

WEBVTT

00:00:03.660 --> 00:00:07.680

<v SPEAKER\_1>Hello, and welcome to this Canadian Global Affairs Institute's webinar.

00:00:07.680 --> 00:00:09.620

<v SPEAKER\_1>Today's October 1st.

00:00:09.620 --> 00:00:15.300

<v SPEAKER\_1>In the next hour, we'll look at polling data about the Trump administration's trade and foreign policy.

00:00:15.300 --> 00:00:18.780

<v SPEAKER\_1>Our panel will then assess the implications for Canada.

00:00:18.780 --> 00:00:26.020

<v SPEAKER\_1>I'm your host Colin Robertson, and I'm joined by Bruce Stokes, Louise Blais, Martha Hall Findlay, and the Honourable Perrin Beatty.

00:00:27.260 --> 00:00:30.940

<v SPEAKER\_1>Bruce Stokes is Visiting Senior Fellow at the German Marshall Fund.

00:00:30.940 --> 00:00:36.920

<v SPEAKER\_1>Louise Blais is former Ambassador to the United Nations and previously our Consul General in Atlanta.

00:00:36.920 --> 00:00:45.220

<v SPEAKER\_1>Martha Hall Findlay is Director and Palmer Chair at the School of Public Policy at the University of Calgary and a former Member of Parliament.

00:00:45.220 --> 00:00:57.680

<v SPEAKER\_1>The Honourable Perrin Beatty is former CEO of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and also a former Member of Parliament who served in the cabinets of three Prime Ministers, including as Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs.

00:00:57.680 --> 00:01:13.040

<v SPEAKER\_1>Perrin, Martha, Louise and I are all Members of the Expert Group on Canada-US Relations sponsored by Carleton's Norman Patterson School of International Affairs, the Canadian Global Affairs Institute, and the University of Calgary School of Public Policy.

00:01:13.040 --> 00:01:16.360

<v SPEAKER\_1>We'll link to our publications and podcasts.

00:01:16.360 --> 00:01:22.360

<v SPEAKER\_1>Bruce is going to begin with a presentation of his analysis, then I'll turn to Martha, Louise and Perrin for their commentary.

00:01:23.200 --> 00:01:24.760

<v SPEAKER\_1>Then it's over to you.

00:01:24.760 --> 00:01:36.300

<v SPEAKER\_1>Please use your questions, pose your questions using the question and answer button at the bottom of your screen, and our producer, Jordyn Carroll, will then pose them to our panel.

00:01:36.300 --> 00:01:38.960

<v SPEAKER\_1>Bruce, over to you.

00:01:38.960 --> 00:01:58.860

<v SPEAKER\_2>Colin, thank you, and it's a pleasure to be with you again, and I've always enjoyed doing these presentations, so welcome to all those who are tuning in, and I certainly look forward to the questions and comments from our panelist and from the audience, simply because I know I learn much more from them than I could ever impart to all of you.

00:01:58.860 --> 00:02:10.580

<v SPEAKER\_2>So let me go through these slides of public opinion in the US., most of it very recent, and then we can get on to the conversation.

00:02:10.600 --> 00:02:41.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>One thing I would say to our listeners is that they should bear in mind that the best public opinion polling questions are ones that get at people's emotions, not at their reason, because actually the amount that the average American knows about foreign affairs and trade and things of that nature, let alone what they care about those, is actually fairly small.

00:02:41.980 --> 00:03:13.760

<v SPEAKER\_2>We are a fairly insular nation, as the Canadians I think are painfully aware of, and every year when I was at the Pew Research Center and we would ask a question of the public or what their policy priorities were for that year, trade and foreign policy were basically at the bottom of the list down there with climate change, because those are not immediate issues for Americans, but they do have emotions about these issues, and that's what we pick up in this public opinion data.

00:03:13.760 --> 00:03:16.360

<v SPEAKER\_2>So how do Americans see their engagement with the world?

00:03:17.940 --> 00:03:25.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>Half the public says we should pay less attention to problems overseas, including two-thirds of Republicans.

00:03:26.640 --> 00:03:45.220

<v SPEAKER\_2>This, in fact, I think reflects the fact that at Pew, we would periodically ask people about our engagement with the world, and in essence, the findings were that the American public, a majority of the American public, believed that we do everything and the world does nothing.

00:03:45.300 --> 00:03:54.680

<v SPEAKER\_2>It's a sense of victimization by the world that has been played upon by the Trump administration, but this predated the Trump administration.

00:03:54.680 --> 00:04:08.300

<v SPEAKER\_2>Americans basically, and especially Republicans now, believe that we're taking advantage of, and that really does color, I think, public opinion about foreign policy and trade issues very significantly.

00:04:08.300 --> 00:04:14.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>On specific immediate foreign policy issues, the Gaza war has dramatically undermined.

00:04:14.540 --> 00:04:21.380

<v SPEAKER\_2>Democrats' support for Israel, while Republicans' support remains quite high.

00:04:21.380 --> 00:04:30.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>As you can see, really, this decline among Democrats and independence has come since the Gaza war began.

00:04:30.320 --> 00:04:40.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>There's a decline in support for Israel that is driven by the disapproval of Israel's military action in Gaza.

00:04:40.120 --> 00:04:54.700

<v SPEAKER\_2>If you break down this number by age groups, those who in the Gallup surveys are under the age of 35, the support for the military action is 8 percent in that age group.

00:04:54.700 --> 00:05:06.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>So Israel is in the process of destroying the support for Israel in the next generation of Americans who are going to be running the country.

00:05:06.040 --> 00:05:09.840

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I'm not sure the Israeli politicians appreciate that.

00:05:11.920 --> 00:05:23.520

<v SPEAKER\_2>On Russia, Americans' negative fieldings towards Russia have never been greater since the fall of the Soviet Union.

00:05:23.520 --> 00:05:28.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>Obviously, this has a lot to do with the invasion of Ukraine.

00:05:30.480 --> 00:05:51.020

<v SPEAKER\_2>But what's interesting is when you break down what people fear about Russia in terms of geopolitical, geostrategic issues, Republicans are not concerned about Russia invading another country and they are not concerned about Ukraine being defeated, whereas Democrats are.

00:05:51.020 --> 00:05:56.420

<v SPEAKER\_2>And this, I think, is something we need to think about going forward.

00:05:58.000 --> 00:06:01.960

<v SPEAKER\_2>Nevertheless, six in ten Americans back additional military aid to Ukraine.

00:06:02.820 --> 00:06:06.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>And for the first time in two years, this includes half of Republicans.

00:06:06.880 --> 00:06:16.460

<v SPEAKER\_2>So you might ask yourself, how can you not fear what Russia is doing as a Republican and yet want to give Ukraine more aid?

00:06:16.460 --> 00:06:25.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>All I can say to you is that human beings are infinitely capable of holding mutually contradictory emotions at the same time.

00:06:25.160 --> 00:06:29.900

<v SPEAKER\_2>These are emotions, they are not necessarily based on a lot of knowledge.

00:06:29.900 --> 00:06:42.100

<v SPEAKER\_2>And also this dramatic increase in Republican support for military aid for Ukraine predates the president's apparent may be changing position on this.

00:06:42.600 --> 00:06:44.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>I can't explain it.

00:06:44.160 --> 00:06:48.000

<v SPEAKER\_2>And it may just be an aberration in the data.

00:06:48.000 --> 00:06:51.360

<v SPEAKER\_2>Three in four Americans have a negative view of China.

00:06:51.480 --> 00:06:56.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>This is worse than even after Tiananmen Square.

00:06:56.160 --> 00:07:23.620

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I think that it does suggest that for American politicians, with such an animus towards China among the general public, not just Republicans or Democrats, but everybody, that any position you take, which is attacking China, is, not necessarily militarily, but in other rhetorically, etc., basically has the support of an overwhelming majority of Americans.

00:07:23.620 --> 00:07:27.840

<v SPEAKER\_2>This makes it very easy to be anti-Communist China.

00:07:27.840 --> 00:07:34.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>And bear in mind, when the Republicans especially talk about China, they always preface it by saying Communist China.

00:07:34.120 --> 00:07:48.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>They have tested this, and they have decided that if you put Communist in front of the word China, it actually builds public support for whatever position they're advocating.

00:07:48.400 --> 00:07:51.960

<v SPEAKER\_2>Six in 10 Americans back a nuclear deal with Iran.

00:07:51.960 --> 00:07:58.580

<v SPEAKER\_2>Now this pre-date, this survey pre-dates the attack on Iran by the United States and by Israel.

00:07:58.580 --> 00:08:01.460

<v SPEAKER\_2>So we don't know quite what it would be today.

00:08:01.460 --> 00:08:09.000

<v SPEAKER\_2>But again, there was a huge partisan divide on trying to find some deal with Iran.

00:08:09.960 --> 00:08:14.860

<v SPEAKER\_2>A huge 38 percentage point difference between Democrats and Republicans.

00:08:14.860 --> 00:08:17.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>Americans' views on trade.

00:08:17.480 --> 00:08:24.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>Americans believe that trade has boosted consumer choice and innovation.

00:08:24.200 --> 00:08:28.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>But they also believe it's destroyed jobs and lowered wages.

00:08:28.060 --> 00:08:33.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>And when I was at the Pew Research Center, three times we asked similar questions.

00:08:33.600 --> 00:08:36.420

<v SPEAKER\_2>I helped write them.

00:08:36.420 --> 00:08:46.620

<v SPEAKER\_2>And we also ask another question that the Cato Institute did not ask, which is, do you believe that trade lowers prices?

00:08:46.620 --> 00:08:52.340

<v SPEAKER\_2>And this is the reason economists say people should trade because it would lower prices.

00:08:52.340 --> 00:08:55.140

<v SPEAKER\_2>The American public has never believed that either.

00:08:56.220 --> 00:09:07.240

<v SPEAKER\_2>So for the reasons that you would imagine people might believe that trade is good for the country, they don't even believe it lowers prices.

00:09:08.900 --> 00:09:12.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>Who believes what on trade?

00:09:12.080 --> 00:09:22.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>You can see that its upper income people and college grads and whites are most likely to say that the US gains more than it loses from trade, but only a quarter of Republicans agree.

00:09:23.020 --> 00:09:25.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>So there is a real divide here.

00:09:25.600 --> 00:09:32.780

<v SPEAKER\_2>This probably reflects more than anything else, the fact that the composition of the two parties has changed.

00:09:32.780 --> 00:09:40.100

<v SPEAKER\_2>As you well know, the Republican Party used to be known for its supporters of free trade.

00:09:40.100 --> 00:09:41.560

<v SPEAKER\_2>That has changed.

00:09:41.560 --> 00:09:49.660

<v SPEAKER\_2>And it's changed, I think, in large part because the composition of the Republican Party and the Democratic Party has changed.

00:09:49.660 --> 00:09:57.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>The Republican Party is increasingly a party of older people, people who live in rural areas and less educated people.

00:09:57.600 --> 00:10:04.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>And those people tend to be less supportive of trade, in part because I think globalization has hurt them the most.

00:10:04.080 --> 00:10:23.340

<v SPEAKER\_2>And the people who are conceivably the most beneficially affected by trade, people with higher education, people who live in cities, people who make more money, tend to be supporters of globalization.

00:10:23.340 --> 00:10:29.760

<v SPEAKER\_2>This is a huge divide in American public opinion that has to do with the demographics of the two party.

00:10:29.760 --> 00:10:35.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>And that helps explain the change in the party's position on trade.

00:10:35.200 --> 00:10:40.500

<v SPEAKER\_2>One in four Americans say that Canada benefits more from bilateral trade than does the US.

00:10:42.160 --> 00:10:57.580

<v SPEAKER\_2>I think this is again a reflection of that statistic I mentioned at the beginning, that Americans believe trade is just one other thing where other people take advantage of us, including those people who are north of the border.

00:11:00.620 --> 00:11:11.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>We've all heard about the Trump kind of indiscriminate use of a tariff authority, maybe illegally, to raise tariffs.

00:11:11.480 --> 00:11:27.640

<v SPEAKER\_2>As you can see in this graphic from the Yale Budget Lab, the effect of tariff rate, which factors in what we actually import, the effect of tariff rate is the highest that has been since World War II.

00:11:30.900 --> 00:11:41.100

<v SPEAKER\_2>It's a hugely huge disjuncture from what has been going on in the United States in the post-war period.

00:11:41.100 --> 00:11:47.020

<v SPEAKER\_2>We talk a lot about the impact on prices in the United States, but really that hasn't shown up that much yet.

00:11:47.020 --> 00:11:56.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>Everybody anticipates it will, but there was a lot of front loading of imports, a lot of companies eating the tariffs initially.

00:11:56.740 --> 00:12:17.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>But as Goldman Sachs has pointed out, even if businesses have eaten two-thirds of the costs of the tariffs to date, what this means is that there's less investment money for investment by those companies, there's less pay for their workers, there's a less return in the investment for their investors.

00:12:17.080 --> 00:12:23.300

<v SPEAKER\_2>So there's a damage done to the economy even if we haven't seen it yet in price levels.

00:12:24.460 --> 00:12:27.840

<v SPEAKER\_2>Jobs have been lost in the tariff impacted sectors.

00:12:27.840 --> 00:12:33.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>We know that already and that's only going to continue.

00:12:33.080 --> 00:12:43.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>Of course, one of the big sufferers on these tariffs to date has been soybean farmers, among other farmers.

00:12:43.200 --> 00:12:52.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>China has not bought any soybeans since the end of May as part of their dispute with the United States.

00:12:52.720 --> 00:12:55.620

<v SPEAKER\_2>They were a huge buyer of American soybeans.

00:12:55.620 --> 00:12:57.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>American farmers are suffering.

00:12:57.880 --> 00:13:01.260

<v SPEAKER\_2>These are people who voted for Trump overwhelmingly.

00:13:02.600 --> 00:13:16.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>So I would say, expect that the Trump administration will just as it did in the first administration have a bailout bill for farmers to compensate them for the losses they've incurred because of these tariffs.

00:13:18.580 --> 00:13:27.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>This is where I would like to just do my two cents worth of encouraging you to stand by your principles.

00:13:27.160 --> 00:13:30.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>This is a survey done in Canada recently.

00:13:30.300 --> 00:13:38.520

<v SPEAKER\_2>Basically, Canadians want the government to stand up to the United States on these tariff issues.

00:13:38.520 --> 00:13:46.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>We'll see if that can be sustained when the rubber hits the road in terms of maybe the retaliation by the United States.

00:13:49.160 --> 00:14:02.000

<v SPEAKER\_2>But to date, I've been encouraged by the Canadian public's willingness to not be the victims of the Trump erratic trade policy.

00:14:04.300 --> 00:14:10.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>Obviously, public opinion affects the views of Trump and his policies.

00:14:10.200 --> 00:14:27.580

<v SPEAKER\_2>As you can see, this is a compendium of a variety of different polls of admittedly various quality, but you can see that the president's approval rating has slowly, but steadily gone down since Inauguration Day.

00:14:29.180 --> 00:14:38.660

<v SPEAKER\_2>The average of approval versus disapproval is 53 percent disapprove, 44 percent approve at this point.

00:14:40.080 --> 00:14:50.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>The president's approval rating is now the second-worst of any administration in its first year since World War II.

00:14:50.600 --> 00:15:06.220

<v SPEAKER\_2>The only worst approval rating for a president has been at this point in their tenure, in this case his second tenure, the only one who's had a worst approval rating is Trump in his first term.

00:15:06.220 --> 00:15:14.020

<v SPEAKER\_2>So this is a historically low approval rating at a time when most presidents are still having a bit of a honeymoon period.

00:15:15.360 --> 00:15:20.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>Minorities, the young and post-grads are the most critical of Trump.

00:15:20.080 --> 00:15:37.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>Those who are most supportive of the president are Republicans, obviously, but it's men more than women, it's white people more than minorities pretty strongly, and it's people over 60, over the age of 50, really.

00:15:41.360 --> 00:16:01.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>The public is critical of Trump's handling of the economy, as it was of Biden's economic performance at the end of his term, so any advantage Trump had going into the election last November, has already been wiped out, and this is in a Fox News poll, so I think this is pretty significant.

00:16:04.780 --> 00:16:26.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>Majorities of the American public are now critical of Trump's handling of all major issues, from tariffs to Russia and Ukraine to the economy, and on foreign policy issues, this is a different poll, this is a Pew poll as opposed to one I just showed you, but it shows the deep, deep partisan divide on foreign policy issues.

00:16:26.980 --> 00:16:39.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>Now, I warn you, as I said at the beginning, most Americans really don't put a priority on these foreign policy issues, but they have feelings about them, and if you ask them a question, they'll tell you what their feelings are.

00:16:41.000 --> 00:16:51.340

<v SPEAKER\_2>You can see is deeply, deeply partisan, where the partisan divide on every issue is 60 percentage points or more in every case.

00:16:51.340 --> 00:17:11.420

<v SPEAKER\_2>Now, I would warn you that because of the low priority that Americans put on foreign policy issues, this may well be a reflection of people's attitudes towards Trump as opposed to the issue you're actually asking them about.

00:17:11.420 --> 00:17:32.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>Because when you put Trump in a question, or the past Biden or Obama in a question, and you link it to an issue that people don't know much about or don't care much about, I've always been worried that what you get is a judgment on the name of the president in the question and not the issue itself.

00:17:32.820 --> 00:17:42.780

<v SPEAKER\_2>We shouldn't over-interpret the partisanship on this, because it may really just reflect partisan politics, not partisan policy views.

00:17:42.780 --> 00:17:51.940

<v SPEAKER\_2>Nine in 10 Democrats and two-thirds of independents disapprove of Trump's handling of the Gaza war, while seven in 10 Republicans approve of that handling.

00:17:53.180 --> 00:18:00.220

<v SPEAKER\_2>Six in 10 Americans disapprove of Trump's tariff policies, but there's a strong partisan divide on tariffs again.

00:18:00.220 --> 00:18:01.920

<v SPEAKER\_2>And again, is this...

00:18:01.920 --> 00:18:03.700

<v SPEAKER\_2>Trump was in the question.

00:18:03.700 --> 00:18:11.560

<v SPEAKER\_2>Is this a reflection about your attitude towards Trump or about tariffs which maybe people don't necessarily understand?

00:18:11.560 --> 00:18:14.700

<v SPEAKER\_2>Eight in 10 Democrats say tariffs will hurt the country and their families.

00:18:14.700 --> 00:18:17.840

<v SPEAKER\_2>Half of the Republicans expect the tariffs to help the country.

00:18:17.840 --> 00:18:20.800

<v SPEAKER\_2>This is part of the messaging of the Trump administration.

00:18:20.940 --> 00:18:22.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>This is going to be good for the country.

00:18:22.720 --> 00:18:27.100

<v SPEAKER\_2>And it would appear that Republicans have bought into that argument.

00:18:27.100 --> 00:18:31.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>And so what is the impact of Trump and his policies on US standing in the world?

00:18:32.060 --> 00:18:45.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>This issue that is, I think, terribly important because America has always been, has at least seen itself as that shining city on the hill where everyone looks up to us.

00:18:45.740 --> 00:18:47.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>The data doesn't really bear this out.

00:18:48.980 --> 00:18:50.940

<v SPEAKER\_2>Global publics are divided right now.

00:18:50.940 --> 00:18:58.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>This was actually, this survey was done in the spring of 2025, before the Trump tariffs really hit.

00:18:58.720 --> 00:19:03.780

<v SPEAKER\_2>But US favorability even then had declined in 16 of 24 nations.

00:19:03.780 --> 00:19:07.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>But as you can see, it was pretty bad in Europe already.

00:19:07.200 --> 00:19:10.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>But it was good in Asia before the tariffs.

00:19:10.040 --> 00:19:15.840

<v SPEAKER\_2>It was good in places like Brazil, which is now subject to a 50% tariff from the US.

00:19:15.980 --> 00:19:19.000

<v SPEAKER\_2>We'll see how that plays out.

00:19:21.240 --> 00:19:25.420

<v SPEAKER\_2>Only a third of the Canadian public has a favorable view of the US.

00:19:25.420 --> 00:19:35.220

<v SPEAKER\_2>The important thing about this data is, it's the lowest level of support for the US among Canadians in the last two decades.

00:19:35.220 --> 00:19:39.260

<v SPEAKER\_2>So that's pretty bad to have be your next door neighbor.

00:19:41.660 --> 00:19:47.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>Across international issues, global publics lack confidence in Trump's ability to handle international concerns.

00:19:47.320 --> 00:19:50.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>As you can see, it's six in ten or more.

00:19:50.060 --> 00:19:57.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>In many cases, two-thirds lack confidence in Trump's ability to handle a variety of international issues.

00:19:59.280 --> 00:20:08.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>And this is particularly true among Canadians, where it's three in four Canadians lack confidence in Trump to handle

international concerns.

00:20:10.680 --> 00:20:13.180

<v SPEAKER\_2>But Canadians should remember they're not alone.

00:20:14.460 --> 00:20:23.340

<v SPEAKER\_2>This is the approval and disapproval of American precedents in four European countries over time.

00:20:23.340 --> 00:20:25.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>And as you can see, it's highly volatile.

00:20:27.280 --> 00:20:34.660

<v SPEAKER\_2>Trump has been, as Bush became, but Trump from the beginning was bad for the US image abroad.

00:20:34.660 --> 00:20:37.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>He's bad for US image in Europe again.

00:20:39.480 --> 00:21:03.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>A interesting anecdote about this, when I was at Pew and I showed this to Angela Merkel's chief US advisor at the beginning of the Trump administration, he immediately noticed that, as he said, it took Bush eight years to get to this low point, it took Trump eight weeks.

00:21:03.320 --> 00:21:07.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>And again, Trump has reached almost that low point.

00:21:07.640 --> 00:21:09.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>In another eight weeks.

00:21:09.340 --> 00:21:24.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>So, and what's interesting about this, as we found at Pew and also at the German Marshall Fund, where I ran their surveys for a while, it is the views of the American president that drive the views of the United States, not the other way around.

00:21:24.080 --> 00:21:28.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>Because most people abroad have heard a little bit about the American president.

00:21:28.600 --> 00:21:34.540

<v SPEAKER\_2>They have some image of him or her, never been a her, of him.

00:21:37.460 --> 00:21:40.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>And that drives their view of the United States.

00:21:40.600 --> 00:21:45.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>So it is terribly important what people think of the president abroad.

00:21:46.300 --> 00:21:48.000

<v SPEAKER\_2>But I've talked too long.

00:21:48.000 --> 00:21:48.780

<v SPEAKER\_2>Thank you very much.

00:21:48.780 --> 00:21:50.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>I appreciate your attention.

00:21:50.600 --> 00:21:53.500

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I'm looking forward to our comments and then our discussion.

00:21:54.540 --> 00:21:55.420

<v SPEAKER\_1>Bruce, thank you.

00:21:55.420 --> 00:21:56.660

<v SPEAKER\_1>As always, terrific.

00:21:56.660 --> 00:22:06.840

<v SPEAKER\_1>I guess my big sort of takeaways, I'm going to ask the panel to speak to this as well, is that we're looking at a more insular America and certainly a deeply polarised America.

00:22:08.020 --> 00:22:09.560

<v SPEAKER\_1>And that will lead to all sorts of questions.

00:22:09.560 --> 00:22:13.680

<v SPEAKER\_1>But let me turn first of all to Louise, why don't you start off?

00:22:13.680 --> 00:22:17.680

<v SPEAKER\_1>What were your takeaways from Bruce's slides?

00:22:17.680 --> 00:22:19.080

<v SPEAKER\_3>Well thank you Colin.

00:22:19.080 --> 00:22:20.920

<v SPEAKER\_3>Thank you Bruce.

00:22:20.920 --> 00:22:21.760

<v SPEAKER\_3>Hello everyone.

00:22:21.760 --> 00:22:26.280

<v SPEAKER\_3>I, as usual, just brilliant, really brilliant.

00:22:26.280 --> 00:22:41.380

<v SPEAKER\_3>This tech is, the way you present it, the way the information is laid out, it's easy to digest and absorb and it gives us a really good glimpsing in, in sort of what's going on, not just within the United States, but reactions abroad.

00:22:41.380 --> 00:22:47.040

<v SPEAKER\_3>Lots of takeaways, but I'm just going to mention a couple of thoughts very quickly.

00:22:47.040 --> 00:22:55.780

<v SPEAKER\_3>The first one, when you say one in four Americans believe that Canada benefits more from trade with the US than the other way around.

00:22:56.400 --> 00:22:58.240

<v SPEAKER\_3>I took that as a real positive.

00:22:58.580 --> 00:23:04.520

<v SPEAKER\_3>It means that there's three and four who think that it's all swell.

00:23:04.520 --> 00:23:19.180

<v SPEAKER\_3>It really does align well with what I hear when I'm down in Washington and in the US, that there's still a great deal of support for Canada, trading with Canada and USMCA.

00:23:19.180 --> 00:23:34.220

<v SPEAKER\_3>We forget all that when we pay, obviously, as you say, the leader, the president is what everyone looks to, and then we get distracted from this incredible reservoir of still support, and business goals every day.

00:23:34.340 --> 00:23:41.040

<v SPEAKER\_3>You were talking about how the effective tariff rates has gone up.

00:23:41.040 --> 00:23:45.240

<v SPEAKER\_3>It's the highest in many, many, many decades.

00:23:45.240 --> 00:24:00.060

<v SPEAKER\_3>Well, for Canada, really, the effective tariff rate right now is 3 percent, which is more than it used to be, but is manageable, obviously not for certain sectors that are targeted.

00:24:00.060 --> 00:24:04.520

<v SPEAKER\_3>So, I mean, there's a lot of positive underneath all this for us.

00:24:06.220 --> 00:24:17.260

<v SPEAKER\_3>And I do think it's important for Canadians to be well

aware of what Americans are thinking, go beyond what they hear from the president.

00:24:17.740 --> 00:24:27.220

<v SPEAKER\_3>And so, because clearly we are tied to the United States future, we're not going to be able to decouple anytime soon.

00:24:27.220 --> 00:24:29.040

<v SPEAKER\_3>Our companies are reliant.

00:24:29.180 --> 00:24:34.780

<v SPEAKER\_3>And I want to say that the United States is still the biggest investor in Canada.

00:24:34.780 --> 00:24:43.760

<v SPEAKER\_3>And it's so big that all the five following investors, it's bigger than the five other countries put together.

00:24:43.760 --> 00:24:52.920

<v SPEAKER\_3>So there are realities, fundamentals, and it seems to me that the Americans kind of understand and the majority of them are comfortable with it.

00:24:52.920 --> 00:24:58.260

<v SPEAKER\_3>So we just got to find our way to make the administration also comfortable with it.

00:24:58.260 --> 00:24:59.060

<v SPEAKER\_3>I'll end with that.

00:24:59.060 --> 00:25:01.280

<v SPEAKER\_3>Thank you so much, Bruce.

00:25:01.280 --> 00:25:03.060

<v SPEAKER\_1>Thanks Louise.

00:25:03.060 --> 00:25:05.660

<v SPEAKER\_1>I'm glad to see some optimism still in the room.

00:25:05.660 --> 00:25:07.040

<v SPEAKER\_1>Martha, what about you?

00:25:07.040 --> 00:25:10.540

<v SPEAKER\_1>What were your takeaways from watching Bruce and his deck?

00:25:10.540 --> 00:25:15.160

<v SPEAKER\_4>Well, first, Colin, thanks again for including me in this.

00:25:16.100 --> 00:25:19.300

<v SPEAKER\_4>And Bruce, thank you so much.

00:25:19.300 --> 00:25:20.980

<v SPEAKER\_4>I love the presentation.

00:25:22.860 --> 00:25:24.320

<v SPEAKER\_4>I'm with Louise, actually.

00:25:24.320 --> 00:25:29.880

<v SPEAKER\_4>I'm a little bit optimistic because I'm still hearing people saying, oh, the tariff crisis.

00:25:29.880 --> 00:25:37.260

<v SPEAKER\_4>But for Canada, if it's really only effective 3%, yes, of course, it's a really big problem for certain sectors.

00:25:37.260 --> 00:25:40.600

<v SPEAKER\_4>But I'm not sure that means it's a Canadian crisis.

00:25:40.600 --> 00:25:43.520

<v SPEAKER\_4>I think it can be very difficult for those sectors.

00:25:43.620 --> 00:25:47.820

<v SPEAKER\_4>But I think that's an important thing for Canadians to understand.

00:25:47.820 --> 00:26:05.160

<v SPEAKER\_4>The second piece is, one of the last comments, Bruce, was about how important it was that Europeans did not see America in a positive light because they only see America in effect through their perception of the president.

00:26:05.160 --> 00:26:08.400

<v SPEAKER\_4>I want to stress that that's different for Canada.

00:26:08.400 --> 00:26:12.440

<v SPEAKER\_4>We actually see Americans for Americans.

00:26:12.740 --> 00:26:17.560

<v SPEAKER\_4>We don't just see Americans through our impression of the president.

00:26:17.560 --> 00:26:23.200

<v SPEAKER\_4>I think that is a really important distinction for the future.

00:26:25.960 --> 00:26:31.640

<v SPEAKER\_4>I think most of us tend to remind people when they say, oh, America is treating us really badly.

00:26:31.680 --> 00:26:37.540

<v SPEAKER\_4>No, the president is, and the government, the current government.

00:26:37.540 --> 00:26:45.920

<v SPEAKER\_4>But it is really important, I think, especially for Canadians, due to the incredibly close relationship that we remind ourselves of that.

00:26:45.920 --> 00:26:49.240

<v SPEAKER\_4>It's not the American people, it's Donald Trump.

00:26:49.240 --> 00:26:56.120

<v SPEAKER\_4>But I was quite taken with one of your comments very early on, and you hit on it a couple of times.

00:26:56.320 --> 00:27:03.740

<v SPEAKER\_4>Polling questions, the good polling questions are the ones that ask for the emotional response.

00:27:03.740 --> 00:27:07.460

<v SPEAKER\_4>And you highlighted that in some of the results.

00:27:09.420 --> 00:27:15.820

<v SPEAKER\_4>I think this is a really important piece for policy decision makers.

00:27:15.820 --> 00:27:26.080

<v SPEAKER\_4>When the public is responding increasingly to emotion, or maybe it's not increasing, maybe the public's always responded to emotion and in emotional ways.

00:27:26.080 --> 00:27:41.480

<v SPEAKER\_4>But I think given our information situation now, where it's so polarized, it's so divided, it's so dependent on social media, this is a moment where leaders actually have to be even more leaders.

00:27:41.480 --> 00:27:45.080

<v SPEAKER\_4>They have to not just respond to polls.

00:27:45.080 --> 00:27:46.900

<v SPEAKER\_4>They do need to reason.

00:27:46.900 --> 00:27:51.120

<v SPEAKER\_4>They do need to make decisions that are not just emotional.

00:27:51.700 --> 00:28:01.760

<v SPEAKER\_4>And so when you had the slide, about two-thirds, around

two-thirds of Canadians would prefer it if our government responded, you know, in a tough way.

00:28:01.760 --> 00:28:05.540

<v SPEAKER\_4>That's an emotional thing, and I love it, you know, elbows up.

00:28:05.540 --> 00:28:14.640

<v SPEAKER\_4>But frankly, if it means decision making at the political level is not in Canada's best interests, I think that's a problem.

00:28:14.640 --> 00:28:27.380

<v SPEAKER\_4>And I would actually want my government leaders to be leading and making the decisions based on what they understand to be not just emotion, but what is in the country's best interests.

00:28:27.380 --> 00:28:28.980

<v SPEAKER\_4>So I was really quite taken by that.

00:28:28.980 --> 00:28:35.600

<v SPEAKER\_4>But in any case, a lot of other comments, but I'll leave it to Perrin and Colin.

00:28:35.600 --> 00:28:36.180

<v SPEAKER\_1>Thank you, Martha.

00:28:36.180 --> 00:28:42.020

<v SPEAKER\_1>And we'll come back because I'm interested in, you know, what we would advise the government having seen Bruce's deck.

00:28:42.200 --> 00:28:43.060

<v SPEAKER\_1>Perrin, over to you.

00:28:43.300 --> 00:28:47.180

<v SPEAKER\_1>Your immediate take away is having now just seen this deck.

00:28:47.180 --> 00:28:48.120

<v SPEAKER\_5>Well, thank you.

00:28:48.120 --> 00:28:52.960

<v SPEAKER\_5>Bruce, it was absolutely fascinating and I think very educational for all of us.

00:28:52.960 --> 00:28:55.000

<v SPEAKER\_5>Extremely well presented.

00:28:55.000 --> 00:29:05.140

<v SPEAKER\_5>I was particularly interested in the data as it related to trade, because obviously the big issue for us at this point is

where do we go from here and what should we be doing tactically?

00:29:05.320 --> 00:29:19.660

<v SPEAKER\_5>And Martha's warning was very well taken that we, our leaders need to understand the realities as opposed simply the emotions that Canadians may have in responding to what's happening from south of the border.

00:29:19.660 --> 00:29:21.200

<v SPEAKER\_5>A few things really stood out to me.

00:29:21.200 --> 00:29:33.520

<v SPEAKER\_5>First, Bruce warned us, he cautioned us that most Americans aren't highly interested in or highly informed about the nature of trade or about foreign policy more broadly.

00:29:33.520 --> 00:29:54.280

<v SPEAKER\_5>But what really stood out was when he said that most Americans don't see a linkage between lower prices and trade, which suggests that there really is a disconnect here in terms of Americans understanding or that people haven't visited Walmart for a very long time.

00:29:56.660 --> 00:30:12.560

<v SPEAKER\_5>It's important for us to take that information on because when you couple that with the data that the Bruce gave, that two-thirds of the businesses have eaten, two-thirds of the impact of the tariffs up until now.

00:30:12.560 --> 00:30:18.840

<v SPEAKER\_5>That means that the full effect has not been felt in the marketplace of these higher tariffs.

00:30:18.840 --> 00:30:30.460

<v SPEAKER\_5>In addition, many companies stockpiled inventory before the higher tariffs came in, so that this is not spilled out fully into the economy at this point.

00:30:30.460 --> 00:30:37.160

<v SPEAKER\_5>What this suggests to me is, first of all, businesses can't afford indefinitely to eat this.

00:30:37.160 --> 00:30:46.240

<v SPEAKER\_5>This will be passed on to their customers at some point, and the effect will be felt in the marketplace by consumers.

00:30:46.240 --> 00:30:48.520

<v SPEAKER\_5>It's just not being felt as yet.

00:30:48.520 --> 00:31:00.220

<v SPEAKER\_5>In addition to that, what we're seeing, and from Bruce's data, is a continuing slow erosion of support for Donald Trump and his policies within the United States itself.

00:31:00.220 --> 00:31:02.380

<v SPEAKER\_5>What does this mean for Canada?

00:31:02.380 --> 00:31:13.960

<v SPEAKER\_5>To my way of thinking, it means that, barring there being a compelling reason why we have to rush into signing some sort of an agreement, it's in our interest not to do so.

00:31:13.960 --> 00:31:27.440

<v SPEAKER\_5>To take our time to allow the impact of these tariffs to be felt by ordinary Americans, so they associate the tariffs with a higher cost of living and an expense to them.

00:31:27.440 --> 00:31:36.020

<v SPEAKER\_5>And so that, as well, the effect of declining support for the president gives us more leverage in the negotiations.

00:31:36.020 --> 00:31:39.860

<v SPEAKER\_5>So the Prime Minister is going to have to judge these things.

00:31:39.860 --> 00:31:43.980

<v SPEAKER\_5>It may be that there are compelling reasons why we have to move very quickly.

00:31:44.760 --> 00:31:58.120

<v SPEAKER\_5>But, barring that, my inclination would be to slow things down a little bit and to ensure that when we go into negotiations in earnest, that we're in as strong a position as possible.

00:31:59.500 --> 00:32:00.020

<v SPEAKER\_1>Thanks, Perrin.

00:32:00.020 --> 00:32:07.620

<v SPEAKER\_1>You've, in a sense, anticipated my next question, which was, based on what you've seen and what we know, your advice to the Carney government.

00:32:07.620 --> 00:32:10.320

<v SPEAKER\_1>And as you said, you know, maybe go slow.

00:32:10.920 --> 00:32:17.120

<v SPEAKER\_1>The Carney government is, we remain in negotiations, but by all accounts, we're not making much progress.

00:32:17.120 --> 00:32:48.320

<v SPEAKER\_1>We've moved on issues that the Americans have raised, lifting the, not the application of the digital services tax, lifting most of the counter tariffs, because in fact, they hurt Canadians as well, but still trying to negotiate with the United States, both on the tariffs that are being applied to automobiles, steel, aluminum and lumber, with a focus on those subjects, but also looking forward to the Kuzma renewal negotiations, which effectively have already begun.

00:32:48.320 --> 00:32:54.560

<v SPEAKER\_1>So my guess, my question to you again, and I'll start with you Perrin, is you've said go slow.

00:32:54.560 --> 00:32:58.660

<v SPEAKER\_1>Any other advice to the Carney government based on what we've seen and what we know?

00:32:58.660 --> 00:33:05.560

<v SPEAKER\_5>Well, let me give the counter argument to what I just made, to the one that I just gave, and that is perhaps twofold.

00:33:05.560 --> 00:33:09.460

<v SPEAKER\_5>The first is you don't want Donald Trump to simply get frustrated.

00:33:09.460 --> 00:33:20.080

<v SPEAKER\_5>Canadians aren't talking to us, they're not moving, they're not serious about negotiations, because he's apt to lash out and do something that we would consider irrational but very damaging.

00:33:20.080 --> 00:33:22.980

<v SPEAKER\_5>And that's obviously significant.

00:33:22.980 --> 00:33:29.960

<v SPEAKER\_5>The other argument in favor of moving more quickly is the damage that's being done by uncertainty.

00:33:29.960 --> 00:33:32.060

<v SPEAKER\_5>Investors are simply pulling back.

00:33:32.060 --> 00:33:42.280

<v SPEAKER\_5>They're saying, given the fact that I don't know what the rules are going to be, it doesn't make sense for me to take the money out of the bank and to expand my business or to hire more people.

00:33:42.280 --> 00:33:59.140

<v SPEAKER\_5>And as a result, then, we're paying a very high price, not because of any specific action being taken by the US government, but by the vacuum that there is and the uncertainty that there is with regard to to what the rules of the game are going to be.

00:33:59.140 --> 00:34:02.540

<v SPEAKER\_5>So the challenge for the prime minister is to thread that needle.

00:34:03.660 --> 00:34:17.100

<v SPEAKER\_5>We keep on expecting that there's a silver bullet, that there's app policy that we can recommend to the prime minister, do this, all will be well, it will be fixed, it's one way or the other, it's binary.

00:34:17.100 --> 00:34:18.200

<v SPEAKER\_5>It isn't.

00:34:18.200 --> 00:34:30.860

<v SPEAKER\_5>And it's going to require political skills on the part of our government to look at how events are rolling out and to make a judgment as to when is the time to move and how quickly to move.

00:34:32.880 --> 00:34:51.000

<v SPEAKER\_1>Perrin, we haven't touched on this yet, but as a former Defence Minister, the Defence fits into this as well because of NORAD and the reinvestment that we're making, big significant investments into our defence capacity, both continental and collective security through NATO.

00:34:51.000 --> 00:34:56.400

<v SPEAKER\_1>Based on the slides, any observations that come to light?

00:34:56.400 --> 00:35:20.960

<v SPEAKER\_5>Well, I think one of the significant things was that President Trump yesterday, again, when he was speaking to all of the military brass at Quantico, said that within the last two weeks, Canada had come to the United States wanting to be included in Golden Dome, and he's quoted a figure that is simply utterly unaffordable for us to be able to participate.

00:35:20.960 --> 00:35:25.040

<v SPEAKER\_5>We need to have a discussion with the Americans with regard to security.

00:35:25.040 --> 00:35:31.920

<v SPEAKER\_5>The Prime Minister had initially hoped that there would be a comprehensive agreement dealing both with security and with trade.

00:35:31.920 --> 00:35:42.560

<v SPEAKER\_5>I think his feeling was that this would take us out of the lineup that there was with all of the other countries that were looking at trade alone and put Canada in a special category.

00:35:42.560 --> 00:35:47.660

<v SPEAKER\_5>It doesn't appear as if we're moving towards some comprehensive package.

00:35:47.660 --> 00:35:51.320

<v SPEAKER\_5>It's probably two standalone initiatives.

00:35:51.320 --> 00:36:04.140

<v SPEAKER\_5>They're fundamental questions for us to ask ourselves in terms of how important is the agreement on trade, I'm sorry, on defence, to move us ahead on the trade front.

00:36:04.140 --> 00:36:20.000

<v SPEAKER\_5>But secondly, how closely do we want to tie ourselves into, in with the United States on security issues, given the unpredictability, then reliability of Donald Trump as a partner on security as well.

00:36:20.000 --> 00:36:27.560

<v SPEAKER\_5>And again, it's going to require political judgment as to where Canada's best interests lie.

00:36:27.560 --> 00:36:36.940

<v SPEAKER\_5>Clearly, our relationship with the United States, whether on trade or on security, is going to be the most important relationship that Canada has for the foreseeable future.

00:36:36.940 --> 00:36:38.620

<v SPEAKER\_5>It's not going to go away.

00:36:38.620 --> 00:36:48.600

<v SPEAKER\_5>The question is, how do we maintain and strengthen that relationship while enhancing Canadian sovereignty and Canadian prosperity?

00:36:49.760 --> 00:36:50.280

<v SPEAKER\_1>Thanks Perrin.

00:36:50.280 --> 00:36:54.500

<v SPEAKER\_1>Martha, here in Alberta, the energy issue is always big and important.

00:36:54.680 --> 00:36:58.780

<v SPEAKER\_1>We continue to export vast volumes of energy to the United States.

00:36:58.780 --> 00:37:02.240

<v SPEAKER\_1>Based on what you saw, any advice on the energy front?

00:37:02.240 --> 00:37:13.640

<v SPEAKER\_1>I'd also like you to segue into the role of the premiers and the provinces in this equation, because again, that is for now, Canada is presenting a united front.

00:37:13.640 --> 00:37:19.840

<v SPEAKER\_1>The premiers, despite certain differences, seem to be hanging together with the government on our approach.

00:37:20.920 --> 00:37:23.400

<v SPEAKER\_4>Well, sure Colin, thanks.

00:37:24.200 --> 00:37:33.260

<v SPEAKER\_4>Look, we continue to export a great deal of energy of all types, not just from the West, but obviously we have significant electricity connections with the United States.

00:37:33.260 --> 00:37:38.520

<v SPEAKER\_4>We continue to export lots of energy because the United States needs it.

00:37:38.520 --> 00:37:48.020

<v SPEAKER\_4>And I'm very interested in the fact that there was an executive order, Donald Trump signed an executive order two or three weeks ago.

00:37:48.600 --> 00:37:52.140

<v SPEAKER\_4>It was done on a Friday afternoon, and we all know what that means.

00:37:52.320 --> 00:37:58.520

<v SPEAKER\_4>It means that the government was not particularly happy about what was in that particular executive order.

00:37:58.520 --> 00:38:13.660

<v SPEAKER\_4>But what it contained was the opportunity for different sectors, as I read it, the opportunity for different sectors to ask for exemptions or to be exempt from some of the tariff positions that Donald Trump has taken.

00:38:13.660 --> 00:38:43.200

<v SPEAKER\_4>What that means, and I think this is not just energy, this is for all of Canada in terms of the advice for Prime Minister Carney, I'm with Perrin, by the way, I don't think rushing is necessarily in our best interests, and the reason I say that is that it will be over the next while that some of those sectors really actually need to be able to say, we'd like an exception because the tariffs are really hurting us.

00:38:43.200 --> 00:38:47.140

<v SPEAKER\_4>And so in a way, time is on Canada's side.

00:38:47.140 --> 00:38:59.580

<v SPEAKER\_4>I will say one, whether you're a Premier or the Prime Minister, what we've heard, and frankly, we've known this for quite some time, that there's been a negative attitude toward trade in the United States.

00:38:59.580 --> 00:39:04.480

<v SPEAKER\_4>But we continue to lead with Canada, we're your biggest trade partner, right?

00:39:04.480 --> 00:39:11.860

<v SPEAKER\_4>Well, if we come in and we lead with, we're your most important, we're your biggest trade partner, that's not a net positive.

00:39:11.860 --> 00:39:18.660

<v SPEAKER\_4>And so we forget that when we're trying to actually negotiate, we're negotiating with people who don't actually like trade very much.

00:39:19.220 --> 00:39:23.440

<v SPEAKER\_4>And so we have to look at a different way of communicating.

00:39:23.440 --> 00:39:36.220

<v SPEAKER\_4>If there are sectors in the United States that are frustrated at increased costs for energy, it's not a big increase, but there's some increased costs of steel, aluminum, etc.

00:39:37.240 --> 00:39:44.440

<v SPEAKER\_4>Our best approach is to work with those sectors to get them to put pressure on the administration.

00:39:44.440 --> 00:39:47.940

<v SPEAKER\_4>We're not going to make great progress, frankly, with Donald Trump.

00:39:48.060 --> 00:39:50.680

<v SPEAKER\_4>I mean, he's so volatile.

00:39:50.680 --> 00:40:07.760

<v SPEAKER\_4>But the actual business interests that are paying higher prices and it's hurting their businesses, those are the people we should be working with, especially if there is an increasing opportunity for them to actually exert pressure on the Trump administration.

00:40:07.760 --> 00:40:14.080

<v SPEAKER\_4>So I would say that's an all of Canada approach is for

sure better for me.

00:40:14.840 --> 00:40:21.420

<v SPEAKER\_4>But different Premiers have different sectors that they're responsible for or that they're particularly aligned with.

00:40:21.420 --> 00:40:23.720

<v SPEAKER\_4>I don't think that there's an inconsistency there.

00:40:23.720 --> 00:40:37.360

<v SPEAKER\_4>I think what we do from an energy sector, what we do from a steel sector, what we do from an auto sector, we all know these are actually beneficial for the whole country, even if they're different proportions in different parts of the country.

00:40:38.060 --> 00:40:40.180

<v SPEAKER\_4>But that would be my advice to the Premiers as well.

00:40:41.620 --> 00:40:46.140

<v SPEAKER\_1>Louise, I'd like to move to you because you've been giving some advice to the Quebec government.

00:40:46.160 --> 00:40:48.200

<v SPEAKER\_1>Unity is always a big issue.

00:40:48.200 --> 00:40:56.100

<v SPEAKER\_1>Quebec has traditionally been very positive about the freer trade arrangement with the United States going back to the 1988 election.

00:40:56.100 --> 00:40:59.780

<v SPEAKER\_1>Alberta and Quebec were the two that voted in support of Mr.

00:40:59.780 --> 00:41:00.940

<v SPEAKER\_1>Mulroney at the time.

00:41:00.940 --> 00:41:07.940

<v SPEAKER\_1>Interested in how you're seeing things and advice you would give to the Premier of Quebec, but also to the Prime Minister based on what we've seen today.

00:41:09.160 --> 00:41:09.720

<v SPEAKER\_3>Great.

00:41:09.720 --> 00:41:10.620

<v SPEAKER\_3>Well, thank you, Colin.

00:41:10.900 --> 00:41:15.460

<v SPEAKER\_3>I'll be very brief because we'd love to hear questions

from the audience.

00:41:15.900 --> 00:41:21.380

<v SPEAKER\_3>I think Quebec has been quite collaborative with their approach.

00:41:21.380 --> 00:41:26.740

<v SPEAKER\_3>They have supported the Prime Minister's lead.

00:41:26.740 --> 00:41:31.420

<v SPEAKER\_3>The other thing I'd say, they've not tried to reach any kind of...

00:41:33.200 --> 00:41:43.200

<v SPEAKER\_3>I think they did one op-ed in one paper in the US, but the rest of the time, they kept their cool and they have a great...

00:41:43.200 --> 00:41:50.200

<v SPEAKER\_3>Quebec has a great network of diplomats throughout the United States, mirroring somewhat our consulate general.

00:41:50.200 --> 00:41:54.480

<v SPEAKER\_3>They are extremely effective working on the ground.

00:41:54.480 --> 00:42:04.860

<v SPEAKER\_3>They are working on the relationship, keeping things as warm as possible under the circumstances, and being extremely collaborative, which for Quebec is not necessarily a given.

00:42:04.860 --> 00:42:06.540

<v SPEAKER\_3>So I think that's very positive.

00:42:06.540 --> 00:42:15.060

<v SPEAKER\_3>I think that some of the outings that some premiers have made directly to the American public appeals have been misguided and have been poorly received.

00:42:15.060 --> 00:42:22.580

<v SPEAKER\_3>So I think in that sense, Quebec has been measured.

00:42:22.580 --> 00:42:44.860

<v SPEAKER\_3>Now, moving forward, as we get into the USMCA review, I think it's going to be paramount for the Prime Minister of Canada to work closely with the provinces and making sure that if there's going to be concessions, things that are negotiated, that those are very well discussed.

00:42:44.860 --> 00:42:47.360

<v SPEAKER\_3>So next year, there'll be an election in Quebec.

00:42:47.360 --> 00:42:48.600

<v SPEAKER\_3>There could be a change of government.

00:42:48.600 --> 00:42:49.820

<v SPEAKER\_3>We don't know.

00:42:49.820 --> 00:42:54.160

<v SPEAKER\_3>So there's going to be a little bit of volatility back at home.

00:42:55.440 --> 00:43:01.500

<v SPEAKER\_3>And so I think we're going to have to keep our eye on that because that timing will be will be critical right now.

00:43:01.500 --> 00:43:08.960

<v SPEAKER\_3>If you look at the polls, you know, it's possible that a separatist government could be elected.

00:43:08.960 --> 00:43:21.280

<v SPEAKER\_3>And so I think that that could complicate matters, I think, for the for the review and for Canadian Unity over the next year at the time where we really need it the least.

00:43:21.340 --> 00:43:21.960

<v SPEAKER\_1>Thanks, Louise.

00:43:21.960 --> 00:43:26.280

<v SPEAKER\_1>No, National Unity, National Security, and the Canada-U.S.

00:43:26.280 --> 00:43:30.260

<v SPEAKER\_1>relations, the three files that never leave the desk of a prime minister.

00:43:30.260 --> 00:43:35.260

<v SPEAKER\_1>My final question, and I'll start with you, Louise, is what are you reading or streaming these days?

00:43:35.260 --> 00:43:36.380

<v SPEAKER\_3>Oh, so many things.

00:43:36.380 --> 00:43:37.400

<v SPEAKER\_3>What can I?

00:43:37.680 --> 00:43:38.980

<v SPEAKER\_3>I'll go with streaming.

00:43:38.980 --> 00:43:48.380

<v SPEAKER\_3>I am, we're just about to finish, but we went through the whole multi-year seasons of the West Wing.

00:43:53.700 --> 00:44:02.080

<v SPEAKER\_3>It's still very good after all this time, and a good reminder of the sound governance, even though it wasn't perfect.

00:44:02.080 --> 00:44:05.940

<v SPEAKER\_3>So I highly recommend revisiting it.

00:44:05.940 --> 00:44:06.840

<v SPEAKER\_1>I do too.

00:44:06.840 --> 00:44:07.940

<v SPEAKER\_1>Happy days.

00:44:07.940 --> 00:44:10.720

<v SPEAKER\_1>All right, Martha, what are you reading or streaming these days?

00:44:10.920 --> 00:44:15.620

<v SPEAKER\_4>I'm just laughing because I've been thinking about going back and doing the West Wing, but it's such a commitment.

00:44:16.420 --> 00:44:23.080

<v SPEAKER\_4>But given the headline today, there's a headline about the Canadian government thinking about potential concessions on dairy.

00:44:23.080 --> 00:44:35.420

<v SPEAKER\_4>There is one segment from one of the seasons in the West Wing where the president is confronted by the dairy industry in the United States, and it's genius, and I keep wanting to go back and find it.

00:44:35.420 --> 00:44:37.800

<v SPEAKER\_4>Anyway, good for you, Louise.

00:44:37.800 --> 00:44:38.980

<v SPEAKER\_4>Well done.

00:44:38.980 --> 00:44:48.320

<v SPEAKER\_4>I've actually just almost finished, but not quite Abundance by Ezra Klein and Derek Thompson, and it's the flavor of the day, right?

00:44:48.320 --> 00:44:53.280

<v SPEAKER\_4>Like everybody is reading it or has read it, and you know, have you read Abundance?

00:44:53.280 --> 00:44:54.760

<v SPEAKER\_4>It's fantastic.

00:44:54.760 --> 00:45:06.240

<v SPEAKER\_4>I'm not actually finding it fantastic, and part of it is because I'm finding leaps of assumptions on certain things.

00:45:07.340 --> 00:45:21.360

<v SPEAKER\_4>It's good journalism, it's good writing, but maybe it's because I'm at a university now, I'm a little pickier about, I really want to see the evidence backing up some of the assumptions that are made.

00:45:21.360 --> 00:45:24.680

<v SPEAKER\_4>And if you're making assumptions, then it colors the rest of it.

00:45:24.680 --> 00:45:30.320

<v SPEAKER\_4>And I find it's a little bit, continues to admire the problems.

00:45:30.320 --> 00:45:31.760

<v SPEAKER\_4>I think that's a great expression.

00:45:31.760 --> 00:45:32.960

<v SPEAKER\_4>We tend to do that in Canada.

00:45:32.960 --> 00:45:35.960

<v SPEAKER\_4>We admire the problem way too much.

00:45:36.220 --> 00:45:39.560

<v SPEAKER\_4>And right now, I'm just so keen on finding solutions.

00:45:39.720 --> 00:45:41.960

<v SPEAKER\_4>So anyway, there you go.

00:45:41.960 --> 00:45:42.760

<v SPEAKER\_1>Well, thank you, Martha.

00:45:42.760 --> 00:45:44.040

<v SPEAKER\_1>What a novel idea.

00:45:44.040 --> 00:45:46.520

<v SPEAKER\_1>Evidence-based solutions.

00:45:46.520 --> 00:45:49.340

<v SPEAKER\_1>Well, Perrin, what about you?

00:45:49.340 --> 00:45:51.880

<v SPEAKER\_1>What are you reading or streaming these days?

00:45:51.880 --> 00:45:53.100

<v SPEAKER\_5>I've been reading a couple of things.

00:45:53.100 --> 00:46:10.080

<v SPEAKER\_5>The first one is Harold Innis' book that he wrote in 1930 about the fur trade in Canada that talked about how staples, how these commodities drove the settlement of the northern half of the continent and changed people's lives.

00:46:10.080 --> 00:46:11.060

<v SPEAKER\_5>Absolutely fascinating.

00:46:11.280 --> 00:46:15.960

<v SPEAKER\_5>It really was a seminal piece of economic history.

00:46:15.960 --> 00:46:21.640

<v SPEAKER\_5>The other that people would find very interesting is the Charter of The Hudson's Bay Company.

00:46:21.640 --> 00:46:26.220

<v SPEAKER\_5>I don't know whether you've read it, Colin, lately, but it's fascinating.

00:46:26.420 --> 00:46:47.940

<v SPEAKER\_5>It explains how King Charles II was giving to his dearly beloved cousin, Rupert, and 17 other courtiers and noblemen in Britain and business people, control over a territory that was about 12 times the size of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales together.

00:46:48.600 --> 00:46:50.960

<v SPEAKER\_5>Do you know what he got in exchange?

00:46:50.960 --> 00:46:52.720

<v SPEAKER\_5>His rent for this.

00:46:52.720 --> 00:46:59.640

<v SPEAKER\_5>It was that whenever he or a member of his family were to come to the territory, they would be paid two elk and two black beaver.

00:47:01.380 --> 00:47:03.640

<v SPEAKER\_5>And this, for the most part, wasn't paid.

00:47:03.640 --> 00:47:09.760

<v SPEAKER\_5>I think it was done a couple of times, most recently, symbolically in the 1920s, I believe.

00:47:09.760 --> 00:47:17.480

<v SPEAKER\_1>Perrin, my first summer job when I was at university was to work at the Hudson's Bay Company archives, which had just arrived in Winnipeg.

00:47:17.480 --> 00:47:21.780

<v SPEAKER\_1>And I held in my hands, wearing gloves, the Charter.

00:47:22.860 --> 00:47:39.720

<v SPEAKER\_1>It was a, I did it for two summers and I learned a tremendous amount about the company which really developed, as you said, based on our staples at the time, the staple being beaver pelts, but also the work they did in terms of geographic discovery was extraordinary.

00:47:39.720 --> 00:47:46.600

<v SPEAKER\_1>All right, Bruce, to you, final observation, asking you what you're reading or streaming these days.

00:47:46.600 --> 00:47:47.420

<v SPEAKER\_2>Final streaming.

00:47:47.420 --> 00:47:48.280

<v SPEAKER\_2>I'm with Louise.

00:47:48.280 --> 00:48:08.700

<v SPEAKER\_2>My wife and I watched two episodes of West Wing last night, and we started to do this because we remembered that in the Bush administration, when we were feeling so depressed, West Wing was on first time, and it reminded you the kind of government you wanted to have, and the kind of people you wanted in the government.

00:48:08.920 --> 00:48:18.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>By comparison now with the Trump administration, it's even more appropriate that you want smart, literate people who have good intentions at least.

00:48:18.320 --> 00:48:33.280

<v SPEAKER\_2>As Louise implied, I mean, they weren't perfect human beings by any stretch of the imagination, but it does give you a nice way to unwind from a very upsetting day.

00:48:33.280 --> 00:48:34.780

<v SPEAKER\_1>Yes, I certainly concur.

00:48:34.780 --> 00:48:42.720

<v SPEAKER\_1>We watched the whole series again during COVID, and it was uplifting for that very reason, reminding you of what good government can do.

00:48:42.720 --> 00:48:43.920

<v SPEAKER\_1>Well, look, thank you all.

00:48:43.920 --> 00:48:48.080

<v SPEAKER\_1>I hope you've all enjoyed this webinar and learned from

today.

00:48:48.740 --> 00:48:54.240

<v SPEAKER\_1>We were joined by Bruce Stokes, Martha Hall Findlay, Louise Blais, and Perrin Beatty.

00:48:54.240 --> 00:49:07.360

<v SPEAKER\_1>As I mentioned, Martha, Louise, Perrin, and I are all members of the expert group on Canada-US relations, sponsored by The Canadian Global Affairs Institute, Carleton University, and The University of Calgary School of Public Policy.

00:49:07.360 --> 00:49:13.120

<v SPEAKER\_1>We'll link to our publications on podcasts when we post this webinar.

00:49:13.120 --> 00:49:20.220

<v SPEAKER\_1>As I say, we will post today's webinar on YouTube, when we're putting out as a future global exchange podcast.

00:49:20.220 --> 00:49:34.200

<v SPEAKER\_1>In conclusion, let me thank The Canadian Global Affairs Institute's partners for their support, Lockheed Martin, General Dynamics, Huanwei Ocean, BAA Systems, Amazon Web Services, Cove Ocean, and Davie Shipyards.

00:49:34.200 --> 00:49:42.600

<v SPEAKER\_1>This webinar is brought to you by our team at The Canadian Global Affairs Institute and my thanks go out to our producer, Jordyn Carroll, for putting this on together and asking the questions.

00:49:42.600 --> 00:49:44.040

<v SPEAKER\_1>I'm Colin Robertson.

00:49:44.040 --> 00:49:45.100

<v SPEAKER\_1>Thanks for joining us today.