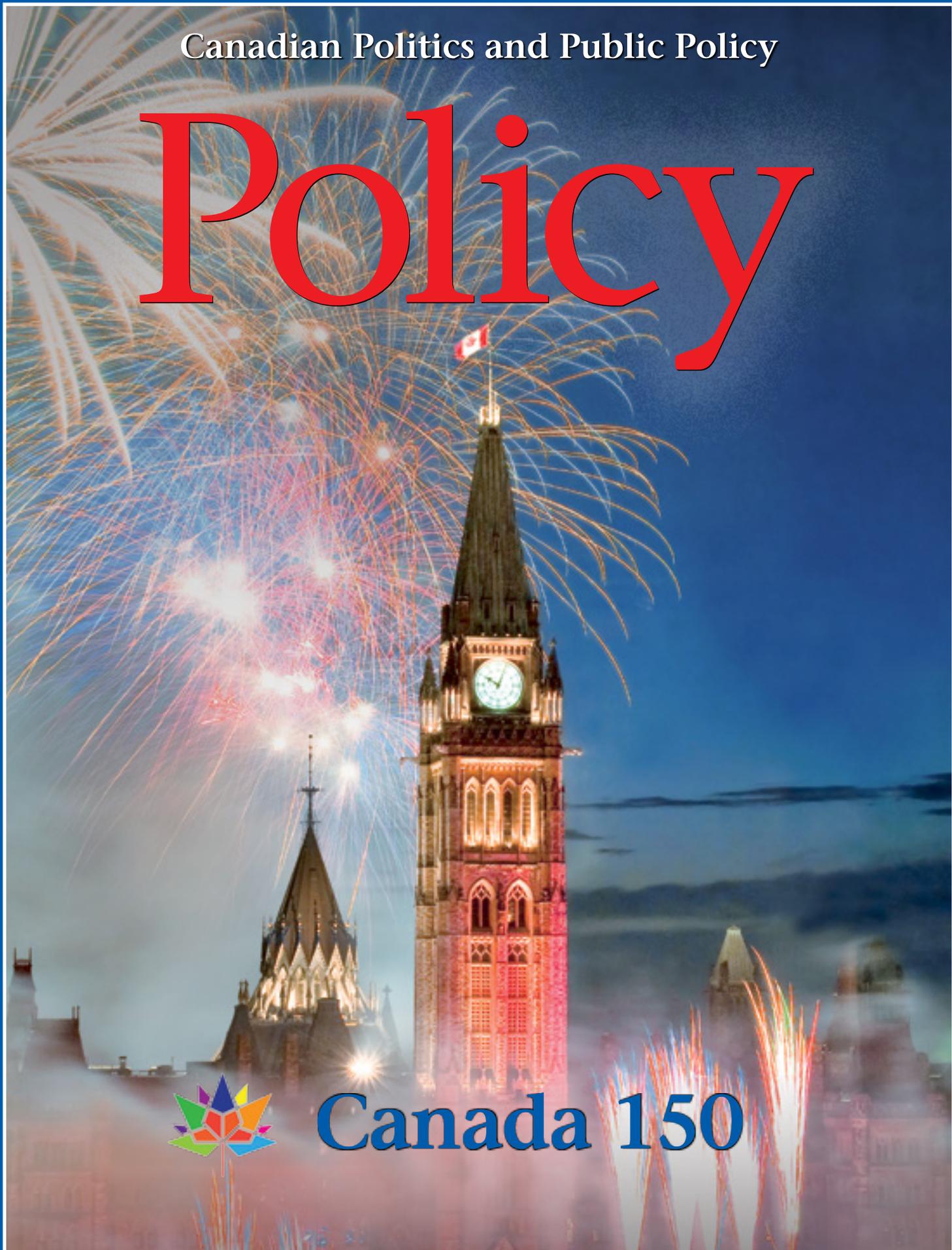


Canadian Politics and Public Policy

Policy



Canada 150



CN takes root across Canada

In honour of Confederation's 150th birthday, CN is planting trees in 50 communities that have played a seminal role in Canada's history.


www.cn.ca



We're here
to help.
200 years
and counting.

BMO 200
We're here to help.™

From railways and highways to athletes' villages, we've been helping Canada grow for 200 years. As a pioneer and thought leader in public-private partnerships, we bring a wide range of products and proven execution knowledge to infrastructure clients. Here's to the future.

Canada is more than the past 150 years.
Look beyond July 1st with **Historica Canada.**

- 87 Heritage Minutes
- 2,500 volunteer speakers
- 4,000 Indigenous Arts & Stories submissions
- 6,500 Here's My Canada video contest submissions
- 19,000 articles on The Canadian Encyclopedia
- 100,000 participants in Encounters with Canada
- 19 million Canadians reached by our programming



WHY DON'T YOU THINK OUTSIDE THE CAR?

When you choose VIA Rail for business travel, you unlock a lot of great benefits:

Maximizes your productivity

With Wi-Fi, power outlets, use of your cellphone and comfy seats—you might just like the train more than the office.

Reduces your carbon footprint

Making the smart choice today helps contribute to a greener tomorrow.

Better value for taxpayers

It's good for your bottom line and Canada's, too.

WHY DON'T YOU TAKE THE TRAIN?

Route	# of daily departures	Distance	Productive train time	Non-productive car time*	Cost of travelling by car**	Cost of travelling by train (as low as)	Taxpayer savings by choosing train travel***
Ottawa ↔ Toronto	Up to 18	450 km	4 h 23 min	4 h 34 min	\$467	\$44	\$423
Ottawa ↔ Montréal	Up to 12	198 km	1 h 55 min	2 h 27 min	\$227	\$33	\$194
Ottawa ↔ Québec City	Up to 8	482 km	5 h 23 min	4 h 39 min	\$488	\$44	\$444
Toronto ↔ Montréal	Up to 13	541 km	5 h 25 min	5 h 30 min	\$562	\$44	\$518

Government of Canada employees enjoy a 10% discount on personal travel booked directly with VIA Rail. Government of Canada employees can take advantage of specially negotiated rates for business travel available through the Shared Travel Services HRG Portal. The discount does not apply to Prestige class or Escape fares.

*30 minutes was added to the total travel time by car in order to account for traffic and bad weather en route.

**The total cost to the taxpayer of travelling by car is calculated based on the following formula: \$ cost of travelling by car (Treasury Board kilometric rate for Ontario of \$0.55/km for car travel by a government official X total distance travelled) + \$ employee-related cost (average hourly rate of \$48/h for a government employee, based on a salary of \$100,000 per year including employee benefits X travel time) = \$ total cost to taxpayer.

***The value of travelling by train is calculated based on the following formula: \$ cost of travelling by car - \$ cost of travelling by train = \$ taxpayer savings. Fares and conditions are subject to change without notice. TMTrademark owned by VIA Rail Canada Inc.

Policy

Canadian Politics and Public Policy

EDITOR

L. Ian MacDonald
lianmacdonald@policymagazine.ca

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Lisa Van Dusen
lvandusen@policymagazine.ca

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS

Thomas S. Axworthy,
Andrew Balfour, Yaroslav Baran,
Derek H. Burney, Catherine Cano,
Margaret Clarke, Celine Cooper,
Susan Delacourt, Daniel Gagnier,
Martin Goldfarb, Patrick Gossage,
Frank Graves, Brad Lavigne,
Kevin Lynch, Jeremy Kinsman,
Andrew MacDougall,
Carissima Mathen, Velma McColl,
David McLaughlin, David Mitchell,
Don Newman, Geoff Norquay,
Fen Osler Hampson, Robin V. Sears,
Gil Troy, Anthony Wilson-Smith

WEB DESIGN

Nicolas Landry
policy@nicolaslandry.ca

SOCIAL MEDIA EDITOR

Grace MacDonald
grace@policymagazine.ca

GRAPHIC DESIGN & PRODUCTION

Monica Thomas
monica@foothillsgraphics.ca

Policy

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

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.



*Special thanks to our sponsors
and advertisers.*

In This Issue

- 5 **From the Editor / L. Ian MacDonald**
Canada 150
- 6 **Frank Graves**
Canada 150: Our National Mood in Four Easy Charts
- 11 **Geoff Norquay**
From Macdonald to Mulroney: Transformative Conservative Leadership
- 14 **Thomas S. Axworthy**
The Liberal Party at 150: The Centre Still Holds
- 19 **Robin V. Sears**
Principle or Power? The NDP's Eternal Struggle
- 22 **Carissima Mathen**
From the BNA Act to the Charter: Defining Canada by its Constitution
- 24 **Adam Dodek**
The Supreme Court at Canada's 150th
- 26 **Velma McColl and Kathleen Monk**
100 Years of Suffrage: The Next Chapters
- 29 **Vianne Timmons and Stephen King**
Canada 150 and Indigenous Post-Secondary Education
- 33 **Graham Fraser**
Canada 150: Happy Fête/Bonne Birthday!
- 36 **Navdeep Bains**
Nation-Building Through Diversity and Inclusion
- 39 **Richard Dicerri**
A Birthday Card to Canada from its Public Service
- 43 **Helaina Gaspard and Sahir Khan**
Budgetary Balances and Election Outcomes: More Than Meets the Eye
- 45 **Anthony Wilson-Smith**
Canada at 150: Minute by Minute
- 48 **Michael Bourque**
The Next Spike
- 51 **Catherine Cano**
CPAC at 25: The Channel of Record
- 54 **Jeremy Kinsman**
Our Diplomatic Identity: A Canadian Balance of Reason and Passion
- 58 **Lisa Van Dusen**
Canada's New Middle East Peace Footprint
- 61 **Derek H. Burney and Fen Hampson**
Canada: A Trading Nation in the World of Trump
- 64 **Column / Don Newman**
Peace, Unity and the Canadian Way

SUMMER READING

- 65 **Review by L. Ian MacDonald**
My Peerless Story: It Starts with the Collar
By Alvin Cramer Segal
- 66 **Review by Jaime Watt**
Triple Crown: Winning Canada's Energy Future
By Jim Prentice with Jean-Sébastien Rioux
- 67 **Review by Anthony Wilson-Smith**
A Vision Greater than Themselves: The Making of the Bank of Montreal, 1817-2017
By Laurence B. Mussio
- 68 **Review by James Baxter**
Trudeau to Trudeau: Aislin 50 Years of Cartooning
By Terry Mosher

WHO'S DRIVING CANADA'S NEXT SPIKE FOR SAFETY?



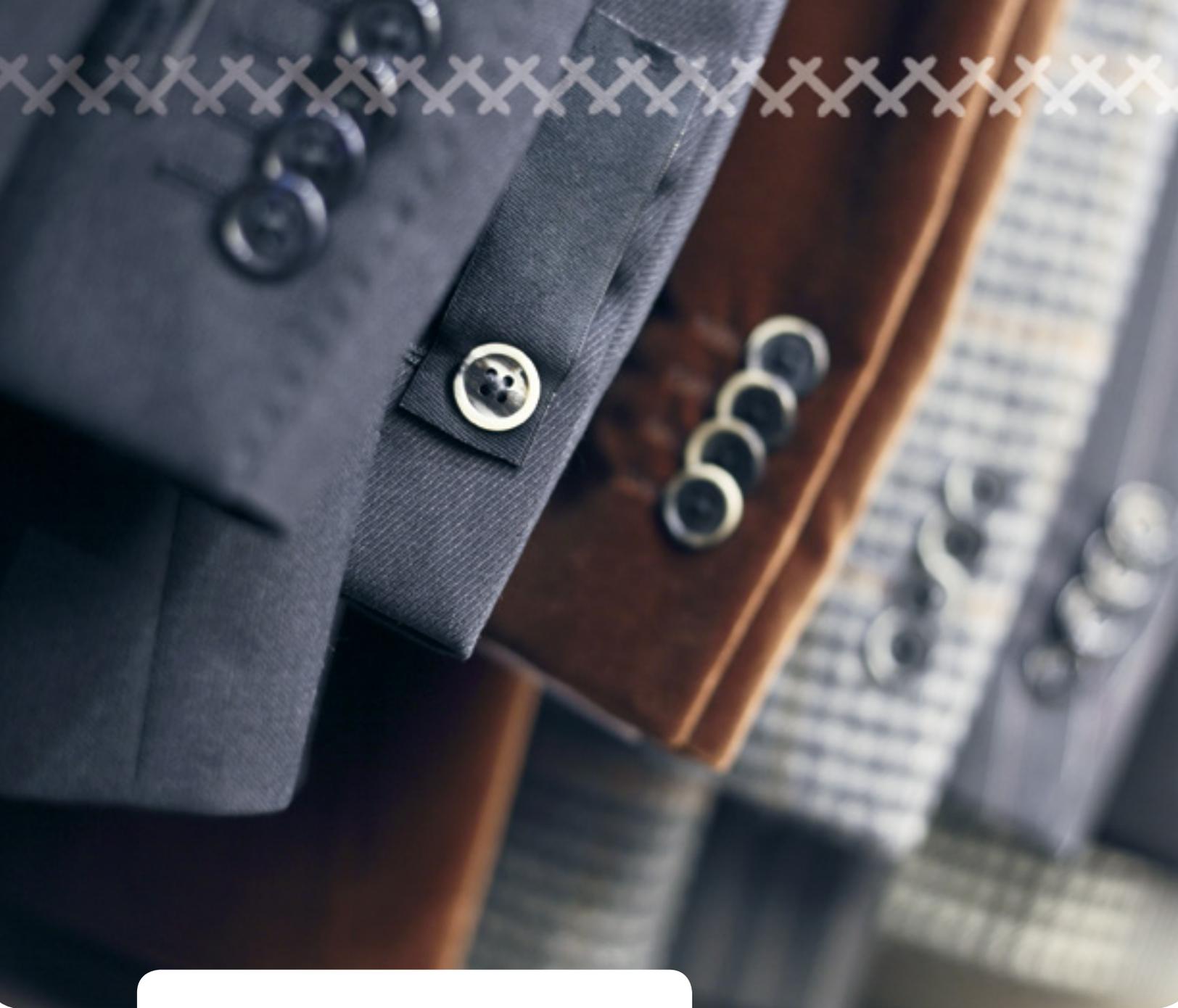
With robust investments in innovative technologies, Canada's railways are driving Canada's next spike for safety.



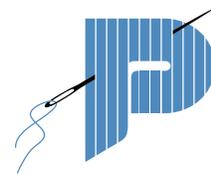
Railway Association
of Canada



nextspike.ca   



Peerless Clothing is the largest supplier of men's and boy's tailored clothing to most major department stores and speciality retailers in both the United States and Canada.



VÊTEMENTS
PEERLESS
CLOTHING

Proudly Canadian

The largest manufacturer of men's and boy's tailored clothing in the world.

www.peerless-clothing.com 1.800.336.9363



From the Editor / L. Ian MacDonald

Canada 150

Welcome to our special issue on Canada 150, celebrating our history, geography, linguistic and cultural diversity and the blessings of democracy in the second-largest country in the world.

Pollster Frank Graves of EKOS Research shares a new poll that compares the mood of Canada with the turn of the millenium as well as our 100th anniversary in 1967.

But we wouldn't be here without the vision of the founding fathers who created the original Canadian compromise—Confederation itself, with its pragmatic division of powers between Ottawa and the provinces. Successive generations of leaders built railways from Atlantic to Pacific, fostered a nation of immigrants, and led Canada through two world wars where it made great contributions, at great cost in lives, to secure the liberty of Europe.

Canada has seen three enduring political parties—the Conservatives, the Liberals and the CCF-NDP.

Geoff Norquay assesses the legacies of Conservative leaders, from John A. Macdonald to Robert Borden, from John Diefenbaker to Brian Mulroney. All were transformative leaders, Macdonald as the father of Confederation itself, Borden as the leader of a remarkable Canadian contribution in the First World War, Diefenbaker as the author of the Bill of Rights and proposer of a Northern Vision, Mulroney as the father of free trade, architect of the Acid Rain Accord, champion of Nelson Mandela and proponent of German reunification at the end of the Cold War.

Tom Axworthy writes of the dynastic Liberals as the enduring party of the centre, where elections are won in this country. "In the 150 years since

Confederation," he writes, "the Liberal Party has been in office for 89. In 24 of the 42 general elections since 1867, the Liberal Party has captured more votes than any other."

Robin Sears looks at the NDP as a party torn between the conscience of the left and progressive policies historically hijacked by the Liberals. This has created a permanent existential debate between those who are content to be advocates and those who would rather play to win, as the NDP has in several provinces. Principle or power? The NDP's eternal struggle.

University of Ottawa's Carissima Mathen looks at Canada's constitutional framework, from the division of powers in the British North America Act to the individual rights enshrined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982. Her U of O legal colleague Adam Dodek appraises the Supreme Court of Canada, from 1875 to the present.

Velma McColl and Kathleen Monk assess the political journey of women in Canada, from the suffragettes to the road to gender parity, still a work in progress. Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains writes from his own experience of multiculturalism and diversity in the Canadian mosaic. University of Regina's Vianne Timmons and Stephen King tell an important success story of Aboriginal peoples in post-secondary education.

Former Official Languages Commissioner Graham Fraser considers the dynamic of Canada as an officially bilingual country, regarded as a given today, but not always the case. Richard Dicerni, a former senior deputy minister in Ottawa, sends a birthday card to Canada from its public service, say-

ing it's been "quite a journey we have travelled together over the past 150 years." Helaina Gaspard and Sahir Kahn of the Institute for Fiscal Studies and Democracy offer a ranking of governments' fiscal frameworks since Confederation.

Jeremy Kinsman, our veteran foreign affairs hand, looks at Canada's diplomatic identity and finds a Canadian balance of reason and passion. As a case study of Canadian success in the Middle East, Associate Editor Lisa Van Dusen writes up the work of McGill University's International Community Action Network in bringing Israelis and Palestinians together. Derek Burney and Fen Hampson write of Canada as a trading nation, and the challenges of renegotiating NAFTA.

Historica Canada's Anthony Wilson-Smith looks at history by the minutes, *Heritage Minutes*. In the 100th year of the Railway Association of Canada, its president, Michael Bourque, offers a short history of Canadian railways, a story of nation-building. CPAC President Catherine Cano marks the 25th anniversary of the public affairs channel of record. And columnist Don Newman weighs in on the sesquicentennial.

Finally, we offer a summer reading list. James Baxter looks at Terry Moshier's latest Aislin collection of political cartoons, *Trudeau to Trudeau: Aislin 50 Years of Cartooning*. Jaime Watt reviews Jim Prentice's memoir, *Triple Crown*. Anthony Wilson-Smith has a positive take on Laurence B. Mussio's *A Vision Greater than Themselves: The Making of the Bank of Montreal, 1817-2017*. And I offer a review of Alvin Cramer Segal's memoir, *My Peerless Story*, about how he built a Canadian world champion in men's clothing.

Happy 150th, Canada! **P**

Canada 150: Our National Mood in Four Easy Charts

Frank Graves

The question, “what is our national mood?”, is more than an anecdotal curiosity. Mood, or perhaps the national zeitgeist, reveals the collective expression of some of the most important forces at play in our society.

Our approach will be to look at the evolution of the national mood as we believe that the time series is more revealing than just looking at current opinion. We will try to understand the current mood in contrast to where we were at two previous points in Canadian history; our centennial and the opening of the new millennium.

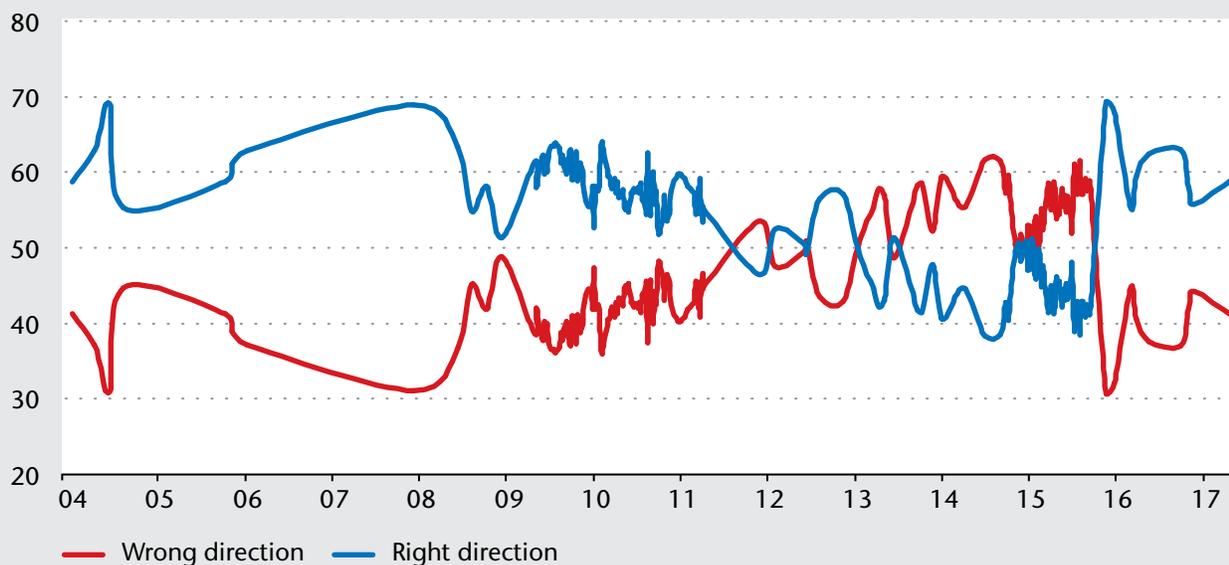
“In 1967, Canada was a much younger, much smaller, and much more ethnically homogenous society. Our median age of around 26 contrasted sharply with our much older median age of 42 today. Visible minorities accounted for two or three per cent of our population; they’re approaching 20 per cent today.”

Think back 50 years, for those of us old enough to recall, how Canada looked at our centennial. In 1967, Canada was a much younger, much smaller, and much more ethnically homogenous society. Our median age of around 26 contrasted sharply with our much older median age of 42 today. Visible minorities accounted for two or three per cent of our population; they’re approaching 20 per cent today. In addition to being older and much more diverse, we are vastly more educated than we were at our centennial.

Fast forward to the opening of this century and Canadians were remark-

Chart 1: Direction of country*

Q. All things considered, would you say the country is moving in the right direction or the wrong direction?



*Figures adjusted to exclude those who skipped the question. BASE: Canadians; June 1-8, 2017, n=1,741, MOE +/- 2.4%, 19 times out of 20

ably ebullient and confident. The world was our oyster; we were the new Phoenicians and we believed that the economy would be propelled forward on an infinite cloud of prosperity fuelled by information technology and globalization. The “end of history” had seen the triumph of liberal capitalism; the world was now flat and we would no longer have to deal with the misery of business cycles. So how do we look at 150?

First of all, while we now have more people feeling confident about the direction of the country than we did, say, 10 years ago, the numbers are still less positive than they were at the beginning of the century. The numbers on direction of the federal government have dropped even further in that time.

Of great significance is that while there are many Canadas, there are increasingly two salient Canadas which are mutually irreconcilable in their outlook. For example, those individuals supporting the conservative vision of Canada are *much* more negative about national direction and direction of the federal government. A revealing piece of evidence of these new solitudes is the difference between who Liberal and Conservative supporters wanted to win the recent French election. By a margin of 58 to 42, Conservative supporters preferred Le Pen, versus only three per cent of Liberal supporters.

One of the most important indicators of national mood would be how people rate their quality of life (com-

“The symbol systems that remain most resilient are those that have to do with the role of government and public institutions. Medicare, national parks, and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms remain the dominant sources of national identification.”

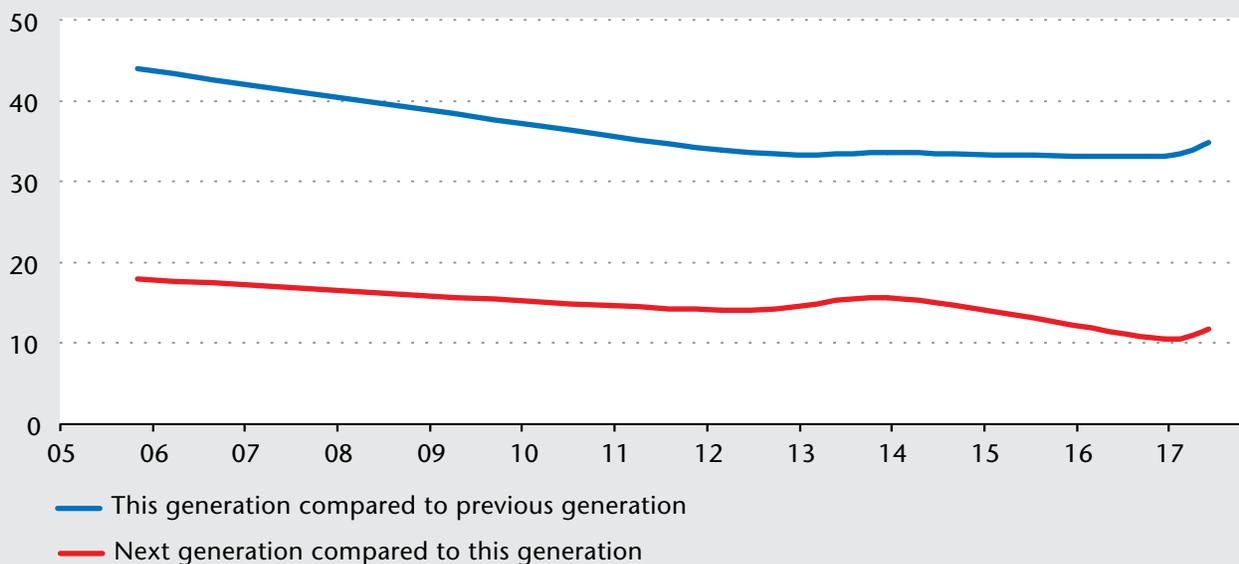
pared to the past and future). Chart 2 compares changes in answers to

Chart 2: Changes in Quality of Life

Q. *Thinking about your overall quality of life, would you say that you are better off, worse off, or about the same as the previous generation was 25 years ago?*

Thinking about your overall quality of life do you think the next generation will be better off, worse off, or about the same as you are 25 years from now?

per cent saying better off



BASE: Canadians; June 1-8, 2017, n=1,762, MOE +/- 2.3%, 19 times out of 20

the question of how we compare our quality of life to previous generations and how do we think quality of life will be for the next generation. As one can see, the incidence of people who feel that they are doing better than previous generations has been dropping steadily from close to 45 per cent to 35 per cent. Much more disturbingly, the incidence of people who think the next generation will be doing better has dropped from a meagre 20 per cent to an even scander 10 per cent. It used to be that the whole idea of shared progress and middle class prosperity was that the next generation would do better than the previous one. Clearly, that middle class dream is in disarray and this has had a corrosive impact on our national mood. It is difficult to find any economic attitudes that show anything other than a much

“ *The concept of a post-national Canada does not really seem evident in these data. Some note that because younger Canadians are less attached to country than other Canadians, this may augur for a diminished attachment to country and rising attachment to world.* ”

darker mood than we saw in the past and, whatever the grey outlook of the recent past, it turns to a nearly black outlook on the future.

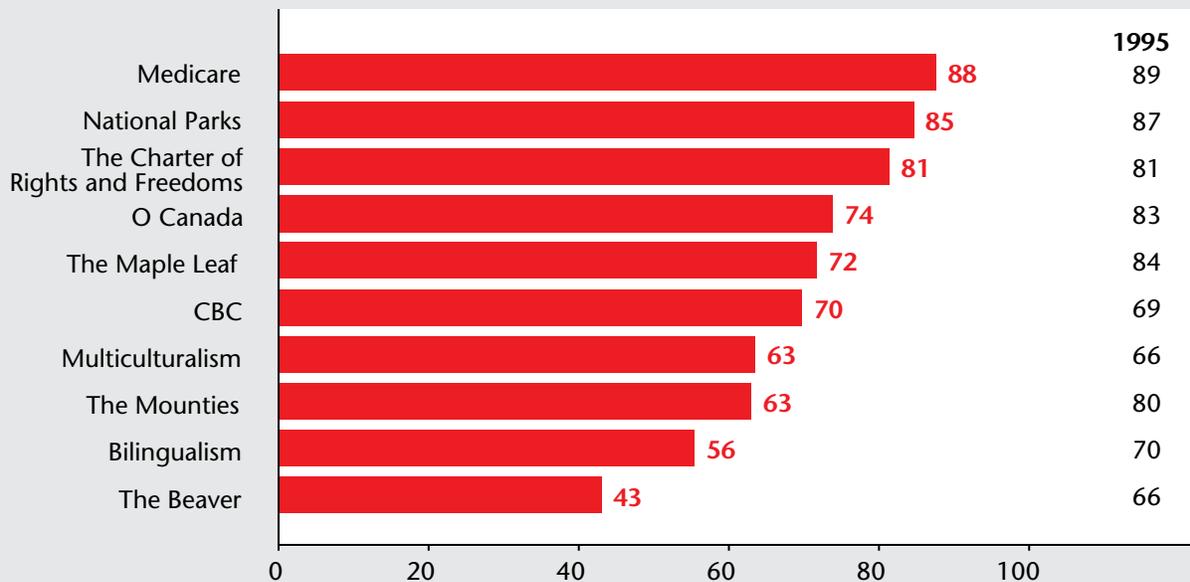
How about the realm of culture? We look at two critical indicators of shifts in our symbol systems and our sources of belonging.

Comparing the symbols that contribute most to Canadian identity from 1995 to today shows a country with a generally lower sense of symbolic identification than what we saw in 1995. It is also the case that the symbol systems that remain most resilient are those that have to do with the role of government and public institutions. Medicare, national parks, and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms remain the dominant sources of national identification. Notably, the previous Stephen Harper government attempted to shift the relative emphasis of different icons of national identity. He would not be amused to note that Medicare and the Charter, hardly central in his iconogra-

Chart 3: Shifting Symbol Systems

Q. *How strongly do you think each of the following events, objects and values detract or contribute to your sense of Canadian identity?*

per cent who say positive impact (5-7)



BASE: Canadians (online only); January 11-18, 2016 (n=2,312), MOE +/- 2.0%, 19 times out of 20

phy, are once again top-of-the-charts. On the other hand, some of our most cherished traditional icons like the anthem, the flag, the Mounties, bilingualism, and even the beaver, have all dropped precipitously as symbols of Canada. In fact, there appears to be less powerful symbolic glue holding the country together today than in the past.

The final chart tracks Canadians' sense of belonging to various entities such as Canada, province, city, and ethnic group. One of the striking findings in this chart is that overall, just as in the case of symbols, collectively, all sources of belonging are considerably lower than in 1995. Does this mean that our sense of moral community or sense of Canada is actually a little more muted, a little less clear than it was in 1995? That's difficult to say, as

it may also be the case that national identity is more mature and less dependent on 'props' to convey a sense of Canada.

What is clear, however, is that belonging to Canada has remained remarkably high. The concept of a post-national Canada does not really seem evident in these data. Some note that because younger Canadians are less attached to country than other Canadians, this may augur for a diminished attachment to country and rising attachment to world. On the other hand, we have the virtue of being able to compare to 1995 and we find that the difference between young people and older Canadians on attachment to countries precisely the same as it is today. What is really different, however, is the decline in attachment to province, to city, and most strikingly, ethnic group. Ethnic attachment has

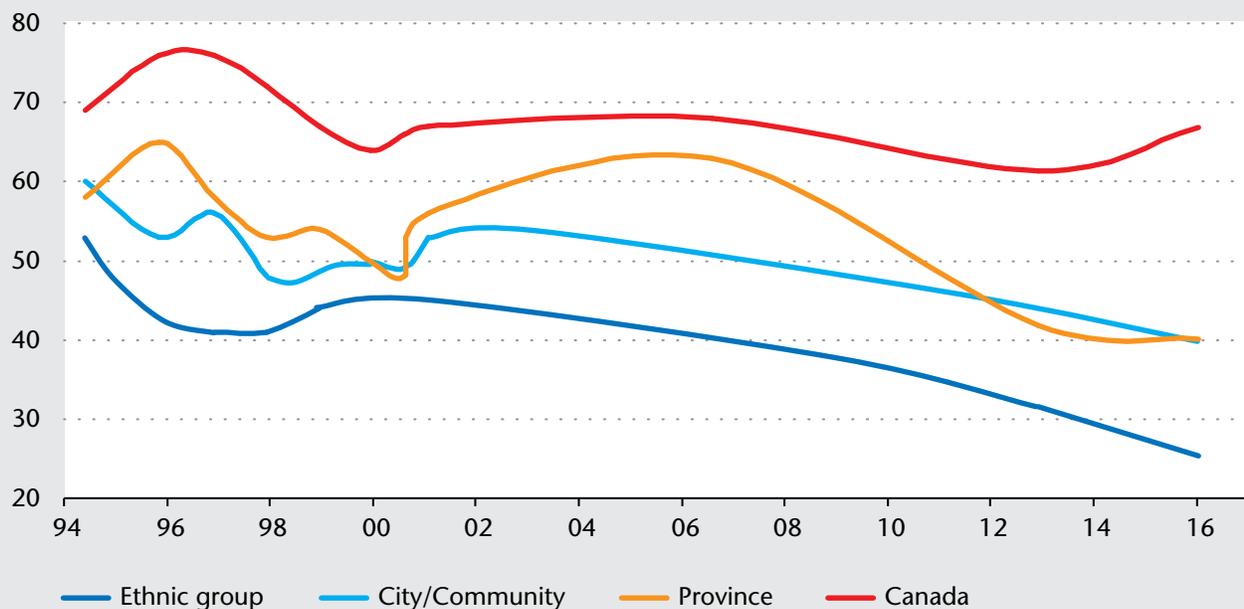
plummeted from 55 per cent to 25 per cent and this has occurred over a period where we had the greatest influx of immigration and absolute numbers in our history. So, contrary to the notion of multiculturalism as 'Selling Illusions', which suggested that immigration and multiculturalism would produce a diminution in national attachment and the rise of ethnic enclaves, we've seen exactly the opposite occurring.

All in all, the outlook on the country is relatively positive (and better than it was 10 years ago). What is bad is the unremittingly negative outlook on the economy. Canada 150 is much more anxious and fearful that it was at the beginning of the century; undoubtedly a legacy of the aging of the population and the impacts of 9/11 and subsequent events. It's notable that only three per cent of Canadians think that the world is less dangerous

Chart 4: Sense of Belonging

Q. *How strong is your own personal sense of belonging to...*

per cent saying strong (6-7)



BASE: Canadians (online only); January 11-18, 2016, n=2,312, MOE +/- 2.0%, 19 times out of 20

today than it was 10 years ago despite the fact that, objectively, that might be the right answer.

An age of relative economic stagnation and rising inequality has had a corrosive impact on economic confidence and perhaps produced further mutating of national mood. The division into those seeking a more open approach to the future and those seeking a more 'ordered' approach is now the defining fault line in our national mood.

In the United States, there has been work showing that Trump support is strongly connected to authoritarianism and the same connections have been revealed in the Brexit analysis (see Thoughts on the sociology of Brexit by Will Davies). A British analysis for the London School of Economics by Eric Kaufman, It's NOT the economy stupid: Brexit as a story of personal values prefers to talk about an "ordered" versus "open" orientation. There is little question that this more ordered or closed world

“ A clear majority of Canadians lean to openness (54 per cent) versus the not insignificant minority who favour order (33 per cent). These numbers, while rough, suggest that an authoritarian or ordered outlook is less common in Canada than the United States, where some studies have shown 44 per cent of white Americans displaying authoritarian tendencies. ”

view is actually a rising force in the advanced Western democracies.

Last year, we created our own 'or-

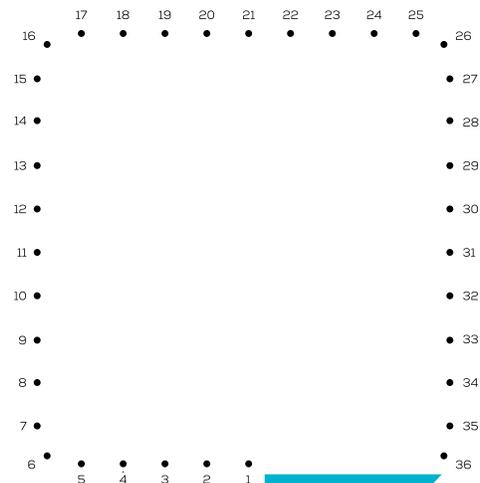
dered' versus 'open' scale based loosely on some of this other work. We found that, overall, a clear majority of Canadians lean to openness (54 per cent) versus the not insignificant minority who favour order (33 per cent). These numbers, while rough, suggest that an authoritarian or ordered outlook is less common in Canada than the United States, where some studies have shown 44 per cent of white Americans displaying authoritarian tendencies.

It is, however, encouraging to note that Canada seems to be less captured by the current wave of populism and so far, the forces of openness seem to be winning this struggle for the future. Perhaps Canada could join Germany and France as the new "Axis of Openness". **P**

Contributing writer Frank Graves is President of Ekos Research, a national public opinion polling company. fgraves@ekos.com

WE LET YOU CONNECT THE DOTS.

Canada's reference for complete coverage of our democracy.



cpac
FOR THE RECORD

From Macdonald to Mulroney: Transformative Conservative Leadership

Geoff Norquay

From the founding of Canada under Sir John A. Macdonald to free trade under Brian Mulroney, Conservatives have provided Canada with transformative leadership, including Sir Robert Borden in the First World War and John Diefenbaker on his Bill of Rights, forerunner of the Charter of Rights. Veteran Conservative strategist Geoff on Conservative nation-building over 150 years.

Like most political movements, Canadian Conservatives in the past 150 years have celebrated the heights of achievement, suffered the ignominy of defeat, seized opportunities and lost them, been divided, reunited and redefined several times, recovered to regain victory and persevered. As other parties, they have celebrated heroic leaders and spurned bad ones who left behind smouldering ruins of regret. Canadian Conservatives have created national institutions and innovative foreign and trade policies that have helped define our nation and have become part of the Canadian fabric.

The coalitions and compromises that founded Canada were all about Sir. John A. Macdonald. He was not heroic in the ways of many leaders who have founded nations—he faced challenges by working through them with practical strategies and tactics, and often with the help of others of different political stripes.

When political instability and deadlock paralyzed the legislature of the United Province of Canada in 1864, he reached out to an individual he disliked, the Toronto reformer George

Brown, to create a Grand Coalition to bridge the French and English-speaking elements of Canada, to seek political reform and pursue a confederation uniting the British colonies in North America. Between 1864 and 1866, conferences in Charlottetown, Québec City and London led to the creation of the Dominion of Canada on July 1, 1867. Shortly after assuming office, his purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company lands in the west added an astounding one-third of the North American continent to Canada.

Macdonald's second and third accomplishments are fused together and were very nearly the end of him as a political leader. Facing a serious threat from American manifest destiny, he needed to add the western territories and British Columbia to his fledgling nation and the only way to do that was to build a railroad across the continent. The construction of the CPR took many years and initially resulted in serious corruption, with both Macdonald's government and the prime minister himself taking significant bribes. Macdonald lost the government in 1874, but he returned in 1878 and then served as prime minister until his death in

1891, completing the initial building of Canada from sea to sea.

Conservatives' relationships with Québec have often been tenuous but they started from a solid base. Schooled in the necessities of double majorities in the old United Province, one of Macdonald's greatest accomplishments was the tying together of the British and French realities of Canada, without which Confederation would never have occurred. In many ways, he set the pattern for successful national political leadership in Canada, by bridging the "two solitudes" of the two founding nations that created the country.

“ Macdonald lost the government in 1874, but he returned in 1878 and then served as prime minister until his death in 1891, completing the initial building of Canada from sea to sea. ”

While Macdonald did allow the hanging of Louis Riel, which outraged many in Québec, a much larger defining moment for the party in that province came with the conscription crisis in World War I. In June 1917, the Minister of Militia told the House that fewer than five per cent of the 432,000 Canadians who had volunteered had come from Québec, which then comprised 28 per cent of Canada's population. Québécois saw the war as Eu-

rope's battle, while English Canada was at one with the British Empire.

With resentment growing in English Canada and armed with a huge majority for his Unionist government, Prime Minister Robert Borden brought in conscription through the Military Service Act, which took effect January 1st, 1918. To quell the resulting Easter weekend disturbances in Quebec City, Canadian soldiers fired on the rioters, killing five and wounding close to 150 people. Not surprisingly, the Conservatives would be virtually shut out of Québec until the Diefenbaker sweep of 1958.

As he campaigned towards the largest majority of any government in Canadian history in 1984, Brian Mulroney sought a mandate from Québécois for a new vision of federalism and for national reconciliation, in light of Québec having declined to sign on to the new constitution in 1982. In office, Mulroney led consultations that resulted in the Meech Lake Accord in 1987, which recognized Québec as a distinct society within Canada, strengthened powers of the provinces in areas of joint jurisdiction, limited the federal spending power and slightly changed the constitutional amending formula.

“ Borden successfully argued that Canada must have a separate seat at the Paris Peace Conference as an independent country, which enabled Canada to sign the Treaty of Versailles in its own right and to gain separate membership in the League of Nations. ”

When Meech Lake failed in 1990 after all provinces had not ratified it within the three-year time limit, Mulroney quickly returned to the fray, launching a series of national consultations



Sir John A. Macdonald, the first Conservative PM, and founding father of Canada. *Library and Archives Canada photo*

that led to the Charlottetown Accord in 1992. In addition to again recognizing the distinctiveness of Québec, the Accord addressed many of the oversights of Meech, awarding culture, forestry, mining and natural resources to the provinces, and formally institutionalizing the federal/provincial/territorial consultative process. It provided for a Triple-E Senate and recognized Aboriginal governments as a third order of government, entrenched existing treaty rights in the constitution and provided constitutional recognition of Métis rights.

Notwithstanding support for the accord from the three principal federal parties, all premiers and many aboriginal leaders, a variety of dissenters found cause to attack it in the subsequent referendum and it was defeated on October 26, 1992 by 55 per cent to 45 per cent. In 1993, Mulroney left office and the Progressive Conservatives were reduced to two seats in that year's federal election. It would take 10 years and successive Liberal majority governments to convince Stephen Harper and Peter MacKay to merge the Alliance and the Progressive Conservatives into the new Conservative Party of Canada in 2003.

Throughout Canada's history, Conservative prime ministers have contributed significantly to the foreign, defence and trade policy of Canada. When the country entered World War I, Borden insisted Canadian sol-



R.B. Bennett, who had the misfortune to govern during the Great Depression, but also created the CBC and the Bank of Canada. *Library and Archives Canada photo*

diers remain as a single group and under our command, instead of being split up and assigned to British divisions. At the end of the war, Borden successfully argued that Canada must have a separate seat at the Paris Peace Conference as an independent country, which enabled Canada to sign the Treaty of Versailles in its own right and to gain separate membership in the League of Nations.

By the early 1960s, the British Commonwealth was rapidly becoming a multi-racial organization as the former colonies of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean gained independence. At the 1961 Commonwealth Conference in London, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker led the Commonwealth in rejecting the readmittance of South Africa to the organization over apartheid. As the *London Observer* noted at the time, "Mr. Diefenbaker's role was of decisive importance. Not only did he provide a bridge between the old white dominions and the new non-white members, he also demonstrated the importance of someone giving a lead." Diefenbaker's stand began the campaign of international pressure on South Africa to abandon its racist approach to defining citizenship.

A young law student named Brian Mulroney was so impressed by Diefenbaker's leadership on South Africa that he went to Ottawa to help welcome him



John Diefenbaker, father of the 1960 Bill of Rights, opponent of apartheid, proposer of a Northern Vision for Canada's Arctic. *Wikipedia photo*



Brian Mulroney, father of free trade and negotiator of the Acid Rain Accord with the U.S. *Library and Archives Canada photo*

back to Canada following the Commonwealth Conference. As prime minister in the 1980s, that same Brian Mulroney would renew Diefenbaker's fight against apartheid, personally taking on both British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, and seeing it through to a successful conclusion as the champion of Nelson Mandela and implacable foe of what he termed "the scourge of apartheid."

Conservatives have been on both sides of free trade with the United States, 100 years apart and with the right response in both cases. Sir John A. Macdonald had always feared free trade with the U. S., believing that Canada's nascent industries needed protection through his National Policy. By the time Mulroney became prime minister in 1984, Canada was still exporting much of its natural resource production to the U.S. but was also growing as an industrial middle power. Having opposed free trade as a candidate for leader, in office, he concluded that the time was right to pursue a deal with the Americans. The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA), vehemently opposed by John Turner's Liberals, became the dominant issue of the 1988 election campaign, which Mulroney won. By any measure the FTA, which quickly morphed into the North American Free Trade Agreement, created bil-

ions of dollars in trade for Canada and resulted in millions of additional Canadian jobs. It is Mulroney's crowning achievement. In 2006, he was also named Canada's Greenest Prime Minister by the environmental movement for his championing of the 1991 Acid Rain Accord with the U.S. and the 1987 UN Montreal Protocol on the ozone layer. Both acid rain and ozone depletion, the leading environmental issues of the day, are no longer public policy concerns.

Under the government of Stephen Harper, Canada stepped back from multilateralism, at least as it involved the United Nations, and made Israel the centrepiece of its foreign policy in the Middle East. The Harper government inherited the Afghanistan assignment in Kandahar Province, where Canada ultimately lost 158 soldiers, a diplomat and several civilians over the course of the mission. Creating a more muscular and less nuanced foreign policy, Canada also spent some \$18 billion in Afghanistan before withdrawing its troops at the end of 2014. Harper also successfully negotiated the breakthrough Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) with Europe, and took a tough stand against Russia following its aggressive intervention in Ukraine.

All governments regardless of party make contributions to the building of national

institutions and programs, and Conservatives have been no exception. Borden extended suffrage to women and created the National Research Council. Despite a disastrous term as PM from 1930-1935, R. B. Bennett launched the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, which became the CBC. He also founded the Bank of Canada, created the Canadian Wheat Board and laid the groundwork for a national air transport system.

The government of John Diefenbaker appointed Saskatchewan Judge Emmett Hall as chair of the royal commission on health services, which led to the creation of Medicare. Diefenbaker also brought in the 1960 Canadian Bill of Rights, the forerunner of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms a generation later, and appointed the first woman to cabinet, Ellen Fairclough, and the first aboriginal senator, James Gladstone. Brian Mulroney laid the groundwork for the creation of La Francophonie, advocated for the reunification of Germany at the end of the Cold War, appointed the first western ambassador to Ukraine and created the third Canadian territorial government, Nunavut. His government also brought in the goods and services tax, which, while it angered voters, made eminent economic sense. Stephen Harper extended a much-lauded apology on behalf of Canadians to Aborigines for residential schools, and appointed the landmark Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

As Canada turns 150, Canada's Conservatives have a new leader, Andrew Scheer. He has youth, experience, a happy disposition and has come through the fire of an exhausting and competitive leadership campaign. Those of us who know him are confident that when his time comes, he will be ready to join the ranks of Conservative leaders who have defined once again Canada's future, and renewed its promise. **P**

Contributing writer Geoff Norquay, a principal of Earncliffe Strategy Group, was social policy adviser to Prime Minister Mulroney and later communication director to Stephen Harper as leader of the Conservative opposition. geoff@earncliffe.ca

The Liberal Party at 150: The Centre Still Holds

Thomas S. Axworthy

“I propose the adoption of the rainbow as our emblem. By the endless variety of its tints the rainbow will give an excellent idea of the diversity of races, religions, sentiments and interests of the different parts of the Confederation.”

— Sir Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière, in the debate in the Legislative Assembly of Canada on the proposed scheme of British North American Confederation, Quebec, 20 February 1865.

Even as Canada was being born, diversity was recognized as our pre-eminent distinguishing characteristic. Joly de Lotbinière, a member of Parti Rouge, and subsequently the first Liberal to become premier of Quebec, recognized, too, in his celebrated metaphor that rainbows were fragile—“an image without substance”—and that Confederation would be far from solid without constant attention to how our diverse varieties could congeal. Understanding this diversity, reflecting it, and working to help Canadians appreciate what they have in common rather than what divides them, has been both the vocation and the main achievement of the Liberal Party of Canada since its formation in 1867.

The mathematical exactness of election results and the numerical expression of surveys give party politics a seeming concreteness that its actual practice belies. Party politics is all churn: new voters enter the electorate, issues emerge, opinions alter and societies change. Successful party management requires alertness

to this vast kaleidoscope of change, a willingness to innovate to meet new demands or conditions, and creativity to achieve compromise, or at least acceptance, among the thousands of active supporters and the millions of potential party voters. Party politics is a constant juggling of a great many balls to keep as many as possible in the air. And no party has been as good a juggler for as long a time as the Liberal Party of Canada.

“ In the 150 years since Confederation, the Liberal Party has been in office for 89. In 25 of the 42 general elections since 1867, the Liberal Party has captured more votes than any other. ”

In the 150 years since Confederation, the Liberal Party has been in office for 89. In 25 of the 42 general elec-

tions since 1867, the Liberal Party has captured more votes than any other. In the 19th century, the Conservatives, led by the vision and wizardry of Sir John A. Macdonald, were the dominant party. In the 21st century, the Conservatives and Liberals have been essentially even: holding office the same amount of time, with the Liberals averaging only 32 per cent of the popular vote in the past decade and a half. In between, however, in the 20th century, the Liberals were so successful that they became known as “the natural governing party.” As the late political scientist Steven Clarkson quipped, “If the last century did not belong to Canada, Canada turns out to have belonged to the Liberal Party.”

After the First World War and the extension of the vote to women, Liberal governments were in office three-quarters of the time. Other parties, like Japan’s Liberal Democrats or Sweden’s Social Democrats, have had streaks of similar accomplishment, but none have come close to doing this decade after decade for over a hundred years. R. Kenneth Carty in his excellent study, *Big Tent Politics*, concludes “the Canadian Liberal party’s particular claim to fame lies in its extraordinary longevity.”

How have they done it?

John Meisel, the dean of Canadian political scientists, uses a compelling nautical analogy to explain elections. “The courses of electoral outcomes,” he writes, “can be likened to forces affecting the surfaces of oceans.” Fluctuations in sea levels are determined in

the long term by the shrinking of glaciers, in the medium term by the force of the tides, and in the short term by waves. Elections are similarly influenced: long term historical and societal conditions set the context; leaders respond to and shape these basic conditions to influence the tides of public opinion; and skillful party managers and active volunteer organizations ride the waves of the tidal swell.

Canada in 1867 had a population of 3.4 million, 5 million in 1900, and 36.5 million today. In 1867, 268,217 men of property voted; in 1900, a million men, about a quarter of the population, were entitled to vote; in 2015, 26.4 million Canadians were eligible to cast ballots.

“ *In 1867, Canada was an overwhelmingly rural, church-going society: today, Canada has become a secular urban nation with the most multicultural cities on earth.* ”

In recent times, fuelled by immigration, the electorate grows by an average of three quarters of a million votes from election to election. Not only does size increase but the distribution changes: Quebec, the bedrock of Liberal support, has seen its proportion of Canada's population fall from 30 per cent to 24 per cent, while the West, where Liberal support is weakest, has grown so that now 1 in 3 Canadians live in Western Canada, the highest share ever recorded. If current Liberal Prime Minister Justin Trudeau spends a lot of time in British Columbia and the cities of the Prairies, he does so with good reason.

In 1867, Canada was an overwhelmingly rural, church-going society: today, Canada has become a secular urban nation with the most multicultural cities on earth. The dimensions, characteristics and turbulence of our



Mackenzie King hosts Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill at the Quebec Conference in August 1943, which approved the Allies' plan to liberate Europe in 1944. King was Canada's longest serving prime minister—22 years in office, including the entirety of the Second World War and the emergence of the post-war world. *Library and Archives Canada photo*

electoral sea have been continually changing and thus, every generation or so, the Liberal Party has had to reinvent itself to continue to be relevant to the society of its time. But in those re-inventions, the party has always applied the same formula: stick to the centre and invite all to join.

The pedigree of the Liberal Party dates back to the early 19th century, when reformers

like Robert Baldwin and Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine fought for responsible government against the Tory-led Family Compact and Château Clique. But once responsible government was achieved in 1848, and with Baldwin and LaFontaine retiring in 1851, Canadian politics had to be recast. The man with the most skilled hands at the forge was John A. Macdonald and he fashioned a Conservative coalition that dominated Cana-



Four Liberal PMs: Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson with incoming ministers Jean Chrétien, John Turner and Pierre Trudeau at a swearing-in at Rideau Hall in April 1967. *Library and Archives Canada photo*

da for the next 40 years. Macdonald brought together the old Tories (his faction), the Bleus of Quebec led by Sir George-Étienne Cartier, who was close to the Church, some moderate followers of Baldwin, and Montreal business interests centred around the Grand Trunk railway. As Sir Allen Napier MacNab, a Tory colleague of Macdonald, famously declared “All my politics are Railroad.”

This did not leave much else, but what there was came together eventually to create the Liberal Party. The “Clear Grit” farmers of Canada West (modern day Ontario) demanded electoral reform; economy in government, meaning fewer subsidies for the Grand Trunk; and reciprocity or free trade with the United States. The post-Baldwin Canada West Reformers or Grits were led by George Brown, editor of the *Globe*. Christopher Moore in his book *1867: How the Fathers Made a Deal*, opens with the sentence, “In the 1860s, western alienation began at Yonge Street and George Brown was the Preston Manning of his day.”

“With the most balanced parliamentary caucus in Liberal history with all regions represented by strong ministers, by his eloquent defence of tolerance in a sectarian age, and with political skills second to none, Laurier created the Big Tent that has sheltered Liberals from his day to ours. He is the greatest Liberal of them all.”

The other remnants of pre-Confederation politics immune to John A’s wiles were Parti Rouge led by Sir Antoine-Aimé Dorion. Les Rouges were heirs of the



George Brown, editor of the *Globe*, and a Grit father of Confederation. *Library and archives Canada photo*

1848 European Revolution and were opposed to excessive clerical influence in politics. Initially, there was little in common between the Grits and Les Rouges, except their opposition to Macdonald. However, in 1856, Dorion began to advocate federalism as a solution to the issue of preserving French Canada’s distinctiveness within a wider union while allowing representation by population, the main Grit demand. Brown gradually warmed to the idea and in 1858, the two parties joined forces to defeat Macdonald in the House and formed a short-lived administration which promised a constitution “coming directly from the people, or by a Canadian Bill of Rights guaranteed by Imperial statute or by the adoption of a federal union with provincial rights guaranteed.”

That promise is the genesis of the Liberal Party: Against the bitter background of sectarian conflict, the differing interests of Catholic and Protestant, and the regions of Canada East and West, Brown and Dorion fashioned a compromise that allowed them to form a ministry. Conciliation and compromise, especially to pro-



Sir Wilfrid Laurier, “the greatest Liberal of them all”. *McCord Museum photo*

tect minority distinctiveness within a system of majority rule, is a template that Liberals have used ever since.

However successful Brown and Dorion were in creating a compromise within the reform movement, they could not match the superior political skills of Macdonald. In 1867, with Confederation achieved, Brown wrote to Dorion and reform allies in the Maritimes about joining forces to oppose Macdonald in the Dominion’s first election. In June 1867, a convention of Ontario Reformers supported Brown rather than continue in the “Great Coalition” that had created the new country. The Liberal Party formally begins at that moment. But the 1867 election confirmed Macdonald’s mastery. Macdonald won a clear majority of Ontario’s 82 seats, Brown was personally defeated, and Cartier swept Quebec. There was now a Liberal Party but it was in tatters. When the federal Parliament met in November 1867, the Liberal opposition consisted of only 36 Ontario Grits and 20 Rouges and Mari-



Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau with his son Justin, then 2, at the National War Memorial in 1974. Pierre Trudeau kept a bust of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his office, and as with Laurier, the unity and diversity of Canada was his signature issue. *Library and archives Canada, Duncan Cameron photo*

time members who had opposed Confederation itself. It is good for Liberal hubris to recall that the party began in defeat.

The Liberal breakthrough did not occur until 1887, when Wilfrid Laurier became leader. Brown and Dorion had negotiated an agreement that sought to guarantee Canada's diversity: Laurier embodied it. With one inspired leadership choice, the Liberal Party transformed its fortunes. In 1891, Laurier lost to Macdonald but increased Liberal seats in Quebec from 12 to 37. In 1896, Laurier swept Quebec with 53 per cent of the vote and 49 seats. From Laurier onwards, Quebec has been the anvil of Liberal success. Laurier inherited the Grit-Rouge alliance but he added to it key parts of the Macdonald coalition: he promoted railways and the opening of the West thereby bringing business support and he became as skilled at using patronage as the

old Master himself. In short, Laurier appropriated the Macdonald system and made it his own. With the most balanced parliamentary caucus in Liberal history with all regions represented by strong ministers, by his eloquent defence of tolerance in a sectarian age, and with political skills second to none, Laurier created the Big Tent that has sheltered Liberals from his day to ours. He is the greatest Liberal of them all.

Laurier excelled at the formula of finding common ground and his successors have followed in his footsteps. Mackenzie King was Canada's longest-serving prime minister—22 years in office. As Canada became an urban nation, King moved cautiously to promote social policy and Keynesian economics. Louis St. Laurent promoted a dynamic foreign and defence policy and, despite the legacy of the conscription

debate, carried public opinion in every part of the country. Lester B. Pearson—urged on by advisors like Walter Gordon, Allan MacEachen, and Tom Kent—moved much more boldly than King to introduce Medicare and the Canada Pension Plan. Jean Chrétien, with the help of Finance Minister Paul Martin, balanced the budget at a time when there were fears that debt was out of control, kept Canada out of the Iraq war, and brought in the Clarity Act to dampen separatist enthusiasm for never-ending referendums. Chrétien gave a classic example of the Liberal formula of common ground when he said in distributing any budget surplus that one-third would go to reducing taxes, one-third to retire debt, and one-third for social spending.

“ By highlighting in the Charter the values of liberty, equal treatment, and multiculturalism, Trudeau made the Charter into the Arc of the Covenant of modern liberalism. Through the Charter, Trudeau enshrined in the Constitution Laurier's formula of unity through diversity. ”

Pierre Trudeau venerated Laurier and kept a bust of him in his parliamentary office. Just as preoccupied with national unity as his great predecessor, Trudeau changed the unity dialogue from a debate about the division of powers to one about values and individual rights. By highlighting in the Charter the values of liberty, equal treatment, and multiculturalism, Trudeau made the Charter into the Arc of the Covenant of modern liberalism. Through the Charter, Trudeau enshrined in the Constitution Laurier's formula of unity through diversity.

On a miserable winter day in 1980, with snow falling and the wind biting, the Liberal campaign rolled into the old Grit bastion of the Bruce Peninsula. As they had for over 150 years, an enthusiastic crowd of 200 Grit partisans had turned out to welcome the Liberal leader and cheer up the campaign team. Later, adopting his best philosopher king mode as we worked on the next speech, Trudeau asked “why do they come?” Trudeau was not a party man. Unlike Jean Chrétien, he had not joined at an early age or worked his way up the party ladder. At that moment at least, he was genuinely puzzled about what it was that attracted volunteers to spend their time working so hard to elect the party of their choice.

It is a crucial question. Without an organization to attract candidates, raise money and promote public education, even the best strategy will fail. Riding the waves is as important as mastering the electoral tides. The Liberal and Conservative parties, both vestiges of pre-Confederation politics, are two of Canada’s longest established volunteer organizations. Belonging to a party once meant jobs for your family but those days are long gone. The patronage system of Macdonald and Laurier is now a thing of the past. Parties must now attract volunteers by giving them a role in the process such as choosing candidates, electing leaders and influencing policies. The Liberal Party has been blessed with skilled managers and professionals like Keith Davey, Jim Coutts and Martin Goldfarb, but these managers knew that it is the grassroots volunteer activists who bring vitality and credibility to the process. A big tent requires a large crew to raise it, repair it and keep it sturdy against the wind.

On the 150th anniversary of Confederation, the Liberal Party faces challenges on all three of the dimensions outlined above. On voter volatility, the 21st century has been the most competitive for the Liberals since the days of Macdonald. In 2011, the party lost



Justin Trudeau on the campaign trail in Calgary before one of the leaders’ debates in the 2015 election, in which he led the Liberals to a surprise majority. *Adam Scotti photo*

850,000 votes from its previous total, falling to third place for the first time in its history, with only 20 percent of Canadians identifying with the Party. The turnaround achieved by Justin Trudeau and his team in 2015 was remarkable: from third to first with 39 per cent of the vote and with a majority government. The Liberal Party won 6.9 million votes in 2015 compared to 2.7 million votes in the election before. But the 2011 collapse shows what can happen to a centrist party when it is squeezed from both the right and the left. So, the real test begins this fall.

Justin Trudeau has been practising the tried and true Liberal formula of seeking common ground. He has partnered with the current government of Alberta to fight climate change but also promoted pipelines to move Alberta’s oil, though only with the strictest environmental safeguards. But in the 21st century, the success of a Big Tent strategy is not a given. The Harper Conservatives showed that it was possible to win narrow-band campaigns appealing only to the base identified by deep

data techniques. The Trudeau team will be especially challenged by the need to achieve reconciliation with Canada’s indigenous peoples on resource development and much else—the Big Tent must be widened to allow native people lots of standing room. This will only happen if they are given real power and influence.

Maintaining a dynamic volunteer base is another imperative, yet harder in our age of social media. Every organization, from Canada’s mainline churches to the Boy Scouts, is grappling with this problem. But for the Liberal Party’s continued success this, too, must be addressed. At some time in the future, another beleaguered Liberal leader will be visiting the Bruce Peninsula and they, too, will need to be comforted and energized by volunteers who have been cheering the Grits on since 1867. **P**

Contributing writer Thomas S. Axworthy is Chair of Public Policy at Massey College at the University of Toronto and was principal secretary to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau from 1981-1984.
thomasaxworthy@gmail.com

Principle or Power?

The NDP's Eternal Struggle

Robin V. Sears

The NDP has been Canada's perpetual bridesmaid party, formulating socially progressive policy for the Liberals to repurpose for implementation in government. Veteran strategist Robin Sears, who spent decades advising NDP leaders on both policy and strategy, examines the party's eternal existential question of balancing principle and the quest for power.

When it comes to opining about New Democrats or the Liberal Party, the *Globe and Mail* can usually be relied on to be snarky to one or the other. Their lead editorial on May 31, 2017 managed to offend both.

"Kathleen Wynne is a Great NDP Premier" was their sneering response to the Liberal government's donning an orange political disguise, stealing NDP policies on labour rights, the minimum wage and housing. It did, however, neatly sum up the love/hate relationship between Canada's two centre-left political parties.

From the day Mackenzie King agreed to create Canada's first national pension plan—after years of campaigning by the CCF's legendary leader, J.S. Woodsworth—until today, the CCF and the NDP have acted, to their frequent chagrin, as the Liberals' best think tank from which to steal progressive ideas.

Wynne's Hail Mary conversion—as she struggles to regain a possibility of re-election—to the wisdom of a decent minimum wage, came after years of dismissing Andrea Horwath and her caucus' harangues that it was

an obscenity in a province as rich as Ontario to claim that a family could be supported on an annual wage of less than \$23,000 a year. But it is a policy theft in a long and honourable political tradition.

Indeed, it is hard to think of a significant piece of progressive legislation that the Liberals did not first attack and then snatch in the past century. After pensions came women's right to vote, then the first Labour Code, then Medicare, then OAS/GIS, then Petro-Canada, election finance reform and the list could run for literally pages. It has been frustrating for Canada's social democrats on two levels. First, obviously, is the use of their policy vision to elect another political party. Less self-interestedly, it is because the Liberals rarely do the implementation well.

It took from 1962 to 1980 and the passage of the Canada Health Act for successive Liberal governments to even partially implement Tommy Douglas's vision for a universal health care plan from coast to coast. Labour laws went through half a dozen revisions before they achieved anything like real protec-

tions for Canadian workers. And as Ontario New Democrats and pundits have observed about Wynne's attempt at a survival strategy, it's less than half a loaf as well.

The Ontario Liberals ducked on making it easier for workers in small businesses and the service economy to join a union, again. They failed to tackle the fiction of 'self-employment' being used increasingly by employers to escape obligations to an employee,

“It took from 1962 to 1980 and the passage of the Canada Health Act for successive Liberal governments to even partially implement Tommy Douglas's vision for a universal health care plan from coast to coast.”

Nor did they offer any meaningful protection for workers whose bosses can move, add to or cancel their shifts with less than a week's notice. But the reaction of many voters, especially working class voters, may well be that it is still something to have a more liveable minimum wage; it's better than anything the Tories might offer. And—here is the painful rub for New Democrats—because the Liberals are as seen more likely to be in power, it might actually happen.

This hits the most painful internal struggle faced by any party of principle of left or right: Is power and its necessary compromises more impor-



CCF Leader J.S. Woodsworth at the time of his election to Parliament from Winnipeg North Centre in 1921. *Library and Archives Canada photo*



David Lewis and Tommy Douglas at the founding convention of the NDP in 1961. *Library and Archives Canada photo*

tant than principle? Does being right always take precedence, even if the price is certain defeat? I am revealing my bias: If it's virtue and irrelevance you seek, take a vow of poverty in your favourite convent or monastery.

Politics is about power: not merely the ability to constrain or influence someone else's power, but achieving the ability to deliver on your vision. Being the "conscience of Canadian politics"—a phrase that to many Jack Layton-era New Democrats grinds like nails on a political blackboard—cannot be enough. It is too early to tell whether the power-over-principle choice made by B.C. Greens will allow them and the B.C. NDP to deliver a real political renewal in B.C. But they each surely made the right decision to try.

A strong, centrist Liberal party is an anomaly in western democracies. That the Canadian Liberals have been able to campaign from the left and govern from the centre-right for most of the past century is a unique achievement. Being excluded from governing alone is no anomaly for social democrats in those same countries, however.

Yes, for much of the post-war era in Northern Europe, social democrats shared power. More recently in Mediterranean Europe, social democracy has flourished following the collapse

of fascism, then communism. But receiving enough votes to govern alone? Rare.

The mighty German SPD have held the chancellorship alone for merely 13 of the past 68 years. Yet, even Otto von Bismarck's universal pension plan—the world's first—came as a result of pressure from the left. So, this fate of being trusted by voters to give birth to the best ideas but not being granted the sole responsibility for implementing them has a long and broad history.

For some on the left, that is enough. Knowing that you have blocked irredentist, reactionary, racist regression should be an object of pride. Knowing that you have generated the ideas and the momentum to drive progressive change even more so.

But politicians on the left would not be human if they did not bridle at the successive generations of bourgeois parties—as the French would call them—so successfully playing cuckoo bird, perennially stealing from the their 'idea nest.'

The future may be shaping up differently in Canada and internationally. The other major centrist political family—traditional conservatism or Christian Democracy—is being badly squeezed from the populist right. So-

cial democrats' greatest challenges no longer come from the centre but the hard left, and insurgent Green and "nativist" parties.

Donald Trump is no more a conservative than Hillary Clinton. But he is a nationalist, nativist, ethnic purist, right-wing populist. He defeated the Democratic party, yes, but he may destroy the conservative tradition in the GOP as well. Independent Emmanuel Macron crushed socialist and conservative parties alike in winning the Élysée Palace. These are strange times in western democracies. Centuries old verities are being challenged on all sides.

How quickly and how well the traditional Canadian political families adapt to these new challengers will determine not only who governs but what type of Canada we bequeath to new generations. If Andrew Scheer lives up to the Liberal attack line of being merely a "Stephen Harper with a more believable smile," the Conservative party will be out of power for as much of this century as it was in the last one.

If, however, he is able to play "Nixon in China" with his social conservatives—a more likely prospect, in my view—massaging them without being manipulated into bad choices by them, he could recreate the Mulroney

Conservative coalition. With Maxime Bernier as a strong Quebec lieutenant, and a strong provincial conservative party in every province from Ontario to Alberta, he could build a 21st century Conservative coalition, one based on effective and hands-on economic management, aggressive immigrant recruitment and integration, and free of either a parochial or a *Poujadiste tinge*.

The Liberals need to continue to struggle against their twin vices—arrogance and complacency—to remain successful. Their recidivism is, however, legendary. It will remain the main task of every leader to fight their slow slide into entitlement. But they can always be assured of a progressive left from which to snatch and re-package their policy agenda indefinitely.

For the NDP—or at least those who do not see their party as a secular monastery and want to win power—the challenge is perhaps the hardest of all. On the one hand, they must resist the eternal temptation to “movementitis.” A political party is not a movement, it’s a coalition of many clans, with shared values knitted carefully into a sustainable political quilt, one with sufficient and broad appeal to win.

“*The Liberals need to continue to struggle against their twin vices—arrogance and complacency—to remain successful. Their recidivism is, however, legendary.*”

On the other hand, the 21st century risks ripping asunder the class alliance among farmers, industrial, commercial and public sector workers. There is not an obvious solidarity between a BC Hydro engineer with an indexed pension, a commitment to building large power plants and a six-figure salary and the woman who serves him coffee each morning at Tim’s.



Jack Layton and Ed Broadbent at a 2008 campaign rally in Toronto. *Wikipedia photo*

The clash of values between what American social commentator Joan Williams dubs starkly “The White Working Class” and the start-up green tech millennial, even if today their standards of living are not that far apart, is deepening. Building bridges between the two has always been a challenge for social democrats. It is an even tougher challenge today.

Finally, New Democrats need to elect a new Jack Layton. Parties that are coalitions for power only can thrive without iconic leaders. Parties of both principle and power must be led by political masters. They must mediate tough internal divisions. They have to lean against the ‘movement’ builders without pushing them out of the tent, and they need to appeal to enough outside the tribe of true believers to build a winning coalition. Not easy.

J. S. Woodsworth built the bridge between farm and labour brilliantly, his successor not so much. Tommy Douglas did it as premier, at the national level less well. David Lewis did it during the party’s hardest years, the height of the Cold War, as what we would call the party’s national director, battling Liberal-allied Communists, and Trotskyites. He served

with greater frustration later as leader. Ed Broadbent was the party’s first modern leader, with the ideal pedigree for a successful social democratic leader—an irreverent intellectual with working-class roots. His successors each stumbled.

It was Jack Layton who demonstrated that a new future was possible, rebuilding a shattered party, then a “best in class” campaign team, then romping painfully close to victory out of Quebec. Then the cycle repeated itself with his successor stumbling badly.

So, if you believe that history does foretell, the party will choose its next iconic leader in October. That figure will fashion the 21st century version of the farmer-labour coalition. Their new coalition will win the trust and credibility to not only conceive, but to win the mandate to execute, a vision for a progressive new Canada.

Or, if not, maybe they’ll just help the Liberals finally implement the national daycare plan they stole from Jack Layton. **P**

Contributing writer Robin V. Sears, a principal of Earncliffe Strategy Group, is a former national director of the NDP in the Broadbent years. robin@earncliffe.ca

From the BNA Act to the Charter: Defining Canada by Its Constitution

Carissima Mathen

For a considerable span of Canada's 150 years, constitutional negotiations have been the country's second national sport. The Constitution has been a mechanism for peaceful national emancipation, a crucible of federal-provincial tensions over the division of powers in the BNA Act and in the past 35 years through the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, a global standard for the protection of individual rights.

It is true that Canada's sesquicentennial has aroused diverse emotions. The very moniker of the "150th birthday" has stirred controversy. Nonetheless, it is worth noting, and appreciating, just what an unlikely anniversary it is.

In 1867, the Dominion of Canada was formed out of a desire for economic and political stability. Little in its founding document, the British North America Act, portended true sovereignty. Monarch, imperial parliament, apex court—all remained firmly entrenched in a far-off land. The BNA Act's most important function was to allocate law-making powers between two orders of government—federal and provincial.

To be sure, the framework proved a hardy one. Over the next century, to the four original founding provinces it enabled the admission of six more. It permitted individual amendments to instantiate national programs like unemployment insurance. A distinctive form of legal review emerged too, neither British nor (yet) in thrall to American judicial supremacy.

The distinctiveness of the judicial sys-

tem lay partly in the fact that, until 1949, Canadian courts were subordinate to the U.K. Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The committee tended to protect provincial over federal powers. That provided some assurance to provinces, but it arguably thwarted the development of a national identity. The committee's frequent frustration of federal aims, such as gutting much of R. B. Bennett's New Deal, enraged critics and heightened calls to eliminate its continued role.

While much of the JCPC's work has lapsed into obscurity, some of its decisions have had profound consequences. The most famous is the 1929 Persons Case. There, the Committee considered whether the word "persons" in section 24 of the BNA Act precluded the appointment of female Senators. Deciding that the question turned on the meaning "persons" would have had in 1867, the Supreme Court of Canada concluded that it did. Overturning that decision, the JCPC declared the Act to have planted in Canada a "living tree" that, within its "natural limits",

requires a "large and liberal interpretation". "To those who ask why the word should include females," it proclaimed, "the obvious answer is why should it not."

The Persons Case entailed a particular vision of the Constitution: evolving, forward-looking and liberal. The implications were dramatic, especially for the constitution's primary interpreters. Today, in terms of sheer power and authority, Canadian courts have few rivals anywhere in the world. For critics, that enhanced status has come at the expense of democratic legitimacy. But most Canadians, it seems, view the idea of a judicial guardian as a source of confidence, not threat.

The Persons Case was an early example of strategic litigation. Its primary movers—Emily Murphy and the "Famous Five"—successfully leveraged various tools to convince the federal government to put the dispute to the court. Theirs was a powerful illustration of citizen engagement in constitutional debate. Today, such engagement is both commonplace and widely seen as legitimate. Its importance has been confirmed by the courts and, as the reinstated Court Challenges program demonstrates, even accepted by government.

The constitutional shake-up of 1982 brought forth a new framework, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, that forever changed the nature of constitutional inquiry. Until 1982, constitutional questions were rooted in federalism, which asks which order of government enjoys the power to do something. The key issue is one of jurisdiction—a law stands or falls

on that basis alone, no matter how draconian, racist or regressive it may otherwise be.

Now, the Constitution demands much more. The validity of a law depends, not just on whether it is jurisdictionally sound, but on what, precisely, it does and how, precisely, it affects the individual rights that the Constitution also protects. What is the impact of the law on, say, freedom of expression, or equality rights, or indigenous peoples? How does the government's choice comport with "a free and democratic society"? Such questions are deeply contested and inescapably controversial. But, for the most part, the resulting jurisprudence has been broadly faithful to the highest ideals of political liberalism and democracy.

That is not to say, of course, that the country faces no new or continuing challenges. Events in recent years have revealed numerous "pressure points". They will require ongoing engagement, and hard conversations.

The first challenge is the still-underdeveloped relationship between Canada and indigenous peoples. No doubt, the relationship has evolved in positive ways. Yet, challenging issues remain, such as the scope and nature of federal responsibility, and the prospects for nation-to-nation negotiation. In both jurisprudential and political terms, the constant theme has been one of reconciliation. What reconciliation means, and what it will require from all of us, will dominate national debate for many years to come.

The second challenge is the largely moribund nature of formal constitutional amendment. Following the failures of Meech Lake and Charlottetown, Canadian politicians have tended to treat constitutional negotiations as a political third rail. A recent suggestion by Quebec for renewed discussion was greeted with disbelief and almost immediately panned. But no constitution is static. Continued refusal to enter the field may avoid immediate political con-



Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau looks on as the Queen signs the Constitution Act with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in front of the Peace Tower, April 17, 1982. *Library and Archives Canada photo*

flict, but it cannot evade forever the underlying issues.

“ the Constitution will continue to confront difficult questions about rights limits and rights conflicts. Recent controversies involving freedom of religion and gender equality, or the non-discrimination rights of transgender persons versus the expression rights of others, have led to deep, at times painful, conflict. ”

Finally, the Constitution will continue to confront difficult questions about rights limits and rights conflicts. Recent controversies involving freedom of religion and gender equality, or the non-discrimination rights of transgender persons versus the expression rights of others, have led to deep, at times painful, conflict. Related to that

broader issue is the notwithstanding clause—a provision that is written into the Charter, and to some extent made it possible, but is often regarded with suspicion and hostility. After being a non-starter for years, the clause increasingly is invoked by politicians both in word (as seen in the Conservative Party leadership campaign) and in deed (most recently, by the premier of Saskatchewan). The contours of its legitimacy, and the limits to its use, remain to be seen.

For all the challenges that lie ahead, Canadians can and should take pride in this moment. If a constitution defines a country, then Canadians—more than the citizens of other developed nations—have demonstrated an unusual preoccupation with self-authorship. From the beginning, there has been haggling and fighting over what the Constitution means. The sesquicentennial provides an opportunity for Canadians to reflect on the nature of our constitutional journey thus far, and to chart a course for where we wish to go next. **P**

Contributing writer Carissima Mathen is a law professor at the University of Ottawa. carissima.mathen@uottawa.ca

The Supreme Court at Canada's 150th

Adam Dodek

In the drama of Canada's relatively brief history as a country, the Supreme Court has been a major player. From its early days in the former Senate reading room to ruling out of a former stable behind the West Block to its occupation, in 1946, of the majestic Ernest Cormier landmark Canadians associate with the court, the court has evolved along with the country.

The Supreme Court of Canada was an afterthought of confederation. And for most of its existence, the high court lived up to this billing.

While the British North America Act empowered the Parliament of Canada to create a “general court of appeal for Canada”, it was not necessary to do so right away because Canadians, as British subjects, could appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. Thus, the Supreme Court of Canada's creation was deferred until 1875 and it laboured in the shadow of its British judicial parent for the first 75 years of its existence.

Through most of the 20th century, the court was content also to remain in the shadow of Parliament and the executive.

Until the enactment of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, the Supreme Court functioned as a reliable defender of state power. Standing up for civil liberties was rare. In the World War I decision *Re Gray* (1918), the court sanctioned massive delegation of power from Parliament to the executive. That decision then

provided the legal foundation for the orders-in-council interning more than 20,000 Japanese-Canadians during the Second World War and for the orders authorizing the deportation of Japanese Canadians after the war was over. The treatment of Japanese Canadians remains a deep stain not only on Canada's conscience but on the Supreme Court's record as well.

Decisions such as the *Alberta Press Case* (1938) invalidating restrictions on freedom of the press stand out precisely because of their rarity. Far more representative are cases like *Quong Wing* (1914) which upheld a Saskatchewan law prohibiting Asians from employing female workers and *Christie v. York* (1939) validating a tavern owner's right to refuse to serve a black customer.

In 1949, the Supreme Court of Canada truly became supreme when appeals to the Judicial Committee were abolished. It would take a long time for the court to actually develop the independence that it had been given. It was hoped by many that the enactment of the Canadian Bill of Rights in 1960 by the Diefenbaker government might change the equation.

The Canadian Bill of Rights was enacted at a time of tremendous change within Canadian society: it was the 1960s, after all. But the judges of the Supreme Court did not seem to notice. The Supreme Court was unable or unwilling to embrace a new rights-protecting role. Only once did the court strike down a law as inconsistent with the Bill.

The year 1982 marked an important turning point for the Supreme Court with the enactment of the Charter of Rights. In the preceding years, the court had become more independent.

The court had waded in on national issues through the reference function in a way that it had not done before. It decided the *Anti-Inflation Act Reference* in 1977, the *Upper House Reference* in 1979 and the *Patriation Reference* in 1981. These cases clearly cemented the Supreme Court's role as an important arbiter in federal-provincial relations.

The court took centre political stage, ruling on—or rather ruling out—Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's proposed reforms to the Senate in 1979 as well as his plans for unilateral patriation of the Constitution in 1981. In the latter case—the *Patriation Reference*—a divided Supreme Court ruled that Trudeau's unilateral plan was legal but violated constitutional convention. As political scientist Peter Russell has characterized the decision, it was “bold statecraft” but “questionable jurisprudence”. The decision forced the parties back to the bargaining table, leading to the patriation deal with the Charter (and the constitutional recognition of aboriginal rights).

The Charter required a more policy-based style of decision making, a role that, to the surprise of many, the once-reticent judges of the Supreme Court embraced with zeal.

Led by Chief Justice Brian Dickson (1984-1990), the Supreme Court in its first Charter cases embraced “the living tree doctrine” that had been first enunciated by the Judicial Committee in the 1929 *Person’s Case*: the Constitution is “a living tree . . . capable of growth and expansion within its natural limits.” The court rejected the legitimacy of “drafters’ intent” or “originalism” as a guiding principle of constitutional interpretation at the same time as the doctrine was ascendant in the United States.

The court proceeded with the task of giving life to the pronouncements laid out in the Charter and in the aboriginal rights provision (section 35) of the Constitution Act, 1982. It massively expanded the rights of criminal defendants, struck down the abortion law and ushered in an equality revolution. Antonio Lamer became Chief Justice on July 1, 1990 and the blockbuster cases continued.

However, the 1990s will be remembered as a turbulent decade for the Supreme Court. For the first part of the decade, it was a confident court, very much on the offensive, actively engaged in criminal justice law reform and law reform under the Charter in other areas. With the rise of the Reform Party in the west and in Parliament, the Supreme Court increasingly came under attack for its alleged “judicial activism”.

There was a noticeable change in the court when Beverley McLachlin became Chief Justice in January 2000. The court became more measured, more pragmatic.

As the decade wore on, criticism of the court waned. The court seemed to pick its battles. It retreated from its previous jurisprudence in some of its most controversial and potentially far-reaching areas, such as judicial independence



The Supreme Court Building in Ottawa, architect Ernest Cormier’s masterpiece, home to Canada’s highest court since 1944. *Policy photo*

and the unwritten constitutional principles. On the whole, the court appeared more united—“consensus” became the watchword. In 2007, the court began to pivot from restraint to a greater willingness to revisit its earlier decisions.

It altered its approach to interjurisdictional immunity in *Canadian Western Bank* (2007) and held that the Charter could apply extra-territorially in some circumstances in *R. v. Hape* (2007). Most notably, in the *B.C. Health Services case* (2007), the court explicitly overruled previous precedent to find a right to bargain collectively in the Charter.

B.C. Health Services was a harbinger of things to come later with the blockbuster cases of *Bedford* (2013) (prostitution) and *Carter* (2015) (euthanasia). The Court had grown in its confidence in the second decade of the century.

In 2014, the Supreme Court “constitutionalized” itself in the reference regarding the appointment of Justice Marc Nadon to the high court. The court invalidated Prime Minister Harper’s appointment of Nadon as well as the Harper government’s at-

tempt to amend the Supreme Court Act. It held that both required a constitutional amendment. That decision was soon followed up by a rejection of the Harper government’s plans for Senate reform.

The prime minister himself reacted by publicly lashing out at the Chief Justice in May 2014 in what Harper biographer John Ibbitson described as “the nadir” of the Harper premiership. Public support was largely on the side of the chief justice and of the court. The incident showed the court’s independence and its ability to weather a direct and intense political attack.

As Canada marks its 150th birthday, the Supreme Court has established itself in a manner that could not have been envisioned in 1867. It is a strong, self-confident and vital part of confederation. **P**

Adam Dodek is a Full Professor at the University of Ottawa’s Faculty of Law and one of the founders of its Public Law Group. This article is excerpted from a chapter in Matthew P. Harrington, ed., The Court and the Constitution: A 150-Year Retrospective (Lexis Nexis, 2017), adam.dodek@uottawa.ca

100 Years of Suffrage: The Next Chapters

Velma McColl and Kathleen Monk

The story of Canada's first 150 years cannot be told without the voices of its women: Indigenous women who passed on their culture for centuries; European women who helped settle a forbidding landscape; African-American women who fled slavery on the Underground Railroad; immigrant women from around the world who demanded better lives for their children. And all of their daughters who fought for their rights and still refuse to take "soon" for an answer.

From the comfort of our lives today, it would be hard for us to imagine how revolutionary it was 100 years ago for a woman from southwestern Ontario to have mounted a hay wagon and demanded that a crowd of angry farmers listen to her vision of their political future. The courage she must have had to even contemplate such a step is breathtaking, for she would have known that her life would be forever changed by this single act of defiance.

Women in Ontario had only received the right to vote the year before, and it remained controversial and a threat to the status quo in 1917.

Yet Agnes Macphail was just 26 when she took the step that changed Canadian history. Less than two years later she was a member of the first farmers-led government in Ontario, and two years after that became the first—and for a long time the only—woman member of the Canadian Parliament.

It was an astonishing development for the thousands of toughened

battle veterans to return home in the winter of 1918-19 to find that women's roles in family, in business and finally in politics had been transformed in their absence. But it was a long, bitter struggle that had led to this early victory for greater equality in the Dominion, and one that took until 1940, when Quebec granted

“ It's important to remember that Agnes Macphail was preceded by lesser-known heroes like Emily Stowe, who had to work as a doctor on children's health illegally—despite having a medical degree—because women were not allowed to practise. ”

women the right to vote, to end even the first chapter.

It's important to remember that Agnes Macphail was preceded by lesser-known heroes like Emily Stowe, who had to work as a doctor on children's health illegally—despite having a medical degree—because women were not allowed to practise. And Adelaide Hoodless, who launched the Women's Institute and fought the dairy industry to insist on healthy pasteurization. And Marie-Lacoste Gérin-Lajoie who helped found the Fédération nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste and worked for decades on pensions, decent working conditions and votes for women in Quebec.

And the strength of western women shone through when, in 1929, the Famous Five, led by Nellie McClung, won the battle taken all the way to the Supreme Court to have women declared “persons.” How bizarre to have taken the opposite side on that issue, suggesting that women were “non-persons” or chattel, not able to participate fully in democracy and decisions in a country where today 50 per cent of the federal cabinet is comprised of women.

And the woman who now graces our \$10 bill, Viola Desmond—the first non-Queen to be granted the honour in our history—added the battle for racial and gender equality to our story. Desmond broke the colour bar in a Nova Scotia theatre and was prosecuted for having failed to pay the extra penny it cost to sit in the ‘whites only’ section.

The subsequent chapters of the struggle to establish first gender and then greater racial equality in Canada are better known. But on our

150th anniversary as a country, the temptation for only self-congratulation on how far we have come must be tempered by recognition of the journey still ahead.

It was only a 100 years ago that some women got the right to vote—interestingly, the first group were military wives of men fighting overseas—probably with the expectation that they would cast their husbands' votes. It was less than 90 years ago that we became persons. Divorce initiated by a woman was possible only by the 1970s. Freedom of choice did not come until the 1990s for many Canadian women.

“ We can admire the past and our sisters who made great strides but we are still far from anything approaching equality in corporate boardrooms, senior academic and bureaucratic roles, representation in the courts and—perhaps most frustratingly—in any municipal council chamber, legislature or our own Parliament. ”

We can admire the past and our sisters who made great strides but we are still far from anything approaching equality in corporate boardrooms, senior academic and bureaucratic roles, representation in the courts and—perhaps most frustratingly—in any municipal council chamber, legislature or our own Parliament. Women of colour and and/or different sexual orientations still suffer less blatant but no less restricting discrimination in too many areas of Canadian life. Indigenous girls are far too often in

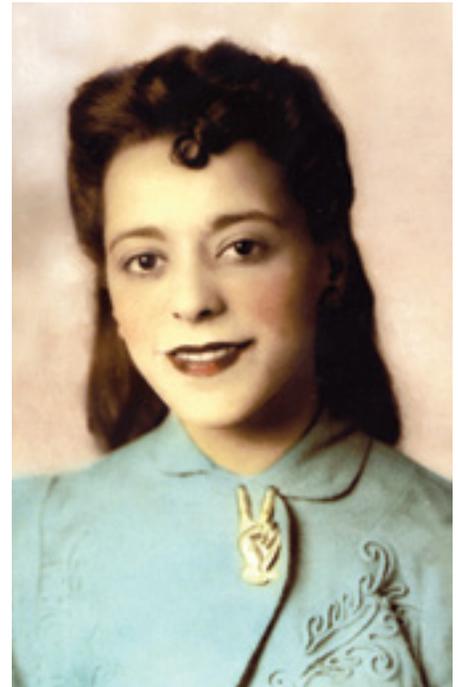


Agnes Macphail, a farmer and teacher, became the first woman MP in 1921. Photo: Library and Archives Canada

foster care—more than twice the rate of non-indigenous children and, in a national disgrace, are far more likely to be victims of abuse and violence.

Canada currently ranks 35th out of 144 countries on the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index, ranking lower than Mozambique, Bolivia and Belarus. Despite recent gains, women MPs in our Parliament still make up only 27 per cent of the House of Commons, meaning we are only halfway to halfway in terms of gender parity. Only 11 women in Canadian history have been premier of a province or territory—and only one other, briefly, our prime minister. And it's not that women aren't interested in politics, on the contrary, women voted more than men in the last federal election.

So, what are the next chapters of the march begun more than a century ago by the famous names we know today and thousands of our grandmothers and mothers who waged more personal campaigns in kitchens, schools, hospitals and on factory floors in steady progression? How can we continue to move the



Viola Desmond, who fought racial and gender bias in Nova Scotia, and whose image now graces our \$10 bill. Photo: Beaton Institute, Cape Breton University/ Wanda Robson Collection/2016-16

dial on issues of gender, racial and sexual equality?

The Daughters of the Vote initiative earlier this year—filling all 338 seats in the House of Commons with women between 18 and 24—showed some modern Nellie spirit by reversing for a few hours the male-dominated Parliament that has been the status quo since Confederation. In fact, more women sat in the House that day than have been MPs in Canada's entire history and their voices rang clear and true with stories from their communities and concerns about economic and sexual freedom, race, respecting cultural diversity and protecting the planet. It was an historic day that proved #addwomenchange politics.

A few years ago, 40 per cent of corporate boards in Canada still lacked a single woman despite a mountain of research showing the benefits of gender-diverse boards to decision-making and business performance. Finally, corporate leaders—men and women—are pushing to see a minimum of 25 per cent women grace those tables.



Nellie McClung, who led the fight of the Famous Five to the Supreme Court in the famous case to have women declared “persons”. Photo: Library and Archives Canada

Maybe that will happen in this decade, maybe not.

The Trudeau government has set a tone as an avowedly feminist government—everything from an expansion of sexual assault laws to finally (finally!) calling an inquiry into missing and murdered indigenous women and girls, to a foreign policy focused on economic empowerment and sexual and reproductive rights, to now building gender-based analysis into all government decision-making. Oh yes, and 50 per cent women in cabinet is changing the way that decisions are made in Centre Block and around Ottawa, along with the steely determination of only the second and now longest-serving woman as a chief of staff to a prime minister.

Despite these strides, pent-up frustration among many women has led to quotas and benchmarks being called

pinkwashing – and they have, appropriately, demanded more. This is true for women living in poverty or who are fighting for physical safety or who are still being paid less despite having the same or better qualifications than men. They are mothers and sisters and daughters trying to live healthy Canadian lives.

One thing we *can* do is move beyond the zero-sum mentality among men that has haunted so many advances over the decades: The belief that progress for women displaces men, that female economic empowerment is somehow a threat to the natural order of things. Global development policy has shifted to understand that investments in women entrepreneurs change the future fortunes of not only their own families but ultimately whole communities, that this is a

building block for a thriving country. All genders have a vested interest in outcomes like these, so why don’t we embrace these philosophies more fully here at home?

There is no surprise that women are different—as much from each other as from men. We do not speak with a single voice and certainly do not vote as a single block. We are not afraid to speak passionately—regardless of where we stand on the political spectrum; to solve problems collectively; to act from a place that considers our children’s future or, for our indigenous sisters, that considers the next seven generations. We know that this changes conversations in coffee shops, in offices and on political campaign buses, sometimes uncomfortably.

Being more than 50 per cent of Canada’s population, our voices will only get stronger. And if we thought previous generations of Violas, Agneses and Nellies were impatient, there is a generation of women and girls coming who see the world differently, without the prejudices, self-limiting constructs and biases of earlier times. They see – and will demand – respect for sexual diversity and reproductive rights, more family-friendly working lives for everyone, proud equal participation in a thriving economy and a future that addresses how we live sustainably on the planet.

There is *so* much more to do. Like our sisters before us, we will seek a better, more inclusive world for our families—however we define them. **P**

Contributing writer Velma McColl is Managing Principal at Earnscliffe where she is focused on brokering solutions for clients seeking innovative policy and political solutions in sustainability and economic growth. velma@earnscliffe.ca

*Kathleen Monk is a public affairs and campaign consultant at Earnscliffe where she is dedicated to advocacy campaigns and digital engagement. She appears regularly on CBC’s *Insiders* panel. kathleen@earnscliffe.ca*



Thirteen per cent of students at the University of Regina and its Federated Colleges self-identify as indigenous. *University of Regina Photography Department*

Canada 150 and Indigenous Post-Secondary Education

Vianne Timmons and Stephen King

Many in Canada's indigenous communities have chosen to boycott the country's 150th anniversary celebrations as a way of protesting our bilateral history and reminding Canadians that our national story is not free of racism, suffering and injustice. One way of beginning to redress that injustice to build a more inclusive, integrated national future is to close the gaps in post-secondary education for indigenous and non-indigenous Canadians.

As Canada celebrates 150 years since Confederation, a considerable amount of public discussion is taking place about the role and treatment of indigenous peoples in our country. Many people and communities identify the past 150 years as ones of colonization and suppression of Canada's indigenous peoples, and they are resisting the Canada 150 celebrations. A notable example of this is the #Resistance150 project, which a February 2017 CBC article described as a way "to highlight the many ways indigenous peoples have historically

resisted, and continue to resist, what many see as discriminatory and assimilationist policies of the Canadian government.”

For anyone who has read Jim Daschuk’s *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* or Charlie Angus’ *Children of the Broken Treaty: Canada’s Lost Promise and One Girl’s Dream*, it is difficult to argue with those who take a dim view of the sesquicentennial celebrations. This is the Canada in which we live, in Daschuk’s view:

While Canadians see themselves as world leaders in social welfare, health care, and economic development, most reserves in Canada are economic backwaters with little prospect of material advancement and more in common with the third world than the rest of Canada.

Daschuk does see a ray of hope, however: “Identification of the forces that have held indigenous communities back might provide insights into what is required to bridge the gap between First Nations communities and the rest of Canada today.”

A comprehensive identification of those historical and contemporary forces—as well as insight into how to overcome them—was provided by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada’s (TRC) 94 Calls to Action, released in June 2015 by Justice Murray Sinclair, now a member of the Senate. A number of these calls to action are related to post-secondary education, and later that month Universities Canada developed a set of New Principles on Indigenous Education supported by all of its nearly 100 member institutions. To their credit, many of those institutions had already been working to indigenize their campuses for many years, and that has left a positive legacy upon which to build. Today, indigenization is infusing university strategic plans, culturally appropriate student spaces are being built, and curricula are being re-envisioned to incorporate indigenous ways of knowing, for example.

“If Canada’s universities have been leaders in helping forge a new path toward reconciliation between indigenous and non-indigenous Canadians, few have done more over the past few decades than the University of Regina. Indigenization has been a guiding principle almost since the moment the institution became an autonomous university in 1974.”

If Canada’s universities have been leaders in helping forge a new path toward reconciliation between indigenous and non-indigenous Canadians, few have done more over the past few decades than the University of Regina. Indigenization has been a guiding principle almost since the moment the institution became an autonomous university in 1974.

By 1976, Lloyd Barber, at that time both the University of Regina’s second president and the Indian Claims Commissioner for Canada, helped realize a vision for indigenous post-secondary education in Saskatchewan. As historian James Pitsula notes in *Honouring Our Past, Embracing Our Future: Celebrating a Century of Excellence in Education at the University of Regina Campus*, President Barber “reached out to the Aboriginal community and was able to forge an agreement to create the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, which provided the first opportunity for Aboriginal peoples in the province to take ownership of their higher education.” The Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (now known as First Nations University of Canada, or FNUUniv) was a partnership between the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations (FSIN) and the University of Regina, and came into being as a Federated College of the university—academically integrated with the university but administratively independent.

Since beginning operations in 1976 with only nine students, FNUUniv has been a remarkable success story. In 2016, the year it celebrated its 40th an-

niversary, more than 900 students were registered through FNUUniv, and hundreds more indigenous and non-indigenous students were taking FNUUniv classes as part of their programs at other institutions. More than 3,000 alumni have graduated from FNUUniv with University of Regina degrees, and many have built successful careers in a variety of fields and become leaders in their communities. Cadmus Delorme, recently elected Chief of the Cowessess First Nation, is a shining example.

“Since beginning operations in 1976 with only nine students, FNUUniv has been a remarkable success story. In 2016, the year it celebrated its 40th anniversary, more than 900 students were registered through FNUUniv, and hundreds more indigenous and non-indigenous students were taking FNUUniv classes as part of their programs at other institutions.”

The vision that Barber and the FSIN leadership had four decades ago to indigenize post-secondary education at the University of Regina has not gone unchallenged, however. There is no post-secondary institution in Canada that has a greater number of interested stakeholders, and it



Each fall, the Glen Anaquod Memorial Tipi Raising brings together indigenous and non-indigenous students, faculty and staff at the University of Regina. *University of Regina Photography Department*

remains complicated for FNUniv to balance the interests and needs of such diverse groups as FSIN, the University of Regina, First Nations communities, and the federal and provincial governments.

The very existence of FNUniv has been in jeopardy several times, including during a governance crisis in 2010 when the provincial and federal governments withdrew their funding.

That funding was restored only when FNUniv agreed to temporarily relinquish its administrative autonomy. Still, FNUniv remains and is thriving as what former academic dean Georges Sioui described in a 2013 *University Affairs* article as “a very beautiful, great experiment.” The resilience of the institution and those who support its vision is incredible.

Decades of indigenization have had

a positive impact at the University of Regina, but a great deal of work remains to be done institutionally, provincially and nationally. A positive statistic is that number of students at the University of Regina and its Federated Colleges who self-identify as indigenous has grown by 84 per cent since 2009 alone, bringing the total to approximately 13 per cent of the University of Regina’s nearly 15,000 students. Given that indigenous people represented 15.6 per cent of Saskatchewan’s population in 2011 according to Statistics Canada’s National Household Survey, however, their provincial post-secondary participation is not adequately representative. Saskatchewan’s Provincial Auditor recently provided an alarming insight into why this is the case: only 42 per cent of indigenous students graduate from the province’s high schools within three years of turning 18, which is less than half of the non-indigenous graduation rate.

FNUniv and its four-decade affiliation with the University of Regina may not be the perfect model for the indigenization of post-secondary education in Canada, but it is one from which all of us have a great deal to learn. FNUniv’s longstanding academic mission—“to enhance the quality of life, and to preserve, protect and interpret the history, language, culture and artistic heritage of First Nations”—should be an inspiration to other institutions as they continue their work to indigenize their curricula, policy and operations in support of the TRC recommendations.

One hundred fifty years after confederation, that work to further indigenize our universities is clearly necessary. As of Statistics Canada’s 2011 National Household Survey, only 9.8 per cent of indigenous people in Canada aged 25-64 had a university degree compared to 26.5 per cent of non-indigenous people. This is an indicator of a deep-rooted and systemic problem that requires a multi-pronged approach.

Marie Smith, one of the commissioners of the TRC, has said that we can

properly indigenize our universities only if we re-imagine the entire academy. Such a re-imagining is a complex endeavour in which indigenous perspectives—particularly those of faculty, staff and students—must be taken into consideration in all policy and decision making, including hiring, student services and financial support, facility construction and renovation, and curriculum design. As is always the case, this is easier said—or mandated—than done.

Earlier this year, for example, the federal government expressed concern over the lack of diversity—including indigenous scholars—among those who make up the country's complement of Canada Research Chairs. Universities now have until December 15 to develop action plans that will enable them to put forward more diverse groups of candidates for CRC appointments in the future. This will not be a “quick fix,” as presently in Canada there are not enough indigenous PhD-trained academics to fill this growing need, and existing indigenous faculty are feeling significant demands on their time to help with their universities' indigenization efforts. So, in the coming years, there needs to be an increased focus on educating and hiring qualified indigenous faculty and staff who can bring the cultural, pedagogical and research expertise needed on campuses.

But hiring indigenous faculty and staff is only a small part of the picture. A university is nothing without its students, so working closely with First Nations communities to identify, encourage, and mentor prospective indigenous university students as early as possible is imperative. Helping these students fund their education is also crucial. Since annual funding increases were capped at two per cent in 1996, the number of students requesting support through Indigenous and Northern Affairs' Post-Secondary Student Support Program (PSSSP) has outgrown the amount of funding available. As a result, there is a growing indigenous

population, more eligible students than ever before, and fewer students receiving PSSSP support. Universities are creating more and more scholarships and bursaries designated for indigenous students, but this cannot fully fill the gap created by a shortage of federal government funding.

Other supports beyond the financial are also necessary for indigenous students. Specialized counselling services and access to elders are important supports, as are mentoring programs for students who in many cases are the first generation of their families to attend university. Building and naming culturally appropriate new facilities, and renovating and renaming existing ones with indigenous culture and history in mind, are other measures to be taken. Creating dedicated spaces for indigenous students to gather, learn and feel a sense of their identity is also crucial. The Douglas Cardinal-designed First Nations University of Canada building and the First Peoples House at the University of Victoria are two examples of such culturally appropriate spaces.

Universities have made tremendous strides in indigenizing their curriculum design, and that must continue. At an institutional level but led by students, the University of Winnipeg has been a leader in implementing a mandatory indigenous course requirement for all students. And across the country, inspired individual faculty members have had the foresight to incorporate indigenous ways of knowing into subject areas such as science.

Universities must also continually seek the advice of students, faculty and staff regarding the revision or retiring of policies that are outdated, obstructionist, and even discriminatory. The Indigenous Advisory Circle at the University of Regina, for example, has identified the need for and helped craft policies and procedures regarding practices such as smudging and engaging the services of elders—policies whose necessity

might not have been recognized only a few short years go.

Whether or not we choose to actively celebrate 150 years of Canada, it is important at the very least that we all recognize this milestone. We cannot change the past, but we can begin to reconcile ourselves with it by viewing Canada's often-abhorrent treatment of indigenous peoples over the past 150 years as a difficult but necessary learning experience. Inspired by visionaries like Dr. Barber and the leaders of FSIN, Canada's universities have played an important role in this reconciliation in recent decades, and through its calls to action the TRC has helped bring attention to and accelerate the process. It is now all of our responsibility to build upon their work, leave behind the destructive path we have followed for the past 150 years, and build a far better shared future for all Canadians. **P**

Vianne Timmons has served as President of the University of Regina since 2008. Prior to that, as Vice-President (Academic Development) at the University of Prince Edward Island, she led a multi-institutional study on factors affecting the retention of indigenous students at Atlantic Canadian universities.
vianne.timmons@uregina.ca

Stephen King has worked as Senior Researcher to the President at the University of Regina for close to a decade. He has degrees from the University of Regina and the University of Alberta.
stephen.king@uregina.ca



Sir John A. Macdonald (sitting, centre) and the Fathers of Confederation at the Charlottetown Conference in September 1864. The next month at Quebec, and later in London in 1866 and 1867, they negotiated the terms of Confederation, including the division of powers in sections 91 and 92 of the BNA Act, and Section 133, which recognized English and French as languages of Parliament and the Quebec legislature. *Library and Archives Canada photo*

Canada 150: Happy Fête/ Bonne Birthday!

Graham Fraser

In an era when Canada's famously fuzzy national identity is suddenly being sharply defined as much by events beyond our borders as by realities within them, the country's relationship to its two official languages seems to have matured and settled. As recently-retired Commissioner of Official Languages Graham Fraser reminds us, things weren't always this way.

Language rights have walked a long road in the last 150 years in Canada. During the Confederation Debates in 1865, which ratified the articles agreed upon at the Quebec Conference of 1864 and established the terms of Confederation, George Brown marvelled at the what he saw. "...(H)ere sit today the descendants of the victors and the

vanquished in the fight of 1759, with all the differences of language, religion, civil law and social habit, nearly as distinctly marked as they were a century ago," he said.

The beginning of the debates was not auspicious. When Premier Etienne-Pascal Taché finished reading the Quebec Resolutions in the legislature on February 3, 1865, he concluded

ed that as there were English members who did not understand French at all, while the French members all understood English, it would be best for him to speak English, and he did.

Consequently, this dynamic of Canadian bilingualism, which would continue for a century, was in place from the outset—Francophones had the right to use French in the House of Commons and the Senate, but not to be understood. That principle prevailed in the House until 1959, when simultaneous interpretation was introduced, and before the courts until 1989, when the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the *Beaulac* case.

Near the end of the debates, Antoine-Aimé Dorion raised the question of the guarantee that French could be used in Parliament and the Quebec

legislature, pointing to the danger that this might be eradicated by the English-speaking majority. John A. Macdonald replied that this risk had been identified, and that “the use of the French language should form one of the principles upon which the Confederation should be established, and that its use, as at present, should be guaranteed” by what would be the BNA Act.

Georges-Étienne Cartier immediately got to his feet to say that “it was also necessary to protect the English minorities in Lower Canada with respect to the use of their language, because in the Local Parliament of Lower Canada the majority will be composed of French-Canadians.”

So the idea that French and English should be a key principle of Confederation was established at the outset. But it was limited at best—Section 133 of the British North America Act applied to the federal Parliament, the Quebec Assembly and the federal courts. As Canada expanded west, language rights did not follow—and the century following Confederation was marked by a series of setbacks: the abolition of French-language education in Manitoba and Ontario, the eradication of existing language rights with the creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan, and systematic resistance to the more general application of language rights.

Slowly, almost by stealth, the federal government introduced a French-language regiment (le Royal 22^e) in 1914, bilingual stamps (1927), bilingual currency (1937), simultaneous interpretation in Parliament (1959), and bilingual family allowance cheques (1962). But it took the political turbulence and the surge of Quebec nationalism in the early 1960s for the federal government to confront the need for change.

Politics was the driving force; Prime Minister John Diefenbaker’s 1958 landslide produced a wave of 50 Tory MPs from Quebec, many of whom spoke no English and needed interpretation; bilingual family allowance

“ In December 1962, Lester Pearson, then leader of the Opposition, promised that, if he were elected prime minister, he would set up a royal commission and in 1963, shortly after the election, he did. ”

cheques was a longstanding demand, denounced as too little too late when Diefenbaker finally made the change.

The 1962 election saw the arrival of 26 mainly unilingual Cr ditistes from small-town Quebec who raised the language issue every day. They discovered a Parliament, a government and a city that operated entirely in English, and challenged every unilingual barrier they encountered.

The climax came with the appearance of Donald Gordon, president of Canadian National before the Railway Committee, where he was questioned by Cr ditiste MP Gilles Gr goire about the fact that of 17 vice-presidents, not one was a French-Canadian. Gordon’s reply—that French-Canadians did not have the right education for senior management at CN—and this from a man who left high school after Grade 10—resulted in demonstrations in every French-language university in Quebec, the largest one led by student leader Bernard Landry.

In December 1962, Lester Pearson, then leader of the Opposition, promised that, if he were elected prime minister, he would set up a royal commission and in 1963, shortly after the election, he did. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism began an eight-year odyssey of diagnosis and prescription co-chaired by Davie Dunton and Andr  Laurendeau.

Shocked by the anger they discovered in Quebec and the ignorance and indifference in the rest of the country, the commissioners issued a preliminary report in 1965, declaring that, without being aware of it, Canada was passing through the greatest crisis in its history. This was

viewed as self-evident in the French media and wild-eyed exaggeration in the English media.

But two years later, in 1967, following a series of FLQ bombings, Charles de Gaulle’s ‘Vive le Qu bec libre’ speech and Ren  L vesque’s departure from the Quebec Liberal Party, English-speaking commentators realized the B&B commissioners were more astute than they had realized. The first volume was greeted with wary respect. As Doug Fisher and Harry Crowe put it in their column in the *Toronto Telegram*: “The Commission was right. The rest of us were wrong.”

The commission recommended that Parliament pass an Official Languages Act that would formally declare the recognition of English and French as Canada’s official languages, their equal status in federal institutions, a guarantee of service to Canadians in either official language, the provision of education in French and in English in every province, the creation of bilingual districts, and the establishment of a Commissioner of Official Languages as a language ombudsman and linguistic conscience, reporting to Parliament on whether the law was being respected.

The legislation was passed and the Official Languages Act became law under Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1969. Keith Spicer started work as the first Commissioner of Official Languages in 1970. This began almost five decades of an ongoing dialogue between Parliament, provincial legislatures, the courts and Canadians on language rights.

In 1976, the Parti Qu b cois was elected, and in 1977, the Quebec National Assembly voted on the Charte de la langue fran aise—known in



André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton, co-chairs of the landmark Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, appointed by Prime Minister Pearson in 1963. *Library and Archives Canada photo*

English as Bill 101—which declared French to be the official language of Quebec, and the only language of the Assembly and the courts. This challenge to Section 133 of the BNA Act was struck down by the Supreme Court a few years later, as was the prohibition of English on commercial signs. However, the Court recognized the validity of the purpose of the legislation, and permitted the requirement that French always be predominant.

In 1982, following years of constitutional debate and the failed 1980 referendum on sovereign-association in Quebec, the Constitution was brought to Canada by Pierre Trudeau from Britain over Quebec's objections, and amended with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The Charter constitutionalized the provisions of the Official Languages Act, giving it a certainty that other laws do not have. This also set the stage for a series of crucial Supreme Court decisions, clarifying what the language rights laid out in the Charter actually mean.

And they mean quite a lot. The right

to education in a minority language means that provincial governments are required to provide schools within a reasonable distance of where parents live (Arsenault-Cameron, 2000) and those schools must be run by minority community school boards (Mahé, 1990). A person accused of a crime, regardless of the seriousness of the crime, has a right to be tried in his or her Official language of choice. (Beaulac, 1999).

Just as the Official Languages Act laid the groundwork for the language rights enshrined in the Charter, the Charter required a rewriting of the Official Languages Act. And in 1988, under Prime Minister Brian Mulroney the Act was completely revised, spelling out the rights of federal public servants to work in their official language of choice in designated bilingual regions (one of the few places that the Royal Commission's recommendation for bilingual districts survived) and strengthening the ability of the Commissioner to intervene before the courts.

In 2005, the Act was amended again, giving all federal institutions a binding obligation to take

positive measures for the growth and development of minority language communities. Perhaps the most impressive change over the last 50—indeed 150—years has been the change in attitude towards Canada's language policy. What was once seen as a grudging concession to Quebec is now overwhelmingly supported by Canadians as an integral part of Canada's identity. Bilingualism is understood as a critical skill for political leadership. In addition, coming to terms with the fact that there is a French-speaking society that is a central part of Canada has made it easier for English-speaking Canadians to welcome others.

“ *What was once seen as a grudging concession to Quebec is now overwhelmingly supported by Canadians as an integral part of Canada's identity. Bilingualism is understood as a critical skill for political leadership.* **”**

In that way, the growth and acceptance of Canada's language duality has been a key element in a country that appreciates and encourages cultural diversity. Rather than being contradictory policies, duality and diversity are linked. Both are keys to Canada's future. **P**

*Graham Fraser served as Canada's sixth Commissioner of Official Languages from 2006-2016. A former parliamentary correspondent, he is the author of five books, including *Sorry, I Don't Speak French* (2006), which reviewed the history of official languages and *Playing for Keeps: The Making of the Prime Minister, 1988, the story of the free trade election.* graham.fraser@sympatico.ca*



Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau at a Kitchener innovation event in 2016. Trudeau pointed out that he had more Sikhs in his cabinet (four), than in the cabinet of India (two). *Adam Scotti photo*

Nation-Building Through Diversity and Inclusion

Navdeep Bains

On April 17, 1985, Section 15 of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms came into effect, ensuring that in this country, individuals cannot be discriminated against on the basis of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability. Those words are an expression of Canadian values, not just for the huge number of individuals directly protected by them but for an entire nation. Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains is among the millions of Canadians for whom those values are deeply personal.

I am a Canadian Sikh born and raised in Toronto. My mother worked the night shift at a cookie factory, but she was always home every morning to tie my turban. I have had many good turban days because of her.

I am also a child of the Charter. I belong to the generation of Canadians who came of age under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms—a foundational accomplishment in our nation-building. Our country's diversity and the values of openness and inclusion made the Char-

ter possible. In return, the Charter reinforces those values, which make our country even stronger.

I was a teenager when the Charter first became real to me. It was 1989 and Baltej Singh Dhillon became the first Sikh Canadian to be accepted into the RCMP—on the condition that he choose between his duty and religion. Duty to the RCMP required a clean-shaven face and wearing the standard headgear. But as a Sikh, Dhillon had a beard and wore a turban.

When Dhillon chose to defend his religious rights, it was the first time I saw someone who looked like me speak so publicly about my faith. I was moved by his courage and conviction.

Dhillon's appeals to the RCMP Commissioner triggered months of heated debate and protest across the country. In March 1990, the Commissioner, citing the Charter, finally agreed to allow beards and turbans to be part of the force's dress code. And Baltej Singh Dhillon forever changed the face of the iconic Canadian Mountie.

As a young Canadian following Dhillon's story, I was filled with pride that the Charter had prevailed. But it also opened my eyes to the challenges of living in a pluralistic society. I learned that acceptance of difference is a constant conversation, an ongoing negotiation. Inclusion needs to be nurtured and openness defended.

This year marks our nation's 150th birthday and the 35th anniversary of the Charter—milestones that serve as reminders that we stand on the shoulders of those who came before us. Everyday heroes such as Baltej Singh Dhillon paved the way for the freedoms that we sometimes take for granted. That includes the freedom to practise religion without having to choose between faith and career.

Years after his victory, Dhillon said: "We still have a lot of work to do in

“ I belong to the generation of Canadians who came of age under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms—a foundational accomplishment in our nation-building. Our country's diversity and the values of openness and inclusion made the Charter possible. In return, the Charter reinforces those values, which make our country even stronger. ”

the building of this country. Being of strong character, having confidence in your abilities and anchoring them in the legacy of your lineage are prerequisites for those who want to contribute.”

I am in public life today in part because I was inspired by Dhillon. I want to do my part to defend Charter rights and promote equality of opportunity for everyone. That's why in 2005, I voted in favour of same-sex marriage legislation in the House, despite opposition from faith communities, including my own. That's why in 2011, I took a stand to defend the kirpan when Quebec legislators pushed for a ban in the provincial legislature.

“ The Charter is not a buffet. We cannot pick and choose which rights and freedoms to support, or which groups are worthy of protection under the Charter. I am proud to serve a government that believes in upholding the constitutional rights of all Canadians. ”

That's why in 2015, when the government of the day took steps to ban women from wearing a niqab while taking the citizenship oath, I

opposed the move. And that's why earlier this year, I supported our government's Motion 103, which called on all parliamentarians to condemn Islamophobia.

The Charter is not a buffet. We cannot pick and choose which rights and freedoms to support, or which groups are worthy of protection under the Charter. I am proud to serve a government that believes in upholding the constitutional rights of all Canadians.

I am also proud to put the values of openness, diversity and inclusion into action. My first act as a cabinet minister was to reinstate the mandatory long-form census, which was eliminated under the previous government. This important survey of our population enables us to measure our nation's progress in reflecting the diversity of our communities. Without the census, we are blind to the gaps that fuel inequality in all aspects of our daily lives.

I have also introduced legislation that promotes more women, cultural minorities and other underrepresented groups to the highest levels of leadership in corporate Canada. The comply-or-explain provisions of Bill C-25 would put pressure on the country's publicly traded companies to better reflect the diversity of their shareholders, customers and communities in which these companies do business.

I firmly believe it is Canada's moral duty to promote diversity and inclusion. These values also make good business sense. As other parts of the

world turn inward, I'm proud that Canada remains open to people from all backgrounds, whether they are refugees from war-torn countries or highly skilled professionals in high-growth industries. Our open society has attracted generations of innovators and entrepreneurs who have found in Canada a place to fulfill their potential.

Our country benefits from the talent and hard work of newcomers, who contribute by creating jobs, opportunity and prosperity for Canadians. We are a stronger country as a result. Indeed, our diversity gives Canadians a competitive edge in a global economy that depends on people's ability to navigate through different cultures and languages.

Diversity also drives innovation, which depends on good ideas that come from the largest talent pool possible—a global pool. That's why I

have championed our government's Global Skills Strategy, which enables Canadian companies to more quick-

“ Our country benefits from the talent and hard work of newcomers, who contribute by creating jobs, opportunity and prosperity for Canadians. We are a stronger country as a result. Indeed, our diversity gives Canadians a competitive edge in a global economy that depends on people's ability to navigate through different cultures and languages. ”

ly and easily recruit highly skilled, in-demand talent from around the world.

For Canada to succeed over the next 150 years, we must continue to engage in nation building based on the strength of our diversity and the values of openness and inclusion. Our future prosperity depends on them. **P**

Navdeep Bains is Canada's Minister of Innovation, Science and Economic Development and the MP for Mississauga–Malton.
navdeep.bains@parl.gc.ca

GOVGUIDE.ca

YOUR ESSENTIAL RESOURCE FOR THE HILL

- Searchable database on all MPs and Senators
- Calendar
- Daily legislative brief



Contact: Yamina@ipolitics.ca | 613.505.0865

iPOLITICS

iPolitics keeps you informed throughout your working day.

Exclusive member benefits include:



DAILY NEWS BRIEFS AND ALERTS DIRECT TO YOUR INBOX



CUTTING-EDGE COVERAGE OF CANADIAN POLITICS, POLICY AND THE BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT



SHARP, PROVOCATIVE OPINIONS, ANALYSIS & LIVE EVENTS

Want to try out iPolitics for free?
Visit ipolitics.ca/free-trial

Contact: CallieSanderson@ipolitics.ca | 613.505.0866



From one generation to the next, the public service has been the pillar of Canadian public policy, particularly at the Privy Council. *iStock photo*

A Birthday Card to Canada from its Public Service

Richard Dicerni

Canada stands with France and the UK among G7 nations in which a career in the public service has long been considered not just an honourable but a noble calling and respectable use of one's talents. For our Canada 150 piece on the country's public service, we turned to Richard Dicerni, the retired senior public servant whose contribution to Canadian public policy over four decades of service was widely recognized to be disproportionate to his administrative titles. He submitted this unabashedly patriotic Letter to Canada.

Dear Canada,

It has been quite a journey we have travelled together over these past 150 years. Overall, I think we have helped you grow and evolve into the great country that you are today.

In anticipation of your anniversary, I have gone to Library and Archives Canada to find some of the family albums that we have put together over the years.

Do you remember when it all started on July 1, 1867? There were 2,660 of us ready to serve your first government. Most of us worked outside of Ottawa in the four provinces; our major departments were Customs, Agriculture, Public Works and, of course, Finance.

Over the years, as the population grew and the economy diversified, the need for additional civil servants was recognized. The need to hire on the basis of merit was also recognized. So, in 1908, Parliament passed an act establishing the Civil Service Commission. However, old patronage habits did not disappear quickly. It took another decade before the Civil Service Act was passed and the merit principle was enshrined in law.

Enough of those early years, let's look at family albums. The first one I want to look at is about the 1930's. As you will recall, this was a difficult period economically—domestically and internationally. It was also a time when ministers, especially prime ministers, worked closely with their officials in order to deal as best as possible with the challenges that you faced. You faced these challenges with the help of three remarkable public servants: Clifford Clark, O.D. Skelton and Arnold Heeney.

In 1932, Prime Minister R.B. Bennett recruited Clifford Clark to be deputy minister of Finance; Clark would go on to serve in that capacity for the next 20 years and support seven ministers of Finance. On his watch, key pieces of legislation such as the Bank of Canada Act (1935), the National Housing Act (1938), the Financial Administration Act (1950) would be passed by Parliament. Clark was at the table when the Rowell-Sirois Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations was established and when it reported. Under his stewardship, five wartime budgets, which reconciled domestic needs with military exigencies, were prepared.

As a leader, he recruited outstanding individuals such as Bob Bryce, A.F.W. Plumptre, Walter Gordon and

“The 1930s was also the decade that you, Canada, came of age, where you appeared on the international stage not as a colony but as a country. It was a time when you had official representations in places such as London, Tokyo, Washington and Paris.”

Mitchell Sharp. He also ensured that the Treasury Board functioned as it should as the comptroller of government expenditures. His overall contribution is best summed up by Walter Gordon, who said “Clark was the dominating genius of the department and, in fact, of wartime Ottawa”.



O.D. Skelton. As undersecretary of state from 1925 until his death in 1941, he played a leading role in building Canada's Department of External Affairs. *Library and Archives Canada photo*

The 1930s was also the decade that you, Canada, came of age, where you appeared on the international stage not as a colony but as a country. It was a time when you had official representations in places such as London, Tokyo, Washington and Paris. It was the period when the nascent Department of External Affairs came to be.

The guiding hand that made all of the above happen was O.D. Skelton. He also had a sharp eye for talent and recruited individuals such as Hume Wrong, Norman Robertson and Lester B. “Mike” Pearson, who would all go on to have exceptional careers. Providing foreign policy advice in a fast-changing world landscape was challenging, especially given the many competing interests and values. Throughout his tenure as undersecretary of state at External, a post he held from 1926 until his death in 1940, Skelton ensured that government had the best advice possible to navigate these complex international shoals.

On July 13, 1938, Mackenzie King wrote to Arnold Heeney, a young bilingual lawyer from Montreal, to ask him to come to Ottawa to assist him in running his office and liaise with ministers. In 1940, Heeney became the seventh Clerk of the Privy Council and the first Secretary to Cabinet. He held that job until 1949. When he had initially approached Heeney, the prime minister had noted in his letter that “a sort of Secretary to the Cabinet” position existed in England and he saw “no reason why such a post might not be developed in Canada.” He then added, “where work is really important it is the man who makes the position, not the position which makes the man”. Heeney rose to that challenge.

Heeney worked with the PM to undertake governance innovations, such as setting and circulating agendas for cabinet meetings, ensuring that supporting documents were prepared, and that minutes of meetings were taken and records of decisions were noted and followed up.

Gordon Robertson, who held the Clerk's job from 1963 to 1975, wrote in 1972 that "Heeney had designed the machine that coordinates all of the vital decisions of government... the basic design is unchanged because he designed it so well".

These three individuals shared some characteristics: they earned the trust of prime ministers and ministers with fearless advice and problem solving, they were superb at talent management, they had a solid understanding of the public interest and they knew how to manage.

Since Heeney's appointment in 1940, 16 Canadians have followed in his footsteps and have been Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to Cabinet. One Canadian stands out in the family albums for his contribution to your well-being and continued prosperity: Gordon R. Robertson who had the position between 1963 and 1975.

I am sure you will remember 1967. It was a spectacular year, your 100th anniversary. This special year had many celebrations, including the remarkable Expo 67, which showcased to the world all that you were and could be.

But the years that preceded it and the years that followed were not easy. New social programs such as the Canada Pension Plan/Quebec Pension Plan and Medicare were launched after many difficult, intense negotiations with provincial governments; new economic development departments, including the first Science and Technology ministry, were established; constitutional discussions were undertaken leading to the Victoria Charter which eventually was not approved; the Treasury Board was established as a government department with its own minister. Canada also suffered its first terrorist attack in October 1970 when the FLQ kidnapped British diplomat James Cross and Quebec Cabinet minister Pierre Laporte, who was subsequently assassinated.

Throughout his 12 years as clerk,

Robertson was a steadying hand: in providing advice to your ministers; in helping shape policies; in implementing many new programs; and in navigating difficult crises.

However, I want to particularly draw your attention to one additional album which I know is dear to your heart: Official Languages in the federal public service.

Ottawa, as you know, in the mid-1960s was an anglophone community and its public service worked in English. As the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism noted, unilingualism was not an oversight, "it has been strongly influenced by a particular interpretation of the concept of efficiency". Robertson personally assumed responsibility for seeing that the new official languages policy in the public service was fair, defensible and effective. He oversaw with focus, determination and sensitivity the implementation of the Official Languages Act. He also walked the talk by taking French language training.

“ However, what stands out the most in these historical albums is the partnership that existed between elected officials and non-elected officials. It was a partnership based on trust, mutual respect and a common desire to enhance the Canadian public interest. ”

The implementation of the OLA was challenging but, under Robertson's watch as clerk, a corner was irrevocably turned.

There are many other albums about individuals and institutions in the public service that have had an impact on how you have grown up.

I am thinking of people like Jules Leger, who served as deputy minister, ambassador and Governor General; David Golden, who was deputy minister of Industry and president of Telesat Canada; Jean Edmonds who was one of the first women senior executives in the mid-1960s; Huguette Labelle, who over 20 years held five deputy minister positions; and Paul Tellier who held the clerk's job during the FTA, NAFTA and Meech Lake negotiations.

However, what stands out the most in these historical albums is the partnership that existed between elected officials and non-elected officials. It was a partnership based on trust, mutual respect and a common desire to enhance the Canadian public interest. Of course, there were times when all was not great between politicians and senior bureaucrats. But for every one of those incidents or moments, there were hundreds of positive, cooperative efforts that exemplified how a professional non-partisan public service can support a government and deliver programs to Canadians.

Having said that, there are activities about which I am not proud. For example, there was a time when married women were prohibited from having jobs in the public service. The fact that this prohibition lasted over 30 years and was only lifted in the mid-1950s may partially explain why in 1988, women only represented 12 per cent of the management category. You will be pleased to know that significant progress has been made in the past 30 years. Women now occupy close to 50 per cent of the management positions in the federal public service. Another example of underperformance is the lack of First Nations in our ranks and especially in our executive levels. We need to do better in ensuring our numbers reflect the diversity of Canada. Fortunately, the current clerk, Michael Wernick, is very focused on enhancing the diversity of the federal public service.

Going forward, we will face a number of challenges. There is across the democratic world a loss of faith in institutions, especially in governments. There are issues of relevance, of responsiveness, of trust. The advent of social media, which can connect thousands of people instantly, compounds the challenge. In that context, there is a need for a continuing and constant focus on improving services to Canadians across the country.

But as I look to the next few decades, I am very confident in the capacity of the public service to be an organization that helps and not hinders your *épanouissement*.

I say that because I firmly believe that we can continue attracting the best and the brightest. Just last year, 7,700 were hired to partially offset the 9,000 who retired. Fifty per cent of the new public servants were under 35.

At the sides of the leaders whom I have described and those who have

followed in their places, stand thousands of dedicated, hard-working faceless public servants. They, dear Canada, have truly been the “unsung heroes” of your government over your first 150 years.

“ *There is across the democratic world a loss of faith in institutions, especially in governments. There are issues of relevance, of responsiveness, of trust. The advent of social media, which can connect thousands of people instantly, compounds the challenge.* ”

Being a federal public servant is still a cool job, where you get to make a difference, where you get the oppor-

tunity to serve the public interest, where you can have a challenging and diverse career ranging from writing competition law to being a fisheries officer, from providing policy advice to administering employment insurance programs.

In 2017, we are over 250,000 Canadians who provide core public services to our fellow Canadians. I can assure you, we will continue to do so on a non-partisan and professional basis.

As always, we aim to serve.

All the best,

Yours truly,

Your federal public service. **P**

Richard Dicerni joined the federal government in 1969. He held a number of executive positions including most recently Deputy Minister of Industry. He also served as Deputy Minister of the Alberta Executive Council and deputy minister of various portfolios in the Ontario government.
richard.dicerni@gmail.com



THE WEEK IN Policy

The magazine produced for thought leaders by thought leaders brings you *The Week in Policy*.

Our must-read Friday digital digest of the key developments and sharpest insights from the policy front lines of Canada, the U.S. and capitals beyond.

Don't miss *Above the Fold*, *Trump Watch*, *Trade Watch*, *Periscope*, *Verbatim* and all the links you'll need for a fully informed, intelligent weekend.

>> To subscribe go to: policymagazine.ca, or email: info@policymagazine.ca

Budgetary Balances and Election Outcomes: More Than Meets the Eye

Helaina Gaspard and Sahir Khan

Most analysts agree that a key moment in the 2015 federal election campaign was Justin Trudeau's promise of deficit spending, which differentiated him from the other two parties, siphoned progressive votes from the NDP and branded the Liberal leader a politician of principle. But how often do fiscal promises affect election outcomes?

In the 2015 federal election, the Conservative Party of Canada based their campaign strategy on the premise that they would be the party of steady and responsible economic stewardship in uncertain economic times. The centrepiece of this strategy was a balanced budget (and a promise of future ones), questioned both on the soundness of its accounting and its dubious value in the context of a nearly \$2 trillion economy.

Notwithstanding apparent weakness in the economy, the Conservatives promised sound fiscal discipline and proposed no new spending priorities and plans, preferring to stay the course of their existing governing agenda. While echoing the Conservatives' message of fiscal prudence, the NDP proposed new allocations and spending directives. They were ultimately saddled by an inconsistency among concerns over the health of the economy, the measures to address the challenges and the fiscal constraint they imposed on themselves. Then, there were the Liberals, who more clearly linked voters' apprehension about the economy with the promise of more spending (and resulting deficits), and they won.

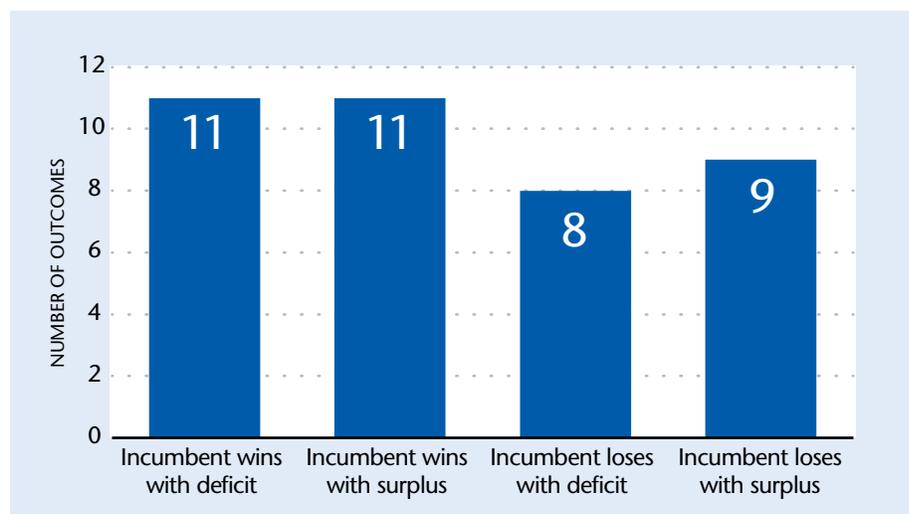
This had us asking some questions: Do budgetary balances impact elec-

toral outcomes for incumbent governments? Are previous federal elections instructive in this regard? If budgetary balances do not provide such clues, are there other factors that drive public confidence in governments *vis-à-vis* their fiscal stewardship? In considering these questions, we are reminded that elections and their outcomes are about a number of domestic and international issues. The management of public money is one of several factors, but we posit that it can be a useful lens of analysis.

Looking back to the first general election with a budget to precede it, in 1872, we compiled the projected budgetary outcome (surplus or deficit) and the incumbent's electoral outcome (win or lose) based on budget speeches. Since Confederation in 1867, there have been 41 general elections with a budget or financial statement associated with them. Of the 41, 39 have had budgets preceding elections (for two outstanding cases, there was only a financial statement produced in 1958 and no budget tabled before the 1963 election). Across these elections, incumbents were just as likely to win with deficits and surpluses, and virtually just as likely to lose with deficits and surpluses (see Chart 1).

A look at the historical record suggests that planned surpluses or deficits are poor predictors of electoral performance of incumbent governments.

Chart 1: Electoral outcomes and budget statuses since 1872 (excluding 1958 and 1963).



A more nuanced understanding of public financial management beyond budgetary balances and surpluses may shed some light on fiscal stewardship.

The reality is that there is far more to public finance as a means of understanding politics than deficits and surpluses. According to prominent public finance academic Allen Schick (University of Maryland, College Park), there are three lenses that can be used to assess a government's public financial management: 1) aggregate fiscal discipline (a government's ability to balance revenue and spending over the economic cycle, which is about more than a political objective of a near-term balanced budget. There is often a conflation between the political objective and the policy objective of aggregate fiscal discipline). Over time, the policy objective of aggregate fiscal discipline and balanced budgets can help to mitigate negative consequences of debt build-up, i.e. crowding out investment, reducing fiscal room to manoeuvre, transferring debt to the future generations, etc.); 2) allocative efficiency (how a government aligns spending to its priorities); and 3) operational efficiency (the cost and capacity with which a government delivers programs and services).

To consider the nuances of public perception of a government's financial management, we re-frame the 2015 election platforms of the three major parties through Allen Schick's Public

Expenditure Management Framework (Table 1).

Naturally, the longer an incumbent government is in power, the more baggage it may carry vis-à-vis its operational performance. Having been in opposition for the previous nine years, the other two parties had no such track record to defend.

By virtue of its time in office since 2006, the Conservative Party was both helped and hindered by its record. While frequently touting its performance on aggregate fiscal discipline, the Conservatives may have been trying to mask the issues of operational efficiency that had gradually chipped away at the public's confidence in their ability to be effective fiscal stewards. Initiatives such as Shared Services Canada's failure to reduce costs of information technology (IT) services within government (in fact increasing costs); or the F-35 fighter jet procurement debacle, where the Parliamentary Budget Officer's and Auditor General's analyses suggested the government severely underestimated the cost of the project (Canada has yet to procure military aircraft in its place); or the Deficit Reduction Action Plan (DRAP) measures from Budget 2012 whereby the government promised cuts would not impact service provision, when they did (e.g. veterans unable to obtain basic services). With a public track record of performance, the incumbent stands to

lose the most in an election.

Further, it is possible that the sheer size of deficits and surpluses as well as their sometimes oblique relationship to the scale of the economy and its health are less tangible manifestations of good fiscal stewardship than the sometimes more obvious failures of government to procure, deliver and account.

Consider the Liberal government of Paul Martin, who as finance minister in the 1990s executed a significant fiscal consolidation and campaigned in 2006 with the benefit of having consistently delivered budgetary surpluses. However, the Liberal Party could not win re-election as the long tenured Chrétien-Martin government was burdened by the dual albatrosses of the sponsorship scandal and the gun registry, both issues of operational efficiency.

It is possible that operational efficiency plays a significant but unmentioned role in the public's judgment in a government's public financial management record. Where a government spends money (allocative efficiency) and the results it yields (operational efficiency) can be as useful a lens as its ability to balance revenues and spending (aggregate fiscal discipline).

Certainly, economic and fiscal management decisions may lend themselves to empirical assessment and quantification in relation to voter perceptions and the roles of state actors in their determination. However, more granular levels of analysis of public financial management cutting through procedural requirements, such as fiscal rules, can shed light on an incumbent's overall performance and opposition plans. Canadians, media and political analysts may wish to consider these three lenses together when they're assessing government records and opposition party plans during an election. **P**

Helaina Gaspard is Director of Democracy at the Institute for Fiscal Studies and Democracy at the University of Ottawa.
helaina.gaspard@ifsd.ca

Sahir Khan is Executive Vice President of the IFSD at the University of Ottawa.
sahir.khan@ifsd.ca

Table 1: Federal party platform assessment through the public expenditure management framework.

Party Platforms	Public Expenditure Management Framework (PEM)		
	Aggregate Fiscal Discipline	Allocative Efficiency	Operational Efficiency
Conservative Party of Canada	Budgetary balance	Status quo	E.g. Shared Services Canada, F-35 procurement, Deficit Reduction Action Plan (DRAP), etc.
New Democratic Party (NDP)	Budgetary balance	Realignment of spending to priorities	N/A
Liberal Party of Canada	Deficits	Realignment of spending to priorities	N/A



Filming the Kenojuak Ashevak Heritage Minute in Cape Dorset, NU. *Historica Canada photo*

Canada at 150: Minute by Minute

Anthony Wilson-Smith

When the Heritage Minutes debuted in 1991, it seemed so foreign—so somehow un-Canadian—to be dramatizing much less glorifying our own relatively brief but colourful story that they were greeted with a sort of awed cognitive dissonance followed by gleeful parody. Now, they are as much a part of Canadian culture as hockey, Tim Hortons and maple beer. Contributing writer and Historica Canada President Anthony Wilson-Smith celebrates one of his favourite parts of the job.

What becomes a legend most? In Canada, our national legends include bearded figures with swords and ornate pantaloons, women in wartime nursing costumes and indigenous soldiers fending off American invaders during the War of 1812. Some of the people telling those stories are Colm Feore, Dan Aykroyd, Graham Greene, Kate Nelligan, Jean l'Italien (*Lance e t Compte; Virginie*) and Jared Keeso (19-2 and *LetterKenny*.) The settings range from the bright lights of big cities to dimly-lit hockey rinks, an

old movie theatre, operating rooms, and the frigid beauty of Cape Dorset, Nunavut. Those elements are all key components of stories that are, as the saying goes, ‘a part of our heritage’. In other words, they are Heritage Minutes.

“Over the last year, the Minutes—there are more than 80—had close to six million views. They aired on television across the country more than 116,000 times. You can see them on national airlines and Via Rail trains, and on video screens in high-rise office buildings.”

The Minutes—produced by Historica Canada, the non-profit organization where I work—are now 25 years old. Their format, 60-second vignettes that tell stories of memorable Canadian events and people, is as familiar to most Canadians as it is unique. As we approach the 150th anniversary of Confederation, two new Minutes are set for release (stay tuned!) and more are in the pipeline. The stories and format many Canadians saw for the first time as interstitials during children’s programs are not only surviving, but thriving. Since our return in 2012 from a seven-year hiatus from Minute-making, the audience for new ones has grown exponentially. Over the last year, the Minutes—there are more than 80—had close to six million views. They aired on television across the country more than 116,000 times. You can see them on national airlines and Via Rail trains, and on video screens in high-rise office buildings. One Minute, on the Nova Scotia civil rights activist Viola Desmond, has been seen more than one million times online.

All of this is thanks, in the first measure, to philanthropist Charles Bron-



The cast of the Winnipeg Falcons Minute, with Jared Keeso as coach, on set. *Historica Canada photo*

fman (still a member of our Historica Canada board) and his reflections more than three decades ago. As Charles recalls, he was frustrated that young Canadians then had little idea of their country’s history, and few means of correcting that. “No society can be of merit unless it has heroines, heroes and myths,” he said recently. “While there were many in Canada, hardly anyone knew of them, nor that they had had a marked effect on our society.” With a small team that included Thomas Axworthy, Michael Levine, Patrick Watson and others, they came up with the idea of ‘selling’ Canadian history with 60 second stories—just like most television commercials of that time.

From the start, the Minutes told tales Canadians hadn’t heard, in a format no one had seen before, with plot, character development, and story resolution all within 60 seconds. The bite-sized format was a good idea then and is perhaps even better suited to today’s impatient internet era. Because the Minutes are Canadian in everything from casting to set location, crew and content, they have qualified for special status from the Canadian Radio, Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). A station airing a Minute can potentially claim credit for 90 seconds of Canadian content. We thus can and do accurately de-

scribe the Minutes as ‘certifiably 150 per cent Canadian.’

From the outset, the producers paid tribute to the country’s linguistic duality, including Minutes on the artist Paul-Emile Borduas; the early 20th century singer La Bolduc; 19th century journalist Etienne Parent; and, more recently, a Minute on the key role played by Sir George-Etienne Cartier in bringing about Confederation. To their credit, they also decided to show dark aspects of our history as well as celebrated ones. A Minute on construction of the national railway depicts the exploitation of migrant Chinese workers. Others with indigenous themes depicted both tragedies and contributions. One on Aboriginal World War One hero Tommy Prince describes his struggles against prejudice upon returning from war, while another shows a First Nations family teaching settlers how to make maple syrup. Several Minutes focus on women’s struggles for equal rights.

Today, we seek the same balance. On the one hand, we have recently produced (among others) the story of Canada’s most successful sports dynasty (the Edmonton Grads women’s basketball team) and the Olympic champion hockey team the Winnipeg Falcons. On the other, we have a Minute on the persecution suffered by Desmond as a Black Nova Scotian in the 1940s and the wrenching story

of Chanie Wenjack, the Indigenous boy who died running away from a residential school in the 1960s.

Minute-making starts at about \$150,000 and climbs if special effects or large casts are required. For every Minute, we issue a Request for Proposal (RFP) to which any Canadian film company can respond. Our most recent drew more than 110 applications. Other than two indigenous-themed Minutes funded by the government of Ontario, all Minutes since 2012 have been paid for by the federal Department of Canadian Heritage (with some additional private support). To answer an oft-asked question, no one has tried to influence or engage in the creative process.

Another frequently-asked question concerns how we decide on the subject of a Minute. We combine historical research, polling, consideration of communities, topics or regions that have not had much previous attention paid to their stories and plain gut sense as to what makes a good story. We ask the teenage participants in our Ottawa-based Encounters with Canada program what they would like to see. Film companies seeking to co-produce Minutes are encouraged to suggest topics. We have informal rules on what does *not* make a Minute. We don't editorialize in our closing voiceovers (initially and memorably voiced by Patrick Watson). We don't make Minutes on living people. We avoid having actors play people with whom Canadians are very familiar, because that would diminish the realism we seek.

All Minutes, like all our programs, are offered in both official languages; one, on Inuit artist Kenojuak Ashevak, is offered in Inuktitut. We aren't infallible, but we try very, very hard to be accurate. A number of the 35-40 staff members in our head office have post-graduate history degrees, and we have a wide network of consultants. We fuss over details. In the Viola Desmond Minute, we knew that the film showing in New Glasgow, N.S. the

day she was asked to move to the balcony of the theatre because she was black—she refused and was arrested—was *Dark Victory*. In our opening shot, we show her approaching a theatre with that title prominent on the marquee. In the closing shot, a magazine on a desk is one that was actually on sale in the area during that month in 1946. In addition to consultants on period dress and speech, we engage experts in and around the communities we portray to provide a balanced perspective. Our Wenjack Minute was co-produced with a production company owned and operated by Indigenous filmmakers, and shot at a former residential school at the Six Nations reserve near Brantford, Ontario.

“ To work on the Minutes is to learn first-hand what moves Canadians, whether the overarching emotion is delight, pride, anger or sometimes sadness and shame. ”

The most engaging evidence of the Minutes' status as prime Canadiana is the reactions they provoke. Drop the phrase 'I smell burnt toast' to someone 25-40 years of age, and chances are they know it comes from the Minute on Dr. Wilder Penfield's pioneering brain surgery. There is a whole genre of spoof Minutes—some of the best of which are on our site, www.historicacanada.ca. We know of several theses by post-grad students mulling the Minutes' effect on the national psyche. Several pubs have held Heritage Minutes trivia nights in which full houses of competitors face off to show who knows the collection best. A couple from Ottawa have set up a Twitter account describing their efforts to visit as many sites of Minutes as they can. A British Columbia journalist provoked lively online debate when he ranked each

Minute in order of preference, along with critiques. There is also a university drinking game based on the Minutes—which, as I advised the student who informed me, I find interesting but cannot, for the record, condone.

The Minutes are loved by many, though not by all. Some complain they inadequately summarize the stories they tell. Others dislike the approach to individual stories or the selection of topics.

We pay attention to those concerns. An event only happens once, but can be interpreted in endless ways. A story told in 60 seconds is never complete. The excellent historian Tim Cook, in his recent book *Vimy: The Battle and the Legend*, argues that a 1990s Minute on the battle makes too much of Canadian Gen. Sir Arthur Currie at the expense of his British superior, Sir Julian Byng. The Minute does not identify Byng as the British commanding officer to whom Currie is shown speaking in the Minute. The net effect, Cook writes, is that Byng is unfairly 'cast aside'.

That sort of debate is healthy. To work on the Minutes is to learn first-hand what moves Canadians, whether the overarching emotion is delight, pride, anger or sometimes sadness and shame, as with the Wenjack story. When the Minutes succeed, they create a desire to learn more—not only about the event at hand, but ideally, about all our history. We support a larger discussion through supplementary learning tools, and resources on *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. The end result is greater awareness—and with it, hopefully, greater engagement as citizens. So perhaps the *real* story of the Minutes is not the way we make them—it's that after 25 years, more Canadians than ever are eager to embrace them. Thank you again, Charles Bronfman. **P**

Contributing writer Anthony Wilson-Smith, former editor of Maclean's, is President and CEO of Historica Canada.
AWilson-Smith@historicacanada.ca

The Next Spike

Michael Bourque

As the Railway Association of Canada celebrates its 100th anniversary in 2017—the same year Canada marks its sesquicentennial—it is reflecting on the rail industry’s place in our country’s history and, as RAC President and CEO Michael Bourque writes, taking stock of its contribution now and into the future.

In a debate in the House of Commons in 1881, Sir John A. Macdonald articulated his vision of Canada’s great future, built on the strength of its railways. “I know we can appeal to the patriotism of the people of Canada,” he said. “We can tell them that we want a line that will connect Halifax with the Pacific Ocean.”

By means of “one great Canadian line,” carrying as much traffic as possible north of the border, Canada would build up cities like Montreal, Quebec, Toronto, Halifax and St. John, he said. He acknowledged the enormous challenges and expenses posed by building over the Canadian Shield and through the Rocky, Selkirk and Coastal Mountains, but believed in connecting “the great counties composing the Dominion from sea to sea by one vast iron chain, which cannot and will never be broken.”

It’s incredible to look back on Sir John A.’s remarks and his foresight. He understood that the economic benefits to the lands in the immediate vicinity of the railway—the “prairie section,” for example—would far outweigh the \$25 million price tag for building the railway from coast to coast.

Less than five years later—at 9:22 a.m. on Nov. 7, 1885 in Craigellachie, B.C.—Donald Smith drove the Last Spike into the railway that

would connect Canada’s populated centres in the East to the relatively unpopulated West. This moment defined progress for Canada and stands as a symbol of a promise that the country would forever be linked by its railway network.

On Oct. 23, 2017, the Railway Association of Canada (RAC) will officially celebrate its 100th anniversary. As part of this celebration, we are reflecting on the rail industry’s contribution to the development of Canada throughout the past century, informing people about new in-

novations and technologies and, of course, imagining what the next 100 years will bring.

Our organization was established to ensure the efficient movement of troops and supplies during the First World War. Logistics wins wars, and the timely deployment of men and equipment by rail contributed to Canada’s capture of Vimy Ridge in 1917. Like the creation of Canada’s railway industry, this accomplishment is central to the collective understanding of our country and represents Canadian identity and unity.

Because the group—then called the Special Committee on War and National Defence—was so successful in advancing the interests of railways in Canada, it continued its work beyond the war and evolved into the association we are today.

A century after our organization was created, we continue to be a strong advocate for



Canadian railway workers build a railroad through captured territory during the Battle of Vimy Ridge in April 1917. Photo: Canada. Dept. of National Defence / Library and Archives Canada

Canada's rail sector. Today, Canada depends on rail as a safe and efficient means of transporting goods and people. Robust investments in long-lasting, green infrastructure show that we are an innovative industry committed to service, sustainability and, most importantly, safety.

“ A century after our organization was created, we continue to be a strong advocate for Canada's rail sector. Today, Canada depends on rail as a safe and efficient means of transporting goods and people. Robust investments in long-lasting, green infrastructure show that we are an innovative industry committed to service, sustainability and, most importantly, safety. ”



Canadian railways offer a comfortable, affordable and environmentally friendly way to travel to close to 82 million passengers each year. An average commuter train, for example, takes 188 cars off the road.
Photo: RAC

Canada's freight rail sector is the backbone of our economy. Domestically, freight railways transport more than \$280 billion worth of goods a year in Canada alone. In support of Canada's trade agenda, our railways allow Canadian businesses to compete internationally by helping to deliver more than \$150 billion worth of exports to markets across North America and around the globe. In fact, close to two thirds of our traffic crosses a border or touches a port.

Canadian railways also offer a comfortable, affordable and environmentally friendly way to travel to close to 82 million passengers each year. An average commuter train, for example, takes 188 cars off the road. Ottawa's relatively small O-Train, operating over about 8 kilometres of track, alone moves 2.1 million passengers annually. A high percentage of these

travelers would be in cars if it were not for the availability of this service.

By shifting more goods and passengers to rail, the industry plays a key role in helping the environment by limiting harmful emissions and reducing road congestion. Despite moving millions of passengers and nearly 70 per cent of intercity freight each year, our railways produce just one per cent of Canada's greenhouse gas emissions—making rail one of our country's greenest transportation options. Rail is also extremely efficient. Canada's freight railways can move a tonne of goods more than 200 kilometres on just a single litre of fuel.

Our industry's sustainability into the future is intricately linked to our commitment to safety. Canadian railways are already among the safest in the world

and getting safer. However, rail accidents over the past few years, both in Canada and the U.S., have served to heighten concerns for rail safety and especially the transportation of dangerous goods.

In response, railways have focused on accident prevention, emergency preparedness and importantly, training. Efforts in these areas, coupled with significant investments in infrastructure and innovative technologies, enhance safety across the rail network. Capital investments made by Canada's privately owned and operated freight railways have resulted not only in record efficiencies, but also world-leading safety records. Even between 2007 and 2009, during the great recession, railways invested close to 20 per cent of their revenues back into their networks. These investments have resulted in signifi-

cantly lower accident rates. Between 2005 and 2015, Canada's freight rail accident rate fell by more than 36 per cent, and stands at 2.2 accidents per billion gross tonne-kilometres. Safety is our industry's top priority and we strive toward zero accidents.

“ Railways have focused on accident prevention, emergency preparedness and importantly, training. Efforts in these areas, coupled with significant investments in infrastructure and innovative technologies, enhance safety across the rail network. Capital investments made by Canada's privately owned and operated freight railways have resulted not only in record efficiencies, but also world-leading safety records. ”

Canada's railways have also redoubled their efforts to prepare for and respond to rail incidents. Today, railways provide more than 660 Canadian communities with aggregate information about the dangerous goods that transit through their areas, to help first responders prepare and plan. And over the past five years, RAC and its members have trained close to 29,000 railway employees, industrial plant personnel and first responders on dangerous goods handling and emergency response.

If Sir John A. were alive today to celebrate Canada's 150th birthday he would witness the realization of his vision. We can only imagine what he and the rest of Canada's forefathers would think of our success in global trade. What would they think of Canadian railways carrying Wyo-



Despite moving nearly 70 per cent of intercity freight each year, our railways produce just one per cent of Canada's greenhouse gas emissions—making rail one of our country's greenest transportation options. Freight railways can move a ton of goods more than 200 kilometres on just a single litre of fuel. *Photo: RAC*

ming coal and Saskatchewan potash to world markets, or intermodal service—goods travelling by ship from Asia to Vancouver and Prince Rupert, and onwards to Chicago and New Orleans on Canadian railways that also operate in the U.S.?

“ It would make Sir John A. proud to witness a renaissance of passenger rail and Canadians' love affair with train travel, as evidenced by the new commuter railways being built in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto. VIA Rail's ambitious plan for high-frequency intercity service will further develop Canada's passion for rail transportation. ”

It would make Sir John A. proud to witness a renaissance of passenger rail

and Canadians' love affair with train travel, as evidenced by the new commuter railways being built in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto. VIA Rail's ambitious plan for high-frequency intercity service will further develop Canada's passion for rail transportation. No doubt Sir John A. would be delighted with the thousands of tourists who come to Canada to enjoy an unbeatable view of our vast and beautiful land from the train.

Railways are a proud part of Canada's history. One hundred and thirty-six years following Macdonald's speech in the House of Commons and 132 years after Donald Smith drove the Last Spike, Canada's railways operate around the clock, 365 days a year, driving the next spike for supply chain competitiveness, sustainability and safety. Our commitment to the environment, the economy and the communities through which we operate will continue as we look to play an even bigger role during the next 100 years. **P**

Michael Bourque is President and CEO of the Railway Association of Canada. mbourque@railcan.ca



CPAC has partnered with the Royal Canadian Geographical Society to produce a set of giant floor maps similar to the one above. CPAC's Route 338 map will tour schools across the country, helping students learn about our democracy. *Photo: Troye Fleece/Canadian Geographic*

CPAC at 25: The Channel of Record

Catherine Cano

For the past quarter-century, Canada's Cable Public Affairs Channel has brought the daily workings of Canadian democracy first into the living rooms, then onto the desktops and handhelds of viewers across the country. While CPAC's role in Ottawa and provincial capitals as the daily platform for the proceedings of the House of Commons is indispensable, CPAC President Catherine Cano writes that its national footprint is much bigger than question period.

It is the middle of a beautiful March day in Ottawa. The sun is out, the House of Commons is sitting, CPAC's crews have been at work since 7 or 8 o'clock planning the editorial content for the day for our TV, web and social media channels. Coffees in hand, my team and I are sitting in silence in our board room, looking at a blank page on a giant screen. On the other side of the table, the team from the Royal Canadian Geographical Society looks at us with a smile. Chris, the cartographer breaks the silence: "So, tell me more about this Route 338 microsite you are developing..."

I was born in beautiful Chicoutimi, Quebec—now Saguenay, an area known as the “*berceau indépendantiste*”. My parents thought me to be curious and at 10 years old, I was allowed to watch the late-night news. At that age, and throughout my teenage years, I had a certain understanding of Canada but to be totally honest, my country was more of an abstract concept. It was difficult to relate or feel really connected to what we called “*le Canada anglais*”. I did not even speak the language, let alone understand its cultural references until I was fortunate enough to have two incredible experiences: At 16, I was selected to participate in the *Forum for Young Canadians*, where I would get to spend a week in Ottawa learning about our democratic institutions. And three years later, I was selected to be part of the Page program in the House of Commons.

I was fortunate enough to have great opportunities like these, which both increased my interest in our democracy and inspired me to learn more about how it works. What better way to gain a comprehensive understanding of Canada’s political culture than to be immersed in it at such a young age.

If these experiences taught me anything, it’s that for democracy to be inclusive, it must be accessible.

Democracies have always been fragile. But the last few years have taught us that this isn’t just true of emerging democracies in faraway places, but also mature democracies closer to home, including Canada. The disconnect between politicians and a public fed up with the elite has grown deeper in an era of mistrust. We live in a world of confusion between real and fake news, where the public is disengaged from the media. The impact of this reality can only be worrisome as ill-informed masses put democracies at risk.

I strongly believe that the earlier we study and learn about our democ-

“*Democracies have always been fragile. But the last few years have taught us that this isn’t just true of emerging democracies in faraway places, but also mature democracies closer to home, including Canada.*”

racy, the better our chance to have a society that is curious, knowledgeable and engaged. The more citizens appreciate how important it is to know the issues, comprehend the impact of policy decisions on day-to-day life, and understand the role and work of their representatives and the accountability that goes with it, the better chance they will participate in the process. Unfortunately, politics is seen as partisan and not surprisingly, there is more demand for transparency.

That’s why, in the current geopolitical climate, I believe that access to an objective source like CPAC is more important than ever.

While Canada is celebrating its 150th, CPAC turns 25 this year. For a quarter century, it has provided the most comprehensive and balanced coverage of Parliament, politics and public affairs. It has chronicled the elections that set the country’s direction. It has covered the conventions that produce our leaders-in-waiting. It has explored the debates that reflect our values. It has carried the commissions and inquiries that enforce those values. And every day, CPAC shines a light on the institutions that form the backbone of Canadian democracy.

We like to think of CPAC as your unobstructed window on Canada’s democratic process, your eyes and ears on the ground. It’s a unique role we take very seriously.

CPAC was created to allow Canadians to observe their democracy in action, born out of a desire to ensure that Canadians from coast to coast to coast could access the work of Parliament.

But it emerged from humble beginnings. Canada was one of the first countries in the world to televise live parliamentary proceedings, starting with coverage of Queen Elizabeth’s Speech from the Throne in October 1977. Initially, the national public broadcaster provided parliamentary broadcasts. In those days, the coverage was quite rudimentary, with footage from the House when it was convened and bulletin board-style announcements after hours. In the early 1990s, when the costs of providing this service became unsustainable, the CBC discontinued its involvement.

In 1992, a consortium of 27 privately-owned cable companies stepped to the plate, establishing the Cable Parliamentary Channel, a non-partisan, non-profit, bilingual, independent corporation that would give Canadians free and timely access to the workings of Parliament. The channel was subsequently renamed CPAC and is now owned by six cable companies—Rogers, Shaw, Videotron, Cogeco, Access and Eastlink—who have invested more than \$50 million to provide this important service.

Today, Canadians count on us not only for coverage of House of Commons proceedings and Parliamentary committees, but also for our coverage of royal commissions, inquiries and Supreme Court hearings. We also produce up to 30 hours a week of original content, including daily political roundup and analysis, interviews, conferences, public debates and foreign affairs.

In the quarter-century since our founding, we have covered eight federal elections, six prime ministers, 40 political conventions and tens of

thousands of hours of Parliamentary proceedings and committees. And we've done it all in CPAC's signature long-form style.

Along the way, we've been a leader in the digital media space, too. We were the first Canadian network to stream our programming live 24/7, and we've built an extensive digital archive with more than 30,000 hours of content, available for free, on-demand. We also foster an active social media community which becomes seemingly more and more engaged every year.

No matter the platform, CPAC has always been—and always will be—committed to providing unfiltered coverage of politics and public affairs. For 25 years, CPAC has shone a light on the path of that democracy—the twists, the turns, the delays and the breakthroughs—it is the complete story, without spin, so Canadians can make up their own minds.

But it's looking to the next 25 years that excites me the most. CPAC is a shimmering jewel providing independent, balanced and unbiased content. It's a very special media organization with a very unique mission to

advance Canadian democracy. There is not a day when the team and I do not appreciate how noble and important this cause is.

The CPAC Route 338 adventure started 10 months ago with a simple idea: How can we contribute more actively to Canadians' understanding of their democracy? Can we become an even better partner for educators, other organizations with like-minded missions, and the media to ensure that democratic literacy and media literacy are front and centre?

This fall, the vision becomes a reality and students and teachers alike will be able to find a wealth of information on Canada's 338 ridings. This microsite is a virtual road trip aimed at helping students better understand the diversities and particularities of our political system. This site will also host in-depth sections on the issues and the institutions.

We've also partnered with the Royal Geographical Society of Canada—that's where Chris and his talented colleagues came into the picture—to produce a series of giant floor maps and develop lesson plans themed

around Canadian democracy. These giant floor maps will tour schools across the country, helping educators make democratic literacy an interactive classroom experience.

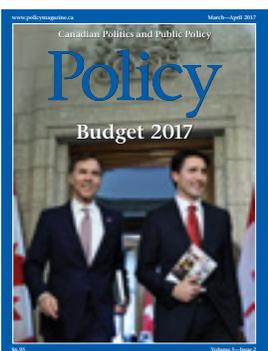
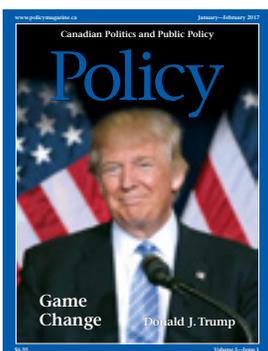
Through these educational initiatives, the team at CPAC is reaching out to the next generation to pique their political interests. Our goal: To help them understand Canada's rich political history, how Parliament works and the importance of political participation.

Democracy shouldn't exist behind a curtain. Democracy *can't* exist behind a curtain. For a quarter century, CPAC has held the curtain open, inviting Canadians to observe and engage with the institutions and the people that define their country. And now, we are doubling our efforts to allow more Canadians access via Route 338. This is our legacy, CPAC's legacy for future generations and ultimately, all Canadians. **P**

Catherine Cano is President and General Manager of CPAC. She was previously director of news at Radio-Canada. catherine.cano@cpac.ca

Policy

Canadian Politics and Public Policy



Subscribe to the print and online editions of *Policy* at policymagazine.ca

Our Diplomatic Identity: A Canadian Balance of Reason and Passion

Jeremy Kinsman

Over the past century, Canada has evolved and matured as a nation out of the yoke of colonialism and beyond the geographic dominance of its relationship to the United States. Through its valour in wartime and value as an honest broker, Canada has weathered shifts in geopolitics and its own domestic politics to emerge with its long-standing imperatives of multilateralism and pluralism intact. Veteran diplomat Jeremy Kinsman recounts the journey that brought Canada to its current place as a reliably rational port in our current global storm.

Duke Ellington once said that in his music, melody was his passion. But rhythm was his business.

Canadian foreign policy has long been described as having a similar divide. Our passion has been multilateralism—the binding together of the world’s nations in the spirit of liberal internationalism, as the antidote to competitive nationalist ambitions that caused the world wars of the 20th century, and as the platform for building common solutions to global and trans-national challenges.

Our “business” has been rooted in bilateral relations, especially key interest-based relationships that hold potentially existential implications, the most consequential of which is the one with the United States. After surges of bilateral economic tension in the 1970s and 1980s, NAFTA secured a productive economic relationship. Its defence from a new storm of “America First” impulses has

become the dominant preoccupation in Ottawa today.

The vulnerability of the relationship once caused worry that our preoccupations with shoring up liberal internationalism risked being an indulgent diversion, a deference to cosmopolitan values over the imperatives of self-interest. Our great ambassador to Reagan’s Washington, Allan Gotlieb, famously decried in a 2005 essay the long-standing collision between realism and “romanticism” in foreign policy. He feared our affection for the “melody” of internationalism risked under-representing vital national imperatives of business and geography. Today Gotlieb concedes that Trump’s throwback populist economic nationalism validates a renewed effort to diversify our economic relations to reduce our vulnerability.

In principle, a choice between bilateral and internationalist emphases is a false dichotomy. In practice, national interest insists we defend our economy, well-being, and sovereignty at

all times, while also throwing our shoulder behind the strengthening of international cooperation and the multilateral system.

The two impulses have generally been mutually reinforcing. Widely spread positive bilateral relationships earn support for Canadian initiatives in multilateral fora that in turn can enhance our influence, including in Washington. Influence in Washington augments influence elsewhere.

Canada’s defence of our geographic sovereignty goes back to the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 that set up the International Joint Commission, which provided a template for managing issues between two unequal partners, insulating Canada from the disadvantages of cross-sectoral linking of issues. In 1923, we signed with the U.S. the Halibut Treaty (signing for the first time without a UK co-signature).

The 1970 Arctic Waters Pollution Protection Act that the U.S. robustly contested and the 1979 East Coast Fisheries and Maritime Boundary Treaties that defined jurisdictions over national economic zones 200 miles from the coast followed (though the U.S. Senate rejected the fisheries agreement). Legal defence of our sovereignty dovetailed with our leading role in drafting the rules for a new international regime to govern rights on the sea bed and adjacent continental shelves.

Wars also propelled Canada’s international engagement. In London’s Green Park, a monument honours the “more than a million” Canadians in uniform

who passed through Great Britain on their way to Europe's murderous 20th Century wars.

After Canadian units fought together impressively in the First World War (though under British command), Prime Minister Robert Borden demanded a seat for Canada at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, followed by membership in the League of Nations.

The 1931 Statute of Westminster formally conferred on the dominions of the British Empire national responsibilities for diplomatic self-representation formerly exercised by Britain. Canada created a foreign service, having already deployed trade commissioners abroad.

“After Canadian units fought together impressively in the First World War (though under British command), Prime Minister Robert Borden demanded a seat for Canada at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, followed by membership in the League of Nations.”

In the Second World War, Canadian-commanded forces played an even more significant role, emerging temporarily as the world's fourth military power. An initial nuclear partner, our wish to act as a broker on disarmament drove the choice not to weaponize our capability.

The war effort earned a founding role in the creation of the post-war international institutional order meant to prevent future wars,

launching “the golden age” of Canadian diplomacy. Our best and brightest (men only, actually) leaned into building a better world, whose multilateral binding might also ease life with a much more powerful neighbour. We became enthusiastic joiners of a myriad of multilateral group-



Prime Minister Robert Borden and First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill leave the Admiralty after a meeting in London in 1912. *Library and Archives Canada photo*

ings for security, economics, culture, the environment, the Americas, the Commonwealth, and Francophonie.

Star diplomat Lester B. Pearson won the Nobel Prize for the 1956 Canadian initiative to create a UN peacekeeping force between Egypt and Israel after Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal awoke vestigial British and French imperialist impulses that provoked a stunning breach with the United States over the threat of a disastrous Middle East war.

Peacekeeping and mediation became



Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson and President John F. Kennedy at the Kennedy compound in Hyannisport, May 1963. *Library and Archives Canada photo*

Canadian vocations that made Canadian diplomats default chairpersons of committees and commissions across the United Nations.

Canadian officials were also original builders of the international trade and payments system, and its informal inside *directoires*, such as the G7, formed in 1975, and after 1981, “the Quad,” the sanctum of the four principal world traders (the US, the EU, Japan and Canada).

During the Cold War, though less ideologically hostile to the USSR than the US, Canada was an earnest member of the NATO alliance, having sponsored the article intended to bind members in a political-economic community as well as to mutual military commitments, again in the hope that wider multilateral ties might reduce our exposure to bilateral pressure in our neighbourhood.

Since postwar international peace and security and trade and payments systems largely reflected U.S. design, Washington welcomed our multilateral activism. Bilaterally, intensive wartime cooperation had built an easy working relationship between Canadian and American officials, enabling Canadian diplomacy to channel creative attention to wider international cooperation, including development assistance.

President de Gaulle's quixotic late-life decision to throw France behind Quebec's separatist movement, betraying

Canada's critical support for him in the Second World War, posed an almost existential threat and traumatized External Affairs. The crisis over de Gaulle's "Vive le Quebec Libre!" speech in Montreal in 1967 elevated the staunchest defender of our sovereignty in Cabinet—Pierre Trudeau.

Succeeding Pearson as Prime Minister in 1968, Trudeau asserted a harder-nosed focus on Canadian interests. He would repatriate the Canadian Constitution and draw up a Charter of Rights.

In foreign affairs, he clipped the easy access of External officials to their PM (they had long co-habited the East Block of Parliament). He cut back Canada's military presence in Europe.

Trudeau's foreign-policy review introduced a strategy for relations with the US, by then stuck in the quagmire of the Vietnam War, which Pearson had publicly deplored (disquieting External officials). Trudeau didn't challenge the U.S. on the war but admitted 30,000–40,000 dissenters and draft-dodgers.

Ahead of his time in foreseeing the rise of newly-industrializing powers, Trudeau broke from the pack to negotiate diplomatic relations with communist China. An advocate of North-South power-sharing, He became a prominent world figure who consorted as easily with Third World leaders as with colleagues in the G7, which became a central forum for Canadian multilateral interests.

President Nixon wasn't impressed, regarding Trudeau as a "leftie." When Nixon veered in 1971 to belligerent economic nationalism, imposing unilaterally a no-exceptions import surcharge with devastating implications for Canadian trade, Trudeau agreed with the recommendation from deceived External officials for a "Third Option" on relations with the U.S. To reduce the "current vulnerability," Canada would pursue enhanced national economic capacity and control and diversify economic ties, notably institutionalizing a closer economic relationship with the European Eco-



Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and President Ronald Reagan at the G7 summit in Venice in June 1987, only a few months before the successful negotiation of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. *Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum photo*

nom ic Community (finally achieved with the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement, CETA, in 2016).

With Ronald Reagan's election in 1980, U.S.-Canada relations again became fractious. His administration took issue with Canada's perceived "economic nationalism" as well as with Trudeau's apparent doubts over U.S. Cold War fixations.

Successor Brian Mulroney promised to make the bilateral relationship "special" again and free trade negotiations dominated the policy and political agenda. He calmed fears of losing national identity, safeguarding Canadian culture and avoiding identification with unpopular (in Canada) U.S. initiatives like "Star Wars" missile defence.

Mulroney also became a world figure who led an activist foreign policy that continued to deploy our energy to both bilateral business and multilateral passion.

The Cold War's end rewarded Canada's work on East-West detente and recharged our multilateral DNA. The UN at last functioned, if briefly, as its charter had foreseen, endorsing in 1991 a "just" war to expel Saddam Hussein from Kuwait with an unprecedented international military coalition. Canada contributed significant

air, sea, and land forces and Foreign Minister Joe Clark undertook highest-level diplomacy in the region to try to break logjams preventing lasting regional peace that would be tackled by the Oslo accords.

“As expectations of greater international harmony spread, Mulroney connected closely to western leaders and to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and then Russian President Boris Yeltsin. He and Clark championed the ending of apartheid and embedded a democratic vocation for the Commonwealth.”

As expectations of greater international harmony spread, Mulroney connected closely to western leaders and to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and then Russian President Boris Yeltsin. He and Clark championed the ending of apartheid and embedded a democratic vocation for the Commonwealth.

Taking office in 1993, Jean Chr -

tien operated with a lower profile but pushed the same foreign policy buttons, adding to our toolbox for promoting bilateral business ties the innovation of major Team Canada missions. The scare of a near-defeat in the 1995 Quebec referendum didn't lessen Canadian activity abroad. China became a top priority.

Retaining old worries from the 1988 Canada-U.S. FTA debate we risked being continentally overbalanced, Chrétien re-ignited talks to get the EU finally into a comprehensive economic agreement. This bilateral initiative and symmetry on the multilateral agenda of human security and action on climate change prompted Canada's designation as the EU's sixth strategic partner.

Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy steered the new policy paradigm for human security, launching international initiatives to protect increasingly vulnerable civilians by sponsoring a treaty to ban land mines, an International Criminal Court to try war crimes, and a doctrine of international responsibility to intervene in cases of mass atrocity. International civil society became a central partner in policy formulation and advocacy.

The 9/11 attacks dramatically shifted the focus to security. John Manley led an all-of-government effort to save the common Canada-U.S. supply chain's access across a hardening border.

NATO allies joined the U.S. in a campaign in Afghanistan to oust the Taliban. Alas, the US, with UK support, pushed toward a disconnected regime-change war and occupation in Iraq. Chrétien refused participation because of absence of authorization by the UN Security Council, earning Canada recognition as the "other North America."

Paul Martin's brief sojourn as prime minister promoted the G-20 as a more equitable central forum for international economic discussion, reflecting floundering confidence in existing international economic institutions such as the World Trade Organization as well as doubts over the Washington "consensus" on the supremacy of

market forces that the financial crisis of 2008 would confirm.

Stephen Harper radically tried to re-gear foreign policy to neo-conservative precepts that according to Foreign Minister John Baird, would end "worship at the altar of compromise and consensus." Abandoning the role of honest broker, Canada shunned countries whose regimes it disliked, including initially China, and on controversies such as Israel-Palestinian issues, lining up behind one side. Relations with the White House cooled under President Obama, whose world view resembled the Canadian one Harper had shed.

“Canada’s public image shines, driven by an enviable record of managing pluralism and an attractive and positive leader. The country’s impact abroad is increasingly channeled by internationalist Canadian citizens and businesses, creators, universities and civil society.”

“What’s happened to Canada?” was a question asked of many Canadians abroad, including ex-Foreign Minister David Emerson. Canada lost an election to the UN Security Council.

In Ottawa, human security was out and hard power was in. The long expeditionary war in Afghanistan became the all-consuming foreign policy activity, with high opportunity costs and meagre results on the ground and in nation-building. Multilateralist Foreign Affairs (for some years merged with International Trade, and soon to absorb international development and the Canadian International Development Agency, CIDA), was sidelined, centralizing power in the PMO to an unprecedented degree.

In 2015, newly-elected Justin Trudeau promised “Canada’s back!” Geographic and economic realities made rein-

forcing the North American continental venture with the U.S. and Mexico the lead priority, backed by aims to renew multilateral activism and a meeting of minds with president Obama.

Donald Trump’s election in 2016 re-introduced a threat to vital Canadian interests. Internationally, an effort to diversify markets and partnerships proceeds but on multilateral issues, Canada seems wary about antagonizing a newly nationalistic White House—an approach that has been unproductive in the past.

Foreign Affairs—renamed Global Affairs—appears an unwieldy bureaucracy struggling with challenges of the new digital, inter-active and public diplomacy environment. An even more narrowly-centred PMO monopolizes key U.S. policy issues, though Global’s high-profile and effective Minister Chrystia Freeland is gaining international traction.

Canada’s public image shines, driven by an enviable record of managing pluralism and an attractive and positive leader. The country’s impact abroad is increasingly channeled by internationalist Canadian citizens and businesses, creators, universities and civil society.

History doesn’t move forward in a straight line. In a more competitive and dangerous world where populist nationalism stalks even the US, the hundred-year duality of bilateral and multilateral imperatives is more relevant than ever for Canadian diplomacy—and identity.

There can be no let-up in efforts to champion and advance Canadian interests—our “business”—while diplomacy leans in to improve conditions for global security, well-being, and governance—our enduring “passion.” **P**

Contributing Writer Jeremy Kinsman is a former Canadian ambassador to Russia, the UK and the EU. He is now affiliated with University of California, Berkeley, and Ryerson University in Toronto. kinsmanj@shaw.ca

Canada's New Middle East Peace Footprint

Lisa Van Dusen

Notwithstanding recent observations to the contrary, the Middle East Peace Process is complicated. Indeed, it has been every unprintable term for complicated that you can think of, in English, Hebrew or Arabic. Meanwhile, a program funded largely by Canada has been overcoming obstacles, solving problems and building interpersonal and organizational peace between Israelis and Palestinians—with Jordanian collaboration—in storefront social work centres across the region and in classrooms at McGill University.

For at least half a century, Canada's role in the Middle East has seemed less significant than its positions on the Middle East. Lester Pearson's diplomatic tour de force in resolving the 1956 Suez Crisis and 1957 Nobel Peace Prize for the effort represented the apex of Canadian influence in the region. It consummated Canada's relationship with a young United Nations, launched the country's modern identity as both a peacemaker and peacekeeper and gave it credibility in a volatile neighbourhood long after Pearson's passing.

Canadian governments since then have generally defined the country's interests in the region in terms of development assistance, support both for Israel and for a two-state solution to its conflict with the Palestinians (until the Harper government made unconditional support for Israel a showpiece of both its foreign and domestic policy). Canada is not the major power and party-of-the-third-part United States, not a Quartet member like Russia, not a member of the Eu-

ropean Union with its significant funder footprint and not a Scandinavian middleman like Norway. Canada's notable contribution has been as chair of the Refugee Working Group established in Moscow in 1992 (for peace process geeks...between Madrid and Oslo), a role still appreciated by Palestinians and the peace establishment on both sides.

In diplomatic terms, the Trudeau government has returned to Ottawa's conventional balance in the region, if only by not making a point of taking sides beyond Canada's longstanding support for a two-state solution and support for Israel's right to "to live in peace and security with its neighbours" in the language of Global Affairs, known in blunter U.S. terms as "Israel's right to defend itself." But Justin Trudeau's post-election assertion that "Canada is back" was interpreted by many as an indication that—along with a return to multilateralism, globalism, assiduous diplomacy and respect for the United Nations, notwithstand-

ing its flaws—new possibilities could be entertained for a more balanced, constructive role in the Middle East (referring, for the purposes of this article, to Israel and the Palestinian Territories as opposed to the Greater Middle East including Syria, Iraq and Canada's military deployments to both, which is a separate discussion).

After the official Middle East Peace Process launched by the United States and Russia in Madrid in 1991, the tantalizingly hopeful Oslo years and ultimate prematurity of every subsequent re-launch photo-op, two-staters on both sides have been left supremely skeptical of progress, at least as long as Benjamin Netanyahu, who seems uniquely convinced of the sustainability of the status quo, is prime minister of Israel. The insertion of embattled President Donald Trump into an already volatile dynamic has done nothing, at least so far, to change that. But as diplomatic efforts to end the bilateral conflict have waxed and waned in the past two decades, Canada has been funding a program that has established a network of professionals and volunteers who are proving that peaceful coexistence isn't as elusive as the political intractability would have you think.

The McGill University-based International Community Action Network (ICAN), formerly The McGill Middle East Program in Civil Society and Peace Building, trains Israeli, Palestinian and Jordanian fellows in a rights-based community practice social work MSW year at McGill followed by a year spent in one of 11 storefront centres in the region. Rights-based community practice social work combines



Palestinian poet and activist, ICAN graduate and founder of the ICAN An-Najah Community Service Center Sami Al-Kilani (left) and ICAN founder Jim Torczyner (right) in the program's McGill offices. *ICAN Photo*

legal aid and social justice by empowering underserved communities to access their rights and solve their legal, social and economic problems. ICAN has built a successful network of nine academic and civil society partners—from Ben Gurion and an-Najah universities to the Jordan Hashemite Fund (JOHUD) to Shatil—and of hundreds of committed staff, volunteers and clients on the ground in the region who advance the Canadian values of democracy, human rights and inclusion while alleviating economic inequality and building resilience in the poorest neighbourhoods of the Middle East.

ICAN founder Jim Torczyner, the New York-raised son of Holocaust survivors, ended up teaching in the McGill School of Social Work after graduating from Berkeley in the 70s.

He started Project Genesis, a rights-based community practice social work program serving the low-income residents of Côte-des-Neiges. Torczyner, who had worked in Israel as a social worker and activist in his youth, felt increasingly compelled to harness the principles of rights-based community practice social work as a means of building peace between Israelis and Palestinians. Convincing institutions in the region to buy into the concept was, in itself, a peace-building exercise. “When people have been hating each other for that long, they don’t just jump into bed,” Torczyner recalls. “When we started the program, we had to make sure there was something in it for everyone that was powerful enough to transcend the entrenched paradigm of suspicion and mistrust with enlightened self-interest and tangible collective benefit.” That the program

was Canada-funded (with an initial grant of just \$150,000 for the first class of four fellows) and McGill-based was key. “The fact that we were flying a Canadian flag gave everyone a safe space in which to embrace both our collaboration and our tensions, which were an inevitable part of the process,” says Torczyner. Bedouin and women’s rights activist and program graduate Amal el-Sana Alh-jooj has taken over from Torczyner as executive director of the program, which now assists more than 120,000 individuals a year.

“‘When people have been hating each other for that long, they don’t just jump into bed,’ Torczyner recalls. ‘When we started the program, we had to make sure there was something in it for everyone’.”

Full disclosure: I worked as a communications consultant for the program more than a decade because, having written frequently about the peace process as a columnist in Washington, I fell for the concept instantly. While working for ICAN, I met Israeli and Palestinian fellows who’d never known anyone from the “other side” at home but became part of each other’s lives in classrooms and around dinner tables in sub-zero Montreal. I met volunteer architects rebuilding homes in Nablus, Israeli women in West Jerusalem organizing their own food cooperatives and newly divorced mothers in Amman learning computer skills. From the grassroots volunteers to the fellows to the university presidents whose involvement was crucial to the inception and survival of the program (including An-Najah President Rami Hamdallah, now Palestinian prime minister), the commitment and moral consis-



The ICAN Mobile Rights Centre now serves over 8 cities around Nablus in the West Bank including Tulkarem, Jenin, and Qalqilia. ICAN Photo

tency of everyone associated with it were breathtaking. I still provide occasional *pro bono* communications advice when asked.

Palestinian poet and member of the 1991 Madrid negotiating delegation Sami Al-Kilani was one of the first Palestinian fellows in the program and founded the Nablus centre in 1999. Al-Kilani spent five years in Israeli prisons and three years under “town arrest” between 1977 and 1986. After being acquitted on charges of “poetic incitement”, Al-Kilani refused to stop writing and was jailed repeatedly for his defiance. In prison, he became a passionate proponent of nonviolent resistance, learning Hebrew and preaching the inevitability of a two-state solution to his interrogators. Al-Kilani, who was adopted by Amnesty International as a prisoner of conscience, is now a visiting professor in the School of Social Work at McGill. He recalls how the program’s unique combina-

“ From the grassroots volunteers to the fellows to the university presidents whose involvement was crucial to the inception and survival of the program (including An-Najah President Rami Hamdallah, now Palestinian prime minister), the commitment and moral consistency of everyone associated with it were breathtaking. ”

tion of results on the ground and collaboration across the Israeli-Palestinian divide perfectly embodied his beliefs. “I was always looking for ways to turn my suffering and pain into something constructive,” he said recently in a joint *Policy* interview with Torczyner at ICAN’s Mc-

Gill offices. “It was important for me to show that you don’t need to stay a captive and prisoner of your pain and turn it into hatred and desire for revenge—to continue the cycle of action and reaction...the relationship between occupied and occupier damages both sides.”

In the 20 years since its inception, the Canadian government has invested \$15 million in the program through CIDA, the Quebec government has invested \$2 million and \$13 million has come from private donors, foundations and other governments, the total of which has generated, according to ICAN, \$75 million in direct benefits to the region. Merav Moshe Grodofsky, a McGill MSW graduate who is now Chair of the School of Social Work at Sapir College in Israel, wrote from Sderot, “The values that underpin our work are Canadian values reflected in our daily struggle to ensure basic human rights, to advance relationships between multicultural communities and to promote conflict resolution and peace building through the preservation of human dignity and opportunities for human development.” In 2016, ICAN graduated its first Syrian fellow, Adnan Al-Mahied—a democracy activist who fled Syria on foot through ISIS territory to get to Istanbul and on to McGill. The program is now proposing a five-year vision for the region that includes expansion into post-conflict Syria, a country with no history of social work but where the pro-active, conflict-seasoned brand of the profession practiced by ICAN would likely deliver disproportionate results. Which seems like the perfect instrument of Canadian foreign policy in the region. **P**

Policy Associate Editor Lisa Van Dusen was a Washington columnist for The Ottawa Citizen and Washington bureau chief and foreign affairs columnist for Sun Media. She was also international news writer for Peter Jennings at ABC World News Tonight as well as an editor at AP in New York and UPI in Washington.



Mexican President Carlos Salinas, U.S. President George Bush and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney watch as trade ministers Jaime Serra Puche, Carla Hills, and Michael Wilson signing the NAFTA for their three countries in San Antonio, Texas in October 1992. *Courtesy of the George Bush Presidential Library*

Canada: A Trading Nation in the World of Trump

Derek H. Burney and Fen Hampson

With global trade as with so many other elements of the existing world order, the Trump administration seems determined to overturn precedent, disrupt existing alliances and reverse trends. Approaching a crucial set of negotiations under such circumstances on the massive North American Free Trade Agreement will require even more skill and patience than the landmark deal itself did after successful talks a quarter century ago.

“Let chaos storm! Let cloud shapes swarm, I wait for form,” the American poet Robert Frost once wrote. The ongoing saga engulfing America’s 45th president is even more turbulent and unpredictable than Frost’s storm clouds and Canadians, like Frost, are going to have to wait for some semblance of order to emerge.

As a trading nation that exports nearly 32 per cent in goods and services of its GDP, about 75 per cent of it to the US, Canada counts on America as a reliable and stable trading partner. But Donald

Trump thrives in an atmosphere of chaos, one in which he dominates the media spotlight, often with indulgences via Twitter that do not always serve his own best interests.

Trump clearly believes that the world (including Canada) is taking advantage of the U.S. on trade, on security and on the environment. He declared that the Paris Accord is a “massive redistribution of U.S. wealth to other countries”, adding bluntly that he was elected to serve the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris. While his criticism of NATO allies’ spending has merit, his avoidance of the customary reassuring statement about Article 5—mutual defence—at the May 2017 NATO summit was troubling. His rants about trade deficits may be good politics but they are bad economics. His manner and rhetoric indicate ominously that self-interest, not leadership of the western alliance, is the prime motivator for this president, which is jangling nerves in many Western capitals.

“Stop the World I want to Get Off” is not a clarion call worthy of the world’s greatest superpower, nor is it an attitude shared by all Americans, but it is one Canada will have to adapt to or indulge nimbly while minimizing direct repercussions.

One potential positive is that, since Trump’s twin priorities are economic growth and national security, there is no country better positioned to bolster both than Canada. There is genuine scope for mutually beneficial cooperation on infrastructure, like the outdated electricity grids that straddle our shared border, on cybersecurity and defense—after all, NORAD is older than NAFTA—and on energy development for an “energy independent North America”.

For much of Canada’s 150 years as a confederation, and even before 1867, trade relations with the U.S. have been a recurring, often riveting issue—a rollercoaster of sorts, with highs and lows of optimism and concern. The successful negotiation of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement in 1987, and subsequently the NAF-

“For much of Canada’s 150 years as a confederation, and even before 1867, trade relations with the U.S. have been a recurring, often riveting issue—a rollercoaster of sorts, with highs and lows of optimism and concern.”

TA, including Mexico, in 1992, were landmark accomplishments of the Mulroney government.

Concern is uppermost today and the main question is whether Canada can weather the assaults triggered by the election of Donald Trump and keep the rollercoaster on its rails.

Trump’s erratic attitude on trade with Canada is troubling. When he first met our prime minister last February, the tone was positive. Trump said then that he only wanted to “tweak” NAFTA, prompting sighs of relief in Ottawa. Soon after, however, he described NAFTA as the “worst trade deal ever” and threatened to scrap it altogether. His Commerce Secretary, Wilbur Ross, added to the drama by talking about using “bazookas” to extract trade concessions from Canada.

Trump may see himself as a patriotic populist but his “Buy American; Hire American” proclamations are just unadulterated protectionism wrapped in the stars and stripes. His “America First” rhetoric is destabilizing and generating caution, if not unease, for Canadian producers and investors.

The reality of what will happen on trade is an open question.

The optimistic scenario is that Canada, the U.S., and Mexico quickly conclude a relatively painless agreement that would modernize NAFTA, adding elements on e-commerce, on standards and regulations and on 21st century issues negotiated under the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP). This would be subject to ratification by Congress—by no means certain—and the Parliament of Canada and Mexico’s Congress.

The advantage of this approach is that it would serve President Trump’s penchant for an “early win”—something he desperately needs. The downside is that a modest upgrade will not resolve the negative perceptions nor the expectations of wholesale reform he promised Americans. It certainly would not return jobs to America’s industrial heartland though it is not clear anything will.

The more daunting prospect is that negotiations become embroiled over substantive differences on thorny issues and drag on inconclusively into the Mexican election and U.S. midterms next year, the results of which may simply complicate matters more. In this scenario, irreconcilable differences could prompt one of the parties to withdraw abruptly from the negotiating table, dashing the hopes for any kind of settlement. Regardless of what evolves, a prolonged period of uncertainty seems unavoidable.

The calendar is very tight. The Trump administration is roughly halfway through its 90-day consultation period seeking authority from Congress to re-negotiate NAFTA. However, Congress, not the administration, ultimately determines the outcome on any trade negotiation. In mid-July, the administration will signal a detailed list of its objectives enabling negotiations to begin in mid-August and hopefully conclude early in 2018, well ahead of the presidential elections in Mexico and the midterms in the U.S. Trump may want something fast on NAFTA—but he says that on most things. So far he has been unable to get much traction on any legislation in Congress, even though his party has a majority in both chambers.

Given the extent to which the heated rhetoric has polluted public attitudes on trade in America, there is no certainty that *any* trade agreement would pass muster with this Congress.

For Canada, overt, capricious actions against softwood lumber and steel along with concerns about Buy America tendencies are already front and centre. Trump has openly expressed unhappiness about supply-managed dairy products, among other Canadian sins. With Mexico, the problem is sugar. We, of course, have a list of our own about nefarious U.S. intentions, like a dismantling of the dispute settlement provisions. So any negotiation could quickly get testy.

So what should Canada do in the meantime?

Canada cannot negotiate with a chimerica, nor under demands for unilateral concessions. We need to stay calm and disciplined, consult broadly and define precisely and pragmatically what we want and do not want on a revised or refreshed NAFTA. We also need to clarify what the U.S. intends to negotiate and we need to define what would constitute success for Canada. The result must serve Canadian interests, preserving and strengthening access to our most vital market.

The current climate of uncertainty is definitely dampening business confidence and investment. It will definitely be better to move beyond bombastic bluster and start negotiating, recognizing above all that, to be successful, any trade negotiation must convey mutual benefit. Unilateral demands or unilateral concessions cannot be part of the bargain. And the sooner we can get to a negotiating table, the better.

We should also keep the following eight points in mind:

1. Trade agreements have become whipping boys for all that ails developed countries, but the employment dislocation in our economies stems more from dramatic techno-

logical changes—automation, robotics, artificial intelligence, etc.—and the shift from manufacturing to services like e-commerce than from the impact of tariff redirections introduced more than 20 years ago. The reality is that more people than ever enjoy new social and economic opportunities due to the combination of more liberalized trade and technological change. But few politicians are willing to state this simple truth to a cynical public.

“Nine million American jobs depend on exports to Canada, still the U.S.’s largest export market, a fact known by too few Americans but one that should be our ‘trump card’ or leverage in any negotiation.”

2. The most serious wounds are self-inflicted. The U.S. Council on Foreign Relations study “How America Stacks Up” concluded that “the slow economic growth in the U.S. over the past decade has resulted not from what the world has done to America but what America has done to itself”, especially in terms of tax rates and stifling anti-business regulations.
2. History demonstrates clearly that protectionism and closed markets offer no panacea for growth.
3. There is scope for improvements to NAFTA that would serve our collective interest as in the case of e-commerce, where there is already major growth, including Mexico where large numbers of Mexico’s rapidly growing middle class are now shopping online.
4. We must prepare strategically and tactically, working the U.S. political system as never before, mobilizing key constituencies in support of our objectives and explaining to Ameri-

cans precisely why a good trade relationship with Canada is very much in our mutual interest. Nine million American jobs depend on exports to Canada, still the U.S.’s largest export market, a fact known by too few Americans but one that should be our “trump card” or leverage in any negotiation.

5. Canada’s team must keep a close eye on Congress given its ultimate authority for trade agreements, especially those representatives whose districts and states rely heavily on trade with Canada. We are the number one export destination for 35 states.
6. For any negotiation to succeed, there has to be some political consensus and commitment at the top leadership level about what is achievable.
7. We need to prepare thoroughly for all contingencies and be explicit up front about what is *not* negotiable. The Americans will have a similar, no-go-zone list. When it comes to trade, there is no monopoly on virtue anywhere in the world.
8. Always keep in mind that “No deal is preferable to a bad deal.” That was the basic principle that guided us in the first free trade negotiation. We need to know when and how to say “No”.

So, fasten your seat belts. It will not be easy and it could get very bumpy but there is no reason to panic or pull the emergency switch. Mutual self-interest is the most sobering tonic of all in any trade negotiation. **P**

Contributing writer Derek H. Burney was chief of staff to Prime Minister Mulroney at the time of the Canada-U.S. FTA negotiation in 1987, and ambassador of Canada to the U.S. when the NAFTA was negotiated in 1992. derek.burney@nortonrosefulbright.com

Contributing writer Fen Hampson is Chancellor’s Professor at Carleton University’s Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NIPSIA), and Distinguished Fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). fen.hampson@cunet.carleton.ca



Column / Don Newman

Peace, Unity and the Canadian Way

Where did the time go?

As Canada marks its 150th birthday, it doesn't seem all that long ago that we were celebrating the centenary, in 1967.

Since the centennial flame, the school trips, the building projects and Bobby Gimby leading us singing Ca-na-da, one third of Canada's history has occurred. And many of us have lived all of it. More of us have lived much of it and everyone has lived some of it.

As at any significant anniversary, it is incumbent on us to pause, look back at what has been accomplished, and then look ahead to what remains to be done.

As we look back at the past 50 years, what are the milestones, and what are the things that we wouldn't want to keep doing over and over?

The most important thing fits both of those categories. We have learned that we can't take our country for granted. Twice in the past 50 years, our very existence has been threatened. Both times, in 1980 and again in 1995, we had to fight referendums on Quebec secession.

That is something that we don't want to keep doing over and over. And maybe we won't have to. Because certainly the best thing that illustrates what it means to be a Canadian happened after the separatists lost the 1995 referendum by the razor thin margin of one point, 50.56 to 49.44 per cent.

If you can't remember what hap-

pened after that referendum that is because nothing happened. Despite the closeness of the vote and the obvious disappointment of the losers there were no riots, no demonstrations, no public vandalism. Instead they accepted the results, licked their wounds and went home to plan another try some other time. Separatists in Quebec acted in a very Canadian way.

That happened because of wisdom shown 50 years ago, when separatists and separatism were in the ascendancy. In most countries people who wanted to break that country up would be arrested, imprisoned or deported.

But in this country, we Canadianized separatism, even agreeing to call it the sovereignty movement, much more respectable. The "soft question" in 1980 asked Quebecers if they wanted both sovereignty and economic "association" with Canada.

We decided that if Quebec separatists could achieve their goals politically—then the rest of the country would have to deal with them politically. The result is that separatists have been turned into politicians. Not in Canada would they be portrayed as romantic freedom fighters, hiding in the woods, sweeping down to stage hit and run attacks.

Instead, they became members of the decidedly unromantic political class, dealing with potholes in roads, wait-times for health care, education and taxes. By dealing with separation and separatists in a Canadian way, we

made it less likely to happen.

Now as we embark on the next 50 years, we have to use that combination of Canadian ingenuity and common sense to solve other pressing problems.

How to get our energy resources to world markets while combating rising world temperatures? Difficult, yes, but surely no more difficult than turning separatists into politicians. And longer term, and as important as accommodating Quebec within Canada in the last 50 years, is dealing with the plight of our first people, indigenous Canadians.

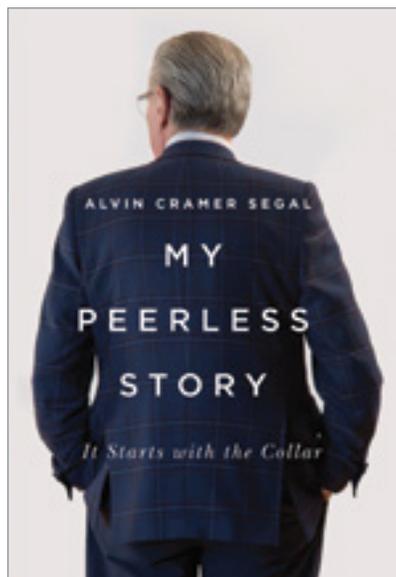
Arguably the plight of First Nations is even worse than it was 50 years ago. The Residential Schools have finally been shut down, but their ruinous effects linger on. As more young indigenous people have left reserves and relocated in cities, they have been completely unprepared.

Uneducated and unemployed, they have fallen victim to the worst ills of the cities: Alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, lack of health care and all other manner of social ills.

For Canada, this is the problem of our time. If we as Canadians cannot address this problem before we celebrate another significant anniversary, then Canada will have little to celebrate. **P**

Don Newman is Senior Counsel at Navigator Limited and Ensign Canada, Chairman of Canada 2020 and a lifetime member of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery. dnewman@navltd.com

Summer Reading



The King of Suits

Alvin Cramer Segal

My Peerless Story: It Starts with the Collar. Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017.

Review by
L. Ian MacDonald

When Alvin Segal started as an 18-year-old worker in the family-owned Peerless Clothing, he knew nothing about the business. “My job at Peerless truly did start with the collars,” Segal writes in his memoir, which he’s been working on for several years.

“Collars became an obsession of mine,” he writes. “If the collar doesn’t hug the neck properly, the finished coat doesn’t fit the way it should.”

And that’s how Segal learned the clothing business, on the factory floor, from the ground up. Three years later, when he was just 21, his stepfather Moe Segal told him: “Alvin, you’re now in charge of the factory.”

At the time, in the mid-1950s, Peer-

less was a modest maker of low-priced suits and trousers located in the heart of Montreal’s *schmatte* district. Its sales were about \$2 million a year with profit margins around five per cent. All its customers were in Canada, in places like Eaton’s basement.

Today, Peerless is the largest maker of men’s and boys’ tailored clothing in the world. Among its global high-end labels are Ralph Lauren and Calvin Klein.

And Alvin Segal sits atop the clothing world as the King of Suits. Now 83, and for decades the company’s executive chairman and CEO, he still works at the Peerless plant on Pie-IX Boulevard in the North End of Montreal, a place glittering with all the modern tools of the trade.

The story of how Segal built a Canadian world champion is one that starts on the floor of that factory, with suits shipped every day across the border to a distribution centre that is the largest employer in St. Albans, Vt.

But the Peerless success story is also one of how Segal made the most of free trade, first the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA) implemented in 1989, and then the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) beginning in 1994.

During the FTA negotiations from 1985-87, the Mulroney government struck Sectoral Advisory Groups on International Trade (SAGITs), with Canadian industries. “On the apparel SAGIT,” he writes, “I represented men’s fine clothing.”

He continues: “Regular SAGIT meetings were held for three years, and I gathered a tremendous amount of knowledge throughout the proceedings.” During the SAGIT talks, he writes, “it became very clear that the apparel industry needed access to raw materials not made in North America

to compete with free trade.”

Shifting the rules of origin in fabric, with foreign materials qualifying as domestic content, was Segal’s signature breakthrough in the FTA round. Segal writes he was “introduced to the words ‘imports’ and ‘quotas’ and began to gain a full understanding of their meaning and importance to our industry.” Under the FTA, Peerless would make the most of both.

“We had a fabric advantage, the right product and no international union stopping us from making changes,” he writes. “It was the perfect combination of ideal conditions and unique opportunities.” Segal also built a strong sales team in New York, the home of the American clothing industry.

Sales was not a role Segal would ever have been cut out for himself, because of a serious stutter—one of the reasons he was first put in the cutting room, and learned the business bottom to top.

Segal’s personal narrative is one of twists of fate, leading to destiny, fate being something that happens and destiny being something that’s created.

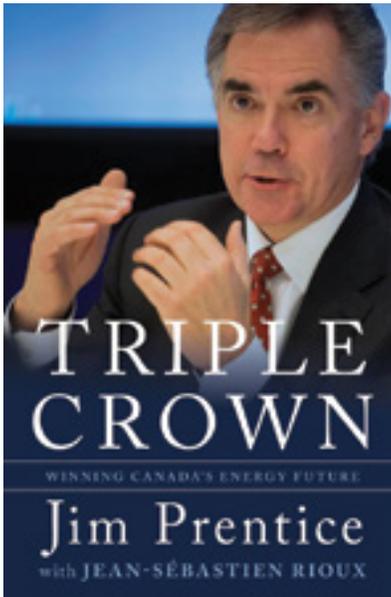
Born as Alvin Cramer in upstate New York, his father George Cramer died when he was only seven. Relatives set his mother, Betsy Pearson Cramer, up with the recently widowed Moe Segal in Montreal, which is how Alvin came to Canada, adopting his stepfather’s name when he went to work for him.

From there, the stepson with the stutter whose gut instinct and one-sentence business philosophy—have a long-range plan that changes every day—made him one of the most successful manufacturers in Canadian history, bought the company, lost the stutter and became a prominent philanthropist in Montreal’s Jewish

community, supporting cancer research at the Jewish General Hospital, and creating the Segal Centre for Performing Arts.

His Peerless story demonstrates how success in business can also lead to a culture of giving back, both to his employees and his community. It's a worthy story, on both levels. **P**

Policy Editor L. Ian MacDonald is the author of five books. lianmacdonald@policymagazine.ca



A Policy Legacy

Jim Prentice with
Jean-Sébastien Rioux

Triple Crown: Winning Canada's Energy Future. Toronto, HarperCollins, 2017.

Review by Jaime Watt

It would be challenging for any reasonable Canadian—Conservative, Liberal, New Democrat or Green—to read the late Jim Prentice's book *Triple Crown: Winning Canada's Energy Future*, and find a significant objection to his central argument.

This non-partisan, policy-driven, thoughtfully crafted and emotion-

ally charged manifesto by Alberta's former premier and federal Conservative cabinet minister clearly and elegantly posits that Canada should be the country the world looks to for responsible energy development.

Prentice, who tragically died in a plane crash late last year, argues that Canada has the potential to redefine itself as a global force in the energy world. Canada, Prentice notes, has one of the world's largest asset bases of oil, natural gas, uranium, coal, hydroelectricity and renewable energy. He reminds us, however, that when Canadians and others talk about Canadian energy, the first thing that comes to mind are the Alberta oil sands along with the negative imagery that quickly follows.

He speaks to the fact that Canadians are proud of their aviation industry, universities, technology centres, and world-class manufacturing hubs in Ontario and Quebec, but are embarrassed and withdrawn when it comes to the energy sector. As Prentice sees it, the proof is in the pudding—not one major global energy company is headquartered in Canada.

The book starts with a comprehensive overview of Canada's resources, and their strategic interest. It quickly digs deeper to offer an eye-opening, first-hand account of the Canadian-American relationship from a nuanced perspective. It provides a measured account of hurdles the energy economy faces, namely what many consider to be environmental challenges. Prentice frames these instead as opportunities—legitimate issues that relate to Canada's First Nations. To conclude, Prentice describes opportunities in the Asia Pacific Basin and offers recommendations for a better future.

Prentice argues that for Canada to have a future in the energy business it must excel in the business of the environment.

Prentice's view is that a prosperous economy and a healthy environment go hand in hand, and that Canadian politicians often don't understand

this. The economic cost of doing nothing on climate change is high, he says, noting that the Keystone XL Pipeline—the most significant expansion of Canada's energy export capacity into the United States—was blocked only because the U.S. president didn't want to be associated with Canada's climate change policies. He also notes that Canada's pipeline push to both the east and the west is being challenged by First Nations and by municipal and provincial governments, on environmental grounds.

It's a valuable lesson to pragmatic conservatives across the country: Canada, for the sake of its continued prosperity, must respond to the issue that critics are using to undermine this success—the environment.

New Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer should heed this advice. Few people now doubt the science of climate change, virtually everyone under the age of 30, and even a majority of Albertans see the environment as an important issue. Scheer's chances at electoral success will be significantly weakened unless the Conservatives have a mature policy position on climate change.

So far, Canadian politicians have not come up with clear, forward-looking policies on energy and the environment. These, Prentice argues, are desperately needed.

Prentice makes clear we need to lead more aggressively on the environment, and that energy success will depend on reducing our carbon emissions and greening our energy systems.

This book should be mandatory reading for any aspiring Canadian leader, regardless of partisan stripe. It is the definitive text on how to move our energy and resource economy forward in a political world that is increasingly impeding its successful future. **P**

Jaime Watt is Executive Chairman of Navigator Ltd and a Conservative columnist and commentator. jwatt@navltd.com



BMO at 200

Laurence B. Mussio

A Vision Greater than Themselves: The Making of the Bank of Montreal, 1817-2017. Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017

Review by
Anthony Wilson-Smith

“Let me issue and control a nation's money and I care not who writes the laws,” the 18th century banker Mayer Amschel Rothschild declared. He was well-placed to say so; the legendary family dynasty that he helped build has sometimes transcended nations in the scope of its influence.

Fortunately for Canadians, the financial institutions governing our country have been in generally well-meaning and capable hands since—and even before—Confederation. As the academic and business historian Laurence B. Mussio reminds us in his smart and engaging new coffee-table book, *A Vision Greater Than Themselves: The Making of the Bank of Montreal, 1817-2017*, that was true even when money was issued by the banks themselves. BMO, Canada's oldest existing bank, began printing paper money within the year of its founding. It did so right up until 1942, when its last \$5 bills—replete with pictures of the bank's president and general manager—were put into circulation. (With the 1935 establishment of the federal Bank of Canada, the banks were given a timeline to

start reducing and eventually retire the banknotes they issued from public circulation).

Mussio, with the full collaboration of BMO, tells these and other stories in smooth prose often leavened with dry wit and occasional bluntness. The end result lifts the book well above corporate hagiography—to the great credit of both author and subject.

Mussio clearly understood that the history of a bank, while important, doesn't necessarily make for breath-taking reading if presented in the usual timeline form. Instead, he uses bite-size snippets to relate BMO's growth and achievements. In all, there are 200—one for each year of existence—divided into three sections. Those are *The BMO Universe* (profiles of key people and events); *Two Centuries of Banking* (statistical snapshots); and *The Material Culture of BMO Banking* (photos of historic objects such as telegraph codebooks; The 1890s 'Blickensderfer Typewriter', one of the first truly portable typewriters; and the 1870 "Protectograp" designed to thwart forgers).

Despite the stodgy image of banks, Mussio reminds us that they—specifically BMO—are often innovative in the development and use of technology. Before 1979, clients could only perform large transactions at their home branch. Computerized multi-branch banking allowed customers for the first time to “perform deposits, withdrawals, fund transfers and passbook updates” at any branch. Twenty years on, the introduction of mobile banking meant that customers could, for the first time, electronically “move money, check credit card balances, trade stocks and more” as we do today.

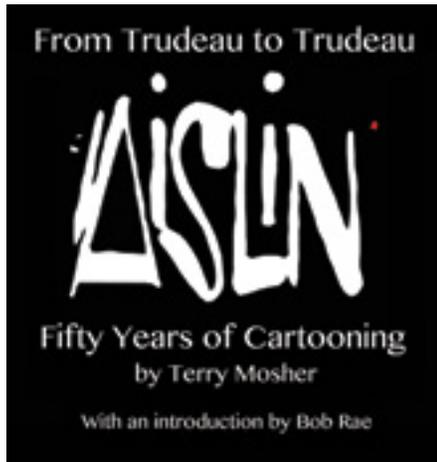
Mussio's willingness to acknowledge when the bank and/or key people are less than perfect (and BMO's willingness to accept that) add to the book's charm. In slightly barbed prose, he praises the legendary W.D. “Bill” Mulholland's achievements while noting that his exacting manner “would have made him feel at home as a Ro-

man proconsul or a field marshal”. Of an earlier leader, Edwin Henry King, he cheerfully reports that he was “called—derisively—the ‘King of Canada; ‘a little God’...’truculent and uncompromising’...’and [described] even by his allies as ‘very peculiar’.” Mussio also notes those occasions when BMO has been late to the game. For example, the introduction of MasterCard credit cards in the early 1970s came “frankly belatedly”.

Those small asides enhance appreciation of BMO's achievements by creating a sense of balance. After two centuries, there aren't many areas of Canadian life where BMO has *not* been involved, through its vast network of branches; community philanthropy; economic impact—and, most recently—expanding our country's business footprint abroad. BMO set up an office in London in 1870, and has been in business in the United Kingdom ever since. It began preparing to do business in China in the early 1970s and set up its first representative office in Beijing in 1983. In the United States, its 1984 acquisition of Chicago-based Harris Bank made it the pace-setter for other Canadian banks entering the U.S. market.

Mussio's book appears as BMO prepares for a new chapter; William Downe, after a decade as CEO, will retire in October and be replaced by Darryl White, the chief operating officer. That's nice symmetry; a new CEO as the bank begins a third century of operation. There is every reason to presume that the seasoned White will build on the successes of Downe and his predecessors. In the meantime, BMO—and Canadians—are well-served by this authoritative, affectionate but clear-eyed look at a national institution that fit that description even before Canada existed. **P**

Contributing writer Anthony Wilson-Smith, former editor of Maclean's, is President and CEO of Historica Canada. AWilson-Smith@historiacanada.ca



Aislin's 50 Years

Terry Mosher

Trudeau to Trudeau: Aislin 50 Years of Cartooning.
Montreal, Aislin, 2017.

Review by James Baxter

It's hard to imagine one's life summed up in a compendium of cartoons, but for many of us, that is exactly what Terry Mosher does with his new retrospective, *Trudeau to Trudeau: Aislin 50 Years of Cartooning*.



The morning after the 1976 election of the PQ. Perhaps the most famous Canadian political cartoon of the last 50 years.

The book, and the corresponding exhibit at Montreal's McCord Museum, offers Canadians a chance to see the past half-century through the eyes and pen of one of the most gifted, whimsical and often cutting contemporary artists. From the FLQ crisis, Trudeau-Lévesque, the Montreal

Olympics and the glory days of the Montreal Canadiens to now (not the glory days), this latest collection of Aislin cartoons serves as a diary of all that is and has been right and wrong with Montreal, our country and our world over the past half-century.



On the road again. A shirtless Justin Trudeau in his father's Mercedes convertible.

This book is designed to prompt "I-remember-this" moments, told through the artwork and Mosher's wry storytelling. That alone is reason enough to have the book on your bedside table, but it is the little surprise sketches and the personal stories behind the cartoons that make this book special. Indeed, one should read it at least twice, once for the hilarious cartoons and again for the brilliant stories that make up the life of one of Canada's best-known artists.

From a high school dropout who forged his own diploma in the 1960s, to the 1970s making mischief with the irrepressible Nick Auf der Maur, to his quieter life these days, Mosher—as seen through his Aislin works—has more than just seen Canadian life, he has lived it and loved it. He took the fight over Bill 101 and two referenda to the Parti Québécois, championing the plight of the linguistic minorities through mockery and satire.

When Brian Mulroney got a little too cozy with Ronald Reagan and opened Canada to free trade, Mosher's cartoons gave voice to the nation's angst. And he saved some of his most devastating work for Stephen Harper, who was about as popular in Montreal as a canker sore.



1984—an enduring image of the Tory piglet slaying the Liberal hog.

The book has some old standards. One of the most famous Aislin cartoons ever remains the Mulroney piglet atop the mortally wounded and bloated Liberal hog demanding to know "Where's the trough?" That 1984 cartoon remains poignant and outrageously funny to this day. It also includes one of the favourites of recent years: Justin Trudeau taking a selfie with Queen Elizabeth.

It is evident in meandering through the 50 years of Aislin that it's his social conscience that elevates Mosher above the simple title of newspaper cartoonist. He is atop that heap for sure, but also a brilliant comedian with a scorching wit.

As historian Desmond Morton said: "Mosher has been tweaking noses for underdogs across Canada ... since 1967."

In his foreword, Bob Rae, himself the "victim" of an occasional Aislin burn, said "(Mosher's) work is an invitation to laughter and, to be serious for a moment, speaks to a deeper humanity in his approach to drawing and to life." Rae adds of Mosher's targets: "He mocks them, but for the most part doesn't despise them and some he actually admires."

It is perhaps for this reason, coupled with his Maurice Richard-like consistency for hitting the target, that Mosher's Aislin cartoons are as much a part of the Canadian fabric as poutine, beer and maple-flavoured anything. **P**

James Baxter is Editor and Publisher of iPolitics. jamesbaxter@ipolitics.ca

The new version of

THE WIRE REPORT

has just rolled out.

New features:

- Sleek, new user-friendly design.
- The only telecom/media publication reporting directly from Parliament Hill.
- The most comprehensive CRTC coverage in Canada.
- Media Production News: a new round-up of the week's news affecting broadcast, digital and interactive media.



Covering business and government for Canadian telecom and media.

Log in today: wirereport.ca

For more information contact Mark: **613 688 8821**

POURQUOI TU N'EMPRUNTES PAS UNE NOUVELLE VOIE?

Il existe plusieurs avantages à nous choisir pour les voyages d'affaires.

Maximiser sa productivité

Avec le Wi-Fi gratuit, les sièges confortables, l'espace et le cellulaire à portée de main, travailler à bord est aussi, voire plus efficace, qu'au bureau.

Réduire son empreinte écologique

Choisir le train, c'est contribuer à un avenir plus vert.

Réduire ses dépenses

Ensemble, on contribue à réduire aussi celles de tous les Canadiens.

POURQUOI TU NE PRENDS PAS LE TRAIN?

Liaison	Nombre de départs par jour	Distance	Temps productif en train	Temps non productif en voiture*	Coût du voyage en voiture**	Coût du voyage en train (à partir de seulement)	Économies pour le contribuable (voyage en train)***
Ottawa ↔ Toronto	Jusqu'à 18	450 km	4 h 23 min	4 h 34 min	467 \$	44 \$	423 \$
Ottawa ↔ Montréal	Jusqu'à 12	198 km	1 h 55 min	2 h 27 min	227 \$	33 \$	194 \$
Ottawa ↔ Québec	Jusqu'à 8	482 km	5 h 23 min	4 h 39 min	488 \$	44 \$	444 \$
Toronto ↔ Montréal	Jusqu'à 13	541 km	5 h 25 min	5 h 30 min	562 \$	44 \$	518 \$

Les employés du gouvernement du Canada sont admissibles à un rabais de 10% sur leurs voyages personnels réservés auprès de VIA Rail. Les employés du gouvernement du Canada peuvent profiter de tarifs spéciaux pour leurs voyages d'affaires réservés par l'entremise des Services HRG de voyage partagés. Le rabais ne s'applique ni aux tarifs Évasion ni à la classe Prestige.

* 30 minutes ont été ajoutées à la durée totale du voyage en voiture afin d'inclure les retards dus au trafic et au mauvais temps.

** Le coût du voyage en voiture est calculé selon la formule suivante: coût en \$ du voyage en voiture (taux de 0,55\$/km établi par le Conseil du trésor pour l'Ontario pour une voiture conduite par un employé du gouvernement X distance parcourue) + frais en \$ d'employé gouvernemental (taux horaire moyen d'un employé gouvernemental de 48\$/h selon un salaire de 100 000\$ par année, y compris les avantages sociaux X durée du voyage) = coût total en \$ pour le contribuable.

*** L'économie pour le contribuable associée aux voyages en train est calculée selon la formule suivante: coût en \$ du voyage en voiture - coût en \$ du voyage en train = économies en \$ pour le contribuable.

Les tarifs et les conditions peuvent changer sans préavis. ^{MC} Marque de commerce propriété de VIA Rail Canada inc.

Digital innovation at ABB is about people

We are living through an information technology revolution set against a context of sustainability, energy concerns, and the fourth industrial revolution – the meshing of the digital world of people and machines as internet meets production. This is our ever-evolving workspace, where technology accelerates growth and innovation like never before and more than ever we aim to create a Canada whose people, technology and innovation ecosystem can compete on the global scale. abb.com/future



A Partner For A Better Tomorrow

More than 600 students in the Dominican Republic are learning to use new laptops provided by Barrick in partnership with One Laptop Per Child. The program is introducing modern technology, internet connectivity and new educational tools to communities around Barrick's Pueblo Viejo mine, opening up a world of possibilities for students and their teachers.



BARRICK

www.barrick.com

