

Part II:
The Historical Evidence
Lecture 6:
Capabilities and Behaviour

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1. Introduction: From Theory to Evidence

The three theories outlined thus far each claim to offer an accurate **description** of Canadian foreign policy behaviour and the process that produces it, a compact **explanation** of that behaviour in the past, and a reliable **prediction** of what it will be under particular conditions in the future. Which theory offers a more accurate description, explanation, and prediction than the other two?

To answer, many commentators focus first on Canada's rank, with its **capabilities** at the core. Here many often see Canada in **decline** (Cohn 2003). But a reliable answer comes from carefully applying the three theories to the **evidence**. This task starts by identifying the **expectations** in a general **meta-theory** about the conditions under which each of three theories will fit the evidence best. Then one examines the **evidence** on the explanatory core of the theories — **capabilities** and **vulnerabilities** — to see if Canada is a small, middle or principal power in a changing world. Finally one examines Canada's international **behaviour** — its activity, association, and approaches to world order since 1945. Then one can proceed to explore this behaviour in finer historical detail.

A. Expectations: A General Meta-Theory

First, what overall patterns would one **expect** to find? These expectations could flow from the **simple** argument that Canada since 1945 has been emerging as — and has now become — a principal power. The patterns predicted by complex neo-realist (CNR) theory should thus strengthen and thus prevail.

But the central argument is more **complex** than this steady linear. It claims that Canada is not, in and of itself, a principal power but a principal power only in a more **diffuse** international system emerging from the sustained, significant, and probably irreversible **decline** of the United States as a system dominant, invulnerable power in a tightly **interconnected** world. Here the relative capability released by a once hegemonic but now **declining** U.S. has **diffused** to several other major powers and to outside, even non-state, actors, while America and other powers have become more **vulnerable** in old and new ways (Nye 2002).

B. Five Shifts in Systemic Capabilities and System Structure

Five trends must be tracked.

i. Decline of the U.S.

The first is the **decline** of the U.S. as a hegemonic or system-dominant power. Since 1945 the U.S. has dropped from high levels of **capability** and risen from low levels of **vulnerability** in the world (Keohane and Nye 1977). It declined from an unprecedented position of predominance “**after victory**” in 1945 to a position of “**after hegemony**” by 1975 losing its majority or predominant share of capabilities (Keohane 1984; Ikenberry 2001; cf. Ikenberry 2011). It also declined from the highly invulnerable America of 1945 to an “**after vulnerability position,**” especially since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the global financial crisis of September 15, 2008.

ii. Diffusion Among Many Major Powers

The second trend is **diffusion** of capabilities among many major powers. Here the relative capability “released” by the declining US hegemon flowed largely to the **seven to ten** other major powers that again stood in the top tier of the international status hierarchy. It did not flow to a single rising power such as China — as a single challenger or successor hegemon — but broadly dispersed among several rising major and emerging powers, and non-state actors. All become more vulnerable, but the once most capable became even more so.

iii. Equalization within a Single Top Tier

The third trend is **equalization** toward effective equality among the many major powers in the **top-tier class**. The capability of each may differ significantly. But the changed configuration of capability and vulnerability and the new system-defining feature of **connectivity**, made all effectively equal (Kirton 2013). It did so by making each more vulnerable and each critical the balance-of-power concert or system-stabilizing group that forms to maintain world order and provide global public goods. Each is equally relevant and in some ways necessary to maintain balance, stability and order. Equalization is especially pronounced if the most capable country becomes the most vulnerable, and if the least capable major power becomes the least vulnerable. While the old capabilities could offset the old vulnerabilities, they are less able to offset the new, non-state vulnerabilities of an intensely interconnected world.

iv. Separation from a Significant Status Gap

The fourth trend is the persistence of a significant **gap** between the major powers in the top tier and the many —two dozen or so — middle powers in the tier below. Analysts should “mind the gap.” After 1975, some clearly rose to belong in the G7 major power concert and then in the G20 systemically significant countries, while others remained in the tier below.

v. Top-Tier Position of Canada

The fifth trend is the top tier position of Canada, lying in closer to it than to the tier below. Thus the overall systemic configuration of capability and vulnerability, rather than Canada’s individual rank, relative capability and relative vulnerability counts most. The system as a whole, not any single state creates principal powers in the world.

C. The Emergence of Predicted Complex Neo-Realist Behaviour

The real world is **seldom as neat** as these expectations specify. Indeed, the Canadian government’s capabilities, vulnerabilities and behaviour usually show signs of all three theoretically-predicted patterns. How, then, does one judge which is the strongest and which theory thus best accounts for the evidence at hand? At times, one pattern may be so much stronger than the other, in rank, activity, association and order, that it will be easy to decide. But in other, more complex cases, the overall call comes from the calculus below.

Ultimately, scholars care about a country’s rank, relative capabilities and vulnerabilities because these cause what they really want to know — its international behaviour, composed of its activity, association, and approach to world order. The liberal internationalist (LI) approach, with its focus on diplomatic process, suggests that activity and association count most (Stairs 1982). CNR theory expands the vision to include outputs, outcomes, effectiveness, and who wins and shapes world order in the end. Scholars of international politics agree that the **approach to world order** and resulting international regimes count most (Ikenberry 2001, 2011). The ultimate question is not whether Canada has more overall or specialized capabilities or vulnerabilities, or tries in its international activity or association to do the right thing, whatever that might be. It is whether Canada goes beyond being a “beautiful loser” to get what it wants for itself and to get the world that it wants in the end. Not inputs but **outcomes matter most**. Thus the **approach to world order** and above all its third component are trump.

D. Constructing a Causal Model

This calculus helps in the **descriptive** task of identifying what patterns prevail. But for explanation and prediction, one needs to know **why** a particular pattern prevails. Here, the starting point is **rank**, with relative capability and vulnerability at its core. The **causal logic** is clear. In their international behaviour, relatively more powerful countries can, and thus usually do, behave more globally, autonomously, bilaterally, and divergently, and seek and secure a world order that embeds their interests and identity defined by their distinctive national values. In their foreign policymaking process, relatively more powerful countries respond less to external determinants and any single power in first place, and give more salience to their own, broad, balanced societal, and leader-centered government determinants. As the old saying has it, the **strong** do what they want, and the **weak** do what they must in world affairs.

E. The Meta-Theory: U.S. Capability & Role, Canadian Results

This allows one to construct an overall **meta-theory** to specify what patterns and their accompanying theories will predominate at what times. Here, it is tempting to start with Canada's rank and the relative capability and vulnerability that helps create it, and see how it rises and declines against the neighbouring, number-one America alone. But this continentally-confined vision is too simple. One must look beyond the U.S. to the **global system**, for it and not just the one southern superpower ultimately matters most.

This global vision shows that Canada's relative capability has almost always given it the **fourth to tenth rank** in the world for the past 87 years. Variations within the fourth to ninth range matter. But, Canada still only accounts for between **2 percent** and **4 percent** of the capability of the overall system. That 2 percent variation — the difference between 2 percent and 4 percent, or a one percent change from the midpoint of **3%** — by itself does not explain a lot, especially on the biggest question of what approach to world order prevails.

What explains far more, because it varies far more, is the changing **relative capability of the U.S.**, as the first ranked power in the world and not just against Canada next door. This, as Henry Kissinger (1979) notes, fell steadily from over 50 percent of the world's gross domestic product (GDP) in 1950 to only 22 percent in 1980 (cf. Ikenberry 2011). It briefly bounced back big during the **Reagan revival** from 1981 to 1984, then evaporated

from 1985 to 1988. Later came the **Clinton come-back** from 1993 to 2000, followed by the dot.com bust, 9/11, the 2008 American-turned-global financial crisis and relative decline since.

What also matters is the **foreign policy role** of the United States. This role, in keeping with the **principal power paradox**, is not directly caused by relative capability. For the most powerful countries in the world have abundant **surplus capabilities** and thus the greatest choices about what to do with them, spend them abroad or at home. Following World War II, an **inherently isolationist America** took some time to shed its instincts to adopt a truly global role only by 1967 when it deployed more than 600,000 troops in Vietnam, to wage America's then longest war, half a world away. With its politically self-imposed defeat in Vietnam, beginning with the Tet offensive in the spring of 1968 and culminating with American withdrawal in April 1975, America's retreat to an isolationist stance rapidly arose again. In this defining realm of global military combat, America's subsequent incursions into tiny nearby Grenada and Panama in the 1980s, and fitfully into the Gulf War of 1990–91, and Somalia and Kosovo in the 1990s, showed a more restricted "Monroe doctrine" isolationism at work, driven by a desire to avoid the loss of American life at all costs. It took the unparalleled and unthinkable simultaneous attacks on both the Pentagon in Washington DC and New York City on September 11, 2001, to send America to war on the ground again in Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003. Under a most reluctant Obama and now Trump it fought only from the rear or in the air, in Libya in 2011 and in Iraq and Syria in 2014-15.

What did this cadence of U.S. dominance and then decline in hegemonic capabilities, invulnerabilities and global role mean **for Canada**? At the start of the post-World War II period when a hegemonic U.S. had a limited global role, a globally connected Canada could and did behave briefly as a principal power. But Canada's initiatives were always limited **overwhelming American** power and invulnerability. Canada was thus increasingly thrust into a peripheral dependence (PD) pattern by a U.S. moving into an assertive global role that peaked in 1967. It was the misfortune of the **Diefenbaker** and **Pearson** governments to be in power when U.S. capability was still high, and the U.S. global role was thrusting outward and upward toward its peak. **Pierre Trudeau** then inherited a world of declining U.S. capabilities and invulnerabilities and a U.S. coming home after defeat in Vietnam. These gave Canadian CNR patterns increasing force. Declining U.S. capabilities and invulnerabilities and a receding U.S.

global role drove Canada's emergence as a principal power after 1968, with the required systemic diffusion, equalization and separation from a new top tier unfolding in between.

2. Capabilities

To apply this meta-theory, it is first necessary to **measure capabilities**, in both overall and specialized form.

A. Overall Capability

Measuring a country's relative capability requires knowing what **constitutes**, or can be **converted** into, effective influence at any moment, as the external environment and thus the relevant capabilities change. The modern debate over "**hard power**" versus "**soft power**" is part of the challenge here.

Still, scholars of international politics have long pointed to a **core set** of capabilities and a **central calculus** of what constitutes overall power in the world. This calculus, when applied to Canada, shows **four things**. First Canada since the 1930s has ranked within the **top ten** countries in the world. Second, Canada has often had about **three percent** of the relevant capabilities in the world. Third, there have been **wide variations** in relative capability among the major powers. Fourth, these wide variations have recurrently given this top-ten, three percent Canada a **top tier** position. The major empirical studies of the systemic distribution of capability all tell this tale (Kirton 2007:461).

i. Wayne Ferris

The first such study, by international relations scholar **Wayne Ferris** (1973), covered 1850 to 1965.¹ Canada first emerged on his top-ten charts in **1930** when it ranked between ninth and seventh. After dropping from the top ten in 1935, Canada roared back by **1945 to fourth**, behind only the three new superpowers. In 1950 and 1955, it came sixth, now behind a rising India and France too. By 1965, Canada slipped to seventh, after Germany too.

If one looks only at **one state**, Canada, and its individual rank, this looks like a **PD decline** since 1945 — the much-noted fall from the "golden decade"

¹ Ferris used a six-variable formula covering area, population, government revenue, defence expenditure, trade value, and armed forces. He also used a nine-variable model, which reduced the weight given to large population and added government revenue, defence expenditure, and trade per capita.

era of grace to the bronze age of the “faded power” some now see. But it is the **system as a whole** that counts and not any individual country itself. In 1945 and 1950, fourth-ranked Canada by itself did not really matter to the global **balance of power**. In the bipolar system of 1950, the U.S., with 5.86 units of capability, stood ahead of the USSR, at 4.20. Third-ranked Britain, with a score of 2.14, served as the balancer. By aligning with the U.S., Britain gave the Anglo-American alliance a **combined** commanding lead of 7.00 to 4.20 over the USSR. Canada, at 1.40, might be nice to have on the Anglo-American side but was not really needed in the balancing game. But if fourth-ranked Canada was added to Britain, according to William Fox’s (1944) conception, the resulting 3.54 units of the Anglo-Canada combination produced a credible third superpower in a now tripolar world. Here Canada had at least a **mediatory** and **constraining** relevance, but only when it **combined** with Britain to perform this role.

ii. Peyton Lyon and Brian Tomlin

A second study, from Canadian foreign policy specialists Peyton **Lyon** and Brian **Tomlin** (1979), covers 1950 to 1975. Their findings also showed a slow slide for Canada from fifth in 1950 to sixth in 1965. But then Canada **bounced back to fifth in 1970**, ahead of a beleaguered Britain. Lord Carnarvon’s 1867 prophesy had come to pass. Canada still ranked **sixth in 1975**, after a now oil-rich Britain.

In the system, in 1955, the U.S. still had a significant, indeed almost hegemonic, lead over the USSR (of 20 to 14 units with all other powers in the range of six or below). The U.S. declined steadily from this peak where in 1975 it was only marginally ahead of the USSR, as the People’s Republic of China (PRC) came on strong.

Thus by **1975 Canada** counted in the global balance of power. Communist USSR and China together had 23 units of capability, against the U.S. with only 15. It was easy to see why the U.S., fighting alone with no major power allies, lost the war in Vietnam that year. But if in its “after vanquished” moment, a declining and defeated America could add Canada, Germany, France, and Japan, which each had about four units, it had an easy lead. If the U.S. wanted to control the system, it could no longer do it alone. It needed all of Germany, Britain, Canada, France, and Japan on its side. Thus in 1975 the **G7** was born, with the U.S. wanting a powerful Canada in the group from the start and getting it physically in within a year.

iii. Ralph Cline

A third study, from the classic American realist, **Ralph Cline** (1975, 1977, 1980) confirms this 1970s shift. In **1973** the U.S., with 50 units of objective capabilities, and the USSR, with 45, were almost equal, followed by third-ranked China, with 23. Then came **fourth-ranked Canada**, tied with France at 20, or 40 percent of the United States. In **1975**, Canada had fallen to about 20 percent of U.S. capability and was now behind Japan, Germany, and Britain. But by **1978**, the U.S. and USSR were almost even, China was very close, and **Canada** had bounced back to **fifth**, ahead of Japan, Germany, Britain, and France, but now behind Brazil.

iv. Charles Doran

A fourth study, from another American realist scholar of the international system, **Charles Doran** (1984a), compared Canadian capabilities to those of the U.S. since 1900. Before 1960 Canada was below 7 percent. But then came a sustained rise: 7 percent in 1960, 8 percent in 1965, 9 percent in 1970, and almost **13 percent by 1975**. John Kirton later calculated Canada had 7% in 1960, 8.5% in 1965, 10% in 1970, 11 percent in 1975, 12 percent in 1980 and **13 percent in 1985**.

v. John Kirton

John Kirton argues that the best ways to calculate capabilities, recognizing the changes that take place every day in an increasingly open, interconnected, market-sensitive world, is to measure a country's GDP in **current exchange rates**, expressed in U.S. dollars (Kirton 1999c, 56–59; Ikenberry 2011). GDP provides a measure of a country's overall productive performance. It allows a country to choose to invest among **specialized capabilities** and foreign policy purposes — domestic or international, military or civilian, political or economic — to which this productive capability can be put. By measuring the ever changing actual market worth of these capabilities as they are exchanged among nations and their people, through the use of current U.S. dollar exchange rates at the time, this formula captures the value of these capabilities as recognized in the real world of international affairs, especially in a globalizing world where flexible and floating exchange rates have become the norm.

In **1950** the U.S. was a true hegemon, with **more than half** the capabilities in the major power system (including the USSR and China) and 67 percent of what would become the G7 ones. But the U.S. systemic share steadily declined to 46.4 percent by 1965 and **35.9 percent in 1980**. The great

Reagan revival, driven by the soaring U.S. “superdollar,” pushed the U.S. back up to **46.2 percent in 1985** — still not the 50% for hegemony to be restored. Within the **G7**, by **1985** the U.S. again exceeded **50 percent**. But then came a plunge in the U.S. dollar and U.S. capability to an all-time low of **35.8 percent** of the system’s and **40 percent** of the G7’s by **1988**. The post–Cold War 1990s saw some rise for the so-called sole remaining superpower, but this **Clinton comeback** did not propel it even close to its 1985 peak (cf. Ikenberry 2011).

The relative capability released by a declining America after 1950 **diffused** toward **equalization**. This was first toward **Japan**, which reached 60 percent of the U.S. by **1992**, then pre-unification **Germany** with 30 percent, and **France, Italy, and Britain** with about 20 percent each. **Canada**, with 10 percent was still ahead of **China** and the now remnant **Russia** recently liberated from the dead USSR. There was no new unipolarity based on a victorious, sole superpower, nor a new bipolarity defined by a soaring Japan or China breaking out from the pack (cf. Ikenberry 2011).

Canada’s position rose steadily since 1950. **10.6 percent** of the U.S. in 1975, driven by a rising Canadian dollar that hit **US\$1.03 in 1975**. Canada then slid steadily until 1985 but bounced back to **10.6 percent** again in 1989. Then came relative decline, which reversed in 1995. By the autumn of **2007**, the dollar had soared to a new historic Harper high of **US\$1.10**.

The **gap** between Canada and those below **widened** at a rapid rate. In the 12 months up to June 30, **1994**, **Russia’s** officially recorded GDP was only US\$245 billion, less than half that of Canada. The Russian economy shrank by 17 percent and the ruble fell 50 percent against the U.S. dollar. Even when **China** subsequently surpassed Canada, Canada remained in the top tier.

B. Specialized Capability

More overall capability gives countries more **choices**, including the luxuries of isolationism, inefficiency and waste. **Specialized capability** expresses those choices, which can reflect the distinctive national values that lie underneath. It can also more easily adapt its particular capabilities to make them more relevant to a changing world. Because a country is seldom first in everything, the **configuration** of specialized capabilities and their **adaptive resilience** in a changing world matters much.

Which specialized capabilities matter most, and are they mainly of a hard power or soft power kind? A classic answer comes from the great American realist scholar, **Hans Morgenthau** (1948) who identified the “factors of national power” with diplomatic skill as the great force multiplier.² But no single answer is fixed for all time. The international environment can change very swiftly and significantly, as shown by the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, and Lehman Brothers on September 15, 2008.

Relevant are a wide array of specialized capabilities, across the **spectrum** from hard and high to soft and low, rather than just a few, such as nuclear weapons, aircraft carriers, or large standing armies, as the capabilities that always count the most. It is also useful to focus on the underlying foundations of national power — the **population, resources, and technology** that James Eayrs (1975) pointed to (Dewitt and Kirton 1983). These are to political scientists what land, labour, and capital are to economists — the **core triad** of factor of power, or production on which all else depends in making some specialized capabilities count the most.³⁴ Again it is the **system, not the state** that determines which capabilities count the most. In choosing preference should be given at the state level to those which most enhance a country’s **adaptive resilience**, that constitute inputs **across the polity** as a whole, and that are more directly supportive of its **national interests**.

i. Military Capability

The first specialized capability is the highest, hardest form of military capability, usually measured by **military expenditures** (cf. Ikenberry 2011). Here many lament Canada’s post–Cold War, pre-9/11 decline (Cohen

² In Morgenthau’s classic (1967 Fourth edition), the list consisted of: Geography, Natural resources (Food, Raw Materials), Industrial Capacity, Military Preparedness (Technology, Leadership, Quantity and Quality of Armed Forces), Population (Distribution, Trends), National Character, National Morale (The Quality of Society and Government as Decisive Factors), The Quality of Diplomacy, and The Quality of Government.

³ One can then consider the effects of the great systemic changes since 1990. The end of the Cold War, ensuing globalization, September 11 and the 2008 American-turned-global financial crisis

⁴ For example, globalization may have initially concentrated power in the U.S. hegemon that had the capability to supply the newly open global market but may, in the medium term, equalize power by rapidly and inexpensively diffusing these capabilities to others around the globe, and interconnecting those countries that diffuse capabilities — and vulnerabilities — among them much more rapidly and equally than before. America’s formidable aircraft interceptors proved worthless on September 11, 2001.

2003b). They forget that most other major powers declined too, in a **competitive global demilitarization** that an anti-military Canada welcomed most. Most declined in their **nuclear weapons**, and some nuclear weapons programs disappeared. In particular, there was a clear U.S. decline from the Vietnam peak of 1965 to the Cold War victory of 1990 (see Kirton 2007: 463). Since 1990 the U.S. share has stabilized at around a still hegemonic 50 percent of the major power and G8 total. The Cold War victory thus restored U.S. hegemony which stayed since 911, when American, Canadian and others' military expenditures rose.

Military expenditure remains an **input** measure. Output measures, after the conversion of inputs into outputs and outcomes matter most. One can spend a lot and still lose the war, as the U.S. learned in Vietnam, the Soviets in Afghanistan and perhaps the U.S. now in Afghanistan and the Middle East.

In contrast, Canada has converted its meagre **1.5** percent share of major power military expenditures in 1995 into its desired outcomes rather well (Appendix C). Canada has long fought many wars. Since 1776, Canada has almost always ended up on the winning side and never on the losing side, in part by not fighting wars its allies lost, such as Vietnam. Canada has not been **invaded** for over 200 years. It largely escaped the intrusion of global **terrorism** onto or over Canadian soil. Canada often sent its own armed forces around the world — to fight and kill as well as “peacekeep.” By outcome-oriented criteria, Canada's military capability has been enough to fight and win. Almost all its military capability, beyond that required for aid to the civil power and defending North American airspace, the Arctic and oceans at home, constitutes **surplus capability** — freely available on a discretionary basis for deployment and employment overseas. It has been used to observe and keep the peace, to defend and deter (as in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and Bosnia), or to fight to restore or maintain a balance of power (as in the 1990–91 Gulf War). Canada's combat in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2011, Canada's longest war, marked a new post–World War Two high.

ii. Intelligence Capability

A second hard, high capability is **intelligence**. Here, Canada might again seem weak, especially after the budget of the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS) dropped from \$24.4 million in 1985 to \$16.5 million in 1991 (Kirton 1993d). But Canada does have a considerable capacity for information gathering and analysis through its extensive

diplomatic establishment, **communications** interception through the long secretive Canadian Security Community Establishment (CSIE), and Canada's **Arctic location** (including its base at Alert), which was vitally important during and after the Cold War. It has always had enough to be a member of the "5 I's" intelligence-sharing group with the U.S., UK, Australia and New Zealand that share intelligence. The **Radarsat** earth remote sensing satellites, with their Synthetic Aperture Radar (SAR), give Canada a national **space-borne** surveillance capability and optimized ecological and geophysical surveillance against newer security threats. Moreover, the mandate of the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (**CSIS**), while focused on domestic antiterrorism like America's Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), also engages in **overseas** operations. So does the **CSCE**, which was seemingly caught spying on the Brazilian government in October 2013. Canada's **cybersecurity** capabilities are now rising rapidly.

In their outputs, in the 2003 war against Iraq over its alleged weapons of mass destruction (WMD), America's intelligence capabilities failed, despite the massive expenditure on them, in a great reversal of the Cuban missile case of 1962. In contrast, Canada's intelligence capabilities enabled it to make the correct call on whether the threatening Iraqi WMD were really there.

iii. Financial Capability

The shift to lower and softer forms of specialized capabilities leads to the economic field and the **financial** power at its heart. Here too some doubt that Canada is a principal power (Webb 1995). Yet Canada still belongs in the top seven, as a member of the clubs that manage the global regime, in a world where U.S. hegemony has gone and where diffusion of capability toward equals prevails. This is true whether specialized financial power is measured by **currencies held** in national foreign exchange reserves, share of International Monetary Fund (**IMF**) **quotas**, or major **currencies used** in foreign exchange trading in world private markets (Bergsten and Henning 1996).

In outputs, Canada has had recurrent financial crises since 1945 and required foreign financial assistance in response. But on August 15, 1971, it turned the tide. When the Asian-turned-global financial crisis struck from 1997 to 2002, a secure Canada with surplus capability gave \$300 million to Thailand, \$500 million to Brazil, and financial support to Korea and Russia. In the American-turned-global financial crisis from 2007-08, Canada had the

best banking system in the world; the U.S. ranked 40th. Canada was easily able to offer \$10 billion to the IMF at the crisis's start.

iv. Trade Capability

In trade, the U.S. lead had long been replaced by virtual **equality** (Kirton 2007: 465). In 1950, the U.S. had 16.6 percent of the G7 members' share of world merchandise exports, Britain 10.5 percent, France 5.1 percent, Canada 5.0 percent, Germany 3.3 percent, Italy 2.0 percent, and Japan 1.4 percent. By 1994, the U.S. had only 11.9 percent, while Germany had risen to 9.9 percent, Japan to 9.2 percent, France to 5.5 percent and Italy to 4.4 percent, while Britain slid to 4.8 percent and Canada to 3.8 percent. Germany soon soared into first, as did China in 2013.

Thus Canada long had about **one third of U.S. capability** (rather than the normal one tenth) and a rising ratio against America alone. More broadly, Canada's share of G7 trade capabilities reached a peak of 5.8 percent in 1970, slid to 3.5 percent in 1980, jumped to 5.0 percent in 1985 and dropped to 3.8 percent in 1990. These patterns continued afterward.

v. Aid Capability

The specialized capability of **overseas development assistance (ODA)** is the clearest measure of **surplus capacity** (see Kirton 2007:466, Appendix D). ODA is money above a country's own needs at home that its government can deploy at its discretion to reward friends, develop relationships, or build a better world. Here the **U.S. declined** to the number-two position in 1993 and to the number-three spot in 1997, as first Japan and then France leapt ahead. Even greater **equality** among G7 members and Canada's share emerged here. The U.S. did regain the number-one rank, after a decade of stagnation in Japan, but a general equality among the major power donors endured.

vi. Technological Capability

Technological capability may have acquired a new premium in a globalized world and primarily rewarded a highly wired "USA.com." Yet in the classic measure of high-quality **patents**, by 1989, bipolarity arose as America's vast lead over everyone else was challenged by Japan. In the 21st century **information society**, Canada globally ranked between fifth and twelfth. Within the G7, the U.S. slipped from second to fourth, surpassed by a

surging first-ranked Germany, a second-ranked Britain, and a more stable Canada in third (see Kirton 2007:468).

vii. Demographic Capability

Demographic capability joins technology in the basic population-resources-technology triad. In raw numbers, Canada — with only 35 million inhabitants — ranks at the bottom of the middle power range. But demographic capability does not come from raw numbers, as Indonesia and Bangladesh can attest. Rather, it comes from the **active population** — the number of adults minus the number of children and seniors — who produce, take care of the dependants and also fight and fuel a war if need be (Dewitt and Kirton 1983). It also comes from **human capital**, the **education** of the populace, and, hence, the ability to run a modern war and modern economy. With most G8 countries having aging, shrinking native population, the number of young adults a country attracts from **abroad** matters much. Due to net in-migration, Canada's rising population is relatively young. Also important are **social cohesion** and social capital. Here, among the major powers and G8, Canada does relatively and increasingly well. It leads the OECD in the portion of its population with higher education. It ties for first with the U.S. in population growth in the G7. Its interracial violence is low.

viii. Ecological Capability

Ecological capability lies at the core of the resources component of the basic. It flows from territory and its natural renewable and non-renewable wealth. **Territory** provides “defence in depth,” a fact well known to Muscovites in their coldest ever winter in 1812 and 1941, to North Americans during the Cold War and Cuban missile crisis, and to the crew of the American tanker *Manhattan* traversing Canada's Arctic in 1969 (Munton and Kirton 1992). Territory contains the minerals, energy, foodstuffs, forests, and freshwater that a country and a resource-constricted world need. In these domains, Canada is often number one, and at least in the top four (von Riekhoff 1974). The modern conception of **ecological capital** assembles all of the above and measures it per capita, recognizing that people cast an “ecological footprint” that consumes scarce or finite natural resources. Here Canada overwhelmingly ranks first in the G8. It is the only country with any surplus ecological capability, apart from Russia, among the major powers of the world (see Kirton 2007:469).

3. Vulnerabilities

A. Concepts of Vulnerability

Capabilities alone do not always produce desired outcomes. The GNP and military spending of al Qaeda and Taliban-run Afghanistan were a tiny fragment of America's on September 11, 2001. But the U.S. could not deter or defend New York City or Washington D.C. against them then or fully defeat them after 16 years. Nor could America's military or civilian capabilities protect New Orleans when Hurricane Katrina hit in 2004 or Hurricane Maria devastated Puerto Rico in 2017. Capabilities must thus be considered alongside offsetting **vulnerabilities**, both overall and in specialized form.

A country's **vulnerabilities** are both the **old** ones bred by power balances, geographic location, and threatening rivals and the **new** ones arising from non-state actors and natural forces beyond anyone's control. Both must be assessed against the fixed array of **national interests** and the **adaptive resilience** a country has.

The classic concept of vulnerability comes from the distinction between sensitivity and vulnerability made by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in 1977. Interdependence brings a country mere **sensitivity** to external determinants, which can be eliminated through easily available, unilateral national policy change, in an isolationist, protectionist or interventionist response. **Vulnerability**, means a country continues to be dependant, even after unilateral national policy change. Now such vulnerability can come from the new non-state vulnerability brought by globalization. This neo-vulnerability consists of transborder inflows from non-state or even non-human agents, uncontrollable by the recipient country, that harm or kill its residents or otherwise directly threaten the national interests of its state. The mosquito-borne Zika virus invading the southern U.S. in 2016 showed how.

The September 11, 2001, al-Qaeda terrorist attacks on America's cities showed how deep and durable the policy changes must be to eliminate the vulnerability of the U.S. to the new terrorist threat. For globalization has made the U.S. vulnerable, like smaller, more open countries have long been. The 1997–99 financial crisis, which began in Thailand but then engulfed the U.S. and the world, showed that America had become vulnerable and needed policy changes — liquidity injection and interest rate action — from its G7

partners as well as its own central bank to stem the panic that froze its domestic financial system in September 1998 (Kirton 1999b, 2000c, 2001c). The 2008 crisis dramatically deepened U.S. dependence on those abroad and equalized its vulnerability with them. The classic, state-to-state vulnerabilities or non-state neo-vulnerabilities include both those that come from abroad and those that arise at home, such as internet-inspired self-radicalized terrorists.

The post–Cold War, rapidly globalizing, post-9/11 world created this neo-vulnerability with one or more of **six features** (Kirton 1993d).

First, it stems from **non-state actors**, such as al Qaeda, or even non-human actors such as hurricanes, migrating birds carrying avian flu or mosquitos with the Zika virus.

Second, these are often **fluid**, mobile threats, not territorially fixed threats. It is thus difficult to deter or destroy the threat at source in a pre-emptive attack, as the U.S. cruise missile strikes against al Qaeda bases in Africa in the 1990s showed.

Third, these threats can flow with unknown, widely variable **speed**, from very fast to very slow. They are all the more difficult to defend against, at the border or abroad, for a prolonged time.

Fourth, they can be **random**, lacking intentionality, control, and consciousness. The way they are launched, routed, and targeted is accidental and unintended. They can start anywhere, spread anywhere, and hit home anywhere with deadly effect. They are unpredictable, pervasive, and penetrative. They are hard to defend against at the border.

Fifth, they are, regular, routine, extended and elusive events. They are **prolonged** as a “new normal” or extended war in the shadows, rather than a short-lived, front-page crisis such as Cuba in 1962.

Sixth, they are **deadly**, producing higher death tolls than those the old vulnerability brought. In the brief deadly pandemic precursor of the 1918 polio epidemic, as many as 50 million people died, more than were killed in armed attacks in WWI from 1914 to 1918 (Kirton 2009). The chronic, compounding HIV/AIDS pandemic is producing a bigger body count today. In the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, no one died.

B. Components of Vulnerability

There are several components of vulnerability, both old and new.

i. Disunity Vulnerability

The first vulnerability, as Doran (1996) recognized, is **national disunity** or, more broadly, **civil strife**. This non-state but intentional vulnerability arises from secessionists, revolutionaries, rioters or terrorists of local reach with French agents providing help. The U.S., from the 1960s Watts riots through to the 1992 Rodney King riots to the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, regularly had such deadly civil strife. Canada, in contrast, has been essentially free, with Oka and Ipperwash as rare exceptions. More broadly, in a 20th century that has been unkind to multiethnic federations, Canada has survived.

ii. Terrorist Vulnerability

Turning outward, Canada's pronounced openness could bring vulnerability. This could arise when openness cannot be stopped by **unilateral** national policy change, when far more **comes** in than goes out, when the incoming flows come from a **single source**, when they are **controlled** by a single actor at that source, and when they are **consciously** and effectively used as an instrument of influence for the polity where they are based. **Few** of Canada's many inflows meet these criteria. Moreover, globalization has now generated a reverse flow, making once imperial powers equally or even more penetrated. The U.S. was penetrated financially in September 1998 and September 2008 and militarily — right into the Pentagon — on September 11, 2001 (Kirton 1999b, 2000b, 2000c). In the aftermath of the latter, five Americans died of deliberate anthrax attacks, or bioterrorism, from a long unknown source. In relative vulnerability, since 1945 Canada has been less vulnerable, and the U.S. and the other G8 partners more so in the terrorist sphere.

Relative vulnerability may not matter, if vulnerability proves to be **equally dangerous** for all, as in contagious systemic financial crises that soon engulf everyone — the ultimate public “bad” and ultimate equalizing effect. In the security sphere, **24 Canadians died** in the Twin Towers in the September 11 terrorist attacks. Moreover, one country's vulnerability may increase the

vulnerability of its neighbours. Canada could do so by being “**open at the top**” to terrorists right next door, or when it responds by vulnerability-reducing closure elsewhere (as Canada did not through closing its airspace to home-bound aircraft, instead allowing diverted American aircraft desperately seeking sanctuary on September 11 to land on its territory). But if one starts with the polity first targeted and penetrated, and that tries to stop the contagion at its national borders, then the events of September 11 show that the most capable powers may be the most vulnerable as well. The World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington offered the world’s most alluring targets in both economic and military-political terms.

For the U.S., the Cold War’s victory brought great **invulnerability** from the traditional state-directed, superpower threats of old. But it also brought the globalized **new vulnerability** of unwanted, insecure post-Soviet nuclear weapons that could well kill accidentally or fall into terrorists’ hands. The U.S. had become susceptible to terrorism at home with the first bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993 (Kirton 2007:470). Here globalization and the vulnerability it brought were as important as the transformation in power and polarity that its Cold War victory secured, although the latter helped breed resentment and perhaps a new phase of American imperial overstretch. The September 11 terrorist incidents, against the World Trade Center and also against the Pentagon — the heart of the U.S. national security apparatus — demonstrated just how penetrated and neo-vulnerable the U.S. had become. Subsequent incidents, starting with the anthrax attacks in America through to the Boston bombings in spring 2013, added more.

In contrast, Canada escaped deadly incidents from terrorists of global reach on or over its own soil. This remained so even as Canada’s new habit of going to war in distant theatres generated reasons for outsiders to attack and led Osama bin Laden to put Canada formally on al Qaeda’s target list. The Air India explosion on June 23, 1985, and the attacks on September 11, 2001, in which 24 Canadians were murdered, have been as close to Canadians and Canada as international terrorism had come before October 2014. Canada’s embassies and military bases abroad have largely escaped violent terrorist attacks. In terms of both human security (of citizens) and national security (of government and military assets), Canada is far less penetrated at home and thus more secure abroad than the U.S. and most other G8 colleagues are. In the age of global terrorism, Canada stands secure as one of the most invulnerable major powers in the world.

iii. Economic-Financial Vulnerability

A third vulnerability is **economic** — an addiction to government deficit spending, ever accumulating, cancerous national debt, and external imbalances that could cause foreign investors to flee and financial crises to come. The U.S. and Japan lead the major powers in annual deficits and absolute national debt. But after 1997, Canada had a fiscal surplus every year and declining national debt until the crisis of 2008-09 hit. It was often the only G8 country to have such a surplus, and saw its debt-to-GDP ratio steadily decline. Canada also escaped the 1997–99 global financial crisis that affected Russia and the United States as well as several emerging powers outside the principal power ranks. It was harmed less by the 2008–09 crisis than most other G8 states.

iv. Energy Vulnerability

Energy vulnerability is another new area, again for America but not Canada (Kirton 2007:471). In the Middle East wars and accompanying oil embargos of 1948, 1956, and 1967, the U.S. was able to supply a cut-off Europe and Japan from American sources. It ran out of this surplus capability in 1973 when the Middle East war and oil embargo came. It was also vulnerable when the Iranian revolution hit in 1979.

After the 1990–1991 Gulf War suggested that a victorious American had ended its old energy vulnerability, a new energy vulnerability arose. America's oil supply was restricted by striking oil workers or terrorists, few of whom intentionally sought to harm the United States. It was also attacked by its ecological vulnerability to hurricanes, and by shadowy hedge funds.

As U.S. dependence on imported energy soared, it concentrated on Canada's surplus capability to fill the need. In 2002 Canada supplied 100 percent of America's imported **electricity**, 94 percent of its imported natural **gas**, 35 percent of its **uranium** for nuclear power generation, and 17 percent of its imported **oil**. Canada stood **first** as America's foreign energy and oil supplier. Canada's oil reserves, including the oil sands, globally stood a close second to those of first-place Saudi Arabia and well ahead of third-place Iraq. Canada served as America's safe, secure, steady, terrorist-free Saudi Arabia right next door, connected by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and adjacent pipelines over land.

By 2013, however, America's specialized technological capability and adaptive resilience in oil and gas "fracking" reduced U.S. energy vulnerability and promised to restore its surplus capability again.

v. Ecological Vulnerability

Ecological vulnerability is another new form. Polluting poisons travel long distances, and climate change induces extreme weather events, drought, or rising sea levels that harm and kill unintended victims everywhere. Hurricane Katrina in 2005 dramatically showed how ecologically vulnerable America was, both to a hurricane and potentially to a sea level rise that could flood its major cities, located on its coasts, as all but Chicago are. In contrast, few Canadians have died from ecological strikes, such as ice-storms, river flooding or forest fires in Fort McMurray B.C., or more indirectly from climate change.

vi. Health Vulnerability

Health vulnerability, another new form, afflicts America from infectious diseases, such as, HIV/AIDS, severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS), and avian and swine influenza (Cooper and Kirton 2009). It also arises from non-communicable disease and drugs like opioids. Here Canada is protected by a publicly financed healthcare system that America only partly has.

4. Assertion, Acknowledgment, and Adaptive Resilience

With its emerging top-tier capabilities and invulnerabilities, Canada has increasingly **asserted a claim** to enter the inner management clubs of major powers, had its position **acknowledged**, and displayed the **adaptive resilience** to back it up amidst major systemic change.

A. Asserted Position

In the 1940s, Canada seldom **asserted** a claim to major power membership in the core peace and security clubs when the UN and Atlantic galaxies of international institutions were formed. It started to do so in the 1970s when the **G7** and **London Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)** were created outside the UN. It also did so in the **Bosnian Contact Group** in the 1990s, but was refused (Schwegmann 2001).

After **Kim Campbell** in 1993 called Canada a major power, **Stephen Harper** in 2006 made "an emerging energy superpower" and "clean energy superpower" Canada's expansive claim. By September 2009, speaking at the

end of the G20 summit in Pittsburgh, Harper advanced a broader, pre-eminently political one.

B. Acknowledged Status

In 1945, Canada did better in **acknowledged status** in the UN system, beyond the Security Council. Canada received a place on the six-member **UN Atomic Energy Commission**; it was granted a permanent Executive Board seat in the **IMF** and **World Bank**; and the headquarters of the International Civil Aviation Organization (**ICAO**). With no top job in the IMF, World Bank, GATT and NATO, as the World Health Organization (**WHO**), Brock Chisolm became the first head. The 1970s brought membership in the **G7** and the top job in the **Commonwealth** for Arnold Smith. The 1980s added the new **G7 finance** ministers' forum and **la Francophonie**. The 1990s brought the chair of the Group of Twenty (**G20**), the secretariat of the **Biodiversity Convention**, and the top job at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (**OECD**).

Under **Stephen Harper** Canada's asserted position as an emerging energy superpower with a claim to global leadership was acknowledged by such major power leaders as Britain's Tony Blair. On October 16, 2006, in London Blair described Canada as a new, major energy superpower, emerging as a world leader in development of critical technologies.⁵

C. Adaptive Resilience

Adaptive resilience also appeared in the 1990s, amidst major systemic change. When globalized markets demanded fiscal consolidation, a long free-spending Canada eliminated its burgeoning national and most provincial government deficits. Under Harper, Canada was able to respond swiftly and effectively to the 2008-2009 economic crisis, using the accumulated surplus, sound financial system and strong credit it had. A disarming Canada also mounted major military operations abroad, of increasing distance, duration, danger, and deadlines, in the Gulf War in

⁵ In Blair's view Canada was also a fellow G8 partner, a gateway to one of the two largest trading blocs in the world, from which Britain was learning a lot. Canada was playing a leading role at the G8 and elsewhere in support of nuclear non-proliferation and human rights in Iran. It, like Britain, had the weight to make its influence felt, and something very important to give to that world. Moreover, a newly vulnerable Britain needed the specialized capabilities of Canada as an energy superpower. In Blair's words, Britain was going "from a situation in the UK where we are at the moment 80-90% self sufficient in oil and gas, to 80-90% importing oil and gas literally within a period of about 10 or 15 years" (Blair 2006).

1990, the Balkans in 1992, the Turbot War in 1995, Kosovo in 1999, Afghanistan in 2001, Libya in 2011, and Iraq and Syria in 2014.

5. International Behaviour

Canada's international behaviour also suggests that CNR patterns came to prevail. It supports the thesis that Canada was emerging as, or had become a principal power in a non-hegemonic, more diffuse, mutually vulnerable world.

A. Activity

This is seen first in Canada's international activity, its intensity, durability, multi-instrumentality, geographic and functional range, and interrelationships.

One basic measure is the number of resident **diplomatic posts**, as a percentage of the available countries in world (Kirton 2007:472-3). Canada moved from 24 posts covering 47 percent of UN members in 1945, to 116, covering 85 percent by 1974 (Dewitt and Kirton 1983, 86–87). It steadily spread from a concentration in the Atlantic to a global scope, including distant Afghanistan.

A second measure is **summit diplomacy**. From 1947 to 1956, Canada's prime minister made only 23 summit visits abroad (Kirton 2007:474-9). From 1970 to 1979, he made 72 — over three times as many (Dewitt and Kirton 1983, 89). The pace then quickened enormously (Appendix E). During Harper's first nine months he made nine visits abroad, or one a month to meet the leaders of almost 70 countries, or over one-third of those in the world. His favorite summit partners were France and the United States, tied at first with three each. Shaping the trend were three plurilateral summit institutions (PSI's): the G8, the trilateral North American Summit and la Francophonie.. When Prime Minister Justin Trudeau took office his summit diplomacy abroad was much more immediate, intense, and broad in its, partners and formats (Appendix E-4).

A third measure is **military deployments** and the use of force abroad (Appendix C).⁶ Before 1990, combat came only in Korea for the 27,000

⁶ This can be indicated by the number of forces involved, the range of military services engaged, the duration of the mission, the number of regions and countries of deployment and employment, the violence and danger of the missions, and the number of casualties incurred.

troops Canada sent from 1950 to 1954, along with large military deployments in NATO's Euro-Atlantic area, and peacekeeping in the Middle East and Indochina. After 1990, it expanded to nation-building in the Americas and Africa, and in the Gulf in 1990–91, the Balkans in September 1993, in the Atlantic in 1995, in Kosovo in 1999, in Afghanistan in 2001 to 2012 and in North Africa over Libya in 2011, and in Iraq and Syria in 2014.

A fourth measure is **ODA** allocations.⁷ In volume, in the 1990s, Canada remained in the top tier (Kirton 2007:466-7). Its ODA spread globally to 120 plus countries (including 51 in Africa) in 2003. In 2009 it became the first G8 country to double aid to Africa, doing so one year ahead of the deadline. In 2013 Canada's annual ODA began to decline, as it sometime had before.

A fifth measure of activity, in particular of autonomous bilateral involvement, is **bilateral organizations** (Dewitt and Kirton 1983, 96) (Kirton 2007:481-2). Between 1948 and 1958, Canada created only two with countries beyond the United States, both with its former imperial powers of Britain and France. Between 1968 and 1978, Canada established 26. The pace has quickened and the global involvement broadened enormously since.

B. Association

In the realm of association, relevant measures also show a CNR rise. One is **trade liberalization agreements** and negotiations (Appendix F). From 1945 to 1994, a LI Canada relied on the multilateral General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), transformed in 1994 into the WTO, to do limited liberalization in an ever more broadly multilateral way. It did little here since the Uruguay Round ended in 1994. From 1940 to 1988, as PD predicts, Canada had also relied for free trade on three sectoral deals and then a full free trade agreement with the associated imperial power — America alone. In 1994, it did a deeper, trilateral deal with NAFTA, moving to minimally diversify by adding Mexico beyond the United States.

However, in **1996** (following an earlier agreement with U.S. ally Israel), Canada forged, in CNR fashion, a bilateral full free trade agreement with **Chile**. It then negotiated with Costa Rica, Central America, Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), the

⁷ They can be assessed by their volume, geographic distribution, conditional nature, and bilateral versus multilateral distribution.

Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), Singapore and Korea. None ended successfully under the Chrétien and Martin.

The Harper government promised, in its campaign platform, to add principal power **Japan** and emerging power **India** to the list. In its first mandate it did deals with **Peru**, **Colombia** and the European Free Trade Area (**EFTA**) countries of Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Lichtenstein. In its second mandate, it started negotiations with the **EU** itself. In its third it added **Japan**, **India** and the 12-member Trans-Pacific Partnership (**TPP**). By October 2013 it was negotiating 14 bilateral or plurilateral deals. Never before had a Canadian government started negotiating and concluded so many full free trade agreements, with so many countries, so fast.

In his first mandate Justin Trudeau swiftly secured CETA with the **EU**. He began negotiating a deal with **China** and ASEAN.

C. Approach to World Order

Canada's approach to world order also suggest a CNR rise. The first key outcome measure is **winning disputes** with key countries. **Joe Nye's** classic study of the outcomes of major disputes between Canada and the U.S. from 1920 to 1970 showed that Canada won more each decade (Nye 1974). David Leyton Brown, exploring the role of multinational corporations (MNCs), confirmed the trend (Leyton-Brown 1974). Trade-environment issues among Canada, the U.S., and Mexico from 1980 onward showed a similar result (Rugman, Kirton, and Soloway 1999; Kirton 2002d). Canada-U.S. outcomes during Harper's first year suggests Canada won most.

A second measure is winning **wars** (see Appendix C). Since 1990, there has been a substantial, sustained surge in combat involvements and ensuing victories, even if the outcome in Afghanistan remains in doubt.

A third measure is creating and shaping **international institutions**. Since the 1970s, Canada's record has been impressive, especially in plurilateral (or restricted membership) ones as with the **Commonwealth** before (Kirton 2007:483)). It includes the **Francophone** Summit in 1986, the Convention on **Biological** Diversity (Le Prestre 2002) in 1992, the World Trade Organization (**WTO**) in 1994, the **Arctic Council** in 1995, the **G20** in 1999, and the **cultural diversity** network formed in 2003. More informal groups,

such as the Lysøen Group at the centre of the Human Security Network (HSN), expand the list (McRae and Hubert 2001; Lamy 2002).

Canada has seldom left international institutions, such as UNIDO and UNESCO, which the U.S. left for a second time in 2017. However, in its third mandate, the Harper government left the **Desertification Convention** and **Kyoto Protocol**. By 2013 it was threatening to cut back on the Commonwealth as well.

In a fourth measure, at the annual opening sessions of the UN General Assembly in New York in September, Canada's recent record has been mixed (Appendix G).

6. Conclusion

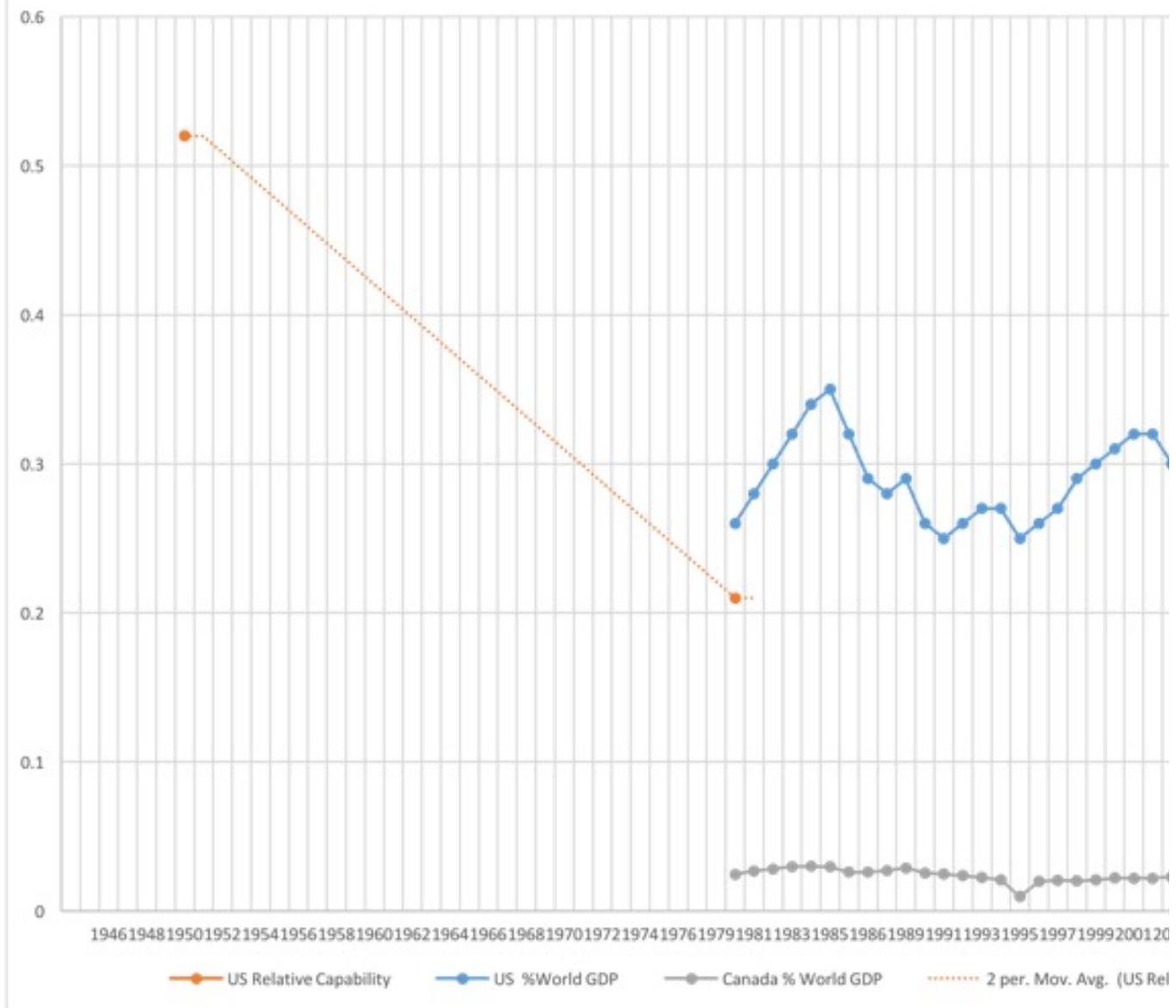
Canada is not, in and of itself, a principal power with a foreign policy dominated by the patterns of CNR. It is a principal power only in a **diffuse** international system, arising from the sustained, significant, and probably irreversible **decline** of the U.S. as a system-dominant, invulnerable power, and the emergence of a more **equal**, mutually **vulnerable** system instead. To know if such a CNR-intensive, principal-power Canada and such a world have arisen requires an empirical examination of America's changing relative capability and resulting foreign policy role and Canada's activity, association, and above all, approach to world order. Since 1945 such a world has arisen, with increasing force as the 21st century unfolds. The evidence on capabilities, vulnerabilities and Canada's international behaviour shows that Canada was emerging and had emerged as a principal power, as the meta-theory of hegemonic transition suggests.

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Meta-Theory of Hegemonic Transition
John Kirton, January 24, 2016



Appendix B: Overall Capability of G20 Members

80	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995		
0.03	169.77	84.30	104.00	116.77	88.19	106.05	108.73	127.36	81.71	141.35	189.61	228.79	236.52	257.36	258.22	2	
0.73	189.34	187.97	180.35	198.10	175.24	182.37	214.15	272.44	308.27	323.44	324.18	317.65	309.02	353.16	379.72	4	
0.92	171.14	182.97	146.70	145.99	231.76	268.85	292.63	326.90	448.77	465.01	407.73	390.59	438.30	546.49	769.74	8	
0.37	306.79	314.17	340.61	354.23	362.96	376.39	430.12	508.32	566.84	594.61	610.39	591.33	575.16	575.98	602.00	6	
0.37	286.98	281.28	301.80	310.69	307.02	297.59	323.97	404.15	451.31	390.28	409.17	488.22	613.22	559.22	727.95	8	
0.26	608.57	577.68	552.93	523.31	547.83	759.86	918.82	1003.15	1007.96	1247.35	1249.64	1375.83	1298.40	1370.63	1573.08	15	
0.14	695.07	671.16	669.57	630.85	639.70	913.64	1136.93	1225.73	1216.80	1547.03	1815.06	2068.96	2008.55	2152.74	2525.02	24	
0.42	195.86	202.86	222.05	215.56	237.62	252.75	283.75	299.65	300.19	326.61	274.84	293.26	284.19	333.01	366.60	3	
0.31	96.35	98.92	89.66	91.81	91.53	83.92	79.51	88.28	100.87	112.77	127.44	138.32	158.01	176.89	202.13	2	
0.04	426.26	421.27	437.17	431.92	446.03	631.72	792.88	878.45	913.63	1140.24	1204.45	1278.10	1027.75	1060.06	1132.36	12	
5.99	1201.47	1116.84	1218.11	1294.61	1384.53	2051.06	2485.24	3015.39	3017.05	3103.70	3536.80	3852.79	4414.96	4850.35	5333.93	47	
0.39	72.40	77.52	85.96	94.95	98.50	113.74	143.38	192.11	246.23	270.41	315.58	338.17	372.21	435.59	531.14	5	
0.95	301.76	218.99	178.53	210.54	223.42	154.69	169.64	207.53	252.91	298.46	357.80	414.93	504.07	527.29	343.78	3	
N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	85.59	183.82	276.90	313.45	3
0.97	183.56	152.59	128.60	119.05	103.68	86.71	85.41	87.96	95.02	116.69	131.83	136.67	137.41	139.65	147.94	1	
0.55	82.80	75.94	84.69	74.94	57.27	65.42	85.79	92.24	95.98	112.00	120.24	130.53	130.45	135.82	151.12	1	
0.26	95.50	86.77	82.91	80.64	90.58	100.48	115.99	121.90	144.09	202.25	203.49	213.78	242.47	174.99	227.81	2	
0.45	520.04	492.33	466.36	441.03	468.96	570.88	704.09	855.78	865.96	1024.56	1069.91	1112.86	998.35	1080.84	1181.01	12	
2.48	3210.93	3345.00	3638.13	4040.70	4346.75	4590.13	4870.20	5252.63	5657.65	5979.55	6174.03	6539.28	6868.70	7308.70	7664.05	81	
1.43	3270.43	3157.76	3072.97	2948.35	3053.17	4119.16	5052.17	5652.44	5748.15	7047.07	7498.98	8210.49	7486.03	7970.05	9237.19	94	

Sources: GDP: International Monetary Fund. 2012. "World Economic Outlook Database." Washington DC, April. Available at: www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2012/01/weodata/index.aspx. Accessed: August 2014. Gini coefficient: Wessa.net. Available at: www.wessa.net. Accessed: July 2012.

Capabilities and Behaviour

1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
283.69	284.47	269.05	102.74	129.54	153.02	183.00	214.03	262.09	328.13	310.35	369.99	447.64	472.82
412.14	399.54	377.361	423.56	539.11	654.98	732.10	777.87	945.60	1054.59	991.85	1245.31	1488.22	1585.96
586.92	644.28	554.41	505.71	552.24	663.55	881.75	1089.16	1366.22	1650.39	1622.31	2142.93	2492.91	2449.76
661.25	724.91	715.44	734.65	865.90	992.23	1133.76	1278.61	1424.07	1502.68	1337.58	1577.04	1736.87	1804.58
1083.28	1198.48	1324.81	1453.83	1640.96	1931.65	2256.92	2712.92	3494.24	4519.95	4990.53	5930.39	7298.15	7991.74
1457.07	1331.59	1340.27	1458.20	1796.68	2055.36	2137.95	2259.58	2586.77	2842.55	2631.92	2562.76	2776.32	2712.03
2133.84	1891.93	1882.51	2013.69	2428.45	2729.92	2771.06	2905.45	3328.59	3640.73	3307.20	3286.45	3577.03	3478.77
453.66	476.35	487.80	510.29	590.97	688.74	808.67	908.47	1152.81	1251.81	1253.98	1597.95	1676.14	1779.28
140.00	165.02	160.45	195.66	234.86	256.84	285.74	364.28	432.19	510.96	538.70	708.35	845.68	928.27
1209.70	1107.25	1124.67	1229.51	1517.40	1737.80	1789.38	1874.72	2130.24	2318.16	2116.63	2060.89	2198.73	2066.93
4432.60	4731.20	4159.86	3980.82	4302.94	4655.82	4571.87	4356.75	4356.35	4849.19	5035.14	5488.42	5869.47	5981.00
461.81	533.39	504.58	575.93	643.76	721.98	844.87	951.77	1049.24	931.41	834.06	1014.89	1116.25	1163.53
566.17	671.93	709.94	705.51	700.24	759.56	848.55	951.79	1036.32	1094.03	881.84	1035.40	1154.78	1207.82
195.91	259.70	306.58	345.13	430.29	591.18	763.70	989.93	1299.70	1660.85	1222.69	1487.29	1850.40	2021.90
161.17	188.69	183.26	188.80	214.86	250.67	315.76	356.20	385.20	476.94	377.20	451.39	577.60	651.65
133.11	132.96	118.56	111.36	168.22	219.43	246.96	261.18	285.81	274.19	284.24	363.48	408.07	419.93
249.82	266.44	195.55	232.28	303.26	392.21	482.69	529.19	649.13	730.32	614.42	734.59	778.09	817.30
1503.12	1480.15	1471.10	1614.41	1862.27	2202.50	2283.31	2448.11	2813.95	2657.31	2180.65	2263.1	2417.57	2452.69
9353.5	9951.48	10286.18	10642.30	11142.23	11853.25	12622.95	13377.20	14028.68	14291.55	13,938.93	14526.55	15094.03	15609.70
9155.80	8503.79	8587.79	9392.07	11430.51	13185.54	13773.20	14689.54	16994.15	18341.54	16360.16	16259.00	17577.69	17070.01

Sources: GDP: International Monetary Fund. 2012. "World Economic Outlook Database." Washington DC, April. Available at: www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2012/01/weodata/index.aspx. Accessed: August 2014.
 Gini coefficient: Wessa.net. Available at: www.wessa.net. Accessed: July 2012.

Appendix C: Canada's Use of Force, 1898-2014

February 3, 2016

Date	War	Region	Form	Allies	International Organization	Outcome
1899-02	Boer War	Africa	Land	UK	N/A	Victory
1914-18	World War I	Europe	Air, Land, Sea	UK, Fra, US (1917)	N/A	Victory
1939-45	World War II	Europe, Asia	Air, Land, Sea	UK, Fra, US (1941)	N/A	Victory
1950-53	Korean War	Asia	Air, Land, Sea	UK, Fra, US	UN	Truce
1990-1	Persian Gulf	Middle East	Air, Sea	UK, Fra, US	UN, G7	Victory
1993	Medak Pocket	Europe	Land	Fra	UN, G7	Victory
1994	Haiti	Americas	Land	US	UN	Victory*
1995	Turbot War	Atlantic	Sea	None	N/A	Victory
1996	Zaire	Africa	Land	US, UK, Fra ⁸	N/A ⁹	Victory
1999	Kosovo	Europe	Air	US, UK, Fra	UN	Victory
2001-14	Afghanistan	Middle East	Land	US	UN, NATO	Victory*
2011	Libya	Middle East	Air, Sea	Fra, UK	UN, NATO	Victory*
2012-14	Mali	Africa	Air	Fra	UN, ECOWAS	Victory
2014	Iraq	Middle East	Air, Land	US	N/A	Ongoing
2015	Syria	Middle East	Air	US	N/A	Ongoing

Notes:

Use of force is defined as missions involving combat operations or direct military support for them. Cases thus exclude: East Timor, 2003 Iraq with Canada's US pre-embedded exchange staff personnel, 2015 Ukraine military training mission

War is identified by its primary geographic location and commonly used name

Region is the major geographic area of continental like size, largely land-based save for the Atlantic for the Turbot War case

Victory is accomplishing goals at time of entry by the time Canada left

Form is the combat arms or serve of the Canadian Armed Forces involved in the combat zone: land, air and/or sea (Navy and Coast Guard).

Allies: countries engaged in combat operations on Canada's side, listed in order of a. before b. at the time of, c. after Canada's entry

International Organization is the international institution authorizing or endorsing the combat operation, with a focus on the UNSC (or UNGA), NATO, and/or the G7.

Outcome is defined as whether Canada obtained its initial war aims at the time of its combat entry by the time it ended its combat involvement (victory or defeat or stalemate or ongoing)

⁸ Also included: Belgium, Cameroon (presidency of Organization of African Unity), Ireland (presidency of EU), Italy, Japan, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Uganda

⁹ "Although Mr. Heinbecker said one of the group's responsibilities is to report what happens to the United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, he made it clear the mission is not a UN-directed operation." - From newspaper source, by Hugh Winsor, The Globe and Mail

Troop contributions: in Korea, Canada was the third largest contributor with 27,000 troops, after the U.S. and UK.

Appendix D: Official Development Assistance of OECD Members

	2005	2006 ¹⁰	2014	2015
USA	27.6	22.7	\$32.73b	\$30.76b
UK	10.8	12.6	\$19.31b	\$19.92b
Japan	13.1	11.6	\$09.19b	\$10.42b
France	10.0	10.4	\$10.37b	\$10.92b
Germany	10.1	10.4	\$16.25b	\$20.85b
Canada	03.8	03.7	\$04.20b	\$04.97b
Italy	05.1	03.7	\$03.34b	\$04.58b
G7 Total	80.5	75.1	\$95.39b	\$102.42b
Netherlands	5.1	5.5	\$05.57b	\$06.93b
Sweden	3.4	4.0	\$06.22b	\$08.53b
Spain	3.0	3.8	\$01.89b	\$01.91b
Norway	2.8	2.9	\$05.02b	\$05.53b
Denmark	2.1	2.2	\$03.00b	\$03.03b
Australia	1.7	2.1	\$04.20b	\$03.90b
Belgium	2.0	2.0	\$02.38b	\$02.26b
Switzerland	1.8	1.6	\$03.55b	\$03.76b
Austria	1.6	1.5	\$01.14b	\$01.42b
Ireland	0.7	1.0	\$00.82b	\$00.83b
Finland	0.9	0.8	\$01.63b	\$01.54b
Portugal	0.4	0.4	\$00.43b	\$00.36b
Greece	0.4	0.4	\$00.25b	\$00.34b
Luxembourg	0.3	0.3	\$00.42b	\$00.42b
New Zealand	0.3	0.3	\$00.51b	\$00.51b

Official Aid Expenditures of Members of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development 2005-, in billions of U.S. dollars

Source: "Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development." Accessed July 17, 2007. <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/43/24/1894385.xls> [[no longer available/2016]]

Source for 2014 and 2015: "Official Development Assistance (ODA) - Net ODA - OECD Data." OECD. Accessed October 19, 2016. <https://data.oecd.org/oda/net-oda.htm>.

Compiled by Courtney Hallink, October 19, 2016

¹⁰ 2006 numbers reflect preliminary data.

Appendix E: Canada's Summit Diplomacy

E-1: Harper, January- October 23, 2006

Partner	Total	Given	Received	Occasion*
U.S.	3	3	–	SPP-1, G8-1
France	3	3	-	1G8, 1B, 1Franc
Japan	2	1	1	G8-1
Britain	2	2	–	1G8, B
Russia	2	2	-	2G8
European Union	2	2	-	2G8
Finland	2	2	–	2G8
Mexico	2	2	–	SPP-1, G8-1
Afghanistan	2	1	1	
United Nations	2	1	2	G8, UNGA
Pakistan	1	1	–	
Australia	1	–	1	
Germany	1	1	–	G8-1
China	1	1	–	G8-1
India	1	1	–	G8-1
South Africa	1	1	–	G8-1
Brazil	1	1	–	G8-1
Latvia	1	-	1	
Other Francophonie	1 each			Franc

*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. SPP = Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America; G8 = Group of Eight Summit.

E-2 Harper January 2006 to November 23, 2009

Partner	Total	Given	Received	Occasion ^a
1. United States	25	22	3	SPP-4 G8-4, G20-3, APEC-4, NATO-4, B-4 SPPB-1, UNSS-1
2. Mexico	18	16	2	SPP-4 G8-4, G20-3 B-1, APEC-4, APECB-1, C-1
2. France	18	15	3	G8-4, G20-3, B-4, FS-2, NATO-4, EU-1
4. Japan	16	15	1	G8-4, G20-3, APEC-4, APECB-1, B-3, UNSS-1
5. Britain	15	15	-	G8-4, G20-3, B-3, NATO-4, UNSS-1
6. China	14	14	-	G8-3, G20-3, APEC-4,, APECB-1 G8B-2, UNSS-1
6. Germany	14	14	-	G8-4, G20-3, NATO-4, EU-1, B-1, UNSS-1
8. Russia	13	13	-	G8-4, G20-3, APEC-4, G8B-2
8. Italy	13	12	1	G8-4, G20-3, NATO-4, B-1, UNSS-1
8. Australia	13	12	1	APEC-4, APECB-1 G20-3, B-2, G8-2, UNSS-1
11. European Union	12	11	1	G8-4, G20-3, G8B-1, EU-3, UNSS-1
12. Korea	10	10	-	APEC-4, APECB-1, G20-3, G8-2
13. Indonesia	9	9	-	APEC-4, G8-2, G20-3
13. Brazil	9	9	-	G8-4, G20-3, G8B-2
13. India	9	9	-	G8-4, G20-3, G8B-1, B-1
13. Czech Republic	9	7	2	FS-2, G20-1, NATO-4, B-1, EU-1
13. Turkey	9	9	-	NATO-4, G20-3, G8-1, UNSS-1
13. United Nations SG	9	9	-	G8-3, UNGA-1, G20-3, UNSS=2
19. Spain	8	8	-	NATO-4, G20-3, G8-1
19. South Africa	8	8	-	G8-4, G20-3, G8B-1
21. Hungary	7	5	2	FS-2, NATO-4, B-1
21. Chile	7	5	2	APEC-4, APECB-1, B-2
21. Netherlands	7	7	-	NATO-4, G20-2, G8-1
24. Vietnam	7	6	1	APEC-4, APECB-1 FS-2
TOTAL				

Notes:

Top 25 partners. APEC = APEC Leaders' Summit; APECB=bilateral at APEC Leaders' Summit; B = bilateral; C = ceremonial event; CARICOM=Carribbean Community; CHOGM = Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting; EU = Canada-EU Summit; FS = Francophonie Summit; G8 = Group of Eight Summit; G8B = bilateral at G8 Summit; NATO = North Atlantic Treaty Organization Leaders' Summit; SPP = Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America; UNGA = United Nations General Assembly; UNSS = United Nations Special Summit.

^aUnless 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."

E-3: Harper Summits Given, May 2011-November 3, 2015
Julia Kulik, January 11, 2016

Country	Total	Bilateral	G7/G8	G20	NATO	APEC	UN	CHOGM	FRAN	NALS	Other
United States	20	1	5	4	2	4				3	1
Japan	15	1	5	4		4					1
France	15	3	6	4	2						
United Kingdom	13	1	6	4	2						
Germany	13	1	6	4	2						
Italy	12	1	5	4	2						
Mexico	12		1	4		4				3	
European Union	12		8	4							
China	10	1		4		4					1
Russia	10		2	4		4					
South Korea	9		1	4		4					
Indonesia	8			4		4					
Australia	7			3		4					
New Zealand	7	1		1		4					1
Singapore	7			3		4					
Turkey	6			4	2						
Chile	6	1		1		4					
Spain	6			4	2						
Brazil	5	1		4							
India	5	1		4							
South Africa	5		1	4							
Philippines	5	1				4					
Netherlands	5	2	1		2						
Malaysia	5	1				4					
Peru	5	1				4					
Hong Kong	5	1				4					
Brunei	5			1		4					
Poland	4	2			2						
Papua New Guinea	4					4					
Chinese Taipei	4					4					
Vietnam	4					4					
Ethiopia	4		3	1							
Senegal	4		2	2							
Ukraine	3	3									

Capabilities and Behaviour

Argentina	3			3							
Denmark	3		1		2						
Ukraine	2	2									
Nigeria	2		2								
Colombia	2	1		1							
Albania	2				2						
Belgium	2				2						
Bulgaria	2				2						
Croatia	2				2						
Czech Republic	2				2						
Estonia	2				2						
Greece	2				2						
Hungary	2				2						
Iceland	2				2						
Latvia	2				2						
Lithuania	2				2						
Luxembourg	2				2						
Norway	2				2						
Portugal	2				2						
Romania	2				2						
Slovakia	2				2						
Slovenia	2				2						
Benin	2		1	1							
Liberia	2		2								
Ghana	1		1								
Israel	1	1									
Jordon	1	1									
Panama	1										1
Iraq	1	1									
Kuwait	1	1									
Vatican City	1	1									
Palestine	1	1									
Senegal	1	1									
Thailand	1	1									
Honduras	1	1									
Costa Rica	1	1									
Greece	1	1									
Cambodia	1			1							

Capabilities and Behaviour

Kazakhstan	1			1							
Switzerland	1			1							
Mauritania	1			1							
Myanmar	1			1							
Algeria	1		1								
Angola	1		1								
Egypt	1		1								
Tanzania	1		1								
Libya	1		1								
Somalia	1		1								

E-4: Justin Trudeau Visits Given, November 5, 2015-October 20, 2016

Country	Total	Bilateral	G7/G8	G20	NATO	APEC	UN	CHOGM	FRA	Other
Japan	6	1	1	2		1				1
United States	5	1	1	2		1				
Germany	5		2	3						
France	5		2	2			1			
China	4	1		3						
United Kingdom	4	1	1	2						
Italy	4		1	3						
European Union	3			2			1			
Argentina	3			2						1
Australia	3			2				1		
India	3			2						1
Indonesia	3			3						
Korea	3			2		1				
India	3			2						1
Indonesia	3			3						
Mexico	3			3						
Turkey	3			3						
Brazil	2			2						
Israel	2	1					1			
Russia	2			2						
Saudi Arabia	2			2						
South Africa	2			2						
Ukraine	2	1					1			
UNSG	2			1			1			
Afghanistan	1				1					
Bulgaria	1						1			
Chad	1			1						
Ghana	1							1		
Jordan	1						1			
Latvia	1				1					
Malta	1							1		
Philippines	1					1				
Sri Lanka	1							1		
Switzerland	1									1

Note: Justin Trudeau was sworn in as Prime Minister on November 4, 2015. Countries listed by name in the first column are those with whom Trudeau has had a stand-alone, separate bilateral visit, or a collective meeting or on-site bilateral at a meeting of a plurilateral institution with a small membership ie. the G7/8, G20. It includes an onsite bilateral but not the collective meeting at an institution with a larger membership ie, NATO, APEC, CHOGM, la Francophonie (FRA), the World Economic Forum, Nuclear Security Summit and the broadly multilateral UN (in New York Paris). The collective encounter at a large membership meeting is excluded on the grounds that there is probably no direct face-to-face interaction between Trudeau and all the leaders at the table there.

Julia Kulik and John Kirton, April 22, 2016, Updated: Brittaney Warren, October 20, 2016

Appendix F: Canada's Bilateral Free Trade Agreements

John Kirton, January 7, 2016, Edited January 12, 2016

Partner	Canadian Decision	Negotiations Start	Negotiations End	Ratified
<i>Mulroney Years</i>				
USA	1985	1986	1987	1989
Mexico (NAFTA)	1990	1991	1993	1994
<i>Chrétien Years</i>				
Chile	1994	1996	1996	1997
Israel	1997	1997	1997	1997
Honduras	Sep. 28, 2000	2001	2011	2014
Costa Rica	Dec. 18, 2001	2001	2002	2002
Singapore	June 5, 2000	2001	pending	Pending
<i>Martin Years</i>				
Korea	Nov. 19, 2004	2004	2014	2015
<i>Harper Years:</i>				
Colombia	June 7, 2007	2007	2011	2011
Peru	June 7, 2007	2008 Jan 27	2008	2009
Jordan			2013	2012
EFTA	Oct. 9, 1998	2008 Jan	2008	2009
Panama	October 2008	2008	2009	2013
Caribbean	July 19, 2007	2009	pending	Pending
EU (CETA)	May 5, 2009	2009 Oct 19	2014	Pending
India	Nov 16, 2010	2011	pending	Pending
Trans-Pacific Partnership	2012	2005	2015	Pending

Notes:

Includes comprehensive bilateral and plurilateral agreements

Excludes multilateral agreements under the GATT/WTO, sectoral agreements with US for agricultural machinery, defence production, automobiles,

Ratified means by both sides/came into force (final, legal)

Appendix G: Canadian Prime Ministers Attendance at UN

Julia Kulik, October 22, 2014, JK asked Alec Dragus to update, Oct 17, 2016

Year	Prime Minister	UN Meeting
1945	King	San Francisco
1947		
1948	King	NY-UN General Assembly
1960	Diefenbaker	NY-UN General Assembly
1969	Trudeau	NY-Official visit to UN Headquarters
1976	Trudeau	Vancouver-HABITAT-UN Conference on Human Settlement
1978	Trudeau	NY, Visit to UN headquarters
1980	Trudeau	NY, meeting with Secretary General at UN headquarters
1982??	Trudeau	NY, UNSSOD
1983	Trudeau	NY, meeting with Secretary General at UN headquarters
1984	Trudeau	NY UN headquarters, meeting with Secretary General re: disarmament proposals
1985	Mulroney	NY, UNGA
1990	Mulroney	New York, Children's Conference
1991		
1992	Mulroney	Rio, UNCED
1993	Campbell	
1997	Chrétien	Ottawa, Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personal Landmines and their Destruction
2001		
2002	Chretien	
2003	Chrétien	NY, UN Headquarters — General Debate
2004	Martin	NY, UN General Assembly
2005	Martin	NY, World Summit High-Level Plenary, 60th UNGA
2006	Harper	NY, UNGA Opening Address
2007	Harper	NY, UNGA Opening Address
2008	Harper	
2009	Harper	NY, Plurilateral summit dinner on climate
2010	Harper	NY, UNGA, MNCH Initiative
2011	Harper	
2012	Harper	
2013		NY, UNGA, Foreign Minister John Baird only
2014	Harper	NY, UN General Assembly
2015	Harper	
2016	Justin Trudeau	

PM Attendance at Special UN Summits

1990	Children	New York	Mulroney
1992	UNCED	Rio	Mulroney
2009	COP	Copenhagen	Harper
2016 Sep		New York	Trudeau?