

CANADA - UNITED KINGDOM COLLOQUIUM 2017



DILEMMAS OF DEMOCRACY: CHALLENGES TO THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER

16 - 18 NOVEMBER 2017

Runnymede-on-Thames Hotel, Egham, Surrey

CANADA - UNITED KINGDOM
COLLOQUIUM 2017

Dilemmas of Democracy:
Challenges to the International Order

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1. PREFACE

It is a great pleasure to welcome to Runnymede all those participating in this year's Canada-UK Colloquium, on the Dilemmas of Democracy – a venue in many ways more evocative than real, which we chose as a reminder of where parliamentary democracy had one of its principal origins.

There have been two 150th anniversaries in 2017. The year 1867 marked important milestones in British and Canadian constitutional history. Foremost in importance to Canadians was the British North America Act, now re-named the Constitution Act, which gave dominion status to Canada. The second was a further step on the road to granting voting rights in England and Wales to part of the urban male working class, in the Second Reform Act of 1867 - Not yet universal suffrage but getting there. Both of these milestones illustrate that individual rights and privileges take a long time to be established and whilst they may until now have been taken for granted, they are worth defending in the face of the new challenges prevalent today.

In a world of instant media coverage and propaganda masquerading as news, people today are less inclined to see things in an historical, still less impartial, context. But this Colloquium will give us an opportunity to do so, in our quest to establish what is happening today to traditional notions of democracy, and what if anything can be done to ensure peaceful, perhaps prosperous, co-existence and respect for others' views.

May I, on behalf of the British and Canadian organisers of this Colloquium, thank all of our sponsors for their vital support in our bilateral endeavours over the next two days, and also all those who have contributed to the planning of this Colloquium.

Philip Peacock

Chair

Canada-United Kingdom Council

“For really I think that the poorest hee that is in England hath a life to live, as the greatest hee; and therefore truly, Sr, I think itt clear, that every Man that is to live under a Government ought first by his own Consent to put himself under that Government; and I do think that the poorest man in England is not at all bound in a strict sense to that Government that he hath not had a voice to put Himself under”

Colonel Rainsborough, Putney Debates 1647

2. LETTER OF WELCOME FROM PRIME MINISTERS



THE PRIME MINISTER



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

During my visit to Ottawa in September, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and I agreed to enhance cooperation across a broad range of issues, covering shared domestic challenges, trade, defence and security. This year marks the 150th anniversary of the British North America Act which established the Dominion of Canada. It reminds us of our long history of cooperation and friendship. But this relationship is also about looking ahead. I am determined that we should continue to build on our already solid foundations to ensure we have a bilateral relationship fit for the 21st century.

Through its annual colloquium, which covers topical policy discussions, the Canada-UK Council supports a broadly-based UK-Canada relationship. These long-established annual meetings develop practical policy proposals and foster lasting contacts and friendships between UK and Canadian experts in the various fields chosen for discussion.

This year the colloquium is taking place in the UK and will consider the “Dilemmas of Democracy”. The venue – Runnymede, site of the sealing of the Magna Carta – is evocative and appropriate. As I said recently at the UN General Assembly, in today’s world we face challenges that go right to the heart of who we are as nations. These challenges test our values, our vision and our resolve to defend the rules and standards that underpin the security and prosperity of our fellow citizens.

I offer the participants in this year’s colloquium my very best wishes as they grapple with the many questions in front of them and identify ways that the UK-Canada relationship can deliver the best solutions.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to be 'T. May', written in a cursive style.

November 2017



PRIME MINISTER • PREMIER MINISTRE

Statement from the Prime Minister of Canada

Few countries share as much in common as Canada and the United Kingdom. Prime Minister May and I recently met to deepen our historic partnership on a number of issues, and move forward together to face some of the most pressing issues of our time.

For over forty years, the annual Canada-UK Colloquium has offered tremendous opportunities for our parliamentarians, business leaders, scholars, and young people to deepen the already broad ties between our two countries. We live in a time of great change and rising uncertainty. People are urging us – as governments, businesses, and non-government organizations – to better address disparities across the globe and adopt a more inclusive vision of the world.

This year's event in London will focus on the particular challenges facing democracies today. Delegates will consider Canada and the UK's democratic systems, and how our governments can best respond to the anxiety that people are experiencing. Many people are concerned about what the future may hold: that globalization and technological change will leave them behind, and that their kids will not have the same opportunities as they had. Around the world, we need the middle class to feel more confident about its prospects and about its future. We need to support people in a changing economy and an increasingly globalized world.

In Canada, we have worked hard to promote economic growth that benefits the middle class and those working hard to join it. Since forming government, we have raised taxes on the wealthiest one per cent so we could cut taxes for the middle class. We have put more money in the pockets of nine out of ten families through the Canada Child Benefit, and strengthened the Canada Pension Plan so more Canadians can achieve a strong, secure, and stable retirement.

To help Canadians prepare for the jobs of today and tomorrow, we have boosted investment in skills and training and introduced an ambitious Innovation and Skills Plan. Our plan includes measures that will benefit everyone, from students looking to get work experience, to adult workers juggling the costs of returning to school, to unemployed or underemployed people hoping to improve their skills.

- 2 -

We live in an increasingly interconnected global society. As people are more and more connected, so are the challenges we face. Now more than ever, countries need to collaborate to both ask the tough questions about the world's most pressing challenges, and pursue the right answers to ensure that everyone has a chance to succeed.

For over forty years, the Canada-UK Colloquium has been a vital link between our two countries on the issues that really matter to people on both sides of the Atlantic. Take time over the next few days to develop new networks and listen with open minds to the ideas of others. It will not only be to your personal benefit, but to the benefit of both our countries, as we work together to find solutions that leave no one behind.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Justin Trudeau', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Ottawa
2017

3. PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME AND OBJECTIVES

PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME

Wednesday 15 November 2017

Canadian delegation arrives at Runnymede-on-Thames Hotel, Windsor Rd, Egham, Surrey TW20 OAG

Evening *Free time at Hotel*

Thursday 16 November 2017

Briefing Day in Central London for Canadian delegation

7.00 - 8.00 am *Breakfast*

8.00 am Depart by coach to Parliament

10.00 am Arrive at Parliament (Committee Room 5)

Sponsor Andrew Percy MP (Canada Trade Envoy)

Meeting with The Right Hon. Lord Ahmad, Minister of State for the Commonwealth & United Nations at the FCO; and The Right Hon. Emily Thornberry, Shadow Foreign Secretary

12.30 pm Arrive at official residence of Mrs Janice Charette, Canadian High Commissioner
Buffet Luncheon

2.00 pm Arrive at British Library: Display of material on Confederation and Democracy
Tea/coffee in the Boardroom

3.30 pm Return by coach to Hotel

5.00 - 6.00 pm *Free time at Hotel*

6.00 - 7.00 pm Welcome Reception at Hotel for British and Canadian delegations

7.00 - 9.00 pm Networking Dinner at Hotel to mark start of 2017 Colloquium

Keynote Speaker: Chris Skidmore MP, Minister for the Constitution, Cabinet Office

OBJECTIVES OF COLLOQUIUM

The objectives of the Canada-UK Colloquia have evolved over the years to focus closely on the current policy priorities of our two countries.

Our key objectives include:

- Building up contacts between leading experts in the two countries
- Contributing to the development of public policy in both countries
- Identifying ways in which Britain and Canada can work together in an international context to meet their objectives in specific policy areas
- Finding ways of achieving positive outcomes from the events and encouraging follow-up
- Encouraging active participation of promising young people to ensure that the benefits of the exchanges are carried forward in the future

4. COLLOQUIUM PROGRAMME

Runnymede-on-Thames Hotel, Windsor Road, Egham, Surrey TW20 OAG

Chair: The Right Hon. Lord Thomas of Cwmgiedd, PC

Rapporteur: Mr Richard Davies

Friday 17 November 2017

- 7.00-8.00 am *Breakfast*
- 8.00-8.15 am Welcome Remarks by Mr Philip Peacock and Dr Mel Cappe
- 8.15-8.30 am Opening Remarks by the Chair, The Right Hon. Lord Thomas
- 8.30-10.00 am **Session 1: The Context : Challenges to the Rules-Based International Order**
UK: Lord Butler of Brockwell (former Cabinet Secretary)
Canada: Dr Randall Hansen (Interim Director, Monk School of Global Affairs)
- 10.00-10.30 am *Coffee/Tea Break*
- 10.30-12.00 am **Session 2: The Decline of Deference: Popular Alienation and Loss of Trust in Established Political Structures**
UK: Mr Amol Rajan (BBC Media Editor)
Canada: Dr Tom Axworthy (Public Policy Chair, Massey College)
- 12.00 -1.00 pm *Networking Luncheon*
- 1.00-2.30 pm ***Session 3: Direct Democracy: Referendums, Petitions and Citizens' Assemblies***
UK: Prof. John Curtice (Strathclyde University)
Canada: Ms Jane Hilderman (Executive Director, Samara Canada)
- 2.30-3.00 pm *Coffee/Tea break*
- 3.00-4.30 pm **Breakout Groups:**
A. Federalism in Canada, Devolution in UK, Pooling of Sovereignty
UK Co-Chair: Prof. Robert Hazell (Constitution Unit , UCL)
Canada Co-Chair: Dr David Cameron (Dean, Faculty of Arts & Sciences, University of Toronto)
B. The Courts
UK Co-Chair: Ms Marina Wheeler QC
Canada Co-Chair: Provost Mayo Moran (Provost, Trinity College, University of Toronto)
C. The Role of the Second Chamber
UK Co-Chair: Baroness Jay (House of Lords)
Canada Co-Chair: Senator Peter Harder (Leader of the Government in the Senate)

D. Party and Electoral Systems

UK Co-Chair: Mr Peter Kellner (former President of YouGov)

Canada Co-Chair: The Hon. Allan Rock (former Minister of Justice)

4.30-6.00pm *Free time*

6.00-7.00 pm Networking Reception at Hotel

7.00-9.00 pm Dinner at Hotel

Keynote Speaker: The Hon. Karina Gould, Minister of Democratic Institutions, Government of Canada

Saturday 18 November 2017

7.30-8.30 am *Breakfast*

8.30-10.00 am Reports from Breakout Groups

10.00-10.30 am *Coffee/Tea Break*

10.30-12.00 am **Session 4: Maintaining Democratic Support for Open Trade, New Technology and Globalisation**

UK: Guy Faulconbridge (London Bureau Chief, Thomson Reuters)

Canada: Dr Peter Loewen (Director School of Public Policy & Governance, University of Toronto)

12.00-1.00 pm *Networking Luncheon*

1.00-2.00 pm Rapporteur's Summary followed by Discussion

2.00-2.15 pm Concluding Remarks by the Chair

2.15-2.30 pm Closing Remarks by The Hon. Hugh Segal and Mr Philip Peacock

NB: The Chatham House Rule will apply throughout the Colloquium

3.00-4.00 pm *Organisers' Meeting*

Evening *Free time for Canadian Delegation*

Sunday 18 November 2017

Morning departure of Canadian Delegation

5. LIST OF UK DELEGATES

Prof. Vernon Bogdanor, King's College London and 2017 Adviser to CUKC

Robert Brooks, Canada Team Leader, FCO

The Right Hon. Lord Butler of Brockwell, former Cabinet Secretary

Anthony Cary, Hon. President, CUKC

Nick Collier, Global Head of Government Affairs, Thomson Reuters

Prof. John Curtice, Strathclyde University, Glasgow

Mark Damazer, Master of St Peter's College, Oxford

Richard Davies, Partner, Quatrill, Reynolds Partners

Guy Faulconbridge, London Bureau Chief, Thomson Reuters

Prof. Robert Hazell, Constitution Unit, UCL

Sir John Holmes, Chair, Electoral Commission

The Right Hon. Baroness Jay, House of Lords

Sir Emyr Jones Parry, former UK Permanent Representative to UN

Anatole Kaletsky, Economist & Journalist

Peter Kellner, former President of YouGov

Kasim Khorasane, Research Volunteer, Constitution Unit, UCL

Dr Tiina Likki, Behavioural Insights Team

Brian Lord, Managing Director, PGI Cyber

Nicolas Maclean, Council Member, CUKC

Philip Peacock, Chair, CUKC

Amol Rajan, BBC Media Editor

Jill Rutter, Programme Director, Institute for Government

Prof. Alan Smith, Director, Space Domain, UCL

Lord Taverne, House of Lords

The Right Hon. Lord Thomas of Cwmgiedd, former Lord Chief Justice of England and Wales

Marina Wheeler QC, Barrister

Prof. John Wyn Owen, Council Member, CUKC

6. LIST OF CANADIAN DELEGATES

Dr Tom Axworthy, Chair of Public Policy, Massey College

Grant Bishop, McKinsey & Co

Jennifer Bonder, Fellow , Bill Graham Centre for Contemporary IR History

Misha Boutilier, JD candidate, University of Toronto

Dr David Cameron, Dean, Faculty of Arts & Science, University of Toronto

Dr Mel Cappe, Professor, School of Public Policy & Governance, University of Toronto

Janice Charette, Canadian High Commissioner to the UK

Jordan Deagle, Prime Minister's Office

Graham Fox, President, Institute for Research on Public Policy

The Hon. Karina Gould, Minister of Democratic Institutions

Dr Randall Hansen, Interim Director, Munk School of Global Affairs

Senator Peter Harder, Leader of the Government in the Senate

Jane Hilderman, Executive Director, Samara Canada

Prof. Richard Johnston, Canada Research Chair in Public Opinion, Elections & Representation, UBC

Karim Kanji, Vice-President, NATO Association of Canada

Gen. Tom Lawson, Former Chief of the Defence Staff

Dr Peter Loewen, Director, School of Public Policy & Governance, University of Toronto

Ian McCowan, Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet, Privy Council Office

Provost Mayo Moran, Provost, Trinity College, University of Toronto

Jennifer Orange, SJD candidate, University of Toronto

Dr Tina Park, Executive Director, Canadian Centre for R2P

The Hon. Allan Rock, Former Minister of Justice

The Hon. Hugh Segal, Head of Massey College

Alison Smith, Canadian Public Affairs Channel

Sonya Thissen, Minister-Counsellor (Political & Public Affairs), Canadian High Commission

Cliff van der Linden, Founder & CEO, Vox Labs/Vote Compass

Dilemmas of Democracy: Challenges to the International Order

The 150th Anniversary of the British North America Act which established the Dominion of Canada is a good moment to reflect on the state of our respective democracies and the context in which they operate. Both nationally and internationally they are facing new challenges.

The international institutions created by the victorious powers after World War II including the UN, the World Bank, the IMF and what became the WTO, reflected confident assumptions about the desirability, universal applicability and gradual ascendancy of democracy; respect for human rights; open, rules-based relations between states; and ever-expanding free trade. The 1941 Atlantic Charter expressed Roosevelt and Churchill's hope of a world in which all peoples could "*choose the form of government under which they will live...in freedom from fear and want*".

The post-war international polity was never uncontested either in Britain or Canada. The 1970s was a notable period of economic nationalism in Canada, and there were lively disputes – for example about the EU in UK and about NAFTA in Canada. But the liberal direction of travel and the process of globalisation was broadly accepted, supported as it was by strong economic growth, technological development and rising standards of living. Confidence was reinforced by the collapse of the Soviet Union and liberal democratic advances from South America to Africa and Asia. Some even postulated 'the end of history'.

More recently the global system has come under unprecedented strain. Economic growth has slowed, especially following the financial crash of 2008; technological change and offshoring have had bleak implications for low- and semi-skilled workers in the former industrial heartlands; Russia has upset the status quo in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine; China is challenging the Pax Americana in its neighbourhood; and the Iraq war (conducted in the name of 'liberal internationalism') was one catalyst in the violent disintegration of the state system in the Middle East, which has demonstrated both the incapacity and the vulnerability of the existing international order.

The election of President Trump exemplified a rise of populism, understood as a rejection of established politics and of self-perpetuating political and financial elites who are accused of managing a corrupt system for their own benefit, while patronising and ignoring the concerns of those who have been left behind, and who have lost hope that they can improve their lot within the existing system. There has been a widespread reaction against globalisation and multinational trade which are held responsible for growing inequality and the displacement of workers from traditional industries. The populist tide has been marked by growing intolerance and scapegoating of minorities (immigrants, Jews, Muslims); misogyny; and support for demagogic politicians offering simple, often ethno-nationalist, solutions.

These developments have shaken many assumptions about the future of world trade and the established international order, even calling into question what had been seen as the slow but inevitable ascendancy of core values such as freedom of speech and independent courts. The connection between liberalism and democracy appears to be fraying, with the election of a growing number of illiberal leaders. Did President Trump's election represent a *triumph* of democracy, as Viktor Orban, the nationalist and socially conservative Prime Minister of Hungary characterised it (and as many characterised Brexit in the UK) or was it rather evidence of a *crisis* of democracy?

Do Canada and the UK's democratic systems offer a solid bulwark against threats to our freedom, prosperity and security? Are they still the best framework for managing the many threats that we face? The answer, perhaps, is that while there is still an underlying confidence in democracy as "the least worst form of government", there is disagreement and confusion about how far the forms of democracy practiced in the developed world are suitable for societies with long histories of autocracy; how radically our democracies need to adapt to the new challenges that we face; and how they can be protected from themselves.

One part of this relates to the balance between freedom and security. As modern technology increases the potential for accumulation and manipulation of mass data for purposes of surveillance, do liberal democracies end up attacking themselves in the name of liberty? Another relates to the threat posed to rational debate by social media with no legal duty or financial incentive to strive for truth, in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal prejudice.

But the new circumstances force us to confront even more fundamental dilemmas of democracy. How, for example, should societies protect themselves against the "tyranny of the majority" prioritising its interests over a significant minority to the point of oppressing them? The subject was much debated by the founding fathers in America, and by such writers as John Stuart Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville. The Canadian and British systems were both devised to entrench constitutional and legal protections.

Are these systems robust? The UK, in particular, seems to be seeing a drift from parliamentary to majoritarian rule. The turmoil engendered by the referendum of June 2016 partly reflected different understandings of the authority that should be accorded respectively to "the will of the people" as represented by a slender majority in a consultative referendum, and to the sovereignty of Parliament. When the High Court upheld Parliament's right to be consulted about the triggering of the referendum decision, some newspapers went so far as to characterise the judges as "Enemies of the People". Was this a direct challenge to the independence of the judiciary and the rule of law, or the healthy questioning of a complacent closed shop? Even in Canada the avowedly anti-populist Justin Trudeau observed that Canadians "deserve better" regarding the process for the appointment of Supreme Court judges.

Our established mechanisms of representative parliamentary democracy no longer inspire the trust and respect that they did, and there is increasing evidence of voter alienation, especially among the less educated, the poor and the young. Should MPs be expected to behave as role models, and should they endure the levels of public scrutiny to which they are subjected?

In Canada, there is renewed debate about how best to accommodate the rights and interests of indigenous people. Some would question the extent to which the First Nations should accept and engage with the settler parliamentary democracy that is Federal Canada.

In an effort to strengthen legitimacy, there have been moves towards devolution and decentralisation as well as increasing resort to different forms of direct democracy from national referendums to local action groups exploiting the potential of social media. Yet is further democratisation (involving regional Parliaments in the ratification of trade agreements for example, or electing Police Commissioners in the UK) an effective way to secure greater legitimacy and public support? And how do we protect our democracies against the abusive manipulation of social media to propagate falsehoods and to inflame hatred?

Some would contend that far from strengthening democracy, the experience of referendums has been to increase polarisation, dissatisfaction and the drift towards destructive populism. The more that people expect to be directly consulted about every decision that concerns them, the less – it would seem – do they defer to Parliament or other established structures, and the less can Governments inspire confidence that they control events or that they can get things done.

The conference will open with a review of the context in which this crisis of legitimacy has arisen. It will go on to examine some of the particular challenges faced by our democracies. What should be the limits upon 'direct democracy' and how can popular participation be channelled most effectively to constructive ends? How can we help to restore authority and respect to our Parliaments and other established institutions? How do we balance the competing wishes of international, national and sub-national majorities? What is the proper role of courts in our democracies?

SESSION 1

The context: Challenges to the rules-based international order.

Despite efforts to entrench a comprehensive international architecture, the global system is made up of competing systems, from Russia's expansionist, authoritarian capitalism to the Chinese version (regionally assertive, but more interested in access to global resources than territory), to religious – notably Islamic – fundamentalism. Is the arc of history bent towards democracy, internationalism, tolerance and liberty, or was that always a Western delusion? Are we witnessing mere turbulence in the gradual achievement of a global system that also enables the world community to address common challenges such as climate change, species extinction and nuclear proliferation – or is the post-war order fundamentally damaged? What future for the established structures that have been called into question (the UN and the Bretton Woods institutions? EU? NATO? Commonwealth?) If we accept that an interconnected world needs supranational arrangements for its effective governance, how should these be given democratic legitimacy?

SESSION 2

The decline of deference. Popular alienation and loss of trust in established political structures.

Is 'populism' a dangerous contagion, or is that merely the perception of a privileged and corrupt elite used to managing affairs "in the name of the people" without actually wishing to empower the common man – in which case, is the election of the occasional Rob Ford or Donald Trump the sign of a healthy system? Insofar as populism is fuelled by fears over immigration, how can these be addressed without abandoning our commitment to open, welcoming societies and humanitarian principles? What is the role of the media in the new situation, and how in particular should the 'mainstream media' react to disintermediation and new economic, political and technical realities? How can social media be engaged as a positive force in our democracies, without encouraging 'post-truth' politics, 'fake news' and the proliferation of conspiracy theories? How should different voices (NGOs, civil society, labour unions, small business, multinational companies) contribute to democratic decision-making? How, in particular, should young people be empowered and enabled to contribute more effectively? Can trust in established structures be restored, or do they need to be uprooted and replaced?

SESSION 3

Direct democracy: referendums, petitions and citizens' assemblies

There have only ever been three national referendums in Canada (over prohibition in 1898, conscription in 1942, and the Charlottetown constitutional change in 1992). Equally, there have only been three in the UK (over the EU in 1975 and 2016, and over the Alternative Vote in 2011).

- Are referendums corrosive of Parliamentary democracy? Is Germany right to prohibit them (whereas they are widely used by US States)?
- How can people – and especially the young – be encouraged to engage more actively in their own government? Insofar as they are choosing not to do so, is this evidence of a failure of traditional democratic processes?
- Is the 'will of the people' a useful or a dangerous concept in a democracy?
- Does the UK need a Clarity Act of the kind introduced in Canada, and special majorities for constitutional change?
- How should the clash be resolved when a Parliamentary majority is opposed by a plebiscitary one?
- Is it right to ignore dissenting Canadian Provincial (or in the UK, Scottish / Northern Irish / Welsh) majorities in the context of a national referendum? And what of First Nations in the Canadian context?
- Other approaches to consultative (or deliberative) democracy. Petitions. Citizens' assemblies.

SESSION 4

Maintaining democratic support for open trade, new technology and globalisation

- *"Under the onslaught of placeless, transnational capital, democracy as a living system withers and dies. The old forms and forums still exist – parliaments and congresses remain standing – but the power they once contained seeps away, re-emerging where we can no longer reach it"* (George Monbiot) Is this true? Insofar as it is, what should be done about it?
- Insurgent anti-establishment forces in France, Germany and above all the USA promise to end future trade deals and withdraw from existing ones. The UK is negotiating its withdrawal from the world's largest free trade zone. How can popular support for international trade be restored?
- Is the backlash against 'globalisation' an inevitable consequence of its uneven impact and widespread economic exclusion? What educational, labour market and social policies might be devised to cushion the impact of change – and especially the impact of rapidly advancing robotics and Artificial Intelligence?
- Political stability in our democracies seems to depend upon maintaining growth (or restoring it, should it stall). Is continuous growth compatible with sustainable prosperity and with 'ethical capitalism'?

SESSION 1: The Context: Challenges to the Rules-Based International Order

UK Presenter: Lord Butler of Brockwell

Ideology and institutions supporting world peace are the product of the second world war. They never worked out as intended but have become outdated and are no longer well suited for a fragmented world and a reassertion of nationalism and tribalism. Yet we should not lose heart or our own faith in democracy and the rule of law. Nothing can stop the growing interdependence of the world. We have learned from recent experience that we cannot solve the world's problems by imposing our own standards of democracy but we should hold to them and work for international co-operation against abuses of human rights.

Canadian Presenter: Randall Hansen

My intervention will discuss the context of the great upsurge in populism in America and across Europe over the last few years. It will discuss far-right mobilisation, racism, the crisis facing left-wing, social democratic parties, and economic inequalities. It will consider the factors in common to these movements and those that make them distinct. Finally, it will ask why Canada, almost alone among major OECD countries, has no populist party worthy of mention.

SESSION 2: The Decline of Deference: Popular Alienation and Loss of Trust in Established Political Structures

UK Presenter: Amol Rajan

It is a curious fact that, in Western democracies, populism and alienation correlate strongly. We live in what has been called the Age of Acceleration: rapid technological innovation, automation, and the demographic upheaval caused by globalisation, which have led to a sudden feeling of loss among a large group - not to say majority - of people in countries such as Britain and America.

For them, the rampant change of recent years has been unwelcome. Disruption doesn't necessarily refer to the exciting prospect of industries upended by technology; it can refer to a lost way of life. For those living in big urban centres, or sufficiently educated to exploit the opportunities afforded by the modern era, change is gain. For those who have neither of these advantages, change is pain.

It is those experiencing change as pain who have ushered in the new era of populism. Populism is not merely the feeling that a particular regime or government deserves to be chucked out; it is the feeling that a ruling elite, with tentacles in academia, the courts and the media, is corrupt and conspiring against the interests of the common man.

This enmity for the ruling elites, together with sociological changes that have made the ruling elites ever less representative of the wider population, has prompted the decline of deference in our time. Populism and deference are inversely proportional. The vehicle for this populism has been new, digital media. Donald Trump has launched a pretend war against the mainstream media that is full of ironies. Antipathy towards “mainstream media” has been adopted by many - such as residents around Grenfell Tower - who despise Donald Trump, so uniting the activist left with the nationalistic right. And in fact, Trump’s pretend war against the media has helped bolster it, both commercially and editorially.

But the rise of digital media poses existential challenges for a society that prizes truth against falsehood, and believes democracies are most stable in a climate of established facts. The internet made it possible to disseminate false news around the world instantly, and fatally undermined the business model of traditional media.

Canadian Presenter: Tom Axworthy

As Western democracies cope with the external challenges of a confident, authoritarian China and a belligerent and emboldened Russia, uncertainty and fear fuelled by rapid technological change have led to a domestic revolt against the prevailing globalisation orthodoxy of the ruling Western elite. To stem the tide of populism and protect the liberal value of inclusion, leaders in Canada, Britain, Europe and the United States will have to propose a new social contract to distribute more fairly globalisation’s risks and benefits.

SESSION 3: Direct Democracy. Referendums. Petitions and Citizens’ Assemblies

UK Presenter: Prof. John Curtice

Referendums were once regarded in the UK as antithetical to notions of parliamentary sovereignty. Their only extensive use was in local ballots on whether pubs should be allowed to open on Sunday. But during the last twenty years, referendums have become part of the fabric of Britain’s uncoded constitution, used in particular to settle important questions about sovereignty, statehood and governance.

What should we make of the UK’s experience of referendums? Have they become an indispensable addition to the way that Britain is governed nowadays? Even if they have, are the rules for holding and running referendums satisfactory? Or have referendums become an undesirable innovation that should now be brought to a swift end?

Canadian Presenter: Jane Hilderman

Eroding public trust towards political leaders and political institutions over the past several decades in established democracies has raised the alarm about the long-term legitimacy of democratic governance. Institutions’ response is often to add “more democracy” through participatory, deliberative or direct channels in democratic decision-making as the means

to reconnect citizens to politics and restore public trust. Public consultation by government is now an enormous undertaking in time and resources, experiments with citizens' assemblies and participatory budgeting are becoming a complement (or alternative) to legislative processes, and use of referendums/plebiscites are on the rise. This juncture offers an uncomfortable and uncertain moment for citizens to ask hard questions about whether these democratising efforts are effective, and what cost should be expended in order to realise their benefits? Emerging research suggests that design and implementation matter a great deal in the success of these interventions, and it can be hard to do them well. More broadly, we can ask if a more responsive democracy is on the horizon, or if these changes actually hasten the decline of existing institutions, such as elected legislatures? By exploring instances from established democracies such as Canada and the UK, this session will consider how to balance the role of the citizens and institutions in democratic decision-making

SESSION 4: Maintaining Democratic Support for Open Trade, New Technology and Globalisation

UK Presenter: Guy Faulconbridge

Thomson Reuters' role as a media organisation in reporting from the front line on Globalisation under siege: the challenges to the global order, including Brexit, populism, Trump and Russia. The development of the use of new technologies such as twitter by news organisations and by those who make the weather in today's febrile climate of spin and fake news.

Canadian Presenter: Peter Loewen

Canada is presently a global exception. It's major political parties share a consensus position that the country should be open to both trade and immigration. There is no major populist party in the offing, on either the left or the right. There is also no concomitant political challenge to the existing electoral or party system. Is this because Canadians have different underlying preferences than citizens in other countries? Or, is it because the equilibrium of party positions does not allow for a populist party to mount an effective challenge? Our paper offers answers to these questions over three stages. First, using proprietary data, we assess the nature of populist, anti-immigration, and anti-trade sentiments in Canada. Who holds these views? Why?

What else do they believe? Second, we then explore the relationship between these views, to understand if there is an underlying taste for more populist, anti-globalization politics in our country. Finally, using proprietary data from ~30 countries, we demonstrate that there is a common support base for populist parties around the world, including Canada. The lack of such a party in Canada suggests an issue of supply, not demand.

9. BREAKOUT GROUPS

A Federalism in Canada. Devolution in the UK. Democracy at the European level. Indigenous/national/federal sovereignty and the pooling of sovereignty.

- What is the appropriate demos for different democratic decisions? Is 'national sovereignty' compatible with a strong and effective international polity?
- If elements of supranational government are desirable for managing a connected world, how can we best protect national and individual freedoms?
- The enduring power of "the nation" as a democratic focus. Competing identities.
- On what basis should Britain and Canada be seeking to find a balance between decentralisation, national and international responsibilities?
- How is it possible to combine national policy objectives with devolution/decentralisation without creating a 'postcode lottery'?
- Government in cities.

B The Courts

Are the UK and Canada vulnerable to such things as coups, self-perpetuating power structures and establishments, electoral manipulation and the oppression of unpopular minorities? Are our judiciaries a sufficient protection?

- What is the appropriate role of courts in relation to the legislature?
- Is the increasing recourse to judicial review a bad thing? If so, how might it be limited?
- How should human rights be protected in an era of terrorism? Judicial review in Canada and the Human Rights Act in UK.
- To what extent should the UK and Canada subject themselves to the judgements of international courts and tribunals?
- "*Quis custodiet ipsos custodiet*". How should Parliament and people control the courts?

C The role of the Second Chamber

- Are Second Chambers useful?
- What should be their role in legislative scrutiny and their powers in frustrating the elected Chamber?
- Who should serve in these Chambers, for how long, and with what processes for selection and deselection?

D Party and electoral systems

- Voting systems. Is 'First Past the Post' achieving fair representation in the UK and in Canada?
- Selection of party leaders.
- Implications of the disintegration of big 'broad church' parties, falling membership and the emergence of new small parties.
- Experience of coalitions and minority governments.

10. DELEGATES FOR BREAKOUT GROUPS

Breakout Group A: Federalism in Canada, Devolution in the UK, Democracy at the European Level. Indigenous/National/Federal Sovereignty and the Pooling of Democracy

Co-Chairs: Prof. Robert Hazell & Dr David Cameron

Rapporteur: Jennifer Orange

Participants: Vernon Bogdanor Jennifer Bonder
 Sir Emyr Jones Parry Graham Fox
 John Wyn Owen Alison Smith
 Alan Smith Janice Charette
 Guy Faulconbridge Tom Lawson

Breakout Group B: The Courts:

Co-Chairs: Marina Wheeler QC & Provost Mayo Moran

Rapporteur: Kasim Khorasanee

Participants: Lord Thomas Grant Bishop
 Brian Lord Mel Cappe
 Philip Peacock Randall Hansen
 Robert Brooks Karim Kanji

Breakout Group C: The role of the Second Chamber:

Co-Chairs: Baroness Jay & Senator Peter Harder

Rapporteur: Misha Boutilier

Participants: Lord Butler Karina Gould
 Lord Taverne Richard Johnston
 Anthony Cary Ian McCowan
 Jill Rutter Tina Park
 Hugh Segal

Breakout Group D: Party and Electoral Systems:

Co-Chairs: Peter Kellner & Allan Rock

Rapporteur: Tiina Likki

Participants: Sir John Holmes Tom Axworthy
 Anatole Kaletsky Jordan Deagle
 Nick Collier Jane Hilderman
 Amol Rajan Cliff van der Linden
 John Curtice
 Nicolas Maclean

11. UK BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Vernon Bogdanor, CBE is Professor of Government at the Institute of Contemporary British History, King's College, London. He was formerly for many years Professor of Government at Oxford University. He is a Fellow of the British Academy, an Honorary Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Legal Studies, a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and a Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences. He has been an adviser to a number of governments, including those of Albania, Czech Republic, Hungary, Kosovo, Israel, Mauritius, Slovakia and Trinidad. His books include, *Devolution; The People and the Party System: The Referendum and Electoral Reform in British Politics; Multi-Party Politics and the Constitution; Power and the People: A Guide to Constitutional Reform; Devolution in the United Kingdom; The New British Constitution* and *The Coalition and the Constitution*, published in March 2011. He is also editor of, amongst other books, *The British Constitution in the 20th Century; Joined-Up Government;* and *From the New Jerusalem to New Labour: British Prime Ministers from Attlee to Blair*. He is currently writing a multi-volume work on British political history from 1895 to 1997. Vernon Bogdanor is a frequent contributor to TV, radio and the press. In 2008, he was awarded the Sir Isaiah Berlin Award by the Political Studies Association for Lifetime Contribution to Political Studies. In 2009 he was made a Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur by President Sarkozy. He is an Honorary Fellow of The Queen's College, Oxford, an Honorary D. Litt. of the University of Kent, and an Honorary Bencher of the Middle Temple.

Robert Brooks has been working for the FCO for 14 years and has been the Canada Team Leader for 14 months, having previously been the North America Desk Officer. Robert is responsible for coordination of HMG policy with Canada, ensuring that the UK maximises the full potential of the bilateral relationship. Prior to working on Canada and the US, Robert has worked on Middle East issues, and Europe holding a number of different roles.

Robin Butler, Baron Butler of Brockwell, KG, GCB, CVO, PC is a retired civil servant now sitting in the House of Lords as a life peer. He was Private Secretary to Prime Ministers Edward Heath and Harold Wilson and Principal Private Secretary to Margaret Thatcher. He was also Cabinet Secretary during the premierships of Margaret Thatcher, John major and Tony Blair. He became the Master of University College, Oxford in 1998 and was a non-executive Director of HSBC Group and ICI plc from 1998 to 2008. He was also Chairman of the HSBC Corporate Sustainability Committee and the HSBC Global Education Trust. In February 2004 it was announced that Lord Butler would chair an inquiry into the use of intelligence in the lead up to the 2003 Iraq War. His report (widely known as the Butler Report) concluded that some of the intelligence about Iraq's possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction was seriously flawed.

Anthony Cary, CMG served as British Ambassador to Sweden (2003-6) and High Commissioner to Canada (2007-10). Previous diplomatic postings included Berlin, Kuala Lumpur and Washington DC. He served twice on secondment to the European Commission in Brussels. He is currently a Commonwealth Scholarship Commissioner in the UK, and Hon. President of the Canada-UK Council.

Nick Collier is Global Head of Government and Regulatory Affairs, Thomson Reuters which he joined on 1 March 2011. He oversees public policy activities for the TR Group, which includes Financial and Risk, Legal, Tax and Accounting in addition to Reuters. Nick sits on the CityUK (TCUK) Board as chairman of the TCUK Public Affairs Group. He is a member of the International Regulatory Strategy Group in London (IRSG) and chairs the IRSG's MIFID and CMU working groups. Nick is also on the Board of the FICC Markets Standards Board (FMSB). Nick moved to TR from Morgan Stanley, where he had been Head of EMEA Government Relations since June 2007. Nick previously held roles as the Head of Regulatory Policy at the International Capital Market Association, as the Director of International Risk, Compliance and Government Affairs at Instinet, and as the European head of the International Swaps and Derivatives Association. He started his career in the Bank of England, including a spell as the UK financial attaché to the EU. He holds an MSc in Economics and Finance from the London School of Economics and a BA from Oxford.

John Curtice is Professor of Politics at Strathclyde University in Glasgow, Scotland, and Senior Research Fellow at NatCen Social Research, Britain's largest independent research institute. He has written extensively about voting behaviour elections and referendums in the UK, as well as on British political and social attitudes more generally. He has been a co-editor of NatCen's annual British Social Attitudes reports series for over twenty years, and is a regular contributor to British and international media coverage of politics in the UK. Curtice is also Chief Commentator at two websites, whatscotlandthinks.org and whatukthinks.org/eu, that provide a comprehensive collection of materials on public attitudes towards (i) how Scotland should be governed, and (ii) the UK's relationship with the EU. Both sites were created in advance of the two recent referendums on those subjects, and they now monitor the fallout from those ballots.

Mark Damazer, CBE became Head of St Peter's College, Oxford in October 2010, after spending over 25 years at the BBC – finally as Controller of Radio 4 and Radio 7 (now Radio 4 Extra). He was previously Deputy Director of BBC News with responsibility for driving the long-term ambition, quality and standards in news programming across all BBC networks. Mark was born on 15 April 1955 and educated at Gonville and Caius, Cambridge, where he was awarded a Double Starred First in History and was awarded a Harkness Fellowship at Harvard University. In 2011 he received a CBE for services to Broadcasting. Mark was a BBC Trustee until 2017 and is currently a Trustee of the Victoria and Albert Museum. He is a Fellow of the Radio Academy and writes for various papers – including *The Financial Times* and *The Guardian*. Mark is married with two children, enjoys opera, football, baseball, gardening and Italian paintings.

Richard Davies was briefly an academic before joining the UK Civil Service in the 1970s. He worked initially in Whitehall and overseas, largely on defence and security matters. Back home in Wales he led Divisions dealing with health, social policy, housing and education at the then Welsh Office. A Nuffield-Leverhulme Travelling Fellowship in 1990 took him to the IRPP in Canada, and to a Harvard institute. Richard was a member of the team of Directors that implemented the substantial constitutional change associated with devolution in Wales from 1999. Coincidentally he headed the Welsh Government's Departments for education and training, and for public service reform, serving as a member of its Management Board until 2009. He has since undertaken non-executive appointments at HM Courts Service, the Bar Standards Board, and the Solicitors Regulation Authority. He was a Commissioner at the Infrastructure Planning Commission, and now Chairs the Global Education and Standards Board of the RICS. He is also a member of a body setting ethical standards for property professions worldwide, and is a partner with Quantrill Reynolds Associates. Richard chairs several tribunals dealing with contested cases involving health-care professionals and is a member of the statutory board at the Medical Practitioners Tribunal Service. His interests as a Trustee have included the Nationwide Foundation, Carnegie (UK) Trust, and Regent's College London. He was lately a Visiting Professor at the University of Glamorgan; an Honorary Member of the British Council; and is currently a programme consultant at the University of Buckingham.

Guy Faulconbridge is the London Bureau Chief for Reuters and runs its news gathering operations in the United Kingdom and Ireland. Born in Birmingham, England, Guy took a first in history at the London School of Economics in 1998 and studied Russian at Moscow State University and Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He started out as an intern at Bloomberg before covering stocks, bonds, the Russian central bank and oligarchs. In 2005 he joined Reuters in Moscow where he built Kremlin coverage and ran Reuters' political and general news coverage of the former Soviet Union. He moved back to London in 2012 and directs coverage of Brexit which Reuters has consistently been first to report. He is Professor of Government and the Constitution at University College London, and founder of the Constitution Unit in the School of Public Policy. Since 1995 the Unit has produced over 150 reports on every aspect of constitutional reform in the UK, including devolution to Scotland and Wales and the English regions, freedom of information, parliamentary reform and Lords reform, the Human Rights Act and the Supreme Court, and the consequences of Britain leaving the EU.

Robert Hazell CBE is Professor of Government and the Constitution at University College London, and founder of the Constitution Unit in the School of Public Policy. Since 1995 the Unit has produced over 150 reports on every aspect of constitutional reform in the UK, including devolution to Scotland and Wales and the English regions, freedom of information, parliamentary reform and Lords reform, the Human Rights Act and the Supreme Court, and the consequences of Britain leaving the EU. He recently completed a study of the politics of judicial independence in the UK. His current research is looking at the role of non-executive directors on Whitehall boards, and the British monarchy compared with other European monarchies. He has also helped the Constitution Unit establish an independent Commission on the role and conduct of referendums, which is due to report in summer 2018.

Sir John Holmes was educated at Preston Grammar School and Balliol College, Oxford. He joined the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in 1973 and served in a wide range of diplomatic roles in London, Moscow, Paris, New Delhi and Lisbon. In 1995 he joined Prime Minister John Major in Downing Street as his Private Secretary (Overseas Affairs) and diplomatic adviser. He continued this role with Prime Minister Tony Blair from 1997 to 1999, becoming Principal Private Secretary, and was closely involved in the negotiation of the Good Friday Agreement. In 1999, Sir John was appointed as British Ambassador in Lisbon, moving to Paris as Ambassador from 2001 to 2007. He then served as UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and as Emergency Relief Coordinator from 2007 to 2010, before taking over as Director of the Ditchley Foundation, a post he held until September 2016. He has been Chair of the Electoral Commission since January 2017. He also currently chairs the Board of the International Rescue Committee-UK, and is the author of a book on his time at the UN, *The Politics of Humanity*, published in March 2013. Sir John is married to Penny and they have three daughters.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry is President of the Learned Society of Wales and Chancellor of Aberystwyth University. He was formerly a British diplomat whose first posting was at the High Commission in Ottawa. He then worked on European Union policy for twenty years before becoming Permanent Representative to NATO and then the United Nations in New York. In retirement he has chaired the All Wales Commission on the powers of the National Assembly of Wales and was a member of the McKay Commission which reported on the West Lothian Question. He was Chair of Redress, a human rights charity, from 2008-16 and of the Wales Millennium Centre for the performing arts 2010-16. He is married with two sons and lives in Cambridge and Cardiff.

Margaret Jay, Baroness Jay of Paddington, is a Life Peer and Labour Party politician. She was also formerly a BBC television producer and presenter. Baroness Jay, the daughter of the former Prime Minister James Callaghan, was appointed a Life Peer in 1992 and acted as an opposition whip in the House of Lords. After the Labour Party victory in the 1997 election she became a Minister in the Department of Health and in 1998 Minister for Women and Leader of the House of Lords with a seat in the Cabinet. Baroness remains active in the House of Lords as a Privy Counsellor and has chaired the Select Committee for Privileges and Conduct (Lords) and the Select Committee on Political Polling and Digital Media. Outside Parliament she has been involved in business and in the voluntary sector, including serving as a non-executive Director of BT and The Independent Newspaper group, and as Chair of the Overseas Development Institute.

Anatole Kaletsky is Co-Chairman and Chief Economist of Gavekal Dragonomics, an economic consulting and asset management company based in Hong Kong and Beijing. He was the first Chairman of the Institute for New Economic Thinking and is now on INET's Governing Board. He also serves on the Global Board of the Open Society Foundations and the Board of JPMorgan Emerging Markets Investment Trust. Before founding Gavekal, Anatole worked for 30 years as an economic journalist and columnist on The Economist, Financial Times, London Times, Reuters and New York Times, writing from London, Washington, New York and Moscow. From 1998 to 2001 he was also a member of the Royal Economic Society's Governing Council. Anatole's journalism has been recognized by numerous awards including Newspaper Commentator of the Year, European Journalist of the Year and the Wincott Award for economic analysis. He now writes a monthly column published by newspapers around the world in the Project Syndicate network. His book *Capitalism 4.0*, published in 2009, anticipated many of the post-crisis transformations of the global economy and was nominated for the Samuel Johnson Prize. His 1985 book, *The Costs of Default* was influential in the negotiations that followed the Latin American debt crisis. Anatole was educated in mathematics at Cambridge and economics at Harvard, where he was a Kennedy Memorial Scholar, and he has an honorary Doctorate of Science from the University of Buckingham. He lives in London and Italy with his wife Fiona Murphy, a documentary film-maker, and they have three adult children, now working in the US.

Peter Kellner is Chairman of the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO). He was Chairman of the pioneering online survey research company, YouGov, from 2001-7 and President from 2007-16. He was named as Chairman of the Year in the 2006 Quoted Companies Alliance awards. He has written for a variety of newspapers and magazines, including the Times, Sunday Times, Independent, Observer, Evening Standard, New Statesman and Prospect. He has also been a regular contributor to Newsnight (BBC2), A Week in Politics (Channel Four), Analysis (Radio Four) and election night results programmes on television and radio. He has written, or contributed to, a variety of books and leaflets about politics, elections and public affairs. He was awarded Journalist of the Year in the British Press Awards in 1978. Peter has also been a visiting fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford, a distinguished visiting fellow at the Policy Studies Institute, London, and served as a member of committees set up by the Economic and Social Research Council to commission research into elections and social exclusion. He received a Special Recognition Award from the Political Studies Association in 2011. Before joining YouGov, he acted as a consultant on public opinion research to a number of organisations, including the Bank of England, Corporation of London, Foreign Office, National Westminster Bank and Trades Union Congress.

Kasim Khorasane is a doctoral research student at University College London – specialising in political theory. His research focuses on the implications of empirical analyses of voter competence for theories of democracy, particularly deliberative democracy. Previously Kasim trained and practised as a corporate lawyer, specialising in energy M&A and projects. As well as private practice he completed significant client secondments to a large corporation and the UK Civil Service.

Dr Tiina Likki is a Senior Adviser at the Behavioural Insights Team (BIT), a London-based social purpose company that applies behavioural science to public policy. Tiina leads BIT's work on employment and welfare policy, as well as gender equality and is a passionate advocate for evidence-based policy and experimentation in government. Prior to joining BIT, Tiina was in academia where her research focused on public attitudes towards the welfare state in Europe, as well as on the social psychology of protest movements and the integration of immigrants. She also helped set up a think tank in Finland that introduced behavioural economics to Finnish public policy. Tiina holds a PhD in social psychology from the University of Lausanne and her research has been published in the *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *Political Psychology*, *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, and *Contemporary Social Science*.

Brian Lord, OBE is PGI's Managing Director, and was GCHQ's Deputy Director for Cyber and Intelligence Operations. At GCHQ he drove the modernisation programme across GCHQ's most active technical operations and entire workforce. He oversaw both defensive and active Cyber operations, through unparalleled experience of cyber threat, risks, opportunity, and effective mitigation strategies. He is an eminent thought leader on cyber warfare and the intent and motivations across all cyber threat actors. Since moving to PGI, Brian has designed and delivered PGI's full spectrum provision of Cyber Security advice, technical service delivery and organizational transformation and skill development to both public and private sector organisations. Brian is regularly enlisted by the BBC and other national media outlets as an expert on Cyber matter3s

Nicolas Maclean, CMG. Whilst pursuing a main career in banking, finance and insurance, Nicolas has had a parallel career in politics. After serving on a committee of the Oxford Union and as Political Action Officer of the Oxford University Conservative Association, he was active at constituency level as Ward Chairman in Chelsea and the Joint head of Mutual Aid for Battersea. In 1975 he was seconded full-time for three months as Chief of Staff to William Whitelaw who led the Conservative Party's contribution to the Britain in Europe Movement during the 1975 European Referendum Campaign. Thereafter he continued to work part-time for Willie Whitelaw, but in the 1979, 1983 and 1987 General Election Campaigns was seconded as Political Assistant to Margaret Thatcher, working in her Private Office on Foreign, Economic and Financial Affairs, Defence, Northern Ireland, and Community Relations. From 1979-1990 he served as a Councillor on the Kensington and Chelsea London Borough Council and chaired committees on investment, employment and community relations. He was also served in Party Policy Groups on employment, training and retraining, and reform of the Constitution and drafted Margaret Thatcher's first parliamentary speech on Devolution. In 2016 he served as Senior Adviser and Co-ordinator for South London in Conservatives IN, the pro-Remain Conservative organisation set up by David Cameron. He was appointed CMG for his personal bridge-building initiatives between Britain and Asia, including what is now the Japan Exchange and Teaching programme (JET) in which Britain and Canada play leading roles.

John Wyn Owen, CB. John's career has spanned public, private and charity sectors in the UK and internationally including the NHS, Civil Service (UK) and Government Chief Executive Service (Australia). He is a Member of the Canada-UK Council, Treasurer and Council Member of the Learned Society of Wales, Professorial Fellow of the Royal Society of Public Health and has held Professorial posts at the University of Wales and the College of Medicine, Swansea University; and is a Senior Adviser to Global Health, InterAction Council - a think tank of former heads of state or governments. Formerly: Adviser and Chair CUKC Colloquium on New Realities for Global Health (2013); Chair UWIC, now Cardiff's Metropolitan University (2005-2011); Chair Global Health Committee and Wales Board member UK Health Protection Committee (2005-2013); Member and later, Chair Welsh Government's Health Protection Committee (2010-2016); Vice Chair UK Health Forum (2007-2016); Bevan Commissioner (2013-2016); Secretary Nuffield Trust (1997-2005); Director General NSW Health and Chairman Australian Health Ministers Advisory Council (1993-1997); Director NHS Cymru Wales and Chair of Secretary of State's Health Executive Committee, Welsh Office (1984-1993); Executive Director United Medical Enterprises (1979-1984); District Administrator St Thomas' Health District (1974-1979). Honours: Fellow Faculty of Public Health; Fellow Royal College of Physicians; DSc. City University, London; Member of US National Academy of Medicine; Member of the Gorsedd of Bards; Companion of the Order of the Bath (CB) Queens Birthday Honours 1994.

Philip Peacock is the Chair of the Canada-United Kingdom Council which is the British organising arm of the annual Canada-UK Colloquia, and before that he was for some years its Treasurer. He is also a long standing member of the Canada-United Kingdom Chamber of Commerce. Philip is a retired solicitor and was latterly a consultant in the firm RadcliffesLebrasseur and previously a partner in the firm now known as Hogan Lovells.

Amol Rajan is the BBC's first Media Editor, covering the world of traditional and new media- from newspapers and television to Facebook, Google and Snapchat- for the BBC's flagship bulletins : *Today* on Radio 4, and the Six and Ten O'clock News on BBC One. He is also presenter of several BBC shows, from *The One Show* and *Front Row* on BBC One and BBC Two to *The Media Show*, *The World at One* and *Start the Week* on Radio 4. Prior to joining the BBC he was Editor of *The Independent* newspaper for close to three years, managing its transition to a digital-only product. Appointed at the age of 29, he was the first non-white Editor of a Fleet Street title. Before becoming Editor, he was for two years an adviser to Evgeny Labeledev, owner of *The Independent* and *London Evening Standard*. Over the past decade Amol has written regularly for a vast range of publications, from *The Spectator*, *New Statesman*, *GQ*, *Politico*, *The Salisbury Review* and *Standard* to *The Independent on Sunday*, for which he was restaurant critic for six years - a role that led to his becoming a regular critic on *Masterchef*. His first book – *Twirlymen: the Unlikely History of Cricket's Greatest Spin Bowlers* – was published in 2011. He was educated at Graveney School in Tooting and Downing College Cambridge. For one year in 2001-2, he worked in the Eastern Adriatic Department of the Foreign & Commonwealth Office.

Jill Rutter is a programme director for Brexit at the Institute for Government and has co-authored a number of the Institute reports on the implications of Brexit for Whitehall and Westminster. She has also produced reports on better policy making, most recently on making tax policy better and on arm's length governance. Before joining the IFG, Jill was Director of Strategy and Sustainable Development at the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs. Prior to that she worked for BP for six years, following a career in the Treasury, where she was Press Secretary, Private Secretary to the Chief Secretary to the Treasury and the Chancellor, as well as working on areas such as tax, local government finance, and debt and export finance. 1992-1994 she was seconded to the No.10 Policy Unit where she oversaw health, local government and environment issues.

Alan Smith was awarded a PhD at Leicester University in 1978 based on his X-ray study of supernova remnants. His work involved the payload development and flight of a Skylark sounding rocket from Woomera, South Australia. From 1984 to 1990 he worked for the European Space Agency at its technology centre in the Netherlands. In 1990 he joined University College London's Mullard Space Science Laboratory, initially as Head of Detector Physics eventually becoming Director and Head of Department (2005-2017). Alan was formative in the creation of UCL's Centre for Space Medicine in 2011 and is a member of the board of UCL's Institute for Risk and Disaster Reduction. Recently he has been appointed director of UCL's Space Domain – an interdisciplinary, cross faculty initiative. He is a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society and of the Association of Project Management. His present research interests include systems engineering, project management and future space mission design. He is a member of the Plato Council, the European Space Agency extra-solar planet mission in development.

Dick Taverne, Liberal Democrat Member of the House of Lords. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford. Barrister 1954. QC 1965. Ceased practice when appointed Minister in 1966. Elected Labour MP for Lincoln in 1962, Home Office Minister 1966-1968, Financial Secretary to the Treasury 1968-70. Resigned from the Labour party in 1972 when his local very left wing Labour Party told him they would deselected him if he voted with the Conservatives to join the European Community. He did and they did. Won an overwhelming majority over Labour and Conservatives in a by-election in 1973. Served as independent social democrat MP for Lincoln until 1974. 1972 Launched the Institute for Fiscal Studies as its first director until 1983. Served on the boards of a number of international companies. Appointed to House of Lords 1996. 2002 founded the charity Sense About Science to promote the public understanding of science. 2006 voted Parliamentary Science Communicator of the year by the Association of British Science Writers. Author: *The Future of the Left, Lincoln and After* (1974); *The March of Unreason - Science, Democracy and the New Fundamentalism* (2006); *Against the Tide—a Memoir* (2015).

The Right Hon. Lord Thomas of Cwmgiedd, PC read law at Trinity Hall, Cambridge and at the University of Chicago Law School. He practised at the Commercial Bar in London from 1971 and became a QC in 1984. He was appointed to the High Court of England and Wales in 1996, He was a Presiding Judge in Wales (1998-2001), Judge in Charge of the Commercial Court (2002-3), the Senior Presiding Judge for England and Wales (2003 to 2006), Vice-President of the Queen's Bench Division (2008-2011) and President of the Queen's Bench Division (2011-2013) and Lord Chief Justice of England and Wales from 2013 to 2017. He was President of the European Network of Councils for the Judiciary (2008-2010) and is a founder member of the European Law Institute. He is a Fellow of the Learned Society of Wales and an Honorary Fellow or Fellow of several Universities. He becomes Chancellor of the Aberystwyth University in January 2018. He is Chairman designate of the London Financial Markets Law Committee and Chairman of the Commission on Justice in Wales established by the Welsh Government in September 2017.

Marina Wheeler QC is a barrister practising in Chambers at One Crown Office Row, London. She is married to Boris Johnson and was educated at Cambridge University and the Free University of Brussels where she obtained a Master's Degree in European Community Law. She began legal practice in Brussels, specialising in environmental and trade law. Subsequently she was appointed to the Attorney-General's Panel of Counsel and litigated on behalf of government and other public bodies (including the National Health Service) for over a decade before taking silk in 2016. Her government practice focused on employment and public law - predominantly mental health, prison, armed conflict and national security cases. Between 2009 and 2015 she appeared in numerous cases arising out of the conflict in Afghanistan and is currently working on cases involving Islamist-inspired extremism. Marina is also a trained mediator and a part-time tutor for the mediation and alternative dispute resolution course at Regents University. She is a member of the Academic Advisory Board of the Common Law Centre, a joint collaboration between Oxford and Renmin University, Beijing. In this capacity, as a guest of the UK-China Centre, and as an Ambassador for the Desmond Tutu Foundation UK, she speaks regularly on topics relating to the Rule of Law and international conflict resolution. She was recently appointed to the Brexit Advisory Commission on Public Services.

12. CANADIAN BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Dr. Tom Axworthy is the Chair of Public Policy, Massey College, University of Toronto and Secretary-General of the InterAction Council. Thomas S. Axworthy has had a distinguished career in government, academia, and philanthropy. He served as the Principal Secretary to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, and he was a key strategist on repatriation of the Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In 2009, Dr. Axworthy became president and CEO of The Gordon Foundation. He has also worked extensively with the InterAction Council of Former Heads of State and Government, being appointed Secretary General of the Organization in 2011. He is the author of numerous books and articles of which the best known is *Towards a Just Society*, co-authored with Pierre Trudeau. To recognize his achievements in heritage education, civics, and citizenship, Dr. Axworthy was invested as an Officer of the Order of Canada in 2002.

Grant Bishop. With experience in law, economics and geological engineering, Grant Bishop joined the Calgary office of McKinsey & Co as an Associate Consultant in 2016. Before then he served as a judicial law clerk at the Federal Court of Appeal in Ottawa, articulated with Davies Ward Phillips & Vineberg LLP in Toronto, and held a policy research fellowship with the C.D. Howe Institute focussing on competition and regulatory issues. Prior to legal work, Grant served at the Bank of Canada, the World Bank and Toronto Dominion Bank authoring economic studies, including on resource royalties, fiscal federalism, financial regulation, employment insurance and old-age pensions, household debt and long-run growth of the Canadian economy.

Jennifer L. Bondar is a doctoral candidate and lecturer at the University of Toronto, with expertise in history and international relations. Jennifer holds fellowships with The Bill Graham Centre for Contemporary International History, the Canadian International Council, and Massey College. She speaks English & French, hails from the nickel capital of the world, and you can follow her tweets @jenbondar.

Misha Boutlier is entering the third year of the JD programme at the Faculty of Law at the University of Toronto and will be clerking at the Court of Appeal for Ontario upon graduation. He holds an honours BA with high distinction in international relations and history from the University of Toronto, where he was the recipient of the Governor General's Silver Medal for graduating with the highest standing in Arts at the University of Toronto. Misha worked as a summer law student in litigation at Bennett Jones LLP in Toronto in summers 2016 and 2017. He is currently the Co-Editor-in-Chief of the University of Toronto Faculty of Law Review and is a member of the Canadian Centre for the Responsibility to Protect. Misha has written essays on jury representativeness, international trade law, and Canadian foreign policy that have been accepted for publication by *Criminal Law Quarterly*, the *University of Toronto Faculty of Law Review*, and *International Journal*.

Dean David Cameron, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto and Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science. His career has been divided between government service and academic life, with a focus on Canadian constitutional and national-unity issues. He has served at both the federal and provincial levels, as Assistant Secretary in the Privy Council and Assistant Undersecretary of State in Ottawa, and as Deputy Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs in Ontario. In the last two decades, he has turned his attention to ethno-cultural relations and constitution-making in emerging or potential federal countries, such as Sri Lanka, Iraq and Somalia. He has advised the Estonian Government on constitutional reform, and national and sub-national governments in Russia on the management of their federation. He has worked on intergovernmental relations in India, and assisted the peace process in Sri Lanka from 2002 to 2005. From 2004 to 2008, he worked on constitutional and federal issues in Iraq. In the last several years, he has been providing advice to Ambassador Christopher Ross, the Personal Envoy of the Secretary General of the United Nations to the Western Sahara.

Dr. Mel Cappe is Professor in the School of Public Policy and Governance. He teaches in the Masters Program and is Coordinator of the Undergraduate Program in Public Policy. From 2006-2011 he was President of the Institute for Research on Public Policy. Prior to that for four years he was High Commissioner for Canada to the United Kingdom. Before that he served as Clerk of the Privy Council, Secretary to the Cabinet and Head of the Public Service in Ottawa. Earlier in his career he held senior economic and policy positions in the Departments of Finance and Industry. He was Deputy Secretary to the Treasury Board, Deputy Minister of the Environment, Deputy Minister of Human Resources Development, Deputy Minister of Labour and Chairman of the Employment Insurance Commission. He did graduate studies in Economics at the Universities of Western Ontario and Toronto and has honorary doctorates from both. He is an Officer of the Order of Canada.

Janice Charette assumed her responsibilities as Canadian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom in September 2016. Prior to this, Mrs Charette served as Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet from 2014 to 2016 where she served as the principal public service adviser to Canada's Prime Minister in addition to her role as head of the public service. Previously, she was Deputy Clerk and Associate Secretary as well as Deputy Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs. Her early public service career included work in the Privy Council Office, finance, regulatory affairs, federal-provincial relations and in the Prime Minister's office. Mrs Charette worked in the private sector from 1996 to 1999, first as Principal in the management consulting firm Ernst & Young, and as Director of the Transition Team for the newly formed Canada Pension Plan Investment Board. She is a member of the Board of Directors of the Royal Ottawa Health care Group and is a champion for mental health and wellness in the workplace. In 2008 she was national Chair for the United Way's Government of Canada Workplace Charitable Campaign. She was recognised as one of Canada's top 100 Most Powerful Women in 2013 and 2014. Mrs Charette attended Carleton University where she received a Bachelor of Commerce. She is married to Reg Charette and they have two adult children.

Jordan Deagle studied journalism at Carleton University, before moving on to the University of Toronto to pursue his Masters degree. While there, he studied the relationship between sovereignty and the principle of non-intervention. More recently, Jordan worked as lead writer to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau during the first year of his mandate, and has since become a communications advisor in the PMO.

Graham Fox is President and CEO of the Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP), one of Canada's leading independent think tanks. He brings to the organization extensive executive-level experience in politics and public policy. Prior to joining the IRPP, Graham was a strategic policy adviser at the law firm of Fraser Milner Casgrain, and is a former vice-president of the Public Policy Forum. In politics, Graham contested the 2007 Ontario general election as a candidate in the constituency of Ottawa-Orléans. He was chief of staff to the Rt. Hon. Joe Clark, and adviser to members of Parliament in the House of Commons. A policy entrepreneur, Graham's research interests include parliamentary reform, democratic renewal, citizen engagement and federalism. He holds an undergraduate degree in history from Queen's University, where he was a Loran scholar, and a master's degree in political science from the London School of Economics. He is the co-editor, with Jennifer Ditchburn, of *The Harper Factor* (2016), an analysis of the policy impact of Canada's 22nd prime minister.

Karina Gould is Minister of Democratic Institutions, Government of Canada. She is a trade and investment specialist and community activist with deep roots in her home town of Burlington, Ontario. Between December 2015 and January 2017 she served as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of International Development. Karina fuelled her passion for public service and international development by spending a year volunteering at an orphanage in Mexico. As a student at McGill University, she served as President of the Arts Undergraduate Society and organised a \$20,000 fundraising campaign for victims of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti. That same year, she began working as a consultant for the Migration and Development Program at the Organization of American States in Washington DC. After completing her Masters degree in International Relations at the University of Oxford, she moved back to Burlington where she worked as a trade and investment specialist for the Mexican Trade Commission. Karina is an active member of her community. She is a member of the Oxford and Cambridge Society of Toronto and has volunteered at the Iroquoia Bruce Trail Club, and has acted as the social media co-ordinator for the Mississauga Furniture Bank.

Dr. Randall Hansen is Interim Director of the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto. He works on Immigration and Citizenship, Demography and Population Policy and the Effects of War on Civilians. His published works include *Disobeying Hitler: German Resistance after Operation Valkyrie* (Faber, 2014), *Sterilized by the State: Eugenics, Race and the Population Scare in 20th Century North America* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), *Fire and Fury: the Allied Bombing of Germany* (Penguin, 2009), and *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-War Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2000). Before taking up his position in Toronto, Hansen was Tutorial Fellow in Politics at Merton College, Oxford, where he ran the PPE School. He completed his DPhil at Nuffield College, Oxford, where he was a Commonwealth Scholar.

Senator Peter Harder entered the Upper Chamber in April 2016, as the first Independent Senator. He arrived in the Senate with nearly 30 years of experience in the federal public service, and a decade serving as a member of several boards of directors. As Government Representative in the Senate, he is tasked with shepherding legislation through the Upper Chamber and leading efforts on reform towards a more independent, accountable and transparent institution.

Jane Hilderman: As executive director, Jane works to bring Samara Canada's educational mission--to reconnect citizens to politics--to life. She frequently discusses Samara's work in the media and with Canadians across the country. Her previous roles at Samara include Research Director, where she shaped Samara's groundbreaking research that explores Canadians' participation in democracy, how Members of Parliament do their jobs, and citizen perceptions of politics. She holds degrees from the School of Public Policy & Governance at the University of Toronto (MPP) and Queen's University (BAH). Jane is also a Fellow of the Royal Canadian Geographical Society, which seeks "to make Canada better known to Canadians and the world."

Dr. Richard Johnston is Canada Research Chair Public Opinion, Elections, and Representation at the University of British Columbia. His studies party systems, elections, and voting. He is author or editor of ten books and has written 90 articles and book chapters. He led the Canadian Election Study in 1988 and 1992-93 and the National Annenberg Election Survey (US) in 2000 and 2008.

Karim Kanji is President and CEO of Toronto based Sutter Hill Investment Corporation, a family owned real estate investment and private equity company with over C\$400 Million of assets in Canada, the USA and Europe. Mr Kanji is a noted philanthropist and sits on the boards or has been involved with several arts, political and charitable organisations, including the Princess Margaret Hospital Foundation, the Royal Conservatory of Music and others. He is a Vice President of the NATO Association of Canada and has recently attended Commonwealth Leadership Conferences, and NATO conferences on counter terrorism.

General Tom Lawson: As a member of a four-generation Royal Canadian Air Force family, General Lawson spent 40 years in uniform. From 2012 to 2015 General Lawson was Chief of the Canadian Defence Staff, overseeing the completion of the Canadian mission in Afghanistan, the deployment of Canadian troops to Eastern Europe following Russian aggression in Crimea, and the Canadian Forces contribution to the coalition effort against the Islamic State.

Dr. Peter Loewen is the Director of the School of Public Policy & Governance at the University of Toronto. He is substantively interested in questions of elite and citizen behaviour and the role of technology in improving governance and representation. His work has been published in leading journals of political science, economics, biology, and general science. His major current project is a book on whether politicians are good enough for democracy.

Ian McCowan is the Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet (Governance) at the Privy Council Office. He provides advice to the Prime Minister, portfolio ministers and the Clerk of the Privy Council on the organization of government, the coordination of the Government's legislative programme, and democratic reform initiatives.

Professor Mayo Moran is the 15th Provost and Vice-Chancellor of Trinity College. From 2006-2014, she served as Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Toronto. Provost Moran's work focuses on comparative constitutional law, legal theory, and historical injustices among other topics. Provost Moran chaired the University of Toronto's Expert Panel on Sexual Violence Policies, serves on the Council of Ontario Universities Reference Group on Sexual Violence and is a founding member of the Transnational Advisory Group of the Association of American Law Schools. Since 2007, Provost Moran has also chaired the Government of Canada's Independent Assessment Process Oversight Committee that assists in the implementation of the Indian Residential Schools Agreement.

Jennifer Orange is a lawyer and SJD candidate at the University of Toronto, Faculty of Law. Her dissertation research investigates the role of museums in communicating human rights norms. She has an LLM in International Legal Studies from NYU and a BA in Asian and Middle Eastern Studies from the University of Pennsylvania. She is a junior fellow of Massey College.

Dr Tina Park earned her PhD in Canadian History at the University of Toronto, focusing on the transformation of Canadian-Korean relations. She is a co-founder and executive director of the Canadian Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, based at the Munk School of Global Affairs. Tina is a frequent commentator in the media on North Korea and Canadian foreign policy, and recently published a book chapter with the Cambridge University Press on the role of the private sector in preventing mass human atrocities. She serves as the Vice President of the NATO Association of Canada and speaks six foreign languages.

The Hon. Allan Rock was a trial lawyer for 20 years in Toronto before being elected to the Canadian Parliament in 1993. After a decade in senior portfolios including Attorney General of Canada, Minister of Health and Minister of Industry, he served as Canadian Ambassador to the UN (2003-2006), and later as President of the University of Ottawa (2008-2016), where he is now a law professor.

The Hon. Hugh Segal: The fifth Head of Massey College, at the University of Toronto, where he is a Senior Fellow, Hugh is a former Chair of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and the Special Senate Committee on anti-terrorism. He has also served as Chief of Staff to Prime Minister Mulroney, Associate Cabinet Secretary for federal provincial relations in Ontario under Premier William Davis, and as President of the Institute for Research on Public Policy in Montreal.

Alison Smith hosts *Perspective*, a foreign affairs TV program on CPAC. A respected journalist, she was an award-winning CBC anchor and reporter for more than three decades. She has reported from every Canadian province and territory and across the globe including elections in Israel, South Africa, Mexico and as Washington correspondent, the election of US President Barack Obama.

Sonya Thissen is Minister-Counsellor (Political and Public Affairs) at the Canadian High Commission in London. She has a BA (Business Administration) and also a BA Honours (Political Science) from the University of Western Ontario, and an MA (International Relations) from Carleton University. She joined the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in 1995 from Industry Canada. In 2005 she became the Executive Director of the Governor General's Performing Arts Awards Foundation, a Canadian not-for-profit organisation dedicated to recognising lifetime artistic achievement and celebrating excellence in the arts. She returned to DFAIT and was subsequently Deputy Chief of Protocol responsible for incoming and outgoing high-level visits including those related to the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter games and the G8/20 summits in Canada (2009-2013). In 2013 she was posted to Paris where she served as Counsellor (Head, Political Affairs). She is married with a daughter.

Cliff van der Linden is founder and CEO of Vox Pop Labs, a social enterprise comprised of data scientists, designers, and engineers, that builds digital civic engagement initiatives with a view to enhancing democratic participation. Its flagship product, Vote Compass, has more than 10 million users worldwide. Cliff is also a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto.

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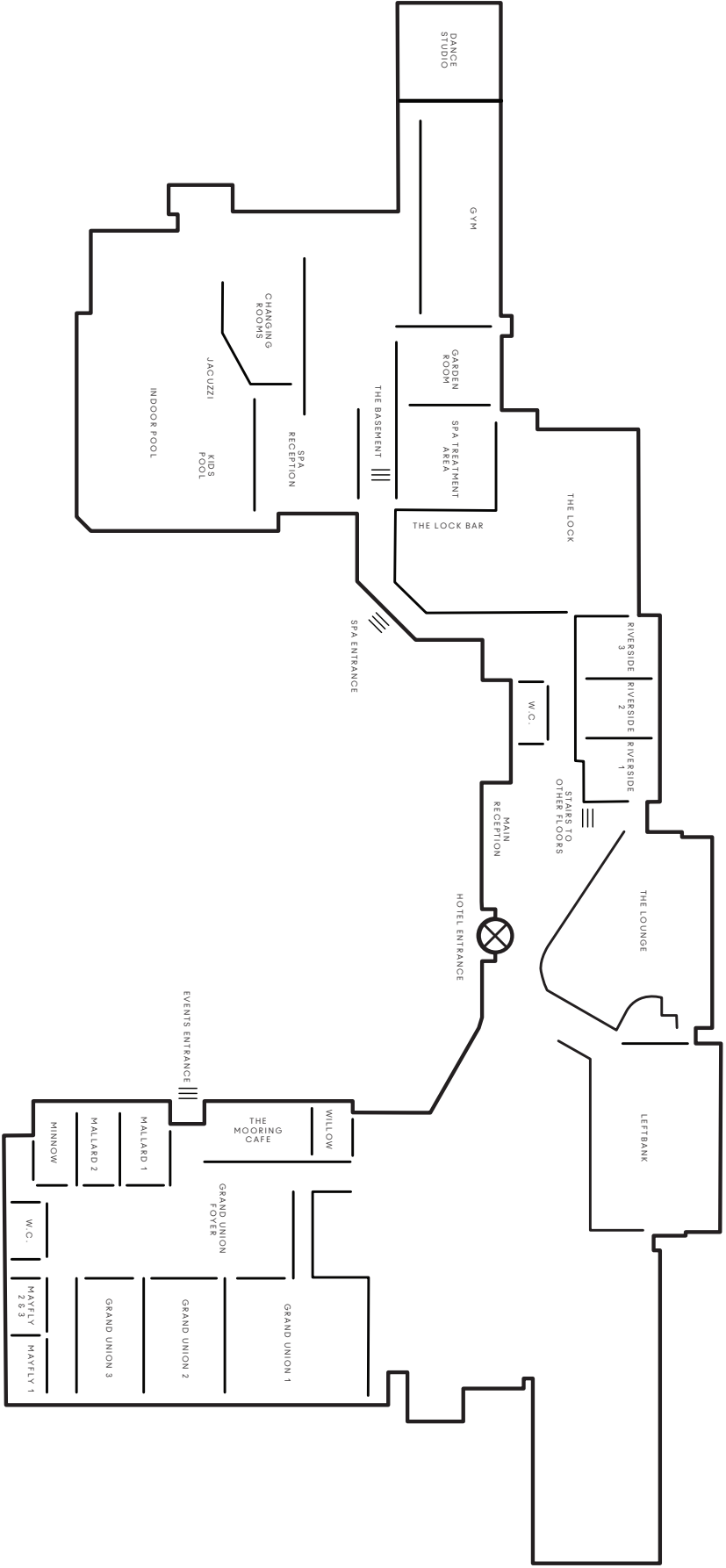
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