

THE MAGAZINE OF THE MACDONALD-LAURIER INSTITUTE

INSIDE POLICY

SEPTEMBER 2022



Reconciliation after
the papal visit

WALKING TOGETHER?

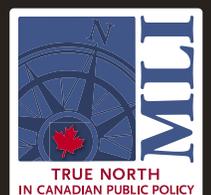
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Canada's role
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minerals

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spending

Inquiring after
the *Emergencies*
Act

Ukraine's
counter-
offensives





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THE MAGAZINE OF THE MACDONALD-LAURIER INSTITUTE

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From the editors

The July 2022 visit of Pope Francis was both historic and vital for Indigenous peoples. The trip was built around a series of apologies for the church's role in residential schools and the colonization of Indigenous peoples more generally. In the aftermath of this historic visit, it is important to understand Indigenous expectations, church priorities, and the public interest in this large-scale effort of meaningful reconciliation.

To lead our cover feature, **Ken Coates** looks at the potential impact of the Pope's visit and his apology when it comes to Indigenous reconciliation. As he notes, "the passion and harm are profound and deep, and learning to really walk together in true friendship is hard work. Real reconciliation will take a long time."

In addition, **Melissa Mbarki** offers thoughts on what the next steps should be following the papal visit and **Chris Sankey** points to the issues that really matter to First Nations, Métis and Inuit people. Lastly, **Michael W. Higgins** provides insight on the broader meaning of the Pope's pilgrimage of penance.

The federal government will continue to play an important role in Indigenous reconciliation. Yet, as **Coates** reminds us, we also need to be wary about the rapid expansion of government in Canada. In addition, **Ryan Alford** explores the government's secrecy around its invoking of the *Emergencies Act* and **Lawrence Herman** looks at Ottawa's evolving policy on critical minerals.

"Quiet quitting" has become an increasingly talked about trend on social media and even among companies and businesses – and **Linda Nazareth** sheds light on the nature of this trend and what companies have to do to deal with it.

China continues its aggressive behaviour towards Taiwan. Yet, according to **J. Michael Cole**, we are now at risk of letting Beijing's excessive belligerence dictate the nature and extent of our relationship with the island-nation. Meanwhile, the war in Ukraine continues into its eighth month. However, there is reason for guarded optimism based on Ukraine's recent battlefield successes – a point explored more fully by **Richard Shimooka**.

Canada could also use this opportunity to strengthen its energy partnership with Japan, as noted by **Jonathan Berkshire Miller** and **Marie Ascencio**. Meanwhile, **Heather Exner-Pirot** and **Robert Murray** suggest it is an opportune time to discuss NATO's possible role in the Arctic, especially following Sweden and Finland's decision to join NATO.

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Hiding behind national security erodes trust in *Emergencies Act* inquiries

When it comes to the judgment of whether the Trudeau government abused its emergency powers, justice must not only be done, it must also be seen to be done.

Ryan Alford

Half a year has gone by since the Trudeau government took the unprecedented step of invoking the *Emergencies Act* to deal with protesters in Ottawa and at several border crossings. Yet the question of whether this was an appropriate and measured use of emergency powers or an unconstitutional power grab seems no closer to being answered – and likely won't be, so long as Ottawa continues to hide behind a veil of secrecy.

At both the special joint committee on the declaration of the emergency and in Federal Court, the government has repeatedly invoked cabinet confidentiality to withhold the information that the Incident Response Group (IRG) allegedly relied on to conclude that the Freedom Convoy was a threat to the security of Canada linked to ideologically motivated violent extremism, which is the essential precondition for the lawful use of emergency powers.

If the IRG had no reasonable basis for concluding that a threat of this nature existed, the government expanded its own powers contrary to both law and the Constitution. This would be the most serious assault on the rule of law imaginable. Yet it increasingly appears as though the government's conclusion had been tenuous at best.

Public Safety Minister Marco Mendicino has stated repeatedly that the police requested the invocation of the *Emergencies Act*, only to be contradicted with sworn testimony from every police service on the scene.

Later, it was revealed that the federal



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The government has repeatedly invoked cabinet confidentiality to withhold the information.

government declared an emergency, despite being told of a possible breakthrough in talks between the City of Ottawa and the convoy organizers the day before. That deal would have seen many, if not all, of the trucks leaving residential areas. Since the Windsor, Ont., and Coutts, Alta., blockades had already been lifted, this might have catalyzed a peaceful end to the protests.

Despite these revelations, what we might never know looms large over what has come

to light, as numerous documents pertaining to the government's decision that were ordered released by the Federal Court have been so heavily redacted, they now resemble black rectangles with page numbers.

To counter the negative impression this lack of transparency created, the government declared with great fanfare that it would waive cabinet confidentiality before the Public Order Emergency Commission, which intends "to examine and assess the basis for the government's decision to declare a public order emergency." Unfortunately, this may prove to be yet another empty promise.

While the commission appears to have shamed the government into waiving one form of confidentiality, Ottawa has another, more powerful privilege that it can rely upon to redact documents and shield its witnesses: national security confidentiality (NSC).

The government fought hard to ensure NSC provisions were included in the com-

mission's "rules of practice and procedure," which suggests that it is intent on using them. This, despite the fact that there have been numerous judicial findings of the overuse and misuse of national security confidentiality, particularly when it has been used to disguise the weaknesses of the government's conclusions about security risks.

As then-Supreme Court chief justice Beverley McLachlin wrote in *Canada v. Harkat*, judges "must be vigilant and skeptical with respect to the minister's claims of confidentiality. Courts have commented on the government's tendency to exaggerate claims of national security confidentiality."

As Associate Chief Justice of Ontario Dennis O'Connor noted when sitting as the commissioner of the Arar inquiry, the overuse of national security confidentiality "promotes public suspicion and cynicism.... It is very important that, at the outset of proceedings of this kind, every possible effort be made to avoid overclaiming."

The Public Order Emergency Commission is well aware of this problem: in its rules, it states that it "expects the government to take a considered, proportionate and reasonable approach in making assertions of NSC."

National security confidentiality is dangerous to an inquiry because it can be wielded not only as a shield, but as a sword. It allows for extensive redactions of intelligence reports the government chooses to submit to bolster its case, but the government can also deploy it to place dubious material before commissioner Paul Rouleau, in a manner that bypasses the challenges that are necessary to determine its reliability. Witnesses may testify outside of the presence of the public and the parties, and documents may be admitted but never seen by anyone other than the commissioner and his staff.

The inquiry's ultimate conclusion about whether the government engaged in a grossly unconstitutional abuse of power will likely turn on its findings about the links between the Freedom Convoy and ideologi-

cally motivated violent extremists. The protesters have pointed to the efforts they took to exclude anyone advocating violence and will likely testify to that effect and be cross-examined vigorously.

In the absence of any contradictory evidence that they were influenced by extremists, the government will likely shift to a different claim: that the protests have emboldened extremists. Indeed, redacted "threat highlights" from the Integrated Terrorism Assessment Centre have already described the convoy protesters as a dangerous catalyst for anger on the far right.

National security confidentiality is dangerous to an inquiry because it can be wielded not only as a shield, but as a sword.

It remains to be seen whether the commission would accept an argument that the emboldening of otherwise unaffiliated extremists could suffice as a rationale for the government to reasonably conclude that a threat to the security of Canada existed.

That would be problematic, as the *Emergencies Act* states that a public order emergency of this nature must arise from the threat of violent extremism, not that it might merely create an opportunity for other bad actors. Approving the use of emergency powers to limit Canadians' *Charter* rights of freedom of speech and assembly because of their possible unintended consequences would have dystopian implications.

These serious constitutional infirmities may not be obvious if the government's assertions are packaged withing alarming hypothetical scenarios and presented behind closed doors, untested through the cross-examination of expert witnesses. To make matters worse, the agencies tasked with formulating and delivering these confidential assessments have a history of being unfaithful to the law, and to the truth.

Less than two years ago, revelations of the security establishment's disturbing approach to investigating and reporting on extremism led to harsh condemnation by the Federal Court, which criticized it for demonstrating "a degree of institutional disregard for – or, at the very least, a cavalier institutional approach to – the duty of candour and regrettably the rule of law."

An official conclusion that the government had a reasonable basis to conclude that the Freedom Convoy represented a threat to the security of Canada predicated on secret intelligence detailing vague links

between those engaged in peaceful protests and extremists would only deepen the public cynicism that Justice O'Connor warned about, especially since we have had so many other warnings from eminent jurists of the government's propensity to exaggerate such claims.

When it comes to the judgment of whether the Trudeau government abused its emergency powers, justice must not only be done, it must also be seen to be done. Findings in favour of the government on the basis of secret evidence that might never be seen will never be trusted. The preservation of the rule of law requires, to use the Public Order Emergency Commission's words, a "transparent and thorough review of the circumstances that led to the declaration of a public order emergency." ❄️

Ryan Alford is a professor in the Bora Laskin Faculty of Law at Lakehead University and a Senior Fellow at MLI. He was granted joint standing with the Canadian Constitution Foundation as a party before the Public Order Emergency Commission. This article originally appeared in the National Post.

National security, critical minerals and Canadian trade policy

Canada should develop its value chains as global competition for these strategic resources intensifies.

Lawrence L. Herman

We are in the last stages of a consultation process launched by the federal government this past June with the recent release of a government discussion paper titled “Canada’s Critical Mineral’s Strategy.” The paper defines critical minerals as those required for a low-carbon future and “essential to Canada’s economic security” and critical for Canada’s partners and allies. While it lists 31 of these minerals, its focus, at least for starters, is on lithium, graphite, nickel, copper and rare earth elements.

Comments were to be sent in to the federal government by mid-September to be factored into a much larger policy document called the “Canadian Minerals and Metals Plan” under development in consultation with the provinces and industry. Little comment has been made in the media about this plan or about the June discussion paper. Both are important pieces of the federal government’s evolving policy in the critical minerals field.

Among other things, the discussion paper seeks input on how to support Canada’s economic growth and competitiveness in the sector, including strengthening value chains, dealing with climate action and formulating best environmental, social, and governance (ESG) practices. The paper refers briefly to Canada’s trade agreements with several countries, including an almost forgotten Canada-US critical minerals action plan agreed to between Prime Minister Trudeau and President Biden in January 2020.



The North American Lithium (NAL) project in La Corne, QC, shuttered since 2019, was restarted by Sayona Québec, launching North America’s first local spodumene concentrate production, amid growing demand from both Canada and the United States for local and sustainable sources of this key battery metal. (Photo: Sayona Quebec via electricautonomy.ca)

While including trade relations as part of an overall approach to critical minerals policy, the paper doesn’t discuss broader elements of trade policy or explain what is meant by Canadian security interests in this whole area. It makes no reference to Canada’s system of export controls, which must be considered as a main element in any critical minerals strategy.

Export controls versus sanctions

Before getting to export controls, it’s necessary to point out how these differ from economic sanctions, much in the news as Canada and western allies apply these in ever-widening scope against Russia in response to its invasion of Ukraine. Sanctions have been around for a long time, but

Russian aggression has taken their use to a significantly higher level.

Sanctions are a responsive economic weapon, employed in reaction to actions of nasty foreign governments like Russia, or their surrogate bad actors. They’re used in lieu of military responses, showing that while the armed forces aren’t being sent in, offending governments will still face consequences for breaching treaties or norms of inter-state conduct. Once broad in nature, modern sanctions are growing increasingly tactical.

When it comes to strategic tools – as opposed to tactical responses – we move to the domain of export controls, a key trade weapon when it comes to any comprehensive critical minerals policy.

Exports of strategic goods

Export controls aren't much discussed publicly but they are used extensively by most western governments, including Canada. They are meant to prevent or limit goods or technologies being shipped out of the country that could be used to produce nuclear and non-nuclear weapons or have other uses detrimental to global peace and security. They apply globally, beyond a single targeted country as in the case of sanctions. In distinction to the tactical nature of sanctions, export controls are a strategic trade tool.

Canada's system is governed by the *Export and Import Permits Act* (EIPA), prohibiting exports of any item on the Export Control List (ECL) without a permit issued by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The ECL is created by order in council (i.e., by the federal cabinet) under section 3 of EIPA. The ECL is contained in full in "A Guide to Canada's Export Control List," the most recent version issued in December 2020. More about the ECL and how it is administered is explained on the Global Affairs Canada website, which also includes the Minister's Annual Report on EIPA submitted to Parliament.

Critical minerals: The China dimension

When considering export controls as a strategic instrument, there's a connection with China's aggressive search for critical minerals and recent controversies over Chinese state-owned enterprises (SOEs) investing in Canadian mineral assets. As Nial McGee notes, "For the past two decades, China has built up a powerful position in Canada's critical minerals and mining sector, with little oversight from Ottawa." Policy decisions involve Canadian obligations under its 2014 investment treaty with China, and the national security component of investment reviews under the **Investment Canada Act**, providing a basis for Canada to use export controls as a strategic tool.

All goods and technology on the ECL require an export permit. Permits are up to the Foreign Affairs Minister and can be refused when the Minister, in consultation with other ministers, decides that such exports would not be in the national interest. This discretion could apply – in theory – to exports of critical minerals but for the fact that they are absent from the ECL, a point addressed below.

Missing elements

Section 3 of EIPA allows the ECL to be created, among other things:

"(a) to ensure that arms, ammunition, implements or munitions of war, naval, army or air stores or any articles deemed capable of being converted thereto or made useful in the production thereof or otherwise having a strategic nature or value will not be made available to any destination where their use might be *detrimental to the security of Canada*." (emphasis added)

Paragraph (a) is the only reference in the statute to Canadian security interests. Moreover, the reference is confined to "arms, ammunition, instruments of war" or items that can be converted into these things, or "otherwise having a strategic nature or value" that can be used for military and war purposes detrimental to Canadian security.

What is missing in EIPA is the authority to include items on the ECL that have security implications for Canada beyond explicit military or quasi-military uses. This would include critical minerals which, as already mentioned, is defined in the discussion paper as "essential to Canada's economic security."

As it stands, individual items of controlled goods and technology are found in eight different ECL groups, including Group 5 (Miscellaneous Goods and Technology). There are large numbers of non-strategic items in Group 5, like logs, softwood lumber, peanut butter and even on dog and cat food (yes, dog and cat food)

but, as stated earlier, no separate listing or category comprising critical minerals.

Finally, there's the China dimension. With obvious national security concerns regarding China's weaponized commercial practices, a provision is needed for additional ministerial powers regarding critical minerals, particularly in their jurisdiction over the permit granting process.

The article speaks about how Canada should develop its value chains as global competition for these strategic resources intensifies. Some of these issues inevitably involve Canada's foreign direct investment policy, with heightened concerns about Chinese companies acquiring Canadian assets in this sector. Export controls are where international trade, foreign investment review and critical minerals strategy converge.

Two specific conclusions flow from this.

First, as an immediate matter, to ensure Canada's interests are safeguarded pending the enunciation of a comprehensive strategy, the ECL needs to be enlarged to include critical minerals as controlled goods, with amendments to the law to clarify the minister's authority in this area.

Second, because export controls are a vital strategic tool, any Canadian critical minerals policy that unfolds from these consultations has to include the use of export controls as a major component.

The challenge of economic decoupling amidst an integrated, globalized trading network brings to focus needed updates to Canadian commercial instruments, from sanctions to permits, trade promotion to investment facilitation. Modernizing Canadian legislation requires the urgent attention of the federal government to act with the same ambition as Canadian allies have. ❁

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*Reconciliation is the responsibility of each and every Canadian.
And the good news is that there are thoroughly wonderful
opportunities available for those interested.*

by Ken Coates

The Pope has come and gone. Ceremonies are over and the crowds have dissipated. Media interest, at a near frenzied pace little more than a month ago, has turned to new issues and events. How quickly the attention fades!

Pope Francis's substantial and heartfelt apology lacked specifics. Numerous critics, including Indigenous commentators, hoped for more details and maybe even a reconciliation agenda from the Pope and the Catholic Church. What they received were genuine words of contrition and apology. But they did not get a road map for moving forward.

The pattern following the Pope's visit has been fairly standard. Apologies

Pope Francis spoke on behalf of the Catholic faith, but his comments asked for support from other Christian denominations. Non-Catholic churches have apologized in the past, but without truly moving the needle in reconciliation. The nation has been talking about residential schools for decades now, with governments offering apologies and compensation.

The Pope's visit could have been a clarion call to all Canadians to finally take personal and collective action in support of Indigenous cultural renewal, where Canada could come to terms with the full and destructive impact of residential schools and related cultural intrusions.

that the broader public values the knowledge and insights that Indigenous cultures bring to the nation and the world.

Perhaps the best outcome from the Pope's visit would be a frenzy of Canadian engagement. There would have been major events and statements at every Catholic Church in the country, congregational outreach to Indigenous communities, and substantial private and Church investments in institutions, services, and programs designed to support the rebuilding of Indigenous societies.

Had the world unfolded as many hoped, there would be thousands of examples of personal, family, organizational and institutional outreach, forging new

What comes next for reconciliation after the Pope's recent visit?

have become commonplace. Statements of commitment are routine. When very specific undertakings have been made, as with compensation to residential school survivors, governments and agencies tend to follow through. Yet the record of the Catholic Church in this regard is less than stellar.

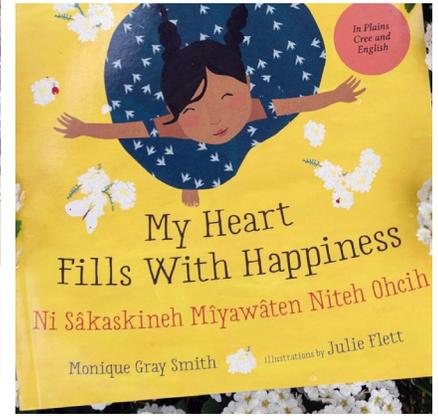
Because the Pope is such a public figure and celebrity, many non-Catholics (including myself) have weighed in with advice and admonitions. Most of the reconciliation efforts will be undertaken within the Church and targeted at Indigenous peoples and other Catholics. In his statements in Canada, however, Pope Francis made it clear that he hoped his apology would motivate people outside the Church's fold. Logically, this group will be harder for the Church to reach.

But how does one operationalize promises of contrition and reconciliation? How can apologies and statements be converted into the practical? How can the Pope and the Church demonstrate that their apologies and their commitment to reconciliation are sincere? This is a formidable challenge, and it obviously rests with the First Nations, Inuit, and Métis to determine when the promises made in 2022 have been met.

The bar for responding to Indigenous expectations is much higher than most people realize, as it should be. Indigenous people in Canada are living with the multi-generational effects of residential schools and other Church efforts to dislodge and undermine Indigenous culture and spirituality. They continue to search for real and sustained signs of non-Indigenous awareness and for new relationships that show

friendship and long-term collaborations. There would be listening to and learning from Indigenous elders and knowledge keepers and extended and reciprocal participation in religious, cultural, and spiritual activities. Had such an explosion of engagement occurred – and perhaps it still will – Pope Francis's visit in 2022 would have been seen as truly transformational.

To date, this has not happened. Among non-Indigenous populations, it appears as though the Pope's apologies was the end of the journey, not the start. Indeed, the core lesson from the 2022 events, which must give greater weight to Indigenous comments and expectations, is this: the passion and harm are profound and deep, and learning to really walk together in true friendship is hard work. Real reconciliation will take a long time.



James Abbott via commons.wikimedia.org; Canadian Native Fastball Championships via Facebook.com; instagram.com/gcindigenous

Take small steps, which start a personal journey toward real reconciliation.

Canadians, and not just Catholics, must understand and acknowledge how the founding values to European expansion and colonization marginalized and harmed whole populations of Indigenous peoples. This is why discussions about residential schools have brought to the surface the Doctrine of Discovery, by which lands occupied by colonial powers were deemed to be controlled by them, and the equally off-putting idea of *terra nullius* that defined territories occupied for centuries by Indigenous peoples as effectively unoccupied. Indigenous communities want the country to understand the many forces, including ideological, conceptual, and religious, that stripped away their land, attacked their cultures and undermined their authority.

It is difficult to know how to move toward real and substantial understanding. Real reconciliation – and not merely apologies, contrition, and compensation – is extremely hard. Far from being close to the end of the path to reconciliation, this country and its core institutions are still trying to describe and find the pathway. After decades now of what non-Indigenous peoples believe to be serious efforts to set things right, real movement has been distressingly slight.

Despite the challenges and barriers,

there are reasons for hope. Opportunity does not rest with governments willing to spend billions of dollars on Indigenous programs, apologies from church leaders, and symbolic statements supporting reconciliation. It certainly does not originate with the burning of churches and the destruction of statues, all of which are offered up by activists as signs of the desire for change. Land acknowledgements before public events are no substitute for a real and sustained search for reconciliation.

Hope for Canada rests with Indigenous peoples. Indigenous leaders routinely invite individuals to learn more about Indigenous values and cultures. These powerful lecturers speak to non-Indigenous audiences. Indigenous communities welcome visitors and encourage participation in language classes and cultural camps. Despite the ravages of history and the injustices of contemporary Canada, they stand ready to teach, welcome, include and even embrace.

Canadians have long outsourced their compassion for Indigenous peoples to the government of Canada, which sends cheques on their behalf. The nation counts on high profile leaders – like Pope Francis – to offer high-profile apologies. Yet reconciliation is the responsibility of each

and every Canadian, and the good news is that there are thoroughly wonderful opportunities available.

Attend open public Indigenous ceremonies, like powwows and totem pole raisings. Sign up for Indigenous language lessons. Watch the All-Native Basketball tournament in Prince Rupert, a lacrosse game on Six Nations, or a First Nations hockey tournament in Saskatchewan. Go fishing with an Indigenous elder. Volunteer with inner-city social service organizations. Attend a talk, a seminar, a retreat, or any of the thousands of Indigenous-led events offered across the country. Go to an Indigenous church service or a regional political gathering. Take small steps, which start a personal journey toward real reconciliation.

If you are fortunate – and many Canadians will be – you will gain grand insights into Indigenous history and culture. If you are even more blessed, you will make new friendships. You will be part of the urgently needed reconciliation that is a precondition for Indigenous renewal and sustainable social justice. ✨

Ken Coates is a Distinguished Fellow and Director of the Indigenous Affairs Program at MLI, and a Canada Research Chair at the University of Saskatchewan.



flickr.com/photos/pmruddeau

After the Pope's apology: What comes next?

We are still dealing with the trauma left from residential schools today and will continue to do so if we don't get some help.

Melissa Mbarki

There was a moment before the Pope's speech that made me pause. I did not know what to expect but witnessing the Pope walk alongside Indigenous leaders was a first for me. This has never happened before and, for a brief second, I felt hope.

We were witnessing old traditions meeting a new era. A new era of hope, resilience and healing.

In order to heal, the trauma these residential schools caused must be acknowledged. I was a child when the Muskowekwan residential school was operating in my community. Many of my classmates were abused in this school.

We learned about death at a young age. Residential school students did not return to class because they committed suicide or were involved in tragic accidents. These were not easy conversations for my mom or our teachers to have with us.

I asked myself if an apology was enough. Would this apology resonate with families who lost their children or survivors today? I had very mixed feelings about it all.

The Pope acknowledged the apology was re-traumatizing for many: "To remember the devastating experiences that took place in the residential schools hurts, angers, causes pain, and yet it is necessary." Many of the survivors in the crowd are now elders in our communities and the

sadness in their eyes tell that story of pain and anger.

This is where the apology started to resonate with me:

Again, I think back on the stories you told: how the policies of assimilation ended up systematically marginalizing the Indigenous Peoples; how also through the system of residential schools your languages and cul-

Children who left these schools did not have an education, did not have basic life skills, nor did they have the cultural knowledge that would have been handed down from their parents and grandparents. What they did come home with was Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder.

One thing that is rarely talked about are the psychological harms that residen-

and reconciliation. What needs to happen after the apology is to fast track policing, addictions and mental health services to the reserves. Many of these initiatives are caught in red tape and will take years if not decades to build.

Partnerships are important. The Canadian government, the Catholic Church and Indigenous leaders must come togeth-



GoToYan via commons.wikimedia.org

flickr.com/photos/pmrudeau



The Pope acknowledged the harms and for me this is the first step in healing and reconciliation.

tures were denigrated and suppressed; how children suffered physical, verbal, psychological and spiritual abuse; how they were taken away from their homes at a young age, and how that indelibly affected relationships between parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren.

These schools were designed for assimilation. If education was the priority, Indigenous people would have the highest number of graduates in this country. Sadly, this isn't so and many received nothing more than a grade six education when they departed.

tial schoolchildren went home with. Indigenous communities were not equipped with the resources to help their children and we still are not today. Why was it ok to uproot children from their families and return them with no support systems in place?

Would the Canadian Army send a veteran home with no mental and physical supports in place? No. Yet this is what happened to Indigenous peoples all around the country.

The Pope acknowledged the harms and for me this is the first step in healing

er and start working on tangible support systems that are lacking in our communities. It's not an option today, it's a necessity.

Addictions and crimes are overwhelming our communities. We are still dealing with the trauma left from residential schools today and will continue to do so if we don't get some help. I will continue to advocate for these resources until every community has access to them. ✪

Melissa Mbarki is a Policy Analyst and Outreach Coordinator for the Indigenous Affairs Program at MLI, and a member of the Treaty 4 nation in Saskatchewan.

Apologies do not feed Indigenous people

Apologies, even from the Pope, are primarily for and about non-Indigenous peoples and societies.



Chris Sankey

For the last few years, a small number of Indigenous activists and self-declared “allies” of Indigenous peoples have relentlessly attacked Canada’s past. They defaced the statues of leading Canadian political figures, including John A. Macdonald and Edgerton Ryerson. They demanded the removal of “colonizer” names from public buildings (Langevin Block in Ottawa) and a university (Ryerson again). A few even used the occasion of Queen Elizabeth’s death to call her out as a murderer and colonizer.

These kinds of pressures convinced Pope Francis to come to Canada to give a series of high-profile public apologies about the Church’s role in Indigenous residential schools. The Pope’s events attracted international attention – and brought thousands of Indigenous peoples together to hear his words and be in the presence of one of the most powerful religious leaders in the world.

These folks are loud, assertive, and they know how to get media attention. A pint



Actions – not words – are needed to solve serious issues in First Nations communities, such as housing and infrastructure improvement and access to clean drinking water.

(Above: afn.ca/category/policy-sectors/emergency-issues; left: Olivia Stefanovich/Media pool via aptnnews.ca).

The current style, intensity and rhetoric of the activists are increasing tensions in the country.

of red paint easily gets more coverage than violence in a First Nation community, an Inuit suicide, or extreme poverty in a northern region. The public likes theatre and the activists give it to them. The anger and frustrations expressed by these folks are real, even if their sense of history and responsibility are often shaky.

But will it make a difference? Perhaps, over many years, if attitudes and perceptions actually do change in a positive manner. In the short-term, I do not see much potential. In fact, the current style, intensity and rhetoric of the activists are increasing tensions in the country, generating considerable pushback and alienating

potential supporters by politicizing history and offering simplistic explanations for complex historical processes. If reconciliation is about bringing people together and finding common ground, the activists' approach is sowing anger and division.

First Nations, Métis and Inuit people across the country face real and serious problems. While there are promising developments in certain areas – Indigenous self-government, business, cultural revitalization, artistic production and infrastructure – the realities are worrisome. Far too many

fully developed resource projects that respect Indigenous and treaty rights and provide appropriate returns to the community.

Yet instead, many environmentalists ignore the wishes of the Indigenous majority and, purporting to speak for Indigenous peoples, publicly declare widespread Indigenous opposition to resource and infrastructure projects.

The Pope's visit brought even greater attention to Indigenous affairs. But like so many past protests and actions, it created a lot of buzz, many fine and even kind words,

Church did to us over the past several centuries. They do not need non-Indigenous peoples trying to exorcise their demons and to feel better about themselves. Our needs are simple.

First Nations need – and deserve – the same quality of local infrastructure that other Canadians take for granted. Government services, in health and education, should be at national standards. Because the *Indian Act* has messed our land tenure systems, our housing and land ownership arrangements need major reworking.

All too often, environmental activists use our communities and cultures as a foil against major resource and infrastructure projects.

Indigenous peoples are poor, face ongoing discrimination, live in communities with a weak economic foundation, struggle to maintain language and culture, and seek to capitalize on expanding Indigenous legal and treaty rights.

But these more fundamental issues, wrapped up the rhetoric of colonization and decolonization and the self-satisfied rhetoric of anti-racism, are lost in the fog of virtue signalling, box-ticking land acknowledgements, and attacks on the historical symbols of colonization. Not many of the noisy activists stand with us when our elders pass away, our young people commit suicide, our adults fill the jail cells, or when our children go to bed hungry in overcrowded and poorly built houses.

All too often, environmental activists use our communities and cultures as a foil against major resource and infrastructure projects. Our people urgently need jobs, income, and local investment. Indigenous communities have considered the environmental and socio-cultural risks and benefits at length. A substantial majority (at least 65 percent by recent polls) are in favour of care-

but little concrete actions – and precious few proposals. The results are vague promises to do better, yet another layer of apologies, and no substantial strategy for addressing underlying and deeply entrenched socio-economic challenges. Far too often, reconciliation has been about non-Indigenous peoples coming to term with their histories, assuaging their guilt, and improving their understanding of Canadian realities.

In the end, many Indigenous peoples were unmoved by the Pope's apologies and statements. They came far too late and too reluctantly. They lack precision, failed to tackle some of the broad issues of European domination, and did not commit the Catholic Church to specific actions. Importantly, Indigenous peoples have heard this all before. For some 40 years, non-Indigenous peoples have been feeling badly about our poverty and hardships. They, like the Pope, understand our pain and even understand the role of Europeans and colonizers in causing our distress. Enough already.

First Nations do not need apologies. They do not need the leader of the Roman Catholic Church to talk about what the

But this need not result in over-crowded, poorly constructed and ridiculously expensive houses. We must share in the nation's economic prosperity and we deserve the use and enjoyment of our lands and resources.

Pope Francis came to Canada, he spoke, and he apologized. And our communities still have poor water, widespread poverty, cultural loss, too few jobs and little control over our territories. There are much better approaches than obsessing about the past and worrying about statues, apologies and renaming buildings. Let us focus on expanding Indigenous autonomy, building community economies, revitalizing language and culture and improving the quality of life.

Apologies, even from the Pope, are primarily for and about non-Indigenous peoples and societies. They do not address the issues that really matter to First Nations, Métis and Inuit people and communities in Canada. ❁

Chris Sankey is a former elected councillor for Lax Kw'Alaams Band, a business leader and a Senior Fellow at MLI.

Understanding Pope Francis's pilgrimage of penance

Faced with our tragic history of residential schools and their embodiment of a culture of contempt, we need to accept with contrition and humility our personal and collective responsibilities.

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Michael W. Higgins

In a recent interview in *Sojourners*, Harry Lafond, a member of the Muskeg Lake Cree Nation in Saskatchewan, an educator and a Roman Catholic deacon, spoke of his meeting with Pope John Paul II and identified him as a *kichci kehtiyinew*, a cherished holy man, a grandfather. That meeting occurred in 1997.

John Paul was not unfamiliar with Canada as he had alighted on Canadian shores three times – 1984, 1987, and 2002.

But none of these papal landings in Canada have been as electrifying, polarizing, or turbulent as the recent pastoral “pilgrimage of penance” of Pope Francis.

Swept up in a whirlwind of conflicting narratives, political point scoring, failed expectations, a soured Canadian public, anxious Catholics, and far from neutral nationwide media coverage, it seems a mite outrageous to say that it was a success, but it was precisely that.

In honouring his pledge in Rome last spring to the Indigenous representatives that had travelled to ask him for an apology for the dreadful legacy of the church-administered residential schools for Indigenous children, Pope Francis knew that this was going to be a journey of pain. But, in spite of his physical impairment, he was resolved

60 percent of the schools on behalf of the federal government, has faced an onslaught of criticism regarding its failed stewardship. And the “discovery” of some 200 unmarked graves at the Kamloops Indian Residential School, which had been under the aegis of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, unleashed a torrent of rage and calls for action.

Pope Francis knew that this was going to be a journey of pain.

to come, offer apology, connect with Indigenous communities on their land, and offer a way forward to meaningful and credible truth and reconciliation.

The situation is fraught. The aftershocks of the residential school system – intact for over a century – have grown in intensity; the Catholic Church, which ran

The Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops has not handled this file well, in sharp contrast with some individual bishops like Don Bolen of Regina and Michael Miller of Vancouver, and as a consequence Francis's visit is a repair operation.

In his address at Vespers in the Cathedral-Basilica of Notre Dame de Québec,

Francis adroitly acknowledged the special significance of such Quebec-born thinkers as Charles Taylor and Bernard Lonergan, with a generous nod to St. François de Montmorency Laval, the first Roman Catholic bishop of Canada and a seminary builder par excellence (an institution whose best-before date has long expired). In the process, he paid subtle tribute to the role his two Canadian cardinals have played in preparation for this trip: Marc Ouellet and Michael Czerny, both Quebeckers, one by birth and the other by early formation.

In quoting Taylor on secularization, he notes that it represents a challenge for our pastoral imagination, “an occasion for restructuring the spiritual life in new forms and new ways of existing.” In applying this bold exercise in pastoral imagination to the Canadian context, indeed the New World context, Francis is calling for nothing less than a spiritual revolution. How do we address the corrosive effects of colonization, the deliberate and systematic effort to eradicate the cultures and spiritualities of the First Peoples, the appalling record of Eurocentric hegemony with its presumed civilizational superiority, in a way that moves beyond theory, exhortatory rhetoric, and deft political manoeuvring?

Theologian Frederick Bauerschmidt concisely encapsulates the options: “Christians must take as their model not Sepúlveda [the Spanish Renaissance humanist], who justified the conversion by conquest of the Americas, but the martyred Trappist monks of Tibhirine, who died because they would not abandon their Muslim neighbors.”

The option is either aggressive proselytization or authentic witness. For centuries, we chose the former and the consequences are clear. Francis repeatedly has called for the recognition of the special genius of the Indigenous peoples, their harmony with creation, the richness of their languages, which we ruthlessly suppressed, and the paramount need to move through truth to reconciliation and forgiveness.



Francis relished the personal encounter over the ideological jostling and political posturing.

Although official Catholic thinking on matters of missiology, interfaith sensitivity and religious freedom have changed profoundly as a consequence of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), centuries of encrusted prejudice, racial superiority and ecclesial triumphalism retain their residual power. This must end.

Faced with our tragic history of residential schools and their embodiment of a culture of contempt, we need to accept

with contrition and humility – qualities much prized in the tradition of Catholic piety – our personal and collective responsibilities.

Francis understands this at the most visceral and compassionate level. For me the most telling and effective moments that spoke to the pastoral instincts of this pope were his kissing of the hand of an elder and his return of a pair of child’s moccasins to a former chief as he had promised when first he received them last spring in Rome. Tactile moments; moments of embrace; gestures of connections.

For sure, the political squabbling and ecclesial debates in the background often moved for the foreground, but Francis relished the personal encounter over the ideological jostling and political posturing.

And, of course, once freed from script and protocol, he spoke his mind freely on the plane back to Rome, conceding that indeed what happened to the Indigenous peoples was genocide, and that the controverted “Doctrine of Discovery” reflected a colonial mentality that must be repudiated.

His critics got what they wanted. But on his terms. The “pilgrimage of penance” would not be compromised. The personal encounter would be prioritized, the deepest empathy assured, and reverencing the “other” made an imperative.

Deacon Lafond has spoken about *wahkohtowin* which in Cree refers to building relationships and connections; we have laws of behaviour about how to treat human beings. To reset the relationship between the Catholic Church and Indigenous peoples, we have to follow processes that take us there.”

Now back to the Canadian bishops. ✪

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Canada's conundrum of peak government and unfettered spending

Canadians must rediscover the need to link government spending with revenues.

Ken Coates

The rapid expansion of government in Canada over the past decade produced an unintended experiment in the role of the state in our lives. The pandemic in particular liberated governments to expand programming, spending and interventions in a manner unprecedented outside of wartime.

As Canadians get a front-row look at life in a society defined by bureaucracy and “peak government,” many don’t like it. But the governing Liberal-NDP non-coalition is talking about even more national programs, including childcare, pharmacare, and dental care. While some people favour more “free stuff” from government, the reality is governments need to get the financial and administrative basics right before unwrapping shiny new programs.

Promoting expensive initiatives while health care is in crisis, the housing market is in disarray, and climate change initiatives stifle the economy without reducing emissions is more upsetting than encouraging. Spending more when our country faces massively increased government debt and rising interest rates seems increasingly reckless.

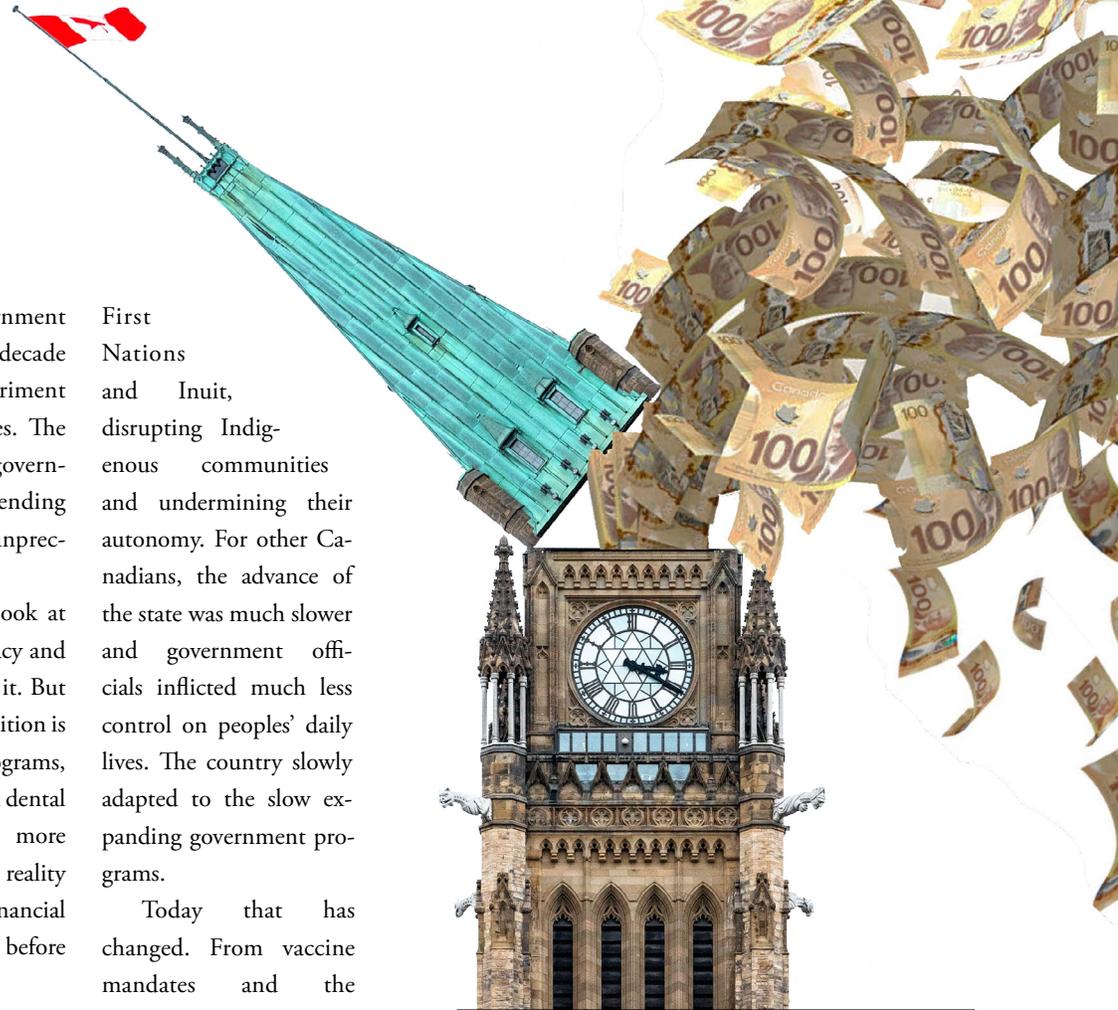
Canada’s welfare state expanded slowly after the Second World War, except for Indigenous peoples, who faced a massive increase in state intervention. Government policies induced welfare dependency among

First Nations and Inuit, disrupting Indigenous communities and undermining their autonomy. For other Canadians, the advance of the state was much slower and government officials inflicted much less control on peoples’ daily lives. The country slowly adapted to the slow expanding government programs.

Today that has changed. From vaccine mandates and the ArriveCan app to CERB payments, proposed oversight of Internet content, state-funded journalists, and myriad other policies and programs, the state is ever more present. Interventions like vaccine mandates were dictated by a health care emergency and supported by most Canadians. Others, including mandatory mask requirements in airports and airplanes, mark the country as a regulatory outsider.

Canada’s 2021 federal election campaign epitomized the pursuit of

peak government. All three major parties competed to offer more programs, more money, more policies, and more debt. This unseemly bribery attempt was matched only by the electorate’s willingness to accept government munificence as their due. After Erin O’Toole helped host the grand government buffet, producing an electoral result that mirrored the campaign’s reckless spending promises, he was removed as Conservative leader.



There have certainly been times – think of the 1970s and '80s Liberal governments of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau – when government spending became substantially disengaged from government revenues. Generally, however, financially prudent Canadians have supported governments like those of Brian Mulroney, Jean Chrétien, Paul Martin and Stephen Harper, leaders who approached government spending more cautiously or even sought a balance between revenue and expenditures.

Like many countries, Canada takes inspiration from the Scandinavian welfare

and spending close to the edge of public tolerance and national finances. The government apparently believes Canada can keep spending whatever money we can borrow, following the logic of unfettered credit card financing or extravagant lifestyles.

It is important to determine the line where citizens are both well served and well protected by their government. Many Canadians appreciate government largesse, as the enthusiastic embrace of CERB demonstrated. New programs, especially childcare and pharmacare, have vocal constituencies, but the electorate

Party has favoured new spending, albeit on a lesser level than the expansionary NDP and free-spending Liberals. The combination of rising interest rates and the frightening size of the federal deficit is forcing the government to show some restraint, but a temporary spending slowdown (if it comes) is not the same as right-sizing government. Canada needs strategies that build and maintain a strong enough economy to match the politicians' appetites and provide Canadians with the services needed for 21st-century success.

Peak government, as Norway has discovered, can be a remarkable and



Canada is stretching the limits of peak government, expanding both programming and spending close to the edge of public tolerance and national finances.

model. Those who desire a comprehensive Norwegian, Swedish or Danish nanny state conveniently overlook those countries' high levels of taxation and long-term careful fiscal management. Norway, justifiably lauded for its combination of long-term saving and comprehensive social programming, still benefits from decisions in the 1960s not to spend its rapidly increasing North Sea oil revenues.

In Canada we instead get a misplaced belief that deficit spending can continue unchecked, with a fiscally uninformed “tax the rich” mantra passing for astute political policy. But instead of being on a path to become the new Norway we seem bent on being New Zealand of the 1980s, when out-of-control spending drove it to the verge of bankruptcy and political calamity.

Canada is stretching the limits of peak government, expanding both programming

and must accept the need to connect expanded programming to enhanced economic activity and reliable revenues. A nation can only have the policies and programs that it actually needs and can afford. The lesson learned from Norway is that savings topped deficit spending, producing a level of national confidence and pride that is worth emulating.

The Freedom Convoy, reviled by most but lauded by many, reacted to what they saw as government over-reach. Anti-vaxxers reject government vaccine mandates. Other Canadians worry about deficit financing, expanded federal programs in childcare and pharmaceuticals, federal funding for journalism and other examples of a rapidly morphing state. The reality of peak government sits uneasily with many Canadians.

The condition of peak government is not inherently partisan; the Conservative

stabilizing achievement. Many countries have discovered that government over-reach, both fiscal and programmatic, can send a nation into a deep spiral. Canada's unbalanced approach, combined with the licence to spend granted to government by a terrible pandemic, is far removed from a Norwegian trajectory.

Canadians must rediscover the need to link government spending with revenues. To do otherwise, and accept the buck-passing addiction of deficit financing that impoverishes future generations, is to abandon our own responsibility for balancing our appetite for government services with our willingness to pay taxes and, even more importantly, produce and sustain economic growth. ❁

Ken Coates is a Distinguished Fellow and Director of the Indigenous Affairs Program at MLI, and a Canada Research Chair at the University of Saskatchewan.

Companies can't afford to ignore “quiet quitting”

The demographics are in favour of Gen Zs being able to impose their stamp on the work force.



Alex Kodliarskiy

Linda Nazareth

If your social media use leans more to checking job postings on LinkedIn or cute family photos on Facebook, the term “quiet quitting” might be new to you, but if you are a TikTok aficionado, you probably heard of it in July when a user named zaidleppelin got millions on views of a video he posted.

The video explained why Gen Zs were done with knocking themselves out for their jobs and would be going about things a different way, and that “quiet quitting” was the new norm, with no apologies. Others have since followed zaidleppelin, explaining why they agree with him whole-

It is significant that this discussion on quiet quitting is originating from Generation Z.

heartedly and are following a version of it themselves. However you feel about the practice, the fact that the term and perhaps the practice is now everywhere is

worth noting, particularly as it relates to the newest generation of workers.

Ideally, we would start by defining exactly what “quiet quitting” means, but the definition seems to be somewhat fluid. Perhaps it is best to say it is the opposite of working hard, taking on every task assigned and inventing more and making it clear you consider your work a high priority in your life – the classic behaviour for those who want to get raises, get promoted and avoid layoffs should they happen.

Quiet quitting, to put it in its most positive light, refers to not actually quitting but rather focusing on your life outside of work. To some that might mean saying no to working over a weekend or

staying late for a meeting, while others (based on the videos they post) see it differently, and say that they prefer to do the least amount of work possible during the time they are being paid.

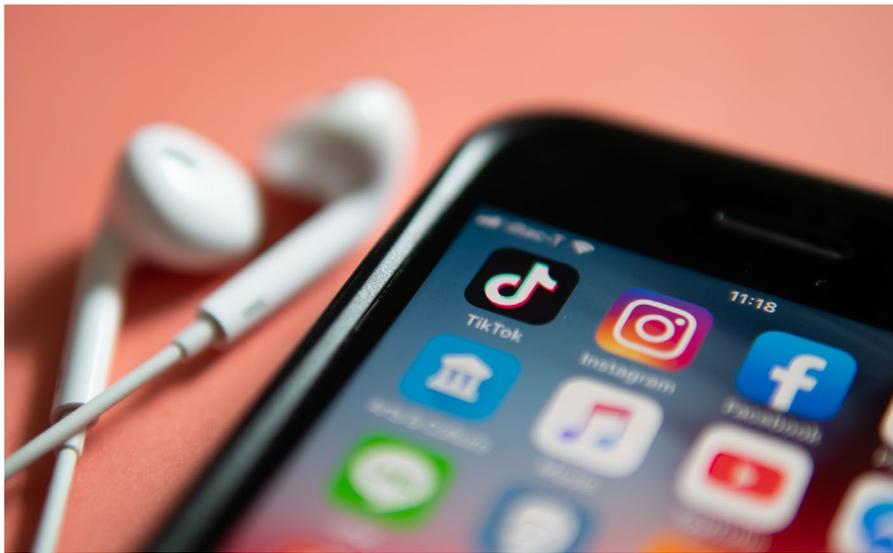
Most of us have worked with quiet quitters, or maybe have had patches when we were them. Sometimes that is because there is a real need or desire for it, like when someone is dealing with a personal crisis or ill family member and

Still, it is significant that this discussion on quiet quitting is originating from Generation Z, a group that only entered the job market a few years ago. This is the group born between 1997 and 2012 and the one that is going to make a bigger splash soon as their share of the work force and their influence rises.

As a generation, Zs have been quite affected by the pandemic, with their education abruptly switched from in-person to

behaviours and attitudes than might have been the norm in the past.

For organizations, the key is to realize that quiet quitting is striking a nerve and to ask themselves why that might be. We are after all coming off the heels of the Great Resignation, the phenomenon where thousands of US workers quit their jobs searching for greener pastures elsewhere, not always with success. Although the same thing did not quite show up



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Demographics are
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has to leave at 5 pm on the dot. Other people are genuine slackers, the kind who do not do their share of group projects, take long lunches and contribute very little in meetings. Someone who hates their job and is counting down the days to retirement is sometimes said to have “retired on the job” and is a quiet quitter as well.

As much as it would be easy to roll one’s eyes and say a good recession will take care of this attitude, it would probably be a mistake to do so. To be sure, there is an argument to be made that quiet quitting is a fast-track to getting fired, particularly if the job market softens. Slackers, after all, have always existed and, when pink slips are necessary, they tend to get them first.

online or their early work years often being launched from their apartments or perhaps their parents’ homes, without the energy and guidance of in-person colleagues. Many were front-line workers during the early pandemic, serving up fast food or filling grocery orders, and they had to contend with the risk of disease rather than just more mundane annoyances such as rude customers.

Tech savvy (and TikTok obsessed), they know that work can be done many different ways and they are not stuck on any one model of how to do it. Not every Z wants to be a quiet quitter, of course, but every Z has had a different, pandemic and technology-affected, experience of their early work years from older workers, and that is going to manifest in different

in the Canadian statistics, the idea of it seemed to strike a chord on this side of the border as well.

The reality is that workers are not as engaged as they could be, and a tight labour market is giving some options. Those options could disappear temporarily if the economy weakens, but the demographics are in favour of Gen Zs (and others) being able to impose their stamp on the work force. The TikTok videos might seem silly but the feelings they are tapping are genuine and ignoring them might turn out to be a long-term error. ❄️

Linda Nazareth is host of the *Work and the Future* podcast and Senior Fellow for economics and population change at MLI. This article originally appeared in the *Globe and Mail*.



NATO | nato.int/cps/en/natohq/photos

NATO needs to play a bigger role in the Arctic. And Canada needs to let it.

Russia has shown that its interests and strategies will not be limited by tough talk or rhetoric.

Heather Exner-Pirot

Robert W. Murray

NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg made a visit to Canada last month in what must be seen as an effort to prod us into taking our Arctic security more seriously. What has changed since Russia invaded Ukraine in February, and how should Canada respond?

Beginning with Mikhail Gorbachev's famous 1987 Murmansk speech calling for the Arctic to become a "zone of peace," the region was marked by low conflict and

high stability for 35 years. His passing last month coincided with the end of this era.

The Arctic Council, encompassing the eight nations with territory in the Arctic Circle as well as representatives from Indigenous groups, epitomized the good, constructive relations that were possible between Russia and the West. It also reflected an emerging multilateral regime for the Arctic that could have led to beneficial collective outcomes. But the council's work,

and the relative stability of the Arctic, are now on pause, indefinitely.

The Arctic Council explicitly prohibited discussions on military security, and for years there was debate as to whether some parallel forum was needed to address security issues. With Finland and Sweden joining Norway, Canada, Iceland, Denmark and the United States in the alliance, the debate must be considered closed: NATO is that parallel forum.

NATO Secretary Jens Stoltenberg and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau receive a guided tour of the North Warning System in Cambridge Bay, NT August 25, 2022. Also attending: Minister of National Defence Anita Anand (in red); and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mélanie Joly (centre).

Canada has long been reluctant to see NATO play a larger role in the Arctic region. Part of this was apprehension that more international activity would erode Canada's *de jure* and *de facto* sovereignty in the area. But mostly it was a rational calculation that bolstering NATO's presence in the Arctic would needlessly provoke Russia and upset the delicate but mutually beneficial balance that kept the region stable.

Spending must match needs and must be commensurate with risks.

There never was a serious race for resources in the region, and prognostications of how climate change will open up the region appear to be overblown. The Arctic remains a difficult and expensive region to navigate in and extract resources from. In many ways, climate changes make it harder, not easier, to operate in

The second is nuclear deterrence. Nuclear war with Russia is still a very remote possibility, but it is undoubtedly more of a threat than it was a year ago. The shortest path to North America for Russian intercontinental ballistic missiles and bombers is over the Arctic Circle. This makes NORAD (the North American Aerospace Defence Command) important not only for continental defence, but for

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Russia has shown
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NATO | nato.int/cps/en/natohq/photos

NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg's trip to the Canadian North ends with a tour of CFB Cold Lake, AB.

For many years, that meant keeping a low profile for NATO in the region. But Russia has taken steps which make that posture untenable. The focus must now shift to deterrence, and allies must determine how NATO can play a role in Arctic security. For Canada, that means bolstering our presence, investment and leadership in NATO's northern flank, and taking a more proactive role in protecting our national security.

But first we need to understand what the security risks in the region are. Canadian governments have often been politically reactive rather than strategic in their Arctic defence planning. It is not enough to periodically announce billions in new spending to counter vague threats to Arctic sovereignty, or to look tough on Russia and China.

the Arctic as ice patterns change, weather gets more unpredictable, and permafrost melts.

But there are two areas in the Arctic that do have heightened security risk. One is in Fennoscandia. With Finland and Sweden joining the alliance, NATO's physical border with Russia will become approximately three times longer than it was before the Ukraine-Russia War, straddling northern Norway, Finland and the Baltic states.

Canada has experience and expertise operating in northern conditions, and already leads a NATO battlegroup in Latvia. It can contribute in practical ways to the defence of this region. The likelihood of a Russian incursion into northern Europe is many times greater than some conquest of Ellesmere Island or other part of the Arctic archipelago, and our efforts and investments must account for this.

the United States' global nuclear deterrence capability as well.

It is no coincidence that Defence Minister Anita Anand in June announced multibillion-dollar upgrades to NORAD, and that Stoltenberg's trip to the Canadian North focused on visits to a radar station in Cambridge Bay, Nunavut, and an air force base in Cold Lake, Alberta.

Russia has shown that its interests and strategies will not be limited by tough talk or rhetoric. It is time that Canada and other NATO states demonstrate a commitment to Arctic security that forces Vladimir Putin to think twice about further disrupting the region's relative stability. ❄️

Heather Exner-Pirot and Robert W. Murray are both Senior Fellows at MLI. This article originally appeared in the National Post.

Canada and Japan can work together against Russia's weaponizing of energy

Our energy stocks could significantly help allies maintain Moscow's economic isolation by relieving some of their dependence on Russian oil and gas.

Jonathan Berkshire Miller
Marie Ascencio

As an increasingly isolated Russia continues to weaponize its oil and gas reserves, rattling fragile markets and fuelling inflation in a global economy still grappling with a pandemic, many governments are scrambling to find new secure energy providers.

Illustrating this in real time, Canadians were intrigued to recently see German Chancellor Olaf Scholz personally visit Canada – with our conspicuous natural resource wealth – to pursue such a relationship.

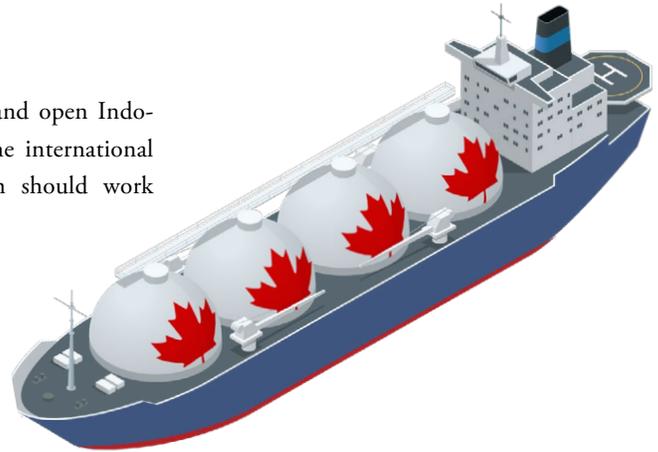
But there is another global partnership that the federal government should also be

a shared vision of a free and open Indo-Pacific, and respect for the international order, Canada and Japan should work closely together to prevent energy from being weaponized in the future.

According to Japan's External Trade Organization, Russia accounts for about 3.6 percent of Japan's crude oil and 8.8 percent of liquified natural gas (LNG) imports. If these numbers suggest a minor dependence on Russian energy, it is by no means insignificant.

Japan imports Russian LNG mainly under long-term contracts from Sakhalin-2, one of the world's largest integrated, export-oriented oil and gas projects. Recently, however, the Kremlin announced that it would seize control of Sakhalin-2, potentially forcing out foreign investors. While Tokyo has urged Japanese trading houses Mitsui & Co. and Mitsubishi to maintain their stakes in the project, Russia has not yet set the terms that would allow the Japanese stakeholders to remain involved.

Japan's commitment to maintain energy interests in Russia is a contradiction to its initial response to the invasion of Ukraine. Initially joining its G7 allies by imposing export controls and banning Russian coal imports, Prime Minister Fumio Kishida recently acknowledged that the



need to maintain stable energy supplies has prevented Japan from cutting all ties with Moscow.

Japan's energy predicament offers an opportunity to work with Canada to diversify the country's energy supplies, lead the global move away from Russian oil and gas dependency, and move towards cleaner and renewable sources. Although Canada cannot entirely replace Russian world energy supplies, it can help Japan and its allies in the Indo-Pacific through the export of renewables and the world's most responsibly produced LNG.

To this aim, Japan needs to push the federal government to accelerate the development and export of its own massive resources, and Canada needs strong leadership and action to attract investment back to its energy industry.

Canada is currently the world's fifth-largest producer of oil and the fourth-largest producer of natural gas. Both Canada and Japan are global leaders in hydrogen energy innovation and both have already

Continued on page 25



exploring with great urgency. Strategically vital but resource-poor Japan sits amongst the long list of countries affected by Russia's energy coercion. With a long history of peaceful diplomatic and trade relations,

Don't let fear determine Canada's continued engagement with Taiwan

We are now at risk of letting Beijing's excessive belligerence dictate the nature and extent of our relationship with Taiwan.

J. Michael Cole

According to recent news reports, a delegation of eight Canadian MPs and senators from the Canada-Taiwan Friendship Group and a parliamentary trade committee are planning to visit Taiwan as early as October. Although such visits are not unusual, this time around the announcement has attracted more attention than usual. This is largely due to China's disproportionate reaction to a brief visit, earlier this month, by US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, which "compelled" Beijing to launch a series of large-scale live-fire military exercises around Taiwan.

This context has not escaped Ottawa's attention. After Judy Sgro, who chairs the Canada-Taiwan Friendship Group, revealed plans for the visit to Taiwan, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau stated that the potential consequences of such a visit should be taken into account. "We will ensure that the parliamentarians making the decision to travel or not," he said, "will be done with all the reflections of the consequences and the impacts of it."

To his credit, Trudeau emphasized that members of parliament make their own decisions about the travel they undertake, in the same way that the White House cannot tell US members of Congress where and when they can travel abroad. Foreign Affairs Minister Mélanie Joly has also rightly emphasized the independence of parliamentary associations and friendship groups.

Also to his credit, Trudeau described Beijing's reaction to such visits – particularly its highly destabilizing manoeuvres and



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economic sanctions over the Pelosi visit – as both "belligerent" and "troubling."

Yet, talk about potential "consequences" signals that Beijing, through its belligerence, has succeeded in changing how our government – and MPs – calculate our engagement with a fellow democracy. Take, for example, remarks by Randy Hoback, a Conservative MP and committee vice-chair who has visited Taiwan before as part of the friendship group. "There's no intent on my part to antagonize China," he said, adding that he would consult with Global Affairs Canada before deciding whether to embark on the trip or not.

This, worryingly, suggests that our MPs are being conditioned by Beijing. Why would a visit that is perfectly legitimate under Canada's longstanding "one China" policy, and similar to those that have occurred without trouble in the past, now be potentially "antagonizing" to China? Ottawa's policy with regards to Taiwan and China is agnostic (it "takes note" of Beijing's contention that there is only "one China" of which Taiwan is an indivisible part) and has long promoted trade, cultural and other ties with the democratic island-nation, of which legislative exchanges have been a perennial feature.

We are now at risk of letting Beijing's excessive belligerence dictate the nature and extent of our relationship with Taiwan, to chip away at practices that had hitherto been regarded as perfectly acceptable. In other words, Beijing's escalatory behaviour has assaulted the very "status quo" that buttresses Canada's policy vis-à-vis Taiwan. If, through risk avoidance, we give Beijing what it wants and suspend these interactions with Taiwan, we can be certain that the Chinese authorities will do even more to constrain our room to manoeuvre.

Beijing's highly disruptive response to the Pelosi visit upended the "status quo," and it is in the interest of all – Canada included – that some balance be brought back to the situation. This, above all, includes actions

on our part that reaffirm our commitment to the "status quo," a commitment that includes the resumption of legislative visits (which other countries, such as the UK, Germany and others are currently planning), as well as safe passage transits in the Taiwan Strait. Indeed, Beijing is trying to change the rules in the Taiwan Strait and we need to signal our determination not to be deterred in supporting democracies in their hour of need. Conversely, if we send signals of weakness (and unfortunately the public remarks by both PM Trudeau and MP Hoback can be interpreted as such), then we will only give Beijing further ammunition to scare us into passivity.

Most assuredly, the point is not for Canada to go out of its way to alienate

Beijing, or to engage in activities that will only end up hurting Canada's interests and, possibly, those of Taiwan. However, what we should not countenance are attempts by China to redefine what has been, and still is, a legitimate expression of Canada's commitment to the rule of law and support for democracy. Just as unacceptable would be to let fear and avoidance determine our policy. The visit to Taiwan should take place. And when it does, the sky will not fall. ❁

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Canada and Japan (Miller, Ascencio)

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released hydrogen strategies to support growth and development of the hydrogen sector.

While it is not yet entirely clear how quickly Canada can ramp up its hydrogen production, plenty of opportunities exist for increased trade and investment between Canada and Japan, some of which are already in place. Japan's Oil, Gas and Metals National Corporation (JOGMEC) has already signed an agreement with Alberta to promote further cooperation in hydrogen and fuel ammonia production, aiming to contribute to the supply of clean energy to Japan and other Asian markets.

Japan's Mitsubishi and Shell Canada have also made progress in their plans to collaborate on hydrogen plans in Alberta and British Columbia, with the two companies having signed a memorandum of understanding in 2021. Such collaboration could see the delivery of made-in-Canada hydrogen to Japan in the late 2020s, a move that would support both countries' commitment to reach net-zero emissions by 2050 and lead the move away



Sakhalin-2 is one of the world's largest integrated, export-oriented, oil and gas projects, as well as Russia's first offshore gas project.

from Russian energy.

Russia's decision to wage a war in Ukraine was a blatant violation of the international rules-based order. Western allies in NATO and the G7 must work together against the Kremlin's coercive use of energy resources. Canada's energy stocks could significantly help the West maintain Moscow's economic isolation by relieving some of our allies' dependence on Russian energy.

To this end, it is imperative that Canada and Japan work in tandem to help Tokyo relinquish its investments in Russian oil and gas projects. It is not only the right thing to do; it is in everyone's long-term national interest. ❁

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Western support has enabled Ukraine's critical counter-offensives

The Ukrainian war has been a rude awakening for Putin's Russia.

Richard Shimooka

In a war that has defied consistency, an almost constant presence has floated in the skies near Ukraine. An increasingly weather-beaten aerial giant, known by its code name FORTE, is a US Air Force RQ-4 drone that is packed with sensors, including a powerful radar that can see several hundred kilometres into Russian-held territory. FORTE is a powerful symbol of a key enabler for Ukraine's battlefield success over the past seven months, and how the broader clash between Western and Russian strategies, doctrine, and technology has affected the war.

Even before the apparent success of the Ukrainian offensive in recent weeks, the signs of this shift have been increasingly apparent. After losing the key city of Severodonsk to Russia following weeks of brutal fighting, Ukraine's armed forces launched major attacks on key logistical centres in occupied territories for much of July and August, with devastating results.

Russia's vulnerability to such attacks is well evident and can be traced back to the Second World War. The Soviet Union typically mounted huge offensives, often involving over a million soldiers and thousands of artillery pieces, to smash Nazi Germany formations. This required a huge logistical enterprise – the massing of large stockpiles of materiel that could sustain heavy operations. Echoes of this approach are visible today. Russian forces have resorted to using overwhelming firepower from artillery to dislodge Ukrainian defenders in the east of the country.

During the Second World War, the Allies employed a different strategy to



attack Nazi Germany. Possessing large and technically capable air forces, they were able to strike the weak points deep behind enemy lines. They were supported by a multi-faceted intelligence system, including code breakers and aerial photo-reconnaissance, that allowed them to quickly identify and track opposing units on the battlefield. Allied forces were able to pinpoint firepower on concentrations of numerically superior German troops, interdicting them by attacking their weak-

nesses. This extremely effective strategy often paralysed Nazi units and allowed the Allied advance to identify and exploit weak points in their defensive lines.

For much of the Cold War, NATO militaries clung to this doctrine against the Soviet Union. To stem the much larger Warsaw Pact armies, a massive effort to strike at key logistical points and infrastructure would be launched to slow down their assault. In the 1980s, it was supported by emerging developments in microprocessing and net-

Генеральний штаб ЗСУ / General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine via Facebook.com



Russian tanks, vehicles and aircraft destroyed and abandoned during the Ukrainian counter-offensives.



The West has started to provide the foundation to an eventual victory, but it must see it through to the end.

working, allowing for persistent reconnaissance coverage of the battlefield. While the Soviet Union developed responses to these battle plans, its ability to adapt was debatable. Moreover, the Warsaw Pact's advantage in numbers was expected to overcome the qualitative advantage possessed by the West.

The Ukrainian war has been a rude awakening for Putin's Russia, which is now encountering this type of warfare for the first time. Even before the war started, western intelligence systems have provided a crystal clear window into Russia's efforts. It cannot be understated how essential it was to effectively organize Ukrainian defence in the first desperate days of the invasion.

The Ukrainians attempted to undertake similar interdiction strikes at the start of the war. Yet their technical limitations and insufficient numbers limited their ability to fight this battle. This changed several months ago when the US government provided the advanced, long-range High-Mobility Artillery Rocket System (HIMARS), which have

allowed Ukrainian forces to strike at targets deep within the Russian-held territory.

Russia's vulnerability to such attacks has been well understood within NATO; it is highlighted in numerous doctrinal documents. Ukrainians also enjoy significant vast information superiority over Russia. With access to US, Canadian, and European intelligence, Ukraine can quickly identify, track and coordinate attacks and pinpoint Russian vulnerabilities – a key part of the Ukrainian battlefield successes against a much larger foe. FORTE, as well as other assets, including satellite reconnaissance, aircraft, and signals intelligence, provide Ukraine with the ability to identify the location of key supply dumps, weaknesses in the Russian lines, as well as formations that could potentially attack their own forces. It can react nimbly to opportunities and threats with extreme effectiveness.

These systems have given some breathing room to the Ukrainians, allowing them to build new formations that are

being employed in this offensive. While the apparent progress has been surprising, it bears warning that these offensives are in their early stages and their outcomes are not at all clear. While Russia has suffered devastating losses, its manpower and materiel reserves remain extremely large. It has resorted to paying bonuses several times higher than normal and its troops come from areas far away from Moscow, limiting the political fallout from casualties and preserving regime stability.

Moreover, Ukrainian forces have also suffered grievous losses over seven months of war, forcing them to deploy newly raised units to fill in gaps. It will constantly struggle with its manpower and equipment constraints for the foreseeable future.

Thus far, the provision of Western arms and doctrinal concepts have undoubtedly been decisive in assisting the Ukrainian government to defend its territory. But the West still needs to prepare for the long, drawn-out conflict, one that will require the continual provision of economic and military support to Ukraine, while dealing with domestic consequences, such as limited access to Russian energy supplies in Europe.

Still, the situation likely favours the Ukrainian government in the long-term – it is fighting an existential war of existence against an especially depraved opponent. The West has started to provide the foundation to an eventual victory, but it must see it through to the end. ❁

Richard Shimooka is a Senior Fellow at MLI. This article originally appeared in The Hub.

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Ideas change the world

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