



2017 TRUDEAU REPORT CARD

Rhetoric vs. Reality



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B-

2017 REPORT CARD



DIPLOMACY

B-



**REFUGEES &
IMMIGRATION**

B+



TRADE

B+



DEFENCE

C



NATIONAL SECURITY

B+



**ENVIRONMENT &
CLIMATE CHANGE**

B-



DEVELOPMENT

B

B+

Last year's REPORT CARD



DIPLOMACY

B-



**REFUGEES &
IMMIGRATION**

B+



TRADE

B+



DEFENCE

B



NATIONAL SECURITY

B-



**ENVIRONMENT &
CLIMATE CHANGE**

B+



DEVELOPMENT

A-



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INTRODUCTION

Why do a report card?

This second edition of the CFPJ Report Card covers everything from defence and diplomacy to foreign aid, refugees and immigration. Its purpose is to evaluate the government's performance in crucial areas of foreign policy and to identify any gaps between the rhetoric of electoral showmanship and the harsh realities of policy implementation. Last year, after 100 days in office, the Trudeau government received an average of B+ and according to our experts, performed at a reasonable level. These assessments were based mostly on promises made and the convincing rhetoric from Trudeau's mandate letters to his Cabinet. In 2017, the shine has clearly worn off. No A grades were assigned, not even to the much promised file of climate change and the environment.

In general, the Report Card concludes that, since taking office more than one year ago, the Trudeau government has fallen off pace, reversed direction in some areas and stalled on others. Only some of Trudeau's election promises have been kept. Indeed, the most crucial promises now may be out of reach, or worse, less relevant than they were just a year ago. While the Trudeau government made strengthening aid and development policies a key component of its foreign policy agenda, it is clear a good working relationship with Canada's neighbour to the South is attracting the most attention and resources. This is true for all key issue areas including trade, defence, border security, infrastructure, foreign policy and immigration. Considering that the Liberals promised openness, transparency and accountability, holding the government to its election promises, particularly in light of these recent developments, entails, now more than ever, rigorous and continuous evaluation.

Following an election campaign built on a commendable promise to re-engage in multilateral institutions and international fora, the Trudeau government was confronted with increasing pressure to perform. In seeking to reverse the trends of the Conservative era, the Liberals pursued a foreign policy premised on the timeless wisdom that Canadian national interests are best served through multilateralism and diplomatic openness. The successful ratification of CETA, historic signing of a pan-Canadian framework to combat climate change, and the welcoming of 39,000 Syrian refugees are indicative of the tangible progress that has already been made. Prime Minister Trudeau's first address before the UN General Assembly preceded an announcement that Canada would seek a 2021 UN Security Council Seat, reflecting a notable shift in tone and substance.

While some promises have been kept, others have clearly stalled. Regarding Defence, commitments to reinvigorate support for UN peacekeeping operations are muddled by mission uncertainty. Concerning National Security, the government has neither proposed nor amended the problematic elements of the Anti-Terrorism Act. Although Donald Trump's ascendancy to the U.S. presidency presents a myriad of challenges that no government anticipated, stalemate on key issues cannot be entirely attributable to changes in the U.S. administration.

Supported in part by the Canadian Foreign Policy Journal and its affiliate iAffairs Canada, this Report Card would not have been possible without the insights from faculty at NPSIA and Carleton University as well as experts from across Canada. Special thanks to the Centre for Security, Intelligence, and Defence Studies (CSIDS), the Centre for Trade Policy and Law (CTPL), and the Canadian International Development Platform (CIDP) for their support.

Responsibility for this Report Card's completion rests with myself and co-authors Rachel Laborce, Yany Siek and Asha Siad.

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Evaluation Criteria

The grades for this Report Card reflect an assessment of the Trudeau government's foreign policy performance since its first 100 days in office. In doing so, it builds on last year's Report Card by assigning letter grades in the following areas: diplomacy, immigration and refugees, trade, environment and climate change, national security, defence, and development. These categories continue to drive Canadian foreign policy discussions, especially given the arrival of a new U.S. administration. Each category has been graded with a critical eye for improvement, weighed equally to generate the final grade which is a simple average. In assigning the individual grades, three key factors were considered:

- **Progress:** The Liberal government made several campaign promises in its 2015 A New Plan for a Strong Middle Class platform and in a series of ministerial mandate letters. The grading process carefully compared these promises to policy outcomes either proposed or achieved with the evaluation period up to and including this Report Card's date of release.
- **Overall Performance:** The grade reflects an evaluation by our experts of the government's overall performance in each issue area since coming to power.
- **Openness, Transparency and Accountability:** The Trudeau government sought to distinguish itself from the previous government through greater openness, accountability, and transparency. For each issue area, the grade assigned is based on our experts' determination of whether and to what extent these goals are being met.

The objective of this Report Card is to engage and uplift the public discussion of Canada's foreign policy. For this year's Report Card we have assigned a final grade of B-. We leave it to our readers to discuss and debate whether the grade assigned warrants further debate.

DIPLOMACY

B-

Highlights of Election Promises:

- ✓ Maintain constructive relations with the United States in order to deepen trade and commerce
- ✓ Strengthen trilateral North American cooperation with the United States & Mexico
- ✓ Expand Canadian diplomacy and leadership on global issues and in international institutions
- ✓ Ensure the deployment of the Canadian Armed Forces aligns with Canada's national interest, multilateral commitments and policy objectives
- ✓ Continue the revitalization of Canada's public diplomacy, stakeholder engagement, and cooperation with partners in Canada and abroad
- ✓ Increase Canada's educational and cultural interaction with the world



Trudeau 2.0 or Harper Lite?

Into the Abyss

The world is at a turning point with potentially far-reaching implications for Canada. The liberal international order which Canada helped build after the Second World War is being tested on a number of fronts, economically and politically. In this uncertain and fluid context, Canada's diplomatic efforts, increasingly complex as they now must be, are in a continuous state of revision and rethinking. Chief among the growing challenges, Canada's leaders find themselves scrambling in response to Donald's Trump's "new style" transaction-based American foreign policy agenda.

For example, with Mr. Trump's election and the Trans Pacific Partnership deal moribund, Canada finds itself in a difficult position. On the one hand, our largest trading partner has refuted an agreement that would have provided access to 40% of the global economy and on the other, Canada has signed on to CETA, which promises to open 28 European countries to Canadian goods and services. Further, with the emerging protectionism and isolationism of president Trump, a renegotiation of NAFTA is inevitable.

DIPLOMACY

In truth, the Trump administration's desire for overhauling NAFTA is a catalysing moment for Canada that will put our country on the road to major economic and political transformation. In one sense the Canadian agenda is rather simple: seek out trade deals, negotiate investment guarantees, revitalise the economy and ride out the Trump wave. Can Canada do all this while not sacrificing its relationship with Mexico or foregoing the gains from trade the TTP would have offered? That remains to be seen.

But the Trudeau government was elected not just on promises of expanded trade but on promises to rejuvenate multilateralism, secure a seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), support UN peacekeeping, stabilise a decline in commitments to the International Criminal Court and be a leader in the global climate change agenda.

Closer to home Trudeau promised public engagement in the foreign policy process as part of its open and accountable election platform. So far this government has come nowhere near what the previous Liberal governments of Jean Chretien and Paul Martin produced in terms of public diplomacy. What we have seen so far is much tighter, more restrained and controlled messaging more akin to the Harper government. Indeed the words "Harper Lite" come to mind in thinking about the branding of this government's foreign policy platform and its close association with Prime Minister Trudeau.

What Matters Most to Canada?

All this matters because it is through multilateralism and membership in various organisations that Canada has typically addressed questions of peace and security through the rule of law, economic prosperity and competitiveness through trade and investment, and national unity and Canadian sovereignty through membership in various organisations such as La Francophonie and the Commonwealth. Unfortunately, the world is witnessing a decline in the coherence and effectiveness of such organisations.

An example is the potential for bilateral free trade arrangements to weaken the World Trade Organization. So too is the UK 'Brexit' vote and its implications for EU integrity and coherence along with a perceived deterioration of the UN system undermined by constant abuse from regional and global powers. The real purpose of such institutions is to sanction, monitor and coordinate the management of public goods and to ensure harmonization among states to overcome collective action problems such as climate change and security. But without leadership such efforts will continue to founder.

DIPLOMACY



**Today begins a new era in
Canadian international
engagement.**



- Prime Minister Trudeau on November 4, 2015

With so much attention on renegotiating NAFTA, it's not clear whether the Trudeau government has the energy or the capacity to stay the course on many of its policy commitments including expanded refugee settlement, climate change and immigration agenda. While drafting this report we expected the government to stay the course. Trudeau 2.0 was what we expected; simply put, a better and more focused version of last year's foreign policy performance. Donald Trump changed all that.

The Trump Factor

Trump's election is clearly a double edged sword for the Trudeau government. On the one hand, with the perceived disengagement of the U.S. there may still be some opportunities for Canada to show leadership in the multilateral arena. On the other hand, there are clear advantages to charting a different course defined by interests closer to home such as arctic sovereignty, economic growth through immigration and re-engaging civil society in the foreign policy process.

Further, despite the Canadian government's desire to seek a seat on the UN Security Council there are countries such as Ireland and Norway who have done more to justify Council membership. If peacekeeping was the path that would put Canada back on the Council, that strategy appears to now be on hold. Commitments to training Ukrainian soldiers and deploying several hundred of our own in the Baltic states under NATO command are meagre substitutes for fixing a broken system.

A solution to weakened global governance remains elusive. At the same time, uncertainty in the global order represents an important opportunity for Canada to strike a new path and embrace change openly and willingly. If the Trudeau government succeeds it may end up thanking Donald Trump for that. But for now Trudeau's ambitious foreign policy agenda remains largely unfulfilled.

B-

REFUGEES & IMMIGRATION

B+

Highlights of Election Promises:

- ✓ Resettle more than 39,000 Syrian refugees as of January 2017
- ✓ Ensure the effective implementation of Canada's increased annual immigration levels
- ✓ Welcome 300,000 immigrants to Canada in 2017
- ✗ Work with the provinces and territories to ensure the delivery of high-quality settlement services to ensure the successful arrival of new Canadians



Success and Controversy

Leadership?

Upon taking office, one of the headline policies of the Trudeau government was its pledge to bring in 25,000 Syrian refugees by year end 2015. The Trudeau government reached their resettlement goal in February 2016. This task involved massive mobilization of government and private resources. From November 2015 until early January 2017, over 35,000 Syrian refugees had arrived in Canada, both government (18,433) and privately sponsored (13,138) and with a smaller number (3,576) supported through blended government and private sponsors. In light of the current context involving the closing of many European and U.S. borders to refugees, Canada is lauded for providing a strong positive response to the ongoing humanitarian crisis necessitating refugee resettlement. While piling in comparison to the number European countries have taken in, Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada Minister Ahmed Hussen, recently announced a plan to welcome 1,200 Yazidi and other survivors of Daesh in 2017. This number includes vulnerable Yazidi women and children and their families.

REFUGEES & IMMIGRATION

Canada and Syrian Refugees

The Trudeau government's efforts to resettle more than 39,000 Syrian refugees as of January 2017 was successful. During this time, the Canadian government worked very closely with provinces and territories, resettlement centres, service provider organizations, and community groups to support the refugee influx. Newcomer integration and settlement services are, however, unequipped to support the large numbers of refugees entering Canada. Without increased funding by the federal government Canada is unable to sufficiently address the needs of newcomers, especially refugees, particularly in areas such as language training or skill training programs.

Despite meeting targets, the projected intake of Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs) in 2017 is much lower (7,500) and slightly below the average from 2000 to 2015. The level for Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs) at 16,000 is an increase over previous years. However, those supportive of the increase in private sponsorship point out that PSRs, who benefit from family and sponsor networks, tend to fare economically better than GARs whose selection favours humanitarian need rather than their level of education and economic capital. Critics charge that the drop in GARs and changed proportion of government versus privately sponsored refugees represents a privatization of commitment toward refugees, thus weakening Canada's legitimacy internationally in pressing other governments to use their resources to resettle refugees.

Canada and Immigration

Attracting and retaining immigrants, particularly skilled immigrants, remains a high priority for the Trudeau government. The target of 300,000 for 2017 duplicates that of 2016. The Trudeau government aims to increase by 7% the number of economic immigrants becoming permanent residents to contribute quickly to the economy and keep Canada globally competitive.

This means that the Liberals are planning to make economic immigration a larger share of overall immigration than in 2016 and to recruit skilled immigration through the Express Entry immigration system. This increase in economic immigrants comes at the expense of decreased targets in refugees. In line with its election platform, the Liberal government has made some target and policy changes to encourage and support family reunification. Thus, its targets for family class immigration have been 80,000 for 2016 and 84,000 for 2017.

REFUGEES & IMMIGRATION

While Canada has the ability and potential to bring in more immigrants, overall it is not performing well in the international competition for talent. Given the history of Canada's immigration program, the Trudeau government needs to pay closer attention. For some skilled workers, Canada is potentially a stop along their journey to the U.S., but increasingly our competition is coming from China and South Africa. Some of these skilled workers stay, get experience and return home, Canada loses their talents and contributions to Canadian society.

“ One of every six Canadian residents was born outside the country. Immigration has helped to make Canada a culturally rich, prosperous and progressive nation. ”

- Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

The Trump Factor

The appointment of Ahmed Hussen as the new Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship is an appointment laced with symbolic importance. Hussen was born and raised in Somalia, and came to Canada as a refugee. Following U.S. President Trump's Executive Orders on travel and refugees (travel ban for nationals of seven majority-Muslim countries and refugee ban), the Minister has taken a subdued and reactive role. In response the new Minister has been compelled to work with U.S. officials to achieve exemptions for the U.S. travel ban - including Canadian dual nationals and permanent residents (with citizenship in one of the seven countries banned from U.S. entry). Like other Cabinet ministers, he has been careful to refrain from explicit criticism of U.S. border and refugee policies.

REFUGEES & IMMIGRATION

“ Our immigration levels plan has an allocation that is historically high for refugees. We intend to maintain that plan. ”
- Ahmed Hussen

The Prime Minister's tweet offering welcome to those fleeing persecution, terror and war, in response to the executive order temporarily halting U.S. refugee resettlement has not thus far led to any changes in Canadian policy and instead to charges of “hollow rhetoric” levelled against the Prime Minister. The late January 2017 halt of all resettlement of refugees to the U.S., the ban on Syrian refugees and discrimination against refugees of Muslim faith all have placed public pressure on the Canadian government to respond with measures that compensate or address the complete loss of refugee protection south of the border. High numbers of economic migrants are making their way to Manitoba on foot during the harsh Canadian winter. Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) reports that almost 400 asylum-seekers illegally crossed the U.S.-Canada border between April 2016 and the end of January 2017.

Thus far, the Canadian government has been disappointing in refusing to increase its refugee resettlement targets or open its door to more refugee sponsorship applications. Despite a growing chorus of refugee lawyers calling for its suspension, the government has refused to revisit how the two countries handle asylum claims at the border. The fear of reprisals in areas such as trade and investment from the U.S. president and the growth in homegrown anti-immigrant sentiment in Canada seem to have caused paralysis in Canada's commitments to safeguard refugees.

B+

TRADE

Highlights of Election Promises:

B+

- ✓ Lead the ratification and implementation of the Canada-European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement
- ✓ Expand trade with large fast-growing markets including China and India
- ✓ Deepen trade links and commerce with traditional partners including the United States



Good News, Bad News

Progressive Trade Agenda?

The Trudeau government campaigned on a progressive trade agenda which directs Canada's international trade agenda toward the United States, Asia, and the European Union. At the second year mark in office, some progress has been made in these areas. The Trudeau government's efforts have been steadfast and pointed although various external factors have hindered progress beyond the control of the Trudeau government. We can evaluate the Trudeau government's performance since his first 100 days by examining whether rhetoric has matched reality, and by highlighting successes, failures, and best efforts in the area of international trade.

Canada and The European Union

On October 30, 2016 PM Trudeau signed the historic trade agreement during the EU-Canada Summit. It aims to boost trade in goods and services and investment flows between Canada and the European Union. Although growing protectionist and anti-globalization sentiments have caused delays in ratification, on February 15, 2017 the deal was approved by the European Parliament by a margin of 408 to 254 votes. The success of CETA's ratification was the culmination of final negotiations led by the previous Minister of International Trade, Chrystia Freeland after receiving the file from the previous Harper government. This strategy aims to maximize Canada's relative influence with EU partners, supports a Progressive Trade Agenda and Canada's commitments to increasing trade and attracting job-creating investment to support the middle class.

TRADE

Free Trade Agreements with China, India, and others?

In September 2016, Prime Minister Trudeau made his first official visit to China to explore future relations in the areas of trade and investment. This trip was followed by the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Li Keqiang, making his first official visit to Canada. The two countries, China and Canada, announced the launch of exploratory discussions for a possible future Canada-China Free Trade Agreement. Prime Minister Trudeau's visit demonstrated a greater openness to expanding trade with China. Anticipated challenges ahead include the necessity of a whole-of-government approach in which expanding trade will require pursuing other areas for bilateral discussion. The future of these bilateral relations is yet to be determined although PM Trudeau's strategies each with China, ASEAN, and Japan are the necessary first steps in Canada's larger strategy of its pivot to Asia. Regarding trade with other nations, there has been no movement on India since the outgoing administration, few changes on the Saudi Arabia file given the lack of domestic support, and no major expansions on Israel and Chile.

“ No two countries share deeper or broader relations than Canada and the United States. ”

- Joint Statement from President Trump and Prime Minister Trudeau

The Trump Factor: Canada-U.S. Trade Relations

The election of Donald Trump forced Canada to reassess its trade strategy and re-engage with the new U.S. administration. In advance of Donald Trump taking office as the 45th President of the United States on January 20, 2017, Prime Minister Trudeau reshuffled his cabinet and concerted efforts were made by Trudeau's office to prevent Canada's economy from being sideswiped by the new U.S. president's protectionist policies related to trade.

TRADE

“ We can walk and chew gum at the same time. ”

- John McCallum

As the new Trump administration aims to turn inwards, demonstrated by President Trump's withdrawal from the TPP, the Trudeau government has had to recalibrate its Asia strategy. They have been wise in their pivot to China and Europe and acceleration of negotiations there. This is demonstrated by efforts made by the Trudeau government to adapt to changes in circumstances with the appointment of John McCallum, the outgoing senior cabinet minister who will negotiate on behalf of Canada in the area of free trade with China. This sends a strong signal to China that the Trudeau government takes the relationship seriously and wants to build on it.

Cabinet ministers have met recently with U.S. counterparts and congressional leaders in Washington to press the case for Canada's relationship with the U.S. as a long-time traditional trading partner and ally. Prime Minister Trudeau's first official meeting with President Trump affirmed the importance of a strong Canada-U.S. trade relationship.

Overall, the Trudeau government has taken proactive measures to maintain Canada's strong trading and economic relationship with the U.S. to advance Canada's commercial interests. Although there have been several external variables beyond Canada's control that may have potentially negative implications for Canada in the area of trade, the Trudeau government is well-positioned on the U.S., Asia, and EU files.

B+

DEFENCE



Highlights of Election Promises:

-  End Canada's combat mission in Iraq
-  Renew Canada's commitment to peacekeeping operations
-  Remain fully committed to Canada's existing military contributions in Central and Eastern Europe
-  Immediately launch an open and transparent competition to replace the CF-18 fighter aircraft and make investing in the Royal Canadian Navy a top priority
-  Immediately begin an open and transparent review process of existing defence capabilities, with the goal of delivering a more effective, better-equipped military



Promises Made, Promises Broken

The government's progress on defence priorities has been at best, mixed and ambiguous. On the one hand, the decision to lead a NATO battle group in Latvia reflects a clear commitment to NATO deterrence efforts in Eastern Europe and a desire to reinvigorate Canadian leadership. On the other, continuing uncertainty regarding Canada's proposed peacekeeping mission is an obstacle to progress. Since the first 100 days, the Liberal government's overall defence policy performance has been characterized by inertia and a regrettable lack of concrete action and clarity on many key issues. With an anticipated budget release for March 2017, Minister of National Defence will need to decide how to allocate limited resources to competing priorities.

Canada's Mission in Iraq

The government progressed quickly to shift Canada's mission in Iraq. In February 2016, the Trudeau government modified Canada's military contribution by ceasing CF-18 airstrike operations and refocusing engagement towards "advising and assisting" Iraqi forces and Peshmerga Kurds. This effort has consisted of supporting surveillance and refueling operations, regional capacity building, and tripling the number of Canadian special forces operating in Northern Iraq. Despite the claim that Canada's combat role has ended, reality on the ground suggests otherwise. Canadian forces have participated in direct firefights with Daesh, becoming more engaged on the frontlines over the past year. This has raised serious questions about the true scope, scale, and risk of the mission.

DEFENCE

The ultimate effect of Canada's new military contribution to the counter-ISIL coalition can only be assessed in the years to come and the government's recalibration of the mission does not necessarily meet its campaign promise to end Canada's combat role. At the same time, Canada's political objectives for the region, including our continued support to the separatist Kurds remain murky at best. Considering that major funding was allocated to support stabilizing countries hosting Iraqi and Syrian refugees, it is still unknown the extent to which this money is having a positive impact.

Canada's Commitment to Peacekeeping Operations

Despite lofty rhetoric and a well-received UN General Assembly speech, the government has made little headway on its pledge to reinvigorate Canada's support for international peacekeeping operations. In August 2016, the government committed \$450 million, 600 soldiers, and 150 police officers to a future mission, followed by Minister Sajjan's visit to East and Central Africa in search of a suitable deployment. Since then, Canadians have been left in the dark as to where Canadian forces will deploy or if they will deploy at all. Although lag on this promise reflects a recognition of modern peacekeeping realities and the importance of reconsidering the mission in light of the new U.S. administration's priorities, it may have costed Canada the opportunity to command a UN mission to Mali. Interestingly, the creation of a special unit within Global Affairs Canada dedicated to advancing Canada's bid for a 2021 United Nations Security Council seat may indicate that a peacekeeping operation is not yet off the table.

Canada's Military Contributions in Central and Eastern Europe

With respect to Central and Eastern Europe, the Liberal government promised to maintain its military commitments to its European partners. In response to a NATO request from forces in Eastern Europe, Canada joined the U.S., U.K. and Germany in committing military assets. In June 2017, 450 Canadian soldiers will lead a multinational force in Latvia, contributing to efforts to deter Russian aggression and adventurism. Despite this deployment, uncertainty regarding the strength of Canada's commitment to deterrence in Europe abound. In particular, the scope and scale of Canada's support for Ukraine remains in flux. Canada's training and capacity building mission under Operation Unifier will end in March 2017, and there is no clear indication that the effort will be extended. Presumably, this ambiguity arises from a desire to consider input from the U.S. and a Trump administration that appears less concerned with Russia than its predecessor. Further, Canada has invested \$500 million dollars into a country that is teetering on collapse. Resurrecting Ukraine will take more than the deployment of several hundred trainers.

DEFENCE

Canadian Defence Procurement: CF-18 Fighter Jets & The Royal Canadian Navy

The government has not followed through on its procurement promises concerning the replacement of Canada's CF-18 fighter jets. The promise to conduct an open and fair competition for a new, permanent fleet remains stalled and uncertain. In November 2016, the government announced its intention to pursue the sole-source purchase of eighteen Super Hornet fighter jets. As justification, the Liberals asserted that an interim measure was required to address a capability gap that skeptics regard as a self-created issue. Regarding shipbuilding, although progress on the capital renewal of the Royal Canadian Navy has been made, the Canadian surface combatant project has been slow and delayed. Overall, the government's progress on procurement issues has been dismal and disappointing.

The Canadian Defence Policy Review

Regarding progress on the completion of the Defence Policy Review, the government's performance has been mixed. This is unsurprising, because support to defence has rarely been a Liberal government's strong suit. Although the initial launch of the review did not meet the promise of immediacy, the consultation process reflected an effort to be open and transparent. Between April and July 2016, roughly 20,200 submissions were made to the Defence Policy Review's online consultation portal and eight expert roundtable meetings were held across the country. Furthermore, on September 14, 2016 Indigenous communities and leaders were invited to participate in a roundtable meeting with the Minister of National Defence, suggesting that Arctic sovereignty and strengthening Northern security may be key priorities of the government. While the impact of the consultations on defence policy remains yet to be seen, Canadians were afforded the opportunity to offer their perspectives on Canada's defence priorities. The failure to release the review prior to the new year is regrettable, but potentially understandable given the unexpected results of the U.S. presidential election. Canada's approach on the issues outlined in this report card and spending priorities will only be known once the review is released in the coming months.

DEFENCE

“ The strategic security environment in which the Canadian Armed Forces operates has changed significantly. I look forward to hearing from Canadians, from coast to coast to coast, as they help inform the development of a modern defence policy. ”

- Minister of National Defence
Harjit Sajjan on April 6, 2016

The Trump Factor: Canada-U.S. Defence Relations

The ascendancy of Donald Trump to the American presidency as Canada's most important ally and defence partner has had major implications for Canadian defence policy. On peacekeeping, reports indicate that the government's delay is attributable to a desire to seek U.S. input. Concerning Ukraine, the current ambiguity regarding mission extension is likely influenced by Trump's position regarding Russian aggression. Finally, the Trump administration's lamentation of NATO and the desire for its allies to meet the 2% GDP defence spending commitment, places significant pressure on Canada to address its consistent failure to meet this standard. Fulfilling the bare minimum in NATO and NORAD may no longer be enough and the Trump administration is likely to press Canada on issues of cooperation and alliance commitments. Although the Trump factor is unique, the maturity of Canada-U.S. defence relations should cushion the partnership from tensions that are likely to arise in the coming years. The Canada-U.S. defence relationship is well-developed and deeply entrenched, preventing minor issues from seriously undermining a critical partnership. In the coming months and years, Canadian leaders must maintain frequent communication with their American counterparts regarding priorities and obligations. Minister of Defence Harjit Sajjan's recent exchange with U.S. Secretary of Defence James Mattis is a positive step.

NATIONAL SECURITY

B+

Highlights of Election Promises:

-  Repeal Bill C-51; Introduce new legislation that better balances collective security and Canadian rights and freedoms
-  Create the Office of the Community Outreach and Counter-radicalization Coordinator
-  Establish an all-party national security oversight committee
-  Launch broad public consultations



Progress Stalled

Amending Bill C-51

Among the many concerns with the legislation’s expansion of police and surveillance powers was CSIS’ threat disruption tactics and the expansive intelligence sharing authority granted to federal agencies. Despite being a year into its mandate, the government has neither proposed nor delivered any amendments. In fact, it has provided little clarity regarding the elements of the Anti-Terrorism Act that it finds to be problematic. Although slow progress can be attributed to a desire to consult widely on national security, the government has not met this campaign promise. Intentions have been clear, but there has been a lack of tangible action.

Strengthening National Security Oversight

Despite inaction on amending the Anti-Terrorism Act, the government has made tangible progress on strengthening democratic oversight and accountability of Canada’s national security agencies. In June 2016, the government tabled Bill C-22 which will create the National Security and Intelligence Committee of Parliamentarians. This multi-party committee will have access to classified briefings and the ability to scrutinize and monitor the activities of the Canadian security apparatus.

NATIONAL SECURITY

Although concerns have been raised regarding restrictions on committee access to information, independence from the Prime Minister's Office, and the ability of cabinet ministers to block investigation by citing national security considerations, the committee's creation will strengthen Canada's national security oversight by granting parliamentarians a role they were previously denied.

Community Outreach and Counter-Radicalization

In March 2016, the government announced the creation of the Office of Community Outreach and Counter-radicalization Coordinator, aimed at coordinating Canada's response to radicalization. This announcement reflected the government's broader efforts to prioritize deradicalization as an essential component of Canada's counterterrorism toolkit. Despite earmarking funds in the federal budget, the state of the initiative is uncertain. The government has yet to select a national coordinator and has not provided an explanation for the delay in establishing the office. In any case, the office will need to ensure that it engages, rather than alienates the Muslim community. This is especially important considering the recent Quebec City mosque attack and the broader backlash against Muslims worldwide.

Openness, Transparency, and Accountability

In September 2016, the Liberal government launched nation-wide consultations on national security, inviting Canadians from all walks of life to participate in roundtable meetings and online forums. To encourage debate, the government released a Green Paper on National Security, seeking input on issues ranging from the Passenger Protect Program to counterterrorist financing. The emphasis on consultation was welcome, given the lack of openness under the Harper Conservatives and their highly adversarial approach regarding national security issues. The Liberal approach to reviewing national security has met if not exceeded the level of transparency promised, displaying a softer tone uncharacteristic of their predecessors. Despite broad consultation, it is unclear how the input will be translated into national security policy. The degree to which national security policy reflects contributions from the consultations is yet to be determined.

NATIONAL SECURITY



Our government is committed to engaging Canadians before tabling new legislation that will ensure we maintain our Charter rights while keeping Canadians safe.



- Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness,
Ralph Goodale on September 8, 2016.

The Trump Factor: Challenges to National Security

National security issues will likely be a focal point of the Canada-U.S. relationship in the months to come. Most notably, Canada will face pressure from the U.S. to adopt national security policies that align with the Trump administration's priorities. This may take the form of stronger border security measures or intelligence sharing that placate fears of a potential terrorist attack originating from Canada. It is imperative that Canadian leaders express clearly what Canada is willing and not willing to do to achieve security. Despite clear challenges, there is reason to be optimistic. Similar to other bilateral issue areas, the robustness of the Canada-U.S. relationship may help to mitigate the inevitable tensions created by divergent approaches to national security.

In a time of heightened fear and global aversion to open borders, overall the government's performance on National Security has been positive. Although the Liberals have been slow to define and repeal the "problematic elements" of Bill C-51, now the Anti-Terrorism Act, they have progressed on proposing new legislation that attempts to balance security and respect for Canadian rights and freedoms. The initiation of a comprehensive review of Canada's national security framework in September 2016, coincided with direct engagement and cross-country consultation with experts and the broader Canadian public. However, uncertainty regarding the status of the much-anticipated Office of Community Outreach and Counter-Radicalization Coordinator is indicative of a government still experiencing growing pains. At just over a year into its mandate, it may still be reasonable to forgive the mixed progress on key national security campaign promises. Stagnation on some issues may be partially attributable to the fact that relative to its allies, Canada has not experienced a major national security crisis. However, if positive rhetoric continues to be disconnected from concrete action, come next year's Report Card, a grade of B+ will be difficult to justify.

B+

ENVIRONMENT & CLIMATE CHANGE

Highlights of Election Promises:

- ✓ Develop and implement plan for a clean environment and a sustainable economy
- ✓ Attend Paris climate conference; Meet with provincial and territorial leaders to develop a pan-Canadian framework for addressing climate change
- ✓ In partnership with provinces and territories, establish national emissions-reduction targets and carbon pricing policies.

B-



But Pipelines...

A Carbon Copy?

At the Paris climate conference, Canada pledged to reduce its greenhouse gases by 30 percent and to power Canada with 90 per cent clean energy by 2030. The national strategy imposes carbon pricing and also includes other measures to fight climate change, including new building codes to boost energy efficiency, more charging stations for electric cars, expanding clean electricity sources, and upgrading power grids. With the help of federal scientists, including climate scientists, the Trudeau government has demonstrated a big step towards openness in stark contrast to the previous Harper administration. Before Trudeau, environmental NGOs had been closing their offices in Ottawa, and this has changed since Trudeau taking office. Still carbon pricing could easily render Canada uncompetitive in the global marketplace especially considering that climate change is not on the Trump agenda.

The Trudeau government's actions have been somewhat inconsistent with their rhetoric to fight climate change while promoting oil sands exports. These two objectives are palpably contradictory. On the one hand, the Trudeau government is laying the foundation for a national policy for climate change mitigation, more so than any previous government has done before; and with the exception of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, the provinces have indicated that they are prepared to price carbon. On the other hand, however, the government's support for pipeline projects indicate that it is not fully committed to fighting climate change.

ENVIRONMENT & CLIMATE CHANGE

Safe Pipelines?

In November 2016, Prime Minister Trudeau and his cabinet approved two major pipeline projects, Kinder Morgan's Trans Mountain pipeline and Enbridge's Line 3. The 6.8 billion dollar Trans Mountain pipeline project will pump 890,000 barrels of oil a day from Alberta's oilsands to global markets. Foreseeing growing concern and opposition by climate change activists the prime minister reaffirmed the government's commitments to national leadership on combating climate change. It plans to overhaul the National Energy Board and also put a cap on greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. Prime Minister Trudeau has assumed that Canadians will accept the new pipelines if the approval process is fair and open. However, Canadians opposing the pipelines in principle will care more about the outcome of the approvals process, not the procedural fairness of the National Energy Board (NEB) or Environmental Assessment. In fact, the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency estimates that the Kinder Morgan Trans Mountain pipeline will result in roughly 13.5 to 17 megatonnes of additional GHG emissions each year, and when fully operational will produce 20 to 26 megatonnes of GHG emissions. These pipelines projects are demonstrably antithetical to Canada's commitment to the Paris climate agreement.

The Trudeau government defends the projects as part of its plan to ensure both a clean environment and a sustainable economy. Construction of the pipelines is set to bring jobs and increased government revenues to improve Alberta's economy. The Trudeau government also claims that the Kinder Morgan Trans Mountain pipeline project has been deemed to be safe on the basis of science and evidence and he expects Kinder Morgan to "meet and exceed" the 157 conditions imposed by the NEB which includes spill-mitigation plans.

However, the lack of published evidence in the scientific literature to support the statement calling the Kinder Morgan pipeline a safe project calls into question the prime minister's claims. According to a recent new study in the journal *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* there exist gaps in research about the effects of spills of bitumen. Prime ministerial and Cabinet approval without assessing more rigorously the environmental consequences of the pipeline projects, particularly the risks of bitumen in coastal environments, is irresponsible. More transparency in admitting the lack of evidence and taking the necessary steps for further scientific assessment would be the right thing to do.

ENVIRONMENT & CLIMATE CHANGE

The Trump Factor: Climate Change or Economic Growth?

The arrival of a new Trump administration marked a shift from climate policy leadership under the outgoing Obama administration to climate change denial and promotion of mining and use of coal. The Trump administration's approval of the Keystone XL pipeline sets the stage for even greater exploitation of the oil sands.

During PM Trudeau's recent cross-country tour, opponents of the pipelines were heard loud and clear. The prime minister however is intent on supporting Alberta's economic recovery and he has demonstrated his strong support in favour of President Trump's decision to green-light the Keystone XL pipeline project. Trump will also continue to exploit resources in Alaska whereas Trudeau has suggested that at least for now northern resource development is on hold. This will undoubtedly generate conflict over environmental issues where waterways are shared in the Arctic.



I've been on the record for many years supporting [Keystone XL] because it leads to economic growth and good jobs for Albertans.



- Prime Minister Trudeau

Sunny Ways or Dark Days Ahead?

The Trudeau government appears committed to altering its campaign promises with a greater emphasis placed on pipelines and economic growth and less on environmental considerations. This strategy has alienated key supporters in the Liberal camp including indigenous rights groups and environmentalists. For the moment, there is an unsettling calm before the storm. The prime minister remains committed to the transition from fossil fuels to investing in green energy and meeting emission targets over the next 10-13 years, yet construction of the pipeline expansion project is slated to begin later this year. With that, we anticipate broken promises on two fronts, commitments to climate change and to Indigenous groups in the foreseeable future.

DEVELOPMENT

Highlights of Election Promises:

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-  Ensure that Canada's development focus on maternal, newborn and child health is driven by evidence and outcomes, not ideology, by closing existing gaps in reproductive rights and health care for women
-  Consult with Canadian stakeholders and international aid organizations to create a new policy and funding framework to guide Canada's aid decisions, empower people, and support broad-based, sustainable growth in the developing world
-  Make Canada a leader in development innovation and effectiveness



More of the Same

Canada is Back or Not

When Prime Minister Trudeau gave a powerful message upon the Liberal party campaign win, he assured Canadians that Canada had not lost its compassionate and constructive voice in the world. Trudeau shared a simple message - that Canada was back. Since then, the Liberal government's progress on international development priorities has made some headway on issues related to gender equality and promoting Canada as an international leader and progressive voice. There has been a clear commitment on gender equity issues and meaningful action on climate change and assistance for climate change. Not a significant deviation from the previous government save the now stalled climate change agenda. Despite these achievements early on, there has been little tangible progress towards thematic objectives and little to no progress in advancing concrete contributions to development assistance. Additionally, the re-organization and sub-merger of Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) to Global Affairs continues to lead into uncertainty.

DEVELOPMENT

Canada and Maternal, Newborn and Child Health

The Liberal government has maintained a commitment and focus on reproductive health, maternal and newborn child health with the addition of adolescent health. There has also been an emphasis on reproductive rights. Last year, Minister Bibeau announced over \$76 million for reproductive health initiatives and renewed support of \$5 million for the contraceptive supplies initiative. More broadly the Liberal government has laid the groundwork for the often touted feminist foreign policy through a renewed emphasis on gender issues and a commitment to apply a feminist lens on the agenda. Most recently, the government announced roughly \$70 million in development aid for Haiti, the funding is earmarked towards improving conditions for Haitians, with a focus on women and children. According to UNICEF, Haiti has the highest rates of infant, under-five and maternal mortality in the Western Hemisphere. However, structural challenges exist ahead with regards to the Canadian government's refocusing on the poorest of low income countries. There has been very little tangible progress in the reallocation of expenditures.

Canada and the World

Canada's re-emergence on the international stage is a core priority for this government. The Liberal government committed to multilateralism and achieving the Sustainable Development Goals, putting effort into consultations around the assistance framework. In addition, the Trudeau government has indicated a desire to play a constructive role in international affairs by contributing to the global fund in which billions have been pledged since the event in Montreal last September. The global fund replenishment was a positive story for this government.

However, the Liberal government is still in consultation mode and has not concluded the international assistance review. A concrete change may be the backing away from the overt linking of development to areas of Canadian commercial interests. Furthermore, although the CIDA merger was announced in 2013, the department is still sorting out how the merger will work, how the different branches will relate to one another. The current arrangement does not work well.

There has also been a decrease in the development research ecosystem; the institutions that supported intelligent policy debate and fostering of alternatives such as the peacekeeping centre around security development issues do not exist anymore. Peacebuild Canada has been resurrected but it appears to have only limited support from the government.

DEVELOPMENT

Indeed there is very little sense that this government is even interested in making Canada a leader in development. If the Liberal government is serious about being a substantial contributor to development ideas as well as development policy, it will have to reconstitute this capacity somehow and until that happens it is hard to see meaningful and sustainable contributions being made.



Our efforts will be guided by the principles of innovation and effectiveness, as we strive to make Canada's approach to development something that we can all be proud of.



- Prime Minister Trudeau on February 8, 2016

Development Innovation and Effectiveness

The theme of innovation is another priority for the Liberal government. They are interested in funding education and committed to re-engaging civil society actively. But these are long term objectives with limited gains in the short run. To maintain aid coherence the Liberals will need to come to terms with the current enveloping of the development agenda under the foreign policy banner. The Liberal government is working to become more accessible to key actors such as civil society.

At the same time this government has only a limited capacity for research in crucial areas of state fragility and climate change. It will need to revisit the investments made by previous Liberal Prime Ministers Martin and Chretien to bridge this research gap.

Looking to southern partners will prove increasingly challenging, as the focus on the UN system, multilateralism, priorities in Africa, challenges of global poverty and inequality are all de facto downgraded in terms of immediate foreign policy priorities. Answers to fragile and conflict affected states remain elusive as they are a crucial issue only solvable through concerted multilateral action. Multilateralism in a world that is increasingly dominated by progressively bilateral major powers is really important to countries like Canada although it very important not to lose sight of those core priorities. It is also an opportunity to distinguish ourselves and our actions from our neighbour to the South. On the whole, there remains significant room for improvement on the development file.

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