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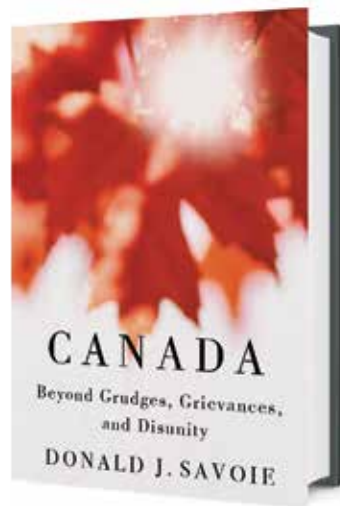
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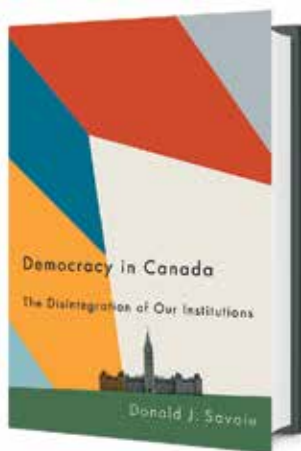


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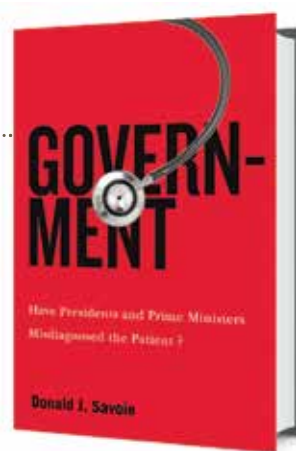
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Canadian Politics and Public Policy

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

Price: \$7.95 per issue
Annual Subscription: \$45.95

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

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

Now available on PressReader.



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***Policy* gratefully acknowledges the support of the Government of Canada, through Heritage Canada, for the publication of the bi-monthly print edition as well as the daily online edition of the magazine.**

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From the Editor / Lisa Van Dusen

The Road to 2024

Welcome to our *Policy* special issue on the 2024 American presidential election.

First, a disclaimer. These days, any treatment of American politics — including and especially this presidential election — has to have one in anticipation of previously unthinkable plot twists that could make any snapshot of the status quo obsolete in short order.

At this writing, we're working on the default assumption that incumbent President Joe Biden will be the Democratic nominee and that twice-impeached RICO defendant Donald Trump will be fronting the Republican Party, but also focusing on the larger issues. We have a lineup of excellent reads from our roster of brilliant *Policy* contributors, on everything our readers care about heading into primary season.

First off, foreign policy expert and former ambassador to Russia, the EU and the UK Jeremy Kinsman looks at the big-picture implications of the 2024 outcome. "The Biden presidency," writes Kinsman in *A US Election Like No Other*, "gets higher marks for international cooperative leadership from foreign leaders than any in my professional lifetime."

From United Nations Ambassador Bob Rae, the moral stakes as viewed from the world's diplomatic cockpit in a time of war and upheaval. "Isolationism, global disengagement and retreat are, like appeasement in the 1930s, based on the false notion the abandoned world will be a safe one," Rae writes in *Sic Transit Gloria: Isolationism and its Consequences*.

On the economic implications of this election, former Clerk of the Privy Council Kevin Lynch and former White House economic aide Paul Deegan provide the must-read primer *How to Protect the Canadian Economy from 2024 US Election Disruption*.

With the world on fire and Americans facing a choice between an arsonist and a firefighter, our climate expert extraordinaire, Dan Woynillowicz, has the excellent *Every Election is Now a Climate Election*. "It's far from hyperbole to say that President Joe Biden's efforts to scale up the United States' fight against climate change have been a game changer," writes Woynillowicz.

On the surreal spectacle of a former president under multiple indictments running to recapture the office, Carleton University's Fen Osler Hampson and longtime international journalist Mike Blanchfield lay out the stakes in *The Rocky Road to November 2024*.

In one of his trademark pieces that prove the value of having a novelist on our masthead who can tell fact from fiction, longtime Liberal strategist John Delacourt has *Trump's Second America First Agenda and the Propaganda War*.

In *Is the 2024 Election Something New or Déjà-Vu?*, Concordia University political scientist Graham Dodds explores the counterintuitive proposition that much of this election cycle is plus-ça-change.

With the subject of Joe Biden's age serving as an easy target, *Policy* contributing writer Robin Sears tackles the argument of whether age matters with *The Foolishness of Political Ageism*. "Whether or not 80 is the new 60," Sears writes. "It certainly, in more and more cases, is not the old 80."

Donald Trump did more to imperil human rights worldwide than any American president in history. Kyle Matthews, executive director of the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, brings his deep expertise to the question of *The Global Stakes for Human Rights in America's Election*.

Amid intense debates in both America and Israel about the future of democra-

cy, presidential historian Gil Troy has *Will Israel be an Issue in the 2024 Election?* "Politics and voting are not just about what you believe in," writes Troy, "but how intensely you believe in what you believe in."

On how Canadian diplomats should react if Trump is re-elected, Colin Robertson, himself a former career foreign service officer, brings you *Forewarned is Forearmed: The Bilateral Lessons from Trump One*.

Business Council of Canada President Goldy Hyder and former UN ambassador and consul general in Atlanta Louise Blais have filed the essential brief, *Why America's Election is Canada's Business*. "With so much hanging in the balance for Canada in this upcoming election cycle, we cannot afford to be passive and therefore caught off-guard," they write.

In our two must-read issues articles this edition, the European Union-supported piece *Time to Act: Prospects for EU-Canada Cooperation on Hydrogen*, and the Forestry Products Association of Canada with *Canada's Largest Polluters are Not Who You Think They Are*.

In our Book Reviews section, Rideau Hall Foundation President Teresa Marques reviews Hilary Pearson's *From Charity to Change: Inside the World of Canadian Foundations*. And, a review by Junior Achievers/JA Worldwide President Asheesh Advani of McGill management prof Karl Moore's *Generation Why: How Boomers Can lead and Learn from Millennials and Gen-Z*.

Enjoy the issue.

Policy Magazine Associate Editor and Deputy Publisher 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.



'For Canadians, popular preference remains very much for Biden's America,' writes Jeremy Kinsman. —Shutterstock

A US Election Like No Other

'When America sneezes, the world catches a cold' has morphed in the age of Trump into 'When America loses its mind, the world grabs a Xanax'. There is no-one more qualified to assess the global stakes of this election than our own foreign policy sage, Canada's former ambassador to Russia and the EU, and former high commissioner to the UK, Jeremy Kinsman.

Jeremy Kinsman

This US presidential election prompts in America and abroad unprecedented degrees of anxiety. The stakes could not be higher, including for America's image and influence internationally.

Apart from his advanced age, Joe Biden is a fairly typical candidate for second-term re-election, with a generally commendable first-term record, especially on all-important economic indicators. Biden overcame congressional gridlock to achieve landmark legislation; Acts on infrastructure, inflation reduction, and "Chips and Science." They helped the economy charge out of the COVID slump. A resurgence in manufacturing, partic-

ularly in Western Republican-leaning states, contradicts the worn-out "Make America Great Again" slogan of his putative rival. Goldman Sachs has cut its estimate of the probability of a recession in the next year from 25% to 20%.

And yet, the calcification of US partisan antagonism into two parallel information systems results in polls showing widespread dissatisfaction with Biden's handling of the US economy.

Stepping back from the noise of US politics, one sees two opposing narratives. Biden's internationalism accompanies a domestic policy design geared to equipping the US for the future, in research, science, and education, where America had lost its pre-

eminence. Donald Trump's much more isolationist messaging is anti-modern and grievance-based, hostile to change, to bicoastal urban "elites," and to science itself. Evangelical antipathy to non-traditional progressive social and sexual identity agendas combines in Trump's GOP with libertarian antipathy to the reach and role of interventionist government in an awkward but vocal alliance against "socialist" big Democratic governance.

The Trump GOP's abhorrence of globalization and "cultural" change does mirror suspicion elsewhere in the world. Its xenophobic and populist appeal is replicated by personalist autocrats in the global South, in Russia, and China, who also exploit

inward, tribal, traditionalist, and nationalist emotions.

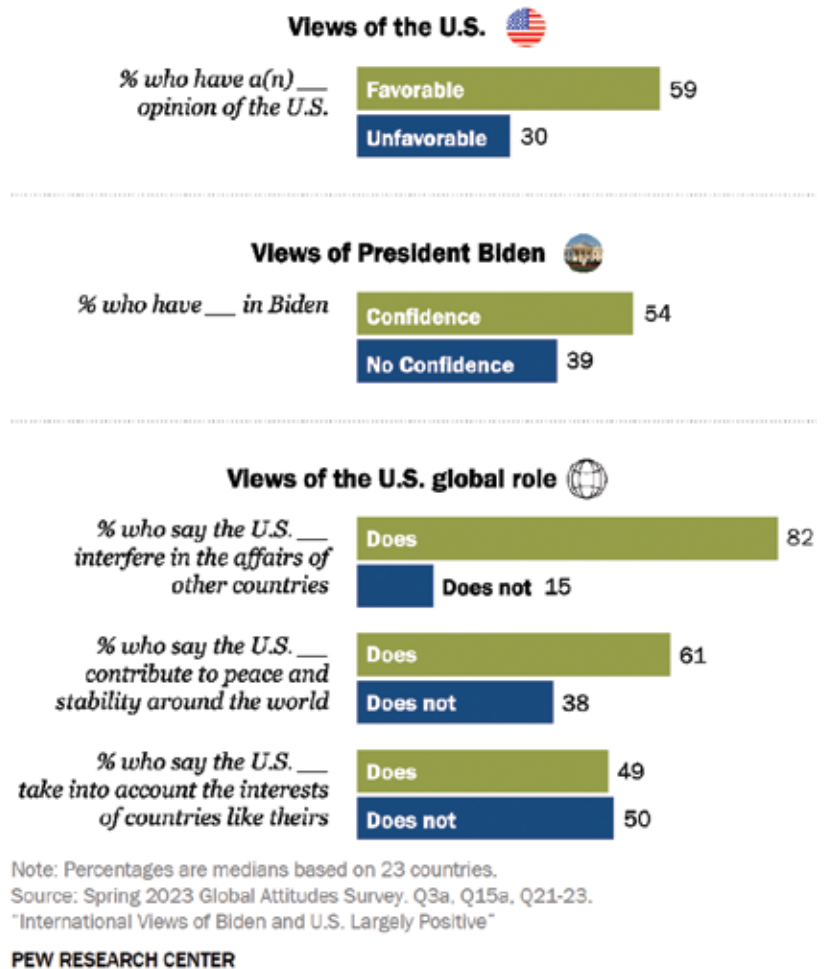
But Pew Institute global surveys indicate a clear preference for Biden's more globalist approach among the world's public. Among G-7 partners repelled by "America First," Pew indicates an average 59% of the public hold "favourable" views of the US today, compared to about 34% in Trump's last year as US president in 2020.

Their leaders are even stronger in their preference for Biden. None of America's world partners wants to re-live Trump's erratic, jingoistic, uninformed, and disruptive performance in his first term. Most leaders had persuaded themselves in 2016 despite Trump's unusual rhetoric, that he would "normalize" once in office, that the US would conduct international affairs in continuity with the broad lines of US approaches from previous administrations. Specifically, they assumed the US would remain committed to NATO as the primary channel for American engagement with Europe. Trump trashed these assumptions, and those of Mexico and Canada in a North American common economic home.

The scar tissue of Trump's international disruption has barely healed. The Trump network of research foundations and think tanks is preparing a blueprint for a second term that will take his vision of "drain-the-swamp" radical change in US governance all the way to wholesale institutional and regulatory upheaval. "America First" will be methodically re-implemented. Especially worrying is recent CNN polling indicating that only 28% of GOP voters support additional funding for Ukraine as opposed to 62% of Democrats. Vladimir Putin's revised game plan hopes for Trump's election as a kind of "Hail Mary" evasion of accountability for Russia's reckless, costly, and failing invasion.

In consequence, US partners are quietly discussing a Plan B for cooperation without the US on democratic and international solidarity, should Trump win in 2024. Compensating for expect-

Views of the U.S., its president and global role



ed US isolationism, they will defend multilateral cooperation as globalists, and especially crucial international commitments to maintain support for Ukraine's sovereignty.

“ The Biden presidency gets higher marks for international cooperative leadership from foreign leaders than any in my professional lifetime. ”

China, whose anti-US rhetoric had become stinging, had aligned with Putin's resistance to America's "unipolar" preeminence. But, as the Chinese economy begins to stumble, China now seems increasingly concerned by global instability. The Biden administration has been re-connecting dip-

lomatically to China in an effort to stabilize at least the floor of the all-important relationship to prevent further deterioration.

While a few autocratic leaders around the world still mimic Trump's style, admire his election denialism, and resent US commitment to human rights, the Biden presidency gets higher marks for international cooperative leadership from foreign leaders than any in my professional lifetime going back to Lyndon Johnson, with the possible exception of internationalist George H.W. Bush. Presidents Reagan and Obama, with different emphases, each lifted America's game and prestige in world capitals, but each also created doubts about consistency and follow-through. Biden's foreign policy brain trust of National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan, Secretary of State Antony Blinken, Defence Secretary Lloyd Austin, CIA Director William



Vladimir Putin's game plan hopes for Trump's election as a kind of 'Hail Mary' evasion of accountability for Russia's failing invasion, writes Jeremy Kinsman. —*Kremlin image via Creative Commons*

Burns, Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen and others has provided the most credible, attentive, and thoughtful leadership of any.

So, why isn't Biden running away with the race? There are acres of analysis of the depth and width of US anti-modernist pushback that Trump's candidacy excites among Americans who feel "left behind." The capture of the Republican Party by Trump's populist, grievance-based, and polarizing narrative has been monetized by siloed US media outlets and social media to ensure the loyalty of the faithful with the threat of more adverse change if Democrats are re-elected.

Biden's counter-narratives have played both on Trump's vivid threat to US democracy, and to core substantive policy issues — health care, the economy, global security. But the whole country is conscious that Biden will be days short of 82 on election day. Trump will be 78. It has encouraged a GOP dog-whistle sub-campaign against Vice-President Kamala Harris. Polls show that a majority of voters would prefer two other candidates altogether. But both re-nominations seem locked in. However, in these times, anything can happen. Surprise is normal. We cannot presume where we shall be in November next year.

Trump's active indictments for criminal offences are without precedent for a presidential candidate. He boasts that each chapter in the indictment "witch hunt" only propels him higher in the polls. His "jury" will be "the people." But his popular support will leak moderate Republicans when the evidence for criminal charges to be tried in Washington and Atlanta reveals clearly how he knowingly tried to remain illegally in office.

“ The capture of the Republican Party by Trump's populist, grievance-based, and polarizing narrative has been monetized by siloed US media outlets and social media to ensure the loyalty of the faithful with the threat of more adverse change if Democrats are re-elected. ”

Despite some polls indicating a dead heat, Trump does not have a decisive majority of the American public behind him. He never tried to broaden his appeal by moderating his message, counting on his core clientele of

white, poorer, less educated, mostly older and mostly male and evangelical traditionalist voters in non-urban and non-coastal America, with its disproportionate share of votes in the electoral college, to carry him over the top.

It remains hard to see how, when the remnants of more moderate traditional Republicans back away, as 5 to 10% of his prior voters also seem inclined to do. The No Labels third-party alternative is trying to sequester such refugee centrists to keep them from Biden, but skepticism persists that this will get traction.

Nonetheless, deeply concerned foreigners cannot rely complacently on Americans to do the right thing, as they had in 2016. Should Trump somehow win, the world will change, and with it, the world's estimate of America and Americans. On the other hand, should Americans refute Trump's divisive message, the revalidation of American democratic and judicial institutions will project their exemplary value to an expectant but hesitant world.

For Canadians, popular preference remains very much for Biden's America. That ought to help Justin Trudeau, whose team parried Trump's economic nationalism over NAFTA. But while Trudeau is now the dean of G-7 leaders, longevity in office hasn't made him an international leader of consequence. Nor is longevity a winner domestically. There is less enthusiasm in Canada for his running again than there is in America for Biden.

He seems determined to, convinced he campaigns well — he does — and that his opponent, Pierre Poilievre, has enough Trumpish anti-elite populism about him and his core Conservative supporters to be an easy target. That's his gamble. It will be a raucous election cycle, on both sides of the border.

Policy Contributing Writer Jeremy Kinsman is a former ambassador to Russia, the EU and Italy, as well as a former High Commissioner to the UK. He is a Distinguished fellow of the Canadian International Council.



'Isolationism, global disengagement and retreat are, like appeasement in the 1930s, based on the false notion the abandoned world will be a safe one,' writes United Nations Ambassador Bob Rae. —*Shutterstock*

Sic Transit Gloria: Isolationism and its Consequences

With a hugely important US election unfolding at a time when political and geopolitical outcomes are both imposed and rationalized by personality, Bob Rae reminds us that not all actors are bad.

Bob Rae

It was neither a State of the Union nor a major policy address to the Brookings Institution or the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. It was the sort of typical fundraising stop at a private residence that every president tacks onto his schedule when traveling outside of Washington, this one in Freeport, Maine. But on July 29th, Joe Biden's remarks were not the usual, shaking-the-trees boilerplate.

As duly noted by historian Heather Cox Richardson in her Substack post the next day, Biden's talk in Freeport was an important statement of the President's vision of the current global challenges facing America. "If I were writing a history of the Biden administration 150 years from now," wrote Cox Richardson, who likely has

as many followers in Canada as in the US, "I would call out this informal talk as an articulation of a vision of American leadership, based not in economic expansion, military might, or personalities, or even in policies, but in the strength of the institutions of democracy, preserved through global alliances."

In that articulation, Biden observed correctly that the distinction between global and domestic issues no longer applies. "Name me a part of the world that you think is going to look like it did 10 years ago 10 years from now," he challenged the gathering. "Does anybody think that the post-war era still exists, the rules of the road from the end of World War Two?"

While reaffirming his commitment to the critical institutions created since the signing of the Atlantic Charter in

1941, Biden emphasized that America needs to re-commit to its global leadership. Reminding the audience that he and Boris Johnson had signed a New Atlantic Charter in 2021, Biden made it clear that, as president, he felt a deep obligation "to defend the principles, values, and institutions of democracy and open societies," and to "strengthen the institutions, laws, and norms that sustain international co-operation to adapt them to meet the new challenges of the 21st century, and guard against those that would undermine them."

In most political moments, these words would seem to be just more elaborate rhetoric. But given the seriousness of the global challenges the world is facing, and in particular the deeply consequential nature of elections in the United States of America, they have a compelling meaning.

Without the leadership of the United States, the United Nations would not have been created. Nor would NATO, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (the original World Trade Organization), or the other critical institutions that have helped to underpin global change and economic growth since 1945. The strengthening of these institutions, and the creation of new ones, have been a critical part of global progress of the past fifty years.

Yet it is also important to recognize the role that the underlying forces of nationalism, exceptionalism and isolationism also play in the dynamic of both American and global politics. They did not die in 1945, and they are very much alive today.

Franklin Roosevelt accomplished what Woodrow Wilson could not. While hailed as a modern saviour on his triumphal arrival in Paris to negotiate the Versailles Treaty and the formation of the League of Nations, Wilson was unable to fashion an enduring peace in 1919. Failing to create a coalition of support for his vision either in Paris or Washington, the Democratic Party was soundly defeated in 1920 and isolationism became the order of the day.

Europe and the wider world entered what has rightly been called the “dark valley” of the 1920s and 30s, and there was no capacity in any capital, or in any international institution, to stop the rise of fascism, the ravages of the Depression, or the return of international aggression. The forces that created that chaos have never been fully vanquished, and they are ever-present.

Russia’s aggression in Ukraine is the latest example of a country immersed in imperialist fantasies ignoring every principle of international law, seeking to impose its desires and will on the world with reckless disregard for the consequences. It is not a conflict to which the world can be indifferent, or which can be ended with a “truce” that is but an intermission to the aggressor. Pretending that an easy solution can be found is a terrible mistake. Citizens and leaders of coun-

tries around the world see their realities through a personal lens, reflecting the Tip O’Neill adage that “all politics is local”. But not all problems or realities are local. Many are global, and their consequences are not limited to one country or region, especially in this post-internet, globalized century.

“ Before 2016, it was possible to think of an American election as an event turning mainly on domestic issues, with no major differences between Republicans and Democrats to trouble the rest of the world too much. ”

The COVID pandemic played out on our media as if it was simply a local or national event. But the virus by definition knows no borders or boundaries. It spreads despite best efforts to isolate. In that sense, it is truly a metaphor of our time. The expression “we’re all in the same boat” belies the more difficult reality that while climate is global, we live in very different boats, and depending on the boat we’re in we’re either going to do all right or face personal tragedy. What has been true of the pandemic is also true of climate change, of global migration, and, above all, of the economic consequences of how we collectively respond to the cascading crises that now have us surrounded. The populist, isolationist rhetoric is the same — as if there could possibly be an effective response to planetary self-destruction that is less than global.

Isolationism, global disengagement and retreat are, like appeasement in the 1930s, based on the false notion the abandoned world will be a safe one. Not at all. Politics, like nature itself, abhors a vacuum. Others with even worse motives will fill the void. Smelling disinterest and weakness, they will seize the spoils of chaos for themselves. All elections are consequential, but some are more conse-

quential than others. Before 2016, it was possible to think of an American election as an event turning mainly on domestic issues, with no major differences between Republicans and Democrats to trouble the rest of the world too much.

That is, quite simply, no longer the case. The Trump election of 2016 broke that mould. But it is also true that the rest of the world has no vote in the election. We can, however, do more than just watch and worry. We can bring certain critical ideas to bear, and do what we can to make our friends aware of the deep interconnectedness of the modern world. No one can stop the world and try to get off.

That was never possible, and it is certainly not possible now.

No matter how exceptional some countries feel they are, it is important to remind everyone that isolationism has its consequences, as does the increasingly unrealistic and offensive idea that some countries have a sacred mission that makes them better than everyone else. The rule of law, for example, allows for no exceptions, either at home or abroad. Russia is an aggressor in flagrant breach of the Charter of the United Nations and the rule of law. Electing a President of the United States of America who does not believe the truth of that statement does not make it any less true.

Most countries accept the principle that the rules apply to them, that they are not above them, and that breaking them will bring consequences. We do so not because we are more moral than anyone else, but because we know that this idea is the only one that will protect our interests, and allow us to thrive peacefully in the world.

Countries with seemingly insurmountable power have to learn the lesson that change happens. Empires wither. Russia is having to learn that lesson now. Others will follow in its wake, as much as they might pretend otherwise. Imperial habits die hard, but they do die. Such is the way of the world.

Bob Rae is Canada’s ambassador to the United Nations.

Protecting Canada's Economy from US Election Disruption

As the Trump presidency proved on a range of bilateral files from weaponized tariffs to NAFTA negotiations that pushed U.S.-Canada relations to their worst point since the War of 1812, per former US Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer, American elections matter to Canada's economy. Former Clerk of the Privy Council Kevin Lynch and former White House economic aide Paul Deegan provide a primer on how to limit the risks.

Kevin Lynch and Paul Deegan

As America careens toward one of the most consequential elections in its history on November 5, 2024, Canadians are more than casual observers of the chaos – the likelihood is that we will be rocked politically and economically by any electoral upheaval next door.

As we look to the 2024 presidential and congressional election campaign now underway, there are several core economic policy questions that Canadians will expect their governments and business leaders to address seriously and begin to plan for, given the deeply intertwined nature of our bilateral relationship.

The pre-election status quo: Canada and the new American industrial policy

Industrial policy in the United States is as old as the Republic itself. Alexander Hamilton argued that, “The public purse must supply the deficiency of private resource. In what can it be so useful as in prompting and improving the efforts of industry?”

In 2016, candidate Donald Trump astutely tapped into concerns about the loss of American manufacturing jobs, but once in the Oval Office his only response was to blame trade agreements and impose a smattering of tariffs, including on allies such as Canada and Europe.

The fear of losing the advanced technology race to China and the havoc caused by global supply chain disruptions arising from the pandemic and the Russian invasion of Ukraine led to a major piv-

ot toward industrial policy by the Biden administration. The new US industrial policy has multiple aims: securing leadership in key technologies including AI, quantum and advanced microchips; rebuilding America's advanced manufacturing capacity and its high-paying jobs; and kick-starting the industrial transition to a carbon-free economy.

For Canadian governments and businesses, this presents both opportunities and challenges. What is clear is that Canada cannot out-subsidize the US, so we have to pick our interventions strategically and surgically. Time will tell whether the \$30 billion- plus subsidies to Volkswagen and Stellantis create a sustainable competitive advantage for Canada in the rapidly emerging battery field and pay off for workers, communities, and taxpayers. But one thing is certain, a few investments, where we are paying top dollar to compete with US jurisdictions for plants, doesn't constitute a Canadian industrial strategy.

Shouldn't we be developing the concept of a “Team North America” approach to EV supply chains and production, predicated on the simple assumption that the main competitor, and risk, is China, not other states and provinces and that we are more competitive as an integrated and dynamic bloc rather than a hodgepodge of local markets competing for subsidies. The Auto Pact of the 1960s was a brilliant example of industrial policy that worked well for both countries. For both Canada and the US, duelling industrial policies are a recipe for a costly cross-border race to the bottom.

How should Canada prepare for renewed US protectionism and trade impediments?

Whether it is Biden, Trump, or someone else in the Oval Office in 2024, one thing is for certain: an America First stance will prevail. Since 2016, the US has walked away from its policy of opening up global markets in favour of defending American companies and workers who have seen manufacturing jobs disappear from low wage foreign competitors and from technological change.

The Trudeau government, to its credit, was able to secure the updated North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) or Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA). The mandated 2026 review of the CUSMA will be a key agenda item for the new American administration and congress, and a key risk for Canadian governments and business.

Rather than painfully negotiate a shrinking of the USMCA, as many “progressive” Democrats and MAGA Republicans would advocate, why not build the case for its geographic expansion – a Free Trade Area of the Americas – an idea that has been around since the 1994 Summit of the Americas. In addition to offsetting China's hemispheric influence and expanding markets for industries in Canada, the US, and Mexico, it would benefit the US by creating jobs in a region that is driving undocumented workers to America. Wouldn't a hemispheric approach to trade, with safeguards for workers and the environment, be in America's economic and well as national security interests?

What is a viable Canadian technology strategy given the reach of US tech titans?

Leadership in advanced technology as essential for both America's security and competitiveness. Semiconductors are an example, where the US, once the world leader, now depends on Taiwan, which produces about 60 per cent of the world's semiconductors and about 90 per cent of the most advanced chips. To reduce its overreliance on one nation for supply and the risks of Chinese interference disrupting world supply chains, the Biden administration launched the CHIPS and Science Act in 2022 to expand domestic research and manufacturing of chips. The goal for Canada should be not to try to compete, but to complement the US strategy and ensure we are not excluded.

More broadly, the US government has a complex relationship with digital technology. It worries about the monopolistic proclivities of the digital tech titans, about data privacy rights and about cybersecurity but wants to be the global leader in AI. Canada will have to develop strategic partners within the US and work with allies such as the UK and EU

to ensure a voice in the setting of digital rules and protocols.

What should a robust Canadian clean energy plan be in the face of US energy policy uncertainty?

While the Republicans are devoid of a clean energy plan, Biden has set the ambitious goal of reaching 100 per cent carbon pollution-free electricity by 2035 through tax credits, grants, and loan guarantees but absent a carbon tax of any form. Time will tell if that goal is achievable, given push-back from "red states" and a less-than-supportive Congress.

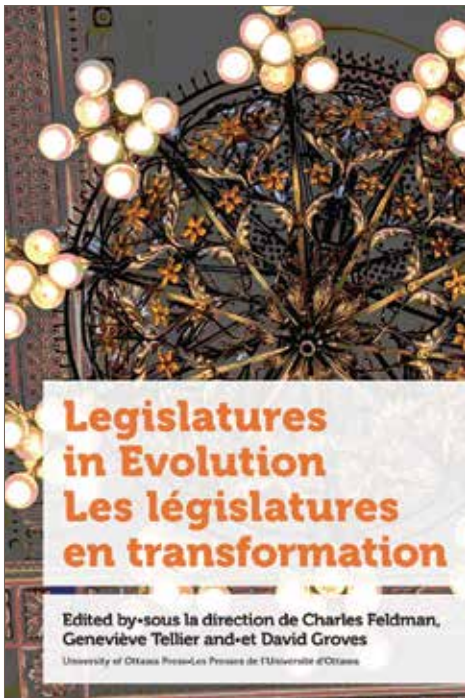
Canadian energy policy is a complex mix of carbon taxes, regulations and myriad micro-interventions. What is not talked about much by the federal government is the scope for small modular reactors (SMRs) and carbon capture and storage (CCS) to facilitate the energy transition and the ability to tap our massive potential from hydro. To play offence, we need to ask the question: how can we speed up approvals for new projects and become a net exporter of clean energy to North America? To build flexibility in the face of American energy policy uncertainty, we need to

consider what it would take to become a global supplier of "cleaner and safer" LNG just as the US is doing now.

The 2024 Presidential election is shaping up to be one of the most bitter and divisive in US history. For Canada, now is the time to redouble our efforts to strengthen cross-border relationships in the public and private sectors – just as we did over NAFTA in 2016. It is also the time to do some serious policy planning and scenario analysis of possible responses as Canada faces home grown challenges of poor productivity, weak competitiveness, tepid growth in per-capita GDP and rapidly rising government debt.

In the Federalist Papers, Alexander Hamilton wrote, "The process of election affords a moral certainty, that the office of President will never fall to the lot of any man who is not in an eminent degree endowed with the requisite qualifications." That proposition has already been tested. We'll see whether it can withstand another assault.

Kevin Lynch was Clerk of the Privy Council and vice chair of BMO Financial Group. Paul Deegan was a public affairs executive at BMO and CN. He served in the Clinton White House.



Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa
University of Ottawa Press

Legislatures in Evolution

Edited by Charles Feldman, Geneviève Tellier, and David Groves

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Now, Every Election is a Climate Change Election

In an American political context in which the battle lines are drawn not between right and left or conservative and liberal but between truth and propaganda, science and thinly veiled corruption, reality and reality show, the stakes for the fight against climate change could not be higher. Contributing writer and climate policy expert Dan Woynillowicz explains.

Dan Woynillowicz

The summer of 2023 is, according to scientists, what climate change looks like. Heatwaves that test the limits of human survival. Wildfires and floods whose damage isn't just measured in dollars, but lives and livelihoods lost. Droughts that jeopardize food production. These climate change-fuelled extreme weather events weren't isolated to a few countries or continents this year but were ubiquitous. Whether at home or on holiday, more and more of us were directly experiencing the consequences of climate change.

We have entered a new era in which the impacts of climate change aren't some distant threat, but a lived experience—an experience that will catastrophically intensify absent greater effort to cut carbon pollution and pivot away from fossil fuels. And so, in our current era, every election is a climate election.

What's at stake in the U.S election?

It's far from hyperbole to say that President Joe Biden's efforts to scale up the United States' fight against climate change have been a game changer. And whether to build on these efforts or tear them down is very clearly on the ballot.

The Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), passed in the summer of 2022 without a single Republican vote, is expected to deliver at least US\$369 billion in support for climate and clean energy solutions over the next decade. Goldman Sachs believes that figure will be much higher, as much as US\$1.2 trillion.

Just one year in, the results of the IRA are impressive. According to data compiled by the American Clean Power Association, by August 2023 federal support from the IRA had spurred the announcement of US\$271 billion of private investment in domestic clean energy projects and manufacturing facilities—more than the combined clean energy investments of the previous eight years. Together, these investments are projected to deliver 185 gigawatts (GW) of new utility-scale clean energy capacity (to put this in context, Canada's entire electricity capacity is 154GW), US\$4.5 billion in consumer savings, 29,780 new manufacturing jobs, and more than US\$22 billion in manufacturing investment in 83 new or expanded utility-scale clean energy manufacturing facilities. A similar acceleration and scaling up of investment in electric vehicle (EV) manufacturing, battery production, hydrogen and carbon capture and storage (CCS) is also occurring. As Jesse Jenkins, a Princeton professor who has been leading analysis of the IRA, says, "It seems like every week there's a new factory facility somewhere."

While the domestic impacts of the IRA are impressive enough on their own, they've gone well beyond American borders. For example, the European Union—seeing the IRA for what it is, not just environmental policy but strategic industrial policy—responded with its Green Deal Industrial Plan, aimed at enhancing the competitiveness of its net-zero industry and accelerating its transition to net zero. Here in Canada, the federal government responded with \$80 billion worth of new measures to spur low-carbon inno-

vation and deployment, aiming to build on its climate policy framework with targeted support for clean electricity, cleantech manufacturing (especially in battery production and its supply chain), hydrogen and CCS. Other nations— including China, Japan and South Korea— are making similar moves.

As the head of the International Energy Agency (IEA), Fatih Birol, put it: "I want to make it clear: the Inflation Reduction Act is the single most important climate action since the Paris Agreement in 2015." But will the U.S stay in the race to net zero, or pull up lame? That depends on 2024.

Shaping the climate ballot question

For President Biden and the Democrats, the IRA isn't just about fighting climate change. It's about reviving the Rust Belt, bringing manufacturing jobs back to American soil and spurring new innovation and industries that will not only deploy clean technologies at home, but which can be sold to the world. In Biden's own words, "When I hear 'climate', I think jobs. Good-paying, high-quality jobs that will help speed our transition to a green economy of the future and unleash sustainable growth."

It just so happens that most of the IRA-induced investment—and the jobs that come with it—will occur in red states (Figure 1). According to Bloomberg, the White House estimates that red states will attract US\$337 billion in investments for large solar, wind and storage projects through 2030, compared to US\$183 billion into blue

states. But this isn't vote-buying by a Democratic President, it's a function of where the nation's best wind and solar resources are. Some analysts suggest, optimistically, that we've seen Republicans soften their opposition to climate change and that, over time, we could see a fading of their default support for fossil fuels and default opposition to renewables as a result of the IRA.

Clearly, the Democrats want "climate jobs" not "climate change" to be a ballot question.

While it's possible voters in these red states might come around in their support for the IRA — driven by the economic benefits more so than the climate benefits — it's clear that the Republican establishment has no such inclination.

Leading Republican presidential primary contender and former President Donald Trump has said he would end "Green New Deal atrocities" on his first day. Similarly, Governor Ron DeSantis of Florida has said he wants to "rip up Joe Biden's Green New Deal." On Capitol Hill, Republican lawmakers have been using every opportunity to try to kneecap or rescind the clean energy components of the IRA.

Conservative think tanks — led by the Heritage Foundation — have laid out a plan to dismantle President Biden's climate efforts as part of Project 2025, a "battle plan" for the first 180 days of a Republican administration that would see the IRA repealed alongside the shredding of "regulations to curb greenhouse gas pollution from cars, oil and gas wells and power plants, dismantling almost every clean energy program in the federal government and boosting the production of fossil fuels." The plan has been delivered to every Republican presidential hopeful.

The Republicans want fighting "green woke-ism" — and the "woke agenda" more broadly — to be the ballot question.

Campaign crystal ball

In June, a poll of Americans found that 24 percent had been personally impacted by an extreme weather event in the past 12 months. By August, 62 per-

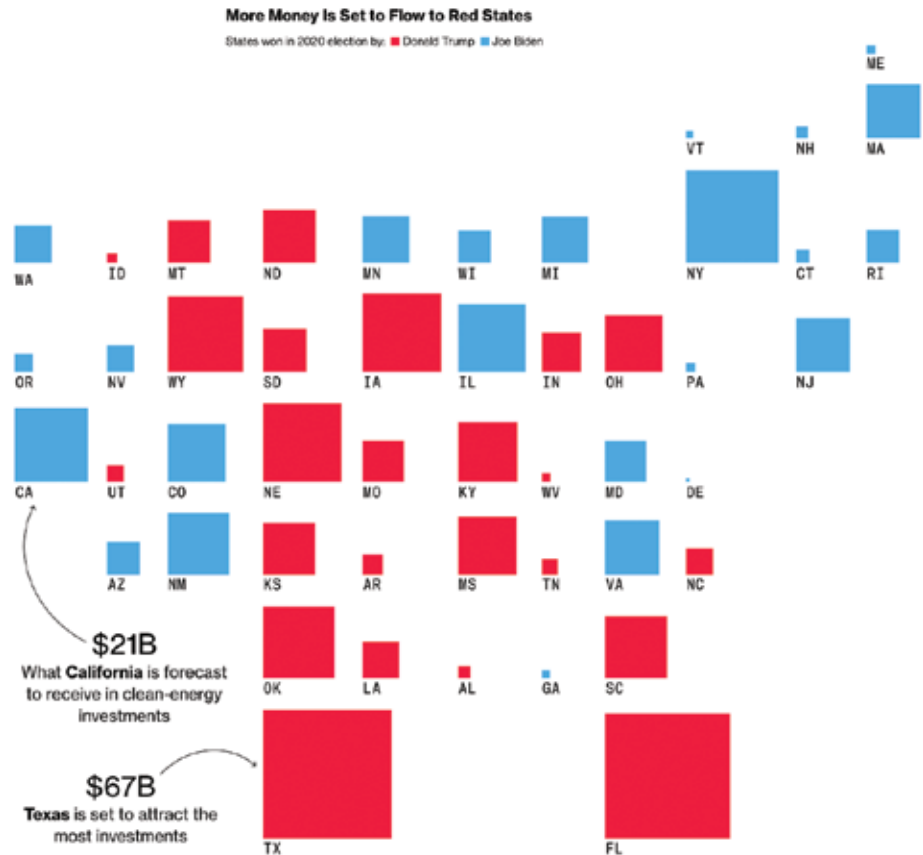


Figure 1: More IRA Money Is Set to Flow to Red States (Bloomberg)

cent thought that climate change was currently having some or a great deal of impact on their local community.

It seems likely that between now and election day, Americans will continue to experience the impacts of climate change and, increasingly, see the benefits of clean energy investments spurred on by the Biden administration. But what issue will emerge as the ballot question and whether any of this will matter come election day is hardly worth speculating over (Events, dear boy, events!).

But it is worth considering the implications of a Biden versus Republican (whether Trump or DeSantis) presidency in 2025.

A second term for President Biden would see the US stay the course, and almost certainly introduce additional measures and efforts to ramp up climate action, cut pollution, and position the United States to compete in a net zero future. In contrast, a Republican presidency would almost certainly spell the end of any federal climate efforts.

But as witnessed under President Trump, promising to "make coal great again" and doing so are very different things. Thanks to state-led efforts and falling wind and solar power costs, renewable energy investments in the US continued throughout his presidency. Meanwhile, seven major U.S. coal companies claimed bankruptcy and 50 coal-fired power plants closed. The market forces blowing in this direction have only strengthened. Analysts at Bloomberg New Energy Finance say that the clean energy transition is now hard-wired into the US economy. While progress would almost certainly slow, it cannot be reversed.

As for what this means for Canada, it depends very much on the priorities of the prime minister of the day: seize every opportunity to do more, or less, in the race to net zero? In that sense, Canada's next election will be just as consequential as the US election, because now, every election is a climate election.

Contributing Writer Dan Woynillowicz is Principal of Polaris Strategy + Insight in Victoria.



Donald Trump and entourage stage a walkabout from the White House into Lafayette Square in response to demonstrations on June 1, 2020. —White House image

The Rocky Road to November 2024

Among the ways in which this US presidential cycle is already violating precedent is the fact that a former president under multiple indictments is running against the president he stands accused of attempting to violently prevent from taking office. Carleton University's Fen Osler Hampson and longtime journalist Mike Blanchfield explore this uncharted political territory.

Fen Osler Hampson and Mike Blanchfield

Americans are now living in two separate political universes at war with each other. In one, an overwhelming majority of Republican voters profess to pollsters that they either believe or suspect that the 2020 election was stolen from Donald Trump because of electoral fraud. In the other, Democrats believe Joe Biden won the election fair and square, and Trump and his acolytes tried to steal it back, partly by stoking the January 6, 2021 mob attack on Capitol Hill.

Trump's indictment on August 1 by a grand jury in Washington, D.C., on

four felony counts—conspiracy to defraud the United States, witness tampering, conspiracy against the rights of citizens, and obstruction of an attempt to obstruct an official proceeding—shocked Americans but failed to dislodge reality-denying Republicans from the position that Trump is a victim of a corrupt judiciary and political system.

Dire scenarios are rampant about what could happen in this presidential election campaign and its aftermath, ranging from outright civil war to a hung election to an election that ends up being decided in the Supreme Court because the losing party refuses to accept the outcome. Whether Trump's prosecution succeeds or fails, however, it

will have profound and lasting consequences for America's political system.

What is also undeniable is that the consequences of America's internal political chaos and who ultimately wins in 2024 are just as consequential for the rest of the world.

Of the various global risks, one existential threat reigns supreme: Trump would roll back action on fighting climate change at a time when extreme weather, flooding, drought, rising temperatures, wildfires and rising sea levels are threatening populations everywhere, including in the United States. As UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres remarked in June, the world is "hurtling towards disaster" and must

take urgent action to roll back the use of fossil fuels—coal especially—to cut carbon emissions by 45 per cent by 2030 to keep the global temperature rise to 1.5 degrees.

Even though seven-in-10 Americans support the U.S. prioritizing the development of alternative energy and carbon neutrality, if the Republicans win, the US will hinder the necessary global march towards the green energy economy of the future while coddling the fossil fuel industry. Trump ridiculed climate action when he announced his 2024 candidacy last fall. His view is supported by many Republicans, including the Heritage Foundation's Project 2025, the transition manifesto of the influential, right-wing think tank calling for the dismantling of all clean energy projects while boosting fossil fuel production.

The wild card is the impact of this summer's heatwave, fires, floods, and drifting smoke into major U.S. cities from Canada's massive forest fires, which tens of millions of Americans have experienced firsthand, and which could tip the scales, especially among undecided voters and wavering Republicans who fear the consequences of unraveling Biden's policies on climate change.

A Trump win would also have geopolitical ramifications. Given his dalliances with Putin when he was president, a second Trump administration would undermine the coherent US leadership required to stay the course in Ukraine's war against Russia and deal with America's strategic rivals. Most Republican voters now believe that the US is doing too much to support Ukraine and want to see the war end quickly, even if it means Ukraine giving up some of its territory to Russia. Although Republican leaders in Congress have generally tended to express their strong support for Ukraine and rallied behind the administration, there is a growing rift within the party itself over the war.

In addition to Trump's prosecution, a significant pre-election political risk is a drawn-out impeachment inquiry of President Joe Biden over unproven claims of financial misconduct and influence peddling in relation to his son, Hunter Biden's, business dealings. The

pressure on House Speaker Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) from fellow Republicans to initiate such proceedings as retribution for Trump's two impeachments and increasing number of indictments has grown. Revelations by Hunter Biden's business associate, Devon Archer, that Joe Biden was sometimes on the speaker phone when his son was doing business, but only to talk about the weather or engage in pleasantries, have been greeted derisively by Republicans who want to punish the Biden administration and monopolize the pre-election coverage space with negative Biden headlines.

Previous impeachment inquests have proven to be an enormous distraction to Washington's political class and the occupant of the White House. Such an inquiry—no matter how frivolous—coupled with deepening partisan struggles, will reinforce perceptions in Russia and China that the United States is chaotic, divided and weak, notwithstanding the exemplary leadership of the Biden administration in strengthening NATO and uniting the West.

China may not suddenly grab Taiwan — as some analysts fear — which would have dire consequences globally, but it may seize the opportunity while Americans are distracted by their internal political struggles to accelerate the building of overseas naval bases in Africa and Asia and intimidate its regional neighbours as part of Beijing's continuing efforts to project its military power and exert total control in the disputed South China Sea.

The global economic consequences of mounting political chaos in the US are also worrying. The US debt ceiling deal in early June staved off an unprecedented debt default by the US Treasury. But the partisan rancour that preceded the agreement, coupled with growing concerns by investors about the political stability of the American system, rationalized a widely criticized downgrading of America's triple-A credit rating by Fitch in early August for only the second time in US history.

There wasn't a market meltdown as some feared, and the dollar shrugged off the downgrade, but it was not "insignificant." It meant that the world's largest economy might no longer be considered part of

that exclusive club of countries which enjoy a triple-A rating. Furthermore, if surging deficits and political warfare over the US budget continue, spooked investors may eventually start offloading the trillions they hold in US debt because they no longer view the dollar as a safe haven.

The suspension of the US debt ceiling only lasts until January 1, 2025, after this US election but before the inauguration. Things could get dicey depending on who wins the White House and which party controls the US Congress after next November. A "hung" election where one party refuses to accept defeat will roil investor markets and credit agencies, as would a disastrous replay of the cliff-hanger debt negotiations this year.

Polls show Biden and Trump are in a dead heat if an election were held today, although voters are not enthusiastic about either candidate. Trump's mounting legal troubles are keeping him in the political spotlight and only seem to strengthen his support among Republicans who buy into his narrative that he is the "victim" of a "corrupt" political and legal system and that it is not just his political fate that hangs in the balance, but also the fate of his millions of followers.

If Trump is convicted, then secures the Republican nomination, he could fight the election from a jail cell because there are no legal obstacles to preclude that, and he has been adept at exploiting constitutional loopholes. If he wins, his first act of office would likely be to pardon himself.

If Biden's presidential campaign finally gathers momentum as American voters cool to the prospect of an indicted president returning to the Oval Office, many of America's allies, including Canada, will undoubtedly heave a sigh of relief. There is little appetite for a return to the stormy and unpredictable years of the Trump presidency but the rocky road to the election we are now on may well get even rockier.

Fen Osler Hampson is Chancellor's Professor at Carleton University and president of the World Refugee & Migration Council.

Mike Blanchfield spent three decades as an international affairs journalist for several major Canadian news organizations.



'Maya Angelou's line that 'When people show you who they are, believe them the first time' is a powerful one for a reason,' writes John Delacourt, "especially when speaking of Trump.' — Tyler Merbler via Creative Commons

Trump's Second America-First Agenda and the Looming Propaganda War

As the narrative of the 2024 US presidential election campaign begins to take shape, terms that have not been part of routine election patter since previous world wars on democracy are beginning to clutter the word cloud. Longtime Liberal strategist John Delacourt examines what's up with this century's America First crowd, and the propaganda war on Joe Biden.

John Delacourt

Wednesday, November 9th, 2016, the morning after Donald Trump's victory in the presidential election, remains a vivid memory. I was still working in the first Trudeau government and, like most other staffers, watched throughout the night as each state reported its results. Once Clinton's defeat was all but assured with the electoral college votes, I felt a darkening sense of what this would mean, not just for Canada-US relations, but for America's place in the world as well.

"How bad could it truly be?" was the refrain from those friends and family who were trying to offer some words of consolation, and indeed one could have been accused of over-reacting, being too much of a Cassandra in those early hours. Yet I recall walking over to the Prime Minister's Office for the usual morning meeting — over-caffeinated to compensate for the two hours of sleep the night before — and seeing my colleague (and then-PMO communications planner) Mike Maka's wide-eyed look, which said "holy sh*t" more eloquently than any other Canadian expression of panic,

including the crowd of lobbyists and their clients packed in like a Tokyo subway car in the front entrance of the Langevin Building. It confirmed that I wasn't overreacting at all.

Indeed, working-stiff Cassandras like us would still have cause to be surprised in the months ahead, as arbitrary steel sanctions were announced and as Trump's efforts to play to his base increased the prospect of an all-out trade war even before his inauguration.

But this time around, as Trump appears poised, based on polls alone, to

secure the Republican nomination from a courtroom if not a jail cell, the question of how bad it could be if he wins has been answered already, with the transition planning led by Brooke Rollins of the America First Policy Institute (AFPI). Rollins, who worked in Trump's White House for a while and led his Domestic Policy Council (and recruited eight former cabinet secretaries among her staff of 172), is replicating a transition strategy conceived by some rock-ribbed Republicans with the conservative Heritage Foundation, whose right-wing pedigree as home to the architects of the Reagan Revolution is now looking positively progressive in retrospect.

But this coming revolution, should Trump win, is something else entirely. Over a thousand pages of policy documents outline a vision for the country that redefines "America First" on starker terms. Some planks of this nascent platform include: finishing the border wall, implementing a new, more punitive round of tariffs for countries like ours, making unfunded tax cuts permanent and ending automatic citizenship for anyone born in the United States. As our forests burn it is also wise to take note of the pledge by the second-term Trumpians to "end the war on fossil fuels" by rolling back many of Biden's efforts for the clean energy transition.

Yet the largest tell, given the name of this new think tank, is the council's explicit skepticism of NATO and the efficacy of Biden's foreign policy in numerous posts under the international affairs tab on the Council's website. The bellicose tone on China might be predictable – and arguably warranted – but the caginess regarding the US's commitment to support for Ukraine is likely to be cause for greater concern.

Maya Angelou's line that "When people show you who they are, believe them the first time" is a powerful one for a reason, especially when speaking of Trump. The former president more than revealed his true colours throughout his presidency

— most notably in its final days — and has said he would end the war in Ukraine in 24 hours if elected once again. He will not say how, but if the AFPI tone on multilateralism is any indication, and if his past collegial (read fawning) relations with Putin are a guide, ending the war is likely to be nothing less than appeasement of Putin's neo-fascist, criminal invasion.

And that gets complicated for Canada. I posed the question of what Trump's victory might mean for the multilateral effort in Ukraine to a couple of offices just a few days after the recent federal cabinet shuffle. No answer from Defence, but less than 24 hours after my emails, Foreign Affairs Minister Melanie Joly, in a radio interview, suggested she is already being briefed on all possible scenarios: "In general, there is our game plan, precisely to be able to manage what could be a rather difficult situation."

“As Trump appears poised, based on polls alone, to secure the Republican nomination from a courtroom if not a jail cell, the question of how bad it could be if he wins has been answered already.”

Indeed, as University of Ottawa national-security professor Thomas Juneau offered, further speculating on what Joly and Trudeau's PMO might be gaming out, we're likely to see even greater economic protectionism and there could be impacts on intelligence-sharing. "What would have been extremely far-fetched scenarios maybe 10 years ago, today are not impossible anymore," he said. Such scenarios clearly include punitive measures taken by any second Trump administration for Canada's steadfast defence of democracy and the rules-based international order.

History rarely, if ever, rhymes, but it is instructive to read of how governments such as Winston Churchill's

agonized over the threat of US isolationist influences in the midst of the Second World War. Churchill was acutely aware that Roosevelt needed strong convincing of the merits in joining the war effort in Europe. Domestic politics and America First protectionism kept the president preoccupied, and these were bolstered by the counsel Roosevelt was getting from his ambassador to the UK, Joseph P. Kennedy Sr. to stay out of the war.

Canadian efforts played a crucial role in turning the tide for US involvement. Henry Hemming's *Agents of Influence* tells of how Winnipeg-born and raised William Stephenson — also known as A Man Called Intrepid — set up the first-ever war room with a whole team of Canadian recruits in the Radio City Music Hall building in New York. Their whole operation was focused on an air war of propaganda; "fake news" planted to torque the threat of German influences in America. This war room played a significant role in countering the original America First, pro-appeasement influences across the US, and helped Churchill's one-man charm offensive with Roosevelt immensely.

But this time around, the forces of fake news are likely to be all on Trump's side, especially with a Russian-backed offensive on social media platforms, complete with deep fake videos, and a far more sophisticated disinformation strategy regarding Biden's international relations commitments. It is hard to imagine any counteroffensive led from anywhere that might be effective. There will be no intrepid Canadians operating out of Radio City Music Hall.

Whatever our government might be gaming out, it must start from the premise that the game itself is likely to change dramatically with the next Trump air war, and his America-First presidential campaign.

Contributing Writer John Delacourt, Vice President at Counsel Public Affairs in Ottawa, is a former director of the Liberal research bureau. He is also the author of three novels.



Patrons of Paddy's Pub in Philadelphia watching the first presidential debate on September 26, 2016. —Alex Ostrovski via Wikimedia

Is the 2024 Election Something New or Déjà Vu?

While much of the world, American voters included, experiences Donald Trump's leap from casino ownership and reality show hosting to electoral politics as a series of shocks the temporal lobe, Concordia University political scientist Graham Dodds explores the counterintuitive proposition that much of this election cycle is plus-ça-change.

Graham Dodds

Despite headlines proclaiming that the cascade of indictments against former President Donald Trump has thrown American politics into unprecedented chaos and uncertainty, there is much about the contemporary American political scene that is quite familiar. Indeed, for some observers, there is a sense that we've been here before, as if American politics today is like an old syndicated TV

show: you think you've seen it before and maybe don't want to see it again.

After all, while we've now been conditioned to accept the previously unimaginable, there's a good chance that the major presidential candidates will be the same as four years ago, a Biden vs. Trump rematch. On the Republican side, this is the third time in a row that Trump is a candidate. Even with two impeachments in the history books and now facing multiple criminal charges, Trump remains the

heavy favourite to win the Republican nomination. He is polling well ahead of his closest rival, Florida Governor Ron DeSantis, while over a dozen other GOP candidates are trying to make inroads. Trump's path to the nomination in 2016 was similar, and history could well repeat itself.

On the Democratic side, apart from a rogue scion of the old Kennedy clan (RFK Jr.), there's the incumbent, President Joe Biden, who has been a fixture of American politics since he was first

elected to Congress back in 1972. As VP from 2009 to 2017 and then president himself since 2021, Biden is an exceedingly familiar if somewhat uninspiring figure. Plus ça change...

Aside from the candidates themselves, the parties' policy positions and political appeals will likely also be familiar. Biden and the Democrats will portray themselves as the party of a sensible majority running against dangerous extremism, as if democracy itself were on the ballot. That narrative will be supported by various reminders of the deadly January 6, 2021 assault on the U.S. Capitol. These will include the particulars that emerge from legal proceedings against Trump for allegedly seeking to overturn the 2020 election. Additionally, some of the trials for the rioters have yet to start, and prosecutors and defense lawyers may appeal the sentences of some of the hundreds of people who have already been convicted for their actions that day. And candidates will likely be asked whether they would pardon convicted rioters, and maybe Trump himself, if they are elected president.

On the Republican side, Trump will continue his grievance-based appeals, loudly complaining that neither he nor his supporters have been treated fairly, the system is rigged by elites, and only he can fix it, as if Trump offers the MAGA millions their last best chance for validation and victory. When Trump formally entered politics eight years ago, many observers thought that he would soon tone down the bombast and adopt a more reasonable, civil, statesman-like demeanor, but few still hold out hope for such a transformation. In fact, one of the few things in American politics that seems certain is that Trump will be Trump, for better or worse. What remains to be determined is how many of his Republican challengers will find the courage to criticize him, how many will remain silent, and how many will attempt some sort of middle position.

But despite so much being so familiar in the campaign, there will also be some important differences this time.

First, law and politics will be even more closely linked than usual. The connections between law and politics are often tight in the U.S., as can be seen by how regular citizens fume about the views of particular judges and how often political events involve court cases and vice-versa. But with the former president facing multiple criminal trials, legal events will feature very prominently in the coming year. And Trump's legal challenges might well become logistical challenges, as he will likely have a hard time balancing multiple court appearances in multiple venues with the demands of a national campaign and his preference for lots of big in-person political rallies. Trump loves being the center of attention, but he can't be in more than one place at one time.

“ When politicians seek to score political points by criticizing Disney as being un-American, we are living in strange times indeed. ”

Second, the election calendar itself will be different. The Iowa caucuses will loom large for the Republicans, especially for candidates like DeSantis, who hope to demonstrate early on that Trump is not invincible and that they are viable alternatives. But the Democratic National Committee has demoted Iowa from its traditional first in the nation status and instead has moved up the South Carolina primary. That means Democratic candidates will focus less on the needs of Iowa's farmers and more on the concerns of South Carolina's African American voters.

Third, this election cycle is likely to include a revival of the decades-old culture wars. Starting in the 1980s, Republicans made effective use of cultural appeals to portray liberal Democrats as out of touch and extreme. Under Obama, Democrats used cultural themes to paint Republicans as relics of a traditionalist past that had been left behind by the progres-

sive march of history. Now, Republicans are once again on the offensive in the culture wars, claiming that acceptance of LGBTQ people is harmful to children, educators are using critical race theory to make white students feel bad, and diversity efforts are hurting whites and stigmatizing racial minorities. Whereas previous iterations of America's culture wars featured Papa John's pizza, Chick-fil-A restaurants, Sesame Street, the Teletubbies, and of course Hollywood, now it's the My Pillow guy, Bud Light beer, country music star Jason Aldean, and Disney. When politicians seek to score political points by criticizing Disney as being un-American, we are living in strange times indeed.

Fourth, even insofar as the candidates and political themes are the same or at least similar, the American electorate is different. Compared to four years ago, voters in the 2024 election will be significantly less white, as America has continued to become more racially diverse. And insofar as Republican candidates rely heavily on white voters, they are facing a less favourable political landscape. For years, this dynamic has led Democrats to complacently think of demographic destiny, dreaming that growing numbers of Democratic-leaning minority voters will eventually deliver victory even in Republican strongholds like Texas.

In short, even though the coming American election might be a lot like the previous one, there will be some new developments, just as there always are. Lasting well over a year and funded with billions of dollars, the American presidential election is a spectacle like no other. It is inescapable and almost certain to produce more than a little angst, outrage, and entertainment, for Canadians as well as Americans. Like this summer's new Indiana Jones and Mission Impossible blockbuster movies, it might well be very familiar, but it won't entirely be the same old thing.

Graham Dodds is a professor of political science at Concordia University, specializing in US politics.



President Biden announces the revival of the Beau Biden Cancer Moonshot, February 2, 2022. —White House image

The Foolishness of Political Ageism

After eight years as vice president, Joe Biden was not a man who came to the presidency with a preponderance of low-hanging incrimination fruit for his opponents to pluck, which gives the question of his age greater traction in the propaganda sphere. Policy Contributing writer and political sage Robin Sears settles it once and for all.

Robin V. Sears

Winston Churchill defied and vanquished (with a little help from his friends) Adolf Hitler's Third Reich, retired from his second term as prime minister a decade later and lived for another decade after that. Having saved the Fifth Republic from serious division, potentially even violent civil unrest, Charles DeGaulle retired in 1969. Deng Xiaoping launched the most dramatic changes in modern Chinese history, beating back internal opponents in a political power struggle many thought he would lose. Having opened China to the world, he for-

mally retired in 1989, but remained a power behind the scenes until his death in 1997. Golda Meir saw her nation through some of its most existentially threatening crises and only retired after 25 years in government. At a time when life expectancy was about 55, and despite having battered his liver for decades, Sir John A. MacDonald governed until 1891, 18 years in total.

How old were these giants of political history when they retired? Churchill, 80; DeGaulle, 79; Deng, 93; Golda Meir, 77; and Sir John A., 76.

The list of 'way too old' political giants has another dozen names on it. And, most interestingly, they fought their

way through their most challenging times in government in each case but one when they had passed 70. Churchill was 65 when he became wartime prime minister in 1940.

Successful leadership always involves a strong ability to read people, friend and foe. Experience, over decades, nurtures that ability. Perhaps even more importantly, it grants you access to a network of leaders with whom you have worked, shared victories and losses, and about whom you have a deep knowledge of their strengths and weaknesses, their likes and dislikes.

Age prejudice was the most frustrating challenge I had as a CEO headhunter. Given two candidates of equal merit, cli-

ents would nearly always default to the youngest. I grew up with the good fortune of having the wisdom of older people to help me avoid dumb mistakes, especially in my early years in politics. I learned in my 20s that experienced wisdom trumped youthful energy — always. An early mentor chose me as his ‘far too young’ successor. I was terrified. He shared a bon mot that has guided me to this day, “Just remember there are no new mistakes, find those who made them before you and listen carefully!” And I did, sometimes several times a day.

A line I developed as a headhunter for clients determined to favour youthful energy was, “Would you have hired yourself at 32 to run a billion-dollar corporation....?” They would often look aghast and say, “Are you kidding me?!” As these were usually American clients hiring leaders in Asia, I would gently add a homily about the disrespect corporations receive from governments and competitors when the face of the firm is someone younger than their children.

Every political junkie remembers Ronald Reagan’s famous putdown of an ageist reporter’s question in the second 1984 presidential debate as to, given his age, whether Reagan would have been able to have managed the stresses of the Cuban missile crisis. Professional performer that he was, Reagan paused, then said with mock severity, “I am not going to exploit, for political purposes, my opponent’s youth and inexperience.” Everyone, including that opponent, Walter Mondale, burst into laughter.

Few recall his closer, however, “I think it was either Cicero or Seneca who said ‘Elders must always correct the mistakes of the young, or else there would be no state.’” He was making a very good point. God save us from the arrogance of youth being granted unchecked authority. Who would prefer Justin’s early, less than-serious approach to governing, over his father’s deep experience? Does anyone doubt 86-year-old Pope Francis’ competence and skill, that he exhibits daily, in reforming the Catholic Church more fundamentally than any pope since John XXIII.

We are living longer, and living in good health longer. Surely the only reasonable test of qualification with respect to age is mental competence and physical capacity. Is a candidate in good health? Whether or not 80 is the new 60, it certainly, in more and more cases, is not the old 80. Has the candidate retained cognitive ability, and is their energy still adequate to the stresses of high office? Can they quickly digest complex written and oral reports? Are they visibly committed to staying healthy, working out, avoiding fat and sugary processed foods, phasing their workdays and weeks with essential breaks. Metrics about physical and mental health can all be developed through tests. They should be disclosed by each candidate. If a candidate passes, perhaps that might even cause rude journalists to put aside questions implying the cliché of geriatric incompetence.

“ Whether or not 80 is the new 60, it certainly, in more and more cases, is not the old 80. ”

Now, Donald Trump would certainly pass the ‘taking rest breaks’ test with flying colours. Most of his time in office, as the White House recorded daily, included long hours of ‘executive time.’ At least fifty pounds overweight, his exercise machine is his golf cart. He has bragged that he never reads books, and insists that his staff’s policy briefings not exceed two pages. His diet is like a parody of a self-indulged old man. His mainstays are apparently cheeseburgers, Coke, and ice cream. He assaults his hair and his skin with the regular administration of toxic orange chemicals, which have the predictable effect of so many such tricks — to make him look not younger but older and trying too hard.

Which brings us to the age prejudice that Joe Biden faces. In contrast to his likely opponent’s lifestyle choices, he eats little that would not pass a nutritionist’s skeptical gaze, works out daily, reads voraciously, and has an elephantine memory for the people he

has met, and the events he has been part of for over fifty years. Ah, the skeptics will say, “That’s all very well, but you see how he sometimes stumbles on stairs, uses the wrong word, and cannot read his own teleprompter!”

Really? These are proofs of his lack of statesmanship? First of all, it is impossible to separate Biden’s occasional snags in syntax from the speech patterns of a man who overcame a childhood stutter. Having his body betray him about balance and necessary steps occasionally? Donald Trump is three and a half years younger than Biden. Why do we hear so few challenges about his old age, mental capacity, and cognitive decline? As one American friend put it, “Perhaps it is because he has always been the crazy old man, so it is hard to see the decline.”

We know that persistent gerontocracies are not a good idea for democracies. One common drawback of older leadership across a range of titles is the ruling élite’s ability to stay connected to the values and dreams of the young. Another is that it can make it seem impossible for those under 60 to aspire to a role in leadership.

Finally, there is Biden’s recent record of achievement, for which the age question serves as misdirection by his opponents. Perennially underestimated, Joe Biden has stunned many observers with his record of success in his first three years. From his bipartisan victories in Congress, to his single-handed revitalization of NATO, and his creation of the strongest alliance of nations around the world to fight Putin, it would be hard to claim that he has not been firing on all cylinders.

So, please, give me an aging Biden over a one-term senator or governor, any day. We will all feel safer and get more things done.

Policy Contributing Writer Robin Sears is a veteran political strategist of a certain age who has served well-seasoned leaders around the world from Willy Brandt to Brian Mulroney to Ed Broadbent with both youthful energy and experienced wisdom.



Germans protest Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine at the Brandenburg Gate, February 24, 2022. —Leonhard Lentz

The Global Stakes for Human Rights in America's Election

American leadership impacts human rights globally through the hard power of institutional leadership and the soft power of example — a fact underscored by the contrast on human rights between Joe Biden's presidency and that of his predecessor. As executive director of the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, Kyle Matthews brings his expertise to the question of 'What if?'

Kyle Matthews

In an ever-interconnected world, the political choices made by the United States reverberate far beyond its borders. As discussions about a potential re-election bid by former President Donald Trump emerge as he is battling criminal charges for trying to overturn the 2020 election, it's crucial to assess the possible implications for human rights on a global scale. Trump's past actions and decisions, including personal friendships with dictators, withdrawal from international organizations tasked with upholding human rights, attacks on journalists and the media, and threats to established alliances, raise concerns about the future of human rights and stability worldwide. Particularly worrisome is the context of rising authoritarian alliances, where the US's role as a powerful democracy is essential in countering the threat posed by countries such as China and Russia.

Past actions and alliances: a historical context

Donald Trump's tenure as president was marked by an unprecedented approach to international diplomacy. His willingness to praise and cozy up to dictators, including Russia's Vladimir Putin and North Korea's Kim Jong Un raised eyebrows worldwide and sent a troubling signal that human rights might take a back seat to Trump's whimsical decision-making. The implications of these actions were far-reaching, as they undermined efforts to promote democracy and uphold international law.

Investigations revealed that the Trump administration made crucial omissions to the US State Department's annual human rights report, often downplaying serious violations, including torture. David Kramer, former assistant secretary of state for human rights during the George W. Bush administration noted in 2020 that "People advocating and fight-

ing for democracy, human rights and freedom around the world are disillusioned by the US government and don't view the current administration as a true partner."

At the global level, the world witnessed first-hand how Trump approached most issues through a transactional lens, willing to cancel agreements and leave allies and partners in danger. No better example is Trump's 2019 betrayal of the Kurds in northern Syria, who were an indispensable partner in the fight against the extremist group known as Islamic State, which had mounted countless attacks against civilians globally and carried out a genocide against the Yazidi minority in Iraq.

Many civil society organizations in the US have rung the alarm bell, warning of the dangers of Trump's policies that negatively impacted human rights in both domestic and international contexts. Columbia University's Law school helped create a "Trump Human

Rights Tracker” that serves as a tool “designed to help journalists, civil society organizations, and the general public understand how the Trump Administration is impacting human rights.”

Attacks against international organizations

The Trump administration’s decisions to pull the US out of the UN Human Rights Council and UNESCO (both since re-joined by the Biden administration) were not only symbolic but also deeply consequential. These moves represented a retreat from global cooperation and a disregard for the importance of international institutions in safeguarding human rights.

The withdrawal from the UN Human Rights Council, in particular, sent a message that America under Trump was no longer willing to be a vocal advocate for human rights on the global stage. At the same time, China made inroads in the same UN entity resulting in it being elected to the Human Rights Council in 2020. It has subsequently used its position to block debate and discussions with regard to Beijing’s persecution of the Uyghur Muslim community in which over one million people have been incarcerated in prison camps.

Last but not least, Trump also took aim at the International Criminal Court, which had the temerity to authorize an investigation in possible war crimes committed by US forces in Afghanistan. The Trump administration sanctioned the ICC and the lawyers and investigators directly involved in that investigation.

Media attacks and the erosion of press freedom

A cornerstone of any democracy is a free and independent press. Trump’s relentless attacks on journalists and media outlets created a hostile environment that undermined the vital role of the media as a check on power. These attacks normalized the suppression of dissenting voices and fostered an environment where media freedom was compromised. This erosion of press freedom had implications that stretch beyond American borders, emboldening authoritarian regimes to

muzzle their own media and suppress freedom of expression.

The situation was so dire that numerous experts, including the UN Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression, issued an alarming statement, noting Trump had ramped up caustic and dangerous political narratives that labeled media as being an “enemy of the American people”, “very dishonest” or “fake news,” and accused the press of “distorting democracy” or spreading “conspiracy theories and blind hatred”.

Threats to established alliances

The foundation of global stability rests upon strong international alliances, and NATO has been a key pillar in this regard. Trump’s threats to withdraw from NATO and to insult America’s longstanding allies shook the foundation of these alliances and posed a significant risk to regional stability. A weakened NATO not only leaves a security vacuum but also emboldens authoritarian regimes that seek to undermine democratic values.

What is truly frightening is to consider what this means today against the backdrop of Russia’s ongoing invasion of Ukraine. Could the re-election of Trump bring about the dissolution of NATO and end all Western military and political support to Ukraine, thereby abandoning the country and its people to Vladimir Putin’s genocidal war? Reports indicate that is what Putin is hoping for. If this were to happen, it would sap all of Ukraine’s capacities to stop Russia from overtaking new towns and cities where civilians would face massacres and torture, children would be forcibly moved against their will to Russia, and the erasure of Ukrainian identity would continue.

Authoritarian alliances and the counter-balancing act

In a rapidly evolving geopolitical landscape, the emergence of alliances between authoritarian countries such as China and Russia are a cause for concern. During Chinese President Xi Jinping’s recent trip to Moscow, he told Putin “Now there are changes that haven’t happened in 100 years. When we are together, we drive these changes.”

These alliances aim to counterbalance the influence of democratic nations and undermine the principles of freedom and human rights. America, as the world’s most powerful democracy, has historically played a critical role in shaping global norms and values. Its stability and leadership are needed now more than ever to counter the threat posed by authoritarian alliances.

The imperative of US leadership

The potential impact of a Trump re-election bid on human rights across the globe cannot be underestimated. The United States, as a global leader, has the responsibility to champion democratic values, promote human rights, and lead by example. A stable and steadfast United States is essential to maintaining a balance of power that prevents authoritarian regimes from gaining unchecked influence, which would set back human rights in many parts of the world.

In an interview with Project Syndicate, author Ian Buruma argues that “The US can help to defend its liberal-democratic allies, first, by getting its own house in order. The US cannot defend democratic values anywhere else if it embraces the ‘America First’ ethos spearheaded by Donald Trump”.

Navigating a crucial juncture

We find ourselves at a pivotal juncture in history where the choices made by the United States can shape the trajectory of global human rights and stability. The prospect of a second Trump presidency raises concerns about the erosion of democratic values, the undermining of international institutions, and the weakening of alliances. As authoritarian countries band together to counter the influence of democratic nations, the role of the United States as a beacon of democracy and supporter of human rights becomes more critical than ever before.

The world is watching, and the choices made today will determine whether that legacy of promoting human rights and freedom endures or falters.

Kyle Matthews is Executive Director of the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies.



Citizens protesting the Israeli government's measures weakening the Supreme Court as a pillar of the country's democracy in Tel Aviv, March 2023. —Amir Terkel

Will Israel be an Issue in the 2024 Election?

Amid intense debates in both America and Israel about the future of democracy, Jewish voters in this US presidential election are focused on domestic concerns with much wider implications. Presidential historian Gil Troy provides the consummate primer on that electoral alchemy.

Gil Troy

It has long been an American political truism that multicultural New York is the only city whose mayor needs a foreign policy, because of the votes to be lost by saying the wrong thing. By contrast, the American president needs a foreign policy even though there are usually few votes to be gained or lost based on it. The truth, confirmed by multiple polls over decades, is that when most Americans enter the voting booth, they usually have domestic policy – or the candidates' personalities – on their minds. The American presidential campaign is paradoxical: Foreign policy has swayed remarkably few elections – especially amid today's tribal battles. Many isolationist-oriented Democrats support Biden's Ukraine policy because they support Joe Biden, while many once-interventionist Trumpians disdain that policy because they don't.

Nevertheless, it will be very surprising if foreign policy — especially involving Israel — doesn't play a role in this campaign.

Even American Jews – who have long been caricatured as single-issue voters – rarely vote based on Israel. In September, 2022, a pre-midterm Jewish Electorate Institute Poll found that while 45 percent of American Jews polled said the “future of democracy” in the time of Donald Trump was the biggest issue on their minds, and 38 percent prioritized abortion rights, only 7 percent listed Israel at the top of their motivations. Polls in 2020 by the liberal lobby group J-Street and the Republican Jewish Coalition found that neither “foreign policy” nor “Israel” were swaying Jewish votes. Yet, with Israel in turmoil, and the battle over Benjamin Netanyahu's future intensifying, all the attention Israel gets will inevitably play a role in the coming 2024 campaign – if not the outcome.

Most Jews are more pro-choice than pro-Israel when voting – but that doesn't mean they aren't pro-Israel. And while Israel may not loom large on Election Day, it plays a significant role in the invisible primary — the months of jockeying and fundraising prior to the first primaries and caucuses, often so crucial to choosing the nominee. Finally, it's tautological but true – Israel looms large because Israel looms large. The disproportionate attention the media pays to Israel means that, most likely, Israel will play a disproportionate role in the warp and woof of this presidential campaign.

Let's consider each of these three propositions separately.

The two things everyone “knows” about Jews in American politics contradict one another. First, everyone knows that most Jews are Democratic, especially in the age of Trump. A more recent Jewish Electorate Institute poll published in June showed the Biden-

Trump split among Jewish voters at 72 percent-22 percent. In the 1930s, wags were fond of saying that Jews believe in die velt — “this world” — in Yiddish, yene velt – the next world — and Roosevelt. Today, we could say that most Jews worship in the church of liberalism – they are liberal Jews and American liberals. It’s not just that only 10 percent of American Jews are Orthodox and that 65 percent to 75 percent of American Jews vote Democratic. It runs much deeper. Most American Jews feel more directly threatened by the Supreme Court decision banning abortion and Donald Trump’s attacks on democracy than by university departments boycotting Israel and Palestinians attacking Israeli citizens.

Most American Jews oppose all four phenomena – but the first two hit them more personally, and far closer to home. Politics and voting are not just about what you believe in – but how intensely you believe in what you believe in. That’s why it’s accurate to say most American Jews are far more pro-choice than pro-Israel, especially in the voting booth, but that doesn’t mean they are anti-Israel.

This dynamic has only intensified in recent years, as American Jews have become so Americanized with time, and American politics has become so polarized, especially with Trump. This is the age of the Backward-Reasoning Partisan Voter. In a highly polarized, binary environment, you pick your package – and brook no deviation. So, if, like most American Jews, you’re a Biden cheerleader, you overlook all kinds of inconveniences. You deem mentioning President Joe Biden’s advancing age not helpful, and overlook the troubling fact that today’s Democratic Party, while still pro-Israel, is also the major American political party most hospitable to fanatic anti-Zionists who hate Israel for what it is, not just what it does. Similarly, if, like most Orthodox Jews, you are pro-Trump, you also overlook all kinds of inconveniences. You forgive Donald Trump’s many crimes and excesses while ignoring the fact that today’s Republican Party, while passionately pro-Israel, is also the major American political party most hospitable to ag-

gressive white supremacists, who hate Jews and see Jews at the center of many conspiracies preventing American from being great again.

These intense loyalties and blind spots determine your votes on Election Day. Still, in the era of the permanent campaign, there are many other opportunities for a candidate’s stance on Israel to count. Most dramatically, especially in previous presidential cycles, a candidate’s stance on Israel was particularly relevant when it came to fundraising. You need not be an anti-Semitic conspiracy theorist to notice that Jews are disproportionately generous and among the leading funders of both parties, punching way above their demographic weight.

“ Politics and voting are not just about what you believe in – but how intensely you believe in what you believe in. ”

It’s actually a compliment. It’s not because Jews are disproportionately rich or manipulative but because American Jews are disproportionately civic-minded and involved in public life, especially political life. That generosity plays a role in the build-up to most campaigns. Here’s where Israel becomes important. Because most American Jews remain passionately pro-Israel, many Jewish donors are reluctant to fund candidates hostile to Israel. So, while the Democratic Party may have members of the Squad and other Progressives hostile to Israel, those Bash Israel Firsters rarely nab Jewish donors, or Jewish supporters.

Sadly, in this age of packaged politics, Israel has increasingly become a wedge issue. Republicans have cleverly tried to make being pro-Israel proof of being Republican. And, in fairness, most Republicans are far more passionately, unapologetically, uncritically, pro-Israel than more and more Democrats. Republicans — especially Trump Republicans — are particularly prone to brandishing their pro-Israel creden-

tials to mock Democrats – and liberal Jews – for not being true to America’s closest ally in the Middle East, as well as to burnish their own human rights credentials – on their terms.

That is why, as the campaign develops, Israel is likely to flare up repeatedly as an issue. Republicans seek to exploit it, especially given Trump’s impressive record in finally recognizing Jerusalem as Israel’s capital, opening America’s embassy there, and then, paving a way forward toward the Abraham Accords.

Finally, if we understand the American presidential campaign as one prolonged political stress test, wherein rivals, reporters, and citizens use the candidates’ respective reactions to various stimuli to determine just who they are, Israel proceeds daily through too many minefields for there not to be some explosions. Over the course of the next year, the question of the nature of democracy will be played out in Israel; critical questions about Iran and nuclear proliferation will be played out over Israel; and questions about just how one responds when the unexpected happens will be played out again and again in the Middle East, often regarding Israel.

As an historian, it’s hard enough to dissect the past, much less predict the future. At this point, the only prediction I’m usually willing to make about 2024 is that Election Day will indeed take place, as planned on November 5, 2024. Still, it’s pretty to safe to add the prediction that, somehow or other, the current debates over Israel’s future will spill over into America’s presidential campaign – for better and worse.

Professor Gil Troy is a Distinguished Scholar in North American History at McGill University. The author of numerous books on the American presidency, including, “The Age of Clinton: America in the Nineties,” he is, most recently, the editor of the three-volume set, Theodor Herzl: Zionist Writings, the inaugural publication of The Library of the Jewish People.

Forewarned is Forearmed: Bilateral Lessons of Trump One

After a balmy return to diplomatic normalcy with the Biden administration, the exercise of bracing Canada's bilateral brain trust for a Trump Two scenario could be a useful one. Career diplomat Colin Robertson takes us down that road.

Colin Robertson

Is Canada prepared for a Trump win next year? The shock of his victory in 2016 should have taught us the value of being ready for anything.

Despite Trump's various indictments for his flagrant attempts to overturn the 2020 presidential election, current polls suggest he commands a majority of future Republican primary voters. Trump dominates the news, repurposing that coverage as propaganda to peddle a persecution fable to his base, a fable endorsed by some of his Republican challengers.

With that narrative in place, Trump seems likely to win the 2024 GOP nomination. Given the apparent polarization between the two parties, a return to the Oval Office is possible.

It would not be a return to the kind of 'regular order' that characterizes the Biden presidency or former administrations. Nor can we assume that Trump's authoritarian instincts would be checked by those around him the way they sometimes were last time.

Knowing now how far Trump was ready to go to keep himself in power, there is legitimate concern about the prospect of an America divided between the security of the regime and the security of the people and how Canada might respond to that dilemma.

If his first hundred days in 2017 were characterized by chaos and confusion, planning is already underway in Trumpian Republican circles to ensure a sequel is more orderly and that his administration's appointments are ready for Senate confirmation.

Conservative think tanks and advocacy organizations, including the Cla-

remont Institute, America First Policy Institute and the Centre for Renewing America, are already at work in training personnel and planning policies, including the reorganization of government. The Heritage Foundation has produced the 900-page *The Conservative Promise: Mandate for Leadership*.

“*Planning is already underway in Trumpian Republican circles to ensure a sequel is more orderly.*”

Reflecting his base's preoccupation with economic and cultural wedge issues, the focus would be inward and Making America Great Again, again. The "America First" agenda would mean restricted immigration. Taxes might drop but the debt would rise. Judicial and other appointments would shift right. Ending "the war on fossil fuels", 'climate' would be replaced by 'energy'. 'Diversity, equity and inclusion' would not be part of the Trump lexicon. "Anti-wokeness" would be.

In foreign policy, bilateralism would again replace multilateralism. Trump promises to end the war in Ukraine "in 24 hours", which many fear translates as ending it on Vladimir Putin's terms, tacitly embracing the 'spheres of influence' approach favoured by Putin and Xi Jinping. We need to be considering this now, particularly what we would do about Taiwan.

Trump would require allies to pay their share on defence. We should expect more pointed questions to Canadian officials on defence spending.

On trade policy, former US Trade Representative Bob Lighthizer, who is part of the Trump transition team, wants more "strategic decoupling" from China to "change the trajectory of the relationship" and achieve reshoring.

That we succeeded in 'managing' Trump and advancing Canada's interests following his win in 2016 is a credit to the Trudeau government's quick response. There was an immediate, focused and continuing outreach to get to know the emerging players and their priorities by our ambassador in Washington, David MacNaughton, and the teams at our embassy and network of consulates. It was a main topic for cabinet deliberations, a war room was created within the PMO, and, critically, the cabinet was remade.

Chrystia Freeland, who already chaired the cabinet committee on the US, replaced Stéphane Dion as foreign minister, having demonstrated competence and understanding of the American system in negotiating a resolution to the protectionist country-of-origin labelling requirement. Her parliamentary secretary, Andy Leslie, drew on his personal relationships with flag-rank American officers from his various tours of duty. I would run into him in airports travelling to places well beyond the Beltway to make the case for Canada.

The premiers and legislators from the various levels of government, whose constituents' welfare depends on access to the US market, were encouraged to cultivate neighbouring governors. The business community has always understood the value of cultivating customers and suppliers. Our industrial unions, especially those representing our auto workers, weighed in with their American brothers and sisters.

Individually and in tandem, the various players reached out in a Team Canada effort to their counterparts to underline the mutual advantages of our trade and investment. All of these channels, which largely stood down during the bilateral normalcy of the Biden administration, should be re-activated and new channels opened.

The temptation by our politicians to win plaudits by publicly denouncing Donald Trump should be resisted. In the spring of 2016, David MacNaughton warned cabinet against any appearance of favouring or criticizing the candidates. It remains good advice for the current cycle.

As we witnessed at the Charlevoix G7 summit, Trump takes perceived slights personally, withdrawing American support to the communiqué because he felt dissed by Justin Trudeau.

David MacNaughton once told me, Trump is “predictable in that everything was unpredictable! You had to be ready for any eventuality.” Trump, observes the former ambassador, is “transactional” so “you have to demonstrate to him every time what’s in it for the United States.”

Whatever the provocations, the one relationship a Canadian prime minister has to get right is that with the president of the United States. It does not mean turning the other cheek. Rather, as Brian Mulroney put it: you can disagree without being disagreeable. It also means circumspection in the context of what best serves Canadian interests, including the fact that our influence internationally derives in part from what is seen as our privileged access to the Oval Office.

Donald Trump wanted to rip up NAFTA on Day 100 until Agriculture Secretary Sonny Purdue showed Trump a map of how farmers in the Midwest — “Trump country” — would be adversely affected. Purdue, a former governor of Georgia, understood the value of Canada thanks in part to prior outreach by our consul general in Atlanta, Louise Blais.

While we don’t always realize its potential, the rest of the world thinks Canadians understand the United States better than anyone else. As one PMO aide told me, instead of Trudeau reaching out to foreign leaders in the days after the Trump election in 2016 the

calls were coming in the other way. Trudeau’s peers all asked the same questions: “What just happened? What do we do now?” If Trump somehow wins, that question will be posed again. We should be working on our response now, taking advantage of our propinquity and our knowledge of American politics, media and culture.

I recently asked the visiting foreign affairs head of a NATO ally what troubled him the most: Russian victory in Ukraine, a Chinese invasion of Taiwan, or Donald Trump back in the White House? He didn’t miss a beat, replying: “Donald Trump...the Alliance can manage the rest but there may be no Alliance after another four years of Trump.” He reflects the feeling of most Europeans and other allies.

Trumpism goes beyond Donald Trump in its influence and impact on American policy. We must plan now. Preparation will protect Canadian interests and serve us well with our allies.

Contributing Writer Colin Robertson, a former career diplomat, is a fellow and host of the Global Exchange podcast with the Canadian Global Affairs Institute in Ottawa.



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BCC President Goldy Hyder (left), BCC Chairman Victor Dodig (right) and former House Speaker John Boehner (centre) at the Canadian Embassy in May 16, 2023. —*Courtesy BCC*

Why America's Election is Canada's Business

Goldy Hyder and Louise Blais

One could say without exaggeration that Canadians follow American elections just as closely as they do their own federal politics. And rightly so. Our economy and security are fully intertwined with our southern neighbour, a superpower and still the largest economy in the world. Every decision at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave or on Capitol Hill has a direct or indirect impact on Canada.

For the business sector and its employees, that connection is even more acute. With over \$595 billion of our annual exports destined to the U.S. and hundreds of billions of Canadian investments there, how the White House and Congress govern is existential to our prospects.

And beyond the final outcome of the elections, the long electoral process, including primaries, can result in difficult-to-navigate waters of their own. In the 2016 presidential campaign,

one candidate suggested “tearing up NAFTA” and directly targeted Canada for, per the quote, “decades of abuses”.

Despite perennial trade irritants, Canadians have historically been able to work with every US administration. But NAFTA was a close call. An executive order cancelling it was drawn up and ready to be released. Disaster was only averted at the last minute through a mix of good luck and skilled maneuvering by a handful of insiders, including then Agriculture Secretary Sonny Perdue. Without his intervention, NAFTA could very well have been cancelled outright instead of merely modernized through intense negotiations. Unfortunately, there is no guarantee that we will not find ourselves in a similar situation again.

In part, that's because the level of general misinformation about trade has only increased in the last five years. Facts are often replaced by myths and conspiracy theories. Once these take hold, it can be near-impossible to set the record straight.

The razor-thin majorities of recent electoral cycles have given agency to small factions of media-savvy special interests who have pushed policies and narratives in harrowing directions. For Canada, it is less about which party wins the White House or Congress, but about how they will govern when faced with such influential stakeholders. At best, this can result in the party in power becoming more insular and focused on domestic issues.

This is why it is paramount that we work diligently to ensure that those seeking high office, regardless of where they sit on the political spectrum, are as well informed as possible on their way there. That work must be consistent and ongoing, involving a coordinated effort between the public and private sectors. It sometimes takes years for the benefits of those relationships to manifest themselves but when they do, they are vitally important. The close call with NAFTA provides a useful example. In 2007, Secretary Perdue was the Governor of Georgia when, together with

Premier Jean Charest, he founded the Southern States and Eastern Provinces Alliance. More than 10 years later, he was in the Oval Office, preventing a move that would have been devastating for our nation's economy.

Not letting our guards down also means not taking anything for granted. We should not assume that American officials spend much time thinking about Canada. Worse, American politicians who might appear to share a similar outlook to Canada may in fact be relying on outdated or outmoded perspectives about our bilateral relationship that would be detrimental to our mutual interests.

When President Biden came to power, the discernable sigh of relief in our government blinded many to the fact that his administration's ambitious economic agenda included doubling down on Buy American provisions. While it is fair to say that those measures do not necessarily target Canada, they demonstrate a lack of appreciation of how integrated our economies are. That lack of knowledge can in turn lead to damaging policies. Unfortunately, seeking amendments to draft bills and finding administrative fixes to presidential executive orders after the fact is near impossible. The better avenue is working to ensure that the policy process takes those facts into consideration at the onset.

Canada must, of course, respect the American electoral process and avoid any appearance of foreign interference, yet elections are times of intense policy development. We must be extra-vigilant and be prepared to respond. In this, Canada's private sector plays a major role. With strong people-to-people ties, Canadian business leaders can demonstrate the immense impact of our investments in the United States, including how we fuel American manufacturing through our supply chains. Canadian companies operating in the US directly employ 825,000 Americans, with investments on the rise. Many of these companies, such as Linamar, Martinrea and Magna, have been instrumental in the rapid expansion of the American automotive sector in the Southeast US, especially in Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama.

At the Business Council of Canada, we will be watching closely and advocating for a few key developments on the road to November 2024.

First and foremost, our number one priority must be the renewal of the Canada-US-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA) when it comes up for review in 2026. The best scenario is for the next President to roll over the agreement. However, should the next White House wish to re-open some provisions, in addition to the uncertainty this would create, the next Congress would surely want to weigh in. Given the narrow majority margins likely to continue and the polarization between the two parties, this could present a tremendous challenge for Canada.

“ Our number one priority must be the renewal of the Canada-US-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA). ”

That's why, to cite a specific example, Canada's proposed unilateral digital services tax is so poorly timed. The Canadian government should avoid provoking a trade war during an election cycle in which the review and renewal of CUSMA could become a campaign issue. Yet, Ottawa decided to break with a clear majority of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries by refusing to delay the imposition of this tax in January 2024.

For the sake of our essential trade relationship with the United States, it is critical that we pull back this decision, which both Republicans and Democrats view as contravening CUSMA. In advocating for the renewal of CUSMA, Canada needs to demonstrate that we are ourselves compliant with the agreement. That means addressing areas in which Canada is not abiding by the trade deal.

The second issue we'll be watching is Canada's commitment to defence and security. There has been increased attention in the US regarding Canada's lack of progress, even motivation, to achieve our 2% NATO spending commitment. The

U.S. decision to develop the AUKUS defence agreement with Australia and the UK should have been a wake-up call. If we want to avoid the "security freeloader" label, which might squander goodwill and spill over to other policy areas, we should make the significant investments that our national defence requires.

Third, we must keep a close eye on how evolving politics might affect regulatory regimes in the United States. Should President Biden be granted a second mandate, we can expect that the race for critical minerals will pick up speed. Our governments in Canada at both the federal and provincial/territorial levels must not wait to play catch-up. The federal government, in particular, must follow through on its commitment to reform and speed up the permitting process, especially for energy transition projects.

More generally, the US election result will no doubt influence investor sentiment and market trends. And let's face it, the next election is unprecedented. The leading Republican candidate is a former president who is facing several criminal indictments. The polarization of the American people will bring political uncertainty and some volatility, which could influence consumer behavior. The United States may face some unrest. Canada must anticipate various scenarios and prepare for potential disruption.

With so much hanging in the balance for Canada in this upcoming election cycle – and all those to follow – we cannot afford to be passive and therefore caught off-guard. The private sector understands this. It is one of the reasons why the Business Council of Canada is opening an office in Washington DC to continue to take our message about the benefits of our economic ties to American leaders of all stripes.

Relationships must be fed and nurtured. Let's make sure our ties to our closest friend and partner remain strong, no matter where the road to the White House leads.

Goldy Hyder is President and CEO of the Business Council of Canada.

Former Ambassador Louise Blais was Consul General in Atlanta. She is Special Advisor for the Business Council of Canada.



‘Cooperation with Canada on hydrogen has emerged as an absolute priority for both European policymakers and businesses,’ write Stefan Kaufmann and John Risley. —Shutterstock

Time to Act: Prospects for EU-Canada Cooperation on Hydrogen

**Stefan Kaufmann
and John Risley**

The pace of climate change has increased significantly, and we see its impact in our daily lives. Taking urgent action to combat climate change is an imperative in Europe, Canada, and across the world. The European Union (EU) is the leader in green transition, investing heavily in greening its economy under the Green Deal framework.

The illegal Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 only accelerated these efforts and put Canada at the top of the political agenda in Brussels as a long-standing democratic partner of the EU. They share common fundamental values, pursue market economy, and work actively towards a green, climate-neutral future. Indeed, Canada is one of the very few resource-rich countries that has good governance, an experienced energy workforce, favorable conditions for doing business and a strong commitment to the green future. There are clear geopolitical advantages to a strong energy trade relationship between these two strategic partners.

Hydrogen plays a major role in the green transition. Its multiple uses — from decarbonization to power generation to energy storage — attest to its versatility.

There is already collaboration between Canada and the EU on energy and hydrogen issues through the International Partnership for Hydrogen and Fuel Cells in the Economy (IPHE). The purpose of IPHE is to facilitate and accelerate the transition to clean and efficient energy and mobility systems using hydrogen and fuel-cell technologies across applications and sectors.

Canada is among the world leaders in the development of hydrogen technologies and in the production of grey hydrogen. Therefore, it offers opportunities for EU technology providers for cooperation and commercialization along the whole hydrogen value chain. In December 2020, Canada’s federal government released its Hydrogen Strategy for Canada (The National Strategy), which sees hydrogen as a way to spur economic growth, achieve climate neutrality and diversify the oil and gas sector. The National Strategy sets an ambitious framework to make Canada one of

the world’s top three producers of clean hydrogen by 2050 and a major hydrogen exporter. Hydrogen should then account for about one-third of final energy demand in Canada and be used primarily for space and process heating, as an industrial feedstock, in transportation and for electricity storage.

The Eastern and Atlantic provinces are focused on green hydrogen and have a strong interest in exporting it to Europe. They are on a comparatively short shipping distance compared to other potential export regions. There is an excellent renewable potential for low-cost green hydrogen production, especially in Eastern Canada from onshore and offshore wind, as well as substantial hydropower capacities resulting in cheap electricity prices and extremely high shares of renewables. Some provinces stand out with more than 90% renewables in the power mix. The export potential for green hydrogen is estimated at 25 to 35 Mt H₂ per year in the long-term. Three huge production projects worth billions of dollars were recently announced for Port of Belledune (New Brunswick), Port Tupper (Nova Scotia) and Stephenville (Newfoundland and Labrador).

With the Low Carbon Economy Fund, the Clean Fuels Fund and the Federal investment tax credit of up to 40% on clean hydrogen, Canada has published a clear funding framework to attract foreign capital and investment. More support can be found in the Canada Growth Fund, which has been allocated a \$15B (CAD) envelope to support investments to decarbonize various industries, but also hydrogen production.

In the EU, cooperation with Canada on hydrogen has emerged as an absolute priority for both European policymakers and businesses. In January 2021, the EU launched the Hydrogen Valley Platform through Mission Innovation. The platform features comprehensive insights into the most advanced and ambitious hydrogen valleys and large-scale hydrogen flagship projects around the globe, including Canada. To date, 25 European hydrogen valleys at different stages of development are part of the platform. Canada is part of this platform through the Hydrogen valley project in Edmonton, Alberta. In January 2022, as part of another hydrogen initiative, the EU announced that the Clean Hydrogen Partnership will invest EUR 105.4 million to fund nine Hydrogen valleys across Europe. Through a third initiative under the smart specialization platform, managed by the Joint Research Center's (JRC) Growth and Innovation Directorate, the EU set up the European Hydrogen Valleys Partnership in May 2022 – with a focus more on research topics. Hydrogen ecosystems in Europe and Canada should use this impetus to work together on a global green transition and global hydrogen economy, based on renewable (green) hydrogen.

In August 2022, the Canada-Germany Hydrogen Alliance was signed in Stephenville, Newfoundland and Labrador, boldly committing Canada to green hydrogen exports starting in 2025. This agreement has fueled momentum in Atlantic Canada to build-out a first of kind industry, with large investments in renewable power generation and electrolyzer capacity. These investments have the potential to change the face of the economy in Canada's Atlantic provinces.

Despite these attractive conditions, cooperation between the EU and Canada in the hydrogen sector remains limited. The discussions at the Canada Growth Summit in April highlighted the need for Canadian companies to expand their export horizon from its existing southern orientation to include Europe.

The Canada-EU hydrogen business faces important challenges

First, the US and Canada are already connected via 37 energy transmission lines. Interest in further expansion is high on both sides. New cross-border transmission lines are being built. The largest expansion project is Champlain Hudson Power Express, a high-voltage direct-current transmission line with a capacity of 1,250 megawatts from Quebec to New York City. It is much easier to produce hydrogen across the border in common projects. And, it is much easier and cheaper to transport hydrogen to a neighbouring country by using (new) hydrogen pipelines than to ship it to Europe.

Second, the production of clean hydrogen in the US suffers from a great shortage of electrolyzer capacities. Europe faces the same issue. However, since the US will presumably attract substantial foreign capital and projects with the Inflation Reduction Act, the ramp-up of the electrolyzer industry may take place faster in the US than in Europe.

Third, the smaller internal energy market and a jigsaw puzzle of provincial jurisdictions create other obstacles keeping Canada from achieving its full potential. The responsibility for the energy industry is split among the individual provinces, and that makes the implementation of a national hydrogen strategy in Canada much more difficult. It also makes it harder to execute a national approach to hydrogen export. Moreover, the western Canadian provinces are heavily focused on blue hydrogen production and still on fossil fuels due to large natural gas deposits and potential CO₂ storage sites. This blue hydrogen is to be exported primarily to the US and Asia.

In Quebec, on the other hand, the opportunities for clean hydrogen are well

recognized on the industry side. However, there is still no political will to produce green hydrogen in large quantities and even less will to export it to the US or Europe. The hydropower giant Hydro Quebec plays a central role in this policy. Although an expansion potential of 36 GW has been identified, it is expensive and economically challenging to implement in remote parts of the province. As we see, Canada still has a lot to do to become one of the three big global suppliers of green hydrogen.

Canada as a research and technology partner

From the perspective of business cooperation, there are both challenges and opportunities. Business would benefit from EU-Canada reinforced collaboration but there needs to be a clear common regulatory framework, flexible and reliable supply chains, and common skill recognition in the hydrogen sector.

Dialogues via roundtables focusing on stronger political cooperation, organization of EU-Canadian research days and a Canada-EU H₂ Summit could significantly help to advance in addressing or dialogue gaps. In addition, launching a business capacity-building program with Hydrogen Europe and a Canadian counterpart would be truly beneficial.

As Gene Gebolys, CEO of World Energy Alternatives, said of the signature of the Canada-Germany Hydrogen Alliance: “There is a geopolitical and environmental imperative to accelerate the development and trade of clean energy among close committed democratic allies”. The time to act is now.

Dr. Stefan Kaufmann is former Hydrogen Commissioner at the German Federal Government and currently works as Hydrogen Executive Adviser to the thysenkruupp board.

John Risley is Chairman and CEO of CFFI Ventures Inc, and chair of Canada's Ocean Supercluster.

The authors would like to acknowledge the support of EU-CAN PDSF, a project funded by the European Union.

The publication of this article is supported by the European Union.



The wood chip-fuelled KVV8 combined heat and power plant in Stockholm heats 190,000 residences and generates enough electricity for 150,000 electric vehicles, with lower air pollution emissions intensity than a natural gas furnace. —*Holger.Ellgaard*

Canada's Largest Polluters Are Not Who You Think They Are

Jamie Stephen

Who is Canada's largest greenhouse gas emitter and air polluter? One could be forgiven for guessing an oil sands producer or perhaps a coal-fired power plant owner. In fact, the organizations competing for this year's dubious distinction of Canada's largest emitter of both GHGs and air pollutants are the Governments of Canada, Quebec, Ontario, Alberta, British Columbia.

How so? Far and away Canada's largest net source of GHG emissions this year is forest fires. Natural Resources Canada estimates a release of 1,400 million tonnes (Mt) of CO₂ already and the fire season is nowhere near its conclusion. This is more than double Canada's total reported 2021 GHG emissions. As for air quality and lung health, wildfires are unquestionably Canada's number one source of air pollution. So, who is liable? Ninety-four percent of Canada's forests are publicly-owned. Forests in Canada are a public asset and long-term management of them is a government responsibility.

Canada is home to 9 percent of the world's forests, with an estimated 318 billion trees. That is 8,000 trees per Canadian. If GHGs are valued at \$170/t CO₂e, as the Government of Canada plans for 2030, the wood in Canada's forests has an asset value of \$7.5 trillion. This is almost \$190,000 per Canadian or \$760,000 for a family of four – roughly the same value as a “typical” home in Canada.

Rule of thumb says to budget 1 percent of your home's asset value for annual maintenance. For a \$7.5 trillion asset, this would be \$75 B. But what do Canada's governments spend maintaining their largest, most valuable carbon asset – forests? Instead of 1 percent, around 0.001 percent. The result of this lack of investment in maintenance is obvious. Between 2000 and 2020, Canada had a net forest carbon loss of 4,000 Mt CO₂. Or \$680 B. This year's emissions take the figure to a whole other level, with an annual deficit of \$250 B. If we believe a tonne of CO₂ in the atmosphere has a cost of \$170, we must also believe these extraordinary figures.

Does it have to be this way? Are forest carbon losses an unavoidable consequence of climate change? The truth is that, yes, climate change increases the risk of wildfires. But a lack of investment in forest carbon asset maintenance is the real culprit. Addressing the problem of forest carbon loss requires action – human intervention. As the world gets hotter, the need for human intervention in forests goes up, not down. Forest protection – complete elimination of human activity – simply will not work to maintain carbon stocks. We already have the evidence: Canada's national parks, the epitome of protection, have become a net source of GHG emissions.

To improve the health of its forests and reduce GHG emissions, Canada must implement Climate-Smart Forestry. This means making forest management, forest operations, and forest-products decisions that value carbon. Climate-Smart Forestry takes into consideration not only the carbon impacts of our actions, but also the counterfactual of inaction. For example, elimination of timber harvest would re-

sult in increased use of high-carbon alternatives, such as cement and steel in building construction or plastic in furniture and consumer products. This is the product counterfactual. The demand for materials is still there and eliminating the lowest carbon source of supply – wood – makes no sense. In addition – and this is the in-forest counterfactual – the carbon stored in most of Canada’s boreal forest trees has a very high likelihood of release at some point in the coming decades due to wildfires or natural death. By producing solid wood products, we can lock up that carbon for centuries instead of losing it to the atmosphere.

A comparison of the world’s boreal forests shows the power of Climate-Smart Forestry to build forest carbon stocks while providing the materials and energy required for a low-carbon society. Canada, Alaska, and Russia have failed to implement Climate-Smart Forestry and see massive carbon losses from wildfires. In contrast, the Nordic countries of Sweden and Finland use a more intensive forest management approach. The results are clear: Canada has fifty times more wildfire and insect pest disturbance per forested hectare than Sweden. Sweden is continuously increasing the stored carbon in its managed forests, having grown the standing timber volume – stored carbon – by almost 40 percent since 1980.

On a per capita basis, the comparison between Canada and Sweden is embarrassing. Including emissions from the forest, Canadians produce over 24 tonnes of CO₂e per person. Swedes? 1.4 tonnes of CO₂e per person, or 6 percent that of Canadians.

What is Sweden doing? In a complete rejection of Canada’s forest management model, Sweden harvests seven times the volume per managed forest hectare as Canada. As part of its Climate-Smart forestry approach, Sweden’s foresters plan frequent interventions to thin forests, reduce fuel loading, and contain disturbance. Yes, to store more carbon in the forests, Sweden — counterintuitively — harvests more trees. Trees need light and space to grow and removing low-vigor, dead, diseased, and dying trees creates space for younger, healthier trees.

A few large trees also hold more carbon and are more resilient to wildfires than many tightly packed small trees.

Unlike Sweden, where three quarters of forests are owned by families and companies, Canada’s publicly-owned forest regime provides little opportunity for the forestry sector to undertake forest carbon enhancement operations, such as fire risk reduction treatments. Canada’s forest products companies are essentially tenants, and just as with housing, landlords don’t expect tenants to pay for major asset improvements. The financial benefits of these cash-negative improvements are accrued by the asset owner – in the case of Canada’s forests, governments.

“ Climate-Smart Forestry takes into consideration not only the carbon impacts of our actions, but also the counterfactual of inaction. ”

Why don’t we just replicate what Sweden is doing? Because of markets. Climate-Smart, active forestry generates a large volume of low-quality, low-value wood – biomass. Generally only 1/3 of wood harvested can be converted to solid wood products like lumber. The rest needs a market. Without one, Climate-Smart Forestry operations cannot be implemented and we will continue to experience megafires and their associated GHG and air pollutant emissions.

Sweden and Finland understand the need for markets for biomass. Fully 40 percent of their energy consumption is biomass. Sweden and Finland could not be the lowest carbon developed countries in the world without it. And it is building and industrial heating, which combined are over 60 percent of Canada’s energy consumption, that is the primary market for biomass in the Nordics.

Finland and Sweden also have the cleanest air in the world. Combustion of biomass in a modern combined heat and power (CHP) plant, like the ones located in Stockholm, Copenha-

gen and Helsinki, reduces air pollutant emissions by over 99.99 percent compared to open burn. In Canada, wildfires pollute our skies while we simultaneously produce GHG emissions and air pollution from natural gas and heating oil. In contrast, Nordic countries ensure low GHGs and clean air by using biomass CHP and district heating networks to heat their cities.

The Nordics are now taking climate action to the next level. Numerous district heating utilities are adding carbon capture to urban biomass CHP plants, resulting in negative GHG emissions. Since trees take CO₂ out of the air when they grow, capturing and permanently storing the CO₂ emissions from biomass combustion underground results in a permanent CO₂ removal from the atmosphere. This bioenergy with carbon capture and storage (BECCS) presents Canada’s single largest GHG reduction opportunity.

People will say that Canada is too large and our forests too extensive to implement Climate-Smart Forestry. The question must be: Then why do anything at all to reduce GHG emissions? If we aren’t willing to address our largest source of emissions, what is the point of going through all the economic pain, consumer costs, and societal disruption – including political polarization – of the energy transition?

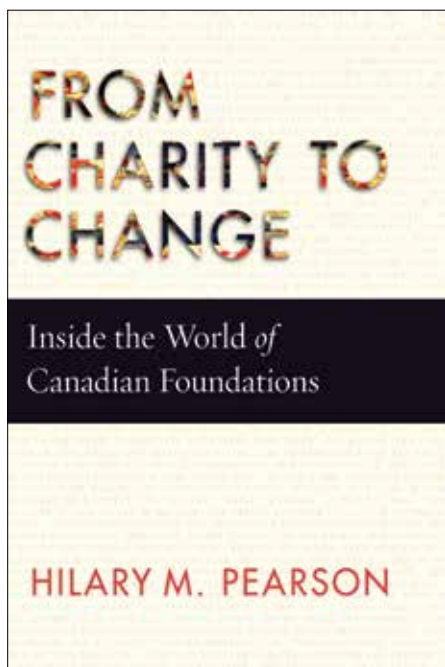
If we do not change course, forests will consistently be Canada’s largest source of GHG emissions and air pollution. But if Canada’s governments finally act on their responsibility to manage their own forest assets by allocating funds for Climate-Smart Forestry operations and encouraging development of biomass CHP and district heating, we can reduce fossil fuel consumption, clear our polluted skies, preserve lives and infrastructure, improve forest health, and — when combined with carbon capture and storage (BECCS) — permanently remove GHG emissions from the atmosphere.

Our governments should leave the “largest emitter” competition to others.

Jamie Stephen is Managing Director at TorchLight Bioresources.

This piece is sponsored by the Forest Products Association of Canada.

BOOK REVIEWS



‘From Charity to Change’: Doing Well While Doing Good

From Charity to Change: Inside the World of Canadian Foundations

by Hilary M. Pearson

McGill Queen’s University Press, 2022

Reviewed by
Teresa Marques

The world of Canadian philanthropy doesn’t often get a lot of attention. To outsiders, it may seem obscure, cloistered, and likely to be properly accused of being cozy and out of touch. Having worked in the “giving” sector for more than two decades, I’ve enjoyed a front-row seat to the efforts of charitable organizations doing good work, and to the foundations who often help make this work possible. A little more attention on

the inner workings of this sector is long overdue.

In her book, *From Charity to Change: Inside the World of Canadian Foundations*, Hilary Pearson shines a revealing light on Canadian philanthropic foundations. Through rich storytelling, Pearson connects key trends that are changing Canada to the lived experience of some of the country’s largest foundations. This is a collection of stories that Pearson is uniquely qualified to present. As founding and long-term president of Philanthropic Foundations of Canada, Pearson has seen firsthand the ways that Canadian foundations have evolved in terms of how they operate, how they organize themselves, and where they direct their dollars. As a result, the book is a captivating snapshot and entry point into the world of Canadian philanthropy and the diversity of its impact. Pearson’s narrative reflects both a changing sector and a changing country.

While she is careful not to generalize, one key theme that emerges is that ‘cutting cheques’ is no longer the only prerogative of Canadian foundations. Pearson describes a shift from foundations as “static grantors” to more strategically focused on key objectives, engaged in building organizational and sectoral capacity, strengthening community, influencing public policy, and, across the range of philanthropic focus, addressing climate change and participating in meaningful reconciliation with Indigenous peoples through relationship-building.

Pearson has a remarkable ability to zoom both in and out, from the inner workings and familial relationships that can inform how a foundation evolves, to the political and economic dynamics of particular cities that influence how foundations can spur action (and when they can’t). Her spotlight on Montreal from the 1980s to the early twenty-first century is par-

ticularly fascinating. Through well-told stories, she describes how major players such as the McConnell Foundation, the Lucie et André Chagnon Foundation and the Mirella & Lino Saputo Foundation were at the heart of collaborative city-building efforts that brought foundations together in new ways to respond to gaps in social services.

Pearson highlights a range of other leading foundations who have equally pushed the world of Canadian philanthropy toward new and more impactful ways of working. From the Max Bell Foundation, Mutart Foundation and Maytree Foundation, which have encouraged policy change, professional development, and activism by philanthropists, to foundations such as the Ivey, Donner and Trottier, which are focusing their assets and influence almost exclusively on the climate crisis. She also tells the stories of foundations that have looked inward with honest and meaningful attempts to improve their performance. She recounts how they have “learned in public” from criticisms of their ways of working, and describes how some have reformulated themselves and their approaches with great transparency. These are important lessons the sector still needs to take on more generally in order to build and sustain trust.

At the start of her book, Pearson helpfully sets the table for the reader about the scope and scale of the Canadian context. There are currently more than 6,000 private foundations in Canada, with collective assets of \$56.3 billion. If you are to include public and community foundations, the dollar value crosses the \$100 billion threshold. Pearson’s interviews and stories focus on a fraction of these foundations, albeit the largest and most influential, to weave together a narrative that is interesting, compelling and suggestive of further and broader changes ahead.

While highlighting specific foundations and their work, an underlying thread of this book is the unique pressure facing the charitable sector and philanthropy alike, especially post-pandemic. She does not shy away from the complex realities confronting the sector today: inherent power imbalances; calls to spend-down assets instead of strengthening perpetual endowments; shifting best practices to engage ‘end users’ of philanthropic dollars in determining how funds are best spent. It’s clear from her work that the act of giving is happening in ways less isolated and insulated from community than might be suggested by the shortlist of illustrious family names profiled in her work.

There is no doubt that Canada’s charitable sector is facing extreme pressures. While needs are rising, the number of overall donors in Canada is decreasing. A landmark study produced by the Rideau Hall Foundation in partnership with Imagine Canada looked at Canadian giving patterns over 30 years. We found a significant shift in Canadians’ giving patterns. In particular, donation rates are dropping across all age groups. Total giv-

ing in Canada is increasing, but only because a smaller pool of affluent donors is giving more. This is a scenario that is likely not sustainable, and should cause alarm given the role that charitable organizations play in the lives of Canadians. A recent Ipsos poll commissioned by CanadaHelps found that 22 per cent of Canadians planned to use charitable services to meet their basic needs in 2022. Many other Canadians rely indirectly on charitable dollars without recognizing it. Philanthropy, while not the only solution, plays a meaningful role, but the philanthropic sector will need to continue to find ways to build trust and demonstrate accountability. Those who emphasize strong governance, public transparency, and engagement with community are well positioned for lasting impact.

The degree of differentiation within the world of foundations makes it challenging to generalize or come to conclusions about the direction of Canada’s foundations writ-large. However, the reader is left with reasons to be optimistic that foundations can be drivers of meaningful change. They are a set of actors with greater

flexibility than public funders, and often with greater appetite and willingness to take risks over a longer-term horizon. In this, foundations have the potential to be drivers of genuine innovation, to take risks that government cannot, and to use their platforms to inform and shift dominant public narratives. Indeed, given their potential for impact they have a responsibility to take on these roles for real systemic change to occur.

Pearson’s book is necessary reading for anyone interested in working toward social change or how resources are deployed to do good. For me, as the CEO of a national charitable organization that attempts to serve as a platform for social good, engaging partners and community in how resources are deployed innovatively and responsibly, the stories in this book provoke inspiration and provide a variety of important lessons learned. Pearson states that “Doing well is uniquely challenging... it takes commitment, humility and a willingness to understand the nuances.” In this, her writing becomes a relevant and timely read for us all.

Teresa Marques is President & CEO of the Rideau Hall Foundation.



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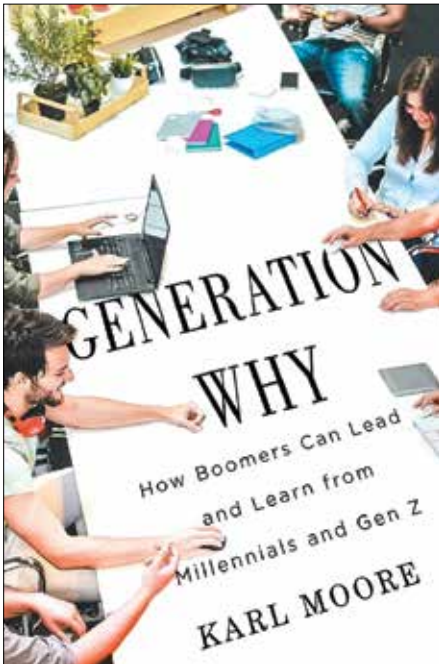
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‘Generation Why’: A Guide to Leading and Learning from Millennials and Gen Z

Generation Why: How Boomers Can Lead and Learn from Millennials and Gen Z

by Karl Moore

McGill Queen’s University Press, 2023

Reviewed by
Asheesh Advani

As Gen Z and younger millennials enter the workforce, older generations are scrambling to understand their younger colleagues’ ways of work. Whether you’re managing younger employees or working on teams that span several generations, Karl Moore’s *Generation Why* shares valuable lessons and leadership advice for unlocking potential. Moore is a prominent business school professor at McGill with a global mindset, having taught at Oxford University after a corporate career with IBM and other multinationals. He is also recognized in the Canadian public sphere for the

CEO Series, a radio show for which he has interviewed hundreds of chief executives, columns about leadership for Forbes and The Globe and Mail, and recognition as a credible leadership expert on the Thinkers50 Leadership list.

In *Generation Why*, Moore turns his attention to the leadership implications of working with younger workers. After conducting hundreds of interviews with Gen Z and younger millennials—as well as with their older managers and senior executives—in North America, Iceland, the UK and Japan, Moore is able to share two key insights into younger workers: 1) that their top priority is for their work to have meaning and impact, and 2) that they’re determined to bring their full, honest, authentic selves to work, smashing the work/life boundary that previous generations have erected.

We find this at Junior Achievement Worldwide (JA), too, as we guide and mentor millions of young people each year to be ready for the future of work. In Canada, we operate as JA Canada, serving over 200,000 young people annually, representing just part of a global footprint that delivers over 15 million student learning experiences each year in 115 countries. Karl Moore’s book resonated with me on multiple levels: as a father of twin Gen Z boys, as a leader and manager of teams comprised of millennials/Zers, and in my role as CEO of JA Worldwide. On teams that I’ve led, I have had to modify my own management style to work more effectively with younger generations and found myself taking notes as I read the book. During my travels with JA Worldwide, I meet with some of the most achievement-oriented and ambitious young people around the world, who are eager to make their mark. By and large, most of these young people believe passionately that companies can—and should—be a vehicle for good by employing ethical and sustainable practices addressing pressing global and local issues, and modeling inclusive and effective leadership.

Generation Why offers a plethora of ideas for working with Gen Z and younger millennials. Here’s a sampling:

Power listening: Gen Z wants to be heard, be involved, and be part of the solution. They want to learn from you, of course, but they’re not willing to hear only your anecdotes and advice; they also want their ideas to be heard. “As listeners,” Moore writes, “executives must not only listen but listen actively by being open, putting aside their own biases, and empathizing with others.” He goes on to describe a full range of active listening skills, from recognizing verbal and non-verbal cues and actively responding with appropriate cues to summarizing main points and not pre-empting potential answers. In *Generation Why*, Moore shares pointers for becoming a power listener, which is bound to impact all your relationships, not just the ones with younger workers.

Reverse mentoring: Young millennials and Gen Zers do not tend to be loyal to an organization, which makes their retention a challenge. One solution? Reverse mentoring, in which junior employees teach skills to senior ones. Topics might include how to find customers on TikTok, how to customize a new platform, how to increase sustainability practices in the workplace, or how a social trend might affect the organization. Gen Zers grew up in a digital, sustainable age and have plenty to teach older generations, in spite of their youth and relative inexperience. This idea helps younger employees see the long-term benefits of staying with one company while also building social-networking ties. Making time in my schedule to have a reverse mentoring experience is now on my to-do list.

Stop/Keep/Start Doing: Moore advocates for the use of this action-oriented framework, in which senior staff asks the following questions of Gen Z: What should I stop doing? What should I keep doing? What should I start doing? As a father of twin Gen Z boys, I can personally attest to the effectiveness of this approach to interacting with younger generations,

who cringe about creating annual resolutions or goals lists but are happy with the quick and clear forms of feedback that come from the stop/keep/start doing framework. We do it annually instead of New Year's Resolutions in our family. In a workplace setting, it is similarly helpful for younger workers to deliver and receive structured feedback that can have immediate impact.

Generation Why does overlook a few realities that I've seen through my work with JA students. The first is that the book, while intended for a global audience (and had its data drawn from international audiences), makes North-Americentric references throughout—for example, to the luxurious lifestyle of Baby Boomers and references of gun violence in schools, issues that may not relate to someone, say, in Eastern Europe, India, or Sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, it's late in the book before millennials/Zers are asked to make any accommodation in the workplace for their older colleagues. There is no doubt that every workplace will benefit from the cultural changes younger workers are ushering in. But Gen Z doesn't expect

older generations to fully accommodate their needs. As I interact with Gen Z staff and recent graduates alike, I find them both willing and excited to adjust their behaviors and mindset to match the workplace—as long as the workplace is ethical, sustainable, and respectful. The book could take a more balanced view on who accommodates whom on this intergenerational journey.

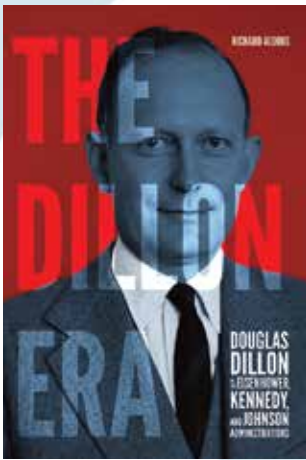
Throughout Moore's book, he refers to Gen Z and millennials connected as a single group: millennials/Zers or simply the younger generation. Toward the end of the book in the tenth chapter, Moore starts to unpack the differences between millennials and Gen Z. I found this to be one of the most interesting chapters, highlighting that Gen Z has not lived in a world without Facebook and Google, without school shootings, and other watershed events that differentiate their reality from that of Millennials. Higher levels of digital savviness; job security needs; and comfort with diversity, equity, and inclusion are dimensions in which Gen Z starts to look different from millennials. Waiting until the end of the book to draw

out these differences is a missed opportunity. I found myself wishing that some of the advice and lessons for managers and leaders throughout the book could have differentiated between Gen Z and Millennials rather than treating them as a single group. Bringing out the best from a 22-year-old colleague and 35-year-old colleague might require different approaches from a leader, and I found myself wanting to know the differences after reading this chapter.

All in all, *Generation Why* is an excellent book with concrete lessons for leaders and managers. Moore's conversational style and anecdotes from his experiences at McGill, Oxford, and IBM make the book enjoyable to read and summarize his research in an accessible way.

A Canadian living in Boston, Asheesh Advani is President and CEO of JA Worldwide, one of the largest NGOs in the world that prepares young people for employment and entrepreneurship. JA Worldwide was nominated for the 2023 Nobel Peace Prize and is listed as one of the ten most impactful NGOs in the world in annual rankings.





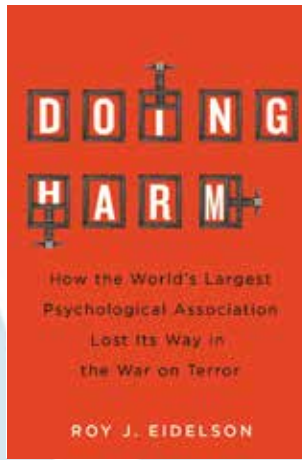
The Dillon Era

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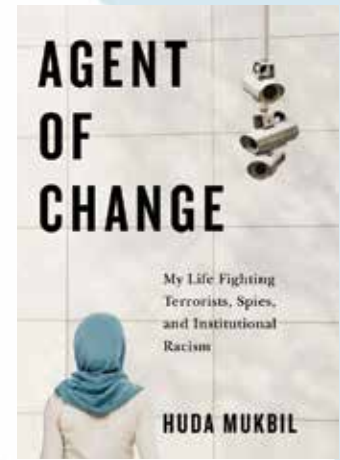
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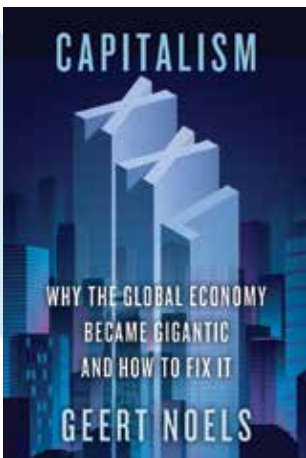
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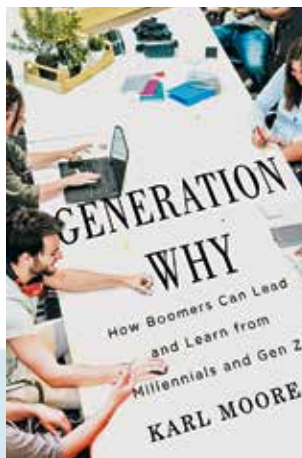
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