

The Harper Years

Lecture 12

POL 312Y Canadian Foreign Policy

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Introduction

On January 23, 2006, 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 Torontonians-turned-Albertan was formally sworn in as Canada's 22nd prime minister on February 6, selected his Cabinet and started to govern. Immediately a public and scholarly debate arose about what Canadian foreign policy would be (Kirton 2007, 2006). After Harper won a second, stronger minority government of 143 seats on October 14, 2008 and approached the end of his fourth year in office, this debate continued, now among seven schools of thought.

The Debate

The first school pointed, in authentic peripheral dependant (PD) fashion, to "**restrained 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 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 in 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 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 resolved, 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

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 Paul Martin. In sharp contrast, the 2006 election had brought a replay of Joe Clark 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 four 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 at the polls 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, remove Canada's ratification of the Kyoto protocol, and join George Bush's BMD.

But beyond this, the evidence supports a seventh school 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 inexperience and minority government he produced a foreign policy promoting Canada's national interests and distinctive national values, and exerting effective global leadership to shape world order as a whole.

This course was **caused at the individual level** by a prime minister that took **policy analysis** seriously, at the societal level by a prime minister and party that had fully absorbed the **Progressive Conservative** tradition on which they depended to govern, and 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 they were driven by an ever more shocked, **vulnerable and potentially vanquished America** unable to cope on its own in a more dangerous, competitive, diffuse world.

The Meta-Theory Applied

The meta theory of hegemonic transition well predicts Canada's CNR rise. America's dollar 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 governing, rose to a new high above US\$140 a barrel in 2008, making America's energy vulnerability far more acute. Then came the American-turned-global financial crisis in September 2008, a deep recession and the growing 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 as Barack Obama's Democrats won the White House and Congress. But as their first year ended, America's decline did not. Indeed, it was China, India, Brazil and other emerging economies whose currencies and growth in gross domestic product (GDP) led the world.

Amidst America's acute decline, prospective defeat and systemic diffusion, Canada rose. Its dollar, which had stood at US\$0.87 when Harper started, leapt to US\$1.10 by late 2007, and stayed above US\$0.90 since. In an increasingly resource-short world, Canada—along with its other superpower neighbour, Russia—stood as the globe's 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 the 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 majority government on October 14, 2008.

So strong were these trends in deepening American vulnerability, major power rise, and rising, systemic diffusion and Canadian capability that even the most internationally ignorant, uninterested, domestically-constrained Canadian leader would very probably have been pulled into global leadership in a 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 in Pittsburgh in September 2009, and its choice of Canada host to its next summit in Ontario in June 2010 showed how much the world and Canada's place had changed.

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 American 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 middle power Australia, and major power Britain, India, and Japan. The most frequently noted international institutions were the entirely democratic, plurilateral Group of Eight (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 was not.

The Campaign Promises

During the campaign that began 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 were on **immigration and multiculturalism** with the emphasis on acting against Canada’s protectionist “head tax.” 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. 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.”²

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

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 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 leadership, 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 unity 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 Afghanistan and the world as a whole. Most other regions and countries were dealt with equally. The two references to the U.S. 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 speech further highlighted greater resources for both defence and development, including the use of force.

The Second Throne Speech, October 17, 2007

Harper's second Speech from the Throne, delivered on October 17, 2007 expanded this doctrine on all fronts. Foreign policy now took **60%** of the speech and appeared throughout. Of the five stated priorities, foreign policy came first, 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

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

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 be guided by “our shared values of democracy, freedom, human rights and the rule of law.” 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 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 Foreign Policy Speeches

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 a 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

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.

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 Derek Burney to head his 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 Michael Wilson, 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.

Cabinet Appointments

To the major international affairs portfolios in his first cabinet, Harper appointed former Progressive Conservative Party leader Peter MacKay as Foreign Minister, and former Liberal cabinet minister David Emerson as trade minister. General Gordon O’Connor went to national defence and former Ontario finance minister Jim Flaherty 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 Bernier to the foreign affairs portfolio. MacKay, following the career path of former Liberal foreign minister Bill Graham, move to defence. Subsequently fellow Quebecer Lawrence Cannon replaced Bernier in foreign affairs.

The first four years thus showed considerable ministerial continuity, with only one minister of finance, two ministers of trade, development, defence and the environment and three for foreign affairs.

Departmental Machinery and Management

In organizing his government, one of Harper’s first decisions was to reintegrate 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 Peter Harder 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 Len Edwards as deputy minister. Harper moved David Mulroney, 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 co-ordinator 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 left 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 strategic lift aircraft... a 650-person airborne battalion ... 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 C\$425 million 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 development spending increased 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. A large \$250 million of it would go to the Global Fund 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 African health. 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 icebreaker. 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 of 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 professionalism. 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 frugality reigned. Harper's Treasury Board Secretary, Jim Baird, began by slashing public diplomacy and academic relations programs. The government then closed all of Canada's consulates general in the G8 powers of Japan, Italy and Russia. 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 post abroad by a net gain of one.

Summitry

In summit diplomacy, however, global expansion 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 Afghanistan 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 Mexico for a trilateral 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 (SPP) 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 Cancun, 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

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

After almost four full years, Harper's summitry had become both global and intense (see Appendix C). His favorite partners were the U.S. in first with 25 visits, France and Mexico 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 G8, APEC, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the North American Leaders Summit with four encounters each, followed by the G20 summit with three.⁶ The top 15 country spots were all occupied by Canada's systemically significant partners in the G20.

Ministerial Diplomacy

At the ministerial level, a global approach prevailed as well. While foreign minister Peter Mackay spoke by phone with his American counterpart Condoleezza Rice on February 7, 2006, his first trip was across the Atlantic to Britain and Europe, 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 Condoleezza Rice paid to Canada 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. 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.

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.

Free Trade Agreements

Free trade agreements with bilateral partners also rose. Harper promised ones with Japan and India, and pursued a South Korean one. 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, 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. 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, and in the summer again. He did little multilaterally to get the WTO’s badly overdue Doha Development agenda done.

Bilateral Institutions

In the domain of bilateral institution building, America again did not dominate. Rather, 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 to global democratic leadership during his first four years.

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, 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 — its largest recipient by far — had been \$100 million in 2004-05, and was slated to be \$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 — 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. 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."⁷ 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 2009.⁸ On May 17, members narrowly agreed in a 149-145 vote.⁹ Harper's move was motivated by his overall strategy, evident in Canada's ODA increase, of changing expectations so all would assume 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 relax the caveats so their troops could come to Canada's aid. He encouraged them to provide the additional 2,500 troops 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 2007 France, 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 October 17, 2007 Throne Speech he announced an extension for two years beyond. In a confidence vote on a compromise motion in the Commons on March 13, 2008, Harper and the Liberals agreed to extend the mission to 2011, shift it to training the Afghan

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/.

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.

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."¹⁰ Harper further announced that his government would increase Canada's military presence in the Arctic, including underwater and aerial surveillance.¹¹

Immediately after Harper was elected, the issue arose due to public comments by the U.S. ambassador to Canada, David Wilkins, 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, January 26, 2006, 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 sovereignty Operation Glacial Gunner in January, the Harper government in February mounted the largest ever military mission, 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 2007, Harper, with his "use it or lose it" approach, followed with Operation Nunavut, Operation Narwhal and Operation Nanook. He announced new Arctic Patrol Ships 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 Radarsat-2 was successfully launched on December 14. In the spring 2008 budget, Harper added a new Arctic icebreaker, 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

¹⁰ Conservative Party of Canada, (December 22, 2006) "Harper Stands Up for Arctic Sovereignty," Accessed November 27, 2006, www.conservative.ca/EN/1091/36512

¹¹ Conservative Party of Canada, (December 22, 2006) "Harper Stands Up for Arctic Sovereignty," Accessed November 27, 2006, www.conservative.ca/EN/1091/36512

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 suggested that democratic governments could not support terrorism.¹² He signalled that he would not recognize the new Hamas government as long as it supported terrorism and called for the destruction of Israel.¹³ His remarks put on hold a \$50 million aid package 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."¹⁴ Canada was the first country other than Israel to cut off diplomatic relations with and development aid.¹⁵ 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 April 28, 2006, Harper announced that "the United States has accepted Canada's key conditions for

¹² 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.

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ 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.

the resolution of the softwood lumber dispute. Canada's bargaining position was strong, our position was clear, and this agreement delivers.”¹⁶

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 support it. On 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.¹⁸ In response to complaints that the U.S. could abandon the deal very soon, United States trade representative Susan Schwab said on September 13 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 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

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

¹⁷ 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

¹⁸ 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

¹⁹ 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.

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 Westphalian would not budge, Canada had to secure its goal in another, 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 came without a federal education department, with provinces jealous of their constitutional responsibility for this subject, and with a 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, on the leaders of the G8 and on 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 (U.S.) and Fox (Mexico) in Cancun on March 30-31, Koizumi (Japan) in Ottawa on July 6, Bush (U.S.) in Washington July 13-14 and Blair (UK) in Britain on July 15 on the way to St. Petersburg itself. At St. Petersburg he held a bilateral with Putin (Russia) and a Canada-EU trilateral with Vanhanen (Finland) and Barroso (EC). By the time he had sat down at the summit table, he had already met six of the fellow eight G8 leaders (all save 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 environment alien 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 grounded 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 his contribution came over the Middle East. When attacks by Hamas and Hezbollah on Israel just before the summit thrust the issue into prominence on the G8 agenda, 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 issues in the way the Russian hosts wanted and 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 the veto power of China 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 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 the U.S. political director Nick Burns in producing the successful statement (if not the three final square bracket passages that prevailed). Moreover, America's weight as well as Canada's initiative was responsible for the success the statement enjoyed. But the sequence saw Canada's draft and approach leading the G8, which served as the de facto 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 Heiligendamm, Canada's global leadership in the G8 concert again arose. Canada and Japan established a target and timetable of a 50% reduction in carbon dioxide 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 Afghanistan that received table thumping applause. It helped inspire more troops and development dollars from G8 allies for 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.²¹ On July 16, 2006, seven Canadians were killed. In response, foreign minister Peter MacKay announced plans to evacuate Canadian citizens.²² These 2006 "boat people" constituted 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 modest 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 Canadians safely home.

A few Canadians complained about the slowness and austere conditions of the rescue effort, 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 thus 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 spoke French.

Climate Change

Harper's eighth set of major decisions concerned climate change (Simpson et al. 2007). In his campaign platform, Harper had promised to find a solution in concert with the advanced industrial 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 Kyoto Protocol. Environment minister Ambrose then succeeded Stéphane Dion in Canada's presidency of the Conference of the Parties (COP). She promised the government would unveil a "made-in-

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

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” policy 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 investing in clean technology in Canada, regulating its large final emitters and creating a domestic emissions trading 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 Canada would consider joining the Asia Pacific Partnership (APP) 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 made-in-Canada plan arrived in the autumn. But few thought it did much to control climate change. The government responded by replacing Ambrose with James Baird as environment minister, and a new stronger plan backed by much greater funding in the fall.

At the G8 Heiligendamm 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 APP 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 la Francophonie. 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 organization, to secure the support of France and Switzerland to condemn the harm done to all civilians in the conflict in Lebanon. 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 French language and culture amidst the onslaught of American led globalization. Harper was selected to host the next Francophone summit in 2008 — the third time Canada would host the 49-member body since it was co-founded by François Mitterrand, Brian Mulroney and Pierre Marc Johnson in 1986. Canada would host its third summit in Quebec City 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 national unity at home, and the distinctive national value of multiculturalism and bilingualism abroad.

Human Rights

The tenth set of decisions promoted human right, 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 Armenians 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 Tamil Tigers a terrorist organization, 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 Myanmar, in response to that regime's massacre of its dissenting monks. In November 2007 at the CHOGM, Harper supported the suspension of Pakistan from the Commonwealth to punish it for its repression of human rights at home.

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, throughout his two year he vigorously defended Canadian citizen Maher Arar 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 China. 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

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

On August 27, 2008, Stephen Harper extended Canada's Arctic territory (yet again) by doubling from 100 to 200 nautical miles Canada's claimed jurisdiction for environmental and shipping purposes. His government promised to introduce changes to AWPPA for this purpose, as part of its 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 claim.

Generating G8 Governance

On September 24-25, 2009, Harper attended the third G20 summit within a year, held in Pittsburgh. On the eve of the summit, he 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 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.

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 K 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 L 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 M 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
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Development	2005-6 =	2006-7 = 3.8b	2007-8 = 4.1b
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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)

Partner	Total	Given	Received	Occasion ^a
United States	25	22	3	SPP-4 G8-4, G20-3, APEC-4, NATO-4, B-4 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, 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, UNSS-1
European Union	12	11	1	G8-4, G20-3, G8B-1, EU-3, UNSS-1
South 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 B-1
Iceland	5	4	1	NATO-4, B-1
NATO SG	5	5	-	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	-	NATO-4
Norway	4	4	-	NATO-4
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
Singapore	4	4	-	APEC-4
Saudi Arabia	3	3	-	G20-3
Argentina	3	3		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	2	1	1	FS-2

Republic				
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	1	1	FS-2
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
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 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
Lybia	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=Carribbean Community

C = ceremonial event

Stephen Harper, 2006–

- 060314: Harper visits Karzai (Afghanistan) in Kabul
060314: Harper visits Aziz (Pakistan) in Islamabad
060330-31: Harper meets Bush (U.S.) and Fox (Mexico) in Cancun
060518: Howard (Australia) visits Harper in Ottawa
060628: Koizumi (Japan) visits Harper in Ottawa
060706: Harper visits Bush (U.S.) in Washington
060713-14: Harper visits Blair (UK) in Britain
060715-17: Harper attends G8 Summit
(bilateral with Putin [Russia]; trilateral with Vanhanen [Finland] and Barroso [EC])
060718-19: Harper visits Chirac (France) in Paris
060921: Harper at Opening of UN General Assembly in New York
(bilateral with Annan [UN Secretary General])
060921-22: Karzai (Afghanistan) visits Harper in Ottawa
060925: Viķe-Freiberga (Latvia) visits Harper in Ottawa
060928: Harper attends Francophone Summit in Bucharest
061026: Calderon (Mexico) visits Harper in Ottawa
061118-19: Harper at APEC Leaders' Summit in Vietnam
(bilateral with Roh Moo-Hyun [South Korea], Shinzo Abe [Japan], Hu Jintao [China], Nguyen Tan Dung [Vietnam], John Howard [Australia])
061128-29: Harper at NATO Summit in Latvia
(bilateral with (Jaap) de Hoop Scheffer [NATO Secretary General], Lech Kaczynski [Poland])
061201: Harper attends Calderon's inauguration ceremony in Mexico City
(bilateral with Alvaro Uribe Velez [Columbia])

Stephen Harper, 2007–

- 070425: Solyom (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
070606-08: Harper attends G8 Summit
(bilaterals with Lula [Brazil], Hu [China], Putin [Russia], Mbeki [South Africa])
070711-12: Balkenende (Netherlands) visits Harper in Ottawa
070712-13: King Abdullah II (Jordan) visits Harper in Ottawa
070716: Harper visits Uribe (Columbia) in Bogota
070717-18: Harper visits Bachelet (Chile)
070718-19: Harper visits Arthur (Barbados)
070719: Harper visits CARICOM (Caribbean Community) leaders
070720: Harper visits Preval (Haiti)
070820-21: Bush (U.S.) and Calderon (Mexico) attend Security and Prosperity Partnership summit in Montebello, Quebec
070909: Harper at APEC Leaders' Summit in Australia
070911: Harper visits Howard (Australia)
071029: Dalai Lama (Spiritual Leader of Tibet)^b visits Harper in Ottawa

- 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 Topolánek (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: Harper's Major Decisions

2006

Afghanistan	Victory Address, Visit, Extension to 2009
Arctic Sovereignty, January -	Reaffirmed rhetorically & summer tour
Hamas Funding	First outside Israel to cut off
Softwood Lumber, April 26	Deal with U.S. announced
UNESCO Participation, May 5	Quebec role negotiated
St. Petersburg G8 Summit, July-	Leads in Middle East, energy principles
Mid East War, June-	Canadians rescued from Lebanon
Climate Change	Remains in Kyoto, Made-in-Canada plan
Francophone Summit, September 28	Israel's rights, French language reaffirmed
China & APEC, November	Human Rights Promoted

2007

2008

Doubles Arctic Pollution Prevention Zones

2009

Opens FTA Negotiations with EU
September 23: 2.6 billion in callable capital to African Development Bank
September 25: Agrees to host and co-chair fourth G20 summit

Appendix E: 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					•

Notes:

Win = Canada win. U.S. adjusts to Canada's initial preferences (ie. 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 or 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 F: 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	Kept: Deal Done
Wheat Board: protect Canada's interests	
Byrd Amendment: protect Canada's interests	Compromised by Softwood Deal
Imported Crime: protect Canada's interests	
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

Death United Arab Emirates leader mourned

Kept in Middle East policy

Development (3):

ODA: \$425 million added

Asian Tsunami commemorated

AIDS: World AIDS Day noted

Kept largely

Trade (1):

Pacific Gateway Initiative promised

Kept by Liberal's funding honoured

Appendix G: 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		
Distinctive National Values:	Promoted	Violated
Anti-Militarism	BMD Refused U.S. Great Lakes Arms Tests	
Multiculturalism	Armenian Genocide Darfur Highlighted	
Openness	Immigration levels Chinese Head tax Lebanese rescue Dual Citizenship re-affirmed G8 Energy Security — markets	
Environmentalism	Kyoto Remains Ratified U.S. Great Lakes Arms Tests G8 Energy security — environment	Bottom Trawling
International Institutionalism	SPP Summit PDI	
Globalism	Summitry	

Appendix H: 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		800.00+			
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%		

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 I: 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 J: Canadian Societal Support, Approval Ratings

Date	Conservatives/Harper	Liberals/Dion	Bloc/Duceppe	NDP/Layton	Greens/May	Undecided/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 K:
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 L:
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 NDP	2 Quebec, 1 B.C., 1 N.S.	2 Conservative, 1 Bloc, 1

Appendix M: Canadian Governmental Changes

Foreign Affairs

Peter MacKay, February 6, 2006-
Maxime Bernier, August 14, 2007
Lawrence Cannon, October 2008

Defence

Gordon O'Connor, February 6, 2006
Peter MacKay, August 2007

International Cooperation

Josée Verner, February 6, 2006
Bev Oda, August 2007

Trade

David Emerson, February 6, 2006
Stockwell Day, October 30, 2008

Finance

Jim Flaherty, February 6, 2006

Environment

Rona Ambrose, February 6, 2006
James Baird, January 2007
Jim Prentice, October 30, 2008