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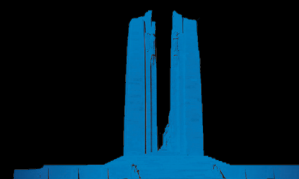


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THE STRATEGIC OUTLOOK FOR CANADA



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THE STRATEGIC OUTLOOK FOR CANADA 2017

STRATEGY AND MISSION AFTER THE DEFENCE POLICY REVIEW

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Message from the Chair of the CDA & the Chair of the Board, CDA Institute

As Canada celebrates its 150th anniversary and all its great accomplishments since Confederation, we find ourselves in a complex, challenging and potentially perilous time from a security and defence perspective. Recent world events, including ongoing instability in many regions; changes on the North American continent; growing tensions in the Asia Pacific area; and many others suggest that we are going through a tectonic shift in world affairs. Canada will be challenged to chart a safe course to the future.

A thoughtful and thorough public discourse on the future direction for national security and defence policies, strategies, plans and programs is therefore needed beyond the Trudeau government's recently completed consultations on its Defence Policy Review, as welcome as that initiative is. As a contribution to this discourse, we are pleased to release Vimy Paper #34 *The Strategic Outlook for Canada 2017*. It is the sixth in our series of annual examinations of the global trends impacting Canada's security and national interests. These papers are part of the CDA Institute's ongoing efforts to inform Canadians and their governments about Canadian security and defence issues.

This year, we have elected to publish the *Strategic Outlook* in electronic format not only as a cost-saving measure, but also because it is

environmentally responsible and the vast majority of our audience prefer to download the document on whatever modern platform they so choose. We have also found in recent years that demand for printed copies has fallen considerably.

Production of the *Strategic Outlook* is a major undertaking and we would like to acknowledge the substantial effort on the part of the many people who contributed to the 2017 edition. We are deeply indebted to the seven authors who contributed to it: Professor Kim Richard Nossal of Queen's University; Dr Jim Cox (also Brigadier-General [ret'd]); Professor Andrea Charron of Carleton University; Dr Mike Cessford (also Colonel [ret'd]) of the Canadian Commercial Corporation; Andrew Rasiulis of the Canadian Global Affairs Institute; Dr Eric Lerhe (also Commodore [ret'd]) of Dalhousie University; and Dr Ken Pennie (Lieutenant-General [ret'd]). We also thank Dr David McDonough, until recently our Research Manager and Senior Editor, who was the principal architect, planner, and organizer of this Strategic Outlook. CDA Institute Research Fellow Chuck Davies and Senior Analyst Matthew Overton completed final editing of this year's edition. We are very grateful to Richard Evraire and André Scialom who contributed many hours with the translation and proof-reading of the manuscript. Four independent reviewers – Vice-Admiral (ret'd) Drew Robertson, Richard Cohen, Elliot Tepper and Dr Joel Sokolsky – also provided insightful



comments to the contributing writers. Finally, Office Manager Robert Legere was indispensable in doing the layout and production of the document. The efforts of all these people and many other volunteers were indispensable to getting the CDA Institute Vimy Paper #34 – *The 2017 Strategic Outlook for Canada* ready for publication.

We sincerely hope that you will enjoy reading it and, more importantly, give serious thought to the issues, perspectives, and questions raised. They are important for Canada's security and worth discussing at every opportunity.

Denis Rouleau, Chair of the CDA

Daniel Gosselin, Chair of the Board, CDA Institute

February 10, 2017



FOREWORD

The CDA Institute annually publishes its flagship Vimy Paper – *The Strategic Outlook for Canada*, a broad examination of the current and likely future global trends impacting Canada's security and national interests. This is aimed at encouraging informed public debate about security and defence issues and, unashamedly, encouraging the Government of Canada to give these critical areas more serious attention. This year is particularly important given the current defence policy review.

The government does a good job of evaluating future economic trends and risks. The recent 2016 Update of Long-Term Economic and Fiscal Projections by the Department of Finance provides a concise, comprehensive, and sobering projection of Canadian demographic, economic, and fiscal trends out to the 2050s – and what it means for public finances over the period. It is regularly updated and a must-read document for anyone interested in the challenges facing Canada in the future.

However, the government is significantly less diligent when it comes to security and defence. Unlike most other “middle powers”, it publishes no regular assessment of the global security trends and threats faced by the country, and has no articulated comprehensive strategy for safeguarding itself and its interests. Without a national perspective on what the future challenges are likely to be and how we intend to face them, it is perhaps not surprising that we

have essentially no national dialogue, let alone a consensus, on what capabilities the country will require to successfully respond – either alone or in concert with others.

The annual CDA Institute *Strategic Outlook for Canada* does not fill that gap. Rather, it is aimed at readers both inside and outside government who are interested in the public debate on security and defence issues. It seeks to provide insights into the global issues, events, and trends that can be expected to affect Canada's security and defence interests today, tomorrow, and in the longer-term future. By so doing, we hope to encourage a more vigorous and better-informed debate.

The 2017 Strategic Outlook (Vimy Paper #34) represents a significant departure from previous editions. Since 2012, the document has been ably written by one or two individuals, notably the CDA Institute's widely experienced Board Members Ferry de Kerckhove and George Petrolekas, and former CDA Institute member Paul Chapin, with input from various experts. This year, we have sought to offer new perspectives by inviting seven distinguished scholars and practitioners who have studied global security and defence issues for many years to each provide their perspectives in specific areas.

Professor Kim Richard Nossal of the Centre for International and Defence Policy at Queen's University introduces the *Strategic Outlook* by examining the political dynamics around the Canadian government's approach to security



and defence, including the current defence policy review, from the domestic, continental, and global perspectives. He draws a clear picture of the uncertain and challenging global political environment facing the government and the nation, pointing out limitations in the path the government appears to have chosen to navigate through it.

In Chapter 1, Brigadier-General Dr. James Cox (Retired), a Senior Fellow with the Macdonald-Laurier Institute and Research Fellow at the CDA Institute, sets out the strategic context within which the government's policy responses to global challenges and risks need to be developed. He describes the relationship between policies, strategies, plans, and priorities – and the importance of following a more disciplined and rigorous process in developing and implementing them than Canadian governments typically do. He argues that Canada needs a much deeper and broader defence review than the DPR process now underway.

Chapter 2 was written by Professor Andrea Charron, Director of Carleton University's Centre for Security, Intelligence and Defence Studies; Adjunct Professor at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs; and Research Fellow at the CDA Institute. She looks at Canada in the North American context, exploring three enduring national interests shared by Canada and the US: defence of the state from armed aggression; health of the economy and society as a whole; and the world order and potential threats that could undermine it significantly. She ar-

gues that defending these national interests requires renewed attention to Canada's ability to contribute to continental defence. This means a serious investment in Canada-US defence relations at the highest levels and a rediscovery of the essential art of bilateral diplomacy between the two nations.

In Chapter 3, Colonel Dr. Michael Cessford (Retired), Middle East Regional Director for the Canadian Commercial Corporation and a Research Fellow at the CDA Institute, offers insights into expeditionary operations from the Mideast and Europe to Africa. He discusses the dangers inherent in these operations and stresses the need for clear and pragmatic strategic oversight by the Government of Canada. He argues that these commitments, though perhaps motivated by Canadian values, must be linked to national interests and objectives that justify putting our personnel in harm's way.

Chapter 4 looks at NATO and Europe. It was written by Andrew Rasiulis, a Research Fellow with the Canadian Global Affairs Institute who has 35 years of experience as a defence strategic analyst, arms control negotiator, policy officer, and Director of Military Training and Cooperation. He has an MA from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. Andrew provides an overview of the evolving strategic situation in Europe, the role of NATO, Canada's ongoing strategic interests in Europe, and the nature of Canada's military response to support these interests. He argues that understanding Russia, and its increasing



will and capacity to use military force to further its political interests, will be key in determining how the strategic situation in Europe unfolds in 2017. He notes that Canada's commitments to NATO's enhanced defence posture are a relatively significant response to this challenge, both in terms of expenditures and the high operational tempo maintained by the CAF.

In Chapter 5, Commodore Dr. Eric Lerhe (Retired), a Research Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Security and Development at Dalhousie University, looks at China and the Indo-Pacific region. He points out that Canada has not pursued a truly comprehensive engagement strategy in the region since the 1990s, successive governments since that time focusing their efforts primarily on trade without recognizing the underlying economic and security importance of stability and freedom of navigation. He argues that instability in the region will likely only increase, with the US less willing to continue shouldering its traditional role in the region. Consequently, Canada needs to reassess how it will maintain economic ties with this critical area and decide what role it should play in efforts to reduce the chances of conflict there.

Finally, we turn to Lieutenant-General Dr. Ken Pennie (Retired) to bring all the threads together in concluding remarks to *The 2017 Strategic Outlook for Canada*. He shows how the long term trends highlighted in the preceding chapters mean that Canada faces more risk in the future than in the past five decades. The threat is not the existential one we faced during the Cold

War, but still represents a significant risk to our national security and prosperity. These risks come from many quarters and demand a holistic strategic framework to guide Canada's efforts to influence the world. Perhaps of more immediate impact on the government, our traditional defence policy declarations of commitment to defend Canada, defend North America with the United States, and contribute to the stability of the world may well be seen by the new Trump administration as simply covering up the reality that for the past five decades we have relied heavily on American taxpayers to defend us. Successive Canadian governments have simply tried to find the lowest level of expenditure for security and defence that the United States and other allies would accept. Given the many uncertainties about our future, he poses this fundamental question: how will we continue to thrive as an independent country in a dangerous world?

How indeed. *The 2017 Strategic Outlook for Canada* offers broad perspectives on the problem, with the objective of contributing to an informed public debate on these complex and difficult issues. That debate is useful in any democratic society, but ultimately it is the government that has the responsibility to properly identify, characterize, and analyze current and future risks to the nation and its well-being. It is the government that must decide on appropriate policies, strategies, and plans to respond to them, now and in the future. It is the government that must make the investments required



to implement them.

As several of our contributors (and many others elsewhere) have pointed out, successive Canadian governments have not been particularly diligent in meeting these fundamental obligations, and the current defence policy review does not inspire confidence that this is changing in any way. Until now, the consequences for the nation have not been very evident or serious. However, with the future looking increasingly uncertain and perilous we are unlikely to be so fortunate going forward. As a number of knowledgeable observers have pointed out, we appear to be entering a time of tectonic change in global affairs and it is critically important that the Government of Canada lead our nation through that period successfully. To do so, it will have to take the complex business of national security, with its integrated defence, diplomacy, development, and other components, far more seriously than it has in recent decades. The CDA Institute and our contributors to *The 2017 Strategic Outlook for Canada* sincerely hope that this document will help the current government to begin to do so.

As a final note, on behalf of the Conference of Defence Associations and the CDA Institute, we would like to extend special thanks to Dr. David McDonough, the principal architect and editor of *The 2017 Strategic Outlook for Canada*, who for the past two years has been the CDA Institute's Research Manager and Senior Editor. In this role he has materially improved our research capacity and output – from the diver-

sity and quality of articles in our policy magazine ON TRACK, to the number of papers released as part of our Vimy Paper and CDA Institute Analysis series, to editing the Security and Defence Briefing and the launching of our well-contributed and well-read Blog. David has recently moved on to broaden his academic research horizons beyond the security and defence sphere. We deeply appreciate all he has done for the CDA and the CDA institute, and wish him well with his new endeavours.

Tony Battista, CEO of the CDA and CDA Institute





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INTRODUCTION

CANADA AND THE YEAR IN REVIEW

KIM RICHARD NOSSAL

The Liberal government of Justin Trudeau came to office in November 2015 with a simple message: “Canada is back.” Only the historically-minded remembered that Stephen Harper’s Conservative government had used exactly the same slogan when it came to power in February 2006, but the irony of that resurrected message was lost in the enthusiasm that greeted the new prime minister’s promise that his government would chart a different course for Canada in global affairs.

The promise of difference was hardly new or unexpected. Whenever new prime ministers come to power in Canada, they invariably seek to put their own stamp on Canada’s engagement in the world. Most commonly they do this by launching formal reviews of the different elements of Canada’s international policy.

Canada’s first formal defence policy review was published in 1964 by the Liberal government of Lester B. Pearson, which had been elected the year before and wanted to signal that the Liberals were going to be fundamentally unlike the Progressive Conservatives under John G. Diefenbaker. Every new ministry since then has followed what has become a time-honoured tradition: in the first couple of years in office, the new government publishes a defence review — but only one, no matter how long the government remains in power. This is why Canadian defence reviews have such predictable dates: 1964, 1971, 1987, 1994, 2005, 2008.

But global strategy involves more than just defence policy, and in 1969, Pierre Elliott Trudeau introduced the practice of launching a review of foreign policy. That too became a regular practice: Brian Mulroney had a foreign policy review in 1984–85, Jean Chrétien published one in 1995 and Paul Martin released his foreign policy statement in 2005. To be sure, the tradition was broken by Stephen Harper when the Conservatives took office, on the grounds that foreign policy reviews were too disruptive. So, while the Harper government produced a defence review in 2008, it never published a foreign policy review during its nine years in office.

*"a truly idiosyncratic strategic
policy environment, one that is
unique in modern history"*

The Liberal government of Justin Trudeau continued Harper’s practice: while it immediately launched a review of defence policy, it chose not to embrace the tradition introduced by Trudeau’s father in 1969.

In this way Trudeau fils also continued another practice: only once since the 1960s have governments in Cana-



da reviewed foreign policy and defence policy together in a holistic way, despite the obvious deep interlinkage between these two spheres of policy. Paul Martin was the only prime minister to insist on a holistic review, but his International Policy Statement of 2005 stands as a stark reminder of the power of inertia. The IPS consisted of four booklets, each written by the agency responsible for diplomacy, defence, development and trade, with an overview written by the prime minister that tried not very successfully to stitch the perspectives of the four stove-pipes together.

In keeping with this tradition, there was only one stove-pipe at work in 2016: the Defence Policy Review initiated by Minister of National Defence Harjit Sajjan will be published in early 2017 after months of public consultations. But it is already clear that this was largely the same symbolic exercise that every government since Pearson has engaged in: write a defence policy review that trumpets how very different the new prime minister is from the preceding government, and then put it on the shelf for the remainder of the ministry.

Don't Wait, Act Now

But the government did not bother to wait for the defence review to report before making some key strategic decisions about Canada's international policy.

Some of these were the result of promises made by Trudeau during the 2015 election campaign. For example, he had promised to withdraw Canada's "six-pack" of CF-18 Hornets from the joint military operations in Iraq and Syria being conducted by the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL (Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, also known as Islamic State in Iraq and al-Shām, or Daesh, its Arabic acronym). Ten days after taking office, Trudeau did just that, though neither he nor his government could ever provide a clear or logically coherent reason for doing so.

Likewise, Trudeau had also promised during the campaign that a Liberal government would not purchase the Lockheed Martin F-35 Joint Strike Fighter as the replacement for Canada's aging CF-18 Hornets. Instead, an open competition would be held. However, in this supposedly "open" competition, Lockheed Martin would not be allowed to enter the F-35, meaning that some other fighter would have to be chosen instead. The "billions of dollars" in putative savings from choosing another fighter would in turn be spent on the Royal Canadian Navy.

When the Liberals came to power, they were confronted with the consequences of this exceedingly rash promise. It did not take long for government lawyers to tell the new prime minister why the exclusion of Lockheed Martin from an "open" competition was just a massive lawsuit waiting to happen; likewise, it did not take long for the new cabinet to learn that the Canadian aerospace industry would be frozen out of Lockheed Martin's global value chains if the F-35 was not chosen by Canada.

In November 2016, the cabinet just finessed the problems that Trudeau had created. In a move that appeared to be news to the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF), the cabinet simply changed the number of aircraft it asserted that the RCAF needed to meet North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD) requirements simultaneously. No longer, it declared, was the fleet of 77 Hornets (since reduced to 76 as the result of a crash in December) enough. There was, the minister declared, a "capability gap" that could only be fixed by acquiring more fighters. So the government announced it was going to sole-



source the acquisition of an interim fleet of eighteen Boeing F/A-18 Super Hornets, and spend the next five years examining which fighter should eventually replace the CF-18. This decision, which kicked a decision about the F-35 down the road, well beyond the next election, solved the government's political problem created by this election promise.

During the election campaign, the Trudeau Liberals had also promised that Canada would return to its peacekeeping past, an unambiguous pitch to the widespread support among Canadians for the country's traditional peacekeeping role. However, without waiting for the Defence Policy Review to report, the Trudeau government made a major commitment to deploy the Canadian Armed Forces to a peace operation. However, the government oddly put the cart before the horse: it committed to deploying troops to a peace support mission in theory, without identifying a location first, underscoring the degree to which the new mission — widely anticipated to be in West Africa, but still not identified at the time of this writing — was being embraced for domestic political purposes rather than for strategic purposes.

In the Asia-Pacific, the Trudeau government moved to improve the bilateral relationship with China but without addressing the broader geostrategic challenges posed by the changing power dynamics in the region. Trudeau was keen to reset the relationship, which had faltered in the last years of the Conservative government. Back-to-back high-level reciprocal visits — Trudeau visited China in August 2016 and Prime Minister Li Keqiang visited Canada immediately afterwards in September — underscored what both sides described as a new era in the relationship. As a measure of his desire to renew friendship with China, the Trudeau government announced that it would join the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, a Beijing-led initiative that the Harper government had refused to join. In a reciprocal move, the Chinese eased a restriction on Canadian canola that would have hurt Canadian farmers.

At the same time, however, the Trudeau government did not shy away from taking positions that were not at all pleasing to Beijing. On the Chinese claims to sovereignty in the South China Sea, Ottawa made it clear that it believed that Beijing should comply with the ruling in the South China Sea Arbitration, which in July 2016 came down heavily against China's "nine-dash line" claims. In a clear dig at Beijing, Canada urged that "all states in the region exercise restraint and avoid coercion and actions that will escalate tension." Likewise, the Trudeau government pressed Beijing hard on the case of Kevin and Julia Garratt, two Canadians who had been arrested and imprisoned in China on bogus espionage charges following a spat between Beijing and the Harper government in 2014 over Canadian charges that the Chinese government had hacked the National Research Council.

The degree to which the South China Sea dispute and the Garratt case were sensitive issues for China can be best seen by the fact that China's foreign minister, Wang Yi, visiting Canada in June 2016, lost his temper when he was asked about these matters by a Canadian reporter at a press conference in Ottawa. But by the end of the summer, China was keen enough to reset the relationship that it backed off. While rejecting what it called the "so-called award" over the South China Sea as "illegal and invalid in every sense," the Chinese did not openly press Canada on the issue. And on the Garratts, the government in Beijing pulled the thorn and released the Garratts just before Li arrived in Ottawa. By the end of the year, there was indeed a renewed bilateral relationship, but the broader geostrategic questions, including Canada's view of China's place in the Asia-Pacific, remained



unanswered.

On one file, the Trudeau government decided not only to maintain the policy pursued by the Conservatives, but to strengthen it. In July, the government decided to beef up the Canadian commitment to the reassurance mission against the possibility of aggression by the Russian Federation in Eastern Europe by committing to lead a multinational battle group in Latvia and committing to continue air and sea patrols. Likewise, on Ukraine, Trudeau maintained the same core policies as the Conservative government. He continued Canadian contributions to Ukrainian efforts against Russian aggression in the eastern part of the country and continued Canadian sanctions against Russia for the Russian seizure of Crimea from Ukraine and its incorporation into the Russian Federation. However, unlike Harper, who was a loudly outspoken critic of Vladimir Putin's policies, Trudeau softened the rhetorical tone.

In sum, even before the Defence Policy Review reported was released, the Trudeau government had already made a number of strategic choices about Canada in the world in 2017 and the years ahead without actually waiting for the defence review and without even bothering with a foreign policy review.

Envoi: The Trump Administration

But that actually might not be such a bad thing in the circumstances. For the strategic outlook for 2017 has been markedly altered by the election of Donald J. Trump as president of the United States. Trump's victory presents Canada — and all other friends and allies of the United States — with a truly idiosyncratic strategic policy environment, one that is unique in modern history.

The uniqueness of the situation cannot be overstated:

- Never before has there been an American president so utterly indifferent to the rudiments of statecraft, so lacking in knowledge about the world, and, more importantly, seemingly so uninterested in learning.
- Never before has an American president been carried to power in an election where an avowed adversary (Russia) has, according to American intelligence agencies, conspired to intervene in the American electoral process on the side of the successful candidate.
- Never before has there been an American president who has been so careless about relations with other great powers, openly sticking a finger in the eye of one (China) while openly bromancing another (Russia).
- Never before has there been an American president who appears to regard the American alliance system as little more than the kind of sordid protection racket that one finds in New York in the realm of property development, going so far as to openly disparage NATO as “obsolete” and be personally rude to the prime minister of Australia, one of America's closest allies in the Asia Pacific.
- Never before has there been an American president who has encouraged the dismantling of the European project by openly sneering at the European Union and welcoming the departure of Britain from the EU.
- Never before has there been an American president who has been so dismissive of free trade, scuttling the



Trans-Pacific Partnership and moving to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Add to this Trump's highly idiosyncratic use of social media to make policy, where thoughtless and random tweets can cause the values of stocks to tank, or sow uncertainty in both the U.S. and abroad. Or the highly idiosyncratic tendency to take criticism so personally that he spends time and energy obsessing about trivialities such as his ratings or the size of his crowds.

In other words, any stock-taking of the strategic outlook for the year ahead needs to recognize that we are in deeply uncertain waters here. The new administration's first steps in foreign policy were deeply shambolic, and the broad contours of his "America First" policy are still being worked out. However, while there is a high level of uncertainty, all the signs are that the Trump administration will have a profoundly reshaping impact on the strategic environment in which the Trudeau government must operate.

Many of the verities that have shaped global politics for the last seventy years are now in considerable doubt, and that doubt will affect Canadian defence policy, our continental relationship with the United States, our military operations in Europe and elsewhere, and our engagement in the changing Asia-Pacific. It is to a consideration of these aspects that we now turn.





CHAPTER 1

CANADIAN DEFENCE POLICY AND GRAND STRATEGY

JAMES COX

ABSTRACT

Despite expectations raised during recent Defence Policy Review (DPR) public consultations, the Government of Canada may have no real interest in the results of an extensive defence policy review. There is an apparent lack of government recognition of the need for considerable intellectual policy reflection before descending into discussion of subordinate strategies or campaign/program level concerns, such as CAF tasks and equipment procurement. This chapter argues that, rather than a limited review, Canada really needs a full defence review – one much deeper and broader than the DPR process now underway. This review should culminate in a new defence policy and defence grand strategy, the former defining political objectives (e.g., what must be done by way of achievement), the latter implementing defence policy (e.g., translating political objectives into achievable whole-of-government strategic objectives that exploits all elements of national power).





Despite expectations raised during recent Defence Policy Review public consultations, the Trudeau government may have no real interest in a truly extensive review of national defence policy. Official documents seem content calling for a more limited review of what is called *strategy*, focused on equipping a leaner Canadian Armed Forces (CAF). The 2015 Speech from the Throne said, “the Government will launch an open and transparent process to review existing defence capabilities.”¹ Moreover, the mandate letter to Minister of National Defence (MND) Harjit Sajjan, from Prime Minister Trudeau, called for “an open and transparent review process to create a new defence strategy.” Notice of a new strategy is also buried deep in Chapter 6 of the 2016 federal budget: “Government will conduct an open and transparent process to create a new defence strategy that will deliver a modern, more agile and better-equipped military.”²

The common, troubling aspect here is the apparent lack of recognition of the need for considerable intellectual *policy* reflection *before* descending into discussion of sub-strategic or campaign/program level issues. Against these headwinds, this chapter suggests that Canada needs both a new defence policy and a defence grand strategy. It further suggests the principal ideas we might hope to find, if not expect, in each. A non-traditional path is followed, with no discussion of detailed military organization, defence budgets, or procurement. Instead, discussion centres on defined objectives – not in the broad sense of just doing something, but in the specific sense of defining what must be done, by way of achievement.

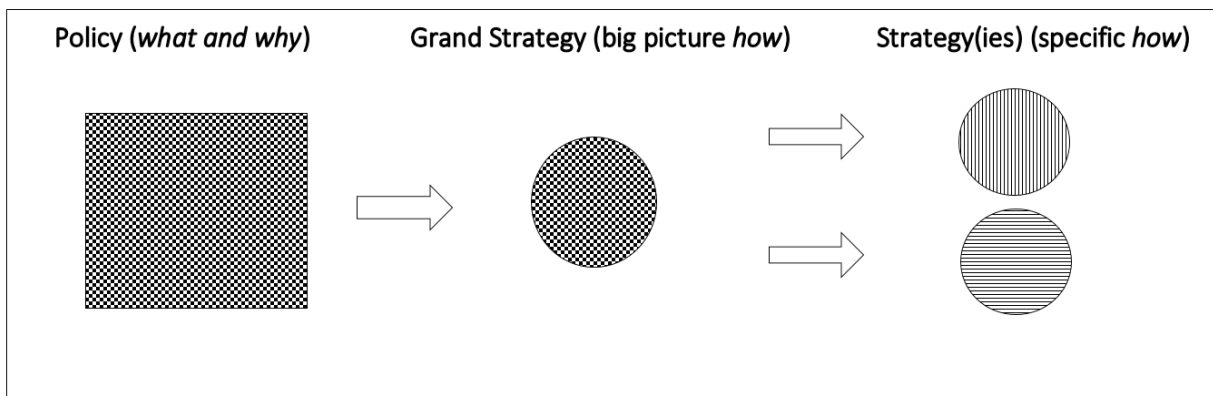


Policy and Grand Strategy

We must first get our terminology straight. Policy and strategy are not synonyms. Government is responsible for, and should own, policy. Policy is innately political. It is the big, somewhat abstract, but ultimately visionary idea that outlines high-level political objectives – the what and why of political ends. By nature and definition, government policy is whole-of-government policy.

Grand strategy implements policy.³ Grand strategy translates political objectives into broad, practical, and measurable strategic objectives, the collective achievement of which will meet desired political ends, and links them with national means. Crafting grand strategy is also a whole-of-government endeavour because it incorporates all elements of national power. From grand strategy, any number of subordinate strategies can be developed, within which talk can appropriately turn to budget allocations, organization, equipment, and infrastructure. This theoretical continuum is shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1: The Policy-Grand Strategy-Strategy Framework



(Source: James Cox)

With this analytical framework in place, we can consider selected conditions favourable for a new defence policy.

Setting the Conditions

To set the conditions favouring a new defence policy, four issues require attention. First, there should be a national, conceptual re-set aimed at a return to understanding Canadian national defence as a truly “defence” and a “Canada-first” idea, which recognizes that the ultimate objective is not to merely engage in the defence of Canada, but to prevail in the defence of Canada. Defence, properly conceived, is necessarily egocentric, not altruistic. Second, it is important to understand that the defence of Canada involves all Canadians, all levels of government, and all elements of Canadian national power, not just the CAF. It is indeed a ‘whole-of-Canada’ endeavour. Third, defence policy should not be confused with foreign policy, nor should it try to do what foreign policy does. Defence dialogue must necessarily focus on actually defending our country and resist becoming mesmerized by thoughts of building better worlds abroad for all. Finally, government must overcome its debilitating timidity about defence numbers. Effective defence has never been cheap; is not cheap; and never will be



cheap. It is time for a mature acceptance of the idea of a possibly much larger CAF.

With these conditions in mind, the next step is to define Canada's fundamental defence problem.

The Defence Problem

We have heard many variations of the mantra before: "There can be no greater role, no more important obligation for a government than the protection of its citizens."⁴ Indeed, recent defence policy statements have given primacy of place to the defence of Canada, but in practice, defence attention and spending actually continues to focus on acting abroad.⁵

However, a rigid insistence on absolute defence of the homeland may not be all that straightforward. Given the degree of Canada-US interdependence, it can be argued that defending Canada is indivisible from defending North America, in cooperation with the United States (US). It is hard to imagine any realistic scenario in which any threat to Canada would not constitute a threat to the continent as a whole. Beyond defending Canada and continental defence, it has become a habit to talk of a third defence policy 'pillar' – contributing to international peace and security. To more accurately capture a spirit of relevance to defence activity, this pillar might be re-crafted as "the defence of Canada and Canadian interests abroad, as required."

Deeper consideration of these three pillars reveals only one fundamental and enduring defence problem – how to prevail in the defence of Canada. Further, there seem to be only two basic sub-components of this one fundamental defence problem: (1) How to prevail in the defence of Canada within a combined continental defence framework; and (2) How to prevail in the defence of Canada and Canadian interests abroad, in concert with others.

Defence policy and grand strategy must address this fundamental defence problem in both its forms.

Selected Content of a New National Defence Policy

Any new Canadian defence policy might begin with a clear, decisive declaration of intent to prevail in the defence of Canada, Canadians and Canadian interests against any adversary, perhaps crafted this way:

Canadians will prevail in defending Canada and Canadian interests, no matter what the cost in blood and treasure, to preserve Canadian political and constitutional integrity, freedom and independence; Canadian territorial integrity; and the Canadian way of life, based on our values of freedom, human rights, rule of law, and Canadian secular parliamentary democracy.

Although existential war in Canada is unlikely, it is important that this ultimate intellectual marker be put down, not only to deter potential adversaries, but to impress on all Canadians the societal imperative of defending our country. If political leaders decline to define their intent in these terms, Canadians should demand that government then clearly state at what level below prevailing they might consider adequate to defend Canada.

An outline of government's view of the international security environment might follow, along with its per-



ceptions of the various strategic threats facing Canada and a judgement on the degree of risk inherent in those threats. Government might also explain its interpretation of the evolving character of conflict and discuss generally how it plans to approach the demands of prevailing in all five domains of warfare – maritime, land, aerospace, cyber and space.

In explaining the central importance of focusing on the defence of Canada, it should also be made apparent that doing so does not restrict defence activity to Canadian soil. Historically, Canada has addressed threats abroad (i.e.,

forward defence), before they reach our country. In this way, far from being limited, the defence of Canada demands global awareness and acting abroad in concert with allies, partners, and other like-minded actors as required. Moreover, if the notion of defending Canada is diligently pursued, the CAF will acquire more capability and capacity than it currently has, and be able to act as a more effective instrument of Canadian foreign policy.⁶ Give Canada more CAF to defend our homeland and the world can have more Canada.

Relatively early in the formulation of defence policy, it should be made clear that the primary role of the CAF is to prepare to fight and prevail as directed by government on behalf of Canadians. The CAF is Canada's ultimate instrument of national power and should be designed, postured, structured, and developed to prevail in sustained full-spectrum operations, in all five doctrinal domains of warfare. It must be more than simply combat-capable; it must be combat-dominant. Being so will inherently provide the CAF with enhanced capability and capacity that, when not engaged in its primary role, can assist Canadians domestically. One can envision three supporting roles for the CAF: to act as an instrument of Canadian foreign policy; to support other government departments, as directed by the MND; and to support provincial and territorial governments, as directed by the federal government. It is from such policy level dialogue that grand strategy can be derived.

Selected Content of a National Defence Grand Strategy

The highest grand strategic aim is to prevail in defending Canada, at any cost. Subsequent grand strategic (whole-of-government) objectives will be derived from policy objectives. In some form, they might indicate that Canada will:

1. Prevail in the defence of the homeland, preferably beyond the periphery;
2. Prevail in defending North America, in cooperation with the US, and enhance the effectiveness of our force contributions to the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD);
3. Prevail in the collective defence of the Euro-Atlantic region and enhance the effectiveness of our force contributions to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO);
4. Prevail in defending against threats to Canada, or Canadian interests elsewhere, in cooperation with NATO allies, in the context of UN missions, or with any other like-minded states as may be decided; and

*"the ultimate objective is not to
merely engage...but to prevail"*



5. Generate and sustain sufficient military capabilities and capacity, in all domains of warfare, prioritized by requirement and affordability.

The absence of an imminent existential threat does not absolve government from the responsibility to think about, plan, and prepare judiciously for a national crisis. Therefore, defence grand strategy might direct the MND, in consultation with other ministers, to develop, maintain, and exercise strategic mobilization plans to generate defence capability and capacity required to prevail in the defence of Canada. Furthermore, to emphasize extended government participation, defence grand strategy might direct:

1. The Minister of Science, in consultation with the MND, to develop and promulgate a Defence Scientific Research Strategy;
2. The Minister of Public Services and Procurement, in consultation with the MND and Chief of the Defence Staff (CDS), to develop and promulgate a National Military Procurement Strategy;
3. The Minister of Innovation, Science and Economic Development, in consultation with the MND and CDS, to develop and promulgate a National Space Policy that includes guidance for the military use of space; and
4. The Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness, in consultation with the MND and CDS, to review and update Canada's Cyber Security Policy, to include an offensive military cyber strike capability.

Defence grand strategy ideally provides the context for the promulgation of subordinate combined joint strategies in every domain of warfare, each of which would contemplate sufficient capability and capacity to deny penetration of Canadian airspace, territorial waters and landmass by any adversary, sufficient capacity to strike decisively and prevail over any adversary, and to the sufficient sustainment of both defence and strike functions for as long as it takes to prevail. The finer details of these strategies cannot be covered here, but there are certain highlights to watch for.

First, given the expanse and geo-strategic position of Canada, it is time to recognize that Canadian aerospace warfare forces are the first and primary component in the defence of Canada. The strategic objective in the aerospace warfare domain is to exercise command of all Canadian airspace, to prevent penetration by unauthorized foreign aircraft or missiles.

Second, Canadian maritime warfare forces form the principal surface and sub-surface component in the defence of Canada. The strategic objective in the maritime warfare domain is to exercise command of all Canadian seas and waters, to deny surface or sub-surface penetration by unauthorized foreign vessels or forces.

At this point, we must address the elephant in the room. Are we, or are we not, going to defend Canadian territorial waters in all three of Canada's contiguous oceans?⁷ Given the nature of Canada's east and west coastlines, there is clearly a need for blue-water and littoral (brown and green water) maritime warfare capabilities. In the Arctic region however, recognizing the climate, geography, and oceanography of Canada's North, it may be that a blue (open ocean) or green (territorial waters to the open ocean) water maritime warfare capability might be less than optimal up there. Perhaps it is time to consider establishing a robust northern littoral maritime warfare



force, which includes Canadian nuclear-powered submarines.

Third, Canadian land warfare forces form the ultimate, no-fail component of the defence of Canada. The strategic objective is to defeat any attempted attack or occupation of Canadian territory by a foreign force. As unlikely as an invasion might be at present, illegal foreign occupation of any of our Arctic islands is not so far-fetched a scenario in the future. Forward defence and the projection of land warfare power abroad, as directed by government, should be the principal role of the land warfare regular forces. Defending the Canadian landmass at home should be the principal role of the land warfare reserve forces, whose development, structure, equipment, doctrine and training should be focused on the physical joint defence of the Canadian homeland, and defence of the continental landmass in cooperation with US land warfare forces. Special operations forces would be found in both the regular force and reserve force components.

Ultimately, Canada may well need a much larger navy, army, air force, special operations force, cyber force and space force, all of which will call up full-spectrum capabilities and capacity sufficient to act decisively in all domains of warfare, at home and when engaging in the forward defence of Canada abroad.

The work required is not for the faint of heart.

Conclusion

Despite apparent government reluctance to do so, Canada needs a new defence policy and grand strategy, both of which should address the fundamental defence problem – how to prevail in the defence of Canada. A new defence policy should articulate government's political objectives in defending Canada. To implement defence policy, a defence grand strategy would derive defined, whole-of-government grand-strategic objectives from policy objectives and provide the context for subordinate strategies in each domain of warfare.

Both defence policy and grand strategy reflect whole-of-government involvement beyond simply the CAF. However, it is clear that the central and fundamental role of the CAF is to prepare to fight and prevail in war, on behalf of Canadians, as directed by government. Canada's military forces are our ultimate instrument of national power and they require full-spectrum capabilities and capacity in all five domains of warfare. Properly organized, equipped and trained, the CAF will inherently have capabilities useful to Canadians in times of domestic stress.

Promulgating truly effective defence policy and grand strategy requires considerable reflection, constructive imagination and a big-Canada mindset, as well as a credible and persuasive communications strategy to mobilize public support. A limited review and a couple of media lines just won't cut it.





CHAPTER 2

NORTH AMERICA AND
THE DEFENCE OF NATIONAL INTERESTS

ANDREA CHARRON

ABSTRACT

The defence of Canada and North America is often overlooked in favour of discussions about missions abroad. Now is the time to reconsider what it means to defend Canada's national interests and by extension, North America's interests, from the most likely and most dangerous threats. This paper explores the three enduring national interests shared by Canada and the US namely 1) The defence of the state from armed aggression; 2) The health of the economy and society as a whole; and 3) the world order and the potential threats that could undermine them significantly. Defending these national interests requires renewed attention to Canada's ability to contribute to continental defence. This means a serious investment in Canada –US defence relations at the highest levels and a rediscovery of the essential art of diplomacy instead of reliance on the "fraternity of the uniform."





The one constant of past Canadian defence white papers is the order of Canada's defence priorities: Canada first (specifically defence of the national territory), then North America, and then the rest of the world. This order is longstanding; indeed, it would be nonsensical for the Canadian government and its Armed Forces (CAF) to prioritize elsewhere first. And yet, many observers tend to skip over the details of the defence of home, focusing instead on the CAF's expeditionary role. The cumulative result is that the threats the CAF is confronting are better understood and reflected in the "away" than in the "home" missions.

The underlying assumption is that Canada is still "fire proof"¹ and therefore, attention needs to focus on international deployments. The North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), for example, is not well understood. There are varied and sometimes wild opinions about what may befall the Canadian Arctic. And given the U.S.'s election results, there is also concern about the status of Canada-US defence relations. If one is to be realistic in prioritizing CAF missions and roles in the defence of Canada and North America, it is time to return to first principles and consider what it means to "defend" Canada and by extension North America. To defend Canada means to ensure Canada's primary national interests – those that are fundamental to the continued existence of Canada as a prosperous, democratic, and secure state free from existential threats. To defend North America means to ensure that Canadian *and* U.S. national interests are protected, even when these interests may be different and/or differently prioritized.



If the CAF is dedicated to deterring and defending Canada's national interests, we should begin by articulating the most dangerous **and** most likely threats – those with the requisite capability and intent to cause serious damage – to Canada's primary interests. This chapter explores the three enduring national interests shared by Canada and the U.S. and the potential threats that could undermine them significantly.

National Interests

Sovereign states have three common and fundamental national interests. While their order of importance will vary from state-to-state and from time-to-time, these interests are enduring and enshrined in international law, with the military playing a key role in safeguarding them. They are:

- The defence of the state from armed aggression;
- The health of the economy and society as a whole; and
- The world order.²

The first national interest is derived from the lessons of several world wars and is now enshrined in the Charter of the UN; a threat of armed aggression (regardless of the source) against a state represents a potential existential threat against which it has the right to defend itself.³ This, arguably, has always been a primary preoccupation of the U.S. since World War II, but not necessarily Canada. By virtue of its limited military force, a blessed bulwark-like geography, and a superpower ally for a neighbour, Canada has been able to rank this priority lower than most states.

The second national interest is often overlooked as a “defence” issue. But, if 12 September 2001 – the day the border to the US closed – reminded Canadians of anything, it was that the ability to trade internationally and freely is a vital Canadian interest. This is also important for the U.S. But Canada will feel the effect of a border closure far more quickly than the United States. The world-wide economic downturn in 2008 is certainly proof of the U.S. economy's fragility and the navies of both states are dedicated to ensuring sea lanes remain open and secure for trade, commerce, communication and transportation. The defence of society also includes defence against internal subversion, terrorism, and other threats to “peace, order and good government.”⁴ This is encompassed in defence support for civil authority and aid of the civil power as well as in ensuring that defence does not impose an unreasonable economic or other burden on the country and society it is mandated to protect.

Finally, the third national interest is the status of the world order and each state's role within that world order. When fascism and communism threatened to dominate the world before and during the Cold War, Canada and the U.S. responded. Today, the concern is with the rise of non-state actors, like the Islamic State, exercising the power of a state as well as rising state powers, like Russia and China, with different and non-democratic governance structures that could challenge the U.S.'s global leadership role – a status which heretofore has benefitted Canada enormously.



The Defence of the State

The US extols the value of its “offsets,” or strategies to maintain a competitive advantage over its enemies.⁵ The first offset was nuclear deterrence over Soviet conventional superiority. The second was precision-guided munitions. The third, yet to come to fruition, is “system of systems” to defeat threats from new domains of concern, including space and cyber. Canada is no less vulnerable to many of these threats, even if it fails to acknowledge possible offsets. Regardless, the future suggests that threats will be more diverse and more difficult to identify. The third offset, therefore, represents the elusive quest for Donald Rumsfeld’s famous “unknown unknowns” and will involve the assistance of the private (and especially technology) sector. It is also an offset to which Canada could contribute significantly.

NORAD is central to deterring, detecting, and defeating air threats and to warning of maritime threats to North America. The threats that preoccupy NORAD include Russia’s investment in its strategic nuclear forces and the growing, global reach of its precision-strike capability. The erratic (albeit determined) behaviour of North Korea’s Kim Jong-un is of particular concern, especially given Pyongyang’s access to new, mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). So too is the disconnect between China’s assurances of its “no first-strike policy” versus its expanding nuclear forces and their growing immunity from destruction. Iran as well is still a concern, despite the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) framework,⁶ because of its missile and cyber capabilities.

New for NORAD and both militaries since 9/11 is the concern of threats emanating from within North America. Homegrown violent extremist plots on North American soil have been growing in frequency and lethality. And, while NORAD lacks the mandate to deal with land-based events, both states are investing significant resources on legislation, surveillance, information/intelligence collection, analysis, and anti-terrorism measures involving many government departments as well as allied partners to prevent such attacks at home.

Finally, the Arctic remains a region to watch, evaluate, and review. The primary concern is that the Arctic is still an avenue of approach to North America for the state-based threats listed above. The second is Russia’s investment in new Arctic infrastructure and its new joint strategic command for the Arctic, which create near perfect conditions for a security dilemma for the U.S., Canada, and NATO allies causing analysts to leap to conclusions about Russia’s (assumed nefarious) designs in the Arctic. The third is the increased marine activity in the Arctic (e.g., the successful but very expensive transit of the *Crystal Serenity* cruise ship through the Northwest Passage in August/September 2016), which brings with it search and rescue scenarios, environmental issues, and the possibility of organized crime. All of this highlights the lack of infrastructure, forward operating bases, and general lack of Arctic maritime reach for both the U.S. and Canada. Furthermore, one of NORAD’s main domain awareness tools, the North Warning System (NWS), is rapidly reaching the end of its operating life. Altogether, although a military confrontation is still considered to be very unlikely in the Arctic, geopolitical developments increase the possibility that Arctic states may misinterpret the behaviour of others and infer nefarious intent thus requiring action.

Of course, while NORAD only tracks ballistic missiles (U.S. Northern Command and U.S. Strategic Command are tasked with the missions to defeat them), the fact remains that Russia has the capability and reach to destroy



major cities in North America while North Korea is certainly expending time and resources to perhaps gain such a capability. This raises the issue of ballistic missile defence (BMD) and Canada's participation (or lack thereof).

There are no perfect, 100 percent guaranteed defences against ballistic missiles. The current North American-focused defence system is very expensive, can only respond to a limited number of launches, and cannot cover all of the U.S. and Canada, regardless of our participation or not. Nevertheless, the perceived advantage of agreeing to participate in BMD with the U.S. is two-fold:

1. Participation in BMD may allow Canada to at least argue for attempted protection of certain key Canadian cities when tough choices need to be made. There is, however, absolutely no guarantee that Canadian cities would be protected over a U.S. city for a variety of reasons, including the trajectory of the missiles and each country's subjective rankings given differing national interests.⁷ Of course, if such triage decisions were required, the current system would already be overwhelmed.
2. It shows Canada to be an ally in all domains with the U.S. rather than one that picks and chooses when it will assist with the defence of North America.

Washington, however, will not let Canada join BMD for "free." While more interceptors on Canadian soil is unlikely to expand BMD protection (and one should remember the fierce arguments among U.S. midwestern and eastern states wanting to host sites for various political and economic reasons), Canada could offer to invest in other needed areas, such as research and development, toward future 'offsets' and aging defence infrastructure like the NWS.

Of course, BMD does not address the more pressing concern of cruise missiles – especially Russia's new Kalibr-class cruise missiles launched from sea⁸ – and the limited defence both the U.S. and Canada have against them or defence against ballistic missiles with multiple warheads. Indeed, analysts are calling for a change of focus of concentration from only defending against the "arrows" (i.e., against incoming missiles) to deterring/defeating the "archer" (the state or individual with the proverbial finger poised on the launch button).

The Defence of the Economy and Society

The connection of the North American economy to the CAF is two-fold. The first is in the ability of the Navy (in conjunction with other government departments like the conservation and protection arm of Fisheries and Oceans, the Canada Border Services Agency, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Coast Guard, and Royal Canadian Air Force) to ensure that the maritime approaches to Canada and North America are surveilled, that threats are detected, deterred and ultimately defeated. These activities begin with maritime domain awareness (MDA), which is the "understanding of anything in the maritime environment that could adversely affect security, safety, the economy or the environment."⁹ And yet, this receives far too little attention over procurement of hardware (as important as that is).¹⁰ MDA depends on technology (e.g., surveillance radars and satellite coverage), analysis of the information, even on the number of flying hours dedicated to the surveillance of Canada's three oceans, to name just a few of the issues. MDA is key to both states' readiness to protect maritime zones and an area both Canada and the U.S. strive to improve.



The other important connection of the CAF to the economy and society involves perceptions of Canada's ability to continue to be a stalwart defender of the home front and not a weak link or backdoor vulnerability for the U.S. Canada must manage very carefully a growing perceived gap between the threats the U.S. feels it faces and Canada's perceived indifference and/or lack of appreciation for U.S. concerns. This does not mean Canada should

"the 'fraternity of the uniform' is neither a replacement nor substitute for active management of Canada-US defence relations"

change its policies (e.g., its new immigration targets) given U.S. protectionist tendencies. Instead, careful management means rediscovering the art of communication and lobbying the U.S. government to help them understand Canadian caveats and governance realities. This is not pandering, but rather is the essential art of diplomacy and could mean the difference between crippling border closures and not. The "fraternity of the uniform"¹¹ is neither a re-

placement nor substitute for active management of Canada-US defence relations.

Maintaining the World Order Status Quo

One doesn't talk about the "world order" in polite company but it is vital for Canadian and for American national interests that the world order:

- Continues to favour respect for international law;
- Promotes states and not non-state or transnational entities as the most important actors in the world;
- Promotes open, transparent global trade; and
- Favours well-run governments that do not create the conditions for mass migrations, conflict and instability in the world that criminal, terrorists and agitators can exploit.

In short, Canada benefits greatly from the status quo in which the US remains a leader in the context of alliance relations that continues to see support for and cooperation with Canada as furthering its national interests and vice versa. Where rebalancing is needed is encouraging the U.S. to remain a powerful but not all-powerful member of the Western community of states leading a rules-based international order that accommodates the legitimate aspirations of other rising major powers, such as China and India.

"Traditionally, Canadians have underestimated the reality of military threats to Canada and to North America"

This means an active United States, not an isolationist Fortress America. This means a U.S. that has the freedom to roam when required,¹² meaning Canada's military must be ready to defend North America. This means renewed attention to Canada's ability to contribute to



continental defence. By that I mean ready and equipped to accompany or to replace the United States in military operations at home and around the world. This requires a serious investment in Canada-U.S. defence relations at the highest levels. Traditionally, Canadians have underestimated the reality of military threats to Canada and to North America, undervaluing the importance of being able to defend against them. Canada, however, is not a “homeguard” for the U.S.; defending Canada is vital as is its ability to act militarily elsewhere in the world. Canada needs both to defend its vital national interests.





CHAPTER 3

EXPEDITIONARY OPERATIONS
FROM THE MIDEAST AND EUROPE TO AFRICA

MICHAEL CESSFORD

ABSTRACT

The significant commitment of Canadian military personnel to a range of international expeditionary operations continues, and potentially will increase, under the government of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. It is worth noting that three major Canadian operations – each nested within a different institutional and command structure (i.e., an anti-Islamic State “coalition of the willing,” NATO, and the UN) and on three separate continents (Asia, Europe, and Africa) – are being, or are about to be, implemented. This chapter discusses the differing dangers inherent in each of these operations and stresses the need for clear and pragmatic strategic oversight by the Government of Canada. These international commitments are less benign than many of those of decades past and, as such, demand close and careful strategic scrutiny by Canada’s leaders. A related point is that these commitments, even in those missions, such as UN operations, which are often motivated by Canadian values, must be linked to national interests and objectives if we are to put our personnel in harm’s way.





The Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) will continue to be defined and shaped by its engagement in expeditionary operations – exactly as it has been throughout its recent history. Over the past 25 years, Canadian prime ministers have demonstrated little hesitation in committing significant elements of the Forces to complex and dangerous missions abroad. It is well worth noting that every prime minister from Brian Mulroney to Stephen Harper has ordered the commitment of Canadian personnel into deliberate and overt combat operations in places as diverse as Kuwait, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Libya, Iraq, and Syria. Add to this the smaller number of equally dangerous peace and stability operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Somalia, and Rwanda (let alone more benign missions such as in Cambodia, East Timor, and Haiti) and you quickly gain a sense of successive governments which, regardless of political stripe or policy focus, are fully prepared to place the women and men of the CAF in harm's way.

The government of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau appears as bellicose as that of its predecessors – if not more so. It is remarkable that in his first year in power, Prime Minister Trudeau added additional troops – albeit in a “non-combat” role - to coalition forces engaged in operations against ISIL in Syria and Iraq, announced the multi-year commitment of over 450 troops to a NATO trip-wire force to be stationed in Latvia and appears likely to confirm, in the near-future, the promised deployment of Canadian Armed Forces personnel to a UN mission



that might well be the most dangerous and difficult of all ongoing operations. While doing so, his government continues to sustain Canadian engagement in military training missions in the Ukraine, Africa and elsewhere as well as modest participation in a range of UN and international missions. Let me offer a few words on each of the three major expeditionary lines of operation in which we are, or about to be, engaged. They are, of course, the anti-ISIL coalition in the Middle East, NATO in Eastern Europe and the UN in Africa.

Operations in Iraq and Syria

The withdrawal of Canadian CF-18 fighter-bombers from operations in Iraq and Syria, early in his government's mandate, was clearly a political gesture as was the subsequent re-branding of Operation IMPACT as a non-combat mission. Semantics aside, the fact remains that Canadian military personnel in the region continue to directly engage and kill Daesh fighters that are deemed to pose a threat to themselves, their allies or civilian non-combatants. In addition, hundreds of other Canadian military personnel are fully integrated within coalition operations, facilitating and supporting air and ground combat missions that have undoubtedly inflicted significant loss on ISIL forces.

The reduction of the ISIL presence in Iraq continues apace although the complete liberation of Mosul will take weeks if not months. The comprehensive pacification of the predominately Sunni regions of the western and northern Iraqi provinces is unlikely in the immediate future. Regardless, the Canadian government must now begin to assess its future role in the region as Iraqi forces increasingly demonstrate their capability to reduce ISIL from an existential threat to, perhaps, a much less dangerous and far more localized insurgency focused on Sunni grievances - albeit one still capable of conducting terrorist attacks across much of Iraq. Iraq's current focus on ISIL as an "external threat" will inevitably shift, if it is to remain a single state, to the challenges of addressing severe internal divisions shaped by generations of religious intolerance and ethnic hatred and distrust. These challenges will not have been made any easier by the formation and current operational commitment - in addition to regular Iraqi military units - of irregular military forces structured by religion and ethnicity. The most important of these forces are the predominately Shia Arab Popular Mobilization Forces and the Kurdish Peshmerga - the latter receiving training, weapons and support from Canadian personnel. This engagement has undoubtedly caught the attention of both Baghdad and Ankara and potentially runs the risk of becoming a political liability to Canada should rapprochement between the Kurds and the Iraqi government prove difficult. In any case, the eventual disarmament, demobilization and reintegration into Iraqi civil society of Kurdish, Sunni and Shia para-military organizations will almost certainly prove exceedingly difficult and will demand a deft political touch if this critical imperative is to succeed. Iranian and, to a lesser degree, Turkish influence in Iraq's internal affairs will not make this task any easier - nor will the current uncertainty as to the future role that will be played by the United States in the region.

As this operational environment evolves Canada should be shaping its transitional strategy now. Continued support to coalition air operations in Syria and Iraq is a viable option that will demonstrate enduring Canadian commitment - although this engagement should be contingent on the development of some form of regional campaign design that will bring coherency and focus to international operations in each country. The Canadian training mission, with its focus on the enhancement of Peshmerga tactical capabilities, is far more problematic



and risks the creation of a force that may be seen as a threat by Baghdad, Ankara and Tehran. Consideration must now be given to the next phase of Canada's operation which might entail the termination of the training mission, its transition to the training of a truly national Iraqi military force or to a training commitment elsewhere in the region.

In any case, it would be dangerous for Canada to withdraw completely from the region on the termination of operations in Iraq and Syria. In terms of strategy, Canada should continue to cultivate a policy of regional strategic engagement that seeks to develop relevant operational capabilities in those countries that are committed to regional stability and security. Jordan is one of these countries as are a number of Gulf States – and Canada's support to these nations would be welcome, useful and likely, as well, to enhance our ability to react to the next flash point in the Middle East.

Canadian Deployments in the Baltic States

NATO has returned to its roots with a vengeance, deploying multi-national troops, soon to include hundreds of Canadians, who will, once again, face a conventionally superior Russian force established just across an international boundary. The difference of course is that the Russians are in their homeland – and, given this, Ottawa should be under no illusions as to the strategic risk inherent in this confrontation. This is not the Inter-German Boundary (IGB) of the Cold War years but rather the Russian border – and this is a much more serious proposition.

"NATO has returned to its roots with a vengeance"

The reason for this concern is obvious. The Cold War stand-off between two super-powers (the USSR and US at the time), insofar as Europe was concerned, was fought with each of these nations enjoying deep strategic depth.

The impact of tactical incidents along the IGB was diffused given the distance from the US and Soviet homelands and this allowed for more measured responses to any incidents or perceived threat escalations. For the Russians, this strategic depth, at least in the area of the Baltic States, has disappeared. The Canadians deployed to Latvia will be less than 500 kilometres from Moscow and even closer to St. Petersburg. This is the tangible manifestation of every Russian leader's worst fear since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The significant numbers of ethnic Russians living in the Baltic States complicate this strategic environment. Approximately one quarter of the populations of Estonia and Latvia are of ethnic Russian descent whose families immigrated to these countries, from the Soviet Union, after the Second World War and who chose not to return to Russia when the Baltic States gained their independence in 1991. The majority of these ethnic Russians have become Estonian and Latvian citizens having passed a citizenship test that confirmed, among other things, their ability to speak the national language and, as well, demonstrate an understanding of their nation's history. However, a significant percentage of these minorities remain "non-citizens" who have either chosen not to become citizens or who lack the ability or will to pass the citizenship test. The number of "non-citizens" in these coun-



tries has steadily declined over the years and will continue to do so but, for the moment, present a potentially useful pretext for Russian interest and interference – either directly or indirectly – in the internal affairs of these two Baltic States.

Finally, the extent of NATO's commitment to the region, particularly following the recent US Presidential election, further adds to the risk inherent in the deployment of Canadian forces to the region. The perception of a lack of determination in Alliance capitals may well tempt Moscow to test NATO resolve and the consequences of a step in this direction cannot be foreseen.

In summary, the strategic calculus in regard to the Canadian deployment to Latvia may well be one of “low probability but high consequence.” Given this, Ottawa must – if it has not done so already – comprehensively “war-game” the range of potential Canadian responses to any negative change to the current strategic environment. Certainly the basing of Canadian ground combat forces on the very edge of the Russian border should rank high indeed among those strategic issues deserving routine and careful consideration by the Canadian government.

Support to UN Operations

At the time of writing, the Canadian government has yet to announce where Canadian civilian, police and military personnel will be deployed in support of UN operations. Regardless, it appears almost certain that this deployment will be into an on-going mission that is both complex and dangerous. The UN mission in Mali, which appears to be the most likely candidate for at least a substantial element of the Canadian deployment, epitomizes both of these characteristics however other candidate missions are not far removed in terms of the challenges and risks they present to our personnel.

At the strategic level, the Canadian government has however made a useful and important linkage between the proposed mission in Africa and our own national objectives and interests. Recent statements by Minister Sajjan, that place Canada's impending commitment to UN operations within the context of the international imperative to address regional terrorism in Africa, mark a level of strategic maturity

"[Minister] Sajjan has made the linkage between our UN commitment and national objectives explicit"

that, on occasion, appeared lacking in the analysis that underpinned our earlier contributions to UN deployments. In some cases, it seemed that the act of contributing Canadian personnel to the UN was more important, in Ottawa, than the deployment itself or the mission's relevance to Canadian national interests. While one might debate whether the mitigation of regional terrorism in Africa is truly in our national interest, Sajjan has made the linkage between our UN commitment and national objectives explicit – and this is all to the good. The modest alignment of Canadian international altruism with our national self-interest is not a bad thing – especially when the lives of our daughters and sons are being put on the line.

The Canadian government should be under no illusions as to its ability, and that of the UN as a whole, to achieve enduring, positive strategic effect in these missions in the near term. Care should be taken by the Canadian



government to avoid hyperbole and to realistically and pragmatically define the operational objectives – beyond the maintenance of a political campaign pledge – that can be attained within specific missions. For example, in Mali, the most important near-term operational objectives would almost certainly be the reinvigoration of the implementation of the moribund peace agreement agreed to, in June 2015, by the Mali government and a number of Tuareg rebel factions. Political success here, enabled by the establishment of a relatively safe and secure operational environment, would, in time, allow for the subsequent enhancement of national and local governance and improvements to the national economy. A clearly articulated focus such as this also has the added benefit of providing Ottawa a clear metric by which to measure the success of its commitment – with success or failure delineating the extent and timeline of Canada’s engagement in the mission.

What can be achieved, at the tactical level, is the overall enhancement of UN force capabilities through the deployment of targeted Canadian “combat multipliers.” A number of UN missions, including Mali, would benefit, for example, from Canadian training in counter-IED techniques – perhaps at a Canadian “Mission School” at which all arriving UN personnel would undergo tactical training relevant to the theatre. This type of training, based on lessons hard-learned in Afghanistan, combined with the provision of specialist equipment, would likely reduce UN and civilian casualties while enhancing the mobility and reach of national and international forces. In short, it is important that Canada not simply augment capabilities already provided by other forces but rather seek to identify those mission-specific “tactical injects” that will achieve real operational effect within the theatre.

Conclusion

With significant numbers of Canadian forces committed, or in the process of being committed, to coalition, NATO and UN operations, there is little doubt as to the Canadian government’s desire to continue to play a major role in addressing key international issues. These expeditionary commitments are important and necessary; isolationism, in a shrinking world, is simply not an option – if it ever was.





CHAPTER 4

NATO AND EUROPE: CANADIAN
STRATEGIC INTERESTS AND MILITARY RESPONSE

ANDREW RASIULIS

ABSTRACT

This chapter provides an overview of the evolving strategic situation in Europe, the role of NATO, Canada's ongoing strategic interests in Europe, and the nature of Canada's military response to support these interests. Understanding Russia will be key in determining how the strategic situation in Europe unfolds in 2017. What is clear is that over time Russia has recovered from the malaise that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union. It has demonstrated its will and capacity to use military force to further its political interests. The evidence lies with Ukraine and Syria. The Canadian commitments to NATO's enhanced defence posture are a relatively significant response to this challenge, both in terms of expenditures and the high operational tempo maintained by the CAF.





Europe and the trans-Atlantic link have formed a cornerstone in Canada's external or foreign relations. Having fully participated in the two World Wars of the 20th century and the Cold War that followed, Europe continues to have direct relevance for Canada. The end of the Cold War did not end history in Europe.

The collapse of the Warsaw Pact in July 1991, followed by the dissolution of Soviet Union itself shortly afterwards in December, ushered in a brief period of euphoria. There was a hope that military confrontation in Europe was finally at an end and a new era of post-historical peace had arrived. It was assumed that this period of peace would be underpinned by Western liberal values of democracy and free market economies. It was also assumed the countries of the former Warsaw Pact and Soviet Union would eventually transform their societies and become fully integrated in this Western conception of Europe.

The security challenges of Europe today are in marked contrast to this supposed future. The unravelling began almost immediately with outbreak of the brutal civil war in Yugoslavia. Rather than peaceful order, active warfare returned to Europe for the first time since 1945. Through the combined efforts of the United States, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the nascent European Union (EU), and post-Soviet Russia, peace was eventually restored with the eventual dissolution of Yugoslavia. In this effort Canada played its full role in both the diplomatic sphere of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the NATO sponsored peacekeeping forces. For Canada, the interest of securing peace was obvious.



While Russia was initially perceived as a cooperative partner in establishing the framework for post-Cold War Europe, cracks emerged in the process of settling Yugoslavia. Russia remained sympathetic to Serbia, in part based on the traditional connection of Slavic nationalism, and to a lesser degree, the Orthodox Church. The West was far less sympathetic.

Within the area of the former Warsaw Pact and Soviet Union, the 1990's witnessed a combination of successful transformation among many states alongside violent conflicts in Georgia, Moldova, Armenia and Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and the Russian Federation itself (i.e., Chechnya). The nature of the internal transformations was also varied. Some states integrated successfully within the EU and NATO, adopting the Western norms/values of democracy and free market capitalism. Others took a more authoritarian approach to capitalism; one controlled by oligarchies.

This cleavage in the evolution of post-Cold War Europe eventually led to the first violent inter-state conflict/war in Europe since 1945. The violent manifestation of this cleavage broke open in Ukraine in 2014. The overthrow of the Yanukovich government, following a decision to move closer to the Russian model rather than the EU ignited the simmering division within post-Cold War Europe. Russia intervened militarily to seize Crimea and to provide support to eastern Ukrainian rebels in the Donbas who opposed greater integration with the West.

In 2017 NATO will be strengthening its defence/deterrence posture along both its Eastern and South Eastern Flanks. Canada will be deploying its forces as part of this endeavour. This is a reinforcement to a series of steps which began at the NATO Wales Summit in 2014 aimed to stabilize the security situation in Europe in light of the open conflict within Ukraine and seizure of Crimea. The specific moves to be taken in 2017 were approved at the 2016 July NATO Summit in Warsaw, and fine-tuned by a subsequent NATO Defence Ministers meeting in the fall of 2016. The election of President Trump in November will have a key impact on how this reinforcement will progress in light of his proposed rethink on relations with Russia, and possibly with NATO itself.

Understanding Russia will be key in determining how the strategic situation in Europe unfolds in 2017. What is clear is that over time Russia has recovered from the malaise that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union. It has demonstrated its will and capacity to use military force to further its political interests. The evidence lies with Ukraine and Syria.

While Russia has moved beyond the failed Soviet economic system of communism and accepted capitalism in lieu, it has defined its own rules and values based on an authoritarian oligarchic system, backed by the Orthodox Church. These are applied both internally within Russia and in the pursuit of Russian interests abroad. Russia was never comfortable with the expansion of NATO and EU within the space of the former Warsaw Pact and Soviet Union. The West saw the expansion as spreading the sphere of stability and prosperity. In contrast, the Russians saw this as a defeat and violation of its historical sphere of influence.

Russia has signaled to the West its differing perception on what the security architecture of Europe should be. Initially, Russian foreign and military policy spoke of defining Russian interests within the "near abroad." This was understood as the former space of the USSR, and to a lesser degree the Warsaw Pact – one that was historically similar to that of Imperial Russia.



In 2008 Russian policy against NATO and EU expansion shifted from words to military action in its brief war with Georgia over the secession of South Ossetia. This was a rehearsal for the much larger scale events in Ukraine

"The Alliance's thrust is balance between deterrence and dialogue with Russia"

in 2013 and 2014. The West was thus faced with a fundamental reassessment of its relations with Russia in light of these events.

In short, deciding on what to do about the war in Ukraine has been the pivotal point of departure in dealing with Russia. Russia has clearly demonstrated through its political and military action that it will not accept Ukrainian integration with the EU and NATO. To this extent, Russia has used military force to reinforce its position. NATO has also clearly demonstrated that, as Ukraine is not a member of NATO, NATO will not engage Russia in a war over the fate of Ukraine.

NATO has taken decisions at both the Wales and Warsaw Summits to deter resurgent Russia from using military force against the Alliance itself. Essentially backing up Article 5 of the Washington Treaty with a series of reassurance measures aimed to give confidence to its more exposed eastern and southeastern member states such as the Baltic States, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria. NATO has also stressed that it does not wish a return to a Cold War (nor a hot war) with Russia and thereby maintains open diplomatic channels for negotiation; in other words, the classic two-track approach.

It is clear at this juncture that the situation in Ukraine must be resolved ultimately through diplomacy leading to some form of political compromise. While NATO and the EU dramatically stepped up their longstanding efforts at Ukrainian reforms across a wide spectrum of activity from military, political and economic, they also supported the diplomatic efforts of France and Germany, along with Russia and Ukraine, to broker a framework for a cease fire in early 2015 under the auspices of the Minsk 2 Process.

While the ceasefire is currently holding, there is slow, if any progress at the diplomatic and political level. The main roadblock to a settlement is the status of the rebel held Donbas region. The Minsk 2 agreement calls for some form of semi-autonomy, elections, and self-government for the Donbas. Once this is resolved, Russia will withdraw its forces from the contested area and Ukraine will be allowed to resume sovereign control over its eastern border with Russia. Thus far, the Ukrainian government has been either unable or politically unwilling to pass the required legislation for semi-autonomy through the Rada. The stalemate continues while work goes on through the Minsk process, supported by the United States, under the auspices of the Normandy Contact Group to find a more permanent solution. The OSCE provides monitors to observe the ceasefire, whereas its diplomats in Vienna also work to assist in the overall search for peace. Canada is active in the OSCE and through this forum is also engaged to in the process.

Another critical variable is the slow process of reform with Ukraine itself. Unlike its post-Soviet Union neighbours in the Baltic States and post-Warsaw Pact Poland, for example, Ukraine lacked the critical mass after gaining independence in 1991 to move forcefully on reforms. Rather it morphed into an oligarchic economic system



similar to that of Russia, albeit more democratic in terms of its values. The West has been extensively engaged in the reform process since the early 1990s with limited success.

For Canada, Ukraine had been since independence, and remains today, a high priority for its international Global Affairs Canada (GAC) directed development assistance programs, as well as for the Department of National Defence's (DND) military cooperation efforts. On the military reform side of the equation, DND's Military Training Cooperation Program (MTCP) established a robust effort in 1993 which was dramatically supplemented by the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) writ large in 2015 under Operation Unifier. Under this operation, approximately 200 CAF personnel were deployed to western Ukraine and Kiev to beef up the long-standing efforts of the MTCP to assist the Ukrainian armed forces in reforms and transformation closer to NATO standards. The GAC programs have been largely targeted at governance reforms – and should continue to do so.

Despite the very substantial efforts by Canada and its NATO Allies and Partners, reform and the battle against corruption remains a paramount challenge for the Ukrainian government. While progress has been made, the resignations in 2016 of two prominent foreign experts brought in by President Poroshenko to steer the reform process illustrates the magnitude of the challenge. The Lithuanian banker, Aivaras Abromavicius resigned as Economy Minister in February and former Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili resigned as Governor of Odessa in November, both frustrated by deeply rooted corruption within the oligarch-run government and economy. In addition, US born banker Natalie-Ann Jaresko had been Finance Minister, but was not invited back into Cabinet when Prime Minister Groysman took the reins in April.

The West is also facing its own internal challenges moving forward in Europe in 2017. The UK referendum to support BREXIT is forcing a self-examination within the EU and the UK and their future relationship. Prime Minister Theresa May has indicated she will move to formally initiate Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty in March, thereby formally triggering the process whereby the UK would leave the EU.

Whatever the outcome of the UK decision on BREXIT, the referendum stirred up long simmering factions within the EU, namely France and Germany, that prefer to have the EU move in a more independent path from NATO and thereby lessen the transatlantic link with the United States. The election of President Trump and his pronouncements on the lack of defence spending by many NATO Allies has provided additional impetus to this challenge.

Nevertheless, there are moderating influences to moves to strengthen the EU defence identity, or even create an EU Army, as has been mooted by France and Germany. For one, as a neutral member of the EU, Austria has indicated it would have great difficulty politically to submit its forces to a central EU military command.¹ Thus far, EU moves in this regard are modest. On 14 November, EU foreign and defence ministers approved a common defence plan but emphasized it does not undermine NATO. EU foreign policy chief Federica Mogherini stated there was no intention to create a EU SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe) style headquarters. However, EU ministers asked the EU's foreign policy service to develop a "permanent" system for coordinating civilian-military measures.² Interestingly, perhaps in light of both President Trump's call for increased defence spending, and the UK decision not to veto as it had done in the past, the European Defence Agency (EDA) re-



ceived its first budget increase after a six-year freeze.

As NATO and Canada enter 2017 there will be a combination of military build up to reinforce NATO's East-

"Canada is...actively deploying its military assets to support common defence objectives"

ern and Southeastern Flank deterrence, discussion on defence spending levels, the EU defence identity, the impact of BREXIT on NATO cohesion, diplomatic efforts to resolve the situation in Ukraine under the Minsk Process coupled with the related issue of economic sanctions against Russia. Canada will continue to have a significant interest in par-

ticipating in these events, which have a direct impact on its trans-Atlantic political, economic (e.g., Canada-European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement [CETA]), and security interests.

Canada will be playing its full part in these events commensurate to its interests and capacities. Militarily, Canada will be ramping up its presence in Eastern Europe as the lead nation for the battalion group deploying to Latvia. Canada had maintained a rotational presence of approximately 220 troops in Poland since 2014 under Operation Reassurance. The Latvia commitment will number approximately 450 Canadian troops, and will be a cornerstone of the NATO plan to have four battalion groups deployed on a rotational basis: in Estonia (UK lead nation), Latvia, Lithuania (Germany lead nation), and Poland (US lead nation). The US is additionally deploying one brigade's worth of tanks in Eastern Europe.

NATO will also be reinforcing its Southeastern Flank in response to Romanian concerns over the magnitude of Russia's military presence in the Black Sea. Canada will be participating in this endeavour by supporting the NATO rapid reaction brigade in Romania with six CF-18 fighter jets, as well as NATO's Black Sea deployments with a naval frigate. Canada currently maintains a frigate as part of its Operation Reassurance package with NATO's Maritime Task Force.

These new Canadian commitments to NATO's enhanced defence posture are relatively significant for Canada politically and economically, especially in terms of expenditures and the high operational tempo maintained by the CAF. The Canadian government's recent announcement to procure 18 new Super Hornet fighters, irrespective of the independent merits of this decision (which has been criticized), at least fits with the general thrust of this air commitment to the NATO brigade in Romania. The government has argued that it intends to meet several fighter commitments simultaneously, which includes North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD), NATO, and possibly other contingent theatres of operation. As such, it now needs to ensure that sufficient aircraft – now and into the future – are at the ready to fulfill such commitments.

As an example, the government's anticipated announcement to deploy further 650 troops to an unspecified African mission or missions will only increase (albeit at manageable levels) operational stress on the CAF. The political upside is that Ottawa will be able to demonstrate to the incoming Trump administration that while Canada's defence expenditures are well below the 2 percent of GDP target for NATO members, Canada is nev-



ertheless actively deploying its military assets to support common defence objectives

Critics of NATO's enhanced deterrence posture argue that these measures are insufficient to necessarily deter a limited Russian military attack against the NATO flanks. Scenarios may be constructed on either side of this argument depending on the assumptions and how the political military situation with Russia evolves in 2017 and beyond. The Alliance's thrust is balance between deterrence and dialogue with Russia to avoid the dire consequences mooted by some.

In Ukraine, the political emphasis will be on the Minsk Process and the need to ultimately resolve that tragic war through a political/diplomatic settlement that will require compromise on all sides party to the conflict. To this end, Canadian diplomatic efforts will continue within the OSCE. Within Ukraine itself, Canada's notable programs aimed at key Ukrainian reforms will also continue. Operation Unifier is set to expire in March 2017. While no Government of Canada decision has yet been announced, one would hope that Canada's military efforts to support Ukrainian defence reforms will rest on its traditional instrument for such efforts – namely under the auspices of the MTCP.





CHAPTER 5

CHINA AND THE INDO-PACIFIC:
DEFINING CANADIAN STRATEGY IN THE REGION

ERIC LERHE

ABSTRACT

The Trudeau government appears intent to follow the pattern of neglect in the Indo-Pacific set by the previous Chrétien and Harper governments. Whereas Canada had meaningful diplomatic engagement and regular naval deployments to the region in the 1990s, its efforts today can be more accurately described as mere “carpetbag diplomacy.” Despite increasing tensions with North Korea, the Indo-China border disputes, the Sino-Japanese conflict over the Senkaku islands, and China’s now illegal claims over the South China Sea, the Trudeau government remains focused on trade without recognizing the underlying importance of stability and freedom of navigation. Instability will likely only increase, especially with President-elect Trump appearing to have little inclination for the US to continue shouldering its traditional role in the region. Canada must now reassess how it will maintain economic ties to this critical area and what it must do reduce the chances of this conflict.





While Canada made several important military deployments in support of stability in the Indo-Pacific region in 2016, the government has avoided any suggestion of providing an enduring contribution. Canada's lack of any sustained presence in the region and the want of any supporting strategy continues in an unbroken line from Chrétien, through Harper, to the new Trudeau government. Our fleeting efforts were recently classified by some informed observers as "carpetbag diplomacy," while former Ambassador to China David Mulroney declared that East Asian states were "scornful of Canada's lack of staying power."¹

This neglect was not always the case. In the 1980-90s, Canada contributed significantly by funding the North-west Pacific Security Dialogue and South China Sea Dialogues, backed by annual multi-ship deployments and our immediate readiness to commit land, sea, and air forces to crises like in East Timor. These efforts cost little and our unwillingness to continue them has, in the view of most observers, cost us membership in the critical forums that manage the region's trade and security.² Given our expanding trade with the region, continuing potential for regional conflict, and the high risk inherent in US President Donald Trump, Canada must assess and then define its military and diplomatic strategy towards the Indo-Pacific.



Regional Problems

With our trade with these fast-growing economies possibly held at risk by the immediate potential for any of the region's ongoing crises escalating to conflict, it is useful to begin this analysis by exploring key regional problems.

Indo-Chinese Border: Tensions remain high, although the last direct military face-off occurred in 2015. India has since created a Himalayan Corps and plans to improve its military road links there, while China maintains between 180,000 to 300,000 troops in the border area. China's arming of Pakistan and its efforts to block India's access to the Nuclear Suppliers Group and its route towards a UN Security Council seat have not helped.

Senkaku Islands: Patrols to this area have decreased. But, in 2016, China still dispatched fifteen government vessels – joined with over 300 fishing vessels – to the disputed waters of these islands.³ The Chinese-declared Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ) over the islands continues to be intentionally ignored by US, Japanese, and South Korean military aircraft. In addition, the Obama administration made clear these islands are covered by the Japan-US Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security. In 2015, the US Pacific Fleet intelligence chief assessed China was preparing for a "short sharp war" with Japan, and the Japanese public seems to be agree; a September 2016 poll showed 80 percent of Japanese thought war could break out over this dispute.⁴

Taiwan: China remains unremittingly tied to the 'One China' policy and backs this up with threats. A recent Defence Research and Development Canada (DRDC) report argues that the "PLA has continued to develop and deploy military capabilities to coerce Taiwan or to attempt an invasion."⁵ If anything, tensions have increased as Taiwan's citizens become increasingly unwilling to support the 'One China' policy.

North Korea: Pyongyang completed its fifth nuclear test in September 2016, earning an even steeper round of UN sanctions, and is expected to continue work on an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) capable of reaching the US. In addition, its short-range missile threat led South Korea to welcome a US Terminal High Altitude Air Defence System (THAAD). China considers THAAD a potential threat to its nuclear deterrent, as it passes critical ICBM flight details to other US defence systems.⁶

South China Sea (SCS): China has traditionally relied on vague assertions of prior occupation and her ill-explained "Nine-Dash Line" to claim and often seize the territory and sea margins of Vietnam, the Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia, and Indonesia. In July 2016, this assertion was completely rejected by the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague in a case initiated by the Philippines over Chinese incursions at Scarborough Shoal – an island group well within the Philippine's UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) mandated Exclusive Economic Zone. The court's findings also made clear China was in violation of UNCLOS for the aggressive behavior of its Coast Guard and much of her island building activities.

China refused to accept the Court's rulings, maintained its claim to sovereignty over Scarborough Shoal, and continued its island building – an ongoing effort that has created over 3,200 acres of basing facilities out of semi-submerged rocks. Most problematic, these facilities now support three large air bases and three complex



surveillance sites, which according to Peter Layton – writing for the Australian Strategic Policy Institute – extends Chinese air power dominance over its neighbors as far south as Borneo.⁷ He also suggests China will then be able to enforce an ADIZ over the SCS, if and when it so desires.

China

Given that China has had a direct (often problematic) role in these disputes, significant effort has gone into divining its strategic intent. The range of views on her motives is quite large, covering everything from justifiable self-defence to world hegemony. On the former, China's island building in the SCS can be explained by the desire to protect the sea lines of communications carrying its trade, now the largest in the world. Indeed, one can look at China's economic strength, which will overtake the US' in the next decade, and predict her military dominance will soon follow. Yet that argument overlooks the fact that its defence spending, admittedly rising at 10 percent a year, is only 35 percent of the US annual outlay,⁸ China must also devote a similar portion to internal security.

"a sophisticated international player who is confident, if not overconfident, in its skills"

Moreover, China's commitment to distant operations – in support of counter-piracy, peacekeeping, hospital ship deployments, and other activities – reveals an understanding of interdependence and the benefits from a stable world order.⁹ Regrettably, these efforts are also sharply offset by its belligerent conduct

closer to home. What her now illegal conduct in the SCS really signals is that China expects a sphere of influence in this region. This was made clear at the 2013 US-China California Summit, with President Xi Jinping suggesting "the vast Pacific has enough space for two large countries like the United States and China."¹⁰ This was not a formula for peaceful coexistence; instead, it was a Chinese proposal to create a sphere of influence for itself in the Western Pacific while leaving the Eastern Pacific to the US.¹¹ The rights of the smaller states in such a construct are doubtful, underscored by the Chinese Foreign Minister's warning to Singapore that "China is a big country and other countries are small countries, and that's just a fact."¹²

The Obama administration attempted to counter that view through public statements and the 'Pacific Pivot' or 'Rebalance.' As President Obama noted in 2015:

Where we get concerned with China is where it is not necessarily abiding by international norms and rules, and is using its sheer size and muscle to force countries into subordinate positions.¹³

The US rebalance relied on a three-pronged effort: significantly increase forward deployed US military forces, engage China in cooperative activities, and offer the region's powers a trading option – the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) – not dominated by China.

By 2016 the success of the US rebalancing was in doubt. Certainly, US interest had been captured by ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) and Russian activities in Ukraine. Moreover, the weak US response to Chinese is-



land building and the limited value of Chinese cooperation in restraining North Korea suggests the rebalancing may have failed.¹⁴ A recent RAND study of Chinese strategic analyses also reveals a complex crisis management process to guide that country through such problem areas as the SCS disputes – one that envisages the ability to plan carefully and even profit from crises. As it notes, Chinese theorists:

have also distinguished between “sporadic” (i.e., unplanned) crises and “nonsporadic” (or preplanned) crises. The latter includes crises manufactured to provide a pretext for war and crises instigated for brinkmanship.¹⁵

This suggests a sophisticated international player who is confident, if not overconfident, in its skills. China’s rejection of the Permanent Court of Arbitration decision also suggests a rather sectorized view of cooperative behavior. And, while US defence spending remains significantly larger, China in turn spends five times the total allocation of her ten South East Asian neighbors.¹⁶

Yet one can credit the rebalancing for significantly advancing military and security cooperation with close US allies and other key states. Japan continues to reinforce its already tight links with the United States, even as it reaches out to other regional players (e.g., Australia) and pushes for the rewriting of its pacifist constitution. Singapore has offered bases to the US Navy, which has begun stationing Littoral Combat Ships there. India has recently declared an “Eastern Strategy” complete with an “Asian Pivot” towards the SCS and has significantly increased cooperation with the US military. Vietnam signed an agreement with Australia on military training. Indonesia hopes to shift its joint exercises with the US Navy to the vicinity of their Natuna Islands because they are perilously close to the Chinese claim. The United Kingdom sent four fighters to reinforce Japan in 2016. Only the Philippines has broken from this trend, largely due to the personal policies of President Duterte.

Of note, Canada, dispatched a frigate (HMCS Vancouver) on a seven-month deployment to the area in 2016, participating in three large interoperability exercises and conducting diplomatic support visits to Japan, Vietnam, Singapore, Australia, and New Zealand. That deployment concluded with her joining the relief effort to New Zealand after the Kaikoura earthquake in November. Canadian engineers also contributed significantly to explosive removal work in the Solomon Islands.

President Trump

President Donald Trump’s comments during the US election and after, especially on security and trade, now casts a pall over much of the US Pacific strategy’s modest gains. Trump’s earlier calls for greater Korean and Japanese military contributions, including his stated readiness to accept their nuclear self-arming, led some to predict region-wide mayhem ranging from the greater potential for climate-based conflict to the increased probability of China opening hostilities with Taiwan.¹⁷

Many of these initial Trump views go directly against long-standing US (and more importantly, US Republican) strategy. Within days of his election, senior advisors downplayed his remarks about potentially withdrawing US forces from Japan or encouraging nuclear arming.¹⁸ Moreover, immediate events also seem to have exerted a temporary moderating effect. Following Japanese Prime Minister Abe’s unscheduled visit with the President–



elect, there were reportedly no further suggestions for Japan to take up nuclear weapons.

With regard to Taiwan, regrettably, no successful effort has been made to restrain the President. When Donald Trump took and openly acknowledged a call from Taiwan's president offering her post-election congratulations, he broke an awkward but necessary 40-year rule for managing relations with mainland China. The response from Beijing was muted but this reticence soon evaporated, especially after Trump's comments on the One-China Policy:

I fully understand the One-China policy. But I don't know why we have to be bound by a One-China policy unless we make a deal with China having to do with other things, including trade.¹⁹

Elements of the Chinese press responded hyperbolically, and after decades of stoking public sentiment on the inviolability of the One-China policy, Beijing must now attempt to control the furious response. This is by no means sure. The reactions of the Taiwanese government to being treated as a bargaining chip are unknown.

Trump's view on these issues will likely not continue to dominate. To govern, his administration will need to replace over 4,100 senior government executives with political appointees; many require Senate approval. Given the tension between the Republican Party and Donald Trump, there is an expectation the party will thus be able to exert a moderating influence although we continue to await hard evidence of this.

However, much damage has already been done. Even before the US election concluded, the Prime Minister of Singapore pointed to Washington's unraveling commitment to the TPP – abetted by President Obama's wavering, Clinton's seeming rejection, and Trump's decision to cancel it on taking office – and asked "how can anyone believe you anymore?"²⁰ Australia and Peru moved immediately to join a Chinese-led trading block.²¹

Canada

Canada has not reacted to the recent US pronouncements on the Indo-Pacific, which is probably a good thing. Eventually a stable US policy for the region will emerge largely because America has enduring interests in the region's security and the trade that underpins her own economic prosperity. Canada has precisely the same interests, and, like the United States, we have long recognized those interests are enabled by a rules-based international order.

We thus need time to think our way beyond our continued aversion to meaningful engagement in the region. For example, Defence Minister Sajjan stated at the Shangri-La Dialogues in 2016: "But Canada can do more. We believe strongly that the biggest contribution to peace and stability in Asia Pacific is open and transparent dialogue." However, there was no suggestion that Canada would do "more" than provide more "dialogue" nor any hint of the problems in the South China Sea, Sea of Japan, or Korea. The TPP was also not mentioned, despite the fact that it was now under threat.²² Thankfully, The Defence Minister did indicate a general readiness for Canada to "reinforce a rules-based international order."

However, the Trudeau government often appears more closely focused on expanding ties to the Chinese government via a bilateral trade agreement and an extradition treaty, to the amazement of many.²³ What does not



seem to be recognized is that our ability to expand trade with China has rested primarily on the stability and freedom of navigation rights underwritten by the US.²⁴ That stability now appears threatened, from the number of potential crises to doubts over US will.

Britain and Australia seem to recognize this possibility. After the US election, the UK Ambassador to Washington announced a follow-up to their deployment of fighters to Japan, by promising an aircraft carrier in 2017.²⁵ Australia, relying heavily on its defence treaty with the United States, also recognizes it must contribute

"There should be no doubt that in the Asia-Pacific that order is now under threat"

significant forces. Australia's current ship and submarine building program will consume over \$90 billion. Some in Australia also argue that the time has come to stop being the "never say 'no' ally" and be more ready to challenge doubtful elements of US security policy.²⁶ It has also been argued that Australia needs to be ready to assist in the creation of a 'new' TPP, but this would be within an effort to broaden trade agreements in the area generally. Finally, an emerging view is that Australia's focus must move beyond its fixation on the ANZUS treaty and, instead, turn to contributing to the larger issue of regional stability, be the US in support or not.²⁷ Much of this will involve increasing the "resilience" of Indonesia and other close neighbors, ensuring they can maintain their sovereignty.

Recommendations for Canada

These ideas offer a wide range of possibilities for a serious Canadian reassessment of its role in the Indo-Pacific. Many of the following recommendations also provide concrete responses to Defence Minister Sajjan's call for Canada to reinforce the rules-based international order:

- The current Canadian government has aggressively pursued trade with China and this should continue. However, it has always been restrained in its endorsement of the TPP.²⁸ If a replacement emerges, Canada needs to vigorously promote it.
- China's contribution to international peacekeeping, humanitarian disaster relief, and counter-piracy offer avenues for cooperation with the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) that should be grasped.
- Canada needs to take a far firmer stand against China's island building in the SCS and its failure to comply with the Permanent Court of Arbitration's decision.
- The CAF can and should reinforce the resilience of many of the Southeast Asian Nations via training missions sourced from our Army, Navy, and Air Force.
- The CAF, and particularly its Navy, should expand interoperability with the like-minded, high-level militaries of Japan, Australia, Korea, and New Zealand.

Both a short- and long-term method of achieving many of the above objectives would be to return to annual



multi-ship naval deployments to the region. In 2017, a two ship group will deploy to the Western Pacific conducting separate exercises with China, Australia, Korea, India, and Singapore while also supporting Canadian diplomatic effort at the Shangri-La Dialogues in that last port. By 2018, three to four ship deployments should be resumed each year, as the Frigate Modernization Project completes and the Interim Oiler Replenishment Ship enters service. Submarines should join. We should also consider the temporary deployment of CF-18 fighter aircraft and CP-140 Aurora surveillance aircraft to these regions in 2017. All these deployments would reinforce and increase interoperability with close allies and expand engagement opportunities with China's military.

Longer-term engagement would involve deploying our submarines to the region for longer periods, joined by CP-140s. If one of the industry-proposed Humanitarian Assistance Disaster Response Ships is leased, it should also be forward deployed during the six-month typhoon season. While our land forces are heavily committed in Iraq, the Ukraine, and the Baltics, headquarters elements should be regularly deployed to UN Command exercises in Korea.

Embarking on many of these initiatives would show Canada's Asian allies that we are committed to both the stability of the region and to its trade. More critically, it would reinforce a rules-based international order that underlined our past prosperity. There should be no doubt that in the Asia-Pacific that order is now under threat.





CONCLUSION

STRATEGIC OUTLOOK FOR CANADA: PLUS CA
CHANGE?

KEN PENNIE

On the occasion of Canada's 150th birthday, it is appropriate to consider Canada's strategic position. Who in 1867 would have imagined the Canada of today? By examining our history, we can see clear trends, but it is much harder to discern strategic trends into the future. How can we imagine tomorrow? Yet if we do not make the effort, we lose an opportunity to influence that future.

Strategy means different things to different people. Edward Luttwak once described seven levels of strategy, nested in a hierarchy. The lower end of the hierarchy is tactical, and the high end is grand strategy. Canada tends to operate at the low end of this spectrum. To politicians and journalists, the next poll is strategic, and the next election is long-term. In strategic terms, this is actually very tactical. Most defence and security capabilities take several years if not decades to develop, so professionals in these areas need to look much further ahead. Military capabilities for example, once built, tend to operate for many decades. Major equipment decisions are important and often strategic. All too often, politicians place party interests ahead of national interests; the short-term trumps the long-term. The strategic deficiencies caused by short-term thinking are compounded when DND experts are muzzled (a trend evidenced by both Harper and Trudeau governments) so that public discourse becomes even less well informed. Thus, the public is unaware of the risk to the country. Canada has never developed high-end strategy which would pull all aspects of national power into a cohesive holistic framework to achieve identifiable outcomes.

In this *Strategic Outlook*, we have an example. When China occupies a deserted rock and builds an airfield, this is intended to influence things for a century. Each aircraft sortie is tactical, but the reach of air and sea power into the South China Sea is strategic. It will clearly support a Chinese grand strategy of extending its influence deeper into the region.

Canada has benefited from geography, but we are no longer living in a brick house far from combustible materials. By the end of the Second World War, Canada arguably had the third largest Navy and the fourth largest Air Force in the world. We rearmed in the 1950s as the Cold War became dangerous; the result was a golden age of diplomacy. This is by no means a coincidence; influence and the ability to act are linked.

But, from the 1960s until today, Canada has had an uneven ability to influence global events. Canada's most recent prime ministers have both trumpeted that "Canada is back." As US President Theodore Roosevelt once famously noted, "speak softly and carry a big stick"; Canada has been doing the opposite. This Outlook points out that Canada has long contributed to international situations to make the world a safer place, but it has often done so at the expense of defending our own country. Any military threat to Canada must come from the air, by



sea, or through cyber. To serve all these ends, Canada needs a more robust capability in these areas.

The *Strategic Outlook for 2017* shows that this matters. There are several long-term trends that are changing the strategic landscape. On the positive side, there is less state-to-state war, and the world is growing wealthier

"Canada faces more risk in the future than in the past five decades"

through trade. There are more democratic governments. On the negative side, the rise in protectionist sentiment could lead to less predictability in the future, yet Canada's GDP is highly dependent on trade. As a northern nation, global warming will mean that our third coast will become more accessible. Over 20 percent of the

globe's resources are said to be in the Arctic, but Canada's Arctic remains undefended. Meanwhile, China continues to grow at an impressive rate. One must therefore ask where will China's ambitions and increased power take it in the next several decades? Russia (our northern neighbor) is resurgent and intent on using military and cyber capabilities as it sees fit; it just created an Arctic command, and NATO is nervous about its threat to Eastern Europe. Yet these moves are seen as defensive by a Russian strategic culture that places high value on having its borders as far away from Moscow as possible. This also has implications for Canada's Northern islands; the fact the Kremlin grabbed Japanese islands in 1945 when the opportunity opened should not be forgotten. The high debt levels among our key allies also creates some fragility that makes them vulnerable to shocks and less likely to tolerate 'free riding.' The resort to violence around the world continues to create troubles that the international community seeks to manage.

Together these long-term trends demonstrate the Canada faces more risk in the future than in the past five decades. This is not the existential threat we faced during the Cold War, but it is growing nevertheless. These risks come from many quarters, including terrorism, cyber, and organized crime, which is like a cancer that has infected much of the world with corruption. Why would Canada protect itself from one threat more than another? By what logic would we protect ourselves against a Russian cruise missile, but allow North Korea a free ride to attack with a ballistic missile? One would think that all Canadians, like the Australians, would demand the ability to defend ourselves. The world understands that democratic governments in particular will change policies on where and when to intervene internationally; the lack of foreign staying power in problematic areas is well understood. A stronger defence capability would provide any government more options to support international interventions.

In military terms, we have had policies that declared we would defend Canada, defend North America with the United States, and contribute to the stability of the world. In fact, this elegant phrasing covers up the reality that for the past five decades we have relied heavily on the American taxpayers to defend us. Notwithstanding fine words, various governments have simply tried to find the lowest level of expenditure for defence and security that the United States and other allies would accept. Real defence policy has been by budget. In 1992, Canada decided to withdraw its NATO stationed forces from Germany; it is symbolic that it announced this in a budget document (on page fourteen).



It will not be easy to develop a holistic strategic framework to guide Canada's efforts to influence the world. There is much to resolve. It would involve cooperation among our political parties to establish some consensus that would transcend the next poll result. It would involve even more 'whole of government' effort. Yet if we do not, how will we continue to thrive as an independent country in a dangerous world? How can Canada best focus our depth in talent and resources to secure our prosperity well into the future? Whatever the result of this debate, there is no doubt it will require increased funding.





NOTES

Chapter 1

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2. Government of Canada, "Canada in the World," Budget 2016, Chapter 6, http://www.budget.gc.ca/2016/docs/plan/ch6-en.html#_Toc446106832.
3. Government of Canada, "Executive Summary," *Securing an Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy* (Ottawa: 2004), vii.
4. See the collection of past Canadian defence policy statements on the Canadian Forces College Virtual Library website, at http://web.archive.org/web/20100731140919id_/http://www.forces.gc.ca/admpol/defence%20policy%20archives.html.
5. As used here, capability refers to the product of equipment, trained personnel, and an effective doctrine for the use of that equipment, by those trained personnel. Capacity means the weight, persistence, and endurance of a capability. One fighter aircraft is a capability. Having one available over the target area for six hours, four days in a row, is capacity.
6. See an interesting article by Vice-Admiral (Ret'd) Drew Robertson that provides his views on Royal Canadian Navy requirements to effectively defend Canada. "Defending Canada in the 2020s," *ON TRACK* 21, 2 (Winter 2016/17), p. 7.
7. Note, I argue that national interests are not the same as values (for example Canada's famous Gray Lecture on values). Vital national interests speak to the continued survival of a state; values describe the aspirational conduct of a state within its borders and in its relations with other states. The military can help to defend national interests with force if necessary. Canadian values are what the Government of Canada (and the military) aim to model.
8. See Articles 2(4) - "all members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force..." and Article 51 - the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence.
9. Section 91 of the CONSTITUTION ACT, 1867.
10. Bob Work, "The Third U.S. Offset Strategy and its Implications for Partners and Allies," as Delivered by Deputy Secretary of Defense Bob Work, Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C., 28 January 2015, <http://www.defense.gov/News/Speeches/Speech>
11. Department of State, "Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action" found at <http://www.state.gov/e/eb/tfs/spi/iran/jcpoa/>.
12. For example, given an hypothetical choice between saving Toronto or North Dakota, who is to say Canada's arguments to save Toronto – an important economic powerhouse and the fourth largest city population-wise in North America – would win over the defence-related arguments to protect North Dakota's Grand Forks and Minot Air Force bases, which could be essential to protecting the US Eastern Coast and parts of Canada if there was a prolonged attack?

Chapter 2

1. With apologies to Raoul Dandurand who stated, "We live in a fireproof house," at the fifth assembly of the League of Nations in 1924. He was the government's leader in the Senate at the time.

10. Canadian defence procurement has – except in times of war – been regarded primarily as an instrument for national industrial and regional economic development. The military application or effectiveness of the purchased equipment has frequently been of less immediate interest.
11. The phrase was coined by Joel Sokolsky. It is the common language and culture of like-minded militaries that exercise, train and fight together lessening national differences for the promotion of shared military experiences.
12. John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of the Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton and Company, 2001).

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1. Herbert Vytiska (translated by Samuel Morgan,) "Divided Austria unites in opposition to EU army," *Euractiv.de*, 15 November, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/security/news/divided-austria-unites-in-opposition-to-eu-army/>.
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 6. Ankit Panda, "What Is THAAD, What Does It Do, and Why Is China Mad About It?" *The Diplomat*, 25 February 2016, <http://thediplomat.com/2016/02/what-is-thaad-what-does-it-do-and-why-is-china-mad-about-it/>.
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