

WEBVTT

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Hello again, and welcome to Global Exchange, part of the Canadian Global Affairs Institute's Podcast Network.

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

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<v SPEAKER\_1>On this episode, recorded on November the 24th, we talk with Raymond Blake about his new book, Canada's Prime Ministers and the Shaping of a National Identity.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Welcome, Raymond.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Thank you very much, Colin, for having me.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Raymond is a specialist in Canadian history and professor of history at the University of Regina.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>For listeners, winner of the 2025 Shaughnessy Cohn Prize for Political Writing, Canada's Prime Ministers and the Shaping of a National Identity provides yet another distinguished addition to the splendid CD House series in Canadian political history that is published by UBC Press.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>We've interviewed a number of the authors in this superb series that John English and Bob Bothwell have put together over the years, with grants from the Bill Graham Foundation.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Blake draws on speeches, debates, writings, and offhand remarks to present a compelling argument about how our Prime Ministers, from Mackenzie King to Justin Trudeau, imagined, narrated, and projected their sense of Canada to the nation and the world.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>In the absence of, quote, common religion, language, and ethnicity, unquote, Blake argues that Canadian unity rests on a civic ideology that must be, quote, continually recreated and reinforced.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>We look, he argues, persuasively in my view, to our Prime Ministers to craft a story embracing regional, linguistic, and

cultural differences sufficiently coherent to national belonging and to foster that national belonging, given our diversity.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>For a country that is still nation building, the challenge is perennial.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Thus, says Blake, the Canadian story must constantly be renegotiated and renewed.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>So let's begin.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Raymond, why did you decide to write this book, and how did you put it together?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Well, thank you very much again, Colin, for having me.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, I've written a number of books on various aspects of Canadian politics, social policy, citizenship, and identity.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And what really struck me was two things.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>One, the Prime Ministers, it seemed, as made national identity and national unity their primary goal.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But what I also found was Prime Ministers introduced all sorts of policies, of course, but they also talked about sort of a national story that didn't really get into their policies.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So Prime Ministers promised a lot, but quite often sort of under delivered.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But nevertheless, they told the story of Canada that they believed, I think, that they thought Canadians needed to hear to keep the country together and keep us sort of, you know, all citizens engaged in the same nation building project.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>I think that certainly jives with what I have heard in

talking to former Prime Ministers.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>The first Prime Minister I spoke to about any length of this was Pierre Trudeau.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And I remember him telling me one time after he had come out of China, we were walking around Hong Kong, where I was posted, that Prime Ministers really had three files that never left their desk.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>The first was national security, which included economic security.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>The second was national unity.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>The third was the relationship with the United States.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And of the three, he said the most difficult in many ways was the unity side of things, given the diversity again of the country and the fact we were constantly rebuilding.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And I've asked subsequent Prime Ministers, everyone except Justin Trudeau, if they would concur with that.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And they all did.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>So it's, I thought your book, and I think you're absolutely right when you argue that the unity side of things is really important and that story, which is always evolving.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Which leads me to my next question.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Does identity matter more to Canadians than other nationalities because we are a relatively new country?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, I think, I think it does.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, but I lived in Ireland for a while.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And, you know, Ireland's an old country.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But, you know, they're really concerned about what it means to be Irish.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So, you know, I say yes.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And we always think that, you know, our generation is, you know, no one's ever had it as bad as we have it.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And it may be true with identity.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, we may think that because we're Canadians and we're next door to the Americans, you know, we struggle with identity more than any other country.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And in many ways we do.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But one of the things you can't forget, and you know this, Colin, very, very well, you know, this is a big country.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, you're talking to distance to fly or to travel from Vancouver or Victoria to St.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>John's, Newfoundland.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, it's a day's journey.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And most people don't leave one part of the country and go to the other.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, we like to visit the United States.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>If you're in, you know, in the Halifax, you go to New

England.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>You go down to Seattle and California.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>If you're in BC, here we go down.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>I'm in Regina.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>We go down to Bismarck and North Dakota and so on.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And so really, we are fragmented.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And of course, you add to that geography, you know, the diversity of, you know, French and English, you know, the regionalism component, the new immigrants, the number of Canadians that are now born outside of Canada.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And you look and you say, you know, how do we keep all of this together?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And it's easy to look at the fractionalism and to look at the divisions.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And Prime Ministers, I think, are very keen on, as you said, as Mr.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau said, you know, national unity is probably the top portfolio that he has to deal with.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So, yeah, I think nationalism is a challenge for Canada.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And the sense of identity is a challenge, more so than other nations.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>I really can't say for certain, but it's a big challenge for us.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And I think it's been recognized as such since we were created in 1867.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>So, Raymond, how do we define ourselves then?

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<v SPEAKER\_1>You mentioned the Irish, but they've got a long history of conflict, but occupation, and that played a part in their identity.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>But again, they were a much older country, but we're a relatively new country.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And we used to talk about two founding nations, and then we added, with reconciliation, our Indigenous peoples as the kind of First Nations.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And then, of course, with the embrace of multiculturalism, we really are, in many ways, a mirror of the world, although we're different.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>But that mirror to the world is, I think, part of how we define ourselves.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>But I'm interested how you see what it is, and what goes into defining ourselves, and how we do define ourselves.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Yeah, no, I think you've identified, you know, three of the key elements into how we define ourselves.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But even going back, and I say 1867, but you could even go back to 1763.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And we realize that when the British and the French, after the Plains of Abraham, they realized that, hey, you know, there are two religious groups.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>There are, I won't say two racial groups, because in the 19th century, the Canadians and people like George Hitching Cartier and others talked about the different races.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>He said the Scots, the Irish, the Welsh, the English, the French.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>He didn't mention Indigenous people.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But, you know, he saw these as different races.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And when we came together in 1867, one of the things that we talked a lot about, the founding fathers talked about, was this notion of diversity.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But diversity, they did not see as a weakness.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>They saw it as a strength.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And it was really interesting.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>If you look at all the Prime Ministers since then, and, you know, Mr.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau, or Pierre Trudeau, talked frequently to Canadians when he talked about national identity.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>He said, we have to recapture the spirits of the fathers of the Confederation.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>The fact that this diversity is a strength.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And, of course, Justin Trudeau used that quite a bit, as did all the other Prime Ministers.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And so this recognition that we are not a nation built on ethnicity, but we are a nation built on what I call a civil ideology, which means that, you know, we recognize that there are vast differences, but what unites us is sort of a common values, the belief that everyone has the right to exist in Canada, regardless of their

heritage and their background, that we buy into sort of a common goal, that all people, whether you live in rural Canada or urban Canada, whether you live in the East or in the West, that we can all enjoy a reasonable standard of living, that the citizens buy into rule of law.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So these are not around ethnicity and creating a common culture, but around values, to tolerance, respect for one another, the notion of equality.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And as citizens, we pledge our allegiance, if we want to do that, not to the flag, but to values.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And so that's how I define national identity in the book.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And I sort of try to put the prime ministers into that sort of, or where they fit under that big umbrella.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And what I find is, hey, regardless of whether they're liberal or conservative, they all buy into these sorts of notions.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>All right.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Well, let's look at those prime ministers and putting in that the value side, because I think that's correct, that our identity is based on values.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>We tend to talk more about values, certainly in my sense, than other nations.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And I think you're absolutely right to sort of pinpoint it because values is what defines us in terms of identity.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>So I want to go through, because you look at our nine longest serving prime ministers, and I wondered if you can share with our listeners in a sentence or two, their particular challenge because when we, and you talk about this in the book and we've discussed it, whether it be war, unity, economy, the United States, just dealing with diversity as well, and how they used the identity side and values to help us shape what has been a shifting identity, partly depending on what the challenge of the day was.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>I'll start with Mackenzie King.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>I'm going to throw you some names and we'll go through them sequentially.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>I know the listeners would welcome a sentence or two of just, as they say, what they saw as the challenge at their time, and how they dealt with it.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>So why don't we start with King?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Well Colin, I should warn you that anytime you ask an historian to say something about somebody in a sentence, that's a real challenge.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But I will also say before you do Mackenzie King, is that almost all of the Prime Ministers rejiggered the national identity a little bit in a moment of crisis or great challenge.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And I think for Mackenzie King, it was coming out of the war, coming out of the Great Depression, having to deal with the issue of conscription, particularly in Quebec but also in parts of rural Canada, that he realized there was no going back to the old ways that existed before the Great Depression.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And we always got to remember too that Mackenzie King was really a product of the 19th century, but he was governing really to the end, well almost to 1950.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And one of the things that Mackenzie King realized is that the notion of poverty, the notion of want, this great dilemma that Canadians faced in the Great Depression could never be allowed to happen again if we were to maintain any sense of national unity and identity in this country.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And he constructed an identity around what I call social citizenship, the notion that you can expect help and assistance from the state, not only in times of grave adversity, but in the normal course of life.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Mothers raising children or parents raising children.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>He talked about health care.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>He didn't quite deliver on all of these things.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>He talked about a new flag.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>He talked about bringing the Constitution home.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>He talked about creating a new sense of identity, and he did create a Canadian citizenship.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So his notion of national identity came with really, in many ways, surprising things for a person born in the 1800s.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And it was a challenge to depression and to war.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And he saw the social service state, that the government playing a more meaningful role in people's lives.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And I thank you for that because I tell you, I had a different impression of King, partly the crystal ball, the dog, and talking to his mom.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>But in reading your book, and then I also read Tim Cook's book, The Good Ally, and you get the impression of King as somebody who is actually quite thoughtful, looked ahead and cared deeply about the country.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And, you know, there's a good reason why he's our longest serving Prime Minister.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And as you point out, he was that transition, that hinge between the Laurier in the sense the 19th century, and then taking us to the 20th century and moving forward.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>So thank you for that because I think it forces people to think differently of Mackenzie King.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>I should say one other thing about Mackenzie King and you know his history.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And that is Mackenzie King would give a speech on the importance of family allowances and how important it was to maintain the institution of the family, although he did a very patriarchal view that the woman should be home, the mother should be home and so on.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But Mackenzie King would talk about the importance of the government spending more money.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And then he would go home and write in his diary, what in the heck am I doing?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And so I find throughout all those individuals, and they're all men except Kim Campbell, is that they understand the country and they sometimes realize that what I feel personally as Prime Minister and what needs to be done are not one and the same.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And Mackenzie King is a classic example that he really worried about, you know, spending \$224 million on family loans.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>He said, this is just insane, but yet he did it because he thought it was in the interest of the nation to do so.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Now you realize that he was much more complex and you've mined the diaries extremely well.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>All right, well, let's talk about his successor, Louis Saint Laurent.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Uncle Louis is, as some people call him, but certainly a distinguished leader.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, in my work on Mr.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Saint Laurent, I was really struck by the fact that there had been very little done on him.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>In fact, in Michael Bliss, who writes a wonderful book about prime ministers, didn't even give Mr.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Saint Laurent a chapter, even though he had been governing for ten years or so, and was an influential figure in Mr.

00:16:34.780 --> 00:16:36.680

<v SPEAKER\_2>King's government.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But Louis Saint Laurent did two things, which I think helped to create the sense of...

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<v SPEAKER\_2>You mentioned Mr.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau said security was another one.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Mr.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Saint Laurent, I think, was a rabid anti-communist.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, he was a cold warrior, and he talked to Canadians about the importance of service, and he would praise young men and women for volunteering, say, for the Korean War, but also participating in the military, and to be vigilant because the communists were an evil that had to be countered.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And he looked to American leadership as absolutely necessary because of Canadian security, if American security is threatened, Canada is threatened.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And so he talked about the importance of security.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And the second thing that he did, he didn't quite use the

language of Mr.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau and others about multiculturalism, but he talked about the different cultures in Canada and said, in Canada, there is no uniformity of identity.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>We're all Canadians, yes, but if you're French Canadian or you're Hungarian, if you're British or Irish, he says, there's no flatness.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>We can be who we want to be.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And he talked about the importance of, you know, having the ability to find your own identity within the Canadian nation-state.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And it's our job as a state to protect that.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So he reaches out in a way to ordinary Canadians, and he really doesn't go as far as others would, but he begins to look at the North and Indigenous people for a variety of reasons, worried about security again, as you know.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>There's a number of the NU who are moved around in the North.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But he begins to sort of think about them, whereas I think Mr.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>King really did not.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So we're seeing new elements come in to the identity with Mr.

00:18:47.520 --> 00:18:49.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>Louis Saint Laurent.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And I think that his Grey Lecture really did set the contours for post-war Canadian foreign policy.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Absolutely.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>You know, multicultural, sorry, multilateralism, and then the paramountcy of the United States.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And he laid it out, the Commonwealth is kind of representing along with the United Nations.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>It really was, I think, quite remarkable.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And as you say, relatively unsung, followed by somebody who has much more charismatic from your part of the country, John Diefenbaker.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Yeah, you know, John Diefenbaker again is a fascinating political leader.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>He begins the notion of rights.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, his Bill of Rights, he begins to talk about, you know, he's not a French or British stock, as he would say.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>He's sort of a new Canadian.

00:19:42.260 --> 00:19:48.340  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And I find that he talks a lot about disadvantaged peoples.

00:19:48.340 --> 00:19:57.640  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Some of his programs that he brings into place, like regional economic development strategies, particularly for regions of Quebec or of rural Canada.

00:19:57.820 --> 00:20:04.300  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And one of the things that John Diefenbaker does is talk about the importance of understanding each other.

00:20:04.300 --> 00:20:13.500  
<v SPEAKER\_2>He would go to an event in Toronto, and he would talk about Northern Manitoba, or he would talk about the farm communities.

00:20:13.500 --> 00:20:24.920

<v SPEAKER\_2>He would talk about what life is like in Atlantic Canada, and trying to get us to see, hey, there has to be a level of equality across the country, or equality of opportunity.

00:20:24.920 --> 00:20:38.800

<v SPEAKER\_2>And of course, his Bill of Rights is extremely important, and he advances the notion of the place of Indigenous people in Canada, with the vote, with the first Indigenous Senator appointed to Ottawa.

00:20:39.060 --> 00:20:39.620

<v SPEAKER\_2>And Mr.

00:20:39.620 --> 00:20:56.260

<v SPEAKER\_2>Diefenbaker, of course, is really concerned, as we know, about the American influence in Canada, with the Cuban Missile Crisis, struggling over whether or not there will be nuclear warheads on the Bullmark Missiles.

00:20:56.500 --> 00:21:13.180

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he is, you know, he says, we are Canadian, and of course, as relevance today, diversifying trade from the US to Canada, to Great Britain, to make us less dependent on the United States.

00:21:13.180 --> 00:21:19.820

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he's concerned about radio and television, and American owning of newspapers and magazines.

00:21:19.820 --> 00:21:23.680

<v SPEAKER\_2>So he's a very complex individual.

00:21:23.680 --> 00:21:29.760

<v SPEAKER\_2>Like I think all the Prime Ministers are, but sometimes we just caricature those individuals.

00:21:29.760 --> 00:21:30.800

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I think Mr.

00:21:30.800 --> 00:21:38.280

<v SPEAKER\_2>Diefenbaker has been one of those that, you know, he's indecisive, can't make up his mind, doesn't like Mr.

00:21:38.280 --> 00:21:40.360

<v SPEAKER\_2>Kennedy because he's too attractive.

00:21:40.660 --> 00:21:45.360

<v SPEAKER\_2>And we sometimes, I think, miss the real points of how Mr.

00:21:45.360 --> 00:21:51.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>Diefenbaker and some of the others really did sort of want people to think about what it means to be Canadian.

00:21:51.400 --> 00:21:52.440

<v SPEAKER\_1>Well, I think that's right.

00:21:52.440 --> 00:22:07.020

<v SPEAKER\_1>And I think that the book now, it's a year a bit old, but John Ibbotson's book, looking at both Diefenbaker and Pearson, who now we'll talk about, he presents them in a certain, he's certainly very positive about Mr.

00:22:07.020 --> 00:22:08.140

<v SPEAKER\_1>Diefenbaker.

00:22:09.220 --> 00:22:13.820

<v SPEAKER\_1>And I'm not sure that he makes the case against Mr.

00:22:13.820 --> 00:22:18.040

<v SPEAKER\_1>Pearson the way he may want it to because I think Pearson still comes out pretty well.

00:22:18.040 --> 00:22:20.580

<v SPEAKER\_1>And I think it comes out pretty well in your book as well.

00:22:20.580 --> 00:22:23.700

<v SPEAKER\_1>So I've been interested in your assessment of Lester Pearson.

00:22:23.700 --> 00:22:25.700

<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, one of the things Mr.

00:22:25.700 --> 00:22:40.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>Pearson, you know, when he became Prime Minister, he said, you know, for all of my life, I thought what was really important in Canada is our relationship with the international community.

00:22:40.160 --> 00:22:54.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>Not only with Britain, you mentioned the Commonwealth and the United States, but now I realize we have to be concerned about what's happening domestically because we are confronting a challenge with Quebec.

00:22:55.200 --> 00:23:00.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>We are confronting this unity in the way that we have rarely seen it.

00:23:00.600 --> 00:23:15.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he spends much of his time talking about Quebec should have the freedom to express its identity and their sense of self within the Canadian context, not separation.

00:23:15.040 --> 00:23:18.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>He dismissed that, talked about language.

00:23:18.040 --> 00:23:20.280

<v SPEAKER\_2>He talked about a new flag, of course.

00:23:20.740 --> 00:23:24.640

<v SPEAKER\_2>He talked about, you know, bilingualism, the culturalism.

00:23:24.640 --> 00:23:28.020

<v SPEAKER\_2>But he also talked a lot about, because coming out from Mr.

00:23:28.020 --> 00:23:28.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>coming after Mr.

00:23:28.880 --> 00:23:41.580

<v SPEAKER\_2>Deetham Baker and the quarrels he had with the Americans, this was a big issue in Canada with Walter Gordon, who you know, you know, a variety of economic nationalism.

00:23:41.580 --> 00:23:42.360

<v SPEAKER\_2>But what Mr.

00:23:42.360 --> 00:24:07.560

<v SPEAKER\_2>Pearson said, and there was one line in one of his speeches, it was something to the effect that when we deal with the Americans, we have to take a sane and mature approach, because we can't forget the simple fact that our economy is so tied to the US, that it's easy to pluck the feathers, he said, of the American Eagle.

00:24:07.560 --> 00:24:11.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>But he says, we should not overreact.

00:24:11.400 --> 00:24:14.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>And anti-Americanism is not the same.

00:24:14.720 --> 00:24:16.340

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he gave the speech in Vancouver.

00:24:16.960 --> 00:24:23.240

<v SPEAKER\_2>Anti-Americanism is not the same as a vigorous promotion of a Canadian identity.

00:24:24.640 --> 00:24:25.580  
<v SPEAKER\_1>I think that's quite fair.

00:24:25.580 --> 00:24:39.060  
<v SPEAKER\_1>And he also argued that because the Americans bore that burden of primacy, that we had to take that into account when we were sort of dealing with the Americans that, no, we weren't first on their agenda because they had so much else on their agenda.

00:24:39.060 --> 00:24:43.800  
<v SPEAKER\_1>I thought he was extremely pragmatic in that sense.

00:24:43.800 --> 00:24:54.400  
<v SPEAKER\_1>I remember Simon Reisman telling me that we got the Auto Pact in part because Pearson had ceded to Johnson's request that we send peacekeepers to Cyprus.

00:24:54.400 --> 00:25:08.140  
<v SPEAKER\_1>And his son, Jeffrey, sort of underlined to me that his father really understood the balance between hard power and soft power, which in subsequent prime ministries, he wasn't as convinced, understood as well as his father did.

00:25:08.140 --> 00:25:19.580  
<v SPEAKER\_1>And that takes us now to probably our most charismatic prime minister, someone who go around the world and they have a sense of Canada, and that's Pierre Trudeau.

00:25:19.580 --> 00:25:24.680  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Yeah, you know, fascinating reading about Mr.

00:25:24.680 --> 00:25:25.160  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau.

00:25:25.160 --> 00:25:29.300  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And of course, we all know about the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

00:25:29.300 --> 00:25:32.460  
<v SPEAKER\_2>But, you know, two things I would say about that.

00:25:33.020 --> 00:25:33.280  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Mr.

00:25:33.280 --> 00:25:47.480  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau, when he talked about the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the official multiculturalism which he embraced, he said, that does not mean that we lose sense of what it means to be Canadian.

00:25:47.480 --> 00:25:51.100

<v SPEAKER\_2>He said, with those rights come to responsibilities.

00:25:51.100 --> 00:26:03.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he talked to individuals, you know, about once you're in Canada, you have to, you know, you had to leave your old struggles at home.

00:26:03.820 --> 00:26:11.100

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he talked about, you have, you know, rights to allow you to be, and he used the word self-actualizing.

00:26:11.100 --> 00:26:25.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>I mean, you know, we can only be free when your identity is what you want it to be, but never lose sight of the responsibilities that come with Canadian citizenship, rule of law, the sort of the liberal values we talked about earlier.

00:26:25.820 --> 00:26:36.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>What he also talked about, we sometimes forget, is when he talked about rights and freedoms, he talked about inequalities in the country.

00:26:36.320 --> 00:26:46.180

<v SPEAKER\_2>He talked about regional disparity, and he said, as long as we have rich and poor Canadians, we will never have national unity.

00:26:47.220 --> 00:26:55.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>And you don't see that as much in writings about Pierre Trudeau as you do about sort of individual rights and freedoms.

00:26:55.360 --> 00:26:57.800

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I think that was fundamental to him.

00:26:57.800 --> 00:27:03.920

<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, he spent a lot of time going to places like Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, you know, Grand Bank, Newfoundland.

00:27:03.920 --> 00:27:15.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, he would go to Lumsden, Saskatchewan, and small communities and talk about how important it is for you to participate in the Canadian prosperity.

00:27:15.420 --> 00:27:19.760

<v SPEAKER\_2>And certainly he was into multiculturalism and rights and a variety of other things.

00:27:20.200 --> 00:27:31.960

<v SPEAKER\_2>And internationally, as you know quite well, Colin, you know, he was concerned about the plight of what we once called, you know, the developing or the third world.

00:27:32.360 --> 00:27:36.820

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he thought that Canada had a mission.

00:27:36.820 --> 00:27:44.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he would tell Canadians that that was their responsibility to help the less fortunate people of the world.

00:27:44.720 --> 00:27:48.380

<v SPEAKER\_2>You mentioned the Colombo Plan and the Commonwealth.

00:27:48.800 --> 00:27:50.380

<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, that's all a part of it.

00:27:50.380 --> 00:27:55.020

<v SPEAKER\_2>That starts, of course, in the late 1940s, early 1950s.

00:27:55.020 --> 00:27:56.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>And Trudeau is very big on that.

00:27:56.880 --> 00:28:02.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>So he's interested certainly in this notion of culture and identities and rights.

00:28:02.200 --> 00:28:12.300

<v SPEAKER\_2>But he's also this notion of, and this is no surprise to anyone, the just society, meaning, you know, people kind of live a decent life.

00:28:13.680 --> 00:28:15.000

<v SPEAKER\_1>Yes, no, I think that's right.

00:28:15.100 --> 00:28:23.460

<v SPEAKER\_1>And I think that I always remember Hugh Siegel telling me about a sign he saw at Expo 67, the rights of the reward of responsibility.

00:28:23.460 --> 00:28:29.180

<v SPEAKER\_1>And that was something I think Trudeau also underlined, that we had responsibilities as citizen.

00:28:29.180 --> 00:28:36.580

<v SPEAKER\_1>And that's something that I think all Prime Ministers I think feel that with your rights go responsibilities.

00:28:36.580 --> 00:28:38.220

<v SPEAKER\_2>Absolutely.

00:28:38.560 --> 00:28:44.540

<v SPEAKER\_1>And we come to Brian Mulroney, who's sort of the

generation behind Pierre Trudeau.

00:28:44.540 --> 00:28:53.600

<v SPEAKER\_1>And again, a charismatic Prime Minister, but different obviously than Pierre Trudeau, but not all that different in many ways.

00:28:53.600 --> 00:28:59.960

<v SPEAKER\_2>No, I think I tell an episode in the book when Mr.

00:28:59.960 --> 00:29:07.560

<v SPEAKER\_2>Mulroney came to the house when he was coming from Centro Nova, I think it was, in Mr.

00:29:07.560 --> 00:29:09.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>McKay's writing down there.

00:29:09.600 --> 00:29:23.840

<v SPEAKER\_2>And there was a big dispute going on in Manitoba about the, you know, that the Manitoba legislation had not been put in two official languages, which was a requirement.

00:29:23.840 --> 00:29:26.260

<v SPEAKER\_2>And they sort of set a trap for Mr.

00:29:26.260 --> 00:29:32.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>Mulroney and asked them a question about, how do we feel about bilingualism?

00:29:32.820 --> 00:29:38.180

<v SPEAKER\_2>Because bilingualism had really been a real issue for the Conservative Party.

00:29:38.180 --> 00:29:38.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>And Mr.

00:29:38.600 --> 00:29:43.380

<v SPEAKER\_2>Mulroney made it very, very clear to people in his party and to people in the country.

00:29:43.380 --> 00:29:54.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he went to Manitoba and gave a very impassioned speech that if you want to be a part of the Conservative Party of Canada, then you have to accept official bilingualism.

00:29:54.120 --> 00:29:55.780

<v SPEAKER\_2>So continuing on from Mr.

00:29:55.780 --> 00:29:56.840

<v SPEAKER\_2>Pearson and Mr.

00:29:56.840 --> 00:29:57.600  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau.

00:29:57.600 --> 00:30:11.400  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And of course, he brought in the Multicultural Act, you know, in 1988 to put into legislation the ideas that Trudeau had around multiculturalism.

00:30:11.400 --> 00:30:13.360  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And of course, what Mr.

00:30:13.360 --> 00:30:26.100  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau realized at the end by 1983-84, despite the third option, and they begin to think, and you know this, Colin, you know, sectorial free trade is a possibility in the US.

00:30:26.140 --> 00:30:28.360  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And Moroni picks up on that.

00:30:28.780 --> 00:30:32.620  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And he really struggles with the opposition.

00:30:32.840 --> 00:30:39.780  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And he tells Canadians continually, we are a mature people.

00:30:39.780 --> 00:30:44.280  
<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, we are an innovative people.

00:30:44.280 --> 00:30:45.840  
<v SPEAKER\_2>We're hardworking people.

00:30:45.840 --> 00:30:54.380  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Many of his words were something like, you know, you know, Canadians get up early in the morning and they work hard and they can do great things.

00:30:54.800 --> 00:30:57.660  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And we can compete with the Americans.

00:30:57.660 --> 00:31:00.940  
<v SPEAKER\_2>We can trade with them and not lose our identity.

00:31:00.940 --> 00:31:10.000  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And so he, I think, was a, it was sort of a pulling together in a way, all the things that have been happening since the Second World War.

00:31:10.320 --> 00:31:14.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he says, now we can, our identity is secure.

00:31:14.120 --> 00:31:16.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>Our social programs are secure.

00:31:16.400 --> 00:31:18.260

<v SPEAKER\_2>Our economy is not.

00:31:18.260 --> 00:31:23.680

<v SPEAKER\_2>And what we need to do is to strengthen our economy, to maintain all the other things.

00:31:23.920 --> 00:31:26.180

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he embraced most of what Mr.

00:31:26.180 --> 00:31:27.560

<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau said.

00:31:27.560 --> 00:31:31.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, some ideas around foreign investment and so on.

00:31:31.120 --> 00:31:32.260

<v SPEAKER\_2>He reversed.

00:31:32.260 --> 00:31:41.920

<v SPEAKER\_2>But I mean, the basic values that Canadians had, he didn't go back on any of those things that have been developed mostly by Liberal Prime Ministers.

00:31:41.980 --> 00:31:45.860

<v SPEAKER\_2>So he was small ill Liberal in many ways.

00:31:45.860 --> 00:31:56.700

<v SPEAKER\_2>And of course, his big change, much than Canada, with the Free Trade Agreement, which for over 30 odd years, most Canadians came to love and appreciate.

00:31:56.700 --> 00:32:01.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>And now it looks like it's in a little bit of a lot of trouble.

00:32:01.060 --> 00:32:04.700

<v SPEAKER\_2>Canadians want to get it back, which is hard to imagine when Ms.

00:32:04.700 --> 00:32:13.240

<v SPEAKER\_2>Maroney announced this in 1986, who was going to pursue the Free Trade Agreement with the Americans.

00:32:13.240 --> 00:32:16.640

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00:32:16.640 --> 00:32:21.260

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00:32:37.680 --> 00:32:56.560

<v SPEAKER\_1>I think that's to me one of the signal changes that I've seen in Canada was that the embrace of free trade, particularly that election in 1988 when Alberta and Quebec were the only provinces where they voted for it, but because he was able to get enough seats across the country, it happened.

00:32:56.560 --> 00:33:01.820

<v SPEAKER\_1>Now, you would not find any premier that does not think free or trade has worked for them.

00:33:01.820 --> 00:33:14.160

<v SPEAKER\_1>That really, I think we owe a lot to Mulroney and again, this significant shift by premiers of whatever, whether NDP or Parti Québécois, Liberal and Conservative, embraced by all.

00:33:14.740 --> 00:33:34.780

<v SPEAKER\_1>That then takes me to Jean-Claude Chen, who in many ways was also continuity with Mulroney, focused on the economy, not seen quite as divisive or perhaps as charismatic as Mulroney, but had to deal with real challenges.

00:33:34.780 --> 00:33:47.540

<v SPEAKER\_1>First, the economy and also unity because of the birth of the bloc, or the bloc québécois, which became the opposition under Lucien Bouchard, and of course, the referendum in 1995.

00:33:47.540 --> 00:33:52.860

<v SPEAKER\_1>I'm interested in how you assess Jean Chrétien, who then had three majority governments.

00:33:55.480 --> 00:34:06.620

<v SPEAKER\_2>Sometimes complacency or just continuing with status quo

is strategic as well.

00:34:06.800 --> 00:34:07.680  
<v SPEAKER\_2>I think Mr.

00:34:07.680 --> 00:34:14.980  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Chrétien really recognized that he was pretty happy with what had been put in place.

00:34:16.200 --> 00:34:16.460  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Mr.

00:34:16.460 --> 00:34:23.540  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau, Pierre Trudeau in 1978 began to sort of say, hey, spending is getting out of control.

00:34:23.540 --> 00:34:23.800  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Mr.

00:34:23.800 --> 00:34:27.060  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Mulroney really continued that dialogue.

00:34:27.160 --> 00:34:27.780  
<v SPEAKER\_2>It was Mr.

00:34:27.780 --> 00:34:43.860  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Chrétien in 1993, 1994, way into 1998, 1999, who really dealt with this and made deficit control and balanced budget a part of the national identity.

00:34:44.300 --> 00:34:53.460  
<v SPEAKER\_2>I remember, I'm sure you do too, Colin, that people were talking about the deficit in the 90s in a way they never did throughout the 80s.

00:34:53.460 --> 00:34:55.640  
<v SPEAKER\_2>They saw the cuts that Mr.

00:34:55.640 --> 00:35:02.700  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Mulroney first proposed as something just evil and something can't be allowed, and then they accepted it.

00:35:03.340 --> 00:35:04.020  
<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, with Mr.

00:35:04.020 --> 00:35:07.680  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Kretchen, because they realized that the situation was so tough.

00:35:07.680 --> 00:35:10.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>And the other thing too, is Mr.

00:35:10.200 --> 00:35:13.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>Kretchen had opposed free trade, as you noted.

00:35:13.400 --> 00:35:16.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>He was, you know, he opposed Meach Lake.

00:35:16.320 --> 00:35:21.340

<v SPEAKER\_2>He opposed, you know, those accords around Charlottetown and Meach Lake.

00:35:21.340 --> 00:35:34.620

<v SPEAKER\_2>But yet many of those things he embraced, such as a distinct recognition in Parliament, of Quebec as a distinct society, realizing, hey, I may not like this, but it is necessary, as Mr.

00:35:34.620 --> 00:35:38.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>King did, back in, in after the Second World War.

00:35:38.160 --> 00:35:39.440

<v SPEAKER\_2>And so Mr.

00:35:39.440 --> 00:35:51.240

<v SPEAKER\_2>Kretchen begins to move Canada towards things like, you know, same-sex marriages, you know, trying to deal with abortion, a variety of other things.

00:35:51.580 --> 00:35:57.820

<v SPEAKER\_2>And of course, it's Paul Martin who sort of does, in fact, changed the marriage laws.

00:35:57.820 --> 00:35:59.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>But we're beginning to see, as Mr.

00:35:59.160 --> 00:36:09.820

<v SPEAKER\_2>Kretchen said, hey, you know, the courts have ruled on this in Ontario, same-sex marriage, and society is changing, and the government got to go along with that.

00:36:09.820 --> 00:36:20.860

<v SPEAKER\_2>So there was a recognition of him, from him, that, hey, you know, we've come through some very difficult debates in Canada, over the Constitution, over free trade.

00:36:21.340 --> 00:36:32.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he looks for a pragmatic government, but nevertheless, looks at the old notion of human security in international affairs, as you know well.

00:36:33.160 --> 00:36:36.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he said, look, this is Canadian values.

00:36:36.880 --> 00:36:38.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>And it was one of the things that Mr.

00:36:38.400 --> 00:36:42.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>Crutchand said that really got me thinking about writing this book.

00:36:42.720 --> 00:36:46.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>And that was around some of the Kyoto negotiations and so on.

00:36:46.720 --> 00:36:52.500

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he tells his ministers, you know, go to Kyoto, tell them that Canada is on board.

00:36:52.500 --> 00:36:55.260

<v SPEAKER\_2>We are a good steward of the environment.

00:36:55.260 --> 00:37:00.440

<v SPEAKER\_2>But he had no plan, he had no plan about to meet the Kyoto targets.

00:37:00.440 --> 00:37:05.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>But nevertheless, you know, he continued to talk about we are a good citizen.

00:37:05.400 --> 00:37:16.620

<v SPEAKER\_2>And this notion, we are a good citizen, is something Mackenzie King could say, you know, if there were more countries like Canada, the world would be a much better place.

00:37:17.460 --> 00:37:30.440

<v SPEAKER\_2>And all the Prime Ministers at this would tell this story to Canadians and to others, be more like us, you know, Mackenzie King, we don't fight with the Americas long as on defended border.

00:37:30.440 --> 00:37:32.380

<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, why can't you be like that in Europe?

00:37:32.380 --> 00:37:37.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>And that even goes back, you mentioned Laurier, that goes back to Laurier's time, right?

00:37:37.820 --> 00:37:39.860

<v SPEAKER\_2>And so, yeah, Mr.

00:37:39.860 --> 00:37:45.960

<v SPEAKER\_2>Cratchan is very much, you know, it's okay the way we have at Diobofc Quebec.

00:37:45.960 --> 00:37:50.360

<v SPEAKER\_2>He had to see the Clarity Act, of course.

00:37:51.320 --> 00:37:57.900

<v SPEAKER\_2>And the Clarity Act really did, in the reference from the Supreme Court, he really played with that.

00:37:57.900 --> 00:38:06.300

<v SPEAKER\_2>That sort of, you know, their notion was that this is a civic ideology, which is what Canada is.

00:38:08.240 --> 00:38:14.620

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he talked a lot about, and I see in the book, the Supreme Court's ruling as one of Mr.

00:38:14.620 --> 00:38:35.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>Créchean's great contributions, although he didn't write what was in the Supreme Court, but the notion of the civic ideology, which he had been talking about, and the Quebec reference sort of refers to, I see that as important in his, during his time as Prime Minister.

00:38:36.080 --> 00:38:36.760

<v SPEAKER\_1>I think that's right.

00:38:37.320 --> 00:38:45.660

<v SPEAKER\_1>To me, he had a gut instinct for the feel of the country, and the country responded to it.

00:38:47.120 --> 00:38:58.080

<v SPEAKER\_1>Yes, the Petit Garde, the Schueningen, but he really did have something that, I remember at the time, I kind of wondered, but over time, I've come to have a great appreciation.

00:38:58.080 --> 00:39:43.420

<v SPEAKER\_1>I think he was a very successful Prime Minister, who let his ministers manage, which you, I think, subsequent Prime Ministers, and we'll move now to Stephen Harper and Justin Trudeau, the centralization of power in the Prime Minister's office, which I'm not sure served the country as well, as letting your ministers, with their deputies, leave them there for some time and have confidence in them, and if they don't behave and move them in, but you had strong ministers, but I think the power starts, there's been this shift, and you bring this out in your book, shift of power to the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister's office, and I think that certainly comes through to me, a bit on Stephen Harper as well as on Justin Trudeau.

00:39:43.420 --> 00:39:45.780

<v SPEAKER\_1>So let's move to Stephen Harper.

00:39:45.780 --> 00:39:54.220

<v SPEAKER\_2>Well, you know, I think, you know, Stephen Harper and Mr.

00:39:54.220 --> 00:39:56.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>Paul Martin and Mr.

00:39:56.060 --> 00:40:18.140

<v SPEAKER\_2>Critchend both were concerned about the lack of knowledge about Canada and, you know, McLean's and CBC and others would sort of, there were these annual polls that said, you know, Canadians can't name, you know, the first Prime Minister or we don't know what, who Lester Pearson is or so on.

00:40:18.540 --> 00:40:24.300

<v SPEAKER\_2>And they began to say, you know, we don't have much civic knowledge.

00:40:24.300 --> 00:40:30.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>And if we don't have civic knowledge, then what does that mean for rights of citizenship and responsibilities?

00:40:30.400 --> 00:40:30.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>Mr.

00:40:30.720 --> 00:40:33.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>Harper picks that up in spades.

00:40:34.400 --> 00:40:40.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>And one of the things that I focus on there is a new citizenship guide that Mr.

00:40:40.320 --> 00:41:05.660

<v SPEAKER\_2>Harper is really pushing and the Citizenship Guide sort of brings history back in, talks about the rights but also the responsibilities of citizenship, and really tries to show that those basic liberal values that Canadians buy into, and probably this is a bit of partisanship in them, that they didn't begin with Pierre Trudeau in 1968.

00:41:06.380 --> 00:41:12.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>But these are values that go back to the War of 1812.

00:41:12.160 --> 00:41:14.560

<v SPEAKER\_2>They go back to 1763.

00:41:14.560 --> 00:41:16.460

<v SPEAKER\_2>They go back to the Quebec Act.

00:41:16.460 --> 00:41:20.240

<v SPEAKER\_2>They go back to Confederations founding in 1867.

00:41:20.240 --> 00:41:32.900

<v SPEAKER\_2>So it begins to tell Canadians, hey, as a society, we've created a good place, the rights of men and women, you know, respect for the law, equality of people.

00:41:33.900 --> 00:41:34.900

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I think that's critical.

00:41:34.900 --> 00:41:39.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>But the other thing which I think is extremely important is although Mr.

00:41:39.480 --> 00:41:48.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>Maroney begins to talk about three founding nations, you mentioned earlier Colin, but what Mr.

00:41:48.720 --> 00:41:56.000

<v SPEAKER\_2>Harper does in his apologies is in, for example, for the Chinese head tax.

00:41:56.000 --> 00:42:05.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>He talks about how Asians who came here to work on the building of the CPR, they were building the nation.

00:42:05.740 --> 00:42:10.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>And for a long time we thought nation builders were French and English or Europeans.

00:42:10.720 --> 00:42:21.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he expands that to what we call more recent newcomers, to the Asians, the Chinese who came and were then treated so badly.

00:42:21.740 --> 00:42:24.620

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he sees them as nation builders.

00:42:25.160 --> 00:42:28.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>And we sometimes forget that Mr.

00:42:28.880 --> 00:42:32.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>Harper as well apologized for the Indian Residential Schools.

00:42:32.880 --> 00:42:36.760

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he created the Truth from Reconciliation Commission.

00:42:36.760 --> 00:42:40.520  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And I couldn't tell why because his papers are still closed.

00:42:40.520 --> 00:42:42.920  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Why he selected Murray Sinclair.

00:42:42.920 --> 00:42:43.500  
<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, Mr.

00:42:43.500 --> 00:42:47.560  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Sinclair is really too many Canadian as a saint.

00:42:47.560 --> 00:42:51.560  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And he chose him rather than somebody else.

00:42:51.560 --> 00:42:52.680  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Why did he choose him?

00:42:52.740 --> 00:42:54.380  
<v SPEAKER\_2>It would be interesting to see.

00:42:54.380 --> 00:43:02.300  
<v SPEAKER\_2>But he also said, like others, we are a good people because we can admit our mistakes.

00:43:02.300 --> 00:43:06.700  
<v SPEAKER\_2>We apologize and vow to do better in the future.

00:43:06.700 --> 00:43:12.520  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And that is a moment that, you know, most nations can't do that.

00:43:12.520 --> 00:43:13.720  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Not quite true.

00:43:13.720 --> 00:43:14.160  
<v SPEAKER\_2>But Mr.

00:43:14.160 --> 00:43:16.120  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Harper said, we do that.

00:43:16.120 --> 00:43:20.400  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And that shows there's something special about Canadians.

00:43:21.140 --> 00:43:22.040  
<v SPEAKER\_1>No, I think that's right.

00:43:22.040 --> 00:43:28.800  
<v SPEAKER\_1>And I think that the, that in that sense, we owe Harper a

lot of praise for what he was able to do.

00:43:29.180 --> 00:43:32.480

<v SPEAKER\_1>We're instilling that sense of history, which goes back to the origins.

00:43:32.480 --> 00:43:34.440

<v SPEAKER\_1>So it's not just yesterday.

00:43:34.440 --> 00:43:37.300

<v SPEAKER\_1>And also that we are a good nation.

00:43:39.460 --> 00:43:42.140

<v SPEAKER\_1>And not simply in broadening it out.

00:43:42.140 --> 00:43:49.360

<v SPEAKER\_1>Now, I realize Justin Trudeau is harder to, and you say this correctly, I think, to judge because it's so close still.

00:43:49.980 --> 00:43:59.940

<v SPEAKER\_1>But because he did, the Prime Minister for 10 years, interested in your assessment of Justin Trudeau, given that it's the first draft of history in many ways.

00:43:59.940 --> 00:44:05.000

<v SPEAKER\_2>Yeah, you know, I, the publisher didn't want me to do a lot on Mr.

00:44:05.000 --> 00:44:08.640

<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau because we're then venturing, he was still in office.

00:44:08.640 --> 00:44:14.360

<v SPEAKER\_2>And as you know, you know, the first draft of the book was done probably in 2022.

00:44:14.360 --> 00:44:18.140

<v SPEAKER\_2>And then it takes another year and a half for it to get through the system.

00:44:19.200 --> 00:44:26.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>I found one of the things that I found troubling with Mr., with Justin Trudeau.

00:44:26.800 --> 00:44:42.460

<v SPEAKER\_2>And that was many of the things that he talked about, our treatment of indigenous people, our treatment of the homosexual community, our treatment of certain individuals that, you know, we brought in, emigrants and so on.

00:44:43.360 --> 00:45:07.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>I'm like Mr., I'm like Mackenzie King or Pierre Trudeau, his father, when we recognize that there were moments of challenges and there were challenges in the, in the, in, you know, in the 2000s, after 2015, the Reconcilia, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Murder and Indigent and so on, that Mr.

00:45:07.120 --> 00:45:11.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau just played into that narrative.

00:45:11.060 --> 00:45:20.180

<v SPEAKER\_2>And in his speeches at the United Nations, in his talks to Canadians, you know, he talked about, you know, we are a nation without values.

00:45:20.180 --> 00:45:25.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>We are the first, you know, most modern national state.

00:45:25.120 --> 00:45:25.840

<v SPEAKER\_1>Right.

00:45:25.840 --> 00:45:38.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>And, and, and I think, and of course, if you look at that in the polling, you know, most Canadian, when Canadians are asked really since the Second World War, are you proud or very proud to be Canadian?

00:45:38.200 --> 00:45:48.800

<v SPEAKER\_2>Even during economic crisis, even during the separatist movement in combat, most Canadians are 85 to 95 percent say they're proud or very proud to be Canadian.

00:45:48.800 --> 00:45:54.520

<v SPEAKER\_2>By 1924, that number had dropped about 55 to 56 percent.

00:45:54.560 --> 00:45:56.760

<v SPEAKER\_1>Sorry, you meant 2024 probably.

00:45:57.580 --> 00:45:59.520

<v SPEAKER\_2>Yeah, 2024.

00:45:59.520 --> 00:46:02.760

<v SPEAKER\_2>It had dropped to below 60 percent.

00:46:02.760 --> 00:46:13.680

<v SPEAKER\_2>And the number who were not proud to be Canadian had risen from about 4 percent in 2010 to 12 or 13 percent by 2024.

00:46:13.840 --> 00:46:14.800

<v SPEAKER\_2>And so what Mr.

00:46:14.800 --> 00:46:31.580

<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau didn't do like all the other prime ministers, at least from my reading, is he didn't find a way to tweak the narrative to allow the sense that, yeah, we did things in the past that weren't desirable, were awful.

00:46:31.880 --> 00:46:33.620

<v SPEAKER\_2>And how do we move forward?

00:46:33.620 --> 00:46:35.180

<v SPEAKER\_2>And how do we bring things in?

00:46:35.180 --> 00:46:35.520

<v SPEAKER\_2>Mr.

00:46:35.520 --> 00:46:39.380

<v SPEAKER\_2>Harper began to say, we apologize.

00:46:39.380 --> 00:46:47.420

<v SPEAKER\_2>And the act of apologizing and vowing to do better is really, you know, is a Canadian value.

00:46:48.340 --> 00:46:48.760

<v SPEAKER\_2>And Mr.

00:46:48.760 --> 00:46:51.860

<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau just seemed to focus on the negative.

00:46:51.860 --> 00:46:55.340

<v SPEAKER\_2>And he didn't, and it needed to be exposed.

00:46:55.340 --> 00:47:01.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>But there was a real sense of a draw in the Canadians who were proud to be Canadian.

00:47:02.840 --> 00:47:05.640

<v SPEAKER\_2>And that's, I think, troubling.

00:47:05.640 --> 00:47:06.420

<v SPEAKER\_1>I think that's right.

00:47:06.420 --> 00:47:08.200

<v SPEAKER\_1>Well, now we have a very different Prime Minister.

00:47:08.200 --> 00:47:20.000

<v SPEAKER\_1>And I'd be interested in what advice she would give to Prime Minister Carney, who certainly has his array of challenges, largely as a consequence of a Donald Trump-led United States.

00:47:20.000 --> 00:47:26.080

<v SPEAKER\_1>But he's pledged to make us the strongest economy in the G7, putting emphasis on the economy.

00:47:26.080 --> 00:47:38.020

<v SPEAKER\_1>He wants to build Canada, especially in the North, which brings themes from earlier Prime Ministers, restore defence, which is again a theme of earlier Prime Ministers, dismantle internal trade barriers, diversify trade.

00:47:38.020 --> 00:47:48.040

<v SPEAKER\_1>And at the same time, he's going to have to deal with the unity pressures that we're seeing coming from the West, particularly Alberta, and perhaps there were some resurgence of separatism in Quebec.

00:47:48.040 --> 00:47:50.960

<v SPEAKER\_1>So I'd be interested in what advice you'd give Mr.

00:47:50.960 --> 00:47:55.680

<v SPEAKER\_1>Trudeau, drawing on your study of the previous--sorry, advice you'd give to Mr.

00:47:55.680 --> 00:47:59.540

<v SPEAKER\_1>Carney, drawing on your study of the previous Prime Ministers.

00:47:59.680 --> 00:48:03.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>Well, you know, I think one of the things that Mr.

00:48:03.400 --> 00:48:18.860

<v SPEAKER\_2>Pearson might be instructive here, and towards the end of his career, in time in office, Pierre Trudeau too, that they both realize that the American, you know, it's a big nation.

00:48:18.860 --> 00:48:32.180

<v SPEAKER\_2>Sometimes we can't get along with their Prime Ministers or their Presidents, but our Prime Ministers, you know, have to show maturity and a sane approach.

00:48:32.180 --> 00:48:44.620

<v SPEAKER\_2>And for all of those Prime Ministers that struggled with the Americans, they didn't necessarily turn outwards and travel around the world saying, we got a trade deal.

00:48:44.780 --> 00:48:53.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>I couldn't help but think, and you would know this very well, Colin, is that I think there were eight or ten trade missions that Mr.

00:48:53.740 --> 00:48:55.500  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Kretzschend undertook.

00:48:55.500 --> 00:49:10.860  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And he would come back sort of, you know, waving the piece of paper and say, we have a \$5 billion, you know, arrangement done with trade deals with India or China or whoever.

00:49:10.860 --> 00:49:15.040  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And out of that turnout, there's been some writing done about that.

00:49:16.180 --> 00:49:20.960  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And it didn't really listen our dependence on the American market.

00:49:20.960 --> 00:49:25.980  
<v SPEAKER\_2>So this has been a particularly, you know, Mr.

00:49:25.980 --> 00:49:27.640  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Pearson or Mr.

00:49:27.640 --> 00:49:30.220  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Dieffenbacher tried this.

00:49:30.220 --> 00:49:30.900  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Certainly, Mr.

00:49:30.900 --> 00:49:34.940  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Crutchend, all Prime Ministers, Trudeau wanted to, the third option.

00:49:34.940 --> 00:49:36.780  
<v SPEAKER\_1>Option, of course.

00:49:36.780 --> 00:49:37.760  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Yeah, absolutely.

00:49:38.300 --> 00:49:44.140  
<v SPEAKER\_2>And but none of those lost sight of talking to Canadians.

00:49:45.280 --> 00:49:45.600  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Mr.

00:49:45.600 --> 00:49:51.480  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Trudeau did a lot of speeches across Canada, probably some of them reluctantly.

00:49:51.480 --> 00:50:08.140  
<v SPEAKER\_2>But he spoke a lot across, at convocations, you know, at

service clubs, at association meetings, probably like the security conference that you were at in Halifax.

00:50:08.140 --> 00:50:10.360

<v SPEAKER\_1>We're talking now about Pierre Trudeau.

00:50:10.360 --> 00:50:10.900

<v SPEAKER\_2>Yeah.

00:50:11.260 --> 00:50:12.960

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I'm saying that Mr.

00:50:12.960 --> 00:50:15.340

<v SPEAKER\_2>Carney needs to talk to Canadians.

00:50:15.340 --> 00:50:16.060

<v SPEAKER\_1>Right.

00:50:16.580 --> 00:50:22.220

<v SPEAKER\_2>And it's good to say, I am getting deals for us around the world.

00:50:22.220 --> 00:50:31.860

<v SPEAKER\_2>And of course, Canadians are a little leery that, you know, you're on the weekend, there were questions about, you know, who will you not deal with?

00:50:32.260 --> 00:50:44.020

<v SPEAKER\_2>Some of the places we want to trade are authoritarian regimes and Canadians are somewhat suspicious, given what we've gone through of India and China.

00:50:44.160 --> 00:50:45.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>And so I would say to Mr.

00:50:45.480 --> 00:50:53.240

<v SPEAKER\_2>Carney, who's a great reader of history, I understand, is, you know, those individuals, whether it was Mr.

00:50:53.240 --> 00:50:54.440

<v SPEAKER\_2>Crutchen or Mr.

00:50:54.440 --> 00:50:58.380

<v SPEAKER\_2>Pearson, all of them, they talked to Canadians.

00:50:58.700 --> 00:51:05.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>And they had a vision of who we are and what we stand for.

00:51:05.220 --> 00:51:07.360

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I think that's something critical that Mr.

00:51:07.360 --> 00:51:12.580

<v SPEAKER\_2>Carney must do, as well as deal with the Americans, as Mr.

00:51:12.580 --> 00:51:17.520

<v SPEAKER\_2>Pearson did, in sort of a sane and mature approach, quiet diplomacy Mr.

00:51:17.520 --> 00:51:18.900

<v SPEAKER\_2>Pearson talked about.

00:51:21.300 --> 00:51:22.100

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I think Mr.

00:51:22.100 --> 00:51:28.660

<v SPEAKER\_2>Carney could take a page out of their playbook.

00:51:28.660 --> 00:51:30.880

<v SPEAKER\_1>I think that's very good advice.

00:51:31.080 --> 00:51:38.440

<v SPEAKER\_1>My last question before I ask you what you're reading or streaming is, how should Canada position itself in the changing world, in what Mr.

00:51:38.440 --> 00:51:41.720

<v SPEAKER\_1>Carney calls a world of variable geometry in the past?

00:51:41.720 --> 00:51:47.080

<v SPEAKER\_1>And you've used the word good citizen, which I think is extremely still appropriate.

00:51:48.340 --> 00:51:52.500

<v SPEAKER\_1>We've also had terms like useful, helpful fixer, bridge builder.

00:51:55.860 --> 00:52:10.400

<v SPEAKER\_1>How should we try to position ourselves, given that we are in, I think, a hinge moment with the American Med Order now, in some questions the Americans aren't terribly interested under Donald Trump in leading that rules-based order?

00:52:10.440 --> 00:52:16.100

<v SPEAKER\_2>Well, you're absolutely right, and the world is changing.

00:52:16.100 --> 00:52:21.280

<v SPEAKER\_2>One of the things I think we have as, I think Mr.

00:52:21.280 --> 00:52:26.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>Pearson, again, we speak about values.

00:52:26.680 --> 00:52:31.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>I gave a lecture just a couple of weeks ago, or last week, on the Turbot War.

00:52:31.400 --> 00:52:34.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>I don't know if you remember the Turbot War with Spain.

00:52:36.480 --> 00:52:40.880

<v SPEAKER\_1>Yes, Brian Tobin and the Nets taking the ship down to the United Nations.

00:52:40.880 --> 00:52:41.920

<v SPEAKER\_2>Absolutely.

00:52:41.920 --> 00:52:42.180

<v SPEAKER\_2>Mr.

00:52:42.180 --> 00:52:45.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>Kretschand talked a lot about values.

00:52:45.200 --> 00:52:48.940

<v SPEAKER\_2>The values there were about protecting the environment.

00:52:48.940 --> 00:52:51.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>It's Canada's job to protect the environment.

00:52:51.900 --> 00:53:03.460

<v SPEAKER\_2>Our role as to be, we're a small nation, we don't have a big economy, we don't have a military that can make a change in the world.

00:53:04.400 --> 00:53:17.220

<v SPEAKER\_2>But we add values and that's something that Walford Laurier, when he went to those Imperial conferences back in the 19th century, early 20th century, talked about Canadian values.

00:53:17.220 --> 00:53:24.140

<v SPEAKER\_2>Mackenzie King went to Germany in 1937 to talk about Canadian values.

00:53:24.140 --> 00:53:29.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>Sometimes they are exaggerated, sometimes they're invented.

00:53:29.320 --> 00:53:31.780

<v SPEAKER\_2>But I think that's what we have to do.

00:53:32.440 --> 00:53:36.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>We're not very rarely a leader in the world.

00:53:36.080 --> 00:53:36.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>Mr.

00:53:36.400 --> 00:53:40.860

<v SPEAKER\_2>Lloyd Axworthy and others did remarkable work on landmines.

00:53:40.860 --> 00:53:46.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>They did remarkable work on the International Court of Justice.

00:53:46.060 --> 00:53:48.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>But we have to realize, and as Mr.

00:53:48.980 --> 00:53:54.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>Pearson said, be careful plucking the feathers of the American Eagle.

00:53:54.040 --> 00:53:54.900

<v SPEAKER\_2>It's going to hurt us.

00:53:56.000 --> 00:54:06.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>And we will be poorer, probably less dependent or less independent by, you know, picking a fight with the Americans.

00:54:06.060 --> 00:54:08.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>Don't do it, he said.

00:54:09.120 --> 00:54:12.140

<v SPEAKER\_2>But stick through to our values.

00:54:12.140 --> 00:54:14.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>Do it behind closed doors.

00:54:14.480 --> 00:54:16.460

<v SPEAKER\_2>Stay away from grandstanding.

00:54:16.460 --> 00:54:21.500

<v SPEAKER\_2>He said, don't go talking about anti-Americanism to Canadian clubs across the country.

00:54:21.500 --> 00:54:22.640

<v SPEAKER\_2>It won't do us any good.

00:54:23.700 --> 00:54:26.080

<v SPEAKER\_1>Oh, Raymond, excellent advice.

00:54:26.720 --> 00:54:34.360

<v SPEAKER\_1>Your book is a tour de force and you've just demonstrated why people should get out and buy your book.

00:54:34.360 --> 00:54:37.400

<v SPEAKER\_1>My last question, what are you reading or streaming these days?

00:54:37.400 --> 00:54:47.360

<v SPEAKER\_2>You know, I am reading, there's a, you mentioned earlier about the political history series at UBC.

00:54:47.760 --> 00:54:54.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>I'm reading a couple of books on pivotal elections in Canada from UBC.

00:54:54.400 --> 00:55:00.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>I'm reading one by Patrice Dutil on the election of 1867.

00:55:00.200 --> 00:55:04.500

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I'm reading, I try to read a couple at a time.

00:55:04.500 --> 00:55:07.960

<v SPEAKER\_2>As I'm sure you do, you got a stack of books that you read.

00:55:09.540 --> 00:55:14.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I'm reading one by Barbara Messamore on the election of 1921.

00:55:14.880 --> 00:55:21.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>And in addition to that, I'm reading the Jim Coutts Diaries on the Trudeau.

00:55:21.060 --> 00:55:23.160

<v SPEAKER\_1>Jim Coutts, of course, yes.

00:55:23.160 --> 00:55:29.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>So all political history and I do try to get a few novels in here and there.

00:55:29.060 --> 00:55:30.280

<v SPEAKER\_1>Perfect.

00:55:30.280 --> 00:55:31.560

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

00:55:31.560 --> 00:55:34.180

<v SPEAKER\_1>And thanks for listening to this episode of The Global Exchange.

00:55:34.700 --> 00:55:41.700

<v SPEAKER\_1>We were joined today by Raymond Blake in a discussion of Canada's Prime Ministers and the Shaping of a National Identity.

00:55:41.700 --> 00:55:43.360

<v SPEAKER\_1>It's a book I hardly recommend.

00:55:43.360 --> 00:55:44.560

<v SPEAKER\_1>Christmas is coming.

00:55:44.560 --> 00:55:45.720

<v SPEAKER\_1>Get a copy.

00:55:45.720 --> 00:55:46.500

<v SPEAKER\_1>Read it yourself.

00:55:46.500 --> 00:55:47.820

<v SPEAKER\_1>Give it to your family and friends.

00:55:47.820 --> 00:55:50.500

<v SPEAKER\_1>You'll learn a tremendous amount about our country.

00:55:50.500 --> 00:55:53.580

<v SPEAKER\_1>And I think we could all be the beneficiary of that.

00:55:53.580 --> 00:55:57.160

<v SPEAKER\_1>We'll link to the book and my review of it in the program notes.

00:55:57.160 --> 00:56:00.980

<v SPEAKER\_1>You can find The Canadian Global Affairs Institute on Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn.

00:56:00.980 --> 00:56:04.700

<v SPEAKER\_1>The Global Exchange is brought to you by our team at The Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

00:56:04.700 --> 00:56:10.480

<v SPEAKER\_1>And as always, my profound thanks to our producer, Jordyn Carroll, and to Drew Phillips for providing our music.

00:56:10.480 --> 00:56:13.760

<v SPEAKER\_1>I'm Colin Robertson, thanks for joining us today on The Global Exchange.