
Lecture 12

Enthusiastic, Expansive Engagement under Justin Trudeau

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November 27, 2017

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Introduction

On October 19, 2015, Canadians elected a majority government headed by a new prime minister, Justin Trudeau, leader of the formerly third-place parliamentary Liberal Party. Soon after being sworn in on November 4, Trudeau proclaimed “we’re back on the world stage.” He then flew to the long-scheduled Group of 20 (G20) Summit in Antalya, Turkey, held on November 15–16. His words and deeds suggested that a new era of Canadian international engagement had begun.

The Debate

The directions and determinants of Trudeau’s foreign policy soon inspired a debate among **five distinct schools** of thought.

The first school saw **election-fueled substantive success** (Berthiaume 2015a, b, c). Paul Martin and John Kirton predicted that Trudeau would lead and succeed with bold new priorities because foreign leaders were eager to welcome him and them, and because Trudeau had a youthful “global rock star” profile and a strong electoral mandate to change Canadian policies on fiscal stimulus, infrastructure investment, climate change, Syrian refugees, terrorism, support for the middle class, youth employment and gender equality. At the Antalya Summit’s end, in a variant of **limited substantive success**, Kirton and Cormier (2016) judged that Trudeau’s informal, popular summit style and fresh majority mandate had been constrained by his summit inexperience and the shock of a new terrorist attack on the summit’s eve. A year later, in a **joyful multilateralism** variant, David Malone (2016: 26-7) concluded that Trudeau, driven by the electorate and Liberal party members, had “changed the tone internationally... to one of optimism and engagement,” and “captured the international imagination” by embracing Syrian refugees, launching domestic consultations, favouring the UN, ratifying and implementing the Paris Agreement on climate change, and changing policy on China and Syria. In a **US and North America** variant, others stressed Trudeau’s close, cooperative relationship with Barack Obama’s US and the return of the trilateral summit with Mexico involved (Tsalikis 2016).

The second school saw **electorally endorsed admirable resolve** as Trudeau stuck with his promise to withdraw Canadian CF-18s from combat against Islamic State in Syria and Iraq, rather than deferring to Barack Obama and David Cameron after the terrorist attacks in Paris on the Antalya Summit's eve (*Edmonton Journal* 2015). This was because withdrawal had been a Liberal platform promise that Canadians had electorally endorsed. Andrew Cohen (2015) saw an opportunity for an activist image. A year later, in a **promising down payment** variant, David Welch saw a good start at a B+/A- level on a long to-do list (Tsalkis 2016).

The third school saw a **short-lived fantasy honeymoon**, due to the international and domestic challenges Canada must soon confront (Macdonald 2016). Columnist Jeffrey Simpson (2016a, b) advised Trudeau to spend money on international affairs and declared Trudeau's campaign promises on Syrian refugees and climate change impossible to meet. Despite Trudeau's successful visit with Obama in Washington DC on March 9–11, 2016, his finance minister failed at the first G20 finance ministers' meeting to produce the coordinated fiscal stimulus, structural reform or other economic actions needed to boost growth (Luckhurst 2016; Kirton 2016).

The fourth school saw **style without substance** at a G20 summit well suited to Trudeau's social media savvy ways, as the summit was designed for photo ops, hollow schmoozing and introducing middle powers to the real global political elite (May 2015). A **come home** variant said Trudeau, with a new, untested government, should skip the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) after Antalya (Cohn 2015). A year later, the image of Trudeau as stylish summit star remained (Tsalkis 2016).

The fifth school saw Trudeau's **first test failed**, as the inexperienced new prime minister remained committed to keeping his election promises to end Canada's CF-18 attacks on ISIS and admit 25,000 Syrian refugees, despite the deadly Paris terrorist attacks (*Toronto Sun* 2015; Akin 2015a, b). A variant saw Trudeau **lacking counter-terrorist toughness** of the sort his father had shown in response to Canada's deadly FLQ (Quebec Liberation Front) crisis in 1970 (Mannistu 2015).

Puzzles

After Trudeau's first two years as prime minister, this wide range of views had still not been subjected to a systematic, theoretically-guided, scholarly study of his overall foreign policy, and how and why it differed from Stephen Harper's and other predecessors before. The Trudeauvian transition allows for a clear test of how new directions in Canada's international behaviour might be driven by major changes in governmental and societal determinants, amidst a changing world defined by new terrorist, trade and other shocks and vulnerabilities and by substantial shifts in relative capabilities among the top tier powers and Canada itself.

Thesis

This lecture argues that Trudeau brought **enthusiastic expansive engagement** to Canadian foreign policy during his first two years. It arose immediately in both style and substance, quickly embraced most issues and global regions, and centered on doing more than Harper had during his first year. Trudeau's changes appeared most strongly in his informal doctrine of "**Canada is back**" in the world, in his immediate, intense plurilateral **summit diplomacy**, and in most of his **14 major decisions** across the security, social, ecological and economic domains. Together they sustained Canada's complex neo-realist (**CNR**) **position** as an established principal power, while bringing the expression of Canada's **national interests** and **distinctive national values (DNVs)** to new heights.

These changes are well accounted for by the **meta-theory** of hegemonic transition and the **principal power paradox** it contains. In the external causes highlighted by the meta-theory, **America's** vulnerabilities as well as its capabilities rose, the **system's** capability diffused to a rising China and India and reviving Europe and **Canada's** relative invulnerability and capability rose. The societal, governmental and individual determinants highlighted by the principal power paradox showed the strength of Trudeau's pan-Canadian majority mandate, sustained popularity, provincial government support, careful combination of new and veteran cabinet ministers, engaging personal style and principles honed his experience as a member of parliament and his father's son. However, the endurance and effectiveness of Trudeau's enthusiastic, expansive engagement was strongly tested by the changing world that Canada confronted as it celebrated the 150th anniversary of its confederation in 2017, as Donald Trump became president of the United States.

Doctrine

In Trudeau's foreign policy doctrine enthusiastic expansive engagement rapidly appeared. This doctrine emerged, much like Harper's, through Trudeau's campaign promises and informal expressions of core values, rather than any formal foreign policy review or definitive inaugural declaration. The central message came in the breezy phrase he offered just after he was sworn in, that "**Canada is back**" in the world.

The 82 page Liberal Party **campaign platform**, adopted by prime minister Trudeau as his foreign policy guide, contained **little** about international affairs and put it **last** (Liberal Party of Canada 2015).¹ Only in its fifth and final chapter, "Security and Opportunity," did it focus on international affairs, starting with economic and human issues and ending with three pages on "Renewing Canada's Place in the World and Strengthening our Security." Here it promised to **restore Canadian leadership**, resume peacekeeping, maintain defence spending, not buy the F-35 fighter aircraft, end Canada's combat mission in Iraq, and continue its military contribution in Central and Eastern Europe. In its **approach to world order**, it made no reference to the Group of Seven (**G7**), whose summit Canada would host on June 8-9, 2018, and only one to the **G20**, promising to comply with its commitments to end fossil fuel subsidies.

Trudeau's major **campaign promises** on foreign policy. Also differentiated him from Harper's in ways that emotionally resonated with Canadians and evoked their DNVs. These included welcoming 25,000 **Syrian refugees** by the end of 2015, as an expression of demographic openness and multiculturalism; controlling **climate change** more strongly, in accordance with environmentalism; and ending Canada's **air attacks on ISIS** in Iraq and Syria, as an instinctive impression of what anti-militarism might suggest.

The first **Throne Speech**, delivered on December 4, 2015 again promised to control **climate change** abroad and at home, welcome 25,000 **Syrian refugees** by the end of February, strengthen Canada's relationship with its

¹ It began with domestically-oriented chapters on "Growth for the Middle Class" and "Fair and Open Government," before offering a more internationally oriented third chapter on "A Clean Environment and a Strong Economy." Its fourth chapter on A Strong Canada primarily dealt with domestic affairs.

allies and the US as "our closest friend and partner," assist the world's **poorest**, renew UN **peacekeeping** and fight **terrorism**, and negotiate **trade** agreements (Canada 2015).

During his first year Trudeau launched **formal policy reviews** for defence and for development but not foreign policy. He did, however, immediately re-brand his foreign ministry as the **Department of Global Affairs**.

Freeland's Foreign Policy Speech, June 6, 2017

The foreign policy doctrine appeared, in LI fashion, in a speech by foreign minister Cristia Freeland in Parliament on June 6, 2017, just before the results of the defence and development reviews arrived. With pure LI logic, She identified Canada as a "middle power living next to the world's only superpower" that thus had a "huge interest in an international order based on rule." Acting against the many threats "requires cooperation with like-minded countries." She reviewed its LI role in inspiring multilateral institutions since 1944 and peacekeeping, highlighting Pearson his Nobel peace Prize for Suez. It then rejected a PD inward turn to "Canada First", noting current challenges led by climate change.

After more LI basics she took a CNR turn in specifying Canada's three foreign policy aims as follows:

The first was to "...strongly support the multilateral forums ... including the G7, the G20, the OAS, WTO, the Commonwealth and La Francophone, the Arctic Council, and of course NATO and the UN. LI's broadly multilateral bodies came last and the PD institutions of NORAD and the IJC were nowhere on the list.

The second aim was to make the necessary investments in our military, as "middle power," rather than leave it to the "great Powers." LI dominated here.

The third aim was trade by modernizing NAFTA, "diversify" Canadian trade worldwide, use the Canada-EU Agreement as the template, and strengthen the WTO. CNR dominated here.

The Defence Policy Doctrine, June 7, 2017

The defence policy doctrine of *Strong, Secure, Engaged* was produced by Minister of National Defence Harjit Singh on June 7, 2017. In CNR fashion, Canada came first and the world last as it focused on "...making Canada strong at home, secure in North America and engaged in the world." Yet in a PD isolationist retreat it put DND's people first, presenting the defence policy as a social welfare one. In LI fashion it emphasized the specialized niches of Space, cyber, intelligence and Special Operations Forces. In a modest CNR move it promised to "increase the size of the Regular Force by 3,500 (to 71,500) and the reserve Force by 1,500 (to 30,000) members, to "Replace the CF-18 fleet with 88 advanced fighter aircraft" add 15 Canadian Surface Combatants" and "improve land capabilities" (Government of Canada 2017).

The International Development Policy

The international development policy, announced on June 9, 2017 was, innovatively, a **feminist first** one (Government of Canada 2017). Its six priorities were, first, "promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls", second, "targeting human dignity," third "growth that works for everyone," fourth, "the environment and climate action," fifth "inclusive governance," and sixth "peace and security." Geographically, it committed to "...dedicate 50 percent of our bilateral international development assistance to sub-Saharan Africa by the 2021 to 2022 fiscal year, with an emphasis on women and girls."

Distribution of Resources

In his distribution of resources, Trudeau's enthusiastic, expansive engagement arose most swiftly and strongly in his **summit diplomacy** and **sustainable development spending**, soon in his **trade** agreements, and then in his military deployments and procurements by the end of 2016. This was largely a CNR configuration, with liberal internationalist (**LI**) patterns arising in the UN and NATO-centered defence domain.

Summit Diplomacy

Trudeau's **immediate, intense summit diplomacy** focused on the key global plurilateral summit institutions (PSIs) of the **G20, Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)** forum, CHOGM, G7 and Francophonie, as well as the multilateral UN (See Appendix A). Immediately after his swearing in, Trudeau flew in turn to the scheduled summits of the G20 in Antalya on November 15-16, APEC in Manila on November 18-19, CHOGM in Malta on November 27-29 and the UN's 21st Conference of the Parties (COP 21) in Paris from November 20 - Dec 13. Trudeau's choice to go to all four, with an unprecedented immediacy and intensity gave him a personal geographically global connection with the Middle East, Asia, Mediterranean and Europe. Three of the four summits were institutionalized, restricted plurilateral, not broadly multilateral ones, showing Canada's built-in PSI global governance pull. Apart from a visit to the UK to see Canada's Queen and Britain's prime minister, there were no stand-alone bilateral visits, not even with the nearby US.

After his first year in office, the leaders Trudeau visited most often were those of the **US and Japan**, tied for first with nine each; followed in turn by **Mexico and Australia** with seven each; France, Germany and China with six each; and the UK, Italy, Korea and Indonesia with five each. Including collective encounters at the full CHOGM and Francophonie summits would raise the UK, Australia and France by one each. The PSI pull, now led by the G20, gave Canada's top 15 partners their exalted rank. This was overwhelmingly a **CNR** pattern in its **concert** concentration on and from the G20 and G7, its major power **diversification** to Japan, France, China, and Germany, and its global **involvement**, with the systemically significant states of Australia, Mexico, the UK, Italy, Korea and Indonesia rounding out the top 11 spots.

In sharp contrast, in Canada's fixed array of **diplomatic posts and personnel**, Trudeau made no change, even if he loosened Harper's controls over what Canada's diplomats were allowed to say and do.

Budgets

In his spending, Trudeau quickly made major new commitments for **sustainable development**, notably to control climate change and to combat infectious disease (See decisions below). By the end of his first year he had

added **defence**, with his decisions to acquire new CF-18 Super Hornet jets and military search and rescue aircraft. Yet his **first budget**, coming in the spring of 2016, authorized no substantial new spending for diplomacy, defence or development. The latter two were designed to wait until their respective policy reviews had been completed, and then be funded in Trudeau's second budget in the spring of 2017.

The Defence Policy Document offered no new money for the next few years, but after the next election promised steady increases over the long term. It promised to “grow annual defence spending from \$18.9 billion in 2016/17 to \$32 billion in 2016/17, on a cash basis, an increase of over 70%” (Government of Canada 2017).

The development policy promised no new money at all. It noted that Canada’s ODA was “...projected to be over \$5.3 billion per year and the value of the international development assistance envelope will exceed \$5 billion in the 2017 to 2018 fiscal year.” (Canada 2017b). It added: “it is essential to increase government contributions, but it is also especially important to step up our efforts to seek out new partners and new investors.”

Military Instruments

In his use of military instruments, Trudeau first **came back** home by ending the air attacks against ISIS, but soon **went back** abroad by reinforcing NATO’s Latvian front, purchasing CF-18 Super Hornets and signaling Canada's desire for a peacekeeping mission in Africa. Together he returned to the **LI** Cold War focus on NATO defence and UN peacekeeping, and away from the **CNR** post cold war stance of unilaterally and plurilaterally using force.

Trade Agreements

In his trade agreements, Trudeau secured a key step in the ratification of Canada's Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (**CETA**) with the **European Union**. He concluded the Canada-Ukraine free trade agreement (CUFTA) and began exploratory studies for a bilateral FTA with **China**. He supported the conclusion of the 12 country **Trans-Pacific Partnership** (TPP) and, after Trump had withdrawn the US, revised and joined the 11

member Comprehensive and Progressive Trans Pacific Partnership (CPTPP-11) in November 2017. He also authorized expansion of the Kinder Morgan **Trans Mountain** pipeline from Alberta to British Columbia's Pacific coast to get more Canadian oil to global markets. This was a **CNR** pattern defined by **global involvement** and **diversification**, in an expansion of Harper's strong and similar approach.

Decisions

In the **15 major decisions** Trudeau made during his first two years, Canada's enthusiastic expanding engagement also appeared.

1. Ending Attacks on ISIS, October 20, 2015

The first decision was **ending air attacks on ISIS**, announced on October 20, 2015. The day after his election, Trudeau declared that they would **end**, as he had promised during the campaign. On November 17, he announced he would send **more trainers** to the Kurds, thus going back militarily in a smaller, arguably safer, non-combat way. On February 8, he announced **tripling Canadian military trainers** from 69 to over 200 and increased **humanitarian aid**. Canadian Armed Forces personnel would rise from 230 to 600. Canada's new financial contribution would cost CDN\$1.6 billion over three years. The money would finance counter-terrorism initiatives; humanitarian assistance; redeploying personal and equipment; and increasing Canada's diplomatic presence. Trudeau said he would reassess the mission after two years. By February 15, Canada's fighter jets had flown their last sortie.

This decision, while unilateral and resisted by the US and UK, was an **LI** shift to non-military, diplomatic, development and humanitarian instruments, from a **CNR** emphasis on using force within a plurilateral coalition including and France, along with the US and UK.

2. Accepting Syrian Refugees, October 20, 2015

The second decision was accepting 25,000 Syrian refugees by year's end, announced on October 20, 2015. He had promised this during the election campaign. However, on November 24 Trudeau **slowed the flow** until

February 2016. On March 8, he **raised the level** to 30,000, adding 6,000 more Syrian refugees to the 2016 intake but reducing other immigrant categories to preserve the overall annual target of 300,000. In October, Minister of Immigration John McCallum stated that 15 countries had showed interest in following Canada's system for privately sponsored refugees. By December 19, 2016, Canada had welcomed 38,713 Syrian refugees about five thousand short of its new goal of 44,000 by 2016's end. Canada stood out globally as one of the few countries welcoming Syrian refugees, especially after Germany had severely stemmed its intake in 2016. Canada also **explored raising its immigration level** beyond 300,000 a year.

This **CNR unilateral initiative**, with other countries starting to follow Canada's lead, strongly affirmed Canada's DNV of **openness** in the demographic domain.

3. Controlling Climate Change, October 20, 2015-

The third decision was controlling climate change. On October 20, 2015. Trudeau confirmed his participation on November 30th in the UN's COP 21 Paris Summit, designed to forge a deal to replace the expired, ineffective Kyoto Protocol. Trudeau sent to Paris, as his first minister to go abroad, Catherine **McKenna**, who he appointed on November 4 as his newly designated Minister of the Environment and Climate Change. He invited the **provincial premiers** to join him in Paris, promising to negotiate a domestic cutback agreement with them ninety days after Paris' end.

At Paris, Canada's ambition, investment and success rose.² McKenna pushed successfully with others to **add a 1.5 degree** centigrade target, along with the core 2 degrees one, for additional global temperature rise beyond pre-industrial levels. Canada contributed **CDN\$2.65 billion** over five years to help poor countries mitigate and adapt to climate change.

On March 9-11, 2016, Trudeau and US president Obama agreed in Washington to **reduce methane** emissions. In May, G7 leaders in Ise-Shima, Japan agreed to **end fossil fuel subsidies by 2025**. On September 4-5, at the G20's Hangzhou Summit, leaders reaffirmed their commitment to end fossil fuel subsidies but omitted a date.

² Trudeau proclaimed to the delegates "Canada is back... We are here to help."

On November 21, 2016, McKenna announced the **end by 2025 of coal** for electricity generation in Canada. This would prevent 1,000 premature deaths in Canada alone. On November 29, Trudeau **approved the Trans Mountain oil** pipeline and Enbridge's Line 3, but rejected the Enbridge Northern Gateway one. Soon after, Trudeau reached with the provinces and territories a pan-Canadian accord, which included a minimum and rising **national carbon price**.

These were primarily **CNR** decisions, due to Canada's successful leadership in securing at Paris the more stringent **1.5** degree global target, Canada's **unilateral global** leadership in ending coal use, and in producing with provincial consent a pan-Canadian price on carbon that promised to meet Canada's international cutback goal. Yet substantial **LI elements** arose, as this goal **continued** the cutback commitment that Harper had set. The new global regime was brokered, and Canada's actions catalyzed, by the **UN**. The decisions affirmed Canada's **DNVs** of environmentalism by rejecting Northern Gateway and **economic openness** by expanding the Trans Mountain pipeline exporting Alberta's oil to global markets from British Columbia's coast.

4. Supporting G20 Stimulus, November 2015-

The fourth major decision was supporting G20 stimulus, starting at Antalya, Turkey on November 15-16, 2015, and continuing at Hangzhou, China on September 4-5, 2016 (Kirton and Cormier 2016). At Antalya, Trudeau urged G20 leaders and members of the business community to “focus on the meaningful long-term solutions, to empowering individuals and creating prosperity” (CTV 2015). He reversed Harper's emphasis on fiscal sustainability to strongly **support fiscal stimulus** through deficit spending and infrastructure investment. He pushed his campaign priorities of inclusive growth that benefited the middle class, gender equality, and immigrants and refugees as sources of economic growth for their hosts. However, few of these emphases appeared in the 113 commitments that the summit produced (Kirton and Cormier 2016).

For his second G20 summit, held in Hangzhou, China, Trudeau arrived on August 30, 2016 to improve **bilateral relations** with Chinese president Xi Jinping and other Chinese. Canada had already become co-chair of the new

G20 Trade and Investment Working Group, tasked with ensuring implementation of the relevant G20 commitments. At the summit Trudeau warned Business 20 leaders and his G20 colleagues that isolationism and protectionism would harm economic growth. He strongly pushed **CETA**, securing support from the new British prime minister Theresa May in their first meeting. He had European Council president Donald Tusk and European Commission president Jean-Claude Juncker agree to sign the deal that year. Trudeau constantly emphasized the need for **fiscal stimulus** to benefit everyone.³

Overall, Hangzhou, produced 29 major initiatives, action plans and other major agreements across a wide range of issues, and made 312 commitments, more than double than the year before. **Trudeau's priorities** were more strongly reflected in them now.

Trudeau's G20 summitry was substantially **CNR** in its **unilateral** emphasis on immigration as an economic benefit, and the strong support he secured for free trade and openness. He somewhat shaped world order through the G20, through his constant emphasis on gender equality, inclusiveness and leading the effort to have anti-corruption efforts show full respect for the **LI** value of **human rights**. His interventions emphasized Canada's distinctive national value of demographic **openness** by affirming the economic value of immigrants and economic openness with his strong support for international trade and investment.

5. Selling Saudis Arms, January 4, 2016

The fifth major decision was selling arms to Saudi Arabia, announced on January 4, 2016. The CDN\$15 billion deal, made in 2014 under Harper, gave General Dynamics Land Systems Canada a 15-year contract to provide Saudi Arabia with light armoured vehicles, which could be equipped with machine guns or anti-tank missiles. The contract would reportedly **employ about 3,000** Canadians. It was opposed by those charging that Saudi Arabia would use them to deny dissidents their **human rights**. Controversy

³ At the summit's end he told the media: "Throughout the Summit, I encouraged fellow global leaders to focus on inclusive growth that supports the middle class and those working hard to join it. The benefits of growth cannot be felt by the wealthiest one percent – they need to be felt by everyone" (Government of Canada 2016).

escalated after a March 11 video showed similar vehicles similar to the Canadian ones being used against civilians. Trudeau responded, “We need to be able to project [to] the world that when Canada agrees to something, its sticks to its word...” (Globe and Mail 2016). Cancellation would have cost the government an estimated CDN\$14.8 billion penalty.

This decision was **CNR** in its **unilateral** move to export to the **diversified** customer of Saudi Arabia, and in limiting the shared **LI** value of human rights. It could be seen to contradict an expansive conception of Canada's DNV of **anti-militarism**.

6. Seeking a Security Council Seat, February 11, 2016

The sixth decision was seeking a UN Security Council (UNSC) seat. It was announced on February 11, 2016, during UN secretary general Ban Ki-moon's visit to Canada. Trudeau told Ban this would strengthen Canada's engagement with the UN and Canada's multilateral engagement around the world. On **March 16, 2016**, Trudeau announced to the UNSC in New York Canada's bid to be a non-permanent member for a two-year term beginning in 2021. On 20 September 2016, Trudeau launched Canada's campaign in his **UN General Assembly speech**, emphasizing “inclusive growth, opportunities for all, understanding that diversity and differences are a tremendous source of strength...” (Huffington Post 2016). He referenced Canada's help in negotiating the **Paris Agreement**, in pledging CDN\$2.65 billion to finance clean growth and reduce carbon emissions reduction in developing countries, pledging CDN\$800 million for the **Global Fund** to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria by 2030, reaffirming its commitment to **NATO**, and in participating militarily in **UN peacekeeping**.

These were overwhelmingly **LI** decisions to support the **existing approach to world order**, institutionalized in the UN Security Council since 1945 and its **peacekeeping** approach invented in 1956. Canada's investment in the Global Fund showed a **CNR** choice of newer, plurilateral institutions. Together they affirmed Canada's DNVs of **economic openness** and **environmentalism**.

7. Reinforcing NATO, June 30, 2016

The seventh decision was reinforcing NATO in Europe on its Latvian front lines. On June 30, 2016, Canada declared it would deploy soldiers in a new 4,000-strong NATO force in Latvia, to reinforce NATO's enhanced forward presence in eastern Europe. Canada would “**establish and lead** the mission.” Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan emphasized Canada's leadership role as a “responsible partner” (Guardian 2016). Canada acted alongside the US, Britain and Germany. The decision came the day after president Obama had challenged Canada to do more to support NATO, using the words “the world needs more Canada. NATO needs more Canada. We need you” (CBC News 2016).⁴ NATO secretary-general Jens Stoltenberg praised Canada for its leadership.

This decision was an **LI** move taken in common with the **likeminded allies** in **NATO**. A **PD** element within was its immediate responsiveness to the US president's public call. A **CNR** component came from Germany's move.

8. Accommodating China, August 2016

The eighth decision was accommodating China, starting in August 2016. Soon after his election, Trudeau had revealed plans to lead a high-level **trade mission** to China to promote a Canada-China **free trade deal**, but cautioned he would promote values such as human rights. From late August to early September 2016, Trudeau took his **first official visit** to China ahead of the G20 Hangzhou Summit. There he announced a **new era** in Canada-China relations, Canada's intention to join the Chinese-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (**AIIB**), and several **economic deals**. There were discussions about concluding a Canada-China **extradition treaty**, which raised concerns about China's use of the death penalty for economic crimes and the lack of due process in its legal system. During his visit, Trudeau emphasized the importance for Canada of **diversity** and **human rights** and encouraged China to promote these values.

In November 2016 Canada moved economically closer to China. Trudeau participated in private **fundraisers** with Chinese-Canadian business leaders to attract Chinese investment. In late November, Chinese insurance company **Anbang** began buying a majority stake in one of the biggest retirement

⁴ Russia had warned that this “...NATO build-up on Russia's doorstep, which is reminiscent of Cold War sabre-rattling, is a complete waste of money and resources, diverting them from the real existential threat of international terrorism” (National Post 2016).

home chains in British Columbia, signaling the rise of inward foreign direct investment (FDI) from China.

These decisions show an increasing **CNR** emphasis on economic **diversification** with **principal power** China in trade, investment and development finance, pointing toward an **alternative bilateral** FTA and shaping a **new regional order** by joining the AIIB. Yet throughout, Trudeau emphasized the **LI** value of human rights. In all Trudeau affirmed the DNVs of economic **openness** and **environmentalism**, the latter in the standards he set for joining the AIIB.

9. Securing CETA Ratification, October 30, 2016

The ninth decision was securing CETA ratification on October 30, 2016. In January, Trudeau had declared his support for ratifying CETA. In May he raised this with his European counterparts at the **G7 Summit**. In October, however, the Belgian region of **Wallonia** voted to block CETA. Trudeau then warned European leaders that they must sign.⁵ In late October, Canada and the EU found a formula that led Wallonia to acquiesce. On October 30, 2016, Canada and the EU **signed CETA** at the EU-Canada Summit at the European Council.

On July 11, 2016, Trudeau signed a Free Trade Agreement with a still struggling **Ukraine**, during his visit there. Again continuing Harper's trade policy, Trudeau also supported concluding and ratifying the **TPP** and modernizing **NAFTA**.

These decisions strongly emphasized **CNR's autonomous bilateral global involvement** and **diversification** to several established principal powers beyond the US. It **promised to shape world order** should it catalyze a similar EU agreement with Japan and with the US. It also showed Canada's **LI** bonds with these **democratic European** countries, in accordance with Canada's DNV of economic **openness**.

⁵ “In this post-Brexit situation where there are a great many questions about Europe’s usefulness, if Europe cannot manage to sign this agreement, then that sends a very clear message not just to Europe, but to the whole world, that Europe is choosing a path that is not productive for its citizens or the world.” (CBC News 2016b).

10. Buying 18 Super Hornets, November 22, 2016

The tenth decision was buying 18 Super Hornet fighter aircraft, announced on November 22, 2016.⁶ This decision was part of a larger, **three-step process**, comprising “the interim purchase of **Super Hornets**, bolstering **depleted staff** ranks in the air force, and launching an ‘open and transparent’ competition for a permanent replacement for the **CF-18**.” The government highlighted the urgent need, as the Royal Canadian Air Force could not meet its commitments to **NATO** and to the North American Aerospace Defence Command (**NORAD**). This implied that Canada would invest heavily in the necessary upgrades until the late 2020s.

On December 8, 2016, Canada announced it would buy **16 new C-295 search and rescue planes** from **Europe's** Airbus for CDN\$2.3 billion.⁷ Canadian minister of defence Harjit Sajjan said that the C-295 planes will be a “game changer” in Canada’s **emergency response missions around the world**.

The Super Hornet purchase emphasized supporting the **CNR** national interest of Canada's Northern sovereignty, the **LI** NATO obligations and the **PD** NORAD ones, especially with an aircraft from a US supplier and used by the US military. The search and rescue purchase was strongly **CNR** in its economic **diversification** to a European supplier and its emphasis on **global involvement** by saving Canadians and others’ lives off Canada's coasts and around the world. The latter reflected the DNV of **globalism** in a modest way.

11. Renegotiating NAFTA

12. Joining the CPTPP-11, November 2017

⁶ Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan said: “A modern fighter fleet is an essential tool for defending Canada and exercising Canadian sovereignty – especially in the northern skies” (National Post 2016a).

⁷ Canadian public procurement minister Judy Foote stated, “this is a significant investment to replace our fleets of Buffalo and Hercules aircraft, strengthen Canada’s capability to conduct search-and-rescue operations and keep Canadians safe” (Toronto Star 2016). Foote noted the economic benefits, such as the boost to local companies that provide the plane’s maintenance and parts including engines and simulators.

13. Pursuing Peacekeeping, November 2017

14. G7 Summitry for Charlevoix 2017

The Balance of Performance

By the end of 2016, Justin Trudeau had secured a **narrowly positive judgment** about his major decisions from the editorialists of Canada's elite English daily newspaper, the Globe and Mail (2016a,b). They approved of his decisions on climate change and energy pipelines, Syrian refugees, CETA ratification, and free trade initiatives with Ukraine and Asia, but disapproved of his approach to China and Cuba, Saudi Arabian arms sales, and buying military jets. **More positive** was columnist Lawrence Martin (2016), who approved of seven major decisions and criticized only those on Saudi arms sales, China and jet purchases.

Conclusion

In all Trudeau made clear **changes** in direction from his Conservative predecessor in seven of the ten major decisions, while continuing Harper's approach only on selling Saudi's arms, reinforcing NATO and securing CETA ratification. **CNR** patterns dominated the seven decisions on Syrian refugees, climate change, G20 stimulus, Saudi arms sales, CETA, China and Super Hornets. **LI** patterns prevailed in the three on attacking ISIS, the UN Security Council seat and peacekeeping, and NATO. **PD** captured none, even with Barak Obama as US President.

Trudeau brought to **new highs** Canada's national interests and DNVs. The separatist threat to its national unity and **survival** had virtually disappeared. Its **sovereignty** was intact. Its **security** was unscarred by deadly terrorist attacks at home (if not abroad in the Philippines, Turkey and elsewhere). Its **territory** was protected in the warming Arctic waters newly closed to oil and gas exploration, the **legitimacy** of its government was reinforced by its pan-Canadian popularity. Canada's overall relative **capabilities** rose a little in the hard power and strongly in the soft power sphere. Its **anti-military** image was affirmed in ending its air attacks on ISIS, shifting to UN

peacekeeping, defensively reinforcing NATO, and buying aircraft, if not by the Saudi arms sales. Its **multiculturalism** and **openness** amidst a closing world shone in welcoming Syrian refugees, securing CETA ratification and the FTA with Ukraine, accommodating China, supporting the TPP, and approving the Trans Mountain pipeline expansion. Above all, its **environmentalism**, **international institutionalism** and **globalism** radiated in its decisions on controlling climate change, including joining with the US to end new oil and gas drilling in the Arctic.

This strong CNR performance, however, was **limited in its international effectiveness**, especially in the defining domain of the **approach to world order** and the accomplishments achieved there. Here Trudeau brought no new approach and achievements of the scale and scope that his highly experienced Liberal Party predecessor from Montreal, Paul Martin and even Harper had (Kirton 2007).

Trudeau's enthusiastic, expansive engagement is well accounted for by the **meta-theory** of hegemonic transition and its **principal power paradox**. Externally, America's vulnerabilities to terrorism, espionage and climate change rose, even as its overall capabilities from its exchange rate and GDP growth did too. Systemic capability continued to diffuse to the leading rising powers of China and India, if no longer to most other systemically significant states. Canada rose in its relative invulnerabilities to terrorism and most other threats except climate change. It also rose in its overall relative capabilities, driven by its exchange rate, while it kept pace with most of its G7 partners in its GDP growth rate. Indeed, during 2016, the value of Canada's currency rose from 71.0 to 74.4 cents US and rose against those of all its G7 partners, and all but three of its G20 ones (Cover Story 2016).

The societal, governmental and individual determinants highlighted by the **principal power paradox** featured Trudeau's pan-Canadian majority mandate, sustained popularity and provincial government support, his careful combination of new and veteran cabinet ministers, and his engaging personal style and principles, honed by his experience as a member of parliament and as his father's son.

However, Trudeau's enthusiastic, expansive engagement would be challenged by the changing world that Canada confronted as it celebrated the 150th anniversary of its confederation in 2017. It brought Donald **Trump** as

US president, a downsizing, increasingly insecure European Union with Britain's **Brexit**, an expanding and ever more fragile **China**, and compounding assaults from **climate change**. The meta-theory of hegemonic transition highlights how the global configuration of relative capability and vulnerability could shift in ways that constrain Canada's behavior as an established principal power, even if the principal power paradox with its premium on salient societal, governmental and individual choice continues to take full effect. Stronger tests of Canada's durability as an established principal power, and of Trudeau's ability to exercise effective global leadership, lay ahead.

These tests he largely met in his second year as prime minister.

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Appendix A: Summary of Trudeau's Expansive Engagement

Introduction

Debate: The Five competing Schools

Puzzles:

Thesis: Enthusiastic, Expansive Engagement

Doctrine

Campaign Platform

Campaign Promises

Throne Speech 1

Freeland's Foreign Policy Speech, June 6, 2017

Defence Policy Document, June 2017

International Development Policy Statement, June 2017

Distribution of Resources

Summit Diplomacy

Budgets: No new money for diplomacy, development or defence for two years

Military Instruments

Trade Agreements: CETA, Ukraine, China explorations, CPTPP-11

Decisions

1. Ending Attacks on ISIS, October 20, 2015
2. Accepting Syrian Refugees, October 20, 2015
3. Controlling Climate Change, October 20, 2015-
4. Supporting G20 Stimulus, November 2015-
5. Selling Saudis Arms, January 4, 2016
6. Seeking a Security Council Seat, February 11, 2016
7. Reinforcing NATO, June 30, 2016
8. Accommodating China (FTA, AIIB), August 2016
9. Securing CETA Ratification, October 30, 2016
10. Buying 18 Super Hornets, November 22, 2016
11. Renegotiating NAFTA
12. Joining the CPTPP-11, November 2017
13. Pursuing Peacekeeping, November 2017
14. G7 Summitry for Charlevoix 2017

Appendix B: Justin Trudeau Visits Given, 2015-2016

Country	Total	Bilateral	G7/G8	G20	NATO	APEC	CHOGM	FRA	Other	UN
United States	9	1	1	2	1	3			1	
Japan	9	1	1	2		3			2	
China	6	1		3		2				
Germany	6		2	3	1					
France	6		2	2	1					1
Australia	7			2		3	1		1	
Mexico	7	1		3		2			1	
United Kingdom	5	1	1	2	1					
Italy	5		1	3	1					
Korea	5			2		3				
Indonesia	5			3		2				
European Union	4	1		2						1
Russia	4			2		2				
Argentina	4	1		2					1	
Turkey	4			3	1					
Peru	4	1				2			1	
Vietnam	4	1				2			1	
India	3			2					1	
Philippines	3					3				
Chile	3					2			1	
Singapore	3					2			1	
New Zealand	3					2			1	
Malaysia	3					2			1	
Brunei	3					2			1	
Brazil	2			2						
Israel	2	1								1
Saudi Arabia	2			2						
South Africa	2			2						
Ukraine	2	1								1
UNSG	2			1						1
Bulgaria	2				1					1
Thailand	2					2				
Papau New Guinea	2					2				
Latvia	2				2					
Afghanistan	1				1					
Chad	1			1						
Ghana	1						1			
Jordan	1									1
Malta	1						1			
Sri Lanka	1						1			
Switzerland	1								1	
Cuba	1	1								
Liberia	1	1								

Note:

Covers time from Justin Trudeau's swearing in as Prime Minister on November 4, 2015, to November 24, 2016.

Countries listed by name in the first column are those with whom Trudeau has had a stand-alone, separate bilateral visit, a collective meeting or on-site bilateral at a meeting of a plurilateral institution with a small membership. It includes an onsite bilateral but not the collective meeting at an institution with a larger membership. The collective encounter at a large membership meeting is excluded on the grounds that there is probably no direct face-to-face interaction between Trudeau and all the leaders at the table there.

Small membership summits = G7/8, G20, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Trans-Pacific Partnership Leaders' Summit.

Large membership summits = Commonwealth Heads Of Government Meeting (CHOGM), la Francophonie (FRA), the World Economic Forum (WEF), Nuclear Security Summit, UN.

Other Summits = TPP Leaders' Summit, WEF, Nuclear Security Summit.

Julia Kulik and John Kirton, April 22, 2016, Updated: Brittany Warren, November 21, 2016.

Justin Trudeau's Summitry

Brittaney Warren, Mary Zelanova, November 14, 2017

Total Summits Attended	Total Bilaterals Held On-Site	Total Bilateral Visits
13	37	11

2015 Summit Attended (4)	Bilateral Held at Summit (20)	
G20 Summit	Joko Widodo	President of Indonesia
	Enrique Peña Nieto	President of Mexico
	Ban Ki-moon	UN Secretary-General
	Matteo Renzi	Prime Minister of Italy
	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	President of Turkey
	Angela Merkel	Chancellor of Germany
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)	Xi Jinping	President of China
	Park Geun-Hye	President of South Korea
	Shinzo Abe	Prime Minister of Japan
	Benigno Aquino III	President of the Philippines
	Barack Obama	President of the United States
Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM)	Joseph Muscat	Prime Minister of Malta
	John Mahama	President of Ghana
	Maithripala Sirisena	President of Sri Lanka
UN 21st Conference of the Parties (COP21)	Malcolm Turnbull	Prime Minister of Australia
	Petro Poroshenko	President of Ukraine
	Francois Hollande	President of France
	Donald Tusk and Jean Claude Juncker	President European Council and President European Commission
	Benjamin Netanyahu	Prime Minister of Israel
	Abdullah II	King of Jordan
2015 Bilateral Visit (2)	David Cameron	Prime Minister of United Kingdom
	Queen Elizabeth II	Queen of England

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was sworn into office on November 4, 2015

Source: pm.gc.ca

2016 Summit Attended (9)	Bilateral Summit Held at Summit (17)	
World Economic Forum (WEF)	Johann Schneider-Ammann	President of the Swiss Confederation
Nuclear Security Summit	Mauricio Macri	President of Argentina
	Shinzo Abe	Prime Minister of Japan
	Narendra Modi	Prime Minister of India
G7 Summit	Francois Hollande	President of France
	Angela Merkel	Chancellor of Germany
NATO Summit	Ashraf Ghani	President of Afghanistan
	Maris Kucinskis	Prime Minister of Latvia
G20 Summit	Idriss Déby	President of Chad
UN General Assembly	Rosen Plevneliev	Prime Minister of Bulgaria
	Ban Ki-moon	UN Secretary General
TPP Leaders' Summit	Pedro Pablo Kuczynski	President of Peru
	Tran Dai Quang	President of Vietnam
	Enrique Pena Nieto	President of Mexico
APEC	Malcolm Turnbull	President of Australia
La Francophonie	Hery Rajaonarimampianina	President of Madagascar
	Roch Marc Christian Kabore	President of Burkina Faso
2016 Bilateral Visits (9)	Barack Obama	President of the United States
	Shinzo Abe	Prime Minister of Japan
	Petro Poroshenko	President of Ukraine
	Xi Jinping	President of China
	Benjamin Netanyahu	Prime Minister of Israel
	EU-Canada Summit	Donald Tusk (President EU Council)/Jean-Claude Juncker (President EC)
	Raul Castro	President of Cuba
	Mauricio Macri	President of Argentina
	Ellen Johnson Sirleaf	President of Liberia

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was sworn into office on November 4, 2015

Source: pm.gc.ca

2017 Summits Attended	Bilateral Held at Summit	
G7 Summit	Emmanuel Macron	President of France
NATO Summit	Jens Stoltenberg	Secretary-General of NATO
G20 Summit	Angela Merkel	Chancellor of Germany
	Emmanuel Macron	President of France
	Narendra Modi	President of India
	Enrique Peña Nieto	President of Mexico
WE Day UN Conference	Nana Akufa-Addo	President of Ghana E
	Emomali Rahmon	President of Tajikistan
	Mark Rutte	Prime Minister of the Netherlands
	Lenín Moreno	President of Ecuador
	Juan Carlos Varela	President of Panama
	Luis Guillermo Solís	President of Costa Rica
	Yoweri Museveni	President of Uganda
	Jusuf Kalla	Vice President of Indonesia
APEC Summit	Aung San Suu Kyi	State Counsellor of Myanmar
ASEAN Summit	Jacinda Ardern	Prime Minister of New Zealand
2017 Bilateral Visits	Donald Trump	President of the United States
	Joachim Gauck	President of Germany
	Sergio Mattarella	President of Italy
	Paolo Gentiloni	Prime Minister of Italy
	Leo Vradkar	Taoiseach of Ireland
	Enrique Peña Nieto	President of Mexico
	Nguyen Xuân Phúc	Prime Minister of Vietnam
	Nguyen Phú Tron	Secretary General of the Communist Party of Vietnam
	Nguyen Thj Kim Ngân	Chair of the National Assembly of Vietnam
	Tran Dai Quang	President of Vietnam

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was sworn into office on November 4, 2015

Source: pm.gc.ca

Appendix C-1: Ending Attacks on ISIS

On October 20, 2016, Minister-designate Trudeau declared that Canada would end its air attack mission against ISIS, as he had promised to do during the election campaign. On November 17, almost two weeks after being sworn in he announced he would send more trainers to the Kurds. Trudeau's Canada was first coming back home from the Middle East, before going back a bit in a smaller, safer, non-combat way.

It took a couple of months after being sworn into office for Trudeau's campaign promise to materialize. On February 8, Trudeau asserted that Canada would remove its six fighter jets from the American-led coalition in Iraq and Syria by February 22, putting an end to the country's participation in the ISIS airstrikes. Trudeau stated that the Canadian government would switch its efforts to increasing humanitarian aid and the number of boots on the ground available to train Iraqi forces.⁸ More specifically, Trudeau said that Canada would triple the number of Canadian training forces from 69 to over 200.⁹ Canada would also increase the number of Canadian Armed Forces from 230 to 600.¹⁰ Finally, Trudeau asserted that Canada's new financial contribution to the fight against ISIS would include a total of CDN\$1.6 billion over the course of three years.¹¹ The money would be put towards counter-terrorism initiatives; humanitarian assistance; redeploying personal and equipment; and increasing Canada's diplomatic presence in the region.¹² Prime Minister Trudeau then went on to say that after two years, Canada would reassess the mission.¹³

On February 15, a week before the CF-18s were planned to be withdrawn, Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan announced that Canada's fighter jets had flown their last mission to the region.¹⁴

Just over a month later, on March 23, 2016, Trudeau and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stephane Dion, emphasized that Canada is not at war with ISIS.¹⁵ Both Trudeau and Dion asserted that the conflict with ISIS is not something that fits the conventional definition

⁸ "Canada has pulled its jets out of the ISIS fight. Here's what CBC commenters think about it," CBC 21 February 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/jets-pulled-isis-cbc-forum-1.3457651>.

⁹ "ISIS airstrike by Canada to end by Feb. 22, training forces to triple," 8 February 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/justin-trudeau-canada-isis-fight-announcement-1.3438279>.

¹⁰ "ISIS airstrike by Canada to end by Feb. 22, training forces to triple," 8 February 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/justin-trudeau-canada-isis-fight-announcement-1.3438279>.

¹¹ "ISIS airstrike by Canada to end by Feb. 22, training forces to triple," 8 February 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/justin-trudeau-canada-isis-fight-announcement-1.3438279>.

¹² "ISIS airstrike by Canada to end by Feb. 22, training forces to triple," 8 February 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/justin-trudeau-canada-isis-fight-announcement-1.3438279>.

¹³ "ISIS airstrike by Canada to end by Feb. 22, training forces to triple," 8 February 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/justin-trudeau-canada-isis-fight-announcement-1.3438279>.

¹⁴ "Canada's air mission against ISIS has ended, Sajjan tells Commons debate," CBC 18 February 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/live-commons-debate-isis-1.3452085>.

¹⁵ "Canada not at war with ISIS: Trudeau," Toronto Sun 23 March 2016. <http://www.torontosun.com/2016/03/23/canada-not-at-war-with-isis-trudeau>.

of war. As Trudeau stated, “A war is something that can be won by one side or the other and there is no path for [ISIS] to actually win against the West.”¹⁶

Appendix C-2: Accepting Syrian Refugees, October 20, 2015

The second decision was accepting Syrian refugees, announced on October 20. On his first day as prime minister designate, Trudeau confirmed that he would accept 25,000 Syrian refugees by the year’s end. This would fulfill his major commitment to do so that he made during the election campaign. Trudeau then slowed the flow on November 24, pushing the date to the end of February 2016. He next extended it to 30,000 on March 8, 2016, adding 6,000 more Syrian refugees to the annual 2016 intake but reducing other immigrant categories to reserve the overall target of 300,000 for that year.

Canada was bringing in Syrian refugees rather than sending Canadians across seas to fight the problem at its source. It was a slow start and a small amount but Trudeau stood out against his predecessor and what all but Angela Merkel were doing in a border-closing world. Canada was arguably the only advanced country that wanted more immigrants and refugees. As John McCallum, Minister of Immigration, stated on August 11, 2016, “I am probably the only immigration Minister in the world whose major problem is I cannot bring in these refugees quickly enough to satisfy all the Canadian families who want to sponsor them.”¹⁷ In October, Minister McCallum stated that 15 countries were showing interest in attempting to replicate Canada’s system for privately sponsored refugees.¹⁸ Canada was standing out on the world stage for its exemplary role in bringing in Syrian refugees.

By December 19, 2016, Canada had welcomed 38 713 Syrian Refugees since November 4, 2015, approximately 5 thousand short of its total goal of 44 000 by the end of 2016.¹⁹ The Government of Canada contended that the Syrian refugees that had come to Canada thus far were settling rather well.²⁰ Furthermore, the government argued that “many of the recently resettled Syrian refugees are adjusting as well as historical refugee groups, and their integration in the first year is as expected.”²¹ Nevertheless, the government realized the difficulties that go along with settling into a new country. All Syrian refugees have been given access to “settlement services.”²²

¹⁶ “Canada not at war with ISIS: Trudeau,” Toronto Sun 23 March 2016. <http://www.torontosun.com/2016/03/23/canada-not-at-war-with-isis-trudeau>.

¹⁷ “Speaking notes for the Honourable John McCallum, P.C., M.P., Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship at the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Manila Philippines,” Government of Canada, 11 August 2016, <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=1111579>.

¹⁸ “There are now 30 000 new Syrian refugees in Canada; minister says more on the way,” National Observer 19 October 2016. <http://www.nationalobserver.com/2016/10/19/news/there-are-now-30000-new-syrian-refugees-canada-minister-says-more-way>.

¹⁹ “#WelcomeRefugees: Key Figures,” 19 December 2016, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/welcome/milestones.asp>.

²⁰ “#WelcomeRefugees: Key Figures,” 19 December 2016, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/welcome/milestones.asp>.

²¹ “#WelcomeRefugees: Key Figures,” 19 December 2016, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/welcome/milestones.asp>.

²² “#WelcomeRefugees: Key Figures,” 19 December 2016, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/welcome/milestones.asp>.

On November 22, it was estimated that during 2015 and 2016, Canada spent CDN\$384.7 million on resettling Syrian refugees, roughly CDN\$70.3 million less than the government had planned. This was a result of lower than estimated transportation costs and overseas processing.²³

Appendix C-3: Controlling Climate Change

The third major decision was controlling climate change, first announced on October 20, 2015. On that date Trudeau confirmed he would attend the November 30 leaders segment of the UN's Paris COP-21 conference to conclude a deal to control climate change, replacing the Kyoto Protocol which had expired some time before. Trudeau also sent to Paris, as his first minister to go abroad and the first Canada had sent to negotiate COP-21, Catherine McKenna, who he appointed in November 4 as his newly designated Minister of the Environment and Climate Change. He also invited the provincial premiers to attend Paris with him, promising that he would start negotiating a cutback agreement with them at home with ninety days after Paris' end. However, until that deal was reached he would continue, at Paris and beyond, with Harper's commitment from May 2015 to reduce Canada's greenhouse gas emissions by 30% by 2030 from those in 2005. Canada was back, but largely at the same leader's level and with the same commitment as Harper had before.

At Paris, ambition, investment, and success soon increased. At the conference, Trudeau proclaimed to the delegates "Canada is back... We are here to help." McKenna pushed successfully with others to have the final communiqué add a 1.5 degree centigrade along with the core 2 degrees target for additional global temperature rise beyond pre-industrial levels. Canada also made a major contribution of CDN\$2.65 billion over five years for climate finance to help poor countries mitigate and adapt to climate change.²⁴

On March 9-11, 2016, Prime Minister Trudeau and President Obama met at the White House in Washington, D.C. for Trudeau's first official State visit. They pledged new efforts to decrease methane emissions in their countries. They stated that together they would aim to decrease methane emissions originating from oil and gas by up 40 to 45 per cent. Trudeau and Obama also declared that they would soon start to discuss new legislation for the industry sector.

On June 29, 2016, Trudeau and Obama met again in Ottawa, now joined by Mexican President Pena Nieto.

On May 26-27, at the G7 Ise-Shima Summit, the G7 leaders committed to get rid of fossil fuel subsidies by 2025. Just over three months later, at the G20 Hangzhou Summit on September 4-5, Prime Minister Trudeau and the G20 leaders' reaffirmed their historic commitment to get rid of fossil fuel subsidies but, unlike the G7, did not include an end date.

²³ "Bringing 25, 000 Syrian refugees to Canada cost \$385M," 22 November 2016, <http://www.rcinet.ca/en/2016/11/22/bringing-25000-syrian-refugees-to-canada-cost-385m/>.

²⁴ <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2015/11/27/canadas-climate-finance-commitment>

On October 18, Trudeau announced that the provinces have until 2018 to implement a carbon pricing scheme. He stated that provinces could either adopt a cap and trade system or implement a price on carbon emissions.²⁵ [1]

On November 21, Minister McKenna announced a plan to completely phase out coal by 2025. McKenna stated that Ottawa would work with the four provinces still using coal as a means to create electricity in order to help them remove coal from their energy mix and invest in alternative and affordable options. A report released the same day that the federal phase-out plan will prevent “1000 premature deaths across Canada.”²⁶

On November 29, among great anticipation, Trudeau announced his decisions on three pipeline projects. Trudeau approved the Trans Mountain line and Enbridge’s Line 3, emphasizing that that Enbridge’s line 3 alone would create 15 000 new jobs.²⁷ Trudeau, however, said no to the Northern Gateway project.²⁸ Although Trudeau has already faced immense criticism for his decision, he argued that his approval of the two pipelines is in Canada’s best interest. Trudeau contended that the pipelines will allow Canada to balance the country’s commitment to the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions while also fostering economic growth.²⁹

[1] <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2015/11/27/canadas-climate-finance-commitment>

[2] <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/industry-news/energy-and-resources/ottawa-to-announce-coal-phase-out-aims-for-virtual-elimination-by-2030/article32953930/>

[3] <http://www.torontosun.com/2016/11/29/pipeline-pronouncement-liberals-to-pass-judgment-on-line-3-northern-gateway>

[4] <http://www.cbc.ca/radio/checkup/did-trudeau-make-the-right-decision-on-the-oil-pipelines-1.3877915>

[5] <http://www.cbc.ca/radio/checkup/did-trudeau-make-the-right-decision-on-the-oil-pipelines-1.3877915>

²⁵ <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-trudeau-climate-change-1.3788825>

²⁶ <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/industry-news/energy-and-resources/ottawa-to-announce-coal-phase-out-aims-for-virtual-elimination-by-2030/article32953930/>

²⁷ <http://www.torontosun.com/2016/11/29/pipeline-pronouncement-liberals-to-pass-judgment-on-line-3-northern-gateway>

²⁸ <http://www.cbc.ca/radio/checkup/did-trudeau-make-the-right-decision-on-the-oil-pipelines-1.3877915>

²⁹ <http://www.cbc.ca/radio/checkup/did-trudeau-make-the-right-decision-on-the-oil-pipelines-1.3877915>

Appendix C-4: Supporting G20 Stimulus, November 15, 2015

The fourth major decision was supporting G20 stimulus, starting at Antalya, Turkey on November 15-16, 2015 and continuing at Hangzhou, China on September 4-5, 2016. Only 11 days after he had been sworn into office he was at the Antalya Summit. At the summit, Trudeau urged his fellow G20 leaders and members of the business community to “focus on the meaningful long-term solutions, to empowering individuals and creating prosperity... It is tempting to look at quarterly returns and short-term outcomes and think that if everyone just takes care of short-term the long-term will take care of itself. That is increasingly not true....”³⁰

On the core economic issues, he reversed Harper's emphasis on fiscal sustainability to now strongly support fiscal stimulus through deficit spending and infrastructure investment, as well as his other campaign themes of inclusive growth that benefited the middle class, gender equality, and immigrants and refugees as sources of economic reward and growth for their hosts. However few of these emphases appeared from his efforts in the 113 commitments the summit produced (Kirton and Cormier 2016).

For his second G20 summit, held on September 4-5, 2016, in Hangzhou, China. Trudeau arrived on August 30 to spend quality time with Chinese President Xi Jinping and other Chinese officials and increase bilateral relations between their two countries.

Prior to the Hangzhou Summit, Canada assumed the role of co-chair of the new G20 Trade and Investment Working Group, which was tasked with ensuring the implementation of the G20's commitments in these issue areas.³¹ At the summit Trudeau emphasized Canada's national interest of openness, primarily with regard to trade and investment. He warned his fellow G20 members and invited guests against isolationism and protectionism.³² On September 3, he emphasized to the Business 20 that isolationism and protectionism would not ensure economic growth but harm it.³³

While in Hangzhou, Trudeau also pushed CETA. He held a number of bilateral meetings with various G20 representatives. He met with British Prime Minister Theresa May for the first time, and was happy to hear she was supportive of CETA. Perhaps more important, Trudeau also met with European Council president Donald Tusk and European

³⁰ “Trudeau pushes youth, growth, but not terrorism in debut at G20 summit,” 15 November 2015, <http://www.ctvnews.ca/politics/trudeau-pushes-youth-growth-but-not-terrorism-in-debut-at-g20-summit-1.2659221>.

³¹ “Prime Minister Justin Trudeau holds a media availability Following the G20 Summit in Hangzhou, China,” Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada 5 September 2016, <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/09/05/prime-minister-participates-g20-summit-hangzhou-china>.

³² “Trudeau pushing free trade deal with EU at G20 summit in China,” CBC 4 September 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/canada-g20-summit-opens-1.3747937>.

³³ “Trudeau pushing free trade deal with EU at G20 summit in China,” CBC 4 September 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/canada-g20-summit-opens-1.3747937>.

Commission president Jean-Claude Juncker and had both sides commit to signing the deal in 2016.³⁴

Throughout the summit, Trudeau emphasized the need for “strong sustainable, sustainable, and balanced growth” in order to deal with and overcome some of the major global economic issues.³⁵ At the end he told the media: “I had a productive Summit with my G20 colleagues, where we discussed how to build an innovative, interconnected, invigorated and inclusive world economy. Throughout the Summit, I encouraged fellow global leaders to focus on inclusive growth that supports the middle class and those working hard to join it. The benefits of growth cannot be felt by the wealthiest one percent – they need to be felt by everyone.”³⁶

Overall, the Hangzhou summit was a significant success, producing 29 major initiatives, action plans and other major agreements” in a wide range of issues, some of which were new to the G20.³⁷ The leaders also made a total of 212 commitments, about double the amount made the year before. Trudeau's priorities were more strongly reflected in them too.

³⁴ “Trudeau works to get CETA “over the finish line” at G20 summit in China,” The Council of Canadians 5 September 2016. <https://canadians.org/blog/trudeau-works-get-ceta-over-finish-line-g20-summit-china>.

³⁵ “Prime Minister Justin Trudeau holds a media availability following the G20 Summit in Hangzhou, China,” Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada 5 September 2016, <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/09/05/prime-minister-participates-g20-summit-hangzhou-china>.

³⁶ “Prime Minister Justin Trudeau holds a media availability following the G20 Summit in Hangzhou, China,” Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada 5 September 2016, <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/09/05/prime-minister-participates-g20-summit-hangzhou-china>.

³⁷ John Kirton, “A Summit of Significant Success: G20 Leaders at the 2016 Hangzhou Summit,” G20 Information Centre 7 September 2016, <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/analysis/160907-kirton-performance.html>.

Appendix C-5: Selling Saudi Arms, January 4, 2016

The fifth major decision, and one of Trudeau's more controversial decisions, announced on January 4, 2016, was selling arms to Saudi Arabia. Although it was Stephen Harper and his Conservative government that made the \$15 billion arms deal with Saudi Arabia in 2014, it was Trudeau's Liberal government who saw the deal through.³⁸

The 2014 deal provided General Dynamics Land Systems Canada with a 15-year contract for military vehicles for Saudi Arabia.³⁹ It was reported that the contract would employ approximately 3,000 Canadians.⁴⁰ The deal was to provide light-armoured vehicles (LAVs), which may be equipped with machine guns or anti-tank missiles.⁴¹ It was opposed by those charging that Saudi Arabia would use it to deny dissidents their human rights.

On January 4, 2016, Trudeau officially announced that Canada would go through with the deal. It was at the same time that the Canadian government was condemning Saudi Arabia for a mass execution of 47 people.⁴²

On January 3, 2016, after the mass execution of 47 people in Saudi Arabia, Foreign Affairs Minister Stephane Dion stated, "Canada opposes the death penalty and decries the execution of 47 individuals in Saudi Arabia on January 2, 2016."⁴³ Dion went on to say "The Government of Canada raises concerns about human rights and due process with senior Saudi Arabian officials on a regular basis and will continue to do so. In the wake of these executions, we reiterate our call to the Government of Saudi Arabia to protect human rights, respect peaceful expressions of dissent and ensure fairness in judicial proceedings."⁴⁴ Dion's statement came after 47 individuals, including Shia cleric Sheikh

³⁸ "The Saudi arms deal: What we've learned so far, and what could happen next," 17 November 2016 The Globe and Mail, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/the-saudi-arms-deal-what-weve-learned-so-far/article28180299/>.

³⁹ "The Saudi arms deal: What we've learned so far, and what could happen next," 17 November 2016 The Globe and Mail, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/the-saudi-arms-deal-what-weve-learned-so-far/article28180299/>.

⁴⁰ "The Saudi arms deal: What we've learned so far, and what could happen next," 17 November 2016 The Globe and Mail, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/the-saudi-arms-deal-what-weve-learned-so-far/article28180299/>.

⁴¹ "The Saudi arms deal: What we've learned so far, and what could happen next," 17 November 2016 The Globe and Mail, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/the-saudi-arms-deal-what-weve-learned-so-far/article28180299/>.

⁴² "Ottawa going ahead with Saudi arms deal despite condemning executions," The Globe and Mail 4 January 2016, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/ottawa-going-ahead-with-saudi-arms-deal-despite-condemning-executions/article28013908/>.

⁴³ "Canada decries mass executions in Saudi Arabia," Global Affairs Canada 3 January 2016, <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=1026609>.

⁴⁴ "Canada decries mass executions in Saudi Arabia," Global Affairs Canada 3 January 2016, <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=1026609>.

Nimr al-Nimr, were faced with capital punishment for terrorism charges.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, two days later, Trudeau officially announced that Canada would go through with the deal.

On March 11, video footage was released showing vehicles similar to the Canadian machines sold to Saudi Arabia being used against civilians. In attempt to defend his decision, Trudeau subsequently stated, “We need to be able to project [to] the world that when Canada agrees to something, its sticks to its word...”⁴⁶ Trudeau went on to say “We need to make sure we are respected on the world stage by keeping our word...”⁴⁷ It has also been estimated that if the government had cancelled the contract, Government of Canada would have faced a \$14.8 billion penalty.⁴⁸

In April 2016, a secret document from Global Affairs Canada was released that stated export permits had been issued for a number of the LAVs.⁴⁹ The specific number was left unspecified.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ "Saudi Arabia executes 47 people in one day including Shia cleric," 2 January 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/02/saudi-arabia-executes-47-people-in-one-day-including-iranian-cleric>.

⁴⁶ "Canada must 'stick to its word' on Saudi arms deal, Trudeau says," The Globe and Mail 11 May 2016, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/canada-must-stick-to-its-word-on-saudi-arms-deal-trudeau-says/article29981571/>.

⁴⁷ "Canada must 'stick to its word' on Saudi arms deal, Trudeau says," The Globe and Mail 11 May 2016, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/canada-must-stick-to-its-word-on-saudi-arms-deal-trudeau-says/article29981571/>.

⁴⁸ "Canada would face multi-billion dollar penalty if it cancelled armoured vehicle sale to Saudis," The Toronto Star 4 June 2016, <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/06/04/canada-would-face-multi-billion-dollar-penalty-if-it-cancelled-armoured-vehicle-sale-to-saudis.html>.

⁴⁹ "The Saudi arms deal: What we've learned so far, and what could happen next," 17 November 2016 The Globe and Mail, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/the-saudi-arms-deal-what-weve-learned-so-far/article28180299/>.

⁵⁰ "Memorandum for Action," Global Affairs Canada 21 March 2016, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/static/politics/saudi/saudi-memo.pdf>.

Appendix C-6: Seeking a Security Council Seat, February 11, 2016

On 11 February 2016, Trudeau met with UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon in Ottawa and expressed Canada's objective to seek a seat on the UN Security Council.⁵¹ Trudeau stated during the press conference with Ban Ki-moon, "on the issue of the UN Security Council, I highlighted to the Secretary General that part of Canada wishing to re-engage robustly with the United Nations and in multilateral engagement around the world includes looking towards a bid for the UN Security Council... We're looking at a number of windows in the coming years. We are going to evaluate the opportunities for Canada to mount a successful bid."⁵² In response, Ban Ki-moon stated that he welcomes Canada's plans to build a robust relationship with the UN. Alongside this announcement, Trudeau stated that Canada will strengthen its commitment to UN peacekeeping, mediation, conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction efforts.⁵³

On 16 March 2016, Trudeau announced Canada's bid for a United Nations Security Council seat as a non-permanent member for a two-year term beginning in 2021 to the UN Security Council in New York.⁵⁴ Canada reiterated in the official press release that the "United Nations remains a principal forum for pursuing Canada's international objectives – including the promotion of democracy, inclusive governance, human rights, development, and international peace and security."⁵⁵ Canada also committed to strengthen its contributions to the UN in international peace and security efforts. Trudeau stated during his announcement, "From John Humphrey's work on the UN Declaration on Human Rights to Lester B. Pearson's pivotal role in the development of peacekeeping, Canadians have accomplished extraordinary things in support of the UN's mission to promote human rights, development, and peace and security. We are determined to help the UN make greater strides in support of its goals for all humanity."⁵⁶ On the same day, Foreign Affairs Minister Stéphane Dion said that Canada will also be stepping up its peacekeeping role. At the time, Canada was the third candidate named for the two available seats, with competition from Ireland and Norway.⁵⁷

⁵¹ "Trudeau says Canada will seek seat on UN Security Council," CBC News 11 February 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-un-seat-ki-moon-1.3444112>

⁵² "Trudeau says Canada will seek seat on UN Security Council," CBC News 11 February 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-un-seat-ki-moon-1.3444112>

⁵³ "Trudeau says Canada will seek seat on UN Security Council," CBC News 11 February 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-un-seat-ki-moon-1.3444112>

⁵⁴ "Prime Minister announces Canada's bid for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council," Government of Canada 16 March 2016. <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/03/16/prime-minister-announces-canadas-bid-non-permanent-seat-united-nations-security>

⁵⁵ "Prime Minister announces Canada's bid for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council," Government of Canada 16 March 2016. <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/03/16/prime-minister-announces-canadas-bid-non-permanent-seat-united-nations-security>

⁵⁶ "Prime Minister announces Canada's bid for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council," Government of Canada 16 March 2016. <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/03/16/prime-minister-announces-canadas-bid-non-permanent-seat-united-nations-security>

⁵⁷ "How Canada can win a UN Security Council Sea," The Globe and Mail 7 April 2016. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/how-canada-can-win-a-un-security-council-seat/article29551412/>

On 20 September 2016, Trudeau launched Canada's Campaign for a UN Security Council Seat at the UN General Assembly during a speech titled "We're Canadian. And we're here to help." His central themes included economic inclusion, tolerance and diversity. First, he defended globalization and promoted "inclusive growth, opportunities for all, understanding that diversity and differences are a tremendous source of strength."⁵⁸ Trudeau also noted Canada's past achievements including helping negotiate the Paris Agreement on climate change, pledging \$2.65 billion to clean growth financing and carbon emissions reductions in developing countries, pledging \$800 million for the Global Fund to help end AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria by 2030, reaffirming its commitment to NATO, sending Canadian military personnel to UN peacekeeping operations, etc.⁵⁹

In November 2016, Canada secured the backing of Serbia. During the Serbian Foreign Minister Ivica Dacic's visit to Canada, he said that Serbia will supporting Canada's candidacy. Despite the recent history of war, Dacic stated that Serbia hopes "to have better relations with Canada" and that "Canada is a very important partner of [Serbia's]."⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Trudeau unofficially launches Canada's bid for UN Security Council Seat, Huffington Post 20 September 2016. http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/09/20/justin-trudeau-un-general-assembly_n_12111644.html

⁵⁹ Trudeau unofficially launches Canada's bid for UN Security Council Seat, Huffington Post 20 September 2016. http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/09/20/justin-trudeau-un-general-assembly_n_12111644.html

⁶⁰ "Canada's Bid for UN Security Council Seat backed by Serbia, despite Kosovo War," Huffington Post, 16 November 2016. http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/11/16/serbia-supports-canada-on-un-security-council-says-kosovo-war-is-in-the-past_n_13006848.html

Appendix C-7: Reinforcing NATO

On 30 June 2016, the Trudeau government announced its decision to deploy soldiers to help establish a new 4000-strong NATO force in Latvia, in response to Russia's annexation of Crimea and reinforcing NATO's mission in eastern Europe.⁶¹ Canada acted alongside the US, Britain and Germany. Canada's defence ministry said that Canada "will establish and lead" a mission that will "contribute to NATO's enhanced forward presence in Eastern and Central Europe."⁶² Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan also emphasized Canada's leadership role, stating that "as a responsible partner in the world, Canada stands side by side with its NATO allies working to deter aggression and assure peace and stability in Europe."⁶³ This decision came the day after U.S. President Obama challenged Canada to do more in support of NATO. On 29 June 2016, Obama stated, "As your NATO ally and friend, let me say, we'll be more secure when every NATO member, including Canada, contributes its full share to our common security... Because the Canadian Armed Forces are really good. And if I can borrow a phrase, the world needs more Canada. NATO needs more Canada. We need you."⁶⁴ This decision was also taken after Russian warnings, as the Russian embassy in Ottawa said, "we believe that NATO build-up on Russia's doorstep, which is reminiscent of Cold War sabre-rattling, is a complete waste of money and resources, diverting them from the real existential threat of international terrorism."⁶⁵ NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg praised Canada for its leadership role, stating that "this is a great contribution to our common security and a clear signal that our nation will defend one another on both sides of the Atlantic."⁶⁶

On 8 July, 2016, at the NATO leaders' summit in Poland, Trudeau announced that Canada will take command of a 1000-strong multinational force in Latvia. Canadian Defence Chief revealed that Canada will send 450 soldiers to the mission, forming the "nucleus" of the battle group in Latvia. Together with the other allies, the battle group in Latvia was expected to grow to about 1000 troops. Canadian Foreign Minister Sajjan said, "this is about sending a right message of cohesion within NATO, giving confidence to member states, and showing how important deterrence is so we can get back to a

⁶¹ "Canada to send troops to Latvia to bolster NATO forces in stand against potential aggression from Russia, National Post 30 June 2016. <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/canadian-politics/canada-to-send-troops-to-latvia-to-bolster-nato-forces-in-stand-against-potential-aggression-from-russia>

⁶² "Canada to send 1000 soldiers to boost NATO presence on Russian border," The Guardian 1 July 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/01/canada-to-send-1000-soldiers-to-boost-nato-presence-on-russia-border>

⁶³ "Canada to send 1000 soldiers to boost NATO presence on Russian border," The Guardian 1 July 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/01/canada-to-send-1000-soldiers-to-boost-nato-presence-on-russia-border>

⁶⁴ "Obama defends progressive values in speech to Parliament," CBC 29 June 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/obama-speech-parliament-1.3658244>

⁶⁵ "Russia urges Canada not to join new NATO force in Eastern Europe, focus on 'existential threat' of ISIL, National Post 21 June 2016. <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/russia-urges-canada-not-to-join-new-nato-force-in-eastern-europe-focus-on-existential-threat-of-isil>

⁶⁶ "NATO head applauds Ottawa for stepping up in Europe," The Globe and Mail 5 July 2016.

responsible dialogue.”⁶⁷ In addition, Canada also announced that it will deploy up to six CF-18s on certain occasions to assist in allied airspace patrol. Together, Canada’s total military personnel is up to 800, which the government said is the “largest sustained military deployment to the continent in over a decade.”⁶⁸

Shortly after this decision, Trudeau signed the Canada-Ukraine Free Trade Agreement (CUFTA) on 11 July 2016, during Trudeau’s visit to Ukraine. The agreement forms “part of Canada’s continued commitment to supporting Ukraine’s efforts to build a stable, democratic, and prosperous country.”⁶⁹ During his visit, Trudeau also openly stated that “Russia has not been a positive partner.”⁷⁰

⁶⁷ “NATO Summit 2016: Trudeau Pledges Troops, armoured vehicles to Latvia,” The Huffington Post 8 July 2016. http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/07/08/trudeau-pledges-troops-frigate-and-jets-as-nato-faces-off-against-russia_n_10879878.html

⁶⁸ “Canada to send 450 troops to Latvia as NATO faces off against Russia,” The Globe and Mail, 8 July 2016. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/trudeau-pledges-troops-frigate-jets-as-nato-faces-off-against-russia/article30816617/>

⁶⁹ “Canada signs Landmark Free Trade Agreement with Ukraine,” Government of Canada Prime Minister Justin Trudeau 11 July 2016. <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/07/11/canada-signs-landmark-free-trade-agreement-ukraine>

⁷⁰ “Canada signs Landmark Free Trade Agreement with Ukraine,” Government of Canada Prime Minister Justin Trudeau 11 July 2016. <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/07/11/canada-signs-landmark-free-trade-agreement-ukraine>

Appendix C-8: Accommodating China, August 2016

Since Trudeau's election Canada-China relations began to warm. A debate about Canada's new relationship with China began to surface, many of which focus on the striking of a delicate balance. Joseph Caron, former Canadian ambassador to China and Japan, former high commissioner to India, and distinguished fellow at the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada said that Trudeau needs to "find an equilibrium," considering that the "some of the Chinese government's behavior is a challenge to the international community, including Canada" and that "China's government does not share many of the values and attendant institutions that Canadians hold dear... such as the rule of law, human rights, and an independent judiciary" but also that "for all its internal weaknesses and long-term political uncertainty, China is now a virtual superpower" who "provides the largest number of immigrants to Canada, absorbs 10 per cent of [Canada's] exports and a third of [its] commercial services sold abroad."⁷¹ Similarly, Campbell Clark said that while Trudeau has decided to "embrace China's economic potential, Mr. Trudeau also has to worry about keeping a certain distance from Beijing."⁷² Midas Letter raised concerns regarding the issue of human rights as well as economic sovereignty. He stated that Canada's "apparent national willingness to overlook such human rights atrocities... is a shameful desecration of Canadian human rights standards" and that "the influence of billions in dollars from China on Canada's real estate market has displaced hundreds of thousands of Canadians from their affordable rentals into accommodations far less desirable and secure."⁷³

On 6 January 2016, Trudeau announced his plans for promoting a Canada-China trade deal. On 20 January 2016, Trudeau travelled to Davos, Switzerland to speak to the annual gathering of world leaders and executives, and stated that Canada would "make it a national priority to ensure [it] has the capacity to export our energy products beyond the United States and specifically to China."⁷⁴ Trudeau also said he would lead a high-level trade mission to China and India in March, aimed at ultimately securing a new trade agreement similar to Australia's.⁷⁵

On 17 June 2016, Trudeau stated that a free trade deal with China is "certainly a goal to look towards, but there's an awful lot of work to do to get towards that, whether it's on human rights and governance issues, whether it's on respect for the rule of law around Canadian investments" in China. Trudeau stated that he constantly raised human rights issues in meetings with his Chinese counterparts and stated that Canada "can advance those issues while still seeking to improve trade and investments."⁷⁶ He said that China "is

⁷¹ "Then, we opened our markets. Now, we need a reset with China." The Global and Mail 1 January 2016.

⁷² "In China, Trudeau faces a delicate balance," The Global and Mail 20 August 2016.

⁷³ "Cultivating relations with China – a slippery slope for Trudeau," Financial Post 29 August 2016. <http://business.financialpost.com/midas-letter/cultivating-relations-with-china-a-slippery-slope-for-trudeau>

⁷⁴ Trudeau touts Canada's diversity and resourcefulness in Davos, CBC 20 January 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-davos-future-look-economy-harper-1.3412182>

⁷⁵ "Trudeau sets sights on China trade deal," The Globe and Mail 6 January 2016.

⁷⁶ "China must get better on human rights before Canada will sign a trade deal: Trudeau," National Post <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/canadian-politics/china-must-get-better-on-human-rights-before-canada-will-sign-a-trade-deal-trudeau>

a country with a massive amount of weight but also a lot of work still to do on issues that are important to us.” In June 2016, a Canadian government report revealed that China became the third biggest overseas buyer of Canadian defense and security goods. In 2015, shipments to China exceeded \$48 million.⁷⁷

On 30 August, Trudeau arrived in Beijing for his first official visit to China, ahead of the G20 Summit in Hangzhou. He announced that Canada was ready to “reset” its relationship with China. On 31 August, Trudeau met Chinese premier Li Keqiang and said, “This year marks 45 years of diplomatic relations between Canada and China... My father, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, played an important role in establishing a partnership between our two countries when he was prime minister. So, I’m very happy to be extending that effort now.” Trudeau and Li Keqiang told reporters that Canada and China will launch a feasibility study on a potential free-trade deal. Trudeau’s new approach was also shown by Canada applying for membership in the China-led AIIB.⁷⁸ Next, Trudeau also persuaded China to “delay indefinitely rules that would have required Canadian shippers to include less foreign material in the canola they export to China.”⁷⁹ Following this, in early September, Trudeau met with President Xi Jinping and raised the issues of freedom of expression, diversity and human rights. He said that during the meetings, he shared with Chinese leaders his “strong conviction that acceptance of diverse perspectives will strengthen China, just as it has Canada. In a world of rapid change, it is a diversity of ideas, and the free ability to express them, that drives positive change.” Trudeau also raised individual consular cases such as that of Kevin Garratt who was charged with espionage in China.⁸⁰ Speaking to the Canada-China business council in Shanghai, Trudeau said, “I remind everyone that as a country that has seen first-hand the benefits of free expression and good governance, Canada encourages China to do more to promote and protect human rights.” In Beijing, during the annual dialogue where Trudeau met Chinese President Xi Jinping and Chairman of the standing committee of the National People’s Congress Zhang Dejiang, (on Thursday) - the two sides announced that 2018 will be the Canada-China Year of Tourism. Canada agreed to open seven additional visa application centers in China to help boost tourist travels for Chinese tourists to Canada. In addition, the two sides signed 56 new commercial contracts and agreements, with a total worth of \$1.2 billion. The deals cover a wide range of sectors including health sciences, clean tech, technology, media, telecommunications, foods and agriculture and energy.⁸¹

⁷⁷ “Ottawa disguises arms sales to China,” The Globe and Mail 18 June 2016.

⁷⁸ “Trudeau shows readiness to bolster ties by joining Chinese-led bank,” The Globe and Mail 30 August 2016. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/trudeau-looking-very-favourably-at-joining-china-led-bank/article31630276/>

⁷⁹ “Justin Trudeau returns from China with few victors: Walkom,” The Star 7 Septebmer 2016. <https://www.thestar.com/opinion/commentary/2016/09/07/justin-trudeau-returns-from-china-with-few-victories-walkom.html>

⁸⁰ “Justin Trudeau uses business speech in China to focus on human rights,” CBC News 1 September 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/justin-trudeau-speech-business-council-1.3744114>

⁸¹ “A glance at Thursday’s key developments during Trudeau’s China visit,” CBC News 1 September 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/key-developments-china-1.3744535>

On 12 September 2016, Daniel Jean, Trudeau's national security adviser, went to Beijing to start talks about an extradition treaty.⁸² On 13 September 2016, Canada released the joint communique of the Canada-China high-level national security and rule of law dialogue, officially announcing that Canada agreed to start discussions on an Extradition Treaty with China.⁸³ Trudeau later stated at a news conference at the United Nations that "Extradition is certainly one of the things the Chinese have indicated they want to talk about... As everyone knows, Canada has very high standards in terms of extradition treaties in accordance with our values. But we're happy to have a high-level security dialogue."⁸⁴ The extradition treaty is important for China in its campaign to hunt down corrupt officials and "economic fugitives" who fled to countries abroad. According to Chinese estimates, in 2014, 208 escaped with approximately \$1.93 million.⁸⁵ However, concerns were raised within Canada regarding China's use of capital punishment for economic crimes, and the lack of due process in the Chinese legal system, especially among human rights groups.⁸⁶ It is possible that the treaty would contain a clause that ensures people extradited from Canada would not be subject to the death penalty, but concerns remain about the difficulty of monitoring such clauses.⁸⁷ On 15 September 2016, Kevin Garratt, a Canadian man imprisoned in China for spying charges, was released. The release came a week after Trudeau's first official visit to China.⁸⁸

In November 2016, Trudeau was reported to have been attending private fundraising dinners in the homes of Chinese-Canadian business leaders. Examples include a private dinner party in the home of Toronto businessman and chair of the Chinese Business Chamber of Canada, Benson Wong.⁸⁹

In November 2016, with US President Donald Trump's election victory, it became clear that TPP was to come to an end. Since the TPP would include Canada's top five trading partners, its end signifies changes to Canada's economic relations, especially with Japan, with whom Canada also does not have a bilateral trade deal. Canada thus lost the opportunities from potentially lower Japanese tariffs on grains and oilseeds, for

⁸² "Canada-China extradition treaty: Here's what you need to know," Global News 21 September 2016. <http://globalnews.ca/news/2953881/canada-china-extradition-treaty-heres-what-you-need-to-know/>

⁸³ "1st Canada-China High-Level National Security and Rule of Law Dialogue: Joint Communique, Government of Canada 13 September 2016. <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/09/13/1st-canada-china-high-level-national-security-and-rule-law-dialogue>

⁸⁴ "Canada-China extradition treaty: Here's what you need to know," Global News 21 September 2016. <http://globalnews.ca/news/2953881/canada-china-extradition-treaty-heres-what-you-need-to-know/>

⁸⁵ "Canada-China extradition treaty: Here's what you need to know," Global News 21 September 2016. <http://globalnews.ca/news/2953881/canada-china-extradition-treaty-heres-what-you-need-to-know/>

⁸⁶ "Canada-China extradition treaty: Here's what you need to know," Global News 21 September 2016. <http://globalnews.ca/news/2953881/canada-china-extradition-treaty-heres-what-you-need-to-know/>

⁸⁷ "Canada-China extradition treaty: Here's what you need to know," Global News 21 September 2016. <http://globalnews.ca/news/2953881/canada-china-extradition-treaty-heres-what-you-need-to-know/>

⁸⁸ "Kevin Garratt back in Canada after 2 years in Chinese prison," Global News 16 September 2016. <http://globalnews.ca/news/2943236/kevin-garratt-back-in-canada-after-2-years-in-chinese-prison/>

⁸⁹ "Leaders raises 'cash for access' concerns," The Tyee 16 November 2016. <https://thetyee.ca/News/2016/11/16/Trudeau-Fundraiser-Chinese-Canadian-Business-Leaders/>

example.⁹⁰ However, this lost opportunity has also pushed Canada closer to its other Asian-Pacific partner, China.

On 28 November 2016, news was released regarding Anbang's buying of a majority stake in one of the largest retirement home chains in British Columbia. The move signals the potential rise of inward FDI into Canada from Chinese companies. The deal was expected to exceed \$1 billion.

⁹⁰ "The TPP is dead, so what does that mean for Canada?" CBC 22 November 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/tpp-dead-trump-canada-1.3862250>

Appendix C-9: Ratifying CETA, October 2016

On 22 January 2016, Trudeau told reporters at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, “I’ve had many conversations with European leaders on the importance of signing and ratifying the CETA... This is an important opportunity both for Canada and Europe and I’m looking forward to getting it signed.”⁹¹

In May 2016, during the G7 Ise-Shima Summit, Trudeau focused on CETA during his bilateral meeting with German Chancellor Angela Merkel, as well as his bilateral with French President Francois Hollande. This occurred alongside Trudeau’s emphasis on international trade during the working sessions of the G7 leaders.⁹²

In October 2016, after the Belgian region of Wallonia’s vote to block the CETA, Trudeau remained confident. Trudeau said at a by-election campaign on 13 October 2016, “we’ve always known it’s going to require hard work right to the very end... But I’m confident that there are so many strong European countries, like France as we saw yesterday, Germany is fully on board, and others, that this deal is going to make it through.” Trudeau also said that the CETA would set a “new standard” in trade deals, benefitting not only big companies but also “ordinary citizens and small business.” He added, “In this post-Brexit situation where there are a great many questions about Europe’s usefulness, if Europe cannot manage to sign this agreement, then that sends a very clear message not just to Europe, but to the whole world, that Europe is choosing a path that is not productive for its citizens or the world. And that would be a shame.”⁹³

On 30 October 2016, Trudeau signed the CETA with EU leaders Jean-Claude Juncker and Donald Tusk during the EU-Canada Summit at the European Council. The latest obstacle posed by Wallonia was removed when the region voted to withdraw its opposition to CETA.⁹⁴ However, Trudeau also said that “the work is only beginning right now,” since the deal still has to go through ratification and follow-ups.

On 13 December 2016, Trudeau discussed CETA by phone with German Chancellor Angela Merkel. Both affirmed their support for the deal which they hoped to finalize next

⁹¹ “Justin Trudeau to talk over troubled trade deal with European Parliament head,” CBC 22 January 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-eu-parliament-schulz-ceta-1.3415689>

⁹² Justin Trudeau touts trade to G7 leaders, warns of protectionism, CBC 26 May 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-g7-trade-1.3601756>

⁹³ “Justin Trudeau remains ‘confident’ trade deal with European Union will pass,” CBC 14 October 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-ceta-confident-belgium-europe-1.3804890>

⁹⁴ “Trudeau finally signs CETA free trade deal with European Union, but admits work is ‘just beginning’,” National Post 30 October 2016. <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/canadian-politics/trudeau-signs-ceta-free-trade-deal-with-european-union-in-brussels>

year.⁹⁵ That day, the bill to implement CETA passed Canada's Parliament by 266 to 39, supported by the Liberal majority and the Opposition Conservatives.⁹⁶

Appendix C-10: Buying 18 Super Hornets, November 22, 2016

On 22 November 2016, Canadian Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan announced that the Liberal government intended to purchase 18 Super Hornets.⁹⁷ He claimed that the previous Conservative government mismanaged the fighter jet replacement and created a “capability gap” that must be filled. He added that “A modern fighter fleet is an essential tool for defending Canada and exercising Canadian sovereignty – especially in the northern skies.”⁹⁸ To justify this decision further, Sajjan also invoked the 2001 terrorist attacks, stating that “if anybody thinks we are not going to have any unforeseen situations, think about 9/11, when we had to put every single fighter up in the air.”⁹⁹ This decision was part of a larger, three-step process to improve and rejuvenate Canada’s fighter fleet, including “the interim purchase of Super Hornets, bolstering depleted staff ranks in the air force, and launching an ‘open and transparent’ competition for a permanent replacement for the CF-18.”¹⁰⁰ The government claimed that the situation was urgent as the Royal Canadian Air Force could not meet its NATO commitments, as well as its commitments to the North American Aerospace Defence Command, due to the poor state of its fleet.¹⁰¹ This decision further implies that Canada will continue to invest heavily on necessary upgrades until the late 2020s.¹⁰²

According to Elinor Sloan, Professor of international relations at Carleton University and former defence analyst with the Department of National Defence, Canada’s decision to turn to a “sole-source buy” was “a disappointing return to politics as usual.”¹⁰³ Opposition also came from Ken Pennie, who was the deputy commander of NORAD

⁹⁵ “Justin Trudeau, Angela Merkel affirm support for CETA,” Macleans 13 December 2016. <http://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/justin-trudeau-angela-merkel-affirm-support-for-ceta/>

⁹⁶ “Justin Trudeau, Angela Merkel talk CETA as Canada-EU trade bill passes second reading in Parliament,” 13 December 2016. <http://globalnews.ca/news/3125127/justin-trudeau-angela-merkel-talk-ceta-as-canada-eu-trade-bill-passes-second-reading-in-parliament/>

⁹⁷ “Canada says it will buy 18 Super Hornet fighter jets – but the cost of aircraft is unknown,” National Post 22 November 2016. <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/canada-says-it-will-buy-18-super-hornet-fighter-jets-but-the-cost-of-aircraft-is-unknown>

⁹⁸ “Canada says it will buy 18 Super Hornet fighter jets – but the cost of aircraft is unknown,” National Post 22 November 2016. <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/canada-says-it-will-buy-18-super-hornet-fighter-jets-but-the-cost-of-aircraft-is-unknown>

⁹⁹ “Sajjan defends jet purchase, citing 9/11,” Globe and Mail, November 24, 2016. Daniel Leblanc, Ottawa.

¹⁰⁰ “Canada considers buying 18 Super Hornet fighter jets,” Toronto Star 22 November 2016. <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/11/22/canada-considers-buying-10-super-hornet-fighter-jets.html>

¹⁰¹ “Canada considers buying 18 Super Hornet fighter jets,” Toronto Star 22 November 2016. <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/11/22/canada-considers-buying-10-super-hornet-fighter-jets.html>

¹⁰² “Canada considers buying 18 Super Hornet fighter jets,” Toronto Star 22 November 2016. <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/11/22/canada-considers-buying-10-super-hornet-fighter-jets.html>

¹⁰³ ¹⁰³ “Ottawa’s fighter-jet decision is politics as usual,” unknown newspaper (Globe and Mail?), Elinor Sloan.

during the 9/11 attacks, stating that since “it takes time to train people and put everything in place,” the Liberal government’s plan will “exacerbate the lack of fighter jets during this period as sparse resources are used to bring the new aircraft into the RCAF.”¹⁰⁴ The Conservatives also attacked the government’s failure to lay out the cost of its plans.¹⁰⁵

On 8 December 2016, the Canadian government announced that Canada will purchase 16 new search-and-rescue planes, C-295, from European aerospace manufacturer, Airbus. The purchase will cost \$2.3 billion.¹⁰⁶ Canadian Public Procurement Minister Judy Foote stated, “this is a significant investment to replace our fleets of Buffalo and Hercules aircraft, strengthen Canada’s capability to conduct search-and-rescue operations and keep Canadians safe.”¹⁰⁷ Foote also mentioned the economic benefits derived from the purchase, such as the boost to local companies that provide the plane’s maintenance and parts including engines and simulators. Canadian Minister of Defence Sajjan said that the C-295 planes will be a “game changer” in Canada’s emergency-response missions.

¹⁰⁴ “Sajjan defends jet purchase, citing 9/11,” *Globe and Mail*, November 24, 2016. Daniel Leblanc, Ottawa.

¹⁰⁵ “Sajjan defends jet purchase, citing 9/11,” *Globe and Mail*, November 24, 2016. Daniel Leblanc, Ottawa.

¹⁰⁶ “Canada to buy 16 new Airbus search-and-recue planes for \$2.3 billion,” *thestar.com*, <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/12/08/canada-to-buy-16-new-airbus-search-and-rescue-planes-for-23-billion.html>

¹⁰⁷ “Canada to buy 16 new Airbus search-and-recue planes for \$2.3 billion,” *thestar.com*, <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/12/08/canada-to-buy-16-new-airbus-search-and-rescue-planes-for-23-billion.html>

Appendix C-11: Renegotiating NAFTA

Appendix C-12: Joining the CPTPP-11, November 2017

Appendix C-13: Pursuing Peacekeeping, November 2017

Appendix C-14: G7 Summitry for Charlevoix 2017

Appendix C: Public Opinion Support

Date	Liberals	CPC	NDP	BQ	Greens
<i>Ballot</i>					
170120	39.4	31.2			
170421	42.0	30.4			
170111	39.8	33.0			
171010	36.9	32.0	15.4	6.6	5.6
<i>Preferred PM</i>					
	Trudeau	Scheer	Singh	May	
151113	50.9	18.4 (H/A)	13.0 (M)	5.0	
160930	56.0	14.1	7.4	4.4	
161216	52.4	16.4	7.4	4.9	
171010	43.0	21.7	9.3	4.0	

Source: Nanos Poll,

Determinants

The Meta Model Applied

The meta-model of hegemonic transition well reflects Trudeau's shift to stylistic from substantive global leadership during his first year. For US relative capabilities rose with its increasing GDP and exchange rate even as its vulnerabilities to terrorism remained, power concentrated with the stagnation of Japan and Europe and plunge in Russia, Brazil and South Africa, and Canada's GDP growth rate, currency and oil price declined.

In the US,

In the system as a whole,

In Canada, in late November just after Trudeau was sworn in Canada's dollar slid below 88 cents US, its lowest level in three years. One year later, On November 21, 2016 it had dropped further to 74.55 cents US. During this time, the price of WTI oil plunged from USD 77.30 to USD 48.24.

Shocks

Terrorism: Paris November 2015,

Trade: Brexit and Trump

Nativism: Trump

Societal

Strong, salient support

Provinces: Quebec supportive under Liberal Couillard on climate change, separatist party small and in disarray post Trudeau. Ontario and BC have Liberal government, Only Saskatchewan was left with a Conservative one

Parliament, solid majority, give party standing but 99 Conservative opposition. But Harper resigns immediately and the Conservatives, under Interim leaders Rona Ambrose, launched a leadership campaign lasting 18 months.

Electoral program promises. Unusually high compliance rate in first year Perimeter of deficit promise broken (30 not 10 billion deficit) and then CF-18 super-hornet purchase too

Public opinion. Unusually strong, long and broad support. Honeymoon here was not short-lived

Media favourable of National Post, social media good for Trudeau and his tweeting ministers eg Catherine McKenna

Governmental

Majority mandate was won by him alone, but

Reliance on cabinet veterans due to his lack of ministerial experience unlike his father

Gender parity

Mandate letters

Dion as major francophone foreign minister and former party leader per Mulroney-Clark

Consultative cabinet style of Harper and PMO

Individual

At G7 summits with his father