



Report Card

Trudeau's Foreign Policy
The First 100 Days

Overall

B+

Diplomacy	B+
Refugees	A-
Immigration	B
Climate Change	B
Environment	A-
Defence	B
National Security	B-
Trade	B+
Development	A-



Trudeau's Foreign Policy

The First 100 Days

February 1, 2016 | Ottawa | #trudeau100

iAffairs**CANADA** 

CFPJ

 **NPSIA**
The Norman Robertson School

Faculty of
Public Affairs



Refugees & Immigration



The Environment
& Climate Change



Trade, Diplomacy,
& Development



Defence & Security

Why do a Report Card?

This report card is one of several that Carleton University's School of International Affairs has planned for the Government of Canada over the next 4 years or so. Having come to power on a commitment to be more accountable, open, and publicly engaged, we have responded accordingly by establishing a set of foreign policy benchmarks with which we can evaluate the Trudeau government's performance over time. The end of the first 100 days in power is traditionally accepted as the point where a newly-elected government finds its footing, gets down to business, and begins to make tough choices. It also coincides with the opening of the 42nd sitting of the Parliament of Canada, where the same kinds of questions will be asked of Prime Minister Trudeau and his Cabinet as we are asking here. There is no doubt that Canadians have high hopes for a government committed to democratic renewal. The challenges the government faces are significant:

- A. Deepening public engagement in informing development, trade, security and environment policy at a time of unprecedented political turbulence and economic upheaval.
- B. Charting a course for Canada in the world that balances the need for inclusive economic growth while ensuring diversity can flourish without constraint.
- C. Giving full expression to Canada's core values by renewing our commitments to international institutions and norms that have given Canada strength, resilience, and credibility on the world stage.

Based on the Liberal government's first 100 days, this report card assesses the trajectory of Canada's foreign policy. It considers whether Canada will be a leader or a follower, questioning if it will revert to the role it has historically been known for as an influential, if not "middle" power, exercising both soft and hard power when appropriate. Beyond the letter grade, the report card has another purpose as a starting point for discussion and debate among Canadians.

This report card would not have been possible without the support of those experts at Carleton whose insights have helped us evaluate and grade the government in the nine crucial areas of climate change, the environment, trade, diplomacy, development, national security, defence, refugees, and immigration. Olivia Merritt, Roberta Bell, and Ben Hildebrand have been instrumental in its preparation. Readers can access information about this report card and related foreign policy reviews at iaffairscanada.com

David Carment
Editor—*Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*
Fellow—*Canadian Global Affairs Institute*
Professor of International Affairs, Carleton University



REPORT CARD Overview

With a series of high-profile international conferences looming on the horizon, Mr. Trudeau was sworn in as the 23rd Prime Minister of Canada on November 4, 2015, just two weeks after his party came to power. Before the election Trudeau made a number of foreign policy commitments, some more specific than others, such as pulling Canada's bombers out of the war against the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). Other commitments were long standing and clear, such as the desire to modify Bill C51 and address climate change, while others remained vague and undefined such as foreign aid and peacekeeping. This report card evaluates the Liberal government's performance relative to these and other pledges made throughout the Liberal government's election campaign.

The grades given hold Prime Minister Trudeau accountable to his election promises. While the Liberals have yet to conduct a full-scale foreign policy review, the issue areas analyzed in this report card are reflective of current discussion surrounding the state of Canada's engagement in international affairs. Thus far, the first 100 days have been defined primarily by the Paris Climate Conference (COP21) and the Syrian refugee crisis; however, other key areas have been introduced and advanced by the Liberal agenda, such as the controversial arms sale to Saudi Arabia and the TPP. Each issue area is assigned a grade, while the overall grade is an average of all the marks.

[Overall Grade: B+]

A Commitment to Multilateralism

- Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation Summit 2015 (Manila) November 18-19

- Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting 2015 (Malta) November 27-29

- United Nations Conference on Climate Change (Paris) November 30—December 11

- World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2016 – Davos – Jan. 20-23

B+

Diplomacy

The decision to lift sanctions and resume diplomatic ties with Iran is consistent with the government's agenda to use diplomacy wisely and effectively, something the Harper government appeared to have little time for. If anything, Prime Minister Trudeau has been a refreshing and prolific practitioner of international diplomacy, even relying on old school back room dialogue with the rich, the powerful and the deeply concerned.

The number of summits and meetings in which he and his ministers have participated since coming to power is dizzying. Whereas the Conservative government was roundly criticized for its "lecture and leave" approach to multilateralism, Justin Trudeau's strategy appears more committed to listening and empowering others. For example, the decision to invite the provinces to take part in COP21 was as inspirational as it was strategic, for a climate deal in the Canadian context is not really possible without the provinces on board. Notwithstanding the criticism leveled at the government for not being invited to the high level meeting in January 2016 to discuss the war against ISIL, Justin Trudeau is committed to putting Canada back on the world stage, vowing to "unleash" his diplomats by giving them greater freedoms to represent Canadian interests without being hemmed in by his own office.

For those Canadians who place a great deal of emphasis on how Canada is perceived in international affairs, Trudeau can only improve on his predecessor's record. The decision to change the Department of Foreign Affairs name to Global Affairs Canada reflects a long standing desire of previous Liberal governments to ensure that Canadian interests abroad encompass more than just Trade and Diplomacy. In that regard, the jury is still out on the future of the Office of Religious Freedom which some have decried as too narrow in its interpretation of human rights. In regards to multilateralism, broadly understood as a commitment to the United Nations, Trudeau signaled in various election debates that his government may well consider a return to UN style peacekeeping, a first step in the long journey back to working with that organization. Trudeau supposedly has a better footing with the United States than did his predecessor. His first meeting with President Obama in March will be proof of that.

What could very likely follow is a deeper commitment to international mediation and fuller engagement in digital diplomacy. Indeed, it will be interesting to see how the government anticipates engaging ordinary Canadians in a discussion on the future of Canada in the world using Diplomacy 2.0 as its starting point. Many Canadians don't use twitter or rely on social media, so other avenues for consultation must be sought.



It also remains to be seen if the government will build upon the Harper government's penchant for diaspora politics to advance the foreign interests of some groups while ignoring others. Thus far, there has been no real effort to take up the onerous task of conducting a foreign policy review, but it stands to reason that such a process will incorporate a public diplomacy component.

In fact, if Prime Minister Trudeau is to pursue his "big tent" strategy of engaging those who supported his party such as women, youth, and aboriginals, then public diplomacy will be crucial to his government's success and to legitimizing his ideas of accountability and openness. A "B+" that could easily be elevated to an "A" should the government follow through on accountability and transparency.



Refugees

A-

On September 5th, 2015, the Liberal Party made three commitments to refugees:

- 25,000 government-assisted Syrian refugees by the end of 2015, plus even more privately-sponsored refugees;
- \$100 million to increase refugee processing and settlement services capacity in Canada; and
- \$100 million to UNHCR to support relief activities in Syria and the region.

The intake target was missed, and the number of refugees who have now arrived is well short of the initial promise. By a purely quantitative analysis, the government has failed to meet its commitments.



But rather than demonstrating significant weakness, the delays in the Liberal's resettlement timeline showcase its commitment to working through multilateral partners (the UNHCR), and its commitment to the integrity of the resettlement process, especially in terms of health and security screening. Further, the government did deliver on its \$100 million promise of additional assistance to the UNHCR operating in the Middle-East.

The Liberal government's large-scale refugee resettlement operation has been characterized by two key forms of partnership. Firstly, with settlement agencies in Canada, and secondly, with the UNHCR in Jordan. To meet the target of 25,000 refugees in a very short period of time, the government could have bypassed the UNCHR, its process and criteria, and worked with another agency. But this would have undermined Canada's commitment to global resettlement criteria and procedures. Trudeau's response to the refugee crisis illustrates his broader commitment to multilateralism abroad. This report card found two main weaknesses with the Liberal refugee policy to date.

Firstly, the Liberal government has begun to use both government-assisted and privately-sponsored refugees in tabling its resettlement figures. Its initial campaign commitments solely referred to government-assisted refugees (25,000).

This has led to an equivocating of the government's quantitative achievements thus far, and as a result, we've had to lower its grade. Secondly, the refugee resettlement program has created new leadership opportunities for Canada that the Liberal government has yet to realize. Canada's refugee resettlement program has given Canada newfound moral authority to leverage multilateral support for the four million Syrian refugees remaining in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. In the upcoming September 2016 UN Leaders' Summit hosted by the UN Secretary-General, Canada has an opportunity it should not miss to encourage states and the UN itself to do more to find solutions for refugees.

B

Immigration

Regarding immigration, the Liberal party made several key campaign promises coming into the 2015 general election. The majority of these goals have not yet been addressed by the government, but some action has been taken. For example, as of December 1st, 2015, the Liberal government invoked stricter penalties on employers who violate the conditions of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program. Immediate action has also been taken on the issue of family reunification.

The Liberals promised to double the amount of accepted applications for family reunification once in office. Ten thousand family reunification applications will be accepted this year, as the change was formally announced by Minister McCallum. Nevertheless, confusion and fumbling on the announcement of the family reunification acceptance increase has revealed that the Minister of Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship is in all likelihood overstretched at this time. Crucially, several immigration campaign promises have been sidelined because of

the extensive attention the Syrian refugee crisis has required. The government may very well get around to them in due time; however at the 100 day mark, action on the immigration file has been haphazard.

This is the reason we have scored Trudeau a "B" on immigration. One such sidelined immigration issue is Bill C-24.

In his campaign, Trudeau promised to repeal Bill C-24, the law which allows the government to revoke Canadian citizenship from dual citizens who are convicted of terrorism or other serious offences. The government promises to address the Bill during the following weeks in Parliament, but has not revealed its plans in detail as of yet. Another immigration campaign promise that has been forced to wait is the reduction of citizenship and immigration processing times. Processing times have been proceeding at a snail's pace over the past five years, indeed an issue the government should address. Increased funding by \$25 million this fiscal year, and \$50 million each year over the next three years was promised. A considerable investment.



Nevertheless, action on increasing the budget has yet to be made. The Trudeau government has promised to address the Mexico-Canada visa issue. Currently, any Mexican entering Canada must be issued a travel visa, while Canadians visiting Mexico are not required to hold a travel visa. The visa restriction has been a site of tension in an otherwise positive relationship between Canada and Mexico, and has sent an offensive signal to our third largest trading partner.

The Liberals have yet to tackle this issue directly, but their interest in addressing the problem bodes well to fostering a better bilateral relationship with Mexico. The Liberal promises themselves appear to be leading Canada's immigration policy towards greater inclusivity for new Canadians, better protection for temporary foreign workers, and improved bilateral relations with Mexico. We are hopeful these goals will be achieved, but for now their performances warrant a "B."

B

Climate Change



There is no doubt that climate change has captured the interest of the Canadian public, in part because Environment Minister Catherine McKenna appears poised to reinvigorate the process of global engagement. Though climate change has technically been on Canada's agenda for the past two decades, taking strides to mitigate global warming has not played prominently in policy-making until now.

Debates around climate change were heightened by the hype around the Paris Climate Conference – in which the U.S. was expected to engage amid speculation that outgoing President Barack Obama wanted to maximize progress with respect to legacy – as one of the Liberal government's first precedent-setting tasks. In the Liberal platform, there were two key components to the promise around climate change policy.

The first committed the Liberals to taking "national leadership" on the file and the second was to "put a price on carbon." Given the breadth of the promise, there is a lot of ambiguity around implementing it.

For example, it does not specify how that leadership will be taken up nor does it delineate how much carbon should cost. With respect to taking national leadership, Canada was represented by various orders of government at the Paris Climate Conference as Trudeau invited the provincial premiers as well as First Nations leaders. Given the multi-jurisdictional nature of implementing the climate change file, expanding the domestic actors involved in negotiating Canada's position demonstrates "national leadership" to foster consensus around political will to act. Clearly this is a bold act. However, the Liberals still have not "put a price on carbon." Although they have said the provinces will be responsible for meeting their own targets, those targets are still mysteries for many of the provinces.

Overall, Canada seems to be progressing well, although dropping oil prices will impact political will as the provinces that are the major emitters face challenges with respect to their economic bases. Canada has demonstrated that its lofty political rhetoric of the past around climate change is being met by political will. Just this past week, the government announced that climate change impacts

will be considered within environmental assessments of oil and gas pipelines. An unprecedented change.

By acknowledging domestic disunity on the file as a hindrance and taking steps to mitigate it, Canada is expressing a willingness to work with other state and non-state actors to address this global problem. If the government remains true to its commitments, they could be receiving an "A" grade this time next year. For now, however, there remains much room for progress, lofty rhetoric notwithstanding.



The Environment

A-



While the environment has been debated under successive governments, the arguable hostility of the former Conservatives toward preservationist policies presented an opportunity for the Liberals to step in and gain political points just by showing up at meetings. The Liberals inherited four pipeline projects from the Conservatives, all of which were controversial with respect to their environmental implications: Keystone XL, Northern Gateway, Kinder Morgan, and Energy East. The Liberals are now committed to supporting Energy East, putting Alberta firmly on their side and in spite of the resistance expressed from their base in Quebec. That is leadership.

The Liberals also said specifically that they supported Keystone and more generally, new infrastructure, including pipelines, but cited a need to review the stringency of the approval process. To that end, the Liberals rejected Northern Gateway based on the lack of consultation with indigenous peoples and concern for coastal economies and ecosystems. Both the approval process, and the consultations will be more demanding now.

The decision to support Keystone when the US had the ability to strike it down, which is what happened, enabled Trudeau to curry favour with those who supported it without isolating those who did not. Prime Minister Trudeau has stipulated in the mandate letter to Environment Minister McKenna that the moratorium on oil tanker transit along the British Columbia coastline from a 2010 motion in the House of Commons should be formalized. Although this seems yet to happen, it would mean that Northern Gateway would be a pipeline to nowhere – essentially killing it without killing it.

However, the review of the approval process is not underway, and whether it soon will be remains a question mark. One of the suppositions the Liberals expressed regarding this more seemingly environmentally conscious approach is that it would mean less opposition to export markets from those concerned about the negative environmental implications of extracting from the oil sands.

Where previously there appeared a lack of political will to truly consider the environmental implication of resource extraction to further economic goals, now, at least, it is being communicated. The Liberals are taking steps to uphold their campaign platforms in this regard and joining broader scientific consensus, which will arguably improve its standing within the international community. This file garners an "A-" grade for effort and mostly because the Liberal government is following through on its election promises.

B

Defence



Defence policy was a prominent part of the election because Canada was engaged in a number of overseas operations, including an active air campaign against the Islamic State in Iraq and continued participation in Ukrainian and NATO exercises in Central and Eastern Europe. Over the first 100 days, the Liberal government has been pressed mainly in two key areas: the future of Canada's military engagement abroad, and the capital renewal of the Canadian Forces.

With regard to Canada's engagement in Iraq, it was promised early and often that Canada would cease all CF-18 bombing runs, transitioning towards continued training and logistical support to the Peshmerga Kurds.



In Ukraine, the Liberal platform pledged to remain committed to maintaining the status quo, keeping a very small rotation of training support for Ukrainian forces as well as a Halifax-class frigate stationed in the Mediterranean. The recapitalization of the Canadian Forces was addressed by the Liberals prior to the election, and included the promise that an open review process would be conducted to assess all procurement needs, which would include finding an adequate replacement for the aging CF-18 fighter.

The Liberal platform also made a commitment to fast-tracking and expanding the capital renewal of the Royal Canadian Navy. Though Canada's CF-18s remain engaged in Iraq, Prime Minister Trudeau has promised an end to Canada's bombing campaign by the end of 2016. As the current mandate to conduct airstrikes in Iraq will be up in March, it is realistic to expect that the operation will not be extended. With regard to procurement, the Liberals have done well to be realistic in outlining their priorities. Despite the announcement that the controversial and extremely costly F-35 fighter will now be included in the upcoming review process, this will be of little consequence.

Ultimately, the criteria set by the Canadian Forces will likely favour one fighter over the rest – likely not the F-35.

Regarding diplomacy on the issue vis-à-vis Canada's place in the world, Canada is not heavily committed. Prime Minister Trudeau has not yet broken any promises to Canadians. There is a good chance that Canada will see deeper involvement of its special forces in Africa, but that is not something that has come up for public discussion – yet. Some might suggest that Canada's international reputation is in jeopardy, and Canada's non-invitation to meet with allied defence ministers in Paris as part of an anti-ISIL coalition is evidence of this.

Trudeau is clearly interested in charting a course distinct from his predecessor when it comes to Canada's war fighting commitments. That is both refreshing and unclear. Should Canada pull its CF-18s from Iraq, training and logistical support will be our primary contributions to the war against the Islamic State. For many who supported the Liberal government in the last election that suits them just fine. Historically, Liberal governments have read off defence policy priorities from the kinds of domestic support they will generate. This Trudeau government will likely be no different. Whether it puts Canada in a better place with our allies, remains to be determined. Defence has rarely been any recent Canadian government's strong suit, so a "B" grade could well be the best we can hope for.

National Security

B-

The Trudeau government came to power with a firm commitment to amend Bill C51, the so called "Anti-Terrorism" bill. C51 is a sweeping act introduced by the Conservatives in the last year of their mandate. Among other things, the Act seeks to enact the Security of Canada Information Sharing Act and the Secure Air Travel Act, to amend the Criminal Code, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act, and the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act and to make related and consequential amendments to other Acts.

C51 has been widely criticized as unconstitutional without full and proper oversight. The NDP government ran their election campaign on rejecting C51, declaring it an "all out attack on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms." One NDP member decried Liberal support of its passage by reflecting on Pierre Trudeau's defence of civil liberties when he was

prime minister, asking if the Liberal party had become "a spineless shadow of a once-proud party." In truth, security issues such as Bill C51 could prove to be Prime Minister Trudeau's weakest link on the policy front.

Whereas the Conservative government was comfortable playing the terrorist threat for political gain, such hard-nosed politics is unlikely to sit well with many Liberal voters. In response, the Liberals have proposed revised legislation, even imposing a sunset clause that would see a three year review of the entire Act. A key feature of the replacement legislation is expected to be the creation of a multi-party, joint House of Commons-Senate committee, sworn to secrecy and reporting to the prime minister and through him to Parliament. It would have a full-time staff, access to the necessary secret information, and be tasked with strategic oversight of every government

department and agency with national security responsibilities.

What is clear is that for now, Trudeau is comfortable with adding even greater complexity to a needlessly complicated law. At best the Trudeau government's message on security is a muddled one, garnering them a "B-".





Trade

B+

The current international trade agenda was inherited from the previous government which prioritized it heavily. The Conservatives successfully negotiated several free trade agreements that culminated with the finalization of the controversial Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). (The Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement with the EU has to yet be fully ratified by EU member states and its fate remains uncertain.) Notwithstanding the fact that there have been few real economic gains from some of these bilateral trade deals, they do appear to have the effect of making the world think of Canada as a place to invest in and improving economic conditions for developing countries (such as Ukraine and Honduras).

Since taking office, the Liberals have been confronted with another major trade-related challenge. Canada's proposed trade relationships with both Saudi Arabia and China have come under scrutiny because of the poor records of human rights violations of these countries. Despite forewarning on the Saudi file that trouble was looming, Trudeau has decided for now to push ahead with the deal, his Foreign Minister Stephane Dion noting "that everyone is trading with Saudi Arabia so we should too."

To be fair, the Liberal platform has consistently maintained a pro-trade stance, however it also promised to hold a full and open debate in Parliament to ensure that Canadians are consulted on the implications of the TPP. Further to this, the Liberals have similarly pledged to conduct a full inquiry to ensure that the light armored vehicles sold to Saudi Arabia would not be used against their own citizens.

What must be acknowledged with regard to TPP, is that the trade agreement inherited by the Liberals must be ratified in its current format. Beyond this, the Liberal government must prioritize the Canadian economy, weighing the benefits from proposed trade against potentially negative ramifications.

Since being appointed, Minister of International Trade Chrystia Freeland has met with dozens of organizations and interest groups representing various sectors of the economy such as the automotive and agricultural sectors. The Liberal government is ultimately taking the pulse of Canadian citizens regarding TPP, just as it said it would.

With respect to diplomacy, whether Canada is looking to follow the U.S. vote

on the TPP question could be indicative of broader U.S. influence over Canada.

Alternatively, Canada could position itself more independently, if it chooses to forge its own path with respect to the TPP, and its decisions to pursue a greater trade relationship with China and Saudi Arabia. Is Canada's next move on TPP linked to how things play out in the United States? Very likely. For that reason we think that the current trade strategy is a hesitant one, charting an uncertain course with room to grow. A "B+" effort.



Development

A-



Recent initiatives for international development and foreign aid have been driven by the Liberals' agenda to promote economic growth and poverty reduction abroad. Continuing the previous government's initiative to support Maternal Newborn and Child Health (MNCH) in developing countries, the Liberal platform promised throughout its campaign to further Canada's commitments to existing MNCH initiatives, without saying where, when, or how much.

However, this pledge was backed up by a promise that all future development projects would be based upon a comprehensive and evidence-based strategy. In a larger context, the current government has been pressed to address other time-sensitive issues, such as the Syrian Refugee Crisis and the Paris Climate Conference, which have dominated the Liberal agenda for much of the first 100 days. And yet, the Liberals have announced at least 10 substantial commitments with nearly \$3 billion earmarked for projects in the developing world.

One possible criticism is that these initial projects have been impulsive and not sufficiently evidenced. The new Liberal government is unclear on how to work on, in, and with the world's most fragile states where the biggest development challenges remain and which require long term comprehensive strategies and multilateral commitments.

As an active contributor to international development, the Liberals are progressing well, but have not formally committed to spend 0.7% of Gross National Income (GNI) in Official Development Assistance (ODA), as many other 'high-income' countries have done.

While there is scope for Canada to improve its international standing, the Liberal government may meet their campaign commitments to invest in economic growth, poverty reduction, and environmental sustainability in developing countries. They are on track to build upon this progress. Some questions remain: such as how Canada will renew its investments in Africa and how it will grapple with the looming problems of climate change and the impact it is having on conflict and refugee flows. In sum, there is good news in the Liberal government's development agenda, rendering them an "A-", though significant challenges lay ahead.

Methodology



The grades for this report card were chosen under deliberation of the Trudeau government's foreign policy performance during its first 100 days in office. The grading process involved the careful comparison of the 2015 Liberal campaign promises with policy outcomes either proposed or achieved by the Liberal government by the date of this Report Card's publication. Carleton University's international affairs experts weighed each category equally in the final grade calculation—averaging each section to achieve the final grade. The NPSIA experts chose the foreign policy assessment categories of trade, diplomacy, development, defence, security, climate change, environment, refugees, and immigration to reflect the broad and diverse portfolio of Canada's global influence. Further, these issue categories are driving current foreign policy discussions in Canada. Thus to keep Canadians informed and engaged in good government, these categories have been graded with a critical eye for improvement. This report card publication seeks to engage and uplift the public discussion of Canada's foreign policy.

The Trudeau Foreign Policy Report Card would not be possible without the efforts of Carleton University's faculty experts and graduate students who contributed to this publication.

Editor: David Carment

Managing Editor: Olivia Merritt

Contributing Editors: Roberta Bell, Benjamin Hildebrand, & Lance Hadley

Faculty Contributors:

Aniket Bhushan

David Carment

James Milner

Dane Rowlands

Steve Saideman

Yigadeesen Samy

Inger Weibust

Alex Wilner