

The 2015 Election: Implications for Canada-China Relations

Gary Levy, December 2015

Overview

- Canada is not the United States
- An Historical Perspective on Canadian elections
- The Justin Trudeau Phenomenon
- The 2015 Election Campaign
- Engagement and Suspicion: Relations between China and Canada since 1970
- Implications of the election for China-Canada Relations

Canada is Not the United States

Historical Differences

- Reject American Revolution

Some current distinctions

- Gun control
- Race relations
- Health Care
- Westminster Model



Canadian Governments and Prime Ministers 1867-2015

Party	Dates	Years	Prime Minister(s)	Majority/Minority	
Conservative	1867-1873	6	Macdonald	2	0
Liberal	1874-1878	4	Mackenzie	1	0
Conservative	1878-1896	18	Macdonald/others	4	0
Liberal	1896-1911	15	Laurier	4	0
Conservative/Unionist	1911-1921	10	Borden	2	0
Liberal*	1921-1930	9	King	2	1
Conservative	1930-1935	5	Bennett	1	0
Liberal	1935-1957	22	King, St. Laurent	5	0
Progressive Conservative	1957-1962	5	Diefenbaker	2	1
Liberal	1963-1979	16	Pearson, Trudeau	2	3
Progressive Conservative	1979-1980	1	Clark	0	1
Liberal	1980-1984	4	Trudeau/Turner	1	0
Progressive Conservative	1984-1993	9	Mulroney/Campbell	2	0
Liberal	1993-2006	13	Chretien/Martin	3	0
Conservative	2006-2015	9	Harper	1	2
Liberal	2015-???	1	Trudeau	1	0

* Does not include one Conservative government that took office for a few days without an election in 1925

The Parties

- **The Conservative Party of Canada**
- **Liberal Party**
- **New Democratic Party**
- **Bloc Quebecois**
- **Green Party**
- **(Reform Party precursor of the modern Conservative Party)**

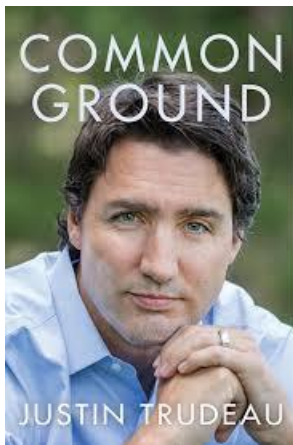
The Stephen Harper Agenda 2006-2015



- **Smaller government**
- **Law and order legislation**
- **National Security**
- **Lower Taxes/Balanced Budget legislation**
- **Highly centralized control in the Office of the Prime Minister**
- **American style approach to politics with fixed election dates, permanent election campaigns, need for elected not appointed Senate.**

Justin Trudeau Phenomenon

- **Childhood**
- **The eulogy**
- **Entry into politics**
- **The charity boxing match**
- **The China answer and other “mistakes”**



The Brian Mulroney Comment



- “He is young, articulate, attractive – a flawlessly bilingual young man. What’s not to like with this picture? Anybody who treats Justin Trudeau with scorn or derision or underestimates him, does so at his own peril.



Brian Mulroney
former Conservative Prime Minister
April 8, 2013

The 2015 Campaign

- **The Just Not Ready advertisement**



- **The Debates**



- **Cut taxes on middle class, increase them on the wealthy**
- **Withdraw from combat mission in Iraq and Syria**
- **Repeal legislation to strip citizenships and deport dual citizens found guilty of terrorism or certain other serious crimes**
- **Cancel the purchase of the expensive F-35 Jet Fighter**
- **Legalize and regulate the sale of marijuana**
- **Admit 25,000 refugees from Syrian civil war**

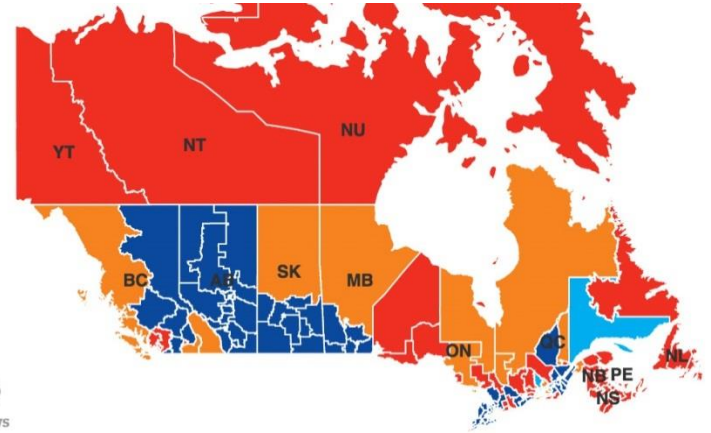
Trudeau's Key Messages

- **Canada is back**
- **No need to trade off security for civil liberties**
- **A Canadian is a Canadian is a Canadian**
- **No contradiction between fighting climate change and growing economy**
- **Financial deficits are investments in the future**
- **“The Conservatives are not our enemies, they are our neighbours”**



The Results

- **Voter turnout 68% compared to 58% in 2008**
- **61% in 2011**



- **Red = Liberals 184 seats out of 338 (majority of 14) 39.5% of popular vote**
- **Dark Blue = Conservatives 99 seats 31.9% of popular vote**
- **Orange = New Democratic Party 44 seats 19.7% of popular vote**
- **Light Blue = Bloc Québécois 10 seats 4.7% of popular vote**
- **Green = Green Party 1 seat 3.5% of popular vote**

Three events before 1970

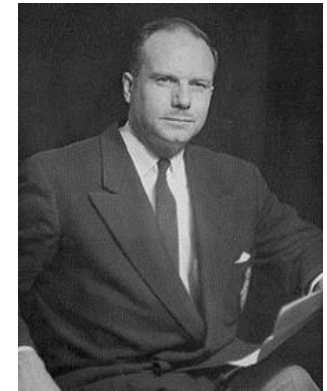
- 1938-1939 Dr. Norman Bethune.



- 1960 *Two Innocents in Red China*
Pierre Trudeau and Jacques Hebert



- 1961 a Conservative Government concludes
the biggest single grain sale in Canadian history to China
Alvin Hamilton, Minister of Agriculture



Engagement and Suspicion: China-Canada Relations 1970-2015



- 1970 diplomatic Relations established and the specific wording became known as the Canadian Formula and was repeated by many other countries over the next several years.
- 1973 Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau makes first official visit to China.
- In 1983 a General Agreement on Development Cooperation.
- 1984 Premier Zhao Zhiyang, pays an official visit to Canada and becomes the first Chinese leader to address the Canadian Parliament in 1984. Agreement between China and Canada on the Protection of Investment insures Canadian investors against losses from war, revolution, expropriation or inability to repatriate profits.
- 1985 President Li Xiannian, makes a state visit to Canada in 1985, the first one by the President of China to Canada.
- 1988 the Vice Premier of the State Council of China visited Canada and a Memorandum of Understanding on Cultural Exchanges is signed
- 1989 Canada recalls Ambassador in protest over use of Army against protesters in Tiananmen Square on June 3-4. House of Commons unanimously condemns action of Chinese government..
- 1992 three Canadian Members of Parliament, are expelled from China during official visit after meeting relatives of dissidents and trying to organize a public protest.
- 1992 Trade Mission led by Trade Minister marks the restoration of normal government to government relations.Canada promises to support China's membership in the GATT..

Engagement and Suspicion: Continued...



- 1994 Jean Chrétien made first Team Canada visit to China, bringing nearly 500 political and business executives.
- 1996 Contract for the sale of two CANDU-6 nuclear reactors .
- 1997 Jiang Zemin pays a state visit to Canada
- 1998, Foreign Minister of China, visited Canada. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien visits China.
- 1999 Premier Zhu Rongji makes a week-long visit to Canada.
- 2001, 2003, 2005 Team Canada trade delegation to China led by Prime Ministers Chrétien and Martin.
- 2005 President Hu Jintao visits Canada. They agree on building a strategic partnership aimed at promoting the long-term and steady development of bilateral relations.
- 2005 Stephen Harper says will not “sell out” important Canadian values to promote trade with China
- 2007 Stephen Harper meets with Dalai Lama. China protests meeting as interference in China’s internal affairs.
- 2013 Canada-China Investment Treaty signed. China National Offshore Oil Company (CNOC) purchases of Nexen, Canada’s 6th largest oil company for 15 billion dollars. Sale approved by government but future sales to government owned enterprises made more difficult.
- 2014 Canadian Foreign Minister publicly accuses China of breaking into a National Research Council computer system . China’s foreign ministry accuses Canada of making irresponsible accusations lacking any credible evidence.
- 2014 Stephen Harper four day visit to China devoted to improving trade and other relations.
- 2015 Toronto becomes first RMB trading hub in North or South America

What the New Government Means for China Canada Relations

- Canadian Public Opinion about China
- A more balanced (less American influenced) foreign policy and one less based on domestic political considerations
- Greater willingness to take advice from professional public service and the diplomatic corps
- A more traditional foreign policy based on national interests than ideology
- the Trudeau “family philosophy” regarding China
- “Our societies will be better served if we reach out to China, happily and innocently, if we explore its depths, marvel at its opacities and yes occasionally tremble with awe at its rumblings and missteps. Instead of fearing China, we should share as much as possible in the great adventure of its people.”

Alexandre Trudeau
(brother of Justin Trudeau)

New introduction to 2007 reprint of Pierre Trudeau’s *Two Innocents in Red China*

