The Harper Years

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Introduction

On <u>January 23, 2006</u>, Canadians elected Stephen Harper's Conservatives with a minority government of 124 seats, compared to 103 for Paul Martin's Liberals, 51 for the separatist Bloc Québécois, and 29 for the New Democratic Party (NDP). The 46-year-old Torontonian-turned-Albertan was formally sworn in as Canada's 22nd prime minister on <u>February 6</u>, selected his Cabinet and started to govern. Immediately a public and scholarly <u>debate</u> arose about what Canadian foreign policy would be (Kirton 2007, 2006). After Harper won a second, stronger minority government of 143 seats on <u>October 14</u>, <u>2008</u> and then a majority government in the general election of <u>May 8, 2011</u>, this debate continued, now among six schools of thought.

The Debate

Americanism." It predicted that Harper would seek a cooperative relationship with the U.S., limited only by Harper's fragile majority position and absence of ideological partners in Parliament. Janice Stein forecast a "greater affinity with U.S. positions internationally," including a pro-American tilt on relations with the Middle East and the United Nations (McCarthy 2006). Joseph Jockel, Christopher Sands, David Biette, and Dwight Mason thought the tone and ease of the Canada-U.S. relationship would improve, as Harper made good on his defence promises. But they felt that the Shamrock Summit—like closeness of Brian Mulroney and Ronald Reagan would be avoided, given Harper's minority position at home (Koring 2006). Others worried that behind the scenes, a tilt to America on ballistic missile defence (BMD) would come (Crosby 2006).

A second school, similarly PD is substance, saw "ignorant isolationism." It predicted Harper's government would have little involvement, influence, or instinct for activism anywhere abroad. This was due to the new prime minister's lack of knowledge or interest in international affairs, and the failure of Canadian society to force him to address foreign policy during the election campaign. Jeffrey Simpson (2006) concluded that Canada would be a "small, parochial, even self-absorbed country" without views on the rise of India and China or crises in Iraq and Iran. This was due to the paltry foreign affairs platform of the Conservatives and their deliberate silence on international affairs during the campaign, a prime minister "with no experience or apparent interest in the world, and a party in power without a single frontbencher qualified by experience or interest to become foreign affairs minister." Almost four years later some still thought this was the case (Economist 2009).

A third school, still PD in content saw **global incompetence**. John Ibbitson cried inexperienced incompetence when Harper started by affirming Canada's Arctic sovereignty claims and later wondered whether Harper would even show up for the Group of Eight (G8) summit in Germany in 2007 (Ibbitson 2006). Lawrence Martin added Europe and AIDS to the foreign policy failures produced by "amateur hour on the Rideau." Robert Wolfe highlighted the lack of a comprehensive foreign policy review, and Harper's scolding of China on human rights but not the U.S. over Guantanamo Bay (Maclean's 2007). Another ex-diplomat, Paul Heinbecker, argued that Harper launched himself into the Middle East and China to win votes at home but to no benefit abroad (Maclean's 2007). The *Economist* saw Harper doing well on domestic policy but being less assured on foreign policy, where he repaired relations with the U.S. but extended Canada's Afghanistan mission to 2009 and criticized China for abusing human rights.

A fourth school, with the usual liberal-internationalist (LI) instinct for continuity, saw **nothing different**. Thus Jack Granatstein (2007: 223) concluded "The Conservative government genuinely might wish to improve the condition and fighting abilities of the Canadian Forces, but wishes are worthless without political will and the funding to implement them." Jeffrey Simpson claimed that Harper, trolling for domestic votes and trusting no-one, achieved nothing new (Simpson 2007). Gains on softwood lumber and defence spending were offset by a lack on progress on many other fronts.¹

A fifth school, still LI in logic, saw competent **pragmatic compromise.** Paul Evans portrayed Harper as a reincarnation of John Diefenbaker, who came from the opposition, and was driven by values, but compromised once in office. John Ibbitson now saw competence, when the Canadian forces in Afghanistan were given the needed equipment and moral support, the softwood lumber deal was reached, and immigration levels remained high, even if the Tories botched the Clean Air Act in 2006 (Ibbitson 2007).

A sixth school saw **principled decisiveness**, flowing from Harper's penchant for rational policy analysis, the constraint of minority government, and his concern with the next election campaign (Martin 2006; Campbell 2006; McDougall 2006; *Globe and Mail* 2006, Galloway, 2006; Corcoran, 2006).). Such complex neo-realist (CNR) suggestions were fuelled by Harper's fast, firm declaration of Canada's Arctic sovereignty and his apparent about face in keeping Canada in the Kyoto Protocol on climate change. As Harper reached his first 100 days in office, Andrew Coyne (2006) concluded: "The most striking departures have been in the area of foreign affairs: the Prime Minister's bold visit to Afghanistan, with that stirring call to Canadian 'leadership'; the groundbreaking decision to withdraw funding from the Hamas regime in Palestine; the long-overdue designation of the Tamil Tigers as a terrorist group. And capping them all, the softwood lumber deal: evidence, perhaps, that better relations with the United States pays dividends." By the end of Harper's first year, this principled foreign policy was declared to be the government's most important achievement. Don Martin (2006) heralded the

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¹ These include: Maher Arar, America's International Trade in Arms Registry System (ITARS), American agricultural protectionism, climate change, development assistance, diplomatic cutbacks, China, Doha, bilateral trade deals, Afghanistan, the Middle East, Turkey, Africa and Latin America.

unwavering support for the Afghanistan mission, unflinching friendship with democratic Israel, support for human rights in China and a military rearmed.

Global Democratic Leadership

The initial doubts about Harper's foreign policy were understandable. For Harper had arrived in the immediate wake of the very internationally experienced and oriented <u>Paul Martin</u>. In sharp contrast, the 2006 election had brought a replay of <u>Joe Clark</u> in 1979 — another young Albertan prime minister with little previous interest or involvement in international affairs, no ministerial record, and heading a new Conservative party, a minority government, and a cabinet with virtually no foreign policy experience at all.

After almost eight years of the Harper government, what does the **evidence show?** First it shows **disaster avoided**. Harper outperformed Clark, whose government lasted only nine months before being defeated in the House and on the hustings as a result of his biggest foreign policy decision — to implement a G8 strategy for energy security by imposing a tax on carbon-producing gas. Second, Harper's record shows **fears unfounded**. For there arose nothing to confirm the suspicions that Harper had a secret agenda that would put Canadian troops into Iraq, immediately remove Canada's ratification of the Kyoto protocol, and join George Bush's BMD.

But beyond this, the evidence supports the thesis of **global democratic leadership** (Kirton 2006, 2007). For Harper delivered a foreign policy that went beyond inherited LI impulses, to emphasize interest and value based initiatives in democratization, defence, and development around the world. Despite his initial inexperience and minority government he increasingly produced a foreign policy promoting Canada's national interests (NI) and distinctive national values (DNV), and exerting effective global leadership to shape world order as a whole.

This course was caused at the individual and governmental levels by a prime minister that took policy analysis seriously, and took tight control of international affairs. It was driven at the societal level by a prime minister and party that had fully absorbed the **Progressive Conservative** tradition on which they depended to govern. It was driven at the external level by a Canada that had emerged as a full strength principal power and an **energy superpower** in the world. But above all it was driven by an ever more shocked, **vulnerable and potentially vanquished America** unable to cope on its own in a more dangerous, diffuse world.

The Meta-Theory Applied

The meta theory of hegemonic transition <u>well explains</u> Canada's CNR rise to a global democratic leadership. America's dollar initially declined against the rising currencies of Japan, Europe, Britain and the surging economies of China, India and Brazil. World oil prices, which had been at US\$68.10 a barrel when Harper began, rose to a new high above US\$140 a barrel in 2008, and stood at US\$94.72 on November 23, 2013, making America's energy vulnerability far more acute, despite it surging supplies of shale, oil and gas. Then came the American–turned-global financial crisis in September 2008, a

deep recession, an unusually slow recovery and the prospect of American military defeat in Iraq and Afghanistan. Not surprisingly Bush's approval ratings plunged to a new low of 35 percent. In the mid-term elections on November 7th, 2006, Bush's Republicans lost control of both houses of Congress. In November 2008 they lost the Presidency and Congress to Barack Obama's Democrats. But America's decline continued as China, India, Brazil, Russia and other emerging economies saw their growth in gross domestic product (GDP) lead the world.

Amidst America's acute decline, possible defeat and systemic diffusion into emerging economies, Canada's relative capabilities rose. Its dollar, which had stood at US\$0.87 when Harper started, leapt to US\$1.10 by late 2007, stayed above US\$0.90 since and stood at US\$95.02 on November 23, 2013. In an increasingly resource-short world, Canada—along with its other superpower neighbour, Russia—stood as the only first-tier, full-strength surplus energy power and commodity supplier in the globe (Kirton 2006c). Canada was the only G7 country before the financial crisis with a fiscal surplus and rapidly declining national debt, and was projected to lead the G8 in GDP growth in 2010 as recovery returned. Amidst the glow of this growing global power, Harper secured a stronger minority government on October 14, 2008 and then a majority on May 8, 2011.

So strong were these trends in deepening American vulnerability, major power rise, broadening systemic diffusion and rising Canadian capability that even the most internationally ignorant, uninterested, domestically-constrained Canadian leader would very probably have been pulled into global leadership in this rapidly changing world. And Harper as a rational calculator and quick learner was. The advent of a new G20 summit in November 2008, its institutionalization as the premier body of global economic governance at Pittsburgh in September 2009, and its choice of Canada to host to its fourth summit in Ontario on June 26-27, 2010 indicated how much the world and Canada's place had changed (Kirton 2013). Canada's hosting of the G8 in Muskoka and delivery of the Muskoka Initiative on Maternal, Newborn and Child Health (MNCH) the same weekend, its war to liberate Libya in 2011, and its achievement of a full free trade and economic partnership with the European Union on October 18, 2013 showed Canada shaping world order in the social, security and economic spheres (Kirton 2011).

Doctrine

The Campaign Platform

Even before he was elected, Harper's desire for global leadership was clear in the foreign policy doctrine he set forth. Harper's promise as Prime Minister to "deliver on our commitments" placed a premium on the many promises about international affairs that he had made in his party platform, *Stand Up for Canada*, and on the campaign trail. The platform had opened with the central CNR national interest imperative to "strengthen **national unity** and advance our interests on the world stage." It recognized "increased competition from around the world" and the need to protect Canada against the many assaults from an American adversary, notably on softwood lumber, imported crime, the

Canadian Wheat Board, and the Byrd Amendment giving the US government's antidumping and countervailing duties to complaining American firms.

Economically, the platform highlighted Canada's distinctive national values (DNV) of global openness. It pledged to chart a course for the future of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), reassert Canadian leadership in the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA) negotiations, and "explore the possibility of free trade negotiations with Canada's democratic ... partners in the Asia-Pacific, Japan and India." Environmentally, it featured CNR's concert, with a promise to control greenhouse gas emissions "in coordination with other major industrial countries." It again highlighted the DNV of environmentalism, and now the NI of territory, by pledging to extend Canada's custodial management in the North Atlantic to the edge of the Continental Shelf, the nose and tail of the Grand Banks, and the Flemish Cap. Educationally, it offered openness, international institutionalism and national unity, declaring it would facilitate recognition of the credentials of immigrants, and "invite the Government of Quebec to play a role at the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) along the lines of its participation in la Francophonie." In security it recognized the new vulnerability by promising to act against terrorist attacks, natural disasters, and "outbreaks of disease world-wide."

Beyond the United States, which received a largely negative portrayal, there were four countries that received recognition, largely in positive terms. These were: major power Britain, India, and Japan, and middle power Australia. The most frequently noted international institutions were the entirely democratic, plurilateral G8, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and NAFTA. Also mentioned were La Francophonie, the FTAA, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and UNESCO. The UN, beyond UNESCO, was nowhere on the list.

The Campaign Promises

During the campaign that had begun on November 29, 2005, Harper, in his "promise a day" electoral strategy, said much about foreign policy. He issued 23 news releases devoted to international affairs. Of these, 13 were devoted to **security**, with nine on strengthening the military, and two each on Arctic sovereignty and Afghanistan. Three highlighted democratization — those celebrating Ukraine's "orange revolution," condemning Iran's pledge to destroy Israel, and mourning the death of the leader of the United Arab Emirates. Three dealt with **development**, headed by a pledge to add \$425 million in overseas development assistance, as well as commemorating the Asian tsunami and World AIDS Day. Three were on **immigration and multiculturalism** with the emphasis on acting against Canada's protectionist "head tax." Only one was on **trade**, on the Pacific Gateway Initiative. Together these promises embraced all regions of the world, save for the United States, North America, and the Americas. They highlighted greater resources for both defence and development, including the use of force.

The Victory Address, January 23, 2006

In his election-night victory address on January 23, 2006, Harper surprisingly said much about international affairs. Two messages stood at the core. The first was the enduring Canadian value of **democracy**, for which Canadians had and still fought and "for which too many in our world still yearn." He promised: "We will continue to help defend our values and democratic ideals around the world—as so courageously demonstrated by those young Canadian soldiers who are serving and who have sacrificed in **Afghanistan**." The second message was about the value of **immigrants** and new Canadians. Operationally, Harper pledged to "work cooperatively with our friends and allies, and constructively with all nations of the world."

The address contained no reference to the U.S., let alone any PD imperial focus on it. The dominant elements were the LI themes of continuity, the shared value of democracy, and constructive cooperation with friends and allies. Yet there was a prominent place for the CNR DNVs of multiculturalism, openness, and globalism, and the willingness to use force in Canada's increasingly costly Afghanistan war.

The First Throne Speech, April 4, 2006

In the Harper government's first Speech from the Throne, delivered on April 4, 2006, foreign policy took **one third** of the speech and **one fourth** of its priorities.³ The speech opened with a theme of "Building a Stronger Canada" with foreign policy as an integral part. It ended with a foreign policy section entitled "Canada — Strong, United, Independent, Free."

The speech offered an exceptionally ambitious conception of Canada's international cadence, relative capability, commitment to <u>leadership</u>, and capacity to make a difference in the world. Due to the unique "diversity of its people," their "vast country" had become "one of the most successful the world has ever seen." It was now at the "leading edge of science, business, the arts and sport," with Canadians from Italy through Afghanistan to Asia demonstrating "time and time again that they are leaders." The government had confidence in "the capacity of Canadians to ... build an even stronger Canada, striving for excellence, anchored by enduring values, and infused with growing confidence that they can make a difference at home and in the world" (Government of Canada 2006: 3).

This international vision was driven by both material reality and the DNVs of demographic openness, multiculturalism, and globalism. Yet national <u>unity</u> also mattered, for in "...the international community, Canada is stronger when we speak with one voice, but that voice must belong to all of us." Importantly, it was the "special cultural responsibilities of the government of Québec" alone that would lead the Harper government to invite Québec to play an undefined "role" in UNESCO (Ibid: 9).

The speech embraced most major regions, with a focus on <u>Afghanistan</u> and the <u>world</u> as a whole. Most other regions and countries were dealt with equally. The two references to

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² The phraseology was reminiscent of the "constructive internationalism" of the Mulroney years.

³ Those being: government, families, federation and "our role in the world."

the <u>U.S.</u> were evenly balanced. The first unfavourable CNR reference to "improving the security of our borders" was offset by the subsequent favourable LI and PD reference to building "stronger multilateral and bilateral relationships, starting with Canada's relationship with the United States, our best friend and largest trading partner" (Ibid: 9).

The Second Throne Speech, October 17, 2007

Harper's second Speech from the Throne, delivered on October 17, 2007 <u>expanded this doctrine</u> on all fronts. Foreign policy now took **60%** of the speech and appeared throughout. The five stated priorities put <u>foreign policy first</u>, with "Strengthening Canada's sovereignty and place in the world." Foreign policy also arose within the second priority of "building a stronger federation," the third one of "providing effective economic leadership," the fourth of "continuing to tackle crime," and the fifth of "improving our environment."

The speech began by unabashedly declaring that "Canada is **the greatest country** in the world." It ended by portraying Canada as the "North Star" — a "guide to other nations." Throughout it promised "strong leadership ... in the world," "through concrete actions that bring results." It would by guided by "our shared values of <u>democracy</u>, <u>freedom</u>, <u>human rights</u> and the <u>rule of law</u>." It also featured Canada's sovereignty, unity, and national security and its multiculturalism, openness, globalism and environmentalism.

The speech offered a **global vision**. It made explicit reference to Britain, the Arctic, North America, Burma, Afghanistan, the Americas, Haiti, Europe, France, the U.S., the Atlantic, the Pacific, and India. Among international institutions it now noted the UN, allies, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, as well as the familiar G8.

The Speech announced several ambitious decisions. On **Afghanistan** it extended the Canadian combat mission from 2009 to 2011, with a shift in roles to training the Afghanistan army and police. On **climate change** it called for "binding targets that apply to all major emitters, including Canada" On the **Arctic** it announced a research station, new patrol ships, more aerial surveillance and an expansion of the Arctic Rangers on the ground.

The Third Throne Speech, November 19, 2008

The Fourth Throne Speech, January 26, 2009

The Fifth Throne Speech, 2013

The Foreign Policy Speeches

In his first few years in office, Prime Minister Harper gave many speeches at home and abroad to substitute for the formal policy review that his government consciously chose not to conduct. Rather it sought, in common law fashion, to set clear principles and

precedents, and follow them in similar cases over time and space. The consistent mantra was the values **quartet** of democracy, freedom, human rights and the rule of law.

The speeches increasingly emphasized Canada's global leadership and its position as an **emerging energy superpower** (Kirton 2006c). In 2006, in speeches in London on July 14 and in New York on September 30, Harper introduced the novel concept of Canada as an emerging energy superpower. A year later in Australia he moved its foundation from the specialized capability of energy to the DNV of environmentalism, proclaiming Canada to be a **clean energy superpower** in the world.

At his concluding news conference at the Pittsburgh G20 summit on September 25, 2009, he spoke about Canada being one of the world's oldest democracies uninterrupted by revolution, occupation or civil war.⁴ He advanced the concept of "enlightened sovereignty" as a guide to Canada's and other countries' behaviour in the twenty-first century world.

Resource Distributions

This doctrine of global democratic leadership was largely reinforced by resource distributions.

Advisory Appointments

In his advisory appointments, the prime minister designate on January 24 chose <u>Derek Burney</u> to head his overall transition team. Described by Harper as a "former Canadian ambassador," Burney had served as Canada's Ambassador to Washington from 1990 to 1993, had played a key role in negotiating the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (CUFTA) in 1988 and had fostered many other Mulroney-era continental and international gains (Burney, 2005; Mulroney, 2007). He brought the professionalism of the Foreign Service, diplomatic experience in Asia, experience in Ottawa as Chief of Staff to Progressive Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, and experience abroad as Mulroney's personal representative, or "sherpa," for the G7 summits in 1990 and 1991.

Joining Burney on the transition team was <u>Michael Wilson</u>, another senior Mulroney-era Progressive Conservative with extensive experience in international affairs. As Brian Mulroney's Finance Minister, Wilson had helped craft Canada's continental free trade agreement with the United States in 1988, secured Canada's admission to the new G7 finance ministers' forum in 1986, helped host the 1988 G7 Summit in Wilson's hometown of Toronto, and helped win a second Progressive Conservative majority mandate in the general election that fall.

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⁴ In 2007, a clear set of **three geographic priorities** emerged. The first was Afghanistan. The second was North America and the Americas. The third were emerging powers around the world. Absent was America in its own right.

Cabinet Appointments

To the major international affairs portfolios in his first cabinet, Harper appointed former Progressive Conservative Party leader Peter <u>MacKay</u> as Foreign Minister, and former Liberal cabinet minister David <u>Emerson</u> as trade minister. General Gordon <u>O'Connor</u> went to national defence and former Ontario finance minister Jim <u>Flaherty</u> to finance. All had considerable policy experience in the particular portfolios they assumed.

In his second year Harper took a step toward economic-political integration and French-English equalization by moving industry minister Maxime <u>Bernier</u> to the foreign affairs portfolio. MacKay, following the career path of former Liberal foreign minister Bill Graham, move to defence. Subsequently fellow Quebecer Lawrence <u>Cannon</u> replaced Bernier in foreign affairs, serving there until his defeat in the election of May 8, 2011. Former Ontario government cabinet minister John Baird took over foreign affairs.

The first eight years thus showed considerable ministerial change, with four ministers for foreign affairs and four for international trade, if only one for finance throughout.

For his majority mandate, Harper relied heavily on former Progressive Conservative cabinet ministers in Mike Harris' Ontario government Jim Flaherty in Finance, John Baird in foreign affairs and party loyalist Peter Van Loan in international trade.

Departmental Machinery and Management

In organizing his government, one of Harper's first decisions was to <u>reintegrate</u> Foreign Affairs Canada with the Department of International Trade. This undid the divorce instigated by Paul Martin on his first day as prime minister. The decision was consistent with Burney's declared views on the issue, and with the Conservatives' successful opposition to the divorce in Parliament the previous year.

At the senior official level, Harper retained foreign service professional <u>Peter Harder</u> as his foreign affair deputy and personal representative for the G8. When Harder resigned a year later, Harper appointed experienced foreign service officer and G8 veteran <u>Len Edwards</u> as deputy minister. Harper moved <u>David Mulroney</u>, also an experienced foreign service officer, from foreign policy advisor in the Privy Council Office (PCO) to associate deputy minister of foreign affairs and G8 sherpa with government-wide responsibility for Afghanistan. In 2008 Edwards became G8 sherpa and Mulroney became coordinator for Afghanistan full time.

The First Budget, May 2, 2006

In the budgetary allocation of the substantial fiscal surplus in both 2006 and 2007. The big winner was defence, then development, with diplomacy far behind.

For **defence**, on the campaign trail on December 12, 2005, Harper had promised to "significantly increase spending as part of his 'Canada First' defence strategy" to strengthen Canadian sovereignty. He would acquire "at least three <u>strategic lift aircraft</u>... a 650-person <u>airborne battalion</u> ... available for rapid or difficult deployments for

emergency, humanitarian, or military operations ... and double the size and capacity of the Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART) ... to enhance international disaster relief capability" (Conservative Party, 2005). This was a global deployment capability, independent of American or Russian airlift resources, to deliver international humanitarian relief. Harper would also strengthen Canada's military presence in the Arctic, through sovereignty patrols in the air and on the sea, and by acquiring three new heavy icebreakers, operated by the uniformed military rather than the civilian Coast Guard.

In its first budget on May 2, 2006, the government boosted international affairs spending by a substantial amount. The **defence** budget rose from \$14.6 billion in 2005-6 to \$16.5 billion in 2007-8. To the \$12.8 billion increase over several years that the Liberals had promised in 2005, the Conservatives added \$5.3 billion over five years. Of this, \$400 million would come in 2006-7, and \$725 million in 2007-8. They also promised to speed up the hiring of 13,000 full time and 10,000 reserve soldiers, as Harper had pledged.

For **development** on January 13, 2006, Harper had promised to "boost overseas development assistance by <u>C\$425 million</u> over five years beyond the currently projected level ... to move toward the average level among OECD members." The new money increased the inherited commitment to an eight percent annual growth in official development assistance (ODA) until 2010. The goal was to "articulate Canada's core values of freedom, democracy, the rule of law, human rights, free markets, and free trade — and compassion for the less fortunate — on the world stage" (Conservative Party, 2006b). The pledge departed from a UN demand for ODA to reach 0.7 percent of gross national income (GNI), in favour of a robust down-payment on Canada's G8 Gleneagles commitment to double aid globally by 2010 and to Africa by 2008-2009.

In the first budget <u>development spending increased</u> to \$3.8 billion in 2006-7 and to \$4.1 billion in 2007-8. Moreover, if the 2005-6 budget surplus exceeded \$2 billion, as seemed likely and soon proved true, an additional \$320 million would flow to ODA, primarily for <u>global health</u>. A robust \$250 million of it would go to the <u>Global Fund</u> to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, and \$45 million to the Global Polio Eradication Initiative.

Also in accordance with campaign promises, the budget allocated \$101 million to arm **border guards**, and a further \$25 million to boost **border security**. The big budgetary loser was Canadians' DNV of **environmentalism**. The \$10 billion promised by the Liberals to implement Canada's Kyoto commitment was replaced by a \$2 billion promise to back the unspecified purposes in Harper's "made in Canada" climate change plan when it appeared.

The Second Budget, March 19, 2007

In the second budget, on March 19, 2007, finance minister Jim Flaherty called Canada an "emerging energy superpower" and the "only member of the G7 with both ongoing budget surpluses and a falling debt burden." The big winner was now the **environment**, led by \$1.5 billion for the Canada ecoTrust for Clean Air and Climate Change.

Development followed that fall. On November 26, 2007, on a trip to democratic Tanzania, Harper announced \$105 million for <u>African health</u>. He reiterated that, in accordance with his campaign promise, he would double Canada's ODA to Africa from 2003-4 levels by 2008-9. This commitment he kept. He also promised to reach the average level of the OECD, even though Canada's above-forecast GDP growth and his partners' greater giving had made this more difficult to do.

The Third Budget, February 26, 2008

The third budget, in the spring of 2008, made provision for a new Arctic <u>icebreaker</u>. It was to be controlled by the civilian Coast Guard now.

The Fourth Budget, January 27, 2009

Diplomatic Personnel

In the domain of diplomacy, in mid-February 2006, Harper appointed Michael Wilson as ambassador to the United States, replacing Liberal political appointee Frank McKenna who had resigned. Wilson was well known and liked in Washington, especially among the Republicans who were close to President George H. Bush. Wilson's first major achievement as ambassador was to help produce a deal to end the long-standing softwood lumber dispute. In early 2008, however, he became embroiled in a dispute over a leaked memo on U.S. presidential candidate Barack Obama's real views on revising NAFTA, as Obama had publicly pledged to do on the campaign trail. In 2009 Wilson was replaced as ambassador by former NDP Manitoba premier Gary Doer.

Outside Washington a premium was also placed on experience and now <u>professionalism</u>. A career foreign service officer, John McNee, was named permanent representative to the UN in New York, to replace the departing Liberal political appointee Allan Rock. Foreign service officer Jim Wright went as high commissioner to London, often a patronage post. This desire to professionalize rather than politicize Canada's diplomatic corps was reinforced by Canada's mediation of a peace agreement in Darfur in May 2006. Here Rock, flying in from New York, worked with career diplomat David Angel who had served with distinction in the U.S., at the Kananaskis Summit and in the G8 on the African file.

Diplomatic Posts and Programs

In regard to diplomatic programs and posts <u>frugality</u> reigned. Harper's Treasury Board Secretary, John Baird, began by slashing <u>public diplomacy</u> and <u>academic relations</u> programs. The government then closed all of Canada's consulates general in the G8 powers of <u>Japan, Italy and Russia</u>. The next year it moved to sell the residences of Canada's high commissioner and ambassador in Britain and Ireland. There was no redeployment of resources to posts elsewhere – in strong contrast to Trudeau who had opened first in his new priorities of Francophone Africa and the Vatican before closing a few posts in his austerity program of 1969. The Harper government's PD cuts came amidst Ottawa's soaring fiscal surplus and from a prime minister who had wanted to be a

career foreign service officer as a young man (Johnson 2006). However after four years, Harper had increased Canada's posts abroad by a net gain of one.

Summitry

In summit diplomacy, however, <u>global expansion</u> arose from the start. Harper made his first visit abroad in mid-March 2006, only five weeks after he was sworn in. He took a surprise trip to distant <u>Afghanistan</u> to see the Canadian troops there. He thus became only the second Canadian prime minister to visit the country, following Jean Chrétien's much briefer stopover a few years before. The trip made Afghan president Hamid Karzai the partner for Harper's first summit visit abroad.

Harper's second summit visit abroad was again not to the United States for a bilateral encounter, but to <u>Mexico</u> for a <u>trilateral</u> one. When Mexico's Vicente Fox, (fast approaching the end of his term as Mexico's president) extended the invitation for the second annual Security and Prosperity Partnership (<u>SPP</u>) summit, it was unclear whether President Bush would accept. When he did, it was Harper who proved reluctant. Harper felt it might be too soon for his new government to go, especially to deal with a Liberal designed agenda with few deliverables inside. But on March 30-31 Harper was in Cancùn, Mexico, for the third stand-alone North American trilateral summit since 1956. Here Harper followed in Paul Martin's 2005 footsteps, both in the visit and its institutionalizing boost for the new SPP.⁵

After almost <u>four full years</u>, Harper's summitry had become both <u>global</u> and <u>intense</u> (see Appendix C). His favorite partners were the <u>U.S.</u> in first with 25 visits, <u>France</u> and <u>Mexico</u> second with 18 each, and close behind Japan, Britain, China, Germany, Russia, Italy, Australia and the EU. Institutionally, his favourite non-bilateral forums were the <u>G8</u>, APEC, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the now-renamed North American Leaders Summit (NALS) with four encounters each, followed by the <u>G20</u> summit with three. The <u>top 15</u> country spots were all occupied by Canada's systemically significant partners in the <u>G20</u>.

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⁵ During his second summer Harper took his first discretionary summit tour, with the Americas as his destination of choice. As he approached the two year anniversary of his election, his summit diplomacy was replete with visits reaching across the globe (See Appendix C). His most frequent partners were Mexico in first, the U.S. in second, and France, Japan, Russia, and China tied in third. Then came Australia in fourth, followed by Britain, Germany Chile and Vietnam tied for fifth. The configuration showed Canada's relevance and reach. The U.S. was not alone in first. Between Canada's mother countries France stood ahead of Britain. The pattern revealed the pull of geography drawing Harper to Canada's neighbours of the U.S., Russia and France. It also showed the institutional summit ties of the G8, la Francophonie, APEC and North America's new SPP. At the top, the rational geopolitical pull of global relative capability was clear, with a declining number one America now in second and a rebounding number two Japan and rapidly rising Russia and China in third.

⁶ In "direct dial diplomacy" the United States again did not stand out. While Bush phoned quickly to congratulate Harper on his election, so did many other leaders. They included Russia's President Vladimir Putin, who invited Harper to attend the G8 summit in St. Petersburg in July. Harper's visitors to Ottawa further expanded his global vision and francophone awareness. One visitor was the newly elected president of Haiti. Another was John Howard, becoming the first Australian prime minister to address parliament since 1944.

Ministerial Diplomacy

At the ministerial level, a <u>global</u> approach prevailed as well. While foreign minister Peter <u>Mackay</u> spoke by phone with his American counterpart Condoleezza Rice on February 7, 2006, his first trip was across the Atlantic to <u>Britain</u> and <u>Europe</u>, to meet his counterparts from Canada's mother countries and the head of the Commonwealth. Environment minister Rona Ambrose followed, with her first visit to Europe, for a meeting of the climate change convention at its secretariat in Bonn. She returned there in May. Natural Resources minister Gary Lunn did go to Washington in May but for a trilateral encounter with his two North American counterparts there. He and agriculture minister Chuck Strahl visited China in the autumn to promote Canadian economic interests there.

The most revealing ministerial visit was the one U.S. secretary of state Condolezza <u>Rice</u> paid to <u>Canada</u> in September 2006, on the fifth anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. By visiting Nova Scotia on that symbolically significant date for all Americans, to thank the Canadians who rescued 33,000 Americans on their diverted aircraft that day, she acknowledged how directly dependent America had become on Canada to save endangered Americans' lives.

Military Deployments

Military deployment was another instrument of foreign policy that Harper increased. Canada's troops in Afghanistan rose from 700 to 2,200 by March 2006. They then rose to 2,500. In September, Harper sent in armour, in the form of old Canadian Leopard tanks. He later borrowed and bought new European ones.

Free Trade Agreements

Free trade agreements with <u>bilateral</u> partners also rose (Kirton 2011 Indonesia). Harper promised ones with Japan and India, and pursed a South Korean one initiated in 2004. By early 2008 he had produced two completed deals, with Peru and with the EFTA partners of Norway, Switzerland, Iceland and Lichtenstein. He followed with a deal with Columbia in 2011, thus developing full free trade agreements with six countries in three years. In 2009, he opened negotiations for a full "FTA plus" with the EU, the largest market in the world. He achieved it on October 18, 2013.

In November 2010 he began negotiations with India for an FTA. In November 2011 he joined the negotiations for a Trans-Pacific Partnership with the US, Japan, Mexico, Australia and other states. No deeper integration with America alone arose, despite finance minister Flaherty's desire for a free trade in securities deal. Even amidst the economic crisis of 2008-09, Harper acted **unilaterally** to liberalize trade by slashing import duties in his budget of January 27, 2009, in the summer once again and then for a third time. He did little multilaterally to get the WTO's badly overdue Doha Development agenda done.

Bilateral Institutions

In the domain of bilateral institution building, <u>global involvement</u> again arose as America did not dominate. Harper's government participated in, revived and initiated a broad array of such institutions with partners around the world. One was the new Canada-China Joint Committee on Health, launched by health minister Tony Clement on his visit to China in late November 2007.

Decisions

Most of Harper's major decisions also showed a largely CNR thrust toward global democratic leadership.

Afghanistan, January 23, 2006-

Harper's first major decision came on distant and demanding Afghanistan, where Canada was now fighting a full-scale war (Piggott, 2007; Lang and Stein, 2007; Kirton 2007). In the realm of doctrine, on his first evening as prime minister-elect on January 23, 2006, Harper promised: "We will continue to help defend our values and democratic ideals around the world—as so courageously demonstrated by those young Canadian soldiers who are serving and who have sacrificed in Afghanistan."

In development, in early February 2006, the international community gathered in London to mobilize money for an Afghanistan Compact to replace the package that had been assembled in Bonn in 2001 in the immediate wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Prime minister designate Harper sent a message through Peter Harder, deputy minister of foreign affairs, that Canada would "stay the course." Canada aid to Afghanistan — Canada's largest recipient by far — had been \$100 million in 2004-05, and was slated to remain at \$100 million in 2005-06, but then drop to \$60 million in 2006-07, \$50 million in 2007-08, and \$40 million in 2008-09. Once sworn into office on February 6, Harper raised ODA to Afghanistan to a billion dollars over ten years — an average of \$200 million a year or double the previous high — to show Canada was in for the long haul. He later raised it even more.

In defence, Harper allowed Canada's military presence to grow from 700 troops to the long scheduled level of 2,200 by March 2006. He had Canada assume command of the allied forces in dangerous Kandahar.

In diplomacy, Harper visited Afghanistan on March 11, touching down in Kandahar, to be welcomed by Chief of the Defence Staff General Rick Hillier and the Canadian troops there. Here Harper set forth his vision for Canadian foreign policy as a whole. It featured Canadian leadership in defence of Canada's national interests and Canadian values. Harper declared that Afghanistan was the most important place in the world for Canada's exercise of leadership. He added, "Canada is not an island. We live in a dangerous world. And we have to show leadership in that world." He identified Afghanistan as the best example in decades of "Canada really standing up, going to the front line, articulating our values, not just our opposition to terror, our advancement of democracy, but basic

humanitarian values, in terms of development, women's rights, education" (Harper, 2006). Two days later, Harper told the troops: "We don't make a commitment and then run away at the first sign of trouble. We don't and we will not, as long as I'm leading this country." Harper's commitment to global democratic leadership, now with development added, was clear.

On May 15, Harper introduced into the House of Commons a motion calling for Canada's Afghan mission to be extended to February 2009. On May 17, members narrowly agreed in a 149-145 vote. Harper's move was motivated by his overall strategy, evident in Canada's ODA increase, of changing expectations so all would assume that the allied forces would remain in Afghanistan for a long time, regardless of the cost. Harper stuck with the commitment during the deadly battle for Panjawai that summer. He sent tanks in September to help in the fight.

In the autumn Harper joined with the Dutch, with support from the U.S., to get Canada's NATO allies to <u>relax the caveats</u> so their troops could come to Canada's aid. He encouraged them to <u>provide the additional 2,500 troops</u> the allied commander said were required. Poland produced 1,000 first-line combat forces. Harper continued to press the others, led by the Germans, at the NATO summit in Riga, Latvia, in late November 2006.

By the summer of <u>2007 France</u>, under its new president Nicolas Sarkozy responded, moving its Mirage fighter jets to Canada's base at Kandahar to fly ground support and reconnaissance missions for Canadian forces from there. That summer, Harper signalled he might pull back from making a military commitment beyond 2009. But in the <u>October 17, 2007</u> Throne Speech he announced an <u>extension for two years beyond</u>. In a confidence vote on a compromise motion in the Commons on March 13, 2008, Harper and the Liberals agreed to <u>extend the mission to 2011</u>, shift it to training the Afghan army, and end it then — if other allies would produce the badly needed 1,000 reinforcements, helicopters and drones. Harper maintained the 2011 pullout pledge ever since.

These decisions confirmed the government's commitment to promoting global democracy, and Canada's CNR willingness to take global leadership in the defence and diplomatic realm in distant, dangerous theatres overseas. With Poland's and France's contributions, other countries of consequence found it easier to follow Canada's lead and help bear the burden, even if Europe's principal powers of Germany and Italy remained reluctant to fight.

⁷ CBC (March 13, 2006), "Canada committed to Afghan mission, Harper tells troops," Accessed November 27, 2006, www.cbc.ca/world/story/2006/03/13/harper afghanistan060313.html.

⁸ CTV (May 17, 2006) "MPs narrowly vote to extend Afghanistan mission," Accessed November 27, 2006, www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20060517/nato afghan 060517/20060517/.

⁹ CTV (May 17, 2006) "MPs narrowly vote to extend Afghanistan mission," Accessed November 27, 2006, www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20060517/nato afghan 060517/20060517/.

Arctic Sovereignty, January 26, 2006-

Harper's second major decision was on Arctic sovereignty. On December 22, 2006 while campaigning, Harper had declared that "As Prime Minister, I will make it clear to foreign governments — including the United States — that naval vessels travelling in Canadian territorial waters will require the consent of the Government of Canada." Harper further announced that his government would increase Canada's military presence in the Arctic, including underwater and aerial surveillance.

Immediately after Harper was elected, the issue arose due to public comments by the U.S. ambassador to Canada, David <u>Wilkins</u>, that the U.S. did not recognize Canada's claim to sovereignty over the Northwest Passage. Wilkins also criticized Harper's campaign promise to boost Canada's military presence by building new icebreakers for the Arctic. At the end of a news conference the next day, <u>January 26, 2006</u>, Harper went out of his way to respond. He said sternly: "The Canadian government will defend our sovereignty. It is the Canadian people we get our mandate from, not the ambassador of the United States."

Following Operation Glacial Gunner in January, the Harper government in February mounted the <u>largest ever military mission</u>, sending five armed patrols by various routes toward the North Pole. On August 12, 2006 Harper launched a 12-day military exercise in the Arctic, Operation Lancaster. In <u>2007</u>, Harper, with his "use it or lose it" approach, followed with Operation Nunalivut, Operation Narwhal and Operation Nanook. He announced <u>new Arctic Patrol Ships</u> on July 9, a training centre and port on August 10, and a polar research program on October 16. Canadian surveillance capability strengthened significantly when <u>Radarsat-2</u> was successfully launched on December 14. In the <u>spring 2008 budget</u>, Harper added a <u>new Arctic icebreaker</u>, under civilian Coast Guard command.

These Arctic decisions showed clearly that Harper would put the CNR national interests of sovereignty and territory and the DNV of environmentalism in first place. The PD preoccupation of good relations with the United States was absent. The expensive investments in the Arctic slowly started to flow, among competing military demands for badly needed equipment elsewhere.

Hamas Funding, March 29, 2006

Harper's third major decision came in response to the surprising victory of Hamas in the Palestinian Authority's election on January 25, 2006. Jean Chretien's government had designated Hamas as a terrorist organization in November 2002. As prime minister designate Harper reaffirmed his support for a secure Israel and democratic Palestine, but

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Conservative Party of Canada, (December 22, 2006) "Harper Stands Up for Arctic Sovereignty," Accessed November 27, 2006, www.conservative.ca/EN/1091/36512

Conservative Party of Canada, (December 22, 2006) "Harper Stands Up for Arctic Sovereignty," Accessed November 27, 2006, www.conservative.ca/EN/1091/36512

suggested that democratic governments could not support terrorism.¹² He signalled that he would <u>not recognize</u> the new Hamas government as long as it supported terrorism and called for the destruction of Israel.¹³ His remarks put on hold a <u>\$50 million aid package</u> for Palestine assembled by the Liberals in response to a G8 commitment at the Gleneagles Summit in July 2005.

On March 29, 2006, Hamas formally took control of the Palestinian government. Foreign minister Peter McKay immediately announced that "until such time as we see a change in position from the Hamas government and the Palestinian Authority, there will be no direct contact, and there will certainly be no aid flowing through that government." Canada was the first country other than Israel to cut off diplomatic relations with and development aid. Other consequential countries followed Canada's lead.

Here Canada supported American-affiliated Israel in PD fashion, due to LI's shared values of anti-terrorism, but did so in an effective, CNR unilateral lead. Canada had earlier acted in LI fashion, deferring to the likeminded members of the Middle East Quartet — the U.S., the UN, the EU, and Russia. Now it was leading by moving ahead of the pack. It led the world beyond Israel with its unilateral decision to cut off aid. In doing so its CNR global democratic leadership was exercised on behalf of a like-minded LI Israel, which had a PD relationship with the United States.

Softwood Lumber, April 28, 2006

Harper's fourth major decision concerned softwood lumber (Zhang 2007). On <u>April 28</u>, <u>2006</u>, Harper announced that "the United States has accepted Canada's key conditions for the resolution of the softwood lumber dispute. Canada's bargaining position was strong, our position was clear, and this agreement delivers."

The announcement followed many years of legal wrangling, and a WTO panel in April rejecting Canadian complaints about the U.S. "zeroing" practice. On July 1, 2006, Canada and the U.S. finalized the legal text of their long awaited deal. ¹⁷ On August 4, Harper threatened to abandon the deal if the Canadian industry did not support it. On

Canadian Press (January 26, 2006), "Harper suggests Canada won't recognize new Palestinian government," Accessed November 28, 2006, www.canada.com/edmontonjournal/story.html?id=2c9cc317-02c8-4fa2-a159-67545fdf0356.

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Scott Wilson (January 27, 2006), "Hamas Sweeps Palestinian Elections, Complicating Peace Efforts in Mideast," Washington Post, Accessed November 28, 2006, www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/01/26/AR2006012600372.html.

CTV, (March 29, 2006), "Canada cuts relations with Palestinian Authority," Accessed November 27, 2006, www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20060328/abbas_hamas_ap_060329/20060329? hub=CTVNewsAt11.

¹⁵ CTV, (March 29, 2006), "Canada cuts relations with Palestinian Authority," Accessed November 27, 2006, www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20060328/abbas_hamas_ap_060329/20060329? hub=CTVNewsAt11.

¹⁶ CTV (April 28, 2006), "PM strikes deal with U.S. to end lumber dispute," Accessed November 27, 2006, www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20060426/softwood_folo_060427/20060427?hub= TopStories

Prime Minister of Canada News (July 1, 2006), "Backgrounder—The Canada-U.S. softwood lumber agreement," Accessed November 28, 2006, pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1234

August 15 the WTO's Appellate Body backed Canada on the "zeroing" practice, arming the critics who argued that Canada should stick with the legal route for redress.

On September 12, Canada and the United States signed the Softwood Lumber Agreement. In response to complaints that the U.S. could abandon the deal very soon, United States trade representative Susan Schwab said on September 13 that the U.S. wanted a decade of peace. On September 13 trade minister David Emerson put pressure on the Canadian side, promising to impose a 19% tax on Canadian producers not signing the deal. On September 18 he tabled notice of a ways and means motion in the Commons for October 1. The industry gave in.

Thus the Harper government succeeded where its predecessors had failed in ending this long running, costly dispute. However in the final settlement the Americans got to keep one fifth of the money they had collected in import duties from Canadian companies over the years.

UNESCO Participation, May 5, 2006

Harper's fifth major decision gave the province of Quebec greater representation in UNESCO (Michaud, 2006). On December 19, 2005, Harper and Quebec's Liberal premier Jean Charest had met in Quebec City, where Harper announced that if he was elected Quebec would be invited to participate at UNESCO.¹⁹ This was a UN agency headquartered in Paris that dealt with subjects over which Quebec claimed constitutional jurisdiction at home. Once elected Harper signalled that this was a priority. The Conservatives sought to use the Mulroney-Johnson formula, devised in 1985 to permit Quebec's direct participation in the new francophone summit. This required an agreement with the Quebec government, then the support of France and others to change UNESCO's rule that only sovereign states could participate. On March 8, 2006, Harper and Charest again met in Québec City, where they asked their ministers to work out a formal agreement.²⁰ On May 5, Canada and Quebec agreed that Quebec would be represented on the Permanent Delegation of Canada to UNESCO, rather than directly at UNESCO itself.

In this initiative, Harper was motivated by the national interest of survival through national unity, and the DNV of multiculturalism through strengthening the place of the French language in the world. Canada secured the support of principal power France. Success in the way initially envisaged would have required Canada, as with Paul Martin's responsibility to protect (R2P), to change a core principle of the UN system and the Westphalian order, by allowing sub-federal governments to participate directly in the UN. As the Westphalian UN would not budge, Canada had to secure its goal in another,

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Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, "Softwood Lumber Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America – 2006," Accessed November 28, 2006, www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/eicb/softwood/SLA-main-en.asp

Prime Minister of Canada News (March 8, 2006) "Prime Minister Harper announced progress in talks with Québec on UNESCO," Accessed November 28, 2006, pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1051.

²⁰ Prime Minister of Canada News (March 8, 2006) "Prime Minister Harper announced progress in talks with Québec on UNESCO," Accessed November 28, 2006, pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1051.

sovereignty-enhancing way. Canada was able to secure its national unity and multiculturalism objectives, if not much modification of world order here.

G8 Summitry: St. Petersburg July 2006, Heiligendamm 2007

The sixth set of decisions, regarding G8 summitry, showed Canada's global leadership successfully modifying the world order of old. The 2006 Summit, held in St. Petersburg, Russia on July 15-17, marked Harper's first outing on the full world stage. Despite the domestic pressures of minority government and the need for his new inexperienced ministers to settle into their new portfolios, Harper immediately sent them to Moscow for G8 ministerial meetings. He started with Jim Flaherty for finance on February 10-11 (and again on June 9-10 and in Washington on April 21). Then went Gary Lunn for energy on March 15-16, Tony Clement for health on April 28, Stockwell Day for public safety on February 6, and Peter MacKay for foreign affairs on June 29.

Harper had inherited from his Liberal predecessors Canadian positions developed in response to the initial Russian concept papers on their priority themes of energy, health and education. On energy, Canada sought to make the Russian concept of energy security much more market friendly. On education, Canada had no federal education department, provinces jealous of their constitutional responsibility for this subject, and a new government seeking to accommodate Quebec over all and in the education field. Canada thus sought to reframe this priority into "human capital and innovation." It secured support from the Americans, who advanced the concept of a "knowledge economy" as a substitute.

To broaden his perspectives on the summit, forge personal relationships with the leaders of the G8 and the participating "plus five" partners of India, China, Brazil, South Africa and Mexico, Harper conducted several bilateral summit meetings in the lead-up to St. Petersburg. He met with Bush of the U.S. and Fox of Mexico in Cancun on March 30-31, Koizumi of Japan in Ottawa on July 6, Bush again in Washington July 13-14 and Blair of the UK in Britain on July 15 on the way to St. Petersburg itself. At St. Petersburg he held a bilateral with Putin of Russia and a Canada-EU trilateral with Vanhanen of Finland and Barroso of the EC. By the time he had sat down at the summit table, he had already met six of the fellow eight G8 leaders all but Germany's Angela Merkel and France's Jacques Chirac.

In the summit deliberations, Harper participated substantially, speaking French half the time. He intervened on several issues, helping the summit set new directions on energy security in market friendly and environmentally sensitive ways. At his first G8 summit, Harper and Canada did well. On energy, Canada's successful stress on the core principle of open markets, shared by the U.S. and Britain and accepted by the summit as a whole, framed and permeated the final communiqué. This emphasis was a vast change from the initial text the Russians had circulated in November, and with Russia's acceptance helped to deepen democracy there. Canada's distinctive national value of environmentalism similarly went from nearly non-existent to central, although there is no evidence Canada pushed strongly for this result. On education, Canada's national unity national interest effort to reframe the priority as human capital and innovation was successful in avoiding

any separatist blowback in Quebec, even if areas of provincial jurisdiction were by no means entirely purged the G8 text.

The centerpiece of Harper's contribution came over the Middle East. When attacks by Hamas and Hezbollah on Israel just before the summit made the issue prominent at the G8 summit, Canada acted to ensure that the G8's recently forged consensus over Iran's nuclear program was extended to the war against terrorists in Palestine and Lebanon as well. At the summit the Russians, as host, drafted a four paragraph statement on the Middle East that reflected their and the UN's standard approach. Canada, setting aside summit protocol, immediately drafted and circulated an alternative, two and a half page draft. It infuriated the Russians but secured the support of the Americans. Harper emphasized to his G8 colleagues that the Group had to keep in mind how this crisis started, with attacks by Hamas and Hezbollah on Israel. The leaders decided the three outstanding components in the way the Russian hosts wanted, then largely accepted the Canadian draft as their own.

In the outreach session the following day, the UN's Kofi Annan said he would ask for a UN resolution based on the G8 text. The balance and substance of the G8 statement was well reflected in Resolution 1701 that the UN Security Council (UNSC) produced to stop the conflict on August 12th. Due to the presence of Kofi Anan, of China as a veto power in the UNSC's Permanent Five (P5) and of the other members of the G8's Plus Five, the G8 directions and decisions were directly accepted by the much broader UN in the following days. They were also accepted, thanks to Harper's leadership, by the Francophonie Summit in the fall. Canada led the G8, and the G8 led the UN and the world.

Harper's initiative and the Canadian draft flowed from Harper's own commitment to democracy and anti-terrorism. To be sure, Canada worked closely with U.S. political director Nick Burns in producing the successful statement (if not the three final square bracketed passages that prevailed). Moreover, America's weight as well as Canada's initiative was responsible for the success the statement had. But the sequence saw Canada's draft and approach leading the G8, which served as the <u>de facto</u> security council that defined a new approach soon legally confirmed by the UN itself and the Francophonie Summit beyond. Harper's summit performance was well regarded at home by a public that might be led to the polls again for a general election at any time.

The following summer at the German-hosted G8 summit in <u>Heiligendamm</u>, Canada' global leadership in the G8 concert again arose. Canada and Japan established a target and timetable of a 50% reduction in <u>carbon dioxide</u> emissions by 2050. They helped induce both the divided Americans and Europeans to accept this long-term goal. Harper also made an impassioned statement on <u>Afghanistan</u> that received table thumping applause. It helped inspire more troops and development dollars from G8 allies to address the difficult challenges there.

The Lebanon Rescue, June 2006

Harper's seventh major decision was to rescue the many Canadian citizens fleeing the new conflict in Lebanon. On July 12, 2006, Hezbollah militants in Lebanon raided Israel, killing seven soldiers, wounding eight, and capturing two. On July 16, 2006, seven Canadians were killed. In response, foreign minister Peter MacKay announced plans to evacuate Canadian citizens. These 2006 "boat people" were 15,000 of the estimated 30,000 Canadian citizens living in Lebanon. They were one of the largest groups of dual nationals trapped by the war. Despite its minimal military capability in the region, Canada swiftly mounted a successful rescue, evacuating almost 15,000 of its citizens at Canadian government expense from July 19 to August 15, 2006. Harper himself helped directly by diverting the plane flying him home from the G8 summit in St. Petersburg, through France, to Cyprus, to take some of the weary evacuated Canadians safely home.

A few Canadians complained about the slowness and austere conditions of the rescue, and subsequently about the cost to the Canadian taxpayers and the ease with which Canada granted dual citizenship and all its rights to so called "Canadians of convenience" living abroad. But Harper's actions showed Canada's considerable non-military deployment capabilities and its Dunkirk-like adaptive resilience, the prime minister's personal attachment to ensuring the safety of his fellow Canadians, his respect for the distinctive national values of openness and multiculturalism that were embedded in dual citizens, and his desire to promote national unity by rescuing Canadians who disproportionately might speak French.

Climate Change

Harper's eighth set of major decisions concerned <u>climate change</u> (Simpson et al. 2007). In his campaign platform, Harper had promised to find a <u>solution in concert</u> with the advanced intestinal states, a category that included all G8 partners that had ratified the Kyoto Protocol, and the U.S. that had not.

After meeting with Harper during the week ending February 18, Quebec premier Jean Charest declared that the Harper government supported the <u>Kyoto</u> Protocol. Environment minister Ambrose then succeeded Stéphane Dion in Canada's <u>presidency</u> of the Conference of the Parties (COP). She promised the government would unveil a "<u>made-in-Canada</u>" <u>policy</u> for effective greenhouse gas reductions very soon. She increasingly hinted that the emphasis would change from purchasing carbon credits abroad, as the Liberals had envisaged, to <u>investing</u> in clean technology in Canada, <u>regulating</u> its large final emitters and creating a domestic <u>emissions trading</u> regime.

By May, with no "made-in-Canada" plan appearing, the dissatisfaction of the Canadian NGO and business communities rose. Their concerns were heightened by hints that

²¹ CBC (July 17, 2006), "CBC News Indepth: Middle East," Accessed November 28, 2006, www.cbc.ca/news/background/middleeast/timeline_recent.html

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²² CBC (July 31, 2006), "In Depth: Middle East in Crisis: Evacuation timeline: the biggest rescue in Canadian history," Accessed November 28, 2006, www.cbc.ca/news/background/middleeast-crisis/evac_timeline.html

Canada would consider joining the <u>Asia Pacific Partnership (APP)</u> pioneered by the U.S. and Australia, viewed by some as an alternative rather than an addition to the Kyoto regime. By mid May, as Ambrose was about to fly off to chair the COP meeting, several of Canada's leading environmental groups asked her to resign the chair and give a country genuinely committed to Kyoto Canada's place.

The long promised <u>made-in-Canada plan</u> arrived in the <u>autumn</u>. But few thought it did much to control climate change. The government responded by replacing Ambrose with John Baird as environment minister, and a new stronger plan backed by much greater funding in the fall.

At the G8 <u>Heiligendamm</u> Summit in the summer of 2007, Canada advanced the "50 by 2050" target and timetable, and the consensus that a "beyond Kyoto" regime would be negotiated through the UN. It expanded the consensus to other critical developed and developing partners at the autumn APEC leaders meeting in Australia, and sought to do so again at the Commonwealth Heads of Governance Meeting (CHOGM) in November 2007. It joined the <u>APP</u> as another forum where the unconstrained U.S., China, India and Australia, as well as incoming G8 host Japan were present to advance the cause.

Francophone Summit, September 2006

Harper's ninth major decision dealt with <u>la Francophonie</u>. At the Francophonie Summit in Europe in September 2006 Harper skillfully used Canada's position as the co-founder, second ranked power and second largest contributor of this global institution, to secure the support of France and Switzerland to condemn the harm done to all civilians in the conflict in <u>Lebanon</u>. He thus reinforced the G8's and now the UN's new approach to bringing peace there.

He also joined the effort to protect the <u>French</u> language and culture amidst the onslaught of American led globalization. Harper was selected to host the next Francophone summit in <u>2008</u> — the third time Canada would host the 49-member body since it was cofounded by François Mitterrand, Brian Mulroney and Pierre Marc Johnson in 1986. Canada would host its third summit in <u>Quebec City</u> on the 400 anniversary of the founding of Canada in 1608 with the first permanent settlement there. This would afford a further opportunity to promote the national interest of <u>national unity</u> at home, and the DNV of multiculturalism and bilingualism abroad.

Human Rights

The tenth set of decisions promoted <u>human rights</u>, around the world. The human rights that Harper had identified as a Canadian value while in Afghanistan were forwarded in principled moves in several other global locales.

In regard to the Middle East, Harper declared that the 1915 massacre of the <u>Armenians</u> by Turkey was a case of genocide. In doing so Harper acted prior to a prospective French government move to do the same thing. This led Turkey, a key NATO ally near Afghanistan, to withdraw its ambassador and threaten economic sanctions in response.

In regard to Asia, on April 8, 2006, Canada declared Sri Lanka's <u>Tamil Tigers a terrorist organization</u>, as the U.S. and Britain had done before. In the autumn of 2007, Canada, inspired by the memory of John Diefenbaker on apartheid in South Africa, imposed severe sanctions on <u>Myanmar</u>, in response to that regime's massacre of its dissenting monks.

In November 2007 at the CHOGM, Harper supported the <u>suspension of Pakistan</u> from the Commonwealth to punish it for its repression of human rights at home. In November 2013 he acted more strongly, boycotting the CHOGM in Sri Lanka to protect the host regime's continuing abuse of human rights. Soon after, India followed Canada's lead.

In Africa in mid-May 2006 Harper signalled Canada's willingness, in response to a request from the leaders of the U.S. and UN, to contribute militarily to a ceasefire in Darfur designed to stop the ongoing genocide there.

In regard to America, Harper vigorously defended Canadian citizen <u>Maher Arar</u> against an American government that was claiming with no apparent evidence that he was a terrorist with no right to freely travel there.

China

Through the first two years, the biggest target of Harper's human rights promotion was <u>China</u>. In China Peter MacKay threatened to crack down on China's spies stealing Canada's industrial secrets. Canada's behind the scenes diplomacy induced Thailand to release a Chinese human rights activist in April.

Creating North American Community: Montebello, August 2007

The eleventh decision was creating the North American summit as a permanent institution by hosting it at Montebello, Quebec in August 2007. It was at this second encounter in as many years that this rare event became a regular occurrence. Harper's promise to host the 2007 trilateral summit made him a founding father of a plurilateral summit-level institution, with a defined frequency and hosting order. Here the three North American leaders could meet as equals to promote the growing web of trilateral cooperation below. As the "restrained retreat to America" school had predicted, Harper had not brought back Brian Mulroney's institutionalized "Shamrock Summitry" with the U.S. alone. Rather he had helped bring to life a new, more expansive summit institution with Mexico equally and integrally involved.

Expanding Arctic Jurisdiction, August 27, 2008

The twelfth key decision, taken on August 27, 2008, was extending Canada's Arctic territory by doubling from 100 to 200 nautical miles Canada's claimed jurisdiction for environmental and shipping purposes. Harper promised to introduce changes to the 1970 Arctic Waters Protection Prevention Act (AWPPA) for this purpose, as part of the fall legislative agenda. It would also establish new regulations under the Canada Shipping

Act of 2001, to require mandatory reporting from all ships destined for Arctic waters within the same 325-kilometre limit. Environmental custodianship was the basis for the territorial claim, which advanced a key DNV and NI together.

Advancing Maternal Newborn and Child Health through the G8 and UN, 2010

The thirteenth key decision, in the realm of development, was Canada's 2010 initiative on maternal, newborn and child health (MNCH), taken through the G8 and the UN (Kirton and Koch 2010, Kirton, Guebert and Kulik 2014). It shows Canada's foreign policy shift to "giving global leadership,"

On January 26, 2010, just as Canada's year as G8 host and chair began, Harper announced in an editorial in the *Toronto Star* that Canada would feature MNCH on an already crowded agenda for an unusually short G8 Summit. He did so when the Muskoka G8 summit ended on June 26. The choice moved the G8's focus beyond the familiar infectious disease of HIV/AIDS, TB and Malaria into the more chronic diseases of MNCH, and into directly contributing to the two of the eight UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), numbers four and five, that were furthest from meeting their fast approaching target date of 2015. In the immediate aftermath of the greatest recession since the Great Depression of the 1930's, Canada's G8 mobilized \$7.3 billion in new money for MNCH, to be delivered over the next three years from 2010 to 2013. The sum was led by a new \$1 billion contribution from Canada, followed by those from all G8 members and from outside the G8 from the countries such as Korea, and from the Gates Foundation and UN Foundation.

Preparations for the Canadian Summit had begun in November of 2007 when Canadian officials met to discuss what the priority themes would be. Among the proposed topics were democratization, Africa, compliance, architecture, energy and the Arctic. MNCH was not on the list. In the summer of 2008, Harper announced that the summit would be held in Huntsville, Ontario and that the priority themes would be: economic growth and trade, climate change, and, in the security sphere, Canada's doctrinal foundation favourites of freedom, democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. However, in the summer of 2009 Harper added as the fourth pillar development, with a clear emphasis on health and above all "the critical areas of maternal and childhood well being" (Harper 2009: 19).

On January 26, 2010 Harper identified his choice of a major initiative on MNCH, as the signature achievement of the summit. He again outlined his agenda at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, indicating his agenda and aspirations for both his G8 and G20 Summits (Harper 2010). When he came to the passage in his speech on MNCH, he received his only spontaneous round of applause.

Among the external determinants, of the Muskoka MNCH Initiative the US was not in the lead. Prior to Harper's G8 summit and MNCH achievement, leadership on global health had come largely from the US, with its focus on preventing the spread of the infectious disease of HIV/AIDS in developing countries. The Clinton administration had been central at the G8 summit and UN summits in 2001 in launching the Global Fund

against AIDS, TB and Malaria. President Bush had followed with his more unilateral President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). Yet the new Obama administration gave less attention to global health, retained its bias for infectious disease, and was late in mobilizing new money for the cause. When Secretary of State Clinton announced the new administration's Global Health Initiative on May 5, 2009, its focus was "programs to combat HIV/ADIS, malaria and TB, and other preventable disease, save millions of lives, reduce maternal and child mortality, and reflect our nation's leadership as a positive force for progress around the world" (US Department of State 2009). At the G8's L'Aquila summit that summer, President Obama's priority was food security, helping mobilize a total of \$22 billion for the cause, led by a major contribution from the US. This choice was made at the time that Canada was choosing MNCH as the priority for its G8 summit the next year.

Canada's G8 MNCH initiative was driven and sustained largely by social determinants above all. Canadian children-focused NGO's, led by World Vision, Plan, and Save the Children. They were active at an early stage in urging the Canadian government to adopt this priority for the Muskoka G8. To be sure they worked closely with their sister organizations in the US and Britain. But in all cases this transnational civil society coalition appears to have been acting autonomously, rather than responding to actual or anticipated reaction or suggestions form the US government. Indeed, it was the Canadian component of World Vision that was the most eager to move into public policy advocacy from its more traditional service delivery role.

At the government level, the key determinant were individuals working directly on the G8 file, supported by CIDA and its minister and ultimately by Prime Minister Harper. Yet global health, development, and MNCH were not a priority part of Stephen Harper's personal belief system before or after he became PM.

Canada's G8 achievement was mobilizing at Muskoka \$7.3 billion in new money from the same leaders who knew that the next day they would be travelling to Toronto to pledge at their G20 summit to <u>cut their fiscal deficits</u> in half as a percent of GDP by 2013. The Muskoka money was also mobilized simultaneously with the Canadian's G8's second named signature achievement, the <u>Muskoka Accountability Report</u> to monitor and publicly report on members' compliance with their G8 commitment on development and health. Evidence suggests that the latter had a deterrent effect on the former, with some members pledging less money, knowing that they would be held accountable for delivering the promised sums. In a G8 context, the emphasis on accountability was above all Harper's in 2010, although this cause had been shared with the US in earlier years.

A few months after the G8 Muskoka Summit Harper travelled to a UN summit in New York in September to review and revitalize progress toward the MDGs at the two third temporal mark. There he and the full global community raised the new money mobilized for MNCH to an announced total of \$40 billion. To ensure that the promised money was actually delivered, deployed and produced results in the intended way. Harper worked with UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon to create a Commission on information and accountability on MNCH that Harper co-chaired with President Kikwete of Tanzania.

Generating G20 Summit Governance, 2008-2013

The fourteenth key decision, coming in the realm of finance and economics and global governance, was Canada's role in elevating the G20 to the leaders' level in the autumn, and its success in G20 summitry from 2008 to 2013 (Kirton 2013).

After the Harper government took office, finance minister Flaherty was an active participant in the ministerial level of finance G20 after the global financial crisis erupted in September 2008, Flaherty was one of the few G7 finance ministers to attend the annual G20 meeting in Sao Paolo in November 2008.

When Nicolas Sarkozy first suggested in September 2008 that there be a summit to respond to the financial crisis, Harper endorsed the concept. He then worked with the French to help them come to an agreement with the Americans that it should be a G20 one. Canada was driven by a calculation of what countries were needed to respond to the crisis, although its emphasis on "fix the banks first" suggested a preference for a summit of the G7 plus a few others' rather than a full G20 one. However Canada's support for a G20 summit was driven in part by a defensive positionalist calculation that it was better off with an established forum where it was a key member rather than a new ad hoc gathering from which it might be left out.

On November 14-15, 2008 at the first G20 leaders' summit at Washington, Canada's strong message remained "fix the banks first." Harper stood out as being focused and informed about the international economy. He was recognized as providing thoughtful interventions, especially on fiscal policy, his call to start thinking now about exit strategies, and on the banking and financials system, as no Canadian institutions had failed. While Harper encouraged countries to adopt significant stimulus measures, he advised against more 'red-tape' regulation. He aligned himself with George Bush's defence of free market capitalism, rather than the European and Australian argument that the root of the crisis lay in deregulation and unchecked speculation. Canada adopted its traditional role as an honest broker, urging leaders to find a middle ground between domestic and international regulation. Canada also became known for its strong contributions on trade and for coming to summit meetings with positive statements on the need for G20 countries to resist the lure of protectionism.

In the lead up to the second G20 summit at London on April 1-2, 2009, independent analysts reported how effective Canada's banks were on a global scale. Canada's credibility was enhanced by its delivery of a large fiscal stimulus in its January 2009 budget. Canada's priorities for the Summit focused on fixing the banks and delivering the fiscal stimulus of 4% of members' GDP that the G20 had promised at Washington. Canada spoke against a proposed global bank tax from the beginning, feeling it was a bad idea driven by a political desire to punish "bad banks" of which Canada and most G20 members had none. Canada felt that the issues of money laundering and hedge funds were red herrings rather than core issues. Canada was comfortable with addressing the first through the adoption of OECD standards and agreements for sharing tax information. It regarded this as a successful approach.

At London it was agreed that restoring domestic lending was essential for fiscal and monetary stimulus to restore growth. In addition to providing liquidity, recapitalization and addressing impaired assets, G20 governments would take "all necessary action to restore the normal flow of credit through the financial systems and ensure the soundness of systemically important institutions." This blank check for credit flows was an affirmation of the central message of Canadian finance minister Jim Flaherty. It was an encouragement to a slow-moving America, which had put stimulus first, to get on with core banking reforms. On tax havens, a core demand of the continental Europeans, the G20 boldly declared: "the era of banking secrecy is over." But all the G20 promised was to "stand ready to deploy sanctions" rather than actually unleashing any against recalcitrant jurisdictions. The winner here was China and the other G20 members, such as Britain and Canada, with tax havens in the Caribbean and elsewhere to protect. Canada regarded climate change as driven by Brown's domestic political concerns, but not being a fundamental economic issue at that time.

At the third summit at Pittsburg on September 24-25, 2009 at Pittsburgh, Canada pledged CA\$10 billion, its traditional 10 percent of America's contribution as part of the leaders' G20 London's headline of a US\$1.1 trillion pledge to the IMF. Only Canada clearly said it would consider giving more if the IMF asked.

On the eve of the summit, Canada announced a donation of \$2.6 billion in callable capital to the African Development Bank, making Canada the only member to offer new money on such a scale. At the summit, Harper continued to press, to success, on his core priorities of a sensible exit strategy and trade liberalization. The Canadians were interested in climate finance as long as the result did not eliminate the role of the private sector and did not focus unduly on public sources of finance. The summit decided to institutionalize the G20 summit as the primary forum for global economic governance. They chose Canada to host the first institutionalized G20 summit in Ontario in June 2010.

For the G20's fourth summit, ultimately held at Toronto on June 26-27, 2010, Canada was chosen as the host and chair. It was the first country beyond the old Anglo-American countries to be chosen for this institutional leadership role. For Toronto, Harper declared that his summit should focus on the economy and on following up on G20 commitments. This meant addressing the financial system, stimulus and exit strategies, trade liberalization, IFI reform and the Framework for Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth. More generally, Canada wanted to work with Korea to ensure that the two summits were complementary. One idea was that there should be a different thematic emphasis for each. In determining its agenda, Canada began with two key concepts. First, Canada wanted to recognize that the G20 was a different forum than the G8 and have the agenda reflect that fact. Russia supported this approach. Second, Canada emphasized accountability as it was doing for its G8. It felt delivering on past promises was particularly important for the new G20 Summit. Canada thus wanted to keep the agenda focused on the economy and on the commitments of members to implement the Pittsburgh framework and the other promises made there. Canada opposed a uniform, global bank tax. It argued that a one size bank tax did not fit all and that they should not have to pay as none of their banks had failed at home. At the four Sherpa meetings in the

lead-up to the summit, held as the European financial crisis erupted in its first instalment in Greece Canada's objective was to keep the Europeans' feet to the fire but not to cause panic, to give them space to fix their own problems. Their new steps for stabilization and the allocation of more money with the help of the IMF were seen as useful steps. Several weeks before Toronto, Canada's team had a discussion with Harper in reaction to the crisis in Europe, given his role as G20 chair. At that time Harper sent his G20 colleagues a carefully worded letter calling for <u>fiscal consolidation</u> to be the key issue at the summit. He proposed a precise set of targets and timetables for deficit and debt reduction. At Toronto this was agreed. The media portrait of the summit's substance was generally favourable for its host. Most Canadian commentators felt that Harper's summit had got the macroeconomic approach and message right.

At the fifth summit at Seoul November 11-12, 2010 host Korea proved that an emerging economy from Asia, and one beyond the BRICs, could design, chair and host a summit that delivered by the then due built-in deadlines the initiatives central to the G20's foundational mission of promoting financial stability by strengthening at both the domestic and international level the respective central pillars of the world's private banks and the IMF. Canada saw its "fix the banks first" priority finally agreed as the Seoul summit approved the adoption by all G20 members of the Basel 3 accord on banking capital, liquidity and leverage. Canada also played a key role in the second, as its gave up just enough of its quote share at the IMF to allow Brazil to claim Canada's tenth ranked spot, and that allow the BRICS and the others to accept the IMF voice and vote reform deal. In doing so, Canada was sacrificing its national share in a zero sum game for the greater global good of modernizing a resistant IMF that had been designed in and for the world of 1944.

Liberating Libya through NATO and the UN, 2011

The fifteenth key decision coming in the realm of security, was going to war in 2011 to liberate Libya's civilians from a slaughter that was highly likely to happen at the hands of its 42 year long dictator, of Muamar Ghadaffi. Canada stood with France and Britain as the first ranking NATO allies to call for diplomatic sanctions, for authorizing UN Security Council Resolution to invoke the principle of an international responsibility to protect (R2P) and to deploy and employ air forces in combat to protect endangered Libyan civilians in Benghazi and elsewhere.

In late February the emphasis was on rescuing Canadians and imposing economic sanctions. Foreign minister_Cannon announced that Canada was seeking to evacuate Canadians from Libya to Europe, while working very closely with like-minded countries including France, the United Sates, Britain, Australia and New Zealand to secure seats for Canadians on their outgoing flights. He next condemned the violence and supported a "discussion" about sanctions at the UN Human Rights Council. The UN Security Council statement on February 22 contained for the first time ever an explicit reference to R2P. Harper stated that Canada would pursue sanctions against Libya in partnership with other states or "unilaterally if necessary." After Harper and Obama spoke on the phone each said "they would co-ordinate their expanding humanitarian efforts and consider other options should they become necessary." Harper then announced Canada would impose

sanctions to punish Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, along with the other members of the UN, but including measures beyond those of the UNSC. It thus froze all financial transactions with the Libyan government.

As March opened, Ottawa planned to participate in an international effort to <u>airlift aid</u> to opposition-held areas of Libya. Harper announced CAN\$5 million in humanitarian aid in Libya, sent a frigate, along with the US and special forces for evacuation, aid insertions into rebel held areas or even a blockade. It welcomed the decision by the Arab League calling for a <u>no-fly zone</u> over Libya. It declared that the UN Security Council was the proper place to decide on action against Libya, as G8 countries refused to support a no-fly zone proposed by France and Britain.

On March 17, the UNSC imposed a no-fly zone over Libya and approved all necessary measures to enforce the no-fly zone. Canada immediately prepared to send six fighter jets to enforce the zone. On March 18 US Secretary of State Clinton met with French president Nicholas Sarkozy and U.K. Prime Minister David Cameron before joining a closed-door lunch with the leaders of Canada, Germany, Qatar the Arab League, and the U.N. Led by Britain, the US and Canada, NATO led in organizing the needed military force. Cannon met in Paris with a member of Libya's Transitional Council, which Ottawa regarded as a "valid interlocutor"

On March 21 <u>four CF-18 fighters</u> and <u>two CC-150 Polaris air-to-air refueling tankers</u> took off from an Italian base to patrol Libya's coast. Defence minister Peter MacKay announced that Canadian warplanes would conduct high-level strategic strikes over Libya. On March 25, MacKay announced that Lt.-Gen. Charles <u>Bouchard</u> of Canada would take over <u>command</u> of the NATO mission in Libya. The decision, taken after considerable debate among the allies, was, in MacKay's words, a "testament to the respect Canada's military enjoys around the world"

On March 29 Morris Rosenberg, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, attended the London Conference on Libya Participants as minister Cannon was in the midst of an election campaign. On April 13 Cannon left the campaign to attend the meeting of the Contact Group on Libya in Doha where ministers met with Libya's rebels in a show of support for insurgents who are seeking to overthrow Gaddafi. On June_9 Julian Fantino, Associate Minister of National Defence, attended the third meeting of the Contact Group on Libya. MacKay said the Canadian mission in Libya had cost \$26 million and could rise to \$60 million by September. The total included the cost of fuel for fighter planes and patrol craft as well as the 300 laser-guided bombs dropped between March 19 to June 2. On June 15 the House of Commons voted to extend Canada's participation in *Operation UNIFIED PROTECTOR* to the end of September 2011.

On June 27 John Baird, Canada's new Foreign Affairs Minister following the general election that returned Harper with his first majority government, secretly <u>visited Benghazi</u> to met with leaders of Libya's National Transitional Council (NTC). He recognized the legitimacy of NTC as the representative of the people of Libya and invited Mustafa Abdul Jalil, Chairman of the NTC, to Canada to extend Canada's diplomatic ties with Libya." On July 15, Baird at the end of the fourth meeting of the Contact Group on

Libyan civilians. On August 8, Canada declared all remaining <u>diplomats</u> at the Libyan embassy in Ottawa <u>personae non gratae</u>, effective immediately. On August 14 Ottawa allowed Libyan rebels to contact a firm, Aeryon Las in Waterloo, with high-tech Canadian drones. On August 25 Baird welcomed Abubaker Karmos, appointee of the National Transitional Council (NTC) of Libya, as chargé d'affaires ad interim at the Embassy of Libya in Canada.

On September 1, Harper attended talks on Libya hosted in Paris by Sarkozy. There he met with other world leaders and the leaders of Libya's NTC to discuss what was needed to rebuild and move to democratic elections in about 18 months. Harper stated there that Canada would be a part of the military mission "until it reaches its conclusion." He then announced that "Canada had lifted its unilateral economic sanctions on Libya, now that the Gaddafi regime no longer holds power. On September 12, Canada reopened its embassy in Libya's capital. On September 20 Harper told the United Nations, at a high-level meeting on Libya attended by dozens of nations and Libya's National Transitional Council that "Canada will stay the course in Libya" to help it rebuild. On September 22, British Prime Minister David Cameron in Ottawa complimented Canada's military, past and present, and noted how Canadian and British troops fought together in Afghanistan and now in Libya.

This cadence of decision suggests that <u>Canada</u> led along with <u>France and Britain</u> in militarily liberating Libya and supporting the replacement of the Ghaddfi regime by a democratic one. It also suggests that Canada was compensating for a politically constrained America that could not politically fly manned air combat missions over Libya, but that provided the critical specialized intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance resources need to win and the critical diplomatic initiative at the UN to authorize the use of all necessary means to implement the international responsibility to protect. It seemed like somewhat of a role reversal from the distant days when Canada had concentrated on diplomacy and left front line military combat to the US. It successfully advanced the doctrine of <u>"enlightened sovereignty"</u> in R2P form in the military and political field.

Economic Partnership with the EU, 2013

The sixteenth key decision, coming in economics and trade, was the Canada-EU Economic Partnership Agreement concluded on October 18, 2013.

Causes

During Harper's first two years, rapidly changing world defined by a declining America, diffusing capabilities and deepening vulnerabilities faced a Canadian public wary of its new minority Conservative government led by a young Albertan prime minister with little previous interest or involvement in international affairs, no ministerial experience, and a cabinet with virtually no foreign policy experience at all. Yet Canada's rapidly rising relative capabilities allowed the rational policy analyst, fast learner and principled

politician at the helm to practice successfully a principal power foreign policy of global democratic leadership in the world.

The first cause fuelling Canada's principal power success was the **systemic** configuration of a declining, more vulnerable America, a rising more relatively capable Canada, and the diffusion of capability to a new set of emerging principal powers in the world. As Appendix J shows, when Harper was elected prime minister on January 23, 2006, Canada's dollar had already risen from its lowest ever value of US\$61.75 on January 21, 2002 to 87.01, for a gain of 41% %. During Harper's first two years and two months it rose a further 17%. At the same time, the price of oil, which made America more vulnerable and neighbouring Canada more capable, rose 62%. Similarly, the price of gold, reflecting the commodities that made Canada and many emerging powers such as Russia, Brazil, China and South Africa more capable soared 82%. The commodity boom that had first fuelled Canada's rise as a "foremost nation" in the mid 1970s had returned in full force (Eayrs 1975). So had the spectre of an American military defeat like that in Vietnam, now in the form of America's five year long still un-won war in Iraq.

At the **societal** level, as Appendix K details, Harper's minority government had survived longer than most, despite several risky confidence votes it brought. It had kept the support of the Canadian people at largely the same levels that had brought it to power at first. It had done well in luring two Liberal MPs to join it and in the many by-elections it had called. By March 16, 2007, the Conservative had gained two seats to reach 126, the Liberals had dropped nine to 94, the Bloc had lost three to 48 and the NDP had gained one to 30. There were four independents.

At the **governmental** level no ministers had been forced to resign until Maxime Bernier stepped down. Moreover, as Appendix O shows, Harper had strengthened his team by shifted most of his major international affairs ministers (save for trade and finance) once. Thus at Foreign Affairs Peter MacKay was replaced by Maxime Bernier, at Defence Gordon O'Connor by Peter MacKay, at International Development by Bev Oda, and at Environment Rona Ambrose by John Baird.

At the **individual** level, Harper had acknowledged his surprised at how much time he had to spend on international affairs. But he did it with growing confidence and skill. And he soon started doing it at his own initiative (beyond Afghanistan), taking his first discretionary tour (to the Americas) in the summer of 2007.

Conclusion

He defined and delivered a foreign policy that flowed from and furthered Canada's national interests and increasingly its distinctive national values as well. He focused first on survival through national unity in his foreign policy doctrine, focused on France in his summit diplomacy, gave Quebec a role in UNESCO, rescued francophone Canadian citizens from Lebanon, and confirmed his commitment to remain a ratified party to Kyoto at the behest of Quebec premier Jean Charest. Security was enhanced by Canada's major military role in Afghanistan. And territory was protected and promoted by Harper's firm policy on Arctic sovereignty and fisheries jurisdiction off the Atlantic coast.

In the realm of values, the emphasis from the start was strongly on those LI ones shared in common with the like-minded, above all democracy, human rights and the rule of law. But also central from the start was the distinctive national value of multiculturalism, as seen in his recognition of the Armenian genocide, defence of Canada's dual citizenship policy, and highlighting the slaughter in Darfur. His support for openness was evident in his effort to speed up the recognition of immigrant's professional credentials, his choice of high immigration levels, rescuing Canadian citizens from Lebanon, apologizing for the Chinese head tax, and his successful emphasis on open markets as a means to energy security at the St. Petersburg G8. His support for environmentalism was weaker, but evident in his decisions to remain within Kyoto, his growing concern of the need for Arctic sovereignty to protect its fragile ecosystem and his leadership with Harper in setting 50-2050 as a key referent for the beyond Kyoto climate regime.

Most ambitiously, Harper showed signs of succeeding in global leadership. His defence of open democracy helped shaped outcomes at the G8 and Francophonie summits. His hosting of the SPP summit in 2007 made him a founding father of a plurilateral summit institution of potentially considerable consequence. And his heavy first tier military investment in Afghanistan could make America and its allies freer from deadly terrorism of global reach, if Harper's Canada succeeds in helping change the expectations and then the behaviour of those on the ground in that still very troubled land. But as his first two years in office approached their end he had delivered his promises of global democratic leadership and started to shape global order on this basis through his leadership at the G8, la Francophonie, APEC, the SPP and CHOGM. He could look ahead with some confidence to the many challenges and opportunities that awaited when he hosted the francophone summit in 2008 and the G8 summit in 2010.

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Appendix A: Harper Doctrines

Doctrine

Campaign Platform

Policy Priority: Strengthen national unity, advance our interests

Issue Priorities Economics, environment, education

Country Priorities Adversary = U.S., Allies = Australia, UK, India, Japan

Institutional Priorities G8, OECD, NATO

Campaign Promises

Policy Priorities

Issue Priorities Military, Arctic, Afghanistan, Immigration,

democratization, development

Country Priorities All but U.S., NAFTA, Americas

Institutional Priorities

Victory Address

Policy Priorities Democracy, Immigration

Issue Priorities

Country Priorities Afghanistan

Institutional Priorities

Throne Speech

First Second

From Start throughout

One Third One Fourth Policy Priorities Issue Priorities

Country Priorities Afghanistan, Italy, Asia, all regions, America

Institutional Priorities Foreign Policy Speeches

Appendix B: Harper Distributions

Advisory Appointments

Diplomatic Personnel

Departmental Re-organization

Budget One

Defence 2005-6 = 14.6b 2006-7 = 2007-8 = 16.5b Development 2005-6 = 1006-7 = 3.8b 2007-8 = 4.1b

Diplomacy Budget Two Budget Three Diplomatic Posts

Summitry

Ministerial Visits Bilateral Institutions Free Trade Agreements

Appendix C: Harper's Summitry

Totals by Country and Multilateral Organization (up to November 23, 2009)

Totals by Country and				
Partner	Total	Given	Received	Occasion ^a
United States	25	22	3	SPP-4 G8-4, G20-3, APEC-4, NATO-4, B-4
	0			SPPB-1, UNSS-1
Mexico	18	16	2	SPP-4 G8-4, G20-3 B-1, APEC-4,
				APECB-1, C-1
France	18	15	3	G8-4, G20-3, B-4, FS-2, NATO-4, EU-1
Japan	16	15	1	G8-4, G20-3, APEC-4, APECB-1, B-3,
			•	UNSS-1
Britain	15	15	-	G8-4, G20-3, B-3, NATO-4, UNSS-1
China	14	14	_	G8-3, G20-3, APEC-4,, APECB-1 G8B-2,
Official				UNSS-1
Germany	14	14	-	G8-4, G20-3, NATO-4, EU-1, B-1, UNSS-1
Russia	13	13	-	G8-4, G20-3, APEC-4, G8B-2
Italy	13	12	1	G8-4, G20-3, NATO-4, B-1, UNSS-1
Australia	13	12	1	APEC-4, APECB-1 G20-3, B-2, G8-2,
Australia	10	12	1	UNSS-1
European Union	12	11	1	G8-4, G20-3, G8B-1, EU-3, UNSS-1
Korea	10	10	-	APEC-4, APECB-1, G20-3, G8-2
Indonesia	9	9	-	APEC-4, G8-2, G20-3
Brazil	9	9	-	G8-4, G20-3, G8B-2
India	9	9	-	G8-4, G20-3, G8B-1, B-1
Czech Republic	9	7	2	FS-2, G20-1, NATO-4, B-1, EU-1
Turkey	9	9	_	NATO-4, G20-3, G8-1, UNSS-1
United Nations SG	9	9	_	G8-3, UNGA-1, G20-3, UNSS=2
Spain	8	8	-	NATO-4, G20-3, G8-1
South Africa	8	8	-	G8-4, G20-3, G8B-1
Hungary	7	5	2	FS-2, NATO-4, B-1
Chile	7	5	2	APEC-4, APECB-1, B-2
Netherlands	7	7	-	NATO-4, G20-2, G8-1
Vietnam	7	6	1	APEC-4, APECB-1 FS-2
Belgium	6	5	1	FS-2, NATO-4
Bulgaria	6	5	1	FS-2, NATO-4
Greece	6	5	1	FS-2, NATO-4
Lithuania	6	5	1	FS-2, NATO-4
Luxembourg	6	5	1	FS-2, NATO-4
Slovakia	6	5	1	FS-2, NATO-4
Slovenia	6	5	1	FS-2, NATO-4, NATOB-1
Romania	6	5	1	FS-2, NATO-4
Thailand	6	6	-	APEC-4, G20-2
Peru	5	5	_	APEC-4, APECB-1
Denmark	5	5	_	NATO-4, G8-1
Latvia	5	4	1	NATO-4, 60-1
Iceland	5	4	1	NATO-4 B-1
NATO SG	5	5	_	NATO-4, B-1 NATO-4, NATOB-1
Haiti	4	2	2	FS-2, B-1, CARICOM-1
Senegal	4	3	1	FS-2, G8-2
Estonia	4	4	I	NATO-4
	4	4	-	NATO-4
Norway	4	4	_	INATO-4

Partner	Total	Given	Received	Occasion ^a
Portugal	4	4	-	NATO-4
Columbia	4	3	1	B-4
Brunei Darussalam	4	4	-	APEC-4
New Zealand	4	4	-	APEC-4
Papua New Guinea	4	4	-	APEC-4
Philippines	4	4	_	APEC-4
	4	4	-	APEC-4
Singapore Saudi Arabia	3	3	-	G20-3
			-	
Argentina	3	3	4	G20-3
Dominica	3	2	1	FS-2, CARICOM-1
St. Lucia	3	2	1	FS-2, CARICOM-1
Ukraine	3	1	2	FS-2, B-1
Ghana	3	2	-	FS-2, G8-1
Malaysia	3	3	-	APEC-3
Egypt	3	2	1	FS-2, G8-1
Ethiopia	3	3	-	G8-3 G20-1
Croatia	3	2	1	FS-2, NATO-1
Albania	3	2	1	FS-2, NATO-1
Finland	2	2	-	G8-1, G8B-1
Afghanistan	2	1	1	B-2
Andorra	2	1	1	FS-2
Armenia	2	1	1	FS-2
Austria	2	1	1	FS-2
Benin	2	1	1	FS-2
Burkina Faso	2	1	1	FS-2
Burundi	2	1	1	FS-2
Cambodia	2	1	1	FS-2
Cameroon	2	1	1	FS-2
Cape Verde	2	1	1	FS-2
Central African Republic	2	1	1	FS-2
Chad	2	1	1	FS-2
Comoros	2	1	1	FS-2
Congo	2	1	1	FS-2
Cote d'Ivoire	2	1	1	FS-2
Cyprus	2	1	1	FS-2
Democratic Republic of				
Congo	2	1	1	FS-2
Djibouti	2	1	1	FS-2
Jamaica	2	2	-	CARICOM-1, B-1
Algeria	2	2	_	G8-2
Nigeria	2	2	-	G8-2
Sweden	2	2	_	G20-1, G8-1
Equatorial Guinea	2	1	1	FS-2
Former Yugoslav				
Republic of Macedonia	2	1	1	FS-2
Gabon	2	4	4	FS-2
	2	1	1	
Georgia	2	1	1	FS-2
Guinea	2	1	1	FS-2
Guinea-Bissau	2	1	1	FS-2
Laos	2	1	1	FS-2
Lebanon	2	1	1	FS-2
Madagascar	2	1	1	FS-2
Mali	2	1	1	FS-2
Mauritania	2	1	1	FS-2

Partner	Total	Given	Received	Occasion ^a
Mauritius	2	1	1	FS-2
Moldova	2	1	1	FS-2
Monaco	2	1	1	FS-2
Morocco	2	1	1	FS-2
Mozambique	2	1	1	FS-2
Niger	2	1	1	FS-2
Rwanda	2	1	1	FS-2
Sao Tome and Principe	2	1	1	FS-2
Serbia	2	1	1	FS-2
Seychelles	2	1	1	FS-2
Switzerland	2	1	1	FS-2
Togo	2	1	1	FS-2
Tunisia	2	1	1	FS-2
Vanuatu	2	1	1	FS-2
Barbados	2	2	-	B-1, CARICOM-1
Tanzania	2	1	1	B-1, G8-1
CHOGM SG	2	-	2	CHOGM-2
Pakistan	2	2	-	B-1, UNSS-1
Jordan	1	-	1	B-1
Antigua and Barbuda	1	1	-	CARICOM-1
The Bahamas	1	1	-	CARICOM-1
Belize	1	1	-	CARICOM-1
Grenada	1	1	-	CARICOM-1
Guyana	1	1	-	CARICOM-1
Montserrat	1	1	-	CARICOM-1
St. Kitts and Nevis	1	1	-	CARICOM-1
St. Vincent and the	4	4		CARICOM 4
Grenadines	1	1	_	CARICOM-1
Suriname	1	1	_	CARICOM-1
Trinidad and Tobago	1	1	-	CARICOM-1
Tibet ^b	1	-	1	B-1
Angola	1	1	-	G8-1
Libya	1	1	-	G8-1
Panama	1	1	-	B-1
United Arab Emirates	1	1	-	UNSS-1

Notes:

Compiled by Jenilee Guebert.

^a Unless otherwise noted, the occasion is a leader's visit to another leader's country; the number indicates the total of meetings on that occasion. Includes leaders elect but not constitutional monarchs. All bilateral or multilateral meetings at a summit are counted as "given."

B = bilateral

G8B = bilateral at G8 summit

FS = Francophonie summit

G8 = G8 summit

SPP = Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America

UNGA = United Nations General Assembly

UNSS = United Nations Special Summit

APEC = APEC Leaders' Summit

APECB=bilateral at APEC Leaders' Summit

NATO = North Atlantic Treaty Organization Leaders' Summit

CHOGM = Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting

EU = Canada-European Union Summit

CARICOM=Carribean Community

C = ceremonial event

Stephen Haiper, 2000	Steph	en Har	per, 2006	<u></u>
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060314: Harper visits Karzai (Afghanistan) in Kabul Harper visits Aziz (Pakistan) in Islamabad 060314: 060330-31: Harper meets Bush (U.S.) and Fox (Mexico) in Cancun Howard (Australia) visits Harper in Ottawa 060518 Koizumi (Japan) visits Harper in Ottawa 060628: Harper visits Bush (U.S.) in Washington 060706: 060713-14: Harper visits Blair (UK) in Britain Harper attends G8 Summit 060715-17: (bilateral with Putin [Russia]; trilateral with Vanhanen [Finland] and Barroso [EC]) Harper visits Chirac (France) in Paris 060718-19: Harper at Opening of UN General Assembly in New York 060921: (bilateral with Annan [UN Secretary General]) Karzai (Afghanistan) visits Harper in Ottawa 060921-22 Vîke-Freiberga (Latvia) visits Harper in Ottawa 060925: 060928 Harper attends Francophone Summit in Bucharest Calderon (Mexico) visits Harper in Ottawa 061026 Harper at APEC Leaders' Summit in Vietnam 061118-19: (bilateral with Roh Moo-Hyun [South Korea], Shinzo Abe [Japan], Hu Jintao [China], Nguyen Tan Dung [Vietnam], John Howard [Australia]) Harper at NATO Summit in Latvia 061128-29: (bilateral with (Jaap) de Hoop Scheffer [NATO Secretary General], Lech Kaczynski [Poland])

Stephen Harper, 2007-

061201:

070911:

071029:

070425 Solvom (Hungary) visits Harper in Ottawa 070522: Harper visits Karzai (Afghanistan) in Kabul 070604· Harper attends Canada-EU Summit in Berlin, Germany 070606: Harper visits Sarkozy (France) in Paris Harper attends G8 Summit 070606-08: (bilaterals with Lula [Brazil], Hu [China], Putin [Russia], Mbeki [South Africal) Balkenende (Netherlands) visits Harper in Ottawa 070711-12: 070712-13: King Abdullah II (Jordan) visits Harper in Ottawa Harper visits Uribe (Columbia) in Bogota 070716: Harper visits Bachelet (Chile) 070717-18 070718-19: Harper visits Arthur (Barbados) Harper visits CARICOM (Caribbean Community) leaders 070719: Harper visits Preval (Haiti) 070720: Bush (U.S.) and Calderon (Mexico) attend Security and Prosperity 070820-21: Partnership summit in Montebello, Quebec 070909: Harper at APEC Leaders' Summit in Australia

Dalai Lama (Spiritual Leader of Tibet)^b visits Harper in Ottawa

Harper attends Calderon's inauguration ceremony in Mexico City

(bilateral with Alvaro Uribe Velez [Columbia])

Harper visits Howard (Australia)

071123-25: Harper attends CHOGM summit (36 Heads of State or Government

attended)

071126: Harper visits Kikwete (Tanzania)

Stephen Harper, 2008-

080228-29:	Topolánek (Czech Republic) in Canada
080402-04:	NATO summit in Bucharest, Romania
080404-05:	Harper to visit Donald Tust (Poland)

080421: Harper visits Bush (U.S.)-bilateral at SPP

080421-22: North American Leaders' Summit in New Orleans

080526-28: Victor Yushchenko (Ukraine) visits Harper

080526: Harper visits Sarkozy (France) 080527: Harper visits Merkel (Germany) 080528: Harper visits Berlusconi (Italy)

080529: Harper visits Brown (United Kingdom) 080608-11: Michelle Bachelet (Chile) visits Harper

080706: Harper visits Fukuda (Japan)

080707-09: G8 Summit plus O5, plus MEM-16, plus African countries in Hokkaido,

Japan

080709: G8 bilateral, Harper and Singh (India) 080709: G8 bilateral, Harper and Hu (China) 080709: G8 bilateral, Harper and Lula (Brazil) 080710: Harper to visit Yasuo Fukuda (Japan)

081017: Canada-EU Summit, Harper and Barroso (EU), Harper and Sarkozy

(France)

081017-19: Canada Hosts the 12th Francophonie Summit in Quebec City (50 Heads of

State and government attended)

081114-15: G20 Summit, Washington, DC 081119-20: APEC Summit in Lima, Peru

081121: Harper visits Uribe (Columbia)

Stephen Harper, 2009–

090219: Obama (United States) visits Canada

090324: Diouf (SG of La Francophonie) visits Canada

090401-02: G20 Summit, London, United Kingdom

090403-04: NATO Summit, Strasbourg, France and Kehl, Germany

090417-18: Summit of the Americas, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago (34 Heads

attended)

090419-20: Harper visits Golding (Jamaica)

090504: Canada-EU Summit in Prague, Czech Republic, Harper and Barroso (EU),

Harper and Topolanek (Czech Republic)

090606: D-Day Ceremony, Normandy, France, Harper and Sarkozy (France),

Obama (United States), Brown (United Kingdom)

090609: Sharma (Commonwealth Secretary General) visits Harper

090609-11: Uribe (Columbia) visits Canada 090708-10: G8 Summit, L'Aquila, Italy

090809-10: North American Leaders' Summit, Guadalajara, Mexico

090811: Harper visits Martinelli (Panama) 090916: Harper visits Obama (United States)

090922: United Nations Summit on Climate Change, New York, United States (88

Heads of State and Government attended)

090924: Leaders' Meeting of the Friends of Democratic Pakistan, New York,

United States (Pakistan, Australia, China, France, Germany, Italy, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, the United States, the

United Nations and the European Union)

090924-25: G20 Summit, Pittsburgh, United States

091114-15: APEC Summit in Singapore 091116-18: Harper visits Singh (India)

To Come-

091127-29: CHOGM Trinidad and Tobago

091202-06: Harper visits Hu (China) 091206-07: Harper visits Lee (Korea)

Appendix D: Canada's Bilateral FTAs

Partner	Canadian Decision	Negotiations Start	End
Israel		1997	1997
United States	September 1985	1986	1987
Mexico (NAFTA)	1990	1990	1994
Chile	1994	1996	1997
European Union	1994	2009	October 18, 2013
EFTA	October 9, 1998	January 2008	2008
Singapore	June 5, 2000	2001	Pending
Honduras	September 28, 2000	2001	pending
Costa Rica	December 18, 2001	2001	2002
Korea	November 19, 2004	2004	Pending
Caribbean	July 19, 2007	2009	Pending
Peru	June 7, 2007	January 27, 2008	2008
Colombia	June 7, 2007	2007	2011
Japan	2006		Pending
Panama	October 2008	2008	2009
India	November 16, 2010	2011	Pending

Appendix E: Harper's Use of Force

Afghanistan 2006 Libya 2011 Mali 2013

Appendix F: Harper's Major Decisions

2006

Afghanistan, January 23
Arctic sovereignty, January 26
Hamas funding cutoff, March 29
Softwood lumber, April 28
UNESCO participation, May 5
G8 St. Petersburg Summit, July 15-17
Lebanon rescue, July
Climate change, Autumn
Francophone Summit, September 28
Human rights, November

Victory Address, Visit, Extension to 2009
Reaffirmed rhetorically & summer tour
First outside Israel to cut off
Deal with U.S. announced
Quebec role negotiated
Leads in Middle East, energy principles
Canadians rescued from Lebanon
Remains in Kyoto, Made-in-Canada plan
Israel's rights, French language reaffirmed
Human Rights Promoted

2007

North American summitry, August

2008

Expanding Arctic jurisdiction, August 27

2009

Opens FTA negotiations with EU Funding African Development Bank, September 23

2010

G8 Muskoka Maternal, Newborn and Child Health Initiative, June G20 Toronto Summit fiscal consolidation

2011

Liberating Libya, March

2013

Economic partnership with the European Union

Appendix G: Canada-U.S. Outcomes, 2006

Source	Win	Difference	Tie	Similarity	Loss
Balance (061030)	6	8	-	4	1
Win					
Softwood Lumber	•				
Energy Security	•				
Rice Visit	•				
Passport Plan	•				
Great Lakes Exercises	•				
Internet Sales	•				
Difference					
ANWR		•			
Arctic Sovereignty		•			
Iraq Troops		•			
BMD		•			
Kyoto		•			
Conventional Arms		•			
ICC		•			
Landmines		•			
Tie					
Similarity					
Lebanon Conflict				•	
Iran				•	
North Korea				•	
China				•	
Loss					
Arar Apology					•
Notoo	•				

Notes:

Win = Canada win. U.S. adjusts to Canada's initial preferences (i.e., those when issue first arose. Scored when issued effectively resolved (although it could be reopened or recur as in softwood lumber, 1,2,3 etc). Ongoing disputes are scored as Difference.

Difference. Ongoing disputes are scored as Difference, without judgments as to whose side time and delay is on.

Tie: resolved through mutual and balanced adjustment

Similarity = spontaneously the two sides arrive at and maintain a similar position. neither side adjusts. Both adopt the same position spontaneously, autonomously, egotistically, without any anticipated reaction communication ore pressures necessarily being involved. May reflect common or convergent interests and values

Loss: Canada adjusts to U.S. or is forced to acquiesce in a refusal to give Canada what it wants. (why is this different than Difference? — case effectively resolved. Canada moves on to other things

Harper's Win-Loss Record with the U.S., 2006

Canada's Wins (America Adjusts to Canada)

Softwood Lumber Deal

- "a historic softwood lumber agreement" (Harper 061005)
- Canada gets 80% of money (back) cf. 0% for past several years and a standstill for several years ahead (cf. deserved more, could have gotten more with a different strategy. no calculation of whose aide time is on. referent is the real world before)

Energy Security

- "A better U.S. appreciation of Canada's growing contribution to continental energy security" (Harper, October 5, 2006)
- President Bush's 2006 State of the Union Address

Rice Visit September 11, 2006

- "some very gracious and grateful words for Canada from Secretary of State Rice on the fifth anniversary of 9-11"
- She had many places in the U.S. to be on 9-11 plus five
- Symbolically showed U.S. need for Canada U.S. planes landing in an open Canada on 911

Passport Plan Reprieve

- "a reprieve from Congress on their passport plan" (Harper)
- (U.S. exemptionalism for Canada"? Mexico too?)
- recognition of interdependence

Great Lakes Live Fire Exercise Suspension

- U.S. 911 Security Imperative trumped
- NI of territorial (human) security: Canadian boaters killed
- DNV of anti-militarism: Rush-Bagot Agreement violated
- DNV of environmentalism: copper and lead casings pollute Lakes

Internet Pharmacy Sales

- U.S. re-opens imports from Internet Canadian pharmacies
- thus adjusts internal U.S. policies in Canada's favour (due to U.S. vulnerability of soaring health care costs and fiscal deficit and Canada's distinctive capability of low cost generic medicine)

Canada-U.S. Ties (Neither Country Adjusts, No Change from Status Quo)

Canada Deters Offensive American Actions within America

• Alaska National Wildlife Reserve Closure

Canada's Deters Offensive American Actions Against Canada on the Continent Arctic Sovereignty

• The U.S. did not surface a submarine, send a ship through, or commission a new heavy icebreaker to assert its Arctic claims

Both Diverge Globally

Iraq

• Canadian troops remain largely out

Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD)

• Despite North Korean nuclear explosion and the Canadian Senate (Colin Kenney) report recommendation

Climate Change Control and Kyoto Commitment

- Canada still in Kyoto with control measures in support
- if U.S. harmonized and similar ones

Compatibility Naturally Arises (Neither Adjusts to Other to Arrive in Same Place)

Lebanese Conflict

Iran

North Korea

China

Canada Deters Offensive American Actions Within Canada

• No penetrative threats to Canadian sovereignty (internal interference) yet (?) (beyond the Arctic claims)

Canada's Losses

Maher Arar Apology

Appendix H: **Harper Campaign Platform and Promises Fulfilled**

As of November 27, 2006

Promise Status (kept, ongoing, dumped, opposite)

The Platform, Stand Up for Canada

U.S. Relations:

Softwood Lumber: protect Canada's interests

Wheat Board: protect Canada's interests

Byrd Amendment: protect Canada's interests

Imported Crime: protect Canada's interests

Kept: Deal Done

Compromised by Softwood Deal

Economics:

NAFTA: chart a course for the future Kept by hosting SPP Summit

FTAA negotiations: reassert Canadian leadership

Japan: "explore ... possibility of free trade negotiations" India: explore ... possibility of free trade negotiations"

Environment:

Greenhouse gas emissions: control in coordination

North Atlantic: extend management on Shelf, Grand Banks, Flemish Cap

Security:

terrorist attacks, natural disasters, and

"outbreaks of disease world-wide."

Education:

Immigrant Credentials: facilitate recognition UNESCO: invite Quebec to play a role

Development:

Double Aid to Africa by 2008-9 Reaffirmed, on track Move to OECD Average on ODA Reaffirmed, on track

The Campaign Promises (23 Releases on International Affairs)

Promise Status (kept, ongoing, dumped, opposite)

Security (13):

The Military (9)

Arctic Sovereignty (2) Kept by declaration, visits

Afghanistan (2) Kept

Immigration/Multiculturalism (3):

Head Tax: act against Kept

Democratization (3):

Ukraine's "orange revolution celebrated

Iran's pledge to destroy Israel condemned Kept in Middle East policy

Death United Arab Emirates leader mourned

Development (3):

ODA: \$425 million added Kept largely

Asian Tsunami commemorated AIDS: World AIDS Day noted

Trade (1):

Pacific Gateway Initiative promised Kept by Liberal's funding honoured

Appendix I: National Interests and Values Affirmed

National Interests	Promoted	Violated
Survival/Unity	UNESCO Participation	
La Francophonie	_	
G8 Education reframed		
Security	Afghanistan Extension	
Sovereignty		
Legitimacy		
Territory	Arctic Sovereignty	
	Shelf, Nose, Tail, Cap	
Capability		
D' ' ' N ' 17/1	D 1	37 ° 1 4 1
Distinctive National Values:	Promoted	Violated
Anti-Militarism	BMD Refused	
M 1: 1: 1:	U.S. Great Lakes Arms Tests	
Multiculturalism	Armenian Genocide	
0	Darfur Highlighted	
Openness	Immigration levels	
	Chinese Head tax	
	Lebanese rescue	
	Dual Citizenship re-affirmed	
Fi	G8 Energy Security — markets	D - 44 T
Environmentalism	Kyoto Remains Ratified	Bottom Trawling
	U.S. Great Lakes Arms Tests	.1
International Institutionalism	G8 Energy security — environments SPP Summit PDI	ll.
International Institutionalism	0 00	
Globalism	Summitry	

Appendix J: Canadian Capability, American Vulnerability

	-	•		_	
Date	CAD:USD	Gold:USD	OIL:USD	CAD:Euro	CAD:Yen
1861	par				
1864 June	278.00				
39 September	90.00				
740400	104.00				
761100	Parity				
770700	102.88				
780100	90.80				
850100	75.60				
900100	86.40				
911100	89.30				
920700	84.58				
950100	71.30				
980800	63.76				
000100	69.10				
020121	61.75 lowest ever				
Date	CAD:USD	Gold:USD	OIL:USD	CAD:Euro	CAD:Yen
2006: (Harper)					
060123	87.01	558.70	68.10		
060206	87.22	570.20	65.11		
060405	85.31	594.30	66.74		
060501	89.83	660.20	73.70		
070423M	89.08	694.20	65.89		
070501T	90.05	677.30	64.40		
070601					
070701					
070801					
070912	95.01	723.80	77.49		
071001	100.87	754.10	80.24		
071101		+00.008			
071201					
2008:					
080101					
080211	100.67	909.40	90.02		
080315	101.40	999.50	110.21		
Minus 060123	87.01	548.70	68.10		
Gain	14.39	450.80	42.11		
% Gain	16.5%	82.2%	61.8%		
Notos	L				

Notes:

In January 2002, Canada needed CA\$1.61 to buy US\$1. On October 1, 2007, the Canadian dollar reached 1.009 intraday, the highest level since November 22, 1976. James Powell, *History of the Canadian Dollar*.

Appendix K: Canadian Societal Support, Minority Governments

Prime Minister	Parliament	Party	Seats	Year(s)	Duration
King	14th	Liberal	118/235 ^a	1921-1925	3 years, 326 days
King	15th	Liberal	100/245	1925-1926	319 days
Meighen	15th ^b	Conservative	115/245	1926	88 da7s
King	16th	Liberal	116/245	1926-1930	3 years, 317 days
Diefenbaker	23rd	Progressive Conservative	111/265	1957-1958	294 days
Diefenbaker	25th	Progressive Conservative	116/265	1962-1963	304 days
Pearson	26th	Liberal	128/265	1963-1965	1 year, 182 days
Pearson	27th	Liberal	131/265	1965-1968	2 years, 229 days
Trudeau	29th	Liberal	109/264	1972-1974	1 year, 221 days
Clark	31st	Progressive Conservative	136/282	1979-1980	273 days
Martin	38th	Liberal	135/308	2004-2006	1 year, 125 days
Harper	39th	Conservative	124/308	2006-present	-

Notes:

^aIn the 14th parliament, King's liberals won exactly enough seats to form a majority government, but due to resignations and floor crossing, they shifted back and forth between majority and minority status. However, the government was in little danger of losing a confidence vote because the Progressive party usually allowed free votes among its members, some of whom would always vote with the government.

^bIn the 15th parliament, King's government was replaced by Meighen's without an election.

Appendix L: Canadian Societal Support, Approval Ratings

	Conservatives/	Liberals/	Bloc/	NDP/	Greens/	Undecided/
Date	Harper	Dion	Duceppe	Layton	May	Other
060126 [*]	36%	30%	11%	18%	5%	1%
060918-1012	37%	28%	9%	18%	7%	1%
060918-1012 [^]	53%	38%	62%	54%	-	-
061208-30	34%	32%	8%	14%	11%	1%
061208-30 [*]	53%	47%	56%	53%	-	
070111-14	54%	59%		59%	58%	-
070300 [*]	41%	18%	-	-	-	-
070313-0403	36%	28%	8%	16%	12%	1%
070313-0403 [*]	54%	40%	56%	54%	45%	-
070500 [*]	-	18%	-	-	-	-
070605-30	37%	28%	7%	17%	11%	-
070605-30 [*]	48%	38%	53%	56%	42%	-
070917-1014	33%	29%	7%	19%	11%	1%
070917-1014 (best choice for PM)	37%	12%	4%	19%	4%	24%
070917-1014 [*]	52%	33%	50%	56%	42%	-
071200 [*]	31%	14%				
071206-09	32%	29%	10%	16%	13%	-
071212-080103	36%	27%	7%	17%	13%	<1%
071212-080103* (best for PM)	42%	12%	5%	16%	4%	20%
071212-080103 [*]	57%	34%	54%	58%	46%	-
080110-13	36%	30%	11%	14%	10%	-
080110-13 [*]	58%	39%		55%	56%	-
080222	34%	17%				
080222 [*]	34%	17%				

Notes:

^{*}Election Results

^{*}Indicates leader approval ratings

Appendix M: Canadian Societal Support, Confidence Votes

Date	Subject	Margin	Yeas	Nays
060517	Afghanistan	4	149	145
080212	Crime Bill	145	172	27
080303	Budget-lib amend	195	7	202
080304	Budget	35	125	90
080310	Climate change	37	84	121
080313	Afghanistan	121	198	77
080313	Private member's bill	37	124	87

Appendix N: Canadian Societal Support, By-Elections/Defections

Date	Province/MP	Outcome
January 2006	David Emerson	Conservative (from Liberal)
November 27, 2006	Ontario	Liberal
November 27, 2006	Quebec	Bloc
September 17, 2007	Quebec	NDP
September 17, 2007	Quebec	Conservative
September 17, 2007	Quebec	Bloc
March 17, 2008	Saskatchewan	Conservative
March 17, 2008	Ontario	Liberal
March 17, 2008	Ontario	Liberal
March 17, 2008	BC	Liberal
November 9, 2009	2 Quebec, 1 BC, 1 NS	2 Conservative, 1 Bloc, 1 NDP

Appendix O: Canadian Governmental Changes

Foreign Affairs Ministers

Peter MacKay, February 6, 2006 Maxime Bernier, August 14, 2007 David Emerson, May 29, 2008 Lawrence Cannon, October 30, 2008 John Baird, May 18, 2011

Defence Ministers

Gordon O'Connor, February 6, 2006 Peter MacKay, August 14, 2007 Rob Nicholson, July 15, 2013

International Cooperation Ministers

Josée Verner, February 6, 2006 Bev Oda, August 14, 2007 Julian Fantino, July 4, 2012 Christian Paradis, July 15, 2013

Trade Ministers

David Emerson, February 6, 2006 Michael Fortier, June 25, 2008 Stockwell Day, October 30, 2008 Peter Van Loan, January 19, 2010 Ed Fast, May 18, 2011

Finance Minister

Jim Flaherty, February 6, 2006

Environment Ministers

Rona Ambrose, February 6, 2006 John Baird, January 4, 2007 Jim Prentice, October 30, 2008 John Baird, November 5, 2010 Peter Kent, January 4, 2011 Leora Aglukkaq, July 13, 2013

Foreign Affairs Deputy Ministers

Peter Harder, 2006 Len Edwards, 2007 Morris Rosenberg, 2011 Jean Daniel, 2013