

## CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

### A Stronger Canada in a Turbulent World

*Merci de cette présentation et surtout de votre invitation à cette prestigieuse tribune.*

*Depuis bientôt 35 ans, le Conseil des relations internationales de Montréal contribue à faire rayonner le caractère unique de cette grande ville cosmopolite et de notre immense pays dans le monde entier.*

*Pour tous ceux et celles qui s'intéressent chez nous aux grands mouvements qui redessinent notre monde, je ne doute pas que c'est aussi un instrument précieux d'information, de réflexion et d'analyse.*

*...Et un lieu de rencontre sympathique semble-t-il.*

*Je remercie donc chaleureusement les organisateurs de cette rencontre de me fournir l'occasion de formuler certaines considérations sur la politique étrangère qui va guider le parti que je dirige au cours des prochaines années.*

*Mesdames et messieurs,*

Ladies and gentlemen,

In a relatively short period of time, the world has become a very different place.

Shortly after Justin Trudeau became Prime Minister in 2015, he proclaimed quote "Canada is back". This was widely and rightly criticized at the time, our Armed Forces had just spent a decade in Afghanistan and were at the moment he spoke those words fighting against genocidal terrorists in Iraq and Syria.

Canada had carved out a reputation as a principled and consistent defender of humanity, boldly confronting injustice and tyranny – and promoting freedom, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

Canada had, in fact, not gone anywhere.

And the profound arrogance and self-importance of Mr. Trudeau's words foreshadowed how the new Prime Minister would conduct Canada's foreign affairs: Style over substance and ego over achievements.

And they demonstrated a fundamental unseriousness and misunderstanding of the importance of the office he had reached.

Being a good ally and contributor on the world stage requires more than just talk. Both our allies and adversaries respect strength and confidence. The current government demonstrates neither.

We have seen serious mistakes like this over and over again from this government, and they are almost always attributable to Mr. Trudeau's thirst for the limelight.

During the negotiations on the Trans Pacific Partnership, Trudeau was a complete no-show for an important meeting. Observers said at the time that "The Japanese were seething...about what they perceived as a last minute betrayal by Prime Minister Trudeau."

## CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

But that was just the preliminary event to what is now known as the most disastrous foreign trip by any Canadian Prime Minister, ever.

We all know the details of Mr. Trudeau's trip to India, so I will not go into them here, but what's perhaps less known is just how seriously it hurt Canadians. Bilateral trade with India totals about \$9 billion annually and Trudeau's India trip seriously set us back in terms of helping Canadians benefit from that trade.

As former Liberal cabinet minister Ujjal Dosanjh stated: "It's disappointing that the Canada-India relationship could have gone to the next level but we've bungled it."

More recently, we have witnessed total disarray in how the Liberals have handled both China's completely unwarranted and arbitrary detention and torture of two Canadians, and China's totally unjustified trade actions directed against Canadian farmers.

*Quand Justin Trudeau était candidat, il a fait état de son « admiration » pour la « dictature de base de la Chine ». Ainsi, il a détourné le Canada de nos alliés démocratiques traditionnels, dans l'espoir naïf qu'un pays communiste aux valeurs incompatibles devienne soudainement un proche allié. Ça n'a pas marché.*

*Il continue à tenter d'amadouer la Chine et d'ignorer la menace qu'elle pose pour la sécurité du Canada.*

*Aujourd'hui, le Canada n'a pas d'ambassadeur à Beijing – après que l'ambassadeur précédent, nommé par partisanerie libérale – a été congédié pour inconduite grave. Et le gouvernement n'a toujours pas de plan pour faire revenir ces Canadiens au pays et contrer les tactiques d'intimidation de la Chine.*

And closer to home, Canadians had to accept a worse deal on NAFTA after Mr. Trudeau and his negotiating team turned critical trade negotiations into a parade of photo-ops, sound bites, and orchestrated media leaks.

For him, the world is a stage, and the rest of us merely players in his act.

*L'approche de M. Trudeau face aux États-Unis et à la Chine illustre parfaitement la politique étrangère de ce gouvernement. C'est le symbolisme avant la substance.*

*Il ne s'agit pas de défendre les intérêts ou les valeurs du Canada. Il s'agit d'utiliser la politique étrangère comme un outil personnel, sans produire réellement de résultats. Le Canada et les Canadiens en souffrent. Les Canadiens paient pour les erreurs du premier ministre.*

*Le Canada va réinventer les liens que nous avons avec nos alliés depuis des décennies.*

*Nous devons le faire afin de cerner et de confronter les menaces pour nos intérêts nationaux et nos valeurs.*

*Et nous devons affirmer notre souveraineté, compter sur notre propre force, et non pas seulement sur les alliances traditionnelles forgées dans le passé.*

In the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, Canada was part of a global alliance of like-minded nations, which defeated fascism and communism. Some at the time wanted Canada to be part of the non-alignment movement – to not side with tyranny, but also to not side unequivocally with the forces of freedom. Some Canadian leaders harboured secret admiration for authoritarian figures like Fidel

## CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Castro or Mao Zedong. Thank goodness that, for the most part, Canada remained on the side of freedom.

The threats we face in the 21st Century may have different names, but we have similar debates about how we engage with them. Some prefer to see Canada take a non-alignment posture, treating democracies and dictatorships in equal and similar fashion.

But as Prime Minister, I will firmly reject that pretension that Canada could or should be neutral on the big questions of our time or fail to work strategically with our allies to advance the space for freedom, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

The threats we face today are different from those we faced in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. In many ways they are more complex. But the solution still involves meeting them with strong partnerships of like-minded and confident nations, devoted to the protection and advancement of our values.

These partnerships must expand, to involve more and closer cooperation with like-minded nations in Asia, Africa, and South America. Canada's participation in this vital work of expanding the sphere of democracy and expanding cooperation among democracies is indispensable.

We are a diverse country, with strong people-to-people ties all over the world. We have historically been respected and trusted – seen as a nation which engages to advance principles, not out of narrow self-interest. We lack the baggage inevitably associated with super power status, we do not have a colonial history beyond our own borders, and we are a member of all the most important international organizations.

We can play a vital leadership role building the new international political infrastructure for the advancement of freedom in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, some politicians want Canada to be the referee. I want Canada to be the quarterback.

*Une nouvelle ère de rivalité et de concurrence idéologique est à nos portes.*

*Il existe des orbites basées sur des valeurs fondamentales.*

*D'un côté, les démocraties libres. Pays de libre pensée et de marché libre, respectueux des lois, ici et à l'étranger.*

*Et de l'autre, il y a les régimes impérialistes, despotes et corrompus qui veulent déstabiliser l'ordre international fondé sur des règles.*

*Le Canada doit soutenir ceux qui chérissent la liberté, la démocratie, les droits de la personne et la primauté du droit.*

*La Russie sous Vladimir Poutine ressemble de plus en plus à la l'ancienne Russie impérialiste.*

*Et la Chine, sous le président Xi Jinping, affirme sa nouvelle influence économique et géopolitique et renforce sa résolution à dominer le 21<sup>e</sup> siècle.*

*Au milieu des menaces auxquelles nous sommes confrontés, nous devons appeler nos alliés à rester unis dans nos valeurs communes.*

## CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

*Les États-Unis réévaluent de plus en plus leurs alliances traditionnelles et se désengagent, à un certain degré, du monde. Mais si des arguments isolationnistes ont gagné du terrain aux États-Unis, de telles positions ne font pas obstacle à l'engagement mondial de la Chine et de la Russie.*

*Nous devons encourager tous nos alliés à rester déterminés et à continuer à travailler ensemble - la division et le désengagement nous rendent tous plus vulnérables.*

*Mais si nous appelons nos partenaires à rester déterminés dans leurs engagements mondiaux, nous devons également faire notre part, à tous les égards. De nombreux libéraux aimeraient mieux réduire notre soutien à nos forces armées et compter plutôt sur d'autres pour notre sécurité.*

*Mais ce n'est pas la façon de faire au Canada - depuis plus de 100 ans, notre pays est prêt à faire face à la lourde tâche de défendre ses valeurs. Nous l'avons fait à la crête de Vimy, en Afghanistan et nous devons le faire encore.*

### **Identifier la menace**

At this point, I'd like to drill down a bit further on some of the threats we face.

In today's geopolitical climate, I see the rise of China, the re-emergence of Russia's Cold War mentality, and states who export terrorism and extremism as three of the greatest foreign threats to Canadian security and prosperity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### *China*

With respect to China, first and foremost, Conservatives celebrate the contributions of Chinese Canadians – many of whom came here precisely to leave behind the political system they face at home. We recognize that the government of China does not represent its people – that is, in fact, the precise problem.

We should engage with the Chinese government but engage in a way that seeks to advance our values and our interests. We should engage in a way that recognizes how our values and our interests are in many respects wholly incompatible with those of China's government.

For decades now, many in Canada have looked to China as a way of diversifying our export markets. But in recent years it has become clear that China's adversarial approach to Canada and the western, democratic world has changed those expectations. This is deeply disappointing, especially when you consider how just 20 years ago there was great hope and optimism that China was ready to join the international, rules-based order.

In the past year, Canadians have learned first-hand how justice in China works. The Meng Wenzhou extradition case has caused much grief in many ways but has been illuminating in others. After the arbitrary detention of Canadians Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor we should no longer harbour any illusions about China's attitude towards the rule of law.

We have known all of this for some time yet for many years we looked the other way as the allure of China's market was too powerful to ignore. However, so long as China is willing to hold our exports hostage, all while committing human rights violations on an industrial scale, we have no choice as Canadians but to consider other trade partners.

## CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

And fortunately, we have alternatives. Like-minded democracies in the Indo-Pacific region, for example, some of which desperately need more secure access to energy, are ideal economic and political partners for Canada.

A community of free democracies all over the world – in Europe, in the Indo-Pacific, and everywhere in between, united to resist the forces of authoritarianism, built through Canadian leadership. That should be our goal. That would have a deeply consequential impact on global history.

At any rate, Canada's relationship with China needs a total reset. Nothing can happen until such time.

### *Russia/Iran*

Although China is primary, and certainly the strongest, propagator of authoritarian values, Russia remains a serious threat.

Vladimir Putin cannot be allowed to act with impunity when it comes to his military adventurism. While today he is occupying Ukraine, tomorrow it could be Canada's Arctic waters.

But it isn't just in Ukraine where Vladimir Putin has re-asserted Russia's Cold War posture. Russia has supported Iran and together they have been the main sources of disruption and despair in the Middle East. Putin has been forthright when it comes to propping up Bashar al-Assad in Syria. Along with Putin, the Iranian regime must be held accountable for its state-sanctioned sponsorship of terror and the constant threat it poses to its own people, its neighbours, and to Israel, Canada's foremost friend in the Middle East.

I have been inspired by the courage of the Iranian people, who have continuously shown a willingness to stand up to their own government. Canada must do all we can to ensure that the people of Iran soon enjoy the same freedoms that we enjoy – that they are successful in riding the world of the evil that their government represents.

### *Israel*

To stand up for pluralism and democracy Canada must renew our support for Israel and its inherent right to defend itself, by itself. Terrorist groups like Hamas and Hezbollah have absolutely no interest in peace. Since their inception, the leaders of Hamas have been trying to destroy Israel. When Israel gives them the concrete they need to build hospitals and schools, Hamas instead builds tunnels to kill civilians. When the world gives Hamas money to feed the Palestinian people, Hamas buys rockets to indiscriminately target Israelis.

The reality of the Middle East is this: if Israel's enemies were to lay down their arms tomorrow, there would be peace. If Israel were to lay down its arms, there would be no more Israel.

This is why it is so disappointing to me that the current government has abandoned Canada's principled support for Israel. It abstained on a key vote condemning the United States for recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

When Israel's borders came under attack from Hamas terrorists, as they have in recent days, we must support Israel's right to defend itself and recognize Hamas's direct responsibility in inciting violence and the loss of life. Canada must be ready and reliable when Israel needs to count on their democratic friend and ally, Canada.

## CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

I want to be very clear as well that under my leadership extending a hand of friendship to the Palestinian people will be a priority. The Palestinian people want the same things that all people want – freedom, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

This will come, not through incitement to violence, but through the peaceful negotiations. I do not believe that giving money to highly flawed organizations like UNRAU (as the Liberals have done) advances the cause of peace or partnership. And the Palestinian people are denied democracy, not by Israel, but by their own government.

If the values of pluralism, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law are to prevail, it is time, once again, for the free speaking and democratic peoples of the world to reinvigorate old alliances and build new ones – alliance with other free democracies and with peoples who are seeking free democracy. We can and we will find common cause, and ensure that freedom prevails in this century, just as it did in the past.

### **Unir le monde libre et démocratique**

#### *Relations Canada-États-Unis*

*Pour jouer le rôle que nous devons jouer dans ce monde nouveau, nous devons commencer par rétablir les relations entre le Canada et les États-Unis.*

*Il ne fait aucun doute que les relations avec l'administration en place sont difficiles pour tous les dirigeants du monde. Le président actuel renverse des décennies de politique étrangère américaine bien établie, surtout en ce qui a trait aux alliances.*

*Néanmoins, les relations entre le Canada et les États-Unis vont perdurer. Nous ne pouvons pas laisser la personnalité « tromper » les liens entre nos deux pays. Trop souvent, Justin Trudeau fait passer des objectifs politiques partisans avant cette relation dont dépendent tant d'emplois canadiens.*

*Sur l'ALENA, l'intention déclarée du président Trump d'obtenir la meilleure entente pour les Américains n'a pas rencontré une force et une résolution égale de la part du Canada.*

*Au lieu de cela, le gouvernement actuel a fait la leçon au président américain sur des enjeux qui n'ont rien à voir avec le commerce. Il ne l'a pas fait pour le bien du Canada ou des Canadiens – mais pour redorer son image et gagner des points ici au pays.*

Between NAFTA, withdrawing from the ISIS campaign, purchasing used jets rather than new jets, refusing to join the ballistic missile defence program, abstaining on key Israel votes at the UN, repealing Iran sanctions, aligning with China, the current government has fostered tension and mistrust between what should be the world's two greatest allies.

Our posture in relation to the Americans must be to seriously and strongly defend our interests, and to make the case for strengthened partnership among free democracies.

#### **Francophonie**

Je suis très fier du rôle que des premiers ministres conservateurs canadiens ont joué dans le développement de la Francophonie internationale.

Brian Mulroney, en particulier, a rendu possible, avec le président François Mitterrand, la réunion, à tous les deux ans, des pays francophones.

## CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Notre participation à la Francophonie, comme d'ailleurs au Commonwealth, nous permet de faire valoir notre engagement en faveur de la paix, de la démocratie, de l'égalité et des droits de la personne.

Le gouvernement Mulroney a aussi consacré le caractère privilégié des relations du Canada avec la France, une de nos deux mères-patries.

Notre gouvernement a reconnu que les Québécois forment une nation au sein du Canada.

Nous avons aussi donné vie à ce principe, y compris sur la scène internationale.

Le premier ministre Stephen Harper a notamment permis au Québec de participer pleinement aux travaux de l'UNESCO.

J'ai l'intention d'affirmer à mon tour l'engagement de notre pays auprès de la francophonie mondiale.

En tant que premier ministre, je vais travailler avec les pays membres sur un défi contemporain important auquel fait face la francophonie mondiale et les pays qui y participent, soit le manque de coordination économique.

Les pays francophones forment un potentiel de richesse incroyable, de par les ressources humaines et naturelles dont ils disposent. Il est nécessaire donc que ces pays se recentrent sur l'un des objectifs historiques phares de la francophonie mondiale initiée il y a plusieurs décennies de manière institutionnelle : il s'agit du développement économique et des échanges commerciaux des membres de l'OIF.

### *Trade*

When we talk about uniting the world's democracy, trade, particularly free trade, has to be at the center of our approach. No other party in Canada has as strong a record on the protection and promotion of free trade than Canada's Conservatives. It was Prime Minister Brian Mulroney who signed NAFTA and delivered the incredible prosperity that followed. Prime Minister Stephen Harper initiated and concluded free trade negotiations with over 50 countries.

Economic freedom – the freedom to choose and the freedom to succeed or fail based on those choices – has been essential to our national success and to the success of like-minded partners. The benefits of free trade are obvious. Aside from the economic prosperity that follows when people are allowed to exchange freely, it is a simple fact that free trading nations don't go to war with each other.

But free trade cannot come without trust.

Free trade with China will only be possible when China embraces a functioning rule of law system, when judicial processes which are supposed to guarantee equal market access are no longer subject to control by the Communist Party.

It's critical to note that we bled and died alongside Americans during two world wars and in Korea and stood shoulder to shoulder with them against the Soviet Union during the Cold War. And it still took decades before a trade agreement was ever signed.

First comes trust. Then comes trade. We may yet get there with China. But we're a long, long ways off.

## CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

If Canada is going to truly make a difference, we have to bring more to the table. Having a principled foreign policy is meaningless if you don't have a strong and agile defence policy to back it up. To that end, we must renew our support for the Canadian Armed Forces.

### ***Canada's Military Contribution***

As Prime Minister, I will never forget that ours is the nation that bravely conquered Vimy Ridge; that made the ultimate sacrifice on Juneau Beach; that held the line at the Battle of Kapyong in Korea; and helped deliver the people of Afghanistan from the Taliban. The sacrifices made then by so many Canadians and our allies gifted us the modern world we all too often take for granted. This is why I believe those who seek to lead this great nation need to be frank and open about the threats we face and the challenges we must overcome.

### ***Fixing procurement***

The serving men and women in the Canadian Armed Forces are the best in the world at what they do. But for too long, they have been underserved. While successive governments have promised funding, all too often government has failed when it comes to actually delivering for our troops. As a country we must acquire the capabilities that are needed to protect Canada, while contributing to global peace and security in the decades ahead.

Military procurement in Canada is hyper-politicized to our detriment. In the United States and Australia, as just two examples, there is broad consensus when it comes to the national defence and at the end of the day, projects are allowed move forward. This is not the case in Canada.

By playing politics with these matters, governments have diminished the important responsibility to adequately and expediently equip the Armed Forces

Further, to address the increasing threat to our Arctic sovereignty posed by Russia, China, and others, we must reinforce Canada's standing as a maritime nation.

*Compte tenu de l'état et des besoins de la Marine et de la Garde côtière canadienne, il n'y a aucune raison que les chantiers navals du Canada soient inactifs. Je ne vais pas annuler les contrats alloués. Mais je crois qu'il faut apporter des améliorations, surtout à Ottawa, à la gestion de ces projets. Les emplois de nos chantiers navals dépendent de nous.*

### ***Cybersécurité et infrastructure de communication***

*Quand on parle des menaces pour le Canada, nous ne pouvons pas ignorer le cyberespace. Les menaces de demain vont certainement provenir de nos appareils électroniques, pas de la terre, des eaux ou des airs. Le Canada doit être prêt à contrer ces menaces.*

*Nous devons augmenter notre capacité de cyberguerre. Les capacités de piratage et de blocage de nos adversaires peuvent aisément détruire nos réseaux de communication et rendre le commandement et le contrôle quasi impossibles. Bien qu'une attaque de cette ampleur soit le pire des scénarios, nous devons être prêts à toutes les éventualités.*

We must increase our cyber warfare capacity. The hacking and jamming capabilities of our adversaries can easily wipe out military communications networks and render command and control nearly impossible. While an all-out attack of this magnitude is the worst-case scenario, we must be ready for all possibilities.



## CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

The Canadian Armed Forces must adapt to the changing realities of cyber warfare, particularly in terms of its personnel and organization.

Canada already has a world class tech sector, especially when it comes to cyber security. But it is largely untapped. Canada must act to get industry and government on the same page when it comes to protecting Canada's information technology infrastructure. We must modernize cyber procurement in Canada, and better align the capabilities of our industry to global market demand.

As Prime Minister, I intend to be forthright with Canadians about the threats we face.

I will reinvigorate Canada's role in the alliances we share with our democratic allies. This includes existing alliances like NORAD, NATO, the Commonwealth, La Francophonie, and the Five Eyes, but it will also include overtures to India and Japan.

I will find a way for Canada to be relevant factors in the domestic affairs of our allies in a world where the sentiments of self-interest are on the rise.

I will reject trade protectionism and relentlessly pursue new efforts to increase trade and find new markets for Canadian goods in fast-growing economies like those found in Asia.

I have already begun this important work with trade missions to India and the United Kingdom in the last 18 months.

And I will also work with all parties in Parliament to depoliticize the military procurement process so that Canada isn't empty-handed when called upon.

I will deal with China with eyes wide open.

I will look for ways to strengthen our relationship and open new markets, but with the understanding that at this critical juncture we need to show strength and resolve above all else.

If this government isn't willing to stand up to China when two Canadians are unlawfully imprisoned and billions of dollars in trade is under attack, it never will.

My goal is better relations. My goal is more economic opportunity. But that can only come after we make a stand. And I will.

As Prime Minister, I will end Canada's \$250 million investment in the Chinese-owned Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and launch a formal complaint at the World Trade Organization if their trade blockades persist.

I will not allow Chinese state-owned enterprises, solely focused on the political interests of Beijing, unfettered access to the Canadian market.

I will renew Canada's historic support for Ukraine and take steps to help Ukraine secure its borders and defend its people. This will include expanding upon current missions to support Ukraine and providing Ukraine's military with the equipment they need to defend their borders. I will also push for Canadian leadership in a United Nations peacekeeping mission to secure Ukraine's borders.

I will immediately act to list Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps as a terrorist entity, as well as make full use of the Magnitsky Law to punish Iran's worst human rights offenders.

## CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

I will re-open the Office of Religious Freedom and I will recognize the fact that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel and begin the necessary work towards moving Canada's embassy to Jerusalem.

Finally, I will make sure Canada provides a counterbalance to Russia and China's burgeoning icebreaker fleets. While Russia and China are both developing and deploying nuclear ice breakers to patrol the Arctic, Canadian and American capacity is severely lacking.

I will do more, a lot more, to show the world that we are an Arctic power. Above all, we must establish, without a doubt, everywhere in the world, that our sovereignty over the North is non-negotiable. The Arctic does not only belong to us. It is us.

I will build on the Canada-US tradition of joint military partnerships by starting talks with the Americans to join the ballistic missile defence program and modernize the NORAD alliance. I will act to select a new fighter jet through an open competition and make sure the new jets are interoperable with our American allies.

The Canada-United States relationship transcends the personalities of those who occupy each respective office. And its longevity is crucial to our respective peace and prosperity. It must be strengthened.

I will also begin the process of upgrading the Royal Canadian Navy's submarine capability. The Australian government has initiated a multi-year strategy to procure its future submarine capability. Canada can look to these and other international models as we seek to ensure that we also have the capabilities that are necessary to effectively protect our national waters.

*Pour terminer, permettez-moi de dire que nous vivons dans un monde turbulent. C'est un fait que nous ignorons à nos risques et périls. Mais il ne fait aucun doute que notre pays est prêt à relever tous les défis, comme nous le faisons depuis plus de 150 ans.*

*Je sais que j'ai soulevé de nombreux sujets aujourd'hui. Je veux bien faire comprendre que tout ce que j'ai dit aujourd'hui ne représente nullement la totalité de ce que sera ma politique étrangère.*

*Je suis fier du bilan de notre parti sur l'accueil des réfugiés, sur la défense des droits des personnes LGBTQ qui font l'objet de discrimination par des régimes oppressifs, et sur les réalisations pour aider les femmes et les enfants par des programmes comme l'Initiative de Stephen Harper sur la santé des mères, des nouveau-nés et des enfants. Ces efforts vont continuer sous mon gouvernement.*

*Et j'aurai plus à dire sur la façon dont le Canada abordera les problèmes mondiaux complexes des changements climatiques et des migrations humaines.*

*D'une manière générale, je suis convaincu que quand le Canada exporte les principes de la liberté économique, de la liberté d'expression, de la liberté de la presse, nous créons de meilleures possibilités pour tous les peuples du monde.*

*Nous avons énormément de chance en tant que Canadiens d'avoir hérité des traditions et des institutions indépendantes qui font du Canada le meilleur pays du monde. Nous ne devrions pas avoir honte de défendre et de nous battre pour ce en quoi nous croyons.*

In 1943 Winston Churchill came to this very province to meet with Canada's allies and said:

## CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

*“Here at the gateway of Canada, in mighty lands which have never known the totalitarian tyrannies of Hitler and Mussolini, the spirit of freedom has found a safe and abiding home.”*

I believe this spirit of freedom is inherent to all human beings. Rights are not created by government – government only recognizes rights or fails to.

When governments believe that human rights are merely political creations, the results are painful, and inevitable: the innermost wants, needs, and even thoughts of vulnerable individuals are suppressed by force. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, liberty was confronted by the poisonous ideologies of communism and fascism. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, while the threats to liberty may go by different names, they are no less insidious.

C’est pourquoi je crois fondamentalement que nous devons être honnêtes avec nous-mêmes sur les menaces auxquelles nous faisons face. C’est pourquoi nous devons unir les forces de la démocratie et de la liberté dans le monde entier pour affronter les menaces, avec une résolution plus ferme que ceux qui les posent. Et nous devons être prêts à faire notre part, à soutenir la force de nos valeurs avec la valeur de nos forces.

Ce que j’ai dit aujourd’hui n’est que le début – j’aurai plus à révéler sur le rôle international du Canada au cours des prochains mois – mais ce sera le phare de ma politique étrangère : assurer un Canada plus fort dans un monde turbulent.

Car c’est seulement quand notre nation est forte que nos valeurs triomphent.

Nous ne devrions pas nous faire l’illusion que le monde va mieux quand le Canada est fort.

Nous devrions montrer au reste du monde que nous sommes toujours un pays non seulement de principes, mais d’action.

Et que nous sommes prêts à rester aux côtés de nos alliés pour assurer un avenir encore plus pacifique et prospère que le présent que nous créons aujourd’hui.

À cette fin, un nouveau gouvernement conservateur va redéfinir nos alliances et nos partenariats internationaux selon l’ordre mondial toujours changeant.

Nous allons clairement et honnêtement identifier les menaces auxquelles les Canadiens font face.

Et nous allons renouveler notre souveraineté par une défense nationale revitalisée – pour que le Canada soit prêt quand il est appelé et capable de se défendre avec vigueur.

Merci beaucoup.