities, whereby domestically-based national officials coordinate supporting activities for international cooperation. In the same period, the number of formal international organizations has plateaued and may now be in decline.

The increasingly informal design of international institutions constitutes the most significant shift in the character of international cooperation since the early post-Second World War phase of formal institution-building. These informal institutions, based on voluntary political commitments rather than binding legal obligations, enable a flexible mode of cooperation that can adapt swiftly to fast-changing global developments. The availability of digital technologies — such as email, password-protected websites and Zoom meetings — allow these informal modes of cooperation to flourish without the heavy facilitating bureaucracy of formal organizations and permanent secretariats. It also limits the creation or expansion of supranational authority.

Second, the conduct of foreign policy is being transformed by these more direct means of international engagement. The proliferation of informal leader-level dialogues has fuelled a need at the centre of governments to augment the international policy capacity of the offices of heads of state and government. In Canada, the international policy resources of the Privy Council Office, for example, have in-

creased greatly since the 1990s. In the United States, the size of the National Security Council, which reports directly to the president, has grown fivefold. Such developments have altered the conduct of international cooperation at home in order to augment channels of leader-level exchange.

In parallel, the growth of lower-level technical and regulatory networks has led to extensive international dialogue among government experts contained within departments with a primarily domestic mandate. Hundreds of networks now facilitate the exchange of best practices on a range of policy issues, from atmospheric science to health regulation to the administration of export controls. These regulators and technical experts are, in the words of New America Foundation President Anne-Marie Slaughter, "the new diplomats," using new digital tools to improve national public administration.

In short, foreign ministries face competition from both above and from below. Heads of state or government are steering an increased share of international interactions directly through informal venues. Similarly, line departments—traditionally subordinate to foreign ministries on international questions—may be especially advantaged by new techniques for international communications that enable direct interaction with their foreign counterparts. The move away from legally-binding obligations, moreover, has led states to increasingly opt for executive agreements that are less subject to democratic oversight but can more easily be overturned by new government administrations.

Third, the digital revolution has implications for global power relations. Since participation in heavily networked modes of governance requires significant bureaucratic depth, growth in informal institutions has resulted in a disproportionate deepening of ties among developed countries. While larger states find it more expedient to conduct international affairs among themselves without more formal constraints, smaller and less developed states find participation in such a wide range of informal bodies difficult to sustain bureaucratically. Developed and developing countries continue to interact within many formal organizations, but the explosion of informal fora among developed states has increased the proportion of North-North dialogues relative to North-South or South-South ones.

While formal institutions continue to offer many advantages relative to informal ones and are often important complements to them, they are occupying a decreasing market share of global cooperative relations. The proliferation of informal bodies can increase fragmentation, offering "work-arounds" for deadlocked institutions, perhaps limiting the incentive among states for the hard work of negotiating agreements among parties with differing priorities.

Where lies the future of the digital diplomatic revolution? We believe that these trends will continue. The cost, time, and environmental advantages of digital tools will ensure that these technologies play an important role in the future. The benefits of cooperation through informal institutions, facilitated by digital technologies, have now been amply demonstrated. Technical networks, in particular, are likely to benefit greatly from the increased use of videoconferencing; Zoom diplomacy is exceptionally well-suited to smaller-scale exchanges between and among like-minded countries. Videoconferencing is less suitable, at this stage, for big international gatherings, such as the United Nations General Assembly.

The ongoing use of informal institutions will continue to generate demand within senior executive offices and line departments for increased international policy capacity. Foreign ministries may have shrinking space for autonomous action in this ongoing evolution of diplomacy. One response, as proposed in a recent report by Ulric Shannon, a foreign service officer on exchange at the University of Ottawa, is for foreign ministries to better complement the subject-matter expertise possessed by line departments.

The trends affecting global power relations are, perhaps, the most concerning and demand deliberate steps to limit global division. Improved lines of communication on a North/South basis, including deliberate efforts to foster the participation of developing countries within technical dialogues, are of special relevance here. Security and access considerations around these technologies will factor in, undoubtedly shaping usage. Availability of secure platforms may advantage links among powerful states.

Informal links appear to be less dense among geopolitical rivals, particularly between western democracies and autocratic states such as China and Russia. In the past, lower-level technical exchanges, including track-two discussions via fora such as Pugwash conferences, have been used as a means of facilitating détente. Rejuvenating such lower-level dialogues may serve as a future means of launching higher-level exchanges to defuse global tensions.

The digital transformation has already had important implications for the conduct of diplomacy and will continue to re-shape international cooperation. There is no putting the digital genie back in the bottle, diplomatically speaking. Rather than the end of diplomacy, however, the digital transformation provides an opportunity to reshape multilateralism. Just as the telegraph created new opportunities for global relations, digital technologies have created new possibilities for diplomacy and will continue to do so. The key challenge will be figuring out how to take advantage of these new opportunities to tackle global problems and strengthen international collaboration. P

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Column / Don Newman

Diplomacy as Crisis Management

It is a different world. And a different way of dealing with it.

In their time Henry Kissinger, George Kennan, Eduard Shevardnadze and Canadians like Lester Pearson dominated the headlines as they travelled from international conference to private meetings, brokering agreements, negotiating treaties, and generally providing the grease to smooth international relations.

Many, like Kissinger and Pearson, were bigger names and seemed more important that the political leaders they served. Would there have been the Middle East peace brokered by Kissinger after the Yom Kippur war in the first half of the 1970s when his patron Richard Nixon was going down a under the weight of the Watergate scandal? Kissinger's role in US foreign policy — particularly during the 1960s and 70s when the term "shuttle diplomacy" was coined by Kissinger deputy Joe Sisco to describe the then-secretary of state's flight trajectory during his successful 1973 effort to end the Yom Kippur War — was indisputable, from Vietnam to the Middle East to China.

Would there have been the invention of United Nations peacekeepers that eased the tension of the Suez Crisis in 1956 had Canadian "Mike" Pearson not led the way, while Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent stood behind supportively in Ottawa letting his External Affairs minister call the shots in New York?

In Canada, the last diplomat to play a multilateral role of real significance was former Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy. He led the international charge against big players like the United States and Russia to win support for the 1997 Ottawa Treaty on land mines. That was an effort that combined both the old diplomacy — Axworthy worked his international connections like a diplomat of old — but also had the sophisticated support of the internet and other modern media to amplify his message to "civil" society as he pressed to get the land mines agreement ratified.

Like Pearson before him, Axworthy was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Unfortunately, unlike Pearson, Axworthy did not win. But his name is attached to a major international initiative that survives and has been a success.

Axworthy's land mines treaty came at the end of an era. We didn't know it at the time, but we do now. Foreign policy and international affairs have passed from the "experts" at foreign ministries and embassies to a much larger community of specialized interests, often connected to each other beyond the conventional foreign policy hierarchy based on the small world of the internet. Sometimes the various interests will have common goals. Sometimes they will not.

As it is with many things in the third decade of the 21st century, China is a good example of how diplomacy has been transformed. Canada has been represented in Beijing by a series of accomplished diplomats, including David Mulroney and Guy Saint Jacques as ambassadors and Charles Burton as a high-ranking official. But when Canada-China relations plunged to an historic low, a new diplomatic approach was necessary.

Following traditional diplomatic practices, on December 1, 2018, Canada detained Meng Wenzhou, the chief financial officer of Huawei, on an American extradition request as she passed through Vancouver Airport. China then seized two Canadians in China, Michael Spavor and Michael Kovrig, in retaliation. It said Canada was acting as an American lackey doing Washington's bidding, and that neither of the "Two Michaels" would be coming home until Meng was released.

After some traditional diplomatic approaches failed, someone in Ottawa thought outside of the box. The Trudeau government approached Dominic Barton, a Canadian who was the former managing partner of McKinsey, a global consultancy with connections all over the world. Barton had given the government economic advice in the past, but now he was needed instead for his wide web of connections at the highest level of the Chinese government, which he had developed while serving as head of McKinsey Asia, based in Shanghai.

Despite its world-wide reach as the largest of the "Big Three" management consultancies, McKinsey is an American company. It specializes in problem-solving and crisis management. Barton and his colleagues had the connections in Washington as well as Beijing to make things happen. With no official diplomatic experience, Barton was suddenly appointed Canadian ambassador to China and went to work. On September 24, 2021, within a year of Barton's appointment, the "Two Michaels" and Meng were flying in opposite directions across the Pacific.

While Canada-China relations remain strained, the Barton example of using people with special talents and connections to resolve specific problems in addition to traditional diplomatic practitioners is illustrative of the ways the new, 21st-century diplomacy is evolving. P

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

In an image that came to symbolize the diplomatic breakthrough that freed the Two Michaels, Michael Kovrig kisses the ground at Calgary airport on landing in Canada. --*Adam Scotti photo*

How the Free World Helped Free Two Canadians: Diplomacy and the Two Michaels

In September, 2021, the long-anticipated release of two Canadians named Michael from their retaliatory detention in China revealed the biggest Canadian diplomacy story of a young century. The complex public and private efforts to free the two men attest to the enduring power of the personal in diplomacy, and to the impact on human lives when diplomacy works. Mike Blanchfield and Fen Hampson devoted a book to that story, The Two Michaels: Innocent Canadian Captives and High Stakes Espionage in the US-China Cyber War (Sutherland House/2021), an excerpt of which they'd adapted for this issue of Policy.

Mike Blanchfield and Fen Osler Hampson

Two Canadians, Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, were arrested in China in on December 10, 2018, ostensibly on espionage charges — the Chinese government claimed they were spies. In reality, their capture was in response to the detention and subsequent arrest of Huawei Technologies Chief Financial Officer Meng Wanzhou in Vancouver. Her arrest took place at Vancouver International Airport on 1 December 2018, in response to a provisional extradition request from the U.S. Justice Department alleging fraud and conspiracy to commit fraud in order to circumvent US sanctions against Iran. This allegation stems from statements she made to HSBC about Huawei's relationship with Skycom Tech Co. Ltd., which conducted business in Iran but was controlled by Huawei.

The release of the Two Michaels almost three years later on September 24, 2021, was the result of intensive, behind the scenes diplomacy led by Canada's ambassador to Beijing, Dominic Barton, and other Canadian and US officials. However, Canada's efforts did not stop there. Canada also worked hard to build a broad, international coalition that condemned China's actions. These efforts were critical to putting pressure on the Chinese and upping the ante on a country that clearly was finding itself odd-man-out in a part of the world where maintaining "face"— represented by 面子 or miànzi, meaning status and social position, and 臉/脸 or lian, meaning sense of shame — is deeply culturally ingrained.

A stern message was delivered to Beijing when diplomats from twenty-six nations assembled outside Beijing's Second Intermediate People's Court on Monday, March 22, 2021. It was both a show of solidarity for the Two Michaels and a protest that Canadian consular officials had been shut out of Kovrig's trial, which was just getting under way.

Three days earlier, a similar show of diplomatic support had taken place outside the courthouse in the Chinese city of Dandong, on the North Korean border, where Michael Spavor was on trial and Canadian officials were again denied access to the proceedings. The only saving grace in both cases was that the Chinese police were not thumping journalists, diplomats, and demonstrators as they had in December 2015 at the trial of Chinese human rights lawyer Pu Zhiqiang — events Michael Kovrig documented at the time in his diplomatic report.

That diplomatic roll call in Dandong was an important moment in the effort to win the release of Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor. It showed that many Western countries stood solidly behind Canada, although Asian countries and the developing world pointedly refused to participate. It was a show of support that had not come easily, the product of a hard-won international campaign fought over several years under the direction of three successive Canadian foreign ministers.

The effort to build the international coalition was launched soon after the Two Michaels were arrested. Just before Christmas in 2018, Canada's then-foreign minister, Chrystia Freeland, announced in a telephone call with reporters that Canada had begun to "work with a broad group of allies to raise this issue" and that Canada's envoys would be taking their plight to "governments around the world." She thanked the United States, the United Kingdom, and the European Union for issuing strong statements in support of the Canadian position while underscoring that "we absolutely believe this not only a Canadian issue," but "an issue that concerns our allies."

> ***"That diplomatic roll call in Dandong was an important moment in the effort to win the release of Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor."***

Canada understood that it needed its friends and allies to stand up to Beijing.

It also understood that its coalition-building would anger China, and it did. The "wolf-warrior diplomacy" warnings became more strident and shrill. The Chinese responses amounted to variations on two themes: "Don't do it or you will suffer consequences" and "Your allies don't scare us; we have many more in the world." Canada was clearly getting Beijing's attention and putting its leadership under the harsh spotlight of international public opinion.

Under Freeland's successor, François-Philippe Champagne, Canada continued to secure global support for release of the Two Michaels. The European Union, which was busy negotiating trade and investment deals with China, was a hard sell because nobody wanted to ruffle Chinese feathers with awkward conversations about human rights. After successive rounds of diplomatic appeals, however, the EU raised the situation of the Two Michaels directly at their 22nd bilateral Summit with China on June 22, 2020.

Since taking on his new portfolio in November 2019, Champagne also worked quietly to build support for a new global initiative, a declaration against arbitrary detention in state-to-state relations. In a visit to Austria for an update on Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) efforts to broker peace in the full-scale war that had broken out between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh, Champagne secured the first solid commitment by any country, Austria, to the Canadian-inspired declaration. He also paid a successful visit to one of his top allies, British Foreign Secretary Dominic Raab, in London.

Formally launched on February 15, 2021, the declaration called on all states "to prevent and put an end to: harsh conditions in detention; denial of access to legal counsel; torture; and other cruel, inhumane or degrading treatment or punishment." Announcing the initiative, Marc Garneau, the astronaut-turned-politician who succeeded Champagne in the Foreign Affairs portfolio, said the law applied to "all cases of arbitrary detention, whether they target Canadian nationals, dual nationals, nationals or partners and other states." He also said that Canada would continue to "fight against arbitrary detention in state-to-state relations, now and for the future." The announcement of the declaration was accompanied by strong statements of support by British human rights lawyer Amal Clooney, the executive director of Human Rights Watch, Kenneth Roth, and US Secretary of State Antony Blinken, then in office less than a month.

More than three dozen countries attended the launch, held over video conference. Austrian foreign minister Alexander Schallenberg offered a blistering statement of support for the new initiative: "If the question is: rule of law, or the law of the jungle, our answer must be clear. We have to prove again and again, that we stand by our values and that our joint commitment to human rights and to the rule of law does not know any lockdown. There is simply no room for discussion: arbitrary arrest and detention do not comply with international law. This practice must end." The United States, Britain, the European

Union, Germany, Japan, Australia and others followed suit in voicing support.

As Garneau rolled out the announcement, he took pains not to point the finger directly at China or draw what was an obvious connection to the Two Michaels. The initiative was positioned as a broad declaration to stamp out an odious practice used by several countries. But there is no doubt it was born out of the China cri- sis and hatched in response to Champagne's relentless pressure on Canadian foreign affairs staffers to do more for the Canadian captives. In an exclusive briefing on the initiative with senior federal officials, a public servant, speaking anonymously, as is customary in such discussions, said it was Champagne as the minister who carried the ball forward in the effort to free Kovrig and Spavor. "Everybody understands that he has spent the better part of the last year personally shepherding this initiative. And he's made, I would say, hundreds of calls," the official said.

The Chinese embassy in Ottawa made the connection, too, and was not pleased. Envoys lambasted the appearance at the announcement of Human Rights Watch director Roth, who drew a pinpoint connection between the new Canadian-led initiative and what was happening to the Two Michaels. "The Chinese government's detentions of the Canadians Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor epitomizes this despicable practice," Roth said, adding that China had subjected Australian citizens to the same treatment. The Chinese embassy charged that Canada had "arranged" for Roth to be its mouthpiece to criticize China in what was a "fact-distorting and ill-intentioned" move. The Chinese statement affirmed that it had undertaken its own lawful prosecution of Kovrig and Spavor. "The Canadian side's attempt to pressure China by using 'megaphone diplomacy' or ganging up is totally futile and will only head towards a dead end." Once again, the embassy urged Canada to immediately release Meng so "she can return to China safe and sound."

Five days later, Cong Peiwu, China's latest ambassador to Canada, was on the telephone with The Canadian Press. The Chinese embassy had pitched an interview with him because Canada's Official Opposition Conservatives were planning to introduce a motion in Parliament that would declare China's treatment of its ethnic Muslim Uyghur population as genocide. The embassy wanted to get ahead of that, but it also wanted an opportunity to state the Chinese perspective on the arbitrary detention declaration. Cong turned it on its head:

"We must point out that Mme. Meng Wanzhou has been arbitrarily detained for over two years, despite the fact that she hasn't violated any Canadian law. This is the most accurate illustration of arbitrary arrest or detention of foreign nationals. So, the declaration looks rather like Canada's confession in the Meng Wanzhou case."

> ***"The Declaration proved to be enough of a show of diplomatic unity among like-minded countries to ultimately force a negotiated, face-saving solution to what had become a festering irritant to Beijing."***

In all, 58 states and the European Union were founding endorsers of the "Declaration Against Arbitrary Detention in State-to-State Relations" when it was launched (the number grew to 66 by the summer of 2021). Nevertheless, some critics felt it was little more than empty words absent a commitment to direct, punitive actions. As former Canadian ambassador to Beijing Guy Saint-Jacques noted, if the signatories had decided to impose collective sanctions on China for its behaviour, they might have stood a better chance of getting Beijing's attention.

Nevertheless, the declaration was an important start, lifting out of existing international norms and law specific provisions to apply to the arbitrary arrest or detention of foreign nationals by other states. At the G7 meeting in London in May 2021, the declaration was not only reaffirmed but G7 members committed "to work together and with likeminded partners to deter those who conduct arbitrary detention to compel to action, or to exercise leverage over a foreign government, by amplifying the declaration against arbitrary detention in state-to-state relations." Those were diplomatic codewords indicating that the G7 recognized real action was a necessary accompaniment to reprobation. The G7 also invited "countries that have endorsed the declaration and other likeminded partners to actively consider taking part in the voluntary areas of cooperation and engagement outlined in the partnership action plan."

The Declaration now has 70 signatories and a concrete action plan, which outlines "six areas of cooperation and engagement that states can support to deter arbitrary arrest, detention or sentencing in state-to-state relations and sustain momentum against those practices." They include advocacy and awareness raising, research and analysis, information sharing civil society engagement, targeted media campaigns and period meetings of declaration signatories to strengthen its effectiveness.

As for the resolution of the case of the Two Michaels, the Declaration proved to be enough of a show of diplomatic unity among like-minded countries to ultimately force a negotiated, face-saving solution to what had become a festering irritant to Beijing. In the end, China agreed to a prisoner swap, after nearly three years of maintaining the cases of the Kovrig and Spavor and Meng Wanzhou were not at all linked. It put the lie to Beijing's rationale for wasting nearly three years of the lives of two innocent Canadian men. The Declaration also offers something far more pragmatic: it is one more diplomatic wedge to help leverage the end of the inevitable, next state-sponsored, potentially life-wasting, politically-motivated hostage taking. P

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BOOK REVIEWS

'Above the Fold': How John Honderich Got it First, Sewed it Up and Played it Big

Above the Fold: A Personal History of the Toronto Star
By John Honderich
Penguin Random House Canada/ November 2022

Reviewed by Bill Fox

John Allen Honderich lived life "above the fold".

With his signature bow tie, Honderich could command the attention of a room by the simple act of walking in. He loved buzz – hearing it, spreading it, creating it, analyzing it for significance.

And Honderich loved the *Toronto Star*.

Above the Fold: A Personal History of the Toronto Star is Honderich's story of Canada's largest circulation newspaper in Canada's largest city. A story of significance, worthy of "black line" treatment on the top of a front page, as the phrase coined back in the days when newspapers were only a print product suggests. A story that is intensely personal, shaped in no small measure by the complex relationship between Honderich and his father Beland, who between them led the paper for 50 years. A story of how each – in decidedly different ways – became the face — the essence — of the paper.

The use of the word "history" in the title suggests a story told from a rear- view mirror, to an era that is no more and that maybe only ever existed in the retelling.

Completed just weeks before Honderich's death, the work speaks to a time when newspapers were dominant, before technology changed our perceptions of community, altered public discourse, and, by extension, journalism.

That said, in looking back over the *Star*'s 130-year history as "a paper for the people" it is striking just how many of the challenges Honderich and his predecessors had to face continue to bedevil the news industry to this day in a world where public discourse is buffeted by misinformation, even disinformation: A world grappling with a growing mistrust on the part of the public as to the integrity of the editorial product on offer; a world where a once and would-be president denounces the media as an enemy of the people; a world where a federal party leader campaigns on a promise to defund Canada's public broadcaster.

In the interest of full disclosure, this reviewer makes no claim to objectivity when it comes to John Honderich. Honderich recruited me to join the *Star*'s Ottawa bureau. In time, I succeeded him as Ottawa, then Washington bureau chief. We did have a sharp disagreement at one point. We got past it, but because of our respective personalities, not quickly. In recent years, we enjoyed regular lunches at his corner table at Biff's Bistro, sharing gossip, talking journalism, and, increasingly, the business side of the business – everything from the prospect of federal support for media to the challenges inherent in running family-controlled businesses with dual classes of shares. I was honoured to be John's guest when the Canadian Journalism Foundation awarded him the prestigious Lifetime Achievement Award.

Honderich's history evokes an image of the Chicago Cubs famous 1910 double play combination — Tinker to Evers to Chance — a feat of such elegant efficiency it was immortalized in the Franklin Pierce Adams poem *Baseball's Sad Lexicon*, penned from the point of view of a despondent New York Giants fan. In the *Star*'s case, it was Joseph Atkinson to the Honderichs — first Beland, then John.

What was common to all three eras is that no one ever wondered who was in charge.

The Atkinson was Joseph Atkinson, who as Honderich records, was "Indisputably the driving force of the paper." Known in the newsroom as "Holy Joe", Atkinson was entirely comfortable supporting "radical liberal causes" that found expression in the Atkinson Principles. Atkinson wanted his paper run by those "familiar with my doctrines and beliefs." Beland Honderich, a lifelong supporter of unions and the right of workers to be treated fairly, was completely at ease with Atkinson's philosophy. As was John, his father's successor.

Over the years, the *Star*'s embrace of these liberal causes resulted in a belief in political circles that the paper's loyalty to the large-L Liberal Party was a given.

Honderich makes specific mention of the fact it was common parlance to describe the *Star* as a "Liberal rag."

The *Star*'s institutional adherence to the Atkinson Principles triggered questions as to the objectivity of the content carried in the news pages. For differing reasons, this same debate about objectivity is being carried on

today out in newsrooms across North America, with marginalized and minority voices insisting objectivity is an affectation at best, and an expression of systemic racism at worst.

Beland Honderich didn't put much stock in the notion of journalistic objectivity, dismissing it as fiction. "This is a nice theory but it is not only fake, it also discourages full and frank public discussion," Bee reportedly said. "Even on its best days, a newspaper is a very imperfect institution."

Defenders of the *Star* note the diversity of opinion reflected in its pages. Former Conservative Party president, candidate, strategist and columnist Dalton Camp is quoted as stating: "What I like about the *Star* is that the *Star* lets me say what I want to say." Ask the same question of political columnist Chantal Hébert today and you'll get the same answer.

The *Star*'s philosophy, writes Honderich, was simple enough: Get it first, sew it up, play it big. The *Star* certainly knew how to trumpet its journalistic successes. Legendary investigative reporter Bob Reguly found union boss Hal Banks in New York when the Liberal government, the RCMP and the FBI all insisted Banks, who skipped bail having been convicted of ordering the near-fatal beating of a rival, couldn't be found. Reguly was beaten by four thugs for his trouble. But the headline over his exclusive read *Star Man Finds Banks*.

Despite the paper's history of such dazzlingly talented writers, from Ernest Hemingway to Pierre Berton to Rosie DiManno, the *Star* was always an editors' paper, in John Honderich's words, "Editing and re-editing were the hallmark and tradition of the *Star*, then and now."

All Star story lines were viewed through the prism of a single question: what does it mean to Metro? When former prime minister Pierre Trudeau visited a compound for Bell Canada employees during an official visit to Saudi Arabia in 1981, the key to prominent play in the paper the next day was to find someone from Toronto who was good for a quote or two. Former *Star* staffer Walter Stewart, writes Honderich, once quipped the perfect *Star* headline would read: "World's End Snarls Metro Traffic." This objective, it should be noted, has been achieved with regular frequency in Metro without the world coming to an end.

John and Beland Honderich arrive at Rideau Hall for John's investiture into the Order of Canada on May 14, 2004. --*Tobin Grimshaw, Toronto Star*

As is often the case in the *Star*'s history, there is method to the "What does it mean to Metro?" mania. *Star* stories were written for the community in a manner that gave the news relevance to their daily lives. As former US House of Representatives Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill once observed: "All politics is local."

While this "parochial" approach was the subject of constant ridicule from the paper's competitors, the *Star* was always a paper of big ideas and big agendas — economic nationalism, national unity, building a great city.

During the constitutional patriation process of the early 1980s, the *Star*'s coverage was exhaustive, informing readers of the details and implications of Pierre Trudeau's transformational constitutional reform initiative. The Canada-US Free Trade Agreement was afforded the same treatment in 1987-88. John Honderich's weekly "letters" exchange with *La Presse* editor Alain Dubuc was a central feature of the 1995 Quebec referendum campaign. And the paper's leadership found common cause with then premier Mike Harris in the push for an amalgamated Toronto.

Beland Honderich, as is widely acknowledged, was exceedingly difficult to work with and for. And as John Honderich states, their father/son relationship was as difficult as it was defining.

Known as "Bee", or in less flattering terms, as "The Beast", Honderich was born into deep poverty in a largely Mennonite community near Kitchener, and began his newspaper career as a high-school dropout hired as a wartime "replacement" in the *Star* newsroom in 1943; John, in more comfortable circumstances, worked his way up in the news business but also obtained a University of Toronto law degree. In his book, John credits Beland with creating "a new *Star* for a new middle-class Toronto." In John's case, the challenge was to pursue the *Star*'s vision as a caring, crusading newspaper that reflected a megacity and its increasingly diverse population.

The difference carried into the boardroom. Beland, who emerged as the first among equals, could count on the support of the five controlling families who had purchased the paper in 1958 to comply with the Ontario government's Charitable Gifts Act, which prohibited entities such as the Atkinson Foundation from owning more than 10 percent of the shares in an active business.

In John's case, he couldn't even count on the unwavering support of his father,

who would keep him in the dark on significant corporate developments. The tension between the two was intensely personal on occasion. John Honderich confirms the *Succession*-worthy twist that when his appointment as *Star* publisher was proposed, Bee voted against it. And later, when an internal corporate battle provoked a motion to fire John, Bee sat silent. John makes an explicit reference to the "profound sense of betrayal" he felt "at my darkest hour."

Yet, the last words Beland had for his son were: "Don't let them ruin the paper."

Nepotism is a recurring theme in this personal history.

Through his early years, John Honderich did not intend to follow in his father's footsteps. When he did decide on a career in journalism, Honderich was determined to be "the son who did the job."

"My strategy was simple," he writes, "get on with the job and let the results speak for themselves."

He started on the very bottom rung of a newsroom, as a copy boy on the overnight shift at the *Ottawa Citizen*. The job? Clear the wire machines, distribute the copy to the various "desks" and run for coffee. His legal training stood Honderich in good stead. Before long, his byline was appearing on the Citizen's front pages as he built a reputation as an investigative reporter.

Convinced to come to the *Star* by then managing editor Ray Timson, Honderich proved himself at every step, as Ottawa bureau chief, White House correspondent, finance editor, deputy city editor, editorial page editor, editor in chief and, ultimately, publisher.

Honderich's history reflects the full range of his professional experience — working reporter, newsroom executive, owner.

Above the Fold includes extensive detail on the *Star*'s complex ownership and leadership structure, truly a Canadian version of *Succession*.

The saga of how a provincial government passed legislation – the Charitable Gifts Act – with the single purpose of frustrating Joseph Atkinson's ownership aspirations, is unique. And the Ontario government's appointment of a trustee to ensure the government could stick its nose in the *Star*'s business at will is alarming.

Honderich's account of how five families ended up as the *Star*'s owners is of interest. But in the end, the *Star*, like media companies generally, evolved to a dual share, publicly traded company model. And therein lay the challenge.

John Honderich, like his father before him, was a newspaperman and not a bean counter. Both believed passionately in the centrality of a free press to a healthy democracy. Both considered a superior editorial product at the expense of some profit a price worth paying, an imbalance easier to defend and maintain when there are plenty of beans to count.

> ***"Through his early years, John Honderich did not intend to follow in his father's footsteps. When he did decide on a career in journalism, Honderich was determined to be 'the son who did the job.'"***

Former *Washington Post* publisher/owner Katharine Graham famously said the best guarantee of good journalism is a strong balance sheet. But the business model that carried a free press for the better part of 200 years collapsed with the emergence of the internet and social media, a collapse predicted by University of Toronto communications scholar Marshall McLuhan fully 50 years ago.

The *Star* was no exception. Honderich's history provides extensive detail of his conflicts with TorStar CEOs David Galloway and Rob Pritchard. Galloway, Honderich states, believed the newspaper industry was in long-term decline. Honderich fought vigorously against proposed budget cuts, including editorial staff. But with a collapsing share price, it is hard to see how Galloway or Pritchard could meet their fiduciary responsibility to the broader pool of shareholders without addressing cost issues. And it would be equally surprisingly if these CEOs did not seek company directors who shared their view of the responsibility to all shareholders. As publisher, Honderich was never going to espouse former GE CEO Jack Welsh's view of how to run a business. Honderich does admit he was caught off guard by some of the corporate manoeuvring.

Honderich knew Pritchard and board chair John Evans were gunning for him. He quotes Dr. Evans as saying, "In Rob Pritchard, we have finally found someone to take on the Honderichs."

The *Star* needed an editorial leader. The paper also needed a boardroom champion. Asking one person to do both jobs raises questions as to whether that person had one job too many.

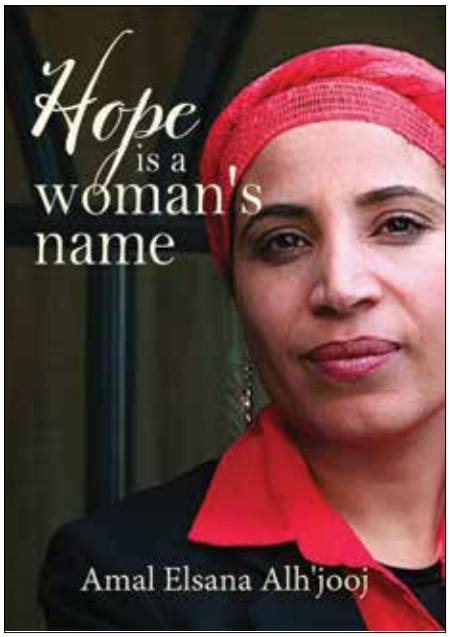
In the end, Evans was mistaken. It took more than a new CEO to take on the Honderichs, it took a technology driven media revolution.

The media in general, and newspapers in particular, have lost much of their appeal to the hedge fund owners who have adopted a "harvest strategy". A "bauble for billionaires" ownership model has limited appeal. Not everyone is David Thomson.

In the end John Honderich understood the time had come to sell the company. And to the end, he worked to generate the best return he could for shareholders. The sale did not resolve ownership issues at the *Star*. New co-owners Jordan Bitove and Paul Rivett, locked in a legal battle for control, resolved their dispute in a mediated settlement that saw Bitove buy Rivett out, in what was seen in the newsroom as a win for editorial content over red ink.

It would have been great fun to discuss the intricacies of the case with John, over lunch at Biff's. P

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



'Hope is a Woman's Name': Living Outside the Lines

Hope is a Woman's Name
By Amal Elsana Alh'jooj
Hachette/ 2022

Reviewed by Gray MacDonald

Being a teacher is never easy. Being a teacher at a grade school in an unrecognized Palestinian village in Israel during the roller-coaster years of the Oslo process is a whole other level of stress. So, after losing her position – in part for having shown her students how to draw the Palestinian flag – Amal Elsana-Alh'jooj expected the call from her former boss to be about her being a troublemaker.

She wasn't quite expecting him to offer to write her a letter of recommendation for university. But as the late civil rights icon John Lewis never tired of reminding us, there's a difference between bad trouble and good trouble. The letter helped her secure a social work fellowship in Canada.

Elsana-Alh'jooj — the first name Amal means "hope" in Arabic, hence the book's title — has a talent for using examples from her own life to illustrate a point, and, she seems to have infinite fodder for these. Elsana-Alh'jooj has managed to pack several lifetimes worth of challenges, emotions, and social impact into a few decades. Luckily for readers, she's taken the time to write some of those lessons down in *Hope is a Woman's Name*.

The book is made up of vignettes; anecdotes strung together in roughly chronological order to paint a picture of an entire life. As human beings, we're made up of all the instances that have left the greatest impression on our psyches, and Elsana-Alh'jooj has mapped out those moments for the reader as a guest along a journey. As with the archetypal literary tourist, Dante, there are as many ups as there are downs. Also as with Dante, sometimes you offend someone in a position of power and get exiled; or, in Elsana-Alh'jooj's case, have your car set aflame.

As it turned out, having her car torched was just one of the things that didn't stop Elsana-Alh'jooj from pursuing a life defined by her refusal to be defined — by borders, by gender, by stereotypes of any kind or by other people's expectations.

The book covers a journey that has taken her from a childhood herding sheep in her own Bedouin village in the Negev desert to a life of international activism for peacemaking and minority rights.

In the interest of full disclosure, I work for Elsana-Alh'jooj as a social media editor and writer at PLEDJ, the NGO she heads as the successor program to the McGill Middle East Program in Civil Society and Peace Building that first brought her to Montreal in 1997, and ICAN (International Community Action Network), which evolved from the MMEP.

Her approach is called Rights Based Community Practice and is a pillar of the methodology of each organization mentioned. In nearly every situation, her strategy is to get her own boots on the ground and ask the people involved what they need. RBCP is based on the idea that all humans have the same rights, and the best action to be taken is educating them about how to access those rights. This concept is at the core of everything that Amal does.

Because she is often described as a "force of nature", working for her has been an adventure in piecing together a remarkable life from fleeting digressions and generous, teachable asides squeezed in between work. So, I particularly appreciate *Hope is a Woman's Name* for giving me context for many of the experiences I knew had informed her activism and her ambition for women, for Bedouin culture and for peace. For the record, the time her car was set on fire happened because she married the man she wanted to marry — one of several times her vehicle was attacked as a signal that she should step back into line. A book has the space a conversation doesn't. So, now I know how frightening it was every time, and the toll it took on her and her family.

Among my favourite stories in the book is the tale of the two lines. When Amal was young, her grandmother passed on a lesson in how to navigate the world as a woman. She took a notebook and drew a line, saying that it was "the border of tradition". Then she drew another next to it; that was "God's border". The space between the two was too narrow to easily walk, so as her sister puzzled, Amal drew two new ones, slightly farther apart. "There," she said. "I made you new lines. Now you can walk between them easily."

Though it wasn't quite that simple, Amal has spent her life finding a path between the existing lines and the ones she makes herself, sometimes with trial and error. In a particularly timely section of the book given both Quebec's Bill 21 and the ongoing protests in Iran for women's rights, much time is devoted to her eventual decision to wear a headscarf, to the considerations and events that influenced her final choice.

> *Hope is a Woman's Name contains real, actionable lessons about how to approach community work, and goes above and beyond by presenting them in a way that's not only interesting but beautiful.*

As an activist who had to navigate the political, religious and cultural minefield of Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Bedouin relations, she's capable of a delicate balancing act when it comes to addressing deep-cut issues. Throughout the book, as in her TEDx talks, Amal gracefully tackles topics such as traditional cousin marriage without judgment or condemnation.

In a nod to her peacebuilding principles, the book begins with a note any student of the Middle east will appreciate — about "inconsistent" spellings, as most names in the region have at least two variants: Arabic and Hebrew. This inadvertently encapsulates the spirit of the book, the idea that differences don't matter so long as you're understood. The vocab lessons are fascinating: anything not asterisked was easily found online, and I found myself enjoying the hunt; the discovery of a new word for a concept I already knew or something brand new.

And regardless of cultural or linguistic barriers, or maybe because of the mix, the prose frequently borders on poetry. The descriptions of locations and the emotions inspired both by and within them are so visceral that without having ever been to her village in an-Naqab, or the Negev desert, there are times when Amal's descriptions are so vivid, you can feel the sand on your skin.

There are multiple recurring themes, but one thing that keeps popping up (in the book and in reality) is the cycle of oppression; the way that those who have been oppressed enforce those same barriers for others with less power. Hurt people hurt people, on every scale. From the perpetual cycle of conflict between Palestinians and Israelis, to the feedback loop of actions and expectations within patriarchal society. Amal herself admits to perpetuating misogyny by trying to toughen up her brother: "I wanted to protect him," she writes, "to present him as having the kind of strength that our community associated with manliness so that he could survive a system that wasn't kind to boys who were sensitive rather than senseless."

She proposes a solution here, and it's a more radical one in today's world than it seems: talking to people. While it doesn't always solve things overnight, and certainly not every issue, nearly every story in *Hope* affirms that it works. One especially heart-wrenching segment describes how Amal first discovered, after years of living on one side of the wall of disinformation between the Arab and Jewish peoples of the region, that "the enemy", the collective "other" is made up of human beings. While serving a field placement at a nursing home in a suburb of Be'er Sheva, she asked an elderly woman about her siblings. This slowly opened the floodgates to the *Shoah* survivor sharing her story. "It was my first encounter with someone who had survived the Holocaust," Amal writes, "and it changed me, or rather, I should say, it opened me up to change."

As a personal memoir, the segments about Amal's husband Anwar stand out: A running metaphor throughout is that of Amal putting her heart away in a jar in order to focus on her social work without the distraction of romance. When she first sees Anwar after years abroad but in secret communication, the sight of him in jeans and a long ponytail has her heart "dancing out of that jar". There's just as much love flowing from every paragraph about her twin children, her parents, her siblings, and every member of her family and tribe; even when she was making things difficult for them or vice versa. There's also a tale about starting a sports day at a school in the desert, and the description of the donkeys all dressed up in their finery for a children's race still prompts a smile.

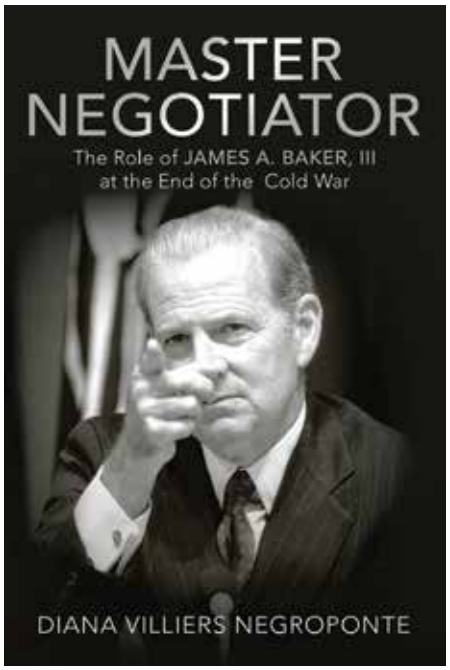
Amal underscores throughout the book that she's not the only character in this story, or even the protagonist. Her ideas could not have been translated into action without her drive, but nothing gets done without collaboration. The women in small villages who showed up to literacy classes, the young Bedouin men recruited from university coffee shops who showed up for protests, the other community volunteers and workers at outreach programs, and many others. Amal gives us her perspective because it's the only one that she can: since, as she says, she learned long ago not to speak for or over others.

Hope is a Woman's Name contains real, actionable lessons about how to approach community work, and goes above and beyond by presenting them in a way that's not only interesting but beautiful.

Despite being steeped in the atmosphere and culture of the places our guide has walked through, the words are genuinely universal. One of the early pieces of wisdom shared with Amal is that the requirements for a person to be free are a saj, a tent, and a donkey. A saj, as the book explains, is a style of griddle for baking bread over a fire; a tent over her head, and a donkey for transport. I don't believe that food, shelter, and movement are needs exclusive to the Naqab.

"We need more women like you." Amal was told once, and it was and continues to be true. But perhaps a larger issue is that we already have plenty of women like Amal, whose stories aren't told because they're quashed: either the stories, or the women themselves. One that's missing a happy ending simply because the focal character is still going and needs to be empowered. P

Gray MacDonald is Social Media Editor for Policy Magazine and for PLEDJ.



Master Negotiator: James A. Baker and the Hinge of History

Master Negotiator: The Role of James A. Baker, III at the End of the Cold War
By Diana Villiers Negroponte
Archway/2020

Reviewed by Colin Robertson

Master Negotiator is a gem of a book by Diana Villiers Negroponte on the critical role of James A. Baker, III, in ending the Cold War during his almost four years as secretary of state in the administration of George H. W. Bush.

Unlike most western democracies, where foreign affairs are managed by professional diplomats, the American system relies to a much greater degree on its political class. They occupy most of the senior positions in the State Department as well as at their embassies. Negroponte's book helps explain how this system works. Under the stewardship of Jim Baker, it had more successes than failures, especially in the critical area of arms control with the end of the Soviet Union.

Succinct but comprehensive, *Master Negotiator* is a meticulous, 360-page study. Based on interviews with most of the American principals of the period, with a deep dive into the archives, personal papers of the participants as well as French and German sources. It includes, for example the minutes of notes between senior American and Soviet leaders.

There are colourful vignettes, including the moment when Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev invites Baker and Ambassador Robert Strauss to drink, sweat, and soak bare naked in his personal sauna. As Nazarbayev whacks Baker on the back with bark twigs before plunging into the steam bath, Strauss, a fellow Texan, jokes to the security detail, "Get me the President on the phone! His Secretary of State is buck naked and he's being beaten by the President of Kazakhstan."

Diana Negroponte, a scholar on Latin America, is a Global Fellow at the Wilson Center in Washington and she dedicates the book to her husband, Ambassador John Negroponte. John Negroponte played an important supporting role during this period, having served President Reagan as Deputy National Security Advisor and then as US Ambassador to Mexico during the GHW Bush administration.

The 10 chapters in *Master Negotiator* address the key international issues: German reunification, China and Tiananmen Square, mobilizing international support during the Gulf War, the Arab-Israeli "distance", arms control, and the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Surprisingly, the NAFTA negotiation in 1991-92 gets little attention, but as Negroponte concludes, Baker had more than enough on his plate and he was comfortable leaving the negotiations in the hands of the able US Trade Representative, Carla Hills.

The main focus of the book, appropriately, is on efforts to avoid disaster as the Soviet Union imploded. Negroponte points out that scholars still disagree on what caused its dissolution: Ronald Reagan's SDI strategy; the stagnation of the Soviet economy and Mikhail Gorbachev's radical domestic reforms; broad systemic changes including the diminishing conflict between capitalism and communism as nationalism, religions and the rights of people grew in importance. (Interestingly, the answer I heard most often during a recent trip to Eastern Europe as to what ended the Soviet Union was a variation of "Blue jeans, the mini skirt and rock 'n roll.")

This was the world that James Baker had to manage. Born in Houston, educated at Princeton and the University of Texas law school, he served in the Marines and rose to become a captain in the Reserve while practising law. His graduate thesis contrasted Ernest Bevin (union leader, British foreign secretary) and Aneurin Bevan (Welsh Labour Party leader, instrumental in founding of the National Health Service). Negroponte concludes that Baker preferred Bevin's pragmatism but that the distinctions between the two men reflected the tension within Baker's life and his preference for achieving his goals through purposeful and pragmatic steps.

A confidant and friend of George H. W. Bush, Baker served in the Nixon and Ford administrations, ran Bush's unsuccessful bid for the presidency in 1980 and then served Ronald Reagan as both Treasury Secretary — playing the role of "closer" in the final days of the Canada-US FTA negotiations — and chief of staff.

By the time he became secretary of state, Negroponte says, Baker was tough, determined and competitive "not only with foreign counterparts but also with colleagues on the home front." He chose carefully which battles to fight and then focused every sinew to win. She approvingly quotes former Defense Secretary Bob Gates's assessment of Baker as "a master craftsman of the persuasive and backroom arts at the peak of his powers."

Baker needed all these talents. The results after four years were: pushing Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait, the

launch of UN peace negotiations to help end civil wars in Central America, the reduction of the threat of nuclear war, the bringing together of the leaders of Israel and the Palestinian Territories to meet face to face; freedom for East European nations; and the unification of Germany, anchored within NATO.

Why did Baker succeed?

First, he had the full confidence of his president. As Negroponte observes: "He was so close to the president that each could finish the other's sentence." Bush conferred with him every day and Baker wrote a nightly report that was "honest, if not blunt", in keeping the president informed. Importantly, Bush, National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft and Baker kept their differences among themselves, resolving distinct approaches to policy through internal debate and achieving consensus before communicating a final decision.

Second, as Negroponte observes, Baker was a *master negotiator*, a pragmatic realist who also believed in concepts such as liberty, freedom and democracy. He pursued the traditional US policy of working with allies and international institutions to reassure them of US steadfastness while at the same time creating a firm basis upon which to negotiate with Moscow on arms control and regional issues. Baker's goal was to establish the United States as a leader of democratic ideals and influence, a purpose that Bush named a "New World Order." "A world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle," Bush said in an address to a joint session of Congress on September 11, 1990. "A world in which nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice. A world where the strong respect the rights of the weak."

Bush and Baker confirmed the priority of good bilateral relations by making their first foreign trip as president and secretary to Ottawa in February, 1989. They met with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who had just seen Gorbachev, and discussed the general secretary's likelihood of success in carrying out his reforms. Mulroney also understood the importance of relationships and, if anything, the Canada-US entente grew even closer, and Canada achieved its long-sought Acid Rain Accord.

Third, originally dismissive of the bureaucracy, Baker came to rely on and trust his State Department. He removed Reagan's political appointees and rotated-in foreign service officers, preferring men and women who would think creatively to face the challenges of 1989 and beyond. Baker's deputy, Lawrence Eagleburger, was a career foreign service officer, who would succeed him as secretary for the last two months of the Bush administration.

"Baker came to rely on and trust his State Department. He removed Reagan's political appointees and rotated-in foreign service officers, preferring men and women who would think creatively to face the challenges of 1989 and beyond."

James Baker worked hard. When one avenue closed off, he found another. He was not a strategic thinker like Henry Kissinger, but he was deliberative, possessing a fine grasp of complex facts and a better sense of politics than Kissinger. Baker's years in government gave him experience in foreign affairs. Focused and disciplined, he had also developed a superb global network of presidents, prime ministers, foreign and treasury ministers. He had no compunction about calling in chits. In Negroponte's assessment, Baker was a man of action who pursued the logic of his decisions with determination and persistence

James Baker did not succeed on all he put his hand to – the Middle East remained intransigent. He left Yugoslavia to the Europeans, who promised to fix things, but Yugoslavia imploded. Post-Tiananmen China did not break the long-term US economic interests with the Peoples Republic but critics argue that human rights were left behind.

But in the one big thing — sorting out the dissolution of the Soviet Union and avoiding loose nukes — he succeeded. For a generation, we slept more comfortably.

Baker fits into that cohort that Walt Isaacson and Evan Thomas described as the American "wise men". They took on the burden of first designing and then sustaining our rules-based multilateral system based on liberal principles of democracy and open markets. For those of us born after the Second World War, the rules-based order has given humanity relative peace and security unknown to previous generations.

While now fraying, that system owes much to American leadership, statecraft and diplomacy. Freedom of navigation is guaranteed by the US Navy and collective security is guaranteed by alliances, notably NATO, for which Americans still shoulder most of the burden. The US taxpayer also pays a heftier share in supporting the multilateral institutions – the UN and its alphabet soup of agencies, the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, and the World Trade Organization.

Driven by duty, devotion and patriotism, Americans like Baker aimed to make the world a better place. Others, including Canadians, helped engineer this remarkable experiment in global order, but the Americans were the architects.

As Negroponte demonstrates, James Baker proved to be a "*master negotiator*" in ensuring it endured with the end of the Cold War. We can only hope for more like Baker as we enter into a new epoch that, for now, is both messy and mean. **P**

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

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LNG and Net Zero

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New Enbridge President and CEO Greg Ebel says that part of his company's role is "winning the hearts and minds of the communities in which we operate in such a way that they actually want us to be there." --*Enbridge photo*

Q&A: Greg Ebel on LNG and "Canada's Potential as a Clean Energy Superpower"

As he becomes CEO of Enbridge, Greg Ebel reflects on the opportunities for his company, the energy industry and Canada, to play a leadership role in meeting the challenges of climate change through clean energy, notably LNG, as the pathway to net-zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050. He sees partnership with Canada's Indigenous peoples as essential prerequisite to success, on reconciliation as well the environment. As he prepared to assume his new role, Ebel sat for a Q&A with Policy Editor L. Ian MacDonald on November 29 in Calgary.

Policy: You begin your role as CEO of Enbridge in January, at a time when the world has been dealing with an energy crisis. How has the energy crisis changed the way that we look at the energy transition?

Greg Ebel: This is an opportunity for policy makers and the public to think about energy in the way we should be thinking about it, which is around practical solutions versus the perfect solution. The problem with the perfect solution is that it can lead to an underinvestment in conventional energy, which exacerbates the energy supply crunch and greenhouse gas emissions, and creates more prices spikes and energy instability. This also hurts those people who, through no fault of their

own, find themselves disadvantaged because of energy affordability and security.

Policy: What role can Canadian LNG play in the energy transition?

Greg Ebel: Climate change is a global problem that requires a global solution and Canadian LNG can play an import role in reducing global emissions. For the size of its country, Canada represents only 1.5% percent of global emissions and we're doing a good job of reducing those emissions, but we need to do something about the 98.5% emissions that occur outside of Canada's border. That's where LNG comes in – displacing more carbon intensive forms of energy like coal.

It's well known that China continues to build new coal power capacity. Many parts of the world don't have access to natural gas. It's well known that we have 200 years of supply available to us here in Canada that can be supplied to the world. Canada exports LNG in one of the most sustainable, if not the most sustainable manners of anybody else on the globe. Canadian LNG produced in a cold climate that requires less electricity and that electricity is hydroelectric, which is clean energy.

And look at where we're located – we have far less distance to get to Asia where the world's largest coal consumption takes place, and those lower transportation costs produce lower emissions. It's not enough that we reach our energy targets in Canada. We have to take these resources to the countries that need it – and help the planet.

Policy: How important is building support within the communities for LNG development and what approach do you take to do that?

Greg Ebel: The old axiom that all politics is local is probably stronger today than it's ever been. Our licence to operate is not just about regulation and not just about laws and compliance. It's about winning the hearts and minds of the communities in which you operate in such a way that they actually want us to be there. This type of approach is particularly important when it comes to LNG because it's energy that will benefit the entire world.

Policy: What role do you see Indigenous communities playing in LNG development?

Greg Ebel: Industry is increasingly realizing and executing on the fact that you have to work and partner with Indigenous communities. When it comes to reconciliation, that's part of our licence to operate not only in Canada but globally. And I think you've seen us do that.

I think it's a great opportunity to have Indigenous players involved. They're obviously excellent stewards of the land so bringing that environmental expertise into a project only serves to make it better and by bringing them in as partners they can benefit financially from a project which can help with Indigenous reconciliation.

Policy: A headline story on *Globe Newswire* in November, said supplying Canadian LNG to Asia could "reduce emissions by the equivalent of removing every vehicle from Canadian roads." What do you think about that?

Greg Ebel: When you hear something like that, it makes you think we almost have a moral obligation to help different nations reach their climate reduction aspirations. Everybody's got similar aspirations – economic well-being in a clean environment that creates opportunity not only for the people today but in the future. Canadian LNG can play a role in making that happen.

Policy: What's the biggest risk you see when it comes to LNG development and reducing global emissions?

Greg Ebel: Canada can produce LNG cleaner than anyone else due to cooler climates, use of hydroelectric power and our shorter transportation distances to the markets in Asia. If that LNG isn't shipped by Canada, it will be shipped by someone who doesn't produce it as sustainably – or worse – it could result in the continued use coal in electric power generation. That's the risk, it could make it more difficult for the world to meet its targets with regard to CO2 emissions reductions.

Policy: Europeans – and the Germans, in particular – are talking about turning coal facilities back on to meet their energy needs. How does that impact the energy landscape?

Greg Ebel: If they had LNG today – supplied from off the east coast of North America – they wouldn't be considering turning on coal facilities. Instead, they'd have good access to natural gas from a friendly ally. That would be better from an energy security and emissions perspective. Not to mention the geopolitical benefits to a country like Canada!

Policy: In terms of getting things done, as we know, Canada is not a unitary state, it's a federation. How do you see cooperation and collaboration between Ottawa and the provinces occurring on climate change?

Greg Ebel: We need that cooperation. We need everybody at the table. In the past, we found ways to do these things together, building the national railways for example. So, there is a path.

Policy: Finally, I'd like to discuss Enbridge and the industry's relations with Indigenous peoples. Enbridge recently sold a $1.12 billion stake in seven Northern Alberta pipelines to 23 Indigenous communities in that region and have described it as the largest Indigenous ownership of a pipeline in North America. Do you think that model for Indigenous equity will be used more often?

Greg Ebel: I think so. I think it goes to not only doing the right things – but doing things the right way. We have an obligation to focus on reconciliation and nation building with Indigenous communities and First Nations. Deals like this play a role in that. We also build strong partnerships, trust and understanding. I'm hopeful that this approach is replicated across different parts of the industry and in our own activities going forward. Some call it an asset sale. I don't see it that way. I see it as a huge partnership where all of us gain. P

Al Monaco on LNG and Net Zero: "We've Got All the Pieces of the Puzzle"

L. Ian MacDonald

The 10 years Al Monaco has led Enbridge have been a decade of transformation in every sense of the word.

As he takes his leave, Monaco sees that his company and industry have gone from being perceived as part of the problem on climate change to part of the solution.

"The industry has responded really well," he said in a recent conversation in the Enbridge executive board room overlooking downtown Calgary. "We got on board with climate issues. We are reducing emissions and we're now applying our expertise to be a leader in the energy transition."

Retiring Enbridge President and CEO Al Monaco and his successor, Greg Ebel, A smooth succession is a test of corporate governance, and Monaco speaks of "a great team that's in place." *--Enbridge photo*

LNG and the Transition to Net Zero Emissions

Enbridge and other experts throughout industry see the advancement of liquefied natural gas – or LNG – as being indispensable in advancing the energy transition and helping the world lower its emissions to achieve net zero.

LNG is natural gas that's cooled to -161C in processing at coastal shipping points then shipped to overseas markets, where it's needed to replace more carbon intensive forms of energy such as coal used in electric power generation – resulting in much lower greenhouse gas emissions.

Canada has natural gas in abundance – an estimated 200 years of domestic supply. And the markets for Canadian LNG are some of the fastest growing economies in the world – Southeast Asia, China and India.

"This is a huge opportunity," Monaco says. "I can't emphasize this enough. Why is that? It's because we've got all the pieces of the puzzle.

"We have the resources, the capability and the capital to put to work. We just have to embrace our LNG industry and use it to reduce global emissions."

He adds: "There are a few things that we have to get done. Number One – recognize the uniqueness of what we have here in this country and embrace the opportunity. We understand the need to reduce emissions. But we have to improve the regulatory and permitting processes. Things take way too long, so we need to do something about that to ensure we can get this done and in a reasonable way – or we'll miss the opportunity."

> ***"The colder Canadian weather means less energy is needed to convert natural gas to LNG and most of this energy comes from clean hydroelectricity, which makes Canadian-produced LNG among the cleanest in the world."***

Canada's LNG Advantages

Canada definitely has catching up to do when it comes to LNG development. The US has built seven LNG plants in the last decade, with five more under construction and another 15 approved. Canada is only now building its first LNG project, LNG Canada led by Shell Canada, which is due to be completed near Kitimat B.C. in 2025. Then there's Woodfibre LNG, which is being led by Pacific Energy in partnership with Enbridge, that's begun preliminary construction activities. It will produce 2.1 million tonnes a year of LNG for export from Squamish, B.C. when it goes into service in 2027.

When it comes to LNG development, Canada has two comparative advantages over the US –weather and geography.

The colder Canadian weather means less energy is needed to convert natural gas to LNG and most of this energy comes from clean hydroelectricity, which makes Canadian-produced LNG among the cleanest in the world.

Another advantage to Canadian LNG is its proximity to Asian markets.

US LNG, generally processed on the warm Gulf Coast, takes at least two weeks longer to deliver than LNG shipped from B.C. ports on the Pacific Ocean – which results in about half of the emissions produced during transportation.

According to Monaco, when you consider these advantages, Canada has a responsibility to export its LNG to the world. Canada, he explains, is already doing a good job tackling the 1.5 percent of global emissions produced within its borders, but if we really want to help combating climate change, we need to set our sights higher – on the 98.5 percent of emissions produced outside of Canada.

"The window for emissions reductions is not just Canada," he adds. "It's global and that's where LNG fits in."

Cree Chief Greg Desjarlais of at the recent signing the Athabaska equity agreement between Enbridge and 23 northern Alberta First Nation communities. "Indigenous partnership is the key to how we develop and own energy infrastructure," says Al Monaco. --*Enbridge photo*

LNG & Indigenous Reconciliation

An essential piece of the LNG puzzle is the opportunity it provides for Indigenous Nations through partnerships and equity agreements which could be used for nation building and as a conduit for Indigenous reconciliation.

"Indigenous partnerships are key to how we develop and own energy infrastructure, not only in Canada, but hopefully in the United States as well," Monaco says.

Enbridge is certainly no stranger to Indigenous equity partnerships. In September 2022, the company sold a stake in seven northern Alberta pipelines to 23 First Nations and Métis communities for $1.12 billion.

The template for Indigenous equity was the Northern Gateway project cancelled by Ottawa in 2016, in which Enbridge had offered one-third ownership to First Nations along the route. As Monaco says, fast-forward from then to now in terms of Indigenous participation and you can really see an evolution in leadership on this front from the energy sector.

Today most major Canadian energy infrastructure projects, including LNG Canada, have an Indigenous equity component and that would likely continue to be the case with any LNG project advanced in B.C.

"Any LNG project we'd potentially develop on the B.C. West Coast would certainly look to have an Indigenous equity component," says Monaco.

According to Monaco, Indigenous groups are excellent business partners and their expertise when it comes to environmental stewardship is second to none, so it makes sense to tap into that expertise through partnerships.

"Indigenous participation is going to be a key to developing energy infrastructure in this country, and that's certainly the case when it comes to LNG."

But to make these partnerships happen, Monaco says industry and government need to work together.

One important element that Monaco points to is the role that government can play in helping to lower borrowing costs for Indigenous Nations to support their economic participation in Canada's energy future.

"We have to support Indigenous investment," Monaco says. "This is a great part of Indigenous reconciliation, to be co-owners of energy infrastructure."

Canada's LNG Path Forward

Canada is at a critical crossroads when it comes to LNG development.

China and India alone account for more than 60 percent of the world's coal consumption. By exporting LNG to Asian countries as a substitute for coal, Canada – with its abundant supply of natural gas – could have a real impact on reducing the world's greenhouse gas emissions.

According to Monaco, it won't happen unless Canada moves quickly.

"Canada could have a role to play in supplying LNG to the world and be a world leader," he says. "You noticed I said 'could.' That's an important qualifier because we're not there yet. To be frank, we missed the first wave of LNG development. But we've been given a second chance and we are at a critical crossroads right now that we need to take advantage of."

As Al Monaco puts it: "Canada should be a world leader in LNG development and in reducing the world's emissions. The opportunity is ours to lose. We need to get after it." P

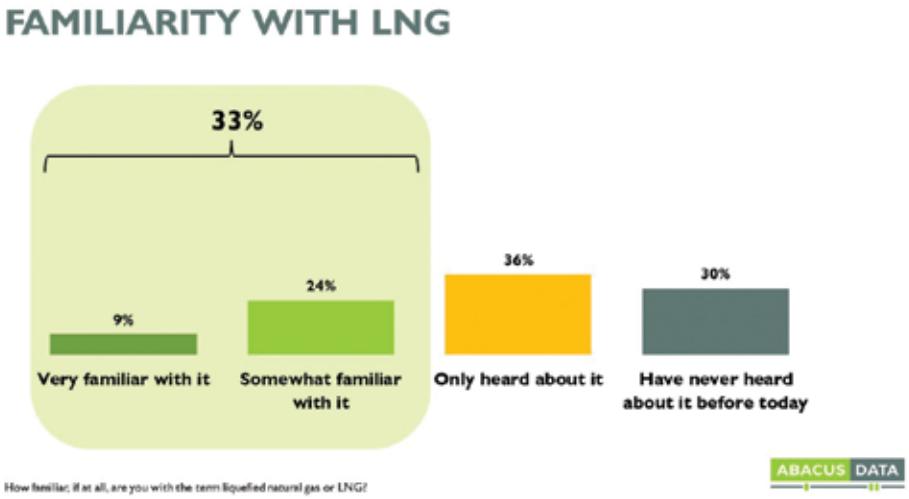
L. Ian MacDonald is Editor of Policy Magazine.

Is LNG really that contentious? Canadian Public Opinion on LNG, Climate Action, and Policy

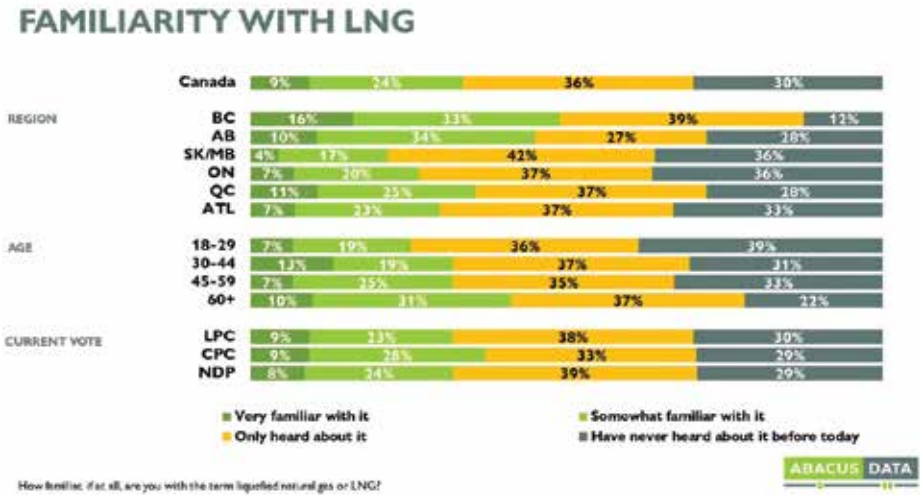
David Coletto

This past summer, German Chancellor Olaf Scholz came to Canada hoping to convince Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and the federal government to help it replace Russian gas imports with liquefied natural gas. He left empty handed as the federal government publicly questioned whether LNG terminals on the East Coast could be profitable and built quickly enough to help Europe's need for a stable energy source.

As the world's fifth largest natural gas producer, Canada is in a unique position to supply natural gas to markets in both Asia and Europe who are looking for clean and secure energy sources to generate electricity and heat homes. While the federal government's reluctance to support new LNG development left both Chancellor Scholz and likely many in Canada's energy sector scratching their heads, how did Canadians react?



In partnership with Enbridge, my firm Abacus Data, conducted a national survey of over 1,600 Canadian adults in early December 2022 to explore public opinion and knowledge about LNG. Our goal was to understand where public opinion is today, and how it might be shaped in the future as the debate over LNG continues.



Specifically, we wanted to understand what Canadians know and think about LNG and whether they see expansion of LNG as complementary or clashing with the federal government's emission reduction goals.

The results indicate that few Canadians are familiar with LNG, about half think it's possible for the federal government to support developing LNG while aggressively working to meet its climate goals, and more think supporting LNG complements rather than contradicts an aggressive climate change agenda. Most important, while there are some regional and political differences, they are mostly a matter of degree rather than direction.

Even though over half of Canadian households are heated by natural gas (Statistics Canada, 2011) and the debate about LNG has been in the news regularly since the Russian invasion of Ukraine, three in 10 Canadian adults (approximately 6 million peo-

ple) report having never heard of the term "liquefied natural gas" or LNG before. Another 36% have only heard about LNG leaving one in three who are either very familiar or somewhat familiar with it.

Familiarity is much higher in British Columbia (49%) and Alberta (44%) than in other regions or provinces.

Given that most Canadians are unfamiliar with LNG, it should not surprise people that the public's perceptions and knowledge about LNG are rather mixed and contradictory.

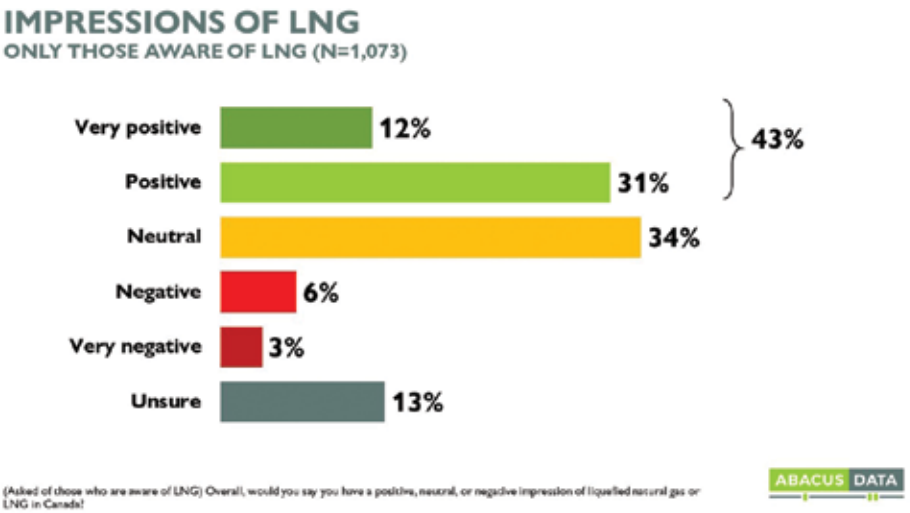
A majority believe that expanding the LNG industry would create thousands of jobs and generate new revenue for governments. About half think natural gas is clean and produces less carbon emissions than other fossil fuels. And a similar proportion believes Canada has a lot of natural gas that we should provide to other countries. At the same time, 43% believe natural gas contributes to climate change (which it does) while 57% think this is false or unsure.

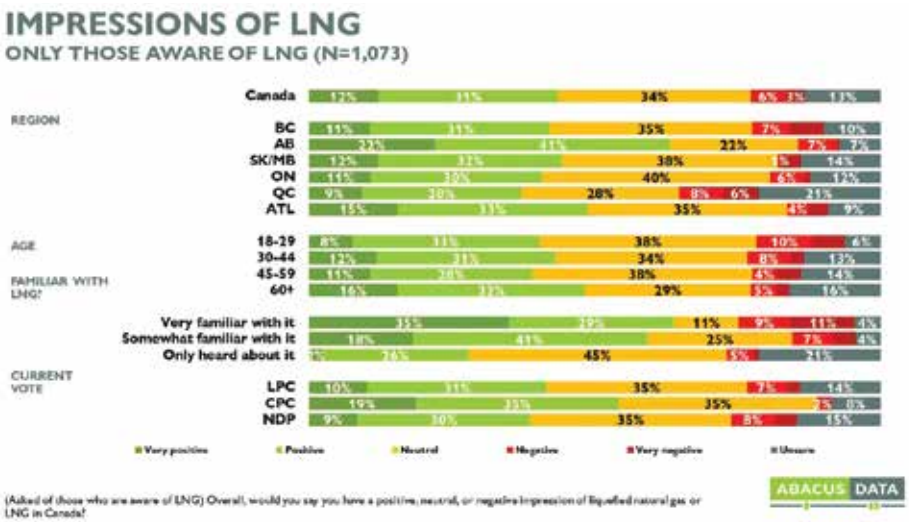
Despite these mixed views and perceptions, impressions of LNG are generally positive. By a 4 to 1 margin, Canadians are more likely to have a positive impression of LNG (43%) than a negative one (9%). But just under half are either neutral or unsure about it.

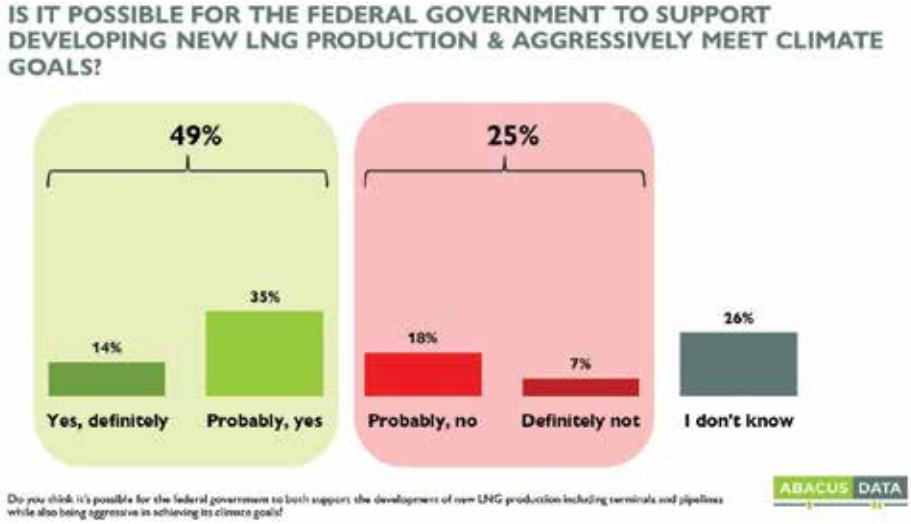
Views are consistent across region, demographic, and political groups. In no part of Canada do negative opinions about LNG rise above 14% (in Quebec) and Liberal, Conservative, and NDP supporters are far more likely to have a positive view of LNG than a negative one. While LNG may be a contentious issue among influencers and policy makers, it is not one among the general public.

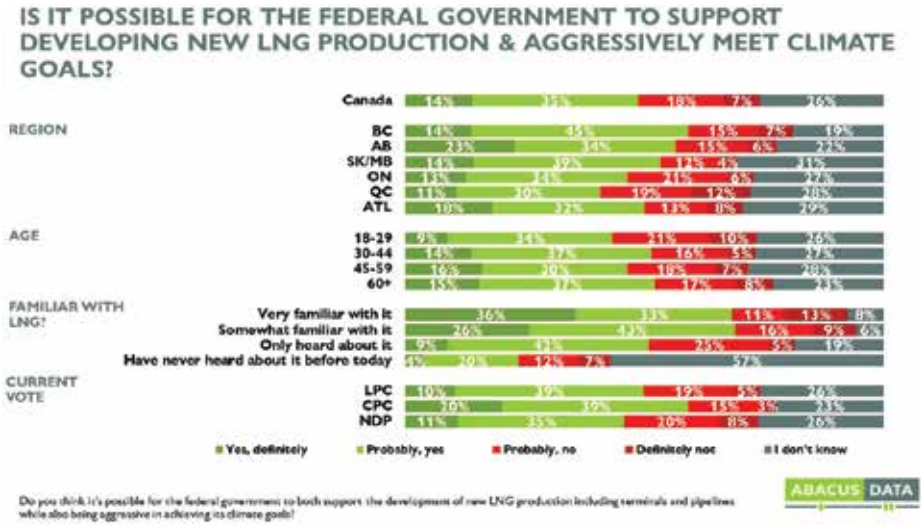
Do Canadians think is it possible for the federal government to both support the development of new LNG including terminals and pipelines while also being aggressive in achieving its climate goals?

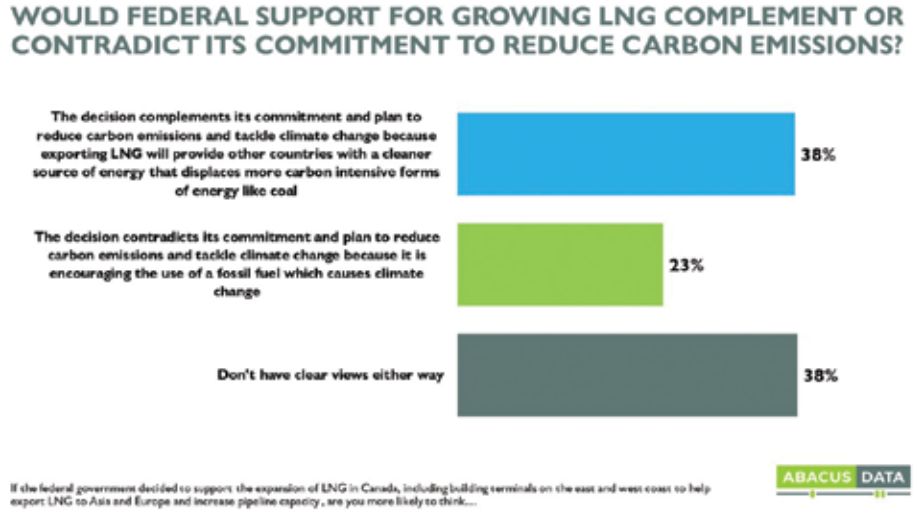
Almost half think it's at probably possible while less than 10% think it's definitely not possible. And again, this view is consistent across the country and political spectrum. Even in Quebec, 41% think it's possible to develop new LNG and aggressively meet climate goals compared with 31% who don't think it is possible. Those more familiar with LNG are more confident that the federal government can do both – support











the development of LNG production while also being aggressive in achieving its climate goals.

But there is also a large segment of the population who are unsure – reflecting the lack of knowledge or awareness about LNG. For those who want to see the industry grow, this is both an opportunity and a threat.

In a follow up question, Canadians were asked how they would react if the federal government decided to support the expansion of LNG in Canada, including building terminals on the east and west coasts to help export LNG to Asia and Europe and increasing pipeline capacity. Would this decision by the federal government compliment its commitment and plan to reduce carbon emissions or would it contract its commitment?

Canadians are more likely to believe that if the federal government decided to support expansion of LNG in Canada, it would compliment its work to reduce emissions rather than contract it.

This reaction is shared by Canadians in all parts of the country including 41% in BC, 47% in Alberta, 36% in Ontario, and 37% In Quebec and across the political spectrum – 39% among Liberal supporters, 45% among Conservatives, and 33% among NDP supporters.

More telling, among those more familiar with LNG, almost six in ten say that a decision to support LNG expansion would compliment the federal government's existing efforts rather than contradict it.

Often those involved in policy development or public affairs advocacy think the public is as aware or engaged in issues as they are. But often, the public is far less aware, familiar, and engaged in issues. The results of this survey offer another example of this fact.

But there are some important implications in this research for those who want to see Canada develop its natural gas resources.

For one, don't assume the public knows or even understands much about LNG. Only about a third of the public are familiar with LNG in the first place, and perceptions and beliefs are quite mixed and rather limited. This is evidence that the sector hasn't done enough to inform and persuade Canadians that developing LNG makes sense. The result is that when someone might see a news story about LNG or a head of government visiting Canada asking for natural gas, most Canadians likely ignore or gloss over it because they haven't been primed to know or understand the implications of it.

Second, for policy makers and political leaders who may be hesitant to support LNG development, there's no evidence in this polling that there's widespread or deep opposition to LNG in Canada. LNG is not politicized, it is not polarizing, and Canadians from across the political spectrum and in provinces that don't often agree on much (Alberta and Quebec) share similar views on LNG.

Finally, previous polling we have done finds Canadians are concerned about climate change. They want governments to act. They believe a transition to a clean energy economy is possible and will lead to a more secure and affordable system for them and the country. But Canadians are not dogmatic about energy and climate issues either, as confirmed by this poll. They believe we can both develop and export LNG to the world as a cleaner energy source while also achieving our climate goals. P

Dr. David Coletto is founder, Chairman, and CEO of Ottawa and Toronto-based polling and market research firm Abacus Data. He is also an adjunct professor at the Arthur Kroeger College of Public Affairs where he teaches in the graduate program in political management.

"The future of Indigenous participation in Canada's economy is being defined here. Don't miss your chance to be a part of it."

Chief Ian Campbell, chair of IPSS 2023

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Woodfibre LNG is a 2.1 million-tonne-per-year liquefied natural gas (LNG) export facility with 250,000 m^3 of floating storage capacity being built near Squamish, B.C. -- *Woodfibre LNG photo*

The Canadian Advantage in Natural Gas

Edward Greenspon

The world is clamouring for gas. From East Asia to Western Europe, supply shortages and soaring prices are crushing consumers, shuttering industries and leaving governments scrambling for new sources of supply.

Meanwhile, Canada, the world's fifth largest natural gas producer, is seeking to recalibrate its influence in a world upended by Russia's brutal war in Ukraine and the drawing of new red lines around China. Geo-politics is drawing us more deeply into the US orbit at a time when our closest neighbour is riven by political divisions.

As we learned in the pandemic, Canada has a strategic imperative to be holding more trading cards in an uncertain global marketplace. And so our gas needs to be a bigger part of the national conversation as we debate whether we will turn up production or whether we've already missed the boat.

When we look back on 2022 a couple of decades from now, it is likely to be remembered as the year in which the energy transition realists mounted a comeback against policy romanticism. This has nothing to do with Paris targets or net zero, but how we get there while being vigilant about security, reliability and affordability.

Three developments over the past 12 months bring the point home:

- Even before Russia attacked Ukraine, European and British consumers were paying a steep price from having moved too swiftly in phasing down reliable and affordable sources of power in favour of renewables not quite ready to carry the load. Gas and nuclear were suddenly added back to the EU's list of acceptable green transitional fuels.
- The invasion exposed Europe's folly in failing to give security proper due in its policy mix, leaving it scouring the globe for new supplies of gas in the medium term and hydrogen for the longer term.
- Finally, the same US led coalition that sanctioned Russia also embraced new approaches to contain Chinese power, including the forging of closer ties with others in Asia. Canada put forward its own beyond-China Indo-Pacific strategy, which identified Japan and Korea as allies akin to our European NATO partners.

As a result, Canada must grapple with a new set of energy propositions. How do we help our long-standing allies in Europe overcome their energy dependence? How do we help a newer set of allies in Asia as they, too, seek greater energy and economic distance from both Russia and China? How can we help both regions in their quests for net-zero emissions? And how do we make sure we don't subject Canadians to the kinds of energy upheavals our friends are experiencing?

There are several answers, to be sure. Canada must pursue a two-track strategy of developing alternatives to our fossil fuels (through investments in electrification, renewables, storage, hydrogen) while also working aggressively to decarbonize those fossil fuels (which will remain an important part of the energy mix for years to come).

Yet the greatest contribution Canada can make to the global and nation-

al good is by further developing our natural gas.

Canada happens to be home to some of the lowest carbon-intensity gas in the world. A combination of good geology, good geography and good governance accords us a significant clean gas advantage. According to a 2022 International Energy Agency study, the LNG Canada plant nearing completion in Kitimat, British Columbia, "is designed to be one of the lowest CO2 intensity LNG facilities currently operating in the world, with a 60 percent lower emissions rate than the global average." Future West Coast projects, such as Woodfibre, Cedar, FortisBC's Tilbury expansion and a second phase of LNG Canada will possess emissions profiles closer to 90 per cent better than global competitors.

While still a fossil fuel, Canada's gas comes out of the ground low in carbon. Proximity to hydropower enables cleaner processing. Our northern climate provides an assist on the cooling necessary to liquify gas for shipping. Some of the strictest methane regulations in the world are making inroads against fugitive emissions.

So long as gas figures in the world's energy equation, Canada's gas is the best bet when it comes to the E in ESG. Its development is also backed by most affected First Nations (S), which see it as a key to their sovereignty. And purchasers get to deal with one of the world's most diverse and successful democracies (S and G).

It also provides a here-and-now alternative to a disturbing uptick in global coal production. Nearly 200 new coal-powered generating plants are under construction all over Asia. Even Europe, in its desperate response to its energy crisis, is firing up old coal plants The IEA reports that increased coal usage was responsible for more than 40 percent of the overall growth in global CO2 emissions in 2021.

To the very real extent that Canadian LNG exports would displace coal, the world is better off. The same is true even if it crowds out gas from other countries,.

Canada has already blazed the trail of coal-to-gas switching in Ontario and Alberta, with Saskatchewan, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia next up. The time has arrived to take this domestic success on the road by making it an explicit plank of our foreign policy. We should systematically negotiate to provide our trading partners with access to Canada's clean gas advantage in assisting them to achieve their own emissions targets.

Many critics of gas reject this logic by arguing that renewables will shut the window for LNG before new investments could pay off. Perhaps, but if purchasers in Asia are prepared to commit – and they are – this remains a matter for buyers and sellers to figure out. Policymakers are entitled to an opinion on societal goals, such as net zero. Business viability is not in their skill set.

> ***"We should systematically negotiate to provide our trading partners with access to Canada's clean gas advantage in assisting them to achieve their own emissions targets."***

The real problem lies elsewhere, in any case-- the fact that emissions are tallied against the producing country, not the importing one. In the case of Canadian gas, this creates a perverse situation where the very same actions that reduce global emissions would add to our domestic count.

The Paris negotiators anticipated this dilemma through the agreement's Article 6, the only portion still not enacted. It sought to create market mechanisms, such as carbon credits, that would allow importing nations to share the burden. Japan and Korea have expressed an interest in bilateral arrangements of this sort. Canada has good reason to become a leader in Article 6-type agreements, just as we have been a leader in free trade agreements.

That Canada does not yet have a single terminal for the liquefaction and export of natural gas (the first one is slated to open mid-decade) speaks to policy failures in the last decade now in jeopardy of being repeated. Over the past half-dozen years, the US has launched multiple LNG facilities. To make matters worse, Canada is currently shipping stateside almost the precise volumes of gas the US exports to world markets for higher prices and with greater emissions.

The geo-political shifts so evident in 2022 now present Canada with a new opportunity to get it right – and the timing couldn't be better. We have been whipsawed in recent years by Donald Trump's arbitrary measures against Canadian steel and aluminum and his attack on NAFTA. Two of our citizens were arbitrarily and unjustly detained by a willful China and our canola was shut out. The COVID-19 pandemic exposed health security shortcomings as we were forced to scramble for supplies of everything from masks to vaccines.

Since no nation can be an island, the way ahead requires us to protect ourselves by generating more "tradeables" – more of what we do well and can provide to willing buyers in the rest of the world. Critical minerals fall into this category, if we can get them out of the ground in a timely manner. So, one day, may our hydrogen.

Right now, gas counts big time. There are countries and companies that understand our ESG advantages and are prepared to invest in Canada's LNG capacity and ultimately buy the product.

And so our gas is lined up to yield multiple benefits: providing security of supply to our friends, reducing global emissions, strengthening our economy, empowering Indigenous communities, building a base for hydrogen development and, perhaps most importantly, giving this middle-power nation more strategic cards to play in an unsettled global environment. P

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Canada Deserves Credit under Paris Agreement for GHG Reductions from LNG Exports

Kim Henderson

Policy making is complex business. As problems or challenges that impact the public are identified it is the job of policy officials and decision makers to assess options and possible benefits and outcomes. When the challenge is to drive economic growth many factors come into play. What is the competitive advantage. How many jobs can be produced and will they be family-supporting jobs? How will communities be affected, what do Indigenous communities support, what are the views of stakeholders, what is the impact on the environment and how much economic benefit and government revenue will be generated? Juggling multiple bottom lines is par for the course.

In 2013 the B.C.Liberals determined that LNG development would be a key industry to drive economic growth in B.C. and deliver tremendous domestic benefits and so began a concerted effort to attract the investment to the province.

Canada is the sixth largest producer of natural gas in the world. British Columbia is Canada's second largest natural gas producer, home to the Horn River and Montney natural gas basins. Canada is estimated to have 1.373 trillion cubic feet of natural gas resources, an amount equal to over 200 years of current annual demand.

And LNG is in demand in Asian markets as an alternative to coal. B.C. benefits from a 50 percent shorter shipping route to North Asia than the US Gulf Coast, and abundant natural gas supplies from a democratic jurisdiction with high regulatory standards makes for an attractive supplier. And what if the LNG produced in B.C. could be the cleanest in the world? For these reasons, and the domestic benefits including jobs, revenue and support from many First Nations communities meant that LNG was assessed as key to B.C.'s and Canada's economic future.

> *"In Canada's case, 45 percent of our carbon footprint leaves the country in the form of exports, according to work undertaken for the federal government's Industry Strategy Council."*

At the time, changing market conditions and multiple regulatory and other delays didn't lead to any Final Investment Decisions. In 2018 the then-NDP government and the B.C. Liberals had a rare moment of cooperation when legislation creating the incentives for the LNG Canada export terminal in Kitimat, B.C. was passed. The NDP government came to many of the same conclusions on the economic growth potential for B.C. but with an important qualifier among the conditions. Its position is that any project must fit within B.C.'s climate plan's emissions reduction targets.

Canada, as an exporting nation, is penalized under the framework of the Paris Agreement. As we outlined in the 2021 Public Policy Forum (PPF) report *Climatetiveness: What it Takes to Thrive in a Net Zero Exporting World*, in the process of two-way trade, emissions tend to be tallied for carbon accounting purposes entirely against the producing nation. We noted that this type of global arrangement can have profound effects for a country like Canada based on its industrial composition and export orientation. In Canada's case, 45 percent of our carbon footprint leaves the country in the form of exports, according to work undertaken for the federal government's Industry Strategy Council.

In B.C., with annual emissions of about 64.6 million tonnes of carbon dioxide equivalent (MtCO2e) (2020) further development beyond the first phase of the LNG Canada project doesn't "fit" the now legislated emissions reduction targets, because as the LNG producer the emissions are credited to Canada and the purchaser of our LNG gets credit for all the emissions savings from using clean B.C. LNG.

I was part of a broad business group in 2020 that undertook work with provincial officials to look at the GHG advantage of B.C.'s export commodities. That third party verified work found that on average, B.C.'s major commodity exports have about half the GHG intensity of identical goods produced by the province's competitors. In fact, B.C.'s global advantage accounts for a difference equal to a third of B.C.'s total emissions. Low emitting electricity was the biggest factor in the B.C. advantage. In B.C.'s natural resource products alone, Canada has the potential to take millions of additional metric tonnes of GHGs out of the world's atmosphere, simply through goods that include export products from B.C. And that's comparing like to like – our LNG to LNG produced elsewhere in the world. When assessed as

Enbridge Inc. and Pacific Energy Corporation Limited announced in July 2022 an agreement to jointly invest in the construction and operation of the Woodfibre LNG project near Squamish, B.C., as rendered in this image. --*Enbridge photo*

product displacement, that is replacing coal with our LNG, the savings are more significant.

Canada and B.C. are well positioned to make progress on climate change and can have an outsized influence on global GHG targets. Even before Russia's invasion of Ukraine, a shortage of LNG was forecast by the middle of this decade as demand surges and is predicted to double by 2040. The International Energy Agency's latest outlook sees natural gas demand in the Asia-Pacific region growing by 27 percent between 2021 and 2050.

The demand side of the calculus is now crystal clear. IEA executive director Fatih Birol said during the virtual launch of the IEA's Canada 2022 report, he'd prefer the supply comes from "good partners" like Canada. The Paris-based IEA is a world-recognized authority on energy supply, demand and policy. We are good partners because we produce lower emissions commodities than our competitors, have a strong regulatory regime, a stable democratic government and are committed to net zero.

So the supply argument is in place, demand is strong through to 2040 and beyond, and the domestic benefits are significant. First Nations that stand to benefit see LNG as a path to a better socio-economic future for their communities. So what is the barrier then? We are essentially in our own way.

In an adherence to domestic GHG reduction targets we, and the world, miss out on the broader good. Reduction of global GHGs. As what will have more impact, an inward focus on Canada's Paris target or global reduction of GHGs?

China's annual emissions are over 11 billion tonnes BtCO2e, B.C's annual emissions are about two days of emissions in China. But yet we would forego the benefits to stick to a sub-national (official parlance for a province) target as the producer of the cleanest gas in the world.

So what's the path ahead? It starts with pressure from Canadians who have pride in the clean products we produce and want to grow our economy and see the domestic benefits in terms of jobs and revenue here at home. And forging equity opportunities with First Nations. It means we continue at pace to incentivize technology development to get to net zero and set the standard for the world in our clean gas. It means we need to streamline regulatory processes between levels of government to get projects built. And it means we need to address the imbalance that global GHG accounting creates.

In *Climatetiveness* we recommended that federal trade officials and the government shift the focus from trade negotiations to trade promotion, with a particular focus on leveraging Canada's low carbon advantage.

Bilateral agreements offer another way for Canada to work with like-minded countries, such as Japan, which is prioritizing low carbon products and is prepared to pay a premium. Piloting agreements like this are a way for parties to facilitate trade in allowances or credit. Canada should show leadership and take steps to define future agreements by testing how cooperation could work in practice, especially where there are material stakes for the Canadian economy and material benefits to global GHGs. Testing these types of agreements is not new. Over the past few years, there has been a proliferation of the Paris Agreement's Article 6 piloting activities, which are experimenting at how cooperation between nations could work in practice, thus helping to provide insight into negotiations, while offering testers access to carbon credits.

As the world focuses on energy security, Canada needs to step up. Canadian LNG is the best bet for B.C. and Canada to achieve economic growth and the multiple bottom lines against which Canadians should be keeping score. P

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A Strong Indigenous Case for Exports of LNG to High Demand Markets in Europe

Leo Power, Chief Misel Joe and Niilo Edwards

In November 2022, Newfoundland's energy community gathered for a gala to commemorate the 25th anniversary of first production of light sweet crude from the Hibernia project, an industry that has transformed Newfoundland and Labrador's (NL) provincial economy. Hibernia has served as a catalyst to build a much larger industry that today includes four producing offshore oil fields-- Hibernia, White Rose, Terra Nova and Hebron-- with the promise of a fifth project, Bay du Nord.

The longevity of this east coast industry has surprised some, and it continues to draw new investment. We believe that exports of liquefied natural gas (LNG) have the potential to have a major role over the next quarter of a decade while contributing positively to Canada's climate progress.

However, a lot of work must occur first for that to happen, including ensuring that the business case for east coast LNG is both robust and well communicated.

NL has witnessed the production of 2.2 billion barrels of oil since 1997. A massive quantity of natural gas was discovered as a by-product of drilling for oil and today the Jeanne d'Arc Basin has a proven resource of 8 trillion cubic feet (TCF). An additional 4 TCF of natural gas lies off the coast of Labrador. In terms of energy equivalency, each 1 TCF of natural gas is the equivalent of 170 million barrels of oil. As the crude oil gets produced on the offshore platforms, the natural gas that flows with the oil to the platforms is stripped of valuable condensate which then gets blended with the crude. The "produced" natural gas is then re-injected into the reservoir.

Attendees at the Energy NL Conference in St, John's in September 2021. (L to R): Premier Andrew Furey, Shayne McDonald, Chief Misel Joe, Chief Sharleen Gale, Leo Power, CEO, LNG NL and Industry, Energy and Technology Minister Andrew Parsons.

But what if that gas was, instead, shipped to a nearby coastal terminal, cooled to liquid state, and then poured onto specialized LNG ships to be sent wherever it is needed? Enter LNG NL.

LNG NL is an Indigenous equity partnership with Miawpukek First Nation (MFN) proposing to monetize stranded natural gas in the Jeanne d'Arc Basin. This is a first-of-its-kind partnership with an Indigenous community on an offshore energy project. Another distinctive feature is LNG NL has entered this partnership with MFN before the permitting process has commenced. The project team understands the value of our Indigenous partnership and has taken the steps to ensure MFN has a seat at the project governance table. This enables the project to include the interests of our First Nations partners in real time. This will add to the business case for our project, streamline permitting, and attract ESG complaint investment. The partnership between LNG NL and MFN also demonstrates our project's commitment to sustainability, and ensuring we maximize economic benefits for everyone in the region.

MFN is the only land based First Nation on the island of Newfoundland which is a remote community of over 800 people on reserve. MFN has leveraged its traditional resources to generate its own sourced revenue but this equity stake participation in the oil and gas industry represents the first steps on a potentially transformative journey for the Nation. To help build the Nation's capacity in this new and exciting venture MFN has relied on the support and advocacy of the First Nations Major Projects Coalition for both technical expertise and to help highlight this project with various decision makers. MFN continues to work hard to raise capital to increase its equity stake and is working to maximize the benefits potential returning to the community and MFN membership.

Access to competitive capital for Indigenous equity investment in projects such as LNG NL continues to be a barrier. The LNG NL project and our partnership with MFN is another example of the need for the Government of Canada to establish a national Indigenous loan guarantee program. It is a key goal of our partnership to see MFN increase their equity share in LNG NL as the project advances.

LNG NL is seeking to secure access to the "produced" associated gas from pro-

duction of crude oil, currently re-injected into offshore reservoirs. It proposes to build pipeline infrastructure to connect with offshore platforms and then flow the gas via a 600 km pipeline to Grassy Point in Placentia Bay on the south coast of Newfoundland and Labrador.

At Grassy Point, LNG NL will pretreat the gas and then use renewable hydro power to super-chill the gas to minus 162 degrees Celsius which is the temperature required to convert the gas into liquid called liquified natural gas (LNG).

The LNG will be shipped to high demand markets in Europe, likely Germany.

The project will process approximately 275 million standard cubic feet per day (MMSCFD) to export 2 million tonnes per annum (MTPA) of low carbon LNG. By way of comparison Woodfibre LNG project in Squamish, BC proposes to export 2.1 MTPA, the Haisla Nation Cedar LNG project in Kitimat proposes to export 3 MTPA and LNG Canada, also in Kitimat will export 14 MTPA in Phase 1.

The first export of LNG is estimated for 2030 but could be advanced to 2028 with the support and cooperation of the governments of Canada and NL with respect to meeting regulatory and permitting requirements.

Exporting 2 MTPA for 20 years will monetize 2 TCF of the 8 TCF proven resource in the Jeanne d'Arc Basin.

The estimated capital cost for the project is US$5.5 billion.

LNG NL will produce the lowest carbon LNG of any project in Canada for two reasons:

1. The "produced" associated gas sourced from offshore platforms involves no incremental emissions
2. Renewable hydroelectricity will be used to liquefy the natural gas

LNG NL has a strong business case and multiple competitive advantages including:

1. A massive proven resource of 8 TCF of natural gas in the Jeanne d'Arc Basin awaits monetization - no requirement to drill for natural gas
2. Our natural gas meets ESG expectations in customer countries
3. Route for 600 km subsea pipeline involves a single provincial jurisdiction and the federal jurisdiction
4. Grassy Point, Placentia Bay was previously permitted (around 2008) by the federal and NL government for the Transhipment of LNG
5. Renewable hydro power is the optimal method to ensure no emissions during the energy intensive process of liquefaction
6. Cost-of-shipping advantage given NL is the shortest shipping point from North America to Europe- relative to exports of LNG to Europe from the US Gulf of Mexico, NL is half the distance
7. Government of NL is supportive of commercializing offshore natural gas
8. An Indigenous equity partner in an offshore energy project is a historic first in Canada

LNG NL is also committed to considering the potential for Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS). The idea is to capture the CO2 in the natural gas before it gets liquefied. Conventionally the CO2 would be emitted into the atmosphere but, subject to commercial feasibility, LNG NL will consider building a reverse pipeline to flow the CO2 to the Jeanne d'Arc Basin for sequestration into what can be described as an enormous carbon sink. A reverse pipeline to sequester CO2 could be sized to handle CO2 from other industrial projects in Eastern Canada.

Successful execution of LNG NL's project could help create a new industry for Newfoundland. The enormity of the economic opportunity is truly impressive - based on recent independent resource assessments, employing state-of-the-art 2D and 3D seismic surveys, offshore NL has 292.6 TCF of gas potential in just 18 percent of its offshore.

Given the possibility of a CCS option, there is also potential to create "Blue" hydrogen from NL's natural gas via advanced versions of widely used methane reforming processes to produce clean hydrogen from natural gas which is heated with steam to produce hydrogen. There is also potential to produce near zero emission "Turquoise" hydrogen through a process called methane pyrolysis. It involves renewable energy like hydro power from the grid to break methane molecules at very high temperatures within a plasma torch reactor to make the Turquoise hydrogen and carbon black. Carbon black is a solid by-product that can be sold in the market and has applications in tire manufacturing and other industries.

Natural gas has been described as "the Prince of Hydrocarbons" given it has the lowest carbon intensity of any of the fossil fuels and has an estimated 40 percent less emissions than coal. Exports of low carbon LNG from both the east and west coasts of Canada can have a positive impact on global efforts to lower emissions- "coal to gas switching" can be accelerated with Canada's help.

> ***"Exports of low carbon LNG from both the east and west coasts of Canada can have a positive impact on global efforts to lower emissions- 'coal to gas switching' can be accelerated with Canada's help."***

Historically, projects of this scale are national in scope, relying on expertise and suppliers in every province. They can bring about the revitalization of rural economies and meaningfully open the door for First Nations to choose their place in the Canadian economy.

Opportunity is now for the east coast of Canada to support Europe's quest for gas supply diversification while at the same time replacing more dangerous hydrocarbons. In the larger sphere of looking at where the energy industry needs to go, there is ample recognition of the valuable role LNG will play in the short to medium term and ample recognition of the drivers at play to accelerate decarbonization along with the promising opportunity to become an industrial scale exporter of green hydrogen. P

Leo Power is CEO of LNG NL, Misel Joe is Chief of the Miawpukek First Nation, and Niilo Edwards is CEO of the First Nations Major Projects Coalition.

LNG—Canada has supply to meet the global demand

Goldy Hyder

Consider the following:

- Global demand for liquefied natural gas (LNG) is forecast to almost double by 2040.
- Canada has the ability to produce LNG with the world's highest environmental standards and lowest carbon footprint.
- Customers in Asia and Europe are keen to buy Canadian LNG to reduce their emissions from coal and to alleviate price pressures caused by energy shortages.

It all adds up to a massive opportunity for Canada – not just an economic opportunity, but a chance to help reduce global greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) and contribute to the fight against climate change.

Yet the frustrating truth is that our country, which has been blessed with an estimated 200-year supply of natural gas at current consumption rates, currently exports only a tiny amount of LNG.

Why? The answer is certainly not obvious to our friends and allies overseas.

In the spring of 2022, during a visit to Korea, I met with a senior government official to discuss opportunities for increased bilateral trade and investment. He was struggling to understand why Canada doesn't export more of its abundant natural resources, including natural gas.

Could it be, he inquired, that we are deliberately hoarding our resources for our own use?

I assured him that we are doing – would do – nothing of the sort. After all, we Canadians like to think of ourselves as generous and fair-minded, always willing to lend a hand to our international partners when they need help.

But I couldn't blame him for asking the question.

For too long Canada has been content to sit on the sidelines while other countries – notably the United States, Qatar, and Australia – have reaped the benefits of rising global demand for LNG.

Although the LNG industry in Canada is still in its infancy, the technology to produce it is far from new. The process was first discovered in 1820 by British scientist Michael Faraday, who successfully chilled natural gas to -161° C, the temperature at which it becomes liquid at 1/600th its original volume.

> *"When used to generate electricity, gas produces half as much carbon dioxide as coal, making it an important source of energy for countries that are transitioning to a low-carbon future."*

Almost a century later, the first commercial LNG plant was constructed in West Virginia. Before long, similar facilities were being built around the world to meet energy demand in places that could not be reached economically by pipeline.

Over the past two decades, global LNG demand has more than doubled to 380 million tonnes. The market is expected to grow to 700 million tonnes by 2040, according to a study by Shell.

Most of that increase will be driven by Asia, as countries across the region seek to reduce their reliance on coal by switching to natural gas, the cleanest-burning fossil fuel.

When used to generate electricity, gas produces half as much carbon dioxide as coal, making it an important source of energy for countries that are transitioning to a low-carbon future.

Globally, the transition from coal to gas has already prevented around 500 million tonnes of carbon dioxide emissions since 2010, the International Energy Agency estimates.

That's equivalent to putting an extra 200 million electric vehicles on the road over the same period – 10 times as many EVs as currently exist.

More than 100 LNG plants are now in the works around the world, according to McKinsey. Although Canada is the world's fifth largest producer of natural gas, only one world-scale LNG export terminal is currently under construction in this country: LNG Canada.

Located in Kitimat, B.C., in the traditional territory of the Haisla Nation, the $17 billion project –$40 billion, when upstream assets and the associated Coastal GasLink pipeline are included – represents the single largest private investment in Canadian history.

When LNG Canada's first phase is completed in 2025, it will be capable of exporting 14 million tonnes of LNG per year, with a potential for future expansion to 28 million tonnes.

Importantly, GHG emissions from LNG Canada's Kitimat operation will be lower than any facility currently operating anywhere in the world today: 35 percent lower than the world's best-performing facilities and 60 percent lower than the global weighted average.

Two other, smaller, projects on the West Coast – Cedar LNG, also in Kiti-

Tae-shin Kwon, Vice Chairman and CEO of the Federation of Korean Industries, and Goldy Hyder, President and CEO of the Business Council of Canada, sign a memorandum of understanding in Toronto in September 2022. The two organizations announced a strategic partnership to connect business leaders, promote economic ties, and enhance co-operation in the Indo-Pacific region. -- *Nick Wons photo*

mat, and Woodfibre LNG in Squamish, B.C. – have received regulatory approval but are not yet under construction.

When those two projects are completed, the LNG they produce will also be among the cleanest in the world, given the advanced technology being used, the high environmental standards set by the federal and B.C. governments, and the fact that hydroelectricity will be used to power parts of their operations.

Among other potential Asian customers, Japan and South Korea are particularly keen to be able to import Canadian LNG. Low-carbon Canadian LNG will both assist their efforts to end reliance on coal-fired electricity and improve the sustainability credentials of their manufacturers by allowing them to use the lowest carbon lifecycle gas and electricity.

At the recent G20 meeting in Indonesia, Canada, the United States, Japan and the European Union signed a $20 billion climate finance deal with the host country that will help Indonesia reduce its reliance on coal and move to less GHG-intensive forms of electricity.

This, too, could spur interest in low-carbon Canadian LNG. Similar discussions are reportedly in the early stages with India and Vietnam.

Meanwhile, Russia's curtailment of natural gas flows to Europe has pushed up demand for LNG in that region. During a visit to Canada in August, German Chancellor Olaf Scholz made it clear his country was eager to import natural gas from Canada.

"As Germany is moving away from Russian energy at warp speed, Canada is our partner of choice," he told a business audience in Toronto. "For now, this means increasing our LNG imports. We hope that Canadian LNG will play a major role in this."

Alas, regulatory hurdles and lack of political will have for years delayed the development of LNG export infrastructure on Canada's East Coast. As a result, Scholz left Canada empty-handed, even though a recent Léger Marketing poll showed that most Canadians would back the construction of new East Coast terminals to export gas.

The Germans, for their part, quickly pivoted to other suppliers, signing long-term LNG import contracts with producers in Australia, Qatar and the United States.

Each of those contracts represents a huge lost opportunity for Canadian workers and the communities that depend on our energy sector – not to mention a loss of government tax revenues and royalties that would have supported badly needed public services such as healthcare and education.

If there's a silver lining, perhaps it's that our inability to supply Germany with natural gas at its time of need has raised public awareness of the enormous potential of Canada's nascent LNG industry.

For the sake of our economy, our commitment to reducing global GHG emissions, and future generations of Canadians, it's an opportunity we cannot afford to squander. P

Goldy Hyder is President and Chief Executive Officer of the Business Council of Canada, which is composed of the CEOs and entrepreneurs of 170 leading Canadian companies.

Enbridge and Pacific Energy Corporation Limited announced in July 2022 an agreement to jointly invest in the construction and operation of the Woodfibre LNG project near Squamish, B.C. -- *Woodfibre LNG photo*

Must Canada Skip the Natural Gas Debate on the Path to Net Zero?

Stewart Muir

While there are those who believe that Canada can only reach its climate goals by eliminating all fossil fuel production, others argue that natural gas—including LNG—can play an important role in reducing greenhouse gas emissions on the road to net zero.

While renewables will form the foundation of a large share of GHG reductions, according to recent findings from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), natural gas (and in particular LNG) will also be necessary in achieving the 1.5C global warming goals. Energy and environmental economist Andrew Leach of the University of Alberta recently stated that some scenarios would allow for gas usage to double from current levels.

Surely an energy source that produces any emissions at all is inherently undesirable, given the need for accelerated action? In fact, experience is showing that replacing fossil fuels with alternative energies takes many decades. Every jurisdiction will have a different path to achieve GHG reduction targets, while seeking to provide energy products at costs residents can afford. In this context, natural gas is a proven transition fuel and an alternative to higher-emitting sources, coal in particular. The best example of this is the United States. There, in 2005, coal made up 50 percent of US electricity generation before declining to 23 percent in 2019. Over the same period, US Energy Information Administration (EIA) data show, natural gas increased from 19 percent to 38 percent of total generation. This fuel

switching accounts for well over 60 percent of GHG reductions in the US over this time period. The US is, ironically to some, one of the few countries close to meeting their targeted GHG reductions.

More recently, Alberta has successfully lowered the GHG profile of its electricity sector by rapidly phasing out coal and replacing it with natural gas and renewables. If this can happen in North America, it seems obvious that Canada's abundant reserves of natural gas should be made available to other countries, with corresponding GHG reductions.

Indeed, the bigger opportunity for Canadian natural gas lies in supporting similar transitions in other parts of the world through LNG exports. This is particularly true for developing countries where energy poverty is endemic and renewables, while important, require the "firm power" capacity of natural gas. Achieving energy security and meeting GHG reduction targets is entirely dependent on having access to affordable energy that also has a much lower GHG profile than coal.

Is anyone ready to refuse this pathway to those countries? This moral argument cannot be overlooked. As witnessed at the latest COP 27, developed nations that are prepared to fund climate damage reparations are also recognizing they have an obligation to share lower emissions fuels and technologies.

In the past decade, Asia Pacific nations increased their use of coal by 15 percent, at a time when all other regions are reducing their dependence or keeping increases low. Given the high GHG profile of coal, one might ask, why haven't Asia Pacific countries already made the shift to renewables and cleaner burning natural gas? The reason is simply that there are significant cost and supply issues. Natural gas is locally scarce in many of the regions where economies are growing rapidly and there are few pipelines connecting overland to large suppliers such as Russia.

The IPCC's 1.5C scenario is supportive of natural gas, but with the caveat that its use must be carefully managed in order to avoid negative environmental impacts such as methane release during production and transport. In this regard Canada has a clear competitive advantage, thanks to a strong regulatory regime and methane reduction programs that are world-class, while improvements in LNG ships also prevent methane release. Many other places around the world associated with natural gas development have significant methane challenges. This strengthens the basis to have Canadian LNG in the marketplace ahead of other, higher emitting sources.

"Alberta has successfully lowered the GHG profile of its electricity sector by rapidly phasing out coal and replacing it with natural gas and renewables. If this can happen in North America, it seems obvious that Canada's abundant reserves of natural gas should be made available to other countries."

The LNG Canada plant being built in Kitimat is expected to send its first shipment in 2025, whereupon it will reduce emissions for its customers by the equivalent to 17 large coal-fired plants – a creditable contribution to climate action. Along with LNG Canada, several other terminal projects are advancing on Canada's west coast. They include the expansion of a longstanding Metro Vancouver facility that can supply cleaner LNG as a fuel for seagoing cargo ships which otherwise must rely on more polluting diesel and bunker oil.

There has been significant interest in developing Canada's East Coast potential as well. Back in 2014 when Russia invaded Crimea, the Standing Committee on Natural Resources was told that Canada should be thinking about how to serve shifting European energy security needs even though it would take seven or eight years to build the physical infrastructure. As Anders Aslund of the Peterson Institute for International Economics put it then: "If Canada declares that it is intent on exporting LNG to the benefit of Ukraine, that declaration on its own will have a positive impact on energy security in Ukraine and the rest of eastern Europe." After this prescient outlook, several LNG projects were mooted but none came to fruition and here we are eight years later and little has changed. In September 2022, German Chancellor Olaf Scholz visited Canada, hoping to source LNG from the East Coast. Though he went home empty handed, just months later his country signed a 15-year long-term LNG import contract with Qatar, to start in 2026, which points to a reliance on LNG at least into the 2040s (consistent with IEA and other studies). Trends in LNG sea carriers reinforce this: $60 billion worth of the specialist ships were on the order books in 2022.

Of Canada's top 15 trading partners, seven of those nations (China, Japan, South Korea, the Netherlands, France, Italy and India) are also among the world's top 10 LNG importers. With such well-established relationships already in place, Canadian LNG can more easily find a way into the energy systems of the partner country.

Importantly, Canadian LNG can also begin to play a role in the provisions contained in the Paris Agreement to use trade systems as a vehicle to drive down GHGs. There is a sense of this in the European Union's July 2022 decision to pass the Complementary Climate Delegated Act recognizing that natural gas power plants are climate friendly. The ITMOS Article 6 provision of the Paris Agreement provides a trajectory for liquefied natural gas to create a more rapid path to net zero for many energy importing nations. It allows for the creation of an international market for carbon credits, where countries can buy and sell emissions reductions and removals to help meet their climate goals, resulting in a more rapid path to net zero. This allows for the benefits of transitioning to LNG to be recognized and rewarded, providing additional incentives for its adoption.

> *"Critical to energy transition dialogue in Canada is that this opportunity for LNG exports can also be a significant driver of climate-positive Indigenous reconciliation. This fact is not lost on the scores of First Nations actively engaged in, and leading, the gas and LNG economy."*

Years of leadership in climate policy by Canada is giving our LNG an advantage at a time when markets are hungry for the lowest-GHG natural gas possible. Energy consultancy Wood Mackenzie stated that LNG shipped from Canada to Northeast Asia will have a significantly lower climate footprint than what is supplied by current mega-producers the US, Qatar and Australia.

LNG is not the only thing Canada can supply that will hasten climate action – critical minerals and energy metals needed for EVs are a huge growth opportunity – but it is quite significant. Canada's potential position as a major LNG exporter allows us to have an outsized positive impact on global climate.

Critical to energy transition dialogue in Canada is that this opportunity for LNG exports can also be a significant driver of climate-positive Indigenous reconciliation. This fact is not lost on the scores of First Nations actively engaged in, and leading, the gas and LNG economy.

There are only seven years left until 2030 and the ambitious decarbonization targets set for that year. As an alternative to a perpetual sense of disillusionment, it's time for the facts to speak clearly. The use of LNG can help us move in the right direction towards achieving climate goals even if it is not a complete solution. The false dichotomy of "only renewables" and "phasing out natural gas as fast as possible" is clearly debunked both by past success of natural gas replacing coal and the reality of energy transitions around the world.

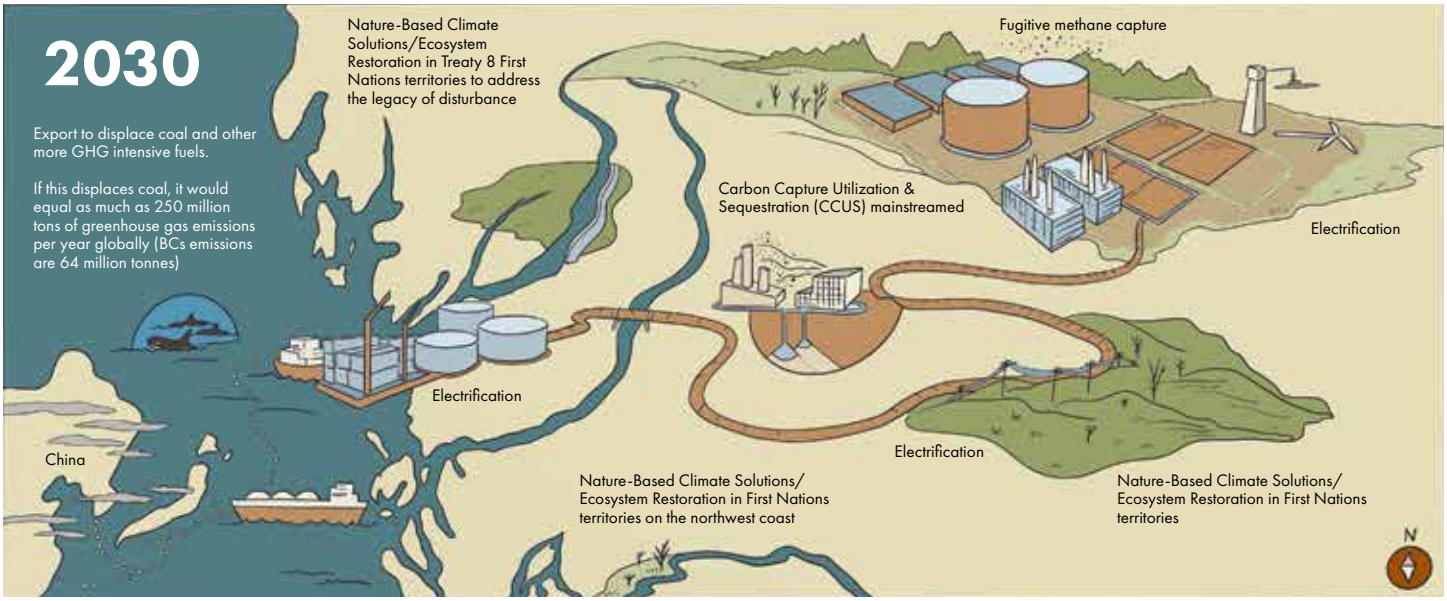
Investing in LNG and natural gas infrastructure not only makes environmental sense, but also economic sense. It will allow Canada to capitalize on our vast resources and position us as a leader in the global transition to a lower-carbon future by ensuring that hydrogen and renewable gas emerge reliably and quickly, an outcome that is at risk if innovators in the gas industry are told there is no future for them here. We can and must reject the misguided notion of phasing out natural gas, and instead embrace its potential to help us achieve climate goals. It's more likely that skipping LNG and gas would make it impossible to attain net zero goals. The argument in support of developing LNG checks all the climate action boxes. **P**

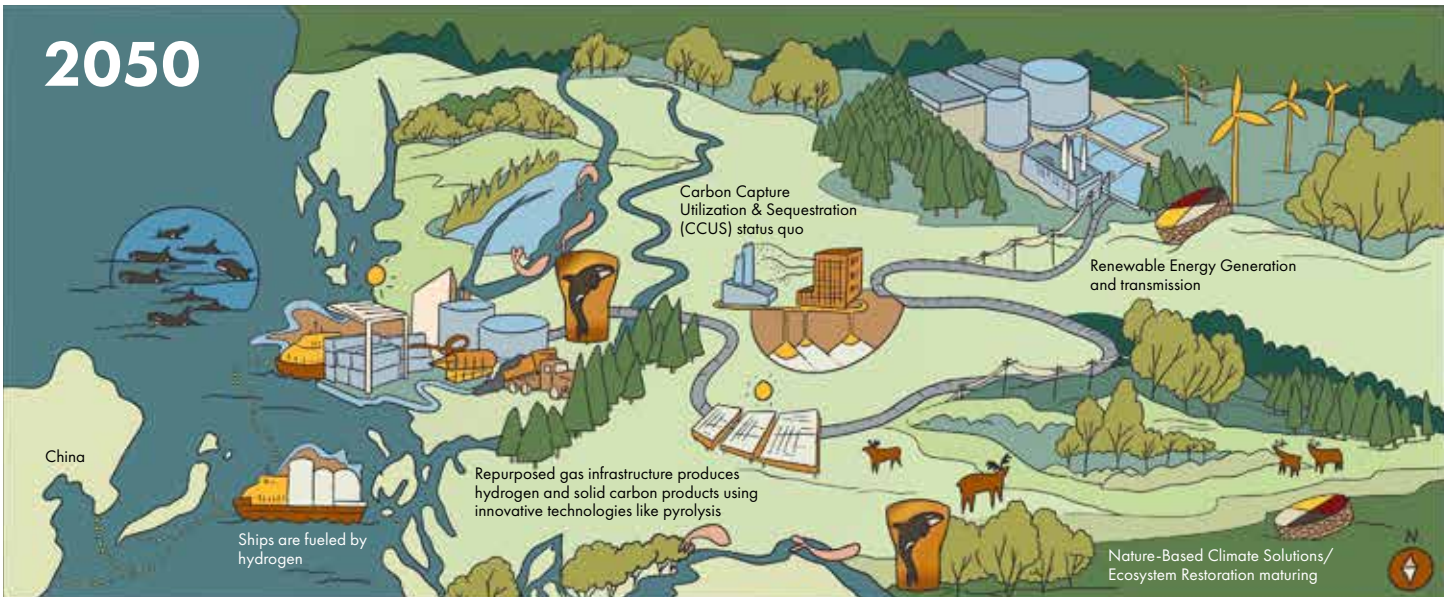
Stewart Muir is a cleantech entrepreneur, award-winning journalist and founder of the Resource Works Society. He has been following the Canadian LNG story closely since 2011.

First Nations Climate Initiative

The FNCI vision is to mitigate climate change, alleviate poverty, and set the path to a low carbon economy in British Columbia.

The Net-Zero Economy in Northern British Columbia





Canada can set its sights higher and address climate change through increasing the global consumption of Canadian exports, in particular through the export of Canadian LNG to Asian economies,, leveraging its leadership in industrial emissions innovation. --*Anucha Sirivisansuwan, Getty Images*

A Low Carbon Future—Toward Climate Focus in Exports

Dan Zilnik, Jason Abboud, and Catherine Ramos

Geography is destiny. Canada is, and will always be, a large country with a small population, a country blessed with extensive natural resources. With our biggest trading partner straddling the southern border and other strong trading partners around the world, it's no surprise that exports represent almost a third of Canada's national economy at C$631 billion. Being a nation blessed with extensive natural resources, nearly 25 percent of these exported goods come from the energy sector. As Canadians navigate unrivaled economic uncertainty with volatile inflation, spiking interest rates, tight labour markets and the looming shadow of a recession — every version of a return to economic certainty will rely on the success of Canada's top exporting sectors and the seven and a half million Canadians who support them to put food on the table.

Today, Global Affairs Canada shows Canada's top three exporting sectors as Energy, Consumer Goods, and Metal and Non-metallic Mineral Products. Energy, though, is by far the biggest at C$144 billion in value. Energy exports alone represent 7.2 percent of Canada's GDP and over 120,000 (typically well paying) direct jobs, per Statistics Canada.

Let's be clear-eyed: for Canada, international exports are fundamental to our collective prosperity. To maintain our standard of living, the proper support and investments must be in place to allow these sectors to remain competitive and sustainable on the global stage.

Equally important is addressing climate change.

We already have a national strategy, the *Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change* (adopted in late 2016), including a Canada-wide carbon price, emissions caps on the oil and gas industry and many other supporting policies. We have aggressive 2030 emissions reductions targets aligned to the Paris Agreement and, ultimately, are aiming to be net-neutral on emissions by 2050.

While ambitious, some Canadians are skeptical about our emissions targets because according to Our World in Data, Canada accounts for 1.5 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions. But rather than seeing this as a limiting factor in our ability to make a difference in the global fight against climate change, we must set our sights higher and consider the impact we could have by reducing the carbon intensity of our exports while increasing our global market share to meet the growing demand for low carbon goods beyond our borders. This would have the potential to drive meaningful emissions reductions far beyond our borders and have an outsized influence over the remaining 98.5 percent of global emissions, while building a more resilient Canadian economy.

The challenge of being a climate leader while growing Canada's economy is complex, but immediate action is urgent as we navigate future economic uncertainty that requires decision-making today. The research and analysis conducted by EY suggests there are three simultaneous actions Canada should take today:

1. Lower the domestic emissions including the emissions of Canada's top exports
2. Lower global emissions by increasing the global consumption of Canadian exports

3. Leverage Canada's existing leadership in industrial emissions innovation

As part of the Pan-Canadian Framework, the Canadian government has committed to reducing annual GHG emissions from 739 megatonnes (Mt) to 443 Mt in 2030, as outlined in the "2030 Emissions Reduction Plan: Canada's Next Steps for Clean Air and a Strong Economy." These reductions, if achieved, would represent ~0.5 percent of today's total global emissions. However, lowering our Canadian domestic emissions is necessary, but not adequate, to meaningfully contribute to global emissions reductions.

Reducing emissions is essential, and Canada must also export products where the majority of reduction occurs through use.

That leads to the second lever-- helping other nations reduce emissions while reaping the economic rewards. One way of doing this is by exporting Canadian Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) to Asian economies. Researchers from the University of Calgary, Johns Hopkins University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) compared Canadian LNG life cycle emissions to the weighted average power sector life cycle emissions of 13 major LNG importing countries. The authors concluded that Canadian LNG emitted 25 percent less GHGs than the average fuel mix currently used in Chinese and Indian power sectors. Both countries are critical players in limiting global warming to a 1.5°C increase.

In China, coal is the backstop for secure energy, and until it is phased out, we can expect its continued combustion to contribute considerably to global emissions. With emissions estimated to peak before 2030, we might not have yet seen maximum annual CO2 emissions. However, exported Canadian LNG can play an integral role in helping China reduce emissions and get them closer to their 2060 goal of carbon neutrality.

Natural gas consumption in Asia is not, however, a climate panacea. While this pathway will lower emissions in the short to medium terms, over the long term natural gas production and consumption will need to be decarbonized, too, likely through carbon capture or using natural gas to produce "green hydrogen" – a discussion for another paper. But LNG for Canada is important because coal use is at an all-time high. The IEA data is still being finalized, but the Coal 2021: Analysis and forecast to 2024 report shows global coal power generation increased by 9 percent last year to upwards of 10,350 terawatt-hours (TWh) – a dismal world record since nearly all those coal plants emit greenhouse gases unabated.

There are no shortcuts in a global energy transition. Replacing today's high carbon energy sources with lower carbon energy sources is an important first step in the three-decade long transition we are undertaking.

"There are no shortcuts in a global energy transition. Replacing today's high carbon energy sources with lower carbon energy sources is an important first step in the three-decade long transition we are undertaking."

The last lever is continuing Canada's leadership on industrial emissions innovation, sometimes called "carbontech". Carbontech is an emerging sector in which materials typically manufactured using fossil fuels are instead made by recycling CO2 emissions. Many different materials can be manufactured this way including concrete, jet fuel, paints, plastics, fertilizer, carbon fibre, even synthetic protein and food. Though this innovative sector is still in its infancy, it's not hard to map a pathway to a future in which Canada is a leader in carbontech. In fact, 40 percent of the teams who participate in the NRG COSIA Carbon XPRIZE — a $20 million prize for the development of new and emerging CO2 conversion technologies — were Canadian technologies.

One of the two prize winners was Canada's own CarbonCure, a Halifax-based company whose technology introduces recycled CO2 into concrete.

Pessimists claim these technologies usually have negative mass-energy balances, a fancy way of saying no emissions improvements will happen as carbontech scales. But according to estimates by the Global CO2 Initiative at the University of Michigan, making materials from recycled CO2 emissions could reduce seven billion tonnes of CO2 each year by 2030, representing roughly 15 percent of annual global CO2 emissions. It is still early days, but one thing is certain, Canada is punching above its weight class on carbontech.

There's no denying the need for, nor the importance of, natural gas as a bridge fuel. Natural gas and LNG have lower emissions compared to other fossil fuels, but LNG emissions are not zero.

If China upholds its pledge to begin cutting coal power use before 2030, the emissions reduction benefit of LNG will eventually flip, although it's impossible to know exactly when.

Given this reality and uncertainty, Canada can, and should, simultaneously set our eyes on the short-to-medium term by decarbonizing our own economy while helping to decarbonize the world through the export of LNG and other lower emissions exports. And over the long term it is critical to decarbonize LNG, too. All this while continuing our outsized role in commercializing and scaling carbontech with an eye on the long-term goal: scaling zero emitting sources of energy globally. P

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UHN Foundation

Canada's Charities Desperately Need Additional Funding

An open letter to Members of Parliament,

These are very challenging times for Canada's charitable sector.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It's estimated that removal of the capital gains tax on charitable donations of private company shares and real estate would result in an additional $200 million per annum every year going forward.

A forgone capital gains tax would only cost the government an additional $50-$65 million per year, so from a fiscal perspective, it makes good sense. In French it is called "le gros bon sens"—simple common sense.

It's the right thing to do for Canada and for all 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

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

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