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ON TRACK

THE CONFERENCE OF DEFENCE ASSOCIATIONS INSTITUTE
L'INSTITUT DE LA CONFÉRENCE DES ASSOCIATIONS DE LA DÉFENSE

GLOBAL STRATEGIC LANDSCAPE

SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA

RUSSIA AND THE UKRAINE

MARKETING VIOLENCE

IRAQ AND SYRIA

SUMMER 2015 | VOLUME 20, NUMBER 1
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"THE LONG FIGHT"

PORTRAIT OF COLONEL IAN HOPE

BY GERTRUDE KEARNS

Gertrude Kearns' portrait of Colonel Ian Hope, "The Long Fight," was recently displayed as part of The Art of Command *exhibition in Toronto. This event was the subject of a short article by CDA Institute Research Fellow Dr. Craig Mantle on our* Blog: The Forum. *A longer piece will be featured in the Fall 2015 issue of ON TRACK.*
(Image courtesy of the artist.)

ON TRACK

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Mission Statement. Through the pages of ON TRACK it is the goal of the CDA Institute to promote informed public debate on security and defence issues and the vital role played by the Canadian Armed Forces in society. It is intended that ON TRACK facilitate this educational mandate by featuring a range of articles that explore security, defence, and strategic issues that may have an impact on Canadian strategic interests and on the safety of its citizens. The views expressed in ON TRACK are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the CDA Institute.

ON TRACK est publié par l'Institut de la CAD.

Énoncé de mission. À travers les pages d'ON TRACK, l'Institut de la CAD a pour but de non seulement encourager un débat public éclairé à propos des problématiques concernant la sécurité et de défense canadienne, mais aussi de promouvoir le rôle vital joué par les Forces armées canadiennes dans la société. Nous souhaitons qu'ON TRACK facilite ce mandat éducatif en mettant en vedette une gamme d'articles qui explorent la sécurité, la défense et le domaine stratégique pouvant avoir un impact sur les intérêts stratégiques du Canada et sur la sécurité de ses citoyens. Les points de vues exprimés dans ON TRACK reflètent les vues des auteurs et pas nécessairement ceux de l'Institut de la CAD.

COVER PHOTO: Canadian Forces Combat Camera, DND. View of the sunset from a CF-18 Hornet aircraft during Operation IMPACT in Kuwait on February 1, 2015.

PHOTO DE LA PAGE COUVERTURE: Caméra de combat des Forces canadiennes, MDN. Vue d'un coucher de soleil à partir d'un avion CF18 Hornet pendant l'opération Impact, le 1er février 2015, au Koweït.

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Images from the CDA/CDA Institute 2015 Ottawa Conference on Security & Defence, courtesy of 45eNord.

FROM THE EDITOR

Dr. David McDonough

It is my pleasure to introduce my inaugural issue of ON TRACK as its new Editor.

Unlike in previous years, this issue does not provide a summary of our recent CDA/CDA Institute 2015 Ottawa Conference. Instead, I would like to direct you to the summary already published in the newly revamped Security and Defence Briefing, which will feature many of the newsletter features that previously appeared in ON TRACK.

ON TRACK will instead focus more on providing non-partisan analysis and commentary on security and defence issues. And I am pleased to say this issue is filled with thoughtful and informative articles by experts from Canada and abroad.

This issue has the overaching theme of the "Global Strategic Landscape," and fittingly begins with an Editorial by CDA Institute Executive Vice-President **Ferry de Kerckhove**, who sets the stage by providing an analysis of Canada's strategic outlook – based on his recently released and very well received CDA Institute study, The Strategic Outlook for Canada 2015: The Eclipse of Reason.

To assess Europe's response to Russia's revanchist and aggressive behaviour in Ukraine, we are pleased to have an article by **Henry Boyd and Giri Rajendran**, Research Associates at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in the UK. Further analysis of Putin's "script of violence" is offered by the CDA Institute's own Analyst Lindsay Coombs.

Counter-terrorism cooperation has increased across the continent to counter jihadists from Nigeria to Somalia – an important development explored by **Eric Muller**, Junior Fellow at the Centre for Security Governance in Kitchener.

The Middle East continues to be a hotbed of instability, no more so than across Syria and Iraq, where an international coalition is combating Islamic State extremists amidst failed and failing states. **Dr. Rod Thornton**, Associate Professor in Defence Studies at King's College London, offers a helpful primer on the shifting political dynamics among the Kurds in that conflict. Clingendael's Senior Research Fellow **Erwin van Veen** examines the franchising model currently being pursued by the Islamic State.

Canada's own participation in the global coalition's operations in Iraq/Syria is the subject of the article by **Dr. Stephen Saideman**, Paterson Chair in International Affairs at Carleton University. Further context to this most recent combat operation is offered by **Dr. Peter Kasurak**, who provides an overview of Canadian interventionism in the post-Cold War period.

Many observers have long bemoaned the absence of a Canadian national security strategy to confront this strategic environment. This is the topic of the next article by **Dr. Peter Layton**, a Fellow at the Griffiths Asia Institute in Australia, who offers a comparative angle by looking at British and American security strategies. **Dr. Andrew Davies**, Director of Research at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, provides another comparative approach by assessing how Canadian defence spending and recapitalization efforts measure up vis-à-vis Australia.

Our final two articles delve into issues concerning the Royal Canadian Navy. **Ken Hansen**, a research fellow at Dalhousie University's Centre for Foreign Policy Studies (CFPS), assesses the future of the naval reserve. He is joined by **Tim Choi**, a doctoral student at the University of Calgary, who makes the case for the planned Arctic Offshore Patrol Ships.

This issue concludes with books reviews by **Dr. Sean Clark**, a Research Fellow at Dalhousie's CFPS, and retired Pakistani Army officer **Adnan Qaiser**.

I hope you find the contents of this issue of ON TRACK informative and interesting. Also, as you await for the next issue, I would suggest that you peruse the CDA Institute Blog: The Forum, which has emerged as a timely online source of short articles and opinion pieces.

Sincerely yours,
David McDonough, PhD

LE MOT DU RÉDACTEUR

Dr David McDonough

C'est avec grand plaisir que je vous présente la première édition d'ON TRACK en tant que son nouveau rédacteur en chef.

Contrairement aux années précédentes, cette édition n'inclut pas un résumé de notre récente CAD / l'Institut de la CAD 2015 Ottawa conférence. Cependant, je tiens à vous diriger vers le résumé présentement publié en ligne sous la section du nouvellement remaniée Fiches de Sécurité et de Défense, qui met en vedette de nombreux aspects qui apparaissaient auparavant dans la revue *On Track*.

D'autre part, ON TRACK fixera davantage sur la prestation d'analyse non partisane et des commentaires entourant les problématiques de la sécurité et la défense. De plus, je suis heureux de vous annoncer que cette édition inclut de nombreux articles éducatifs rédigés par des érudits du domaine, provenant du Canada et de l'étranger.

Le thème principal de cette édition explore le paysage statégique mondiale et débute avec un éditorial provenant du Vice-Président Exécutif de l'Institut de la CAD **Ferry de Kerckhove**, qui ouvre la voie en fournissant une analyse des perspectives stratégiques du Canada, basé sur son étude récemment publiée: Les Perspectives stratégiques pour le Canada 2015: L'éclipse de la Raison.

De plus, nous sommes heureux de publier un article par **Henry Boyd et Giri Rajendran**, associés de recherche au «The International Institute for Strategic Studies», qui évalue la réaction de l'Europe vis-à-vis le comportement revanchard et agressif de la Russie en Ukraine. Également, notre Lindsay Coombs, analyste à l'institut de la CAD, offre une analyse en profondeur des actes de violences commis par Poutine.

La coopération antiterroriste accroît à travers l'Afrique, afin de combattre les djihadistes parmi ce continent – **Eric Muller**, «Junior Fellow» au «Centre for Security Governance» à Kitchener, explore ces développements importants.

Le Moyen-Orient continue d'être un foyer d'instabilité, particulièrement à travers la Syrie et l'Irak. D'ailleurs, malgré être entouré d'états en déliquescence, une coalition internationale lutte contre les extrémistes d'État Islamique. **Dr Rod Thornton**, professeur agrégé en études de défense au King Collège de Londres, propose une amorce utile à-propos des politiques dynamiques des Kurdes qui fluctuent au sein de ce conflit. Aussi, **Erwin van Veen**, «Senior Research Fellow» à l'institut Clingendael, examine le modèle de la franchise actuellement perpétué par l'État islamique.

La participation du Canada dans les opérations de la coalition mondiale en Irak / Syrie est le sujet de l'article rédigé par le **Dr Stephen Saideman**, Président en Affaires internationales à l'Université Carleton. Dans le même ordre d'idées, **Dr Peter Kasurak**, offre également un aperçu de l'interventionnisme du Canada dans la période post -guerre froide.

De nombreux observateurs ont longtemps déplorés l'absence d'une stratégie de sécurité nationale canadienne afin de confronter cet environnement stratégique. D'ailleurs, tel est le thème de l'article par le **Dr Peter Layton**, chercheur au «Griffiths Asia Institute» en Australie. Dr Layton offre un angle comparatif entre les stratégies de sécurités britanniques et américaines. **Dr Andrew Davies**, directeur de la recherche au «Australian Strategic Policy Institute», fournit une approche comparative différente puisqu'il évalue les diversités parmi les manières dont le Canada et l'Australie gèrent leurs dépenses pour la défense nationale et leurs manières de recapitaliser.

Nos deux derniers articles introduisent des problèmes concernant la Marine Royale Canadienne. **Ken Hansen**, chercheur au «Dalhousie University's Centre for Foreign Policy Studies (CFPS)» évalue l'avenir que fait face la réserve navale. **Tim Choi**, étudiant au doctorat à l'Université de Calgary, joint Mr Hansen afin d'aborder le sujet des navires de patrouille extracôtiers prévus.

Cette édition conclut avec des critiques de livres par le **Dr Sean Clark**, chercheur au CFPS de Dalhousie, et par **Adnan Qaiser**, officier de l'armée pakistanaise à la retraite.

J'espère sincèrement que le contenu de cette édition d'ON TRACK vous semblera informatif et intéressant. De plus, pendant que vous patientiez pour notre prochaine édition d'ON TRACK, j'incite que vous vous dirigiez vers le Blogue: Le Forum; qui a été créé en tant que source en ligne temps regroupant de courts articles et des articles d'opinion.

Cordialement,
David McDonough, Ph.D.

EDITORIAL

CANADA'S STRATEGIC OUTLOOK IN 2015

by Ferry de Kerckhove

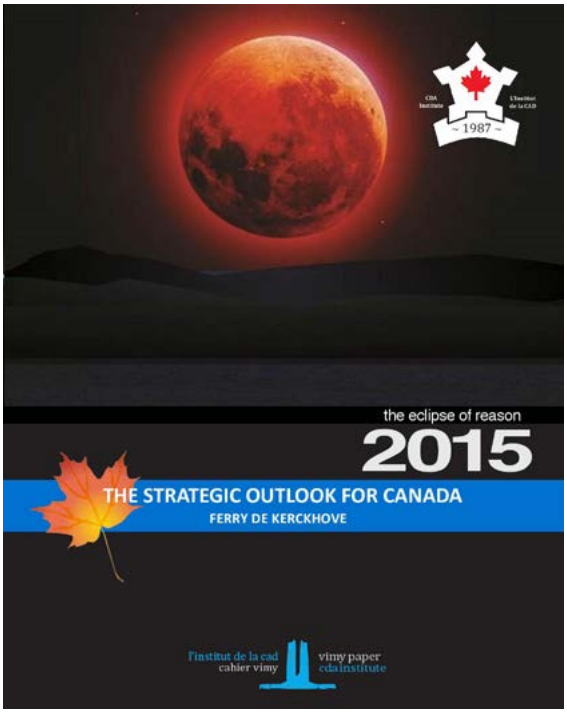
More than a few months have passed since the release of the CDA Institute's yearly publication, the *Strategic Outlook for Canada 2015*, which I had the pleasure of authoring. It is too early to say if the analysis was either on the money or off base but, as the Government of Canada commits itself further in the anti-ISIS mission in both Iraq and Syria, while ramping up its engagement in support of Ukraine and other countries neighbouring an aggressive Russia, it is worth reminding readers of some of our conclusions.

First, recent events have shown Canadians the critical role of their government in providing for the defence, security, and safety of its citizens. Russia and the self-proclaimed Islamic Caliphate are but two – albeit dominating – challenges or threats currently facing the world. They have also come at a time of hampered or reduced leadership, flailing institutions, eroding confidence by the people, and rising extremism.

The paradox facing Canada is that while our government increases its defence commitments, it fails to articulate both a clear and coherent foreign policy as well as a defence policy geared towards providing an adequate armed force tasked with defending Canada's sovereignty and territorial integrity, contributing to North America's joint protection against external threats, and participating in expeditionary missions abroad.

Such absence of a clear strategic policy framework made short work of the early pledges by the Government to build a stronger Canadian Armed Forces (CAF). That promise was sacrificed on the altar of the decision to balance the books by the time of the next election. This is very worrisome as our forces are being operationally extended exactly at the time when their capabilities and readiness are under increasing stress due to cuts and freezes to the operating funds.

The good news about some of the procurement decisions such as plans for the Arctic Offshore Patrol Ships, the Canadian Surface Combatants, and ongoing upgrades to the Halifax-class frigates cannot hide the fact that the Navy enters 2015 significantly weakened, the Air Force has seen its ageing fleet of CF-18 aircraft extended further while awaiting a decision on their replacement, and the Army remains both under-equipped and under-manned.



The figures speak for themselves. The 2008 Canada First Defence Strategy (CFDS) has never received the government's promise of stable funding. Rather, it has seen steadily greater cuts. The Canadian media has discovered with amazement that the defence budget is now smaller in inflation-adjusted terms than it was in 2007. Despite a commitment within the CFDS that additional pressures would be funded separately, this has not happened and it will cause a displacement of other CFDS commitments.

Capital spending has declined over the last four years, in part due to an inability to replace major equipment, leaving a staggering 25 percent of funds budgeted for capital spending unspent for each of the last four years, to the tune of roughly $1 billion a year of its available funds. Today, capital spending is at the lowest level as a proportion of the defence budget since 1977/78 – a declining share of a declining Department of National Defence (DND) budget. This is why one constantly hears reference to potential rust out.

Furthermore, any deferral of equipment purchases entails significant decrease of purchasing power over time due to inflation. Adding insult to injury, DND is facing a shortage of staff, military or civil servants, with the right training and experience to effectively implement its reduced procurement program. We can only repeat that continued deferrals and delays in procurement will create a

HMCS Fredericton conducts a liquid replenishment at sea with a German supply ship during Operation *Reassurance* on 30 April 2015. (Image credit: Canadian Forces Combat Camera, DND.)

huge bow wave within 10 years, creating a demand that will have to be resourced, unless we are prepared, as a nation, to allow the CAF's capacities to be further reduced.

The list of procurement deferrals includes, among others, expensive pieces of equipment such as the new fighter aircraft, the replacement of the Auroras; a negative trend compounded by delays affecting, for example, the Joint Supply Ships, the Cyclones helicopters, and recent project cancellations.

The bottom line is that we are entering a period of continued decline, diminished CAF capabilities and capacities, less training and lower output, with consequently reduced influence on the world stage and weakened contribution to our own security, domestic and international. This is not where a G-7 country with Canada's interests would wish to be.

The key question which needs to be answered is simple: Is it right for Canada that financial constraints drive strategy and not the other way around? The answer should be a resounding "no"! But to substantiate it, a full, independent, transparent rethink is absolutely essential. But any rethink must look at all our instruments of influence, not just defence, hence the call for a foreign, trade, aid, security as well as defence policy review in order to present a unified vision of Canada's role in the world and of the requirements, globally, to exercise it.

The consequences of all this should be made clear to Canadians. Indeed, although defence will not be very much of an election issue, it does not mean that Canadians don't want effective armed forces. But convincing them we are on the wrong path will take ownership of the issue by the political parties. Canadians have to be given an opportunity to tell their leaders what do they want Canada to do in the world, and how!

From a defence perspective, it is crucial that a National Security Strategy emerge from the overarching review. Why? Of course one cannot predict the future. But there is not a chance in a million that the next 10 years will not call upon further Canadian contributions to shape outcomes of new crises. That is why a full defence framework is required. Right now, we are playing with fire by having our men and women in uniform doing a stellar work in two distant places without being sure that over time we can guarantee timely rotations, effective maintenance, and maximum protection. The Canadian Armed Forces have to know that their government will produce a long term investment plan but will also avoid further deferrals and delays in procurement.

Planning for defence cannot be left to happenstance. We all know that the evolving international environment has become exceedingly complicated in a day and age when non-state actors appear to defy the increasingly frail world order.

This is not the time to lower our guard! ■

Ferry de Kerckhove *is Executive Vice-President of the Conference of Defence Associations Institute and Senior Fellow at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Ottawa. A retired diplomat, he was the former High Commissioner of Canada to Pakistan and Ambassador to Indonesia and Egypt. This Editorial is based on his recently released* Strategic Outlook for Canada 2015.

WHEN THE CUPBOARD IS *BEAR*: NATO EUROPEAN DEFENCE RESPONSES TO RUSSIA

by Henry Boyd and Giri Rajendran

Russia's actions in the Ukraine have forced NATO European policy makers to grapple with their most serious collective security challenge since the end of the Cold War; at the same time as financial crisis driven fiscal consolidation on a near-continental scale continues to exert significant downward pressure on the region's defence spending. With divergent strategic priorities and budgetary impulses within the European membership of the alliance, the net result has thus far been an underwhelming and diverse series of individual national responses to the Russian threat. When aggregated together at the NATO level, these exacerbate longstanding concerns over institutional bottle-necks that hinder swift collective decision-making, thereby diminishing the credibility of alliance deterrence against Russia.

The Centrality of Collective Action to Credible Alliance Deterrence

A glance at the headline statistics might leave the casual reader puzzled as to where perceptions of European defence weakness with regard to Russia stem from. Even after decades of decline, the twenty six European members of NATO still spend nearly four times as much on defence per year as Russia does (US$265 billion against US$70 billion in 2014 respectively), and collectively have more than double Russia's active manpower and approximately double the number of tanks, other armoured fighting vehicles, heavy artillery, and tactical aircraft.[1]

However, these statistics mask a traditional weakness of military alliances: although when taken together the European members of NATO outmatch Russia in terms of conventional arms and spending levels, Russia is conversely more than a match for any single European member individually. Russia's centralized, authoritarian decision making process also gives it an inherent advantage when compared to the naturally more cumbersome processes of NATO. Thus, in order to produce credible military options at the level of capability required for a Russian scenario, it is imperative that NATO's members co-operate and are able to respond collectively in a swift and decisive manner to unpredictable contingencies as they arise. This requires efficient, well-informed NATO institutions tasked with rapid decision-making and able to mobilize resources at short notice.

However, present strategic and financial circumstances currently make the realization of an institutional framework capable of this degree of co-operation challenging, as individual members differ significantly in their strategic assessments of the relative priority to be accorded to deterring Russia, and over the level of resourcing their public finances will allow them to devote towards responding militarily to this threat.

Differing Strategic and Financial Geographies in Europe

Whilst Russia's willingness to use military force against its neighbours poses an indirect threat to all European countries by undermining one of the norms of post-Cold War European security, the salience of the Russian threat broadly divides European defence establishments on an East-West basis – with those states closest to Russia understandably putting a higher priority on the threat as compared to their colleagues further West, whose strategic geography makes them more concerned with instability in North Africa, for example, from which they are more likely to suffer negative spill-over effects.

At the same time, the distribution of defence budgetary reductions across Europe has not been equal. Although the 2008 financial crisis has affected defence spending across all of Europe to some extent, it has been significantly more severe for Southern European countries, such as Greece and Spain, than Northern European states. Cumulative real defence budgets fell by close to 20 percent in Southern Europe and the Balkans between 2010 and 2014, as compared to small increases of around 5 percent observed in Northern Europe over the same period. Taken together, these two distributions mean that the European defence responses to Russian revanchism fall into three broad geographic categories:

In the **Northeast of Europe**, strong perceptions of a Russia threat combine with a relative strong degree of available resourcing to address the problem. This region has therefore seen the most obvious national responses. The three Baltic States, by some distance the most

Sweden's Vispy-class corvette was used in the hunt for Russia's suspected submarine in 2014. (Image credit: Xiziz (talk) via Wikimedia Commons.)

vulnerable alliance members to the threat of Russian military action, have been re-calibrating their defence policies since the Georgia War of 2008. The Ukraine crisis has added new impetus to these measures, with Lithuania announcing a return to military conscription[2] to bolster manpower and Estonia[3] and Latvia[4] seeking to modernize their armoured vehicle fleets.

Poland's renewed emphasis on territorial defence also predates 2014, again focusing on the modernization of armoured vehicle fleets and the air force's precision strike capability.[5] In Norway, concerns over increased Russian air activity in the Baltic and Arctic regions are rising. And even though it was one of the few states in Europe that raised spending post-2008, increasing real outlays by nearly 8 percent between 2010 and 2013, in May 2014 Norway augmented spending again by around 2 percent relative to 2013 (US$150 million approximately). Its 2015 defence budget was a further 3.5 percent increase over 2014 levels. Both Estonia and Poland are already spending around (or close to) 2 percent of GDP on defence, and since the onset of Russian actions in Crimea in February 2014, Latvia, Lithuania, the Czech Republic and Hungary have all announced (in several cases multi-year) defence budgetary increases. However, these states collectively account for only around 5.5 percent of NATO European GDP, so the effect of these increments on total alliance defence outlays is likely to be limited.

NATO's Southern European members in the Mediterranean and the Balkans have been hardest hit by the financial crisis, with defence spending falling from an already low 1.4 percent of GDP in 2010 to 1.2 percent in 2014. The Mediterranean states are also the most exposed to threats from the other end of the arc of instability (North Africa, the Levant and Iraq) which consequently weigh more heavily with their policy makers than events in the East. Even where the will exists in these states to contribute to new alliance activities, the pressure on resourcing – with gross debt-to-GDP ratios at or above 100 percent of GDP in Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal for example – means that it would not be wise to expect much in the way of increased activity.

If the North Eastern members of NATO do not have the resources to reliably deter Russia alone, and the Southern members lack either the resources or the will to make significant supporting contributions in the near term, then the **traditional NATO heartland in North Western Europe**, particularly the big three of France, Germany and the UK, are cast as the effective 'swing voters.' Prior to the Ukraine conflict, all three had prioritized their shrinking levels of defence resourcing on expeditionary power projection, and humanitarian intervention capabilities, deeming traditional threats to territorial security as unlikely. In recent months, both Germany and France have introduced defence spending upticks into their multi-year budgetary frameworks (in the case of the latter this was in response to the January 2015 Charlie Hebdo attacks), but it is likely that, even with announced increases, their defence outlays will continue falling as a proportion of GDP to the end of the decade. Meanwhile, the UK will almost certainly fall below the NATO target of 2 percent on defence spending in 2016.

Political and Institutional Shortcomings in NATO's Collective Response

NATO's 2014 Wales Summit, and the Readiness Action Plan (RAP) that emerged, represented the alliance's initial attempt to combine these individual outlooks into something resembling coherent collective action. The centrepiece of this work involves reforms to the existing NATO Reaction Force (NRF). This had previously been configured as a

13,000 strong force, including a combat brigade of around 5,000 personnel, and was intended for out-of-area operations at 5 to 30 days' notice-to-move. The RAP envisages an expanded force of 30,000, with the existing combat brigade being used as the basis for a new brigade-sized Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF) capable of deploying in 2 to 5 days and two more brigades at lower readiness intended to act as follow-up forces.[6]

While still relatively small, this force, with its increased readiness, is probably the best that could be expected under the circumstances, and does represent a genuinely improved capability with regard to deterring limited Russian action against NATO member states. Unfortunately, however, there has been no apparent parallel improvement in the political will and the institutional decision-making framework needed to efficiently and effectively utilise such a capability. Authorization for the deployment of the VJTF would be the same as it is currently for the NRF itself – consensus opinion amongst the 28-state North Atlantic Council (NAC).[7] Given that the circumstances under which deployment of the VJTF would be considered are not likely to be clear-cut (since it is in Russia's interests to see that they are not), the time taken to achieve such consensus, assuming it is even possible, may well render the improvements to the physical capability to respond effectively null and void.

The two most obvious solutions to this problem are both politically problematic for all or part of the alliance, and therefore highly unlikely to be implemented. The most straightforward approach would be to forward base the VJTF in Eastern Europe, ideally in the Baltic States themselves. This would have the advantage of rendering questions of commitment and contested access moot. It would however, contradict NATO's commitments to Russia in the 1997 NATO-Russia Founding Act, in which NATO stated its intention to "carry out its collective defence and other missions by ensuring the necessary interoperability, integration, and capability for reinforcement rather than by additional permanent stationing of substantial combat forces."[8] Whilst there is an argument for suggesting that Russia's recent actions have rendered this document obsolete, some NATO members (notably Germany) remain reluctant to abandon it.[9]

An alternative suggestion would be delegating operational authority for the VJTF to the military – specifically NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR). Such a move would echo a debate from NATO's Cold War past, when successive SACEURs argued that there was an operational requirement for elements of NATO's nuclear weapons to be placed under their authority. At the

US Secretary of State John Kerry with NATO Secretary-General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Pavlo Klimkin, and their fellow Foreign Ministers at a special Ukraine discussion meeting at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, Belgium on 25 June 2014. (Image credit: US Department of State.)

time civilian authorities felt that handing responsibility for such a highly political act (i.e., the decision to use nuclear weapons) was deeply undesirable, and the dispute remained unresolved (and thankfully untested) for the duration of the Cold War. Given that the decision to commit NATO forces to action against Russia would also likely be a politically sensitive and contentious decision, it is unsurprising that the subject of pre-delegation remains just as contentious, and just as unresolved today.

Assuming that both of the above suggestions remain political non-starters, then efforts must be made to streamline the NAC approval process for action as far as possible to mitigate its drawbacks. One possibility would be for all member states, particularly those for whom parliamentary approval would be required for military action, to politically 'pre-approve' the employment of the VJTF under certain circumstances. This would help to reduce the time required for deliberation and consultation by the NAC and serve to some extent to ward off attempts by Russia or other external powers to try and undermine NATO unity.

Conclusion

Although the United States has taken steps to halt its gradual withdrawal of military capability from the European theatre – with more exercises and larger rotational deployments of forces from the US – it is clear that no return to Cold War levels of American force commitment can be expected. The burden of European security now falls primarily on European countries themselves.

The establishment of the VJTF marks progress towards developing the capabilities required, although there is still more work to do is this regard. However, in order to exercise an effective deterrent, Europe's military options must be not just capable, but credible as well. In order to achieve this, European states must overcome their pre-occupation with other strategic and budgetary concerns and generate the collective political will to calibrate the institutional infrastructure within the alliance to allow for swift decision-making. This will clearly not be easy but, faced with Russia's demonstrated ability to rapidly act at multiple levels to achieve 'facts-on-the-ground' before adversaries are able to respond, will be absolutely essential. ■

Henry Boyd *is the Research Associate for Defence & Military Analysis at The International Institute for Strategic Studies. His work covers defence policy, force structure and equipment holding information for a variety of countries and regions, including Europe and Russia.*

Giri Rajendran *is the Research Associate for Defence & Economics at The International Institute for Strategic Studies. His research areas include coverage of defence economics issues such as macroeconomics and defence budget trends, defence industrial policy and global arms trade and procurement developments.*

Notes

1. Statistics from *The Military Balance 2015* (London, UK: Routledge, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2015).

2. BBC, "Lithuania to reintroduce conscription over security concerns," 24 February 2015, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-31607930.

3. Eesti Rahvusringhääling, "Estonia to buy 44 combat vehicles from Holland in largest procurement ever," 27 November 2014, http://news.err.ee/v/main_news/cef6d9c6-ee55-4bb2-abaa-7cfb3af22959.

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RUSSIA AND THE UKRAINE: NEUTRALIZING THE 'SCRIPT OF VIOLENCE'

by Lindsay Coombs

When examining the recent conflict in the Ukraine, it is evident that Russian President Vladimir Putin has created a metanarrative which combines various aspects of organized violence into a single dialogue; he has created a "script of violence."[1] This script, or strategic narrative, is essentially the explanation of actions both before and after conflict.[2] By analyzing the strategic narrative that Putin has constructed to intimidate his international and regional opponents, one can discern that Western engagement strategies of appeasement and the avoidance of confrontation will not halt Russia's encroachment of Ukraine. Consequently, those opposed to Putin's actions and threats must seek other ways to obstruct Russian advances in the region.

Putin's strategic narrative is defined by both conventional and unconventional warfare, aggressive positioning, information operatives, and crafty public diplomacy. Russia has proven very adept at utilizing intricate methods of hybrid warfare in Ukraine in order to wage a limited war designed to achieve specific objectives. This is evidenced through Russian covert military actions – the deployment of so-called "little green men" – in Ukraine to support pro-Russian rebels, as well as the forward deployment of Russian military forces along the border. Although the latter was labeled a "training exercise," the majority of Western nations viewed this maneuver as an aggressive positioning of Russia's military.

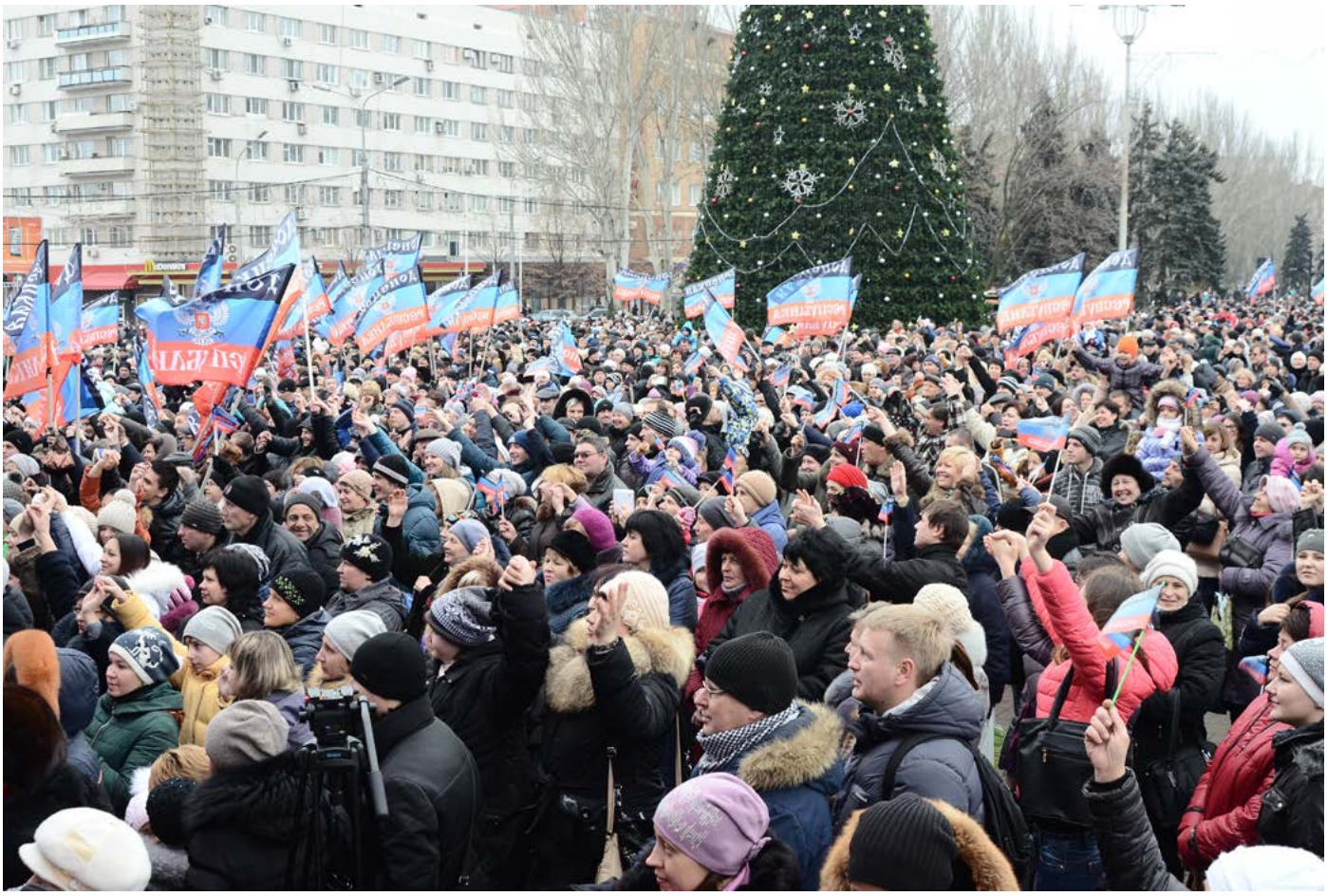
Moreover, covert Russian military operations both aided and exploited ethnic Russians in Ukraine by reinforcing the perceived injustices supposedly carried out by the government in Kyiv. Essentially, Putin's external sponsorship of the rebel cause has provided the "motivation, resources, and support to people attempting to destabilize international and regional security."[3] In doing so, Putin has further advanced his strategic projection of himself as the protector of all Russians and, as illuminated upon by analyst David Maxwell of Georgetown University, strengthens his objective of disrupting and subsequently overthrowing the current Ukrainian government.[4]

Arguably Russia has engaged all aspects of national power in order to enhance Putin's overarching strategic narrative. For example, hybrid warfare initiatives have been utilized as a rather prominent supporting element to Russian strategy and receives a great deal of attention. But they must be placed alongside the public diplomacy and informational activities also being exercised by Russian elites. For all intents and purposes, Russian public diplomacy and information initiatives are synonymous with aggressive propaganda – something that has long characterized the Russian way of war. This methodology turns Clausewitz on his head, in which diplomacy becomes a continuation of conflict by other means.

For many years Russia has allocated millions of dollars to various public diplomacy related projects in an effort to influence Russia's international image.[5] With regards to the conflict in Ukraine, Russia has been actively manipulating the political and ideological context of the conflict in order to advance Putin's narrative. By saturating domestic airwaves with state funded television channels which purport that "the violence in eastern Ukraine is all Kiev's fault, that Ukraine is crawling with Russia-hating neo-Nazis and fascists, and that it's the US government which is fuelling the crisis behind the scenes," Putin has effectively ensured that the majority of the domestic populace views Russia as the peacemaker.[6] Ultimately Russian state television has helped manufacture a strategic narrative in which Putin's actions are just and in the best interest of the country.

As illustrated by Putin, the creation of a strategic narrative is important in effectively proposing to its targeted audience – in this case ethnic Russians – a structure through which to interpret elite actions.[7] Thus, the degree of success of a script of violence is deeply entrenched in the extent to which elites have managed to unite potentially conflicting narratives into a single strategic framework that has an impact on all involved, directly or indirectly.[8]

Arguably, Putin has been rather successful in this endeavour, pitting ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Russians against one another. Additionally, Putin has effectively fueled Russian patriotism, enabling him to maintain his aggressive geopolitical stance



Pro-Russian supporters rallying at Donetsk, Ukraine on 20 December 2014 (Image credit: Andrew Butko via Wikimedia Commons.)

despite Western sanctions. He has focused on specific chosen traumas and historical grievances, citing the transfer of Crimea to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1954, to justify his antagonistic endeavors. Due to the fact that Putin's script of violence has created opportunities and inflamed grievances, it is perceived by his targeted audience that rebellion is the best option – that what one stands to lose by not participating in violence is greater than what one gains by partaking in it.

The West's current military responses – from the recent military exercises of NATO forces taking place in the region to training assistance and equipment transfers to Ukraine – have proven somewhat effective, but in and of themselves will not cause Putin to set aside his ambitions. In order to negate Russia's strategic narrative, Western involvement should be expanded to move beyond these limited military operations and include other tools of statecraft, such as diplomatic engagement, informational activities, and economic pressure, which can together construct a dominant metanarrative capable of eroding the script of violence. This is advocated by Emile Simpson, an academic in the realm of international relations and military studies, who opines "when a strategic audience stops identifying with the state's strategic narrative, the inter-state paradigm of war starts to break down."[9]

First and foremost, through both bilateral and multilateral initiatives, the international community must create the conditions that facilitate the erosion of Putin's narrative. Tacit Western involvement will not overcome the metanarrative that Russia has created. However, this does not imply a purely military solution, but rather a continued display of regulated and incremental military resolve in order to mitigate the potential of prematurely provoking Russian forces and to prevent reinforcing Putin's script of perceived grievances, propelled by opportunity. At the same time an indication of military resolve will assist with setting conditions for other types of engagement.

Canadian and other allied forces are currently conducting training exercises like NATO's Operation *Reassurance* in Eastern Europe and the Baltics. Furthermore, individual countries are providing training assistance and equipment to strengthen Ukrainian security forces in order to stabilize the country's domestic security situation and ensure the region does not splinter in a similar fashion to Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Nonetheless, strategies revolving

around military tactics must continue to be limited in scope in order to ensure that confrontation is not provoked between Russian and Western forces. Such a conflict would have unpredictable consequences.

Over the past year diplomatic attempts to alleviate the situation in Ukraine have intensified, yet formal negotiations to diffuse the conflict remain stalled. It appears as though Russia has no clear intentions to abandon its script of violence and engage in creating a strategic roadmap to a sustainable ceasefire. This is why public diplomatic engagement with Russia needs to be increased through bilateral and multilateral efforts on both regional and international levels, with the resultant effect being the creation of a stronger dialogue of public diplomacy than the one Putin is sustaining.

For instance, UN efforts could be increased to involve the global community. Expanded German bilateral engagement with Russia may also prove to be critical in resolving this conflict, although these efforts should be combined with multilateral endeavours by groups of states or international organizations. Importantly, NATO's diplomatic engagement should play a supporting rather than primary role, particularly since it was the alliance's recent expansion that represents one of the key points of friction behind the heightened tension between Russia and the West. Moreover, informational activities should be used to develop an opposing narrative via publications, social media, foreign press centres, and other outlets, which can in turn weaken the desire of Putin's current supporters to continue to adhere to his script of violence.

Furthermore, the international community must increase economic pressure to create the necessary conditions to minimize the opportunities as well as the incentives for violence. These pressures can be both negative, through the implementation of embargos and additional sanctions, as well as positive, by economically rewarding cooperative behaviour through initiatives that give Russia more access to valued markets. By using economic pressure to deter aggressive Russian actions, it will display to Putin's target audience that there are measurable negative consequences in adhering to his script of violence.

Putin's metanarrative is pervasive both regionally and internationally and, as has been illustrated, represents a strategy that limits the success of opposing initiatives. In the final analysis, the only way that the international community can confront Putin's script is discursively through a more holistic effort involving diplomacy, informational activities, and economic pressure. Currently the West has displayed military resolve in their support of the Ukrainian forces, however, a military solution without the integration of other elements of statecraft cannot suffice in addressing Putin's strategic narrative. If Russia were to be confronted through direct military means, Putin's script of violence would be actualised and validated in the eyes of those who adhere to it.

This policy recommendation ultimately creates a logical model that avoids the use of military power to solve an international dilemma. Nevertheless, in order to diminish the perceived value of Putin's script, the international community must construct a package of activities – including those that are non-military in nature – which will undermine and neutralize this metanarrative. All things considered, bilateral and multilateral efforts must be increased in a coordinated manner in order to generate a coherent discourse that provides an opposing narrative to Putin's script of violence. ■

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Notes

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INSIDE THE FAULT LINES OF AMERICA'S SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA

by Eric Muller

In October 2013, US Navy Seals launched an ambitious but ill-fated amphibious assault on a small house in the coastal Somali community of Barawe. The pre-dawn raid was designed to capture Abdulkadi Mohamed Abdulkadir, a senior Al-Shabaab commander, but instead ended in a fierce gunfight with Al-Shabaab militants and a hasty American retreat.

Meant to showcase the dexterity of US special forces and their ability to operate seamlessly in an important new theatre, the mission was widely panned as an embarrassing failure. Yet it is not an isolated event. Over the past decade, as the Untied States has slowly expanded its military role into Africa, it has encountered a series practical, logistical, and moral dilemma's exposing the fault lines of its approach to security assistance.

As recently as the mid-1990s, officials in the Pentagon believed that there was no strategic interest for the United States in Africa.[1] 9/11 changed that calculus. Increasingly, the country's decision-makers and top security officials began to worry that weak African states were vulnerable to becoming safe havens for extremists and other armed non-state groups, as Afghanistan had been in the late 1990s. By 2007-8, the Pentagon had stood up United States Africa Command (AFRICOM), and now has a military presence in at least 13 African states.[2]

At present, American security assistance in Africa covers a wide range of activities, including funding for national militaries and regional security organizations, special forces operations, and a drone base in Niger, to name but a few. Of particular interest to American officials, is the recent surge of extremist violence perpetrated by groups like al-Shabab, Boko Haram, and Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Magreb (AQIM). While this level of military aid may seem insignificant when compared to other countries or regions, for smaller African states with limited revenue, the financial, material, personnel, or in-kind support provided by America is often substantial. In Burundi, Uganda, and Mauritania, for instance, American security assistance equaled approximately 20 per cent of their respective defence budgets.[3]

The stated goal of American security assistance in Africa is to ensure the stability of partner countries, and build the capacity of regional states to become reliable security partners with a capacity for counter-terrorism. This is being done largely by "focused, sustained engagement with partners,"[4] through what officials call "enabling." The goal of enabling is to allow America to maintain a lighter footprint, while encouraging its African partners to do much of the work themselves, relying on US advisors for training and guidance.

However, the focus on "enabling" has come with challenges. Many US security partners here are weak states with little capacity to be "enabled." Niger's security forces, for example, have been unable to stop the flow of smuggled goods and extremists across its permeable borders into Mali, Nigeria, and Libya. Adding to the challenge is the reality that the US is attempting to funnel security assistance into states and regions with long and complicated histories, where Washington has neither a track record nor a legacy of engagement. As a result, American operations and activities have achieved limited success, and even resulted in some notorious embarrassments.

Take, as an example, the American attempt to establish a counter-terrorism training centre in post-revolution Libya in 2013. Shortly after the American arrival, gunmen promptly raided the new American base, "Camp Younis," and made off with its weapons and equipment, including high-power assault weapons and armored vehicles. Similarly, "Operation Lighting Thunder," a high-profile push by Uganda, South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to take out the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in the DRC ended ignominiously after it was discovered that the LRA had fled the area well in advance. Concern has only grown that the weak capacity in a number of American security partners in Africa will result in mission creep, as the US struggles to achieve their security objectives by simply "enabling."[5]

The fact that so many US security partners are weak states also raises serious questions about the effectiveness of its assistance. A nascent, but growing, body of empirical literature attests to the view that weak states have difficulty making "positive use" of such aid. In fact, there are no statistically significant studies to substantiate the claim that US assistance actually improves the stability of a weak or fragile state. Instead, several studies suggest that, in extreme

cases, it can actually become a source of destabilization.[6]

To mitigate the effect of weak state capacity among its partners, US security assistance often has to bypass civilian bodies and be provided primarily through military-to-military programs.[7] This is not an unfamiliar pattern for military aid, and has been employed by American officials for the past 70 years in many countries in Latin America and the Middle East. Traditionally, the result is that the security services become the only effective and cohesive actors in an otherwise ineffective or weak state. While this may solve some short-term security concerns, in the long run it has lead to two potentially dangerous outcomes.

First, it opens the door to the establishment of so-called "praetorian guards,"[8] in which elements within the security services owe a greater allegiance to a specific leader or faction than to the country itself. The "praetorian guard" phenomenon, in its most virulent form, helped leaders like Saddam Hussein, Muammar Gaddafi, and Mobutu Sese Seko maintain power in their respective countries for so long. However, a milder version exists in many of America's current security partners in Africa. For instance, Rwanda's military and political leadership under current President Paul Kagame originated from the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which overthrew the ruling Hutu regime in Kigali in 1994 and put an end to its orchestrated genocide. Since the revolution, with the army and ruling political party remaining deeply intertwined, there is little to no meaningful distinction between them.

Second, it establishes a precedent of strengthening military actors at the expense of their civilian counterparts, which in some cases gives them the de facto power to determine the fate of their country. Some security actors become so strong that they have an unofficial veto over the policies or actions of the country's leadership. Both the Egyptian military and the Zimbabwean security services enjoy such a role within their respective countries. In such a scenario, it becomes extremely difficult to establish a healthy civil-military relationship.

The weak capacity of many of America's security partners, when placed alongside growing military-to-military assistance, also raises serious questions about how US security assistance will affect the security sector reform (SSR) agenda in Africa.[9] US officials have affirmed their commitment to SSR, as part of the Security Governance Initiative (SGI) announced by President Obama last summer. The goal of the Initiative is to improve security capacity and civilian governance of the security sectors of six African countries: Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, and Tunisia.

However, while the Security Governance Initiative is an important step in the right direction, it remains to be seen whether it will achieve its stated objective. Many African states find SSR deeply

threatening. In some cases, the purpose of the security services is as much about preserving the ruling regime, as it is about security from external threats. In Zimbabwe, for instance, the military, police and intelligence agencies have been primarily focused on guarding the ruling ZANU-PF party against an existential political challenge in the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

Moreover, the unfortunate reality is that the exigencies of America's security interests, especially countering terrorism, will always jeopardize the importance of civilian oversight, inherent in SSR. If policy-makers truly value the importance of civilian oversight of the military and security services, then they need to ensure that SSR is integrated into security assistance at all levels, and accompanied by rigorous performance monitoring and evaluation.

Without effective SSR, American security assistance runs the risk of propping up repressive or authoritarian regimes, or at least giving tacit support to their bad practices. There are already a number of unanswered questions about America's relationship with several African states with questionable security and human rights records, including Rwanda, Uganda, and Nigeria – all countries that have authoritarian leaders or security services with long track records of human rights abuses. It has been particularly noteworthy in Nigeria, where domestic security forces have come under significant criticism for alleged human rights violations in their quest to defeat Boko Haram. Yet, despite widespread rights abuses, the goal of blunting Boko Haram's advance has outweighed the promotion of human rights and upholding of international legal norms.

In this sense, America's expanded security role in Africa has exposed the inherent tension between ensuring security and protecting human rights. The Obama administration has raised human rights abuses with some of its African counterparts but has been rightly criticized for continuing to provide aid without any meaningful improvement – a decision likely to be interpreted as tacit endorsement of the status quo.

Some analysts have argued that America's current practice is replicating many of the strategic errors that the US made during the Cold War, by supporting repressive regimes, excusing human rights abuses, creating resentment, and undermining long-term US interests on the continent.[10] As a result, US security assistance could have the perverse effect of perpetuating anti-American sentiment and stoking the instability that already exists. Indeed, some African states are concerned that this US role may have the unintended consequence of alienating and delegitimizing the leadership, whose citizens view American involvement as exploitative or imperialistic. This is a tension that is deeply embedded across the continent and has already come up within the context of America's security engagement.

It is clear that increasing security assistance in Africa is a priority for the Obama administration; given the rise in extremism across the continent, it is unlikely to change under future administrations. However, the initial foray into providing security assistance to a number of African has demonstrated that it is a region fraught with complexity and rapidly shifting dynamics. If America wants to keep operating here, it will have to find a way to do so more effectively. One key success factors will be to ensure that security assistance is paired with effective SSR, and that goal of countering violent extremism does not come at the cost of all else. ■

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Notes

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10. Kofi Nsia-Pepre, "Militarization of U.S. Foreign Policy in Africa: Strategic Gain or Backlash?" *Military Review* (January-February 2014).

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USING THE KURDS AS PROXIES: THE DANGERS OF DIVISIONS

by Dr. Rod Thornton

I was recently asked by a university in London for advice on teaching the Kurdish language. The United Kingdom's Ministry of Defence had asked this university to run Kurdish language courses for its personnel. My reply was, 'which Kurdish language do they want to learn? There are several.' This is but one example of a general paucity of knowledge about the nation called 'the Kurds.'

It is important, though, that a better understanding of the Kurds and of their position in the Middle East is gained by the likes of the UK and its allies. This is in light of the recent decision by a number of Western powers, given the threat from the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS), to become involved in arming and training the peshmerga forces of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in northern Iraq. Care is needed in having the Kurds as proxies. Without the requisite level of understanding of, in particular, the convoluted interplay of the different factions of Kurds, the risk is that the likes of the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada will come to be unwittingly drawn into yet more Middle East conflicts.

A Nation Divided

The Kurds are historical notorious for their divisiveness. They are a nation spread across northern Iraq, southeastern Turkey, northern Syria and northwestern Iran. Although overwhelmingly Sunni, the Kurds are, however, split by any number of differences: sectarian; tribal; clan; family, and political – to name but a few.[1]

The KRG is itself a notable victim of such divisions. The governing Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) based in Erbil and its main rival, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) based in Silemani, have a long-standing acrimonious relationship.[2] Indeed, the two fought a civil war in the 1990s using their respective peshmerga forces. In the Kurdish area of Iraq, these peshmerga are basically militia units with a history of serving individual tribal leaders or, more latterly, political parties. And while today there is a KRG Ministry of Peshmerga controlling the activities of many of the different groups, the allegiance of many of these groups is to individuals and non-governmental bodies.[3]

It is clear that, in the conflict with ISIS, the Western powers have chosen overwhelmingly to back the peshmerga of the KDP and its leader, the KRG president, Masoud Barzani. The PUK's peshmerga tends to be assisted by Iran.[4] Here we have one interesting schism in the KRG. Others abound.

The Kurdish Regional Government (KRG)

The KRG is (technically) a semi-autonomous region formed from the Iraqi constitution of 2006. Although the links between the administration in Erbil and the central government in Baghdad are, of necessity, business-like, there is in reality a pronounced enmity felt by most Kurds in the KRG to the Arabs of Iraq. This is a product of history. The Kurds maintain, with no little justification, that they have suffered at the hands of Baghdad ever since the country became independent from Britain in 1930. Saddam Hussein was the most notable of those Iraqi leaders who repressed the Kurds.[5]

One of the current intractable issues between Erbil and Baghdad is over territory. In the chaos that followed the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the Kurds took advantage and seized control of areas of Iraq beyond their official regional border. These areas are today known as the 'disputed territories.' They have significant Sunni Arab populations and several of them contain vast reserves of oil. The city of Kirkuk is perhaps the main bone of contention – claimed by both Arabs and Kurds and sitting on a sea of oil. For the Kurds, though, Kirkuk is not just about oil; it is also about the city as the 'real' spiritual capital of Iraqi Kurdistan. And while the dispute over these territories is mostly between the Kurds and Sunni Arabs, the Shia-dominated government in Baghdad is also not keen to see the likes of Kirkuk in Kurdish hands.[6]

Given the abundant tensions between Erbil and Baghdad, the US government, in the wake of the departure of coalition troops in 2011, was reluctant to provide any arms to the KRG. Arming them was seen to risk incentivizing Erbil to seize yet more territory and perhaps to declare independence – a move highly likely to create huge regional instability.[7]

Beyond the KRG

Barzani and his KDP government also tend not to see eye-to-eye with Kurdish groups and organizations beyond the KRG. In Turkey, the Kurdish PKK (*Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan* or Kurdistan Workers' Party) has long been conducting a campaign of violence agitating for Kurdish rights. It is labelled by Turkey, NATO, and the European Union as a 'terrorist' organization. Even though both Barzani and the PKK seek extra autonomy for the Kurds within their respective state structures, significant political (among other) differences exist between Barzani, his KDP and the PKK. The progressive, left-of-centre brand of politics of the PKK contrasts with that of Barzani in the KRG, who runs a conservative, tribal-based, patronage system of government.[8] Barzani, moreover, is seeking friendly relations with neighbouring Turkey (as a large investor in the KRG) and any support from him for the PKK would scupper that relationship.[9]

Then there are the Syrian Kurds. The Kurds of northern Syria are congregated mainly in three non-contiguous areas (or cantons, as they are now called) around the towns of Afrin, Kobane and Qamishli. The main political party in these cantons is the PYD (*Partiya Yekitiya Demokrat* – Democratic Union Party), which maintains control through the use of its militia – the YPG (*Yekineyen Parastina Gel* – People's Protection Units), reputedly some 65,000-strong.[10] The YPG has been bolstered down the years by many PKK fighters who have come over from Turkey. The link between the PYD and the PKK, based on common socialist principles, is strong. As one source puts it, 'the PYD is the Syrian branch of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)'.[11] If minded, both the PYD and the PKK could thus be viewed as 'terrorist' organizations. Due to the PYD's links to the PKK, Barzani maintains an antagonistic relationship with the PYD.[12]

Since the civil war began in Syria in 2011, its Kurdish areas have been left basically to their own devices by the regime of Bashar al-Assad. Both sides have a more pressing mutual enemy in the Sunni Arab jihadist forces; an agglomeration that includes ISIS. Indeed, Syrian Kurdish forces have been fighting jihadists in northern Syria for more than two years now. And it was ISIS, of course, that laid siege to Kobane in September 2014. The town was defended by both YPG and PKK fighters. The combat experience of both of these elements was crucial in the defence of the town. Crucial also was the assistance of US airpower.

Washington would have preferred Turkey (with its soldiers just a few hundred metres away over the border from Kobane) to help the Kurds. Turkey, however, does not want to see any Kurdish entity forming in northern Syria that could later act as safe havens for the PKK. Ankara is quite content, therefore, for the Syrian Kurds and ISIS just to weaken each other through attrition. The Turks even objected to the US providing assistance at Kobane to the PKK and PYD 'terrorists.'[13] Barzani also objects to any help being given to the PYD. Indeed, prior to the Kobane siege, his peshmerga had dug a trench system to seal off the border between the KRG and Syria in order to prevent any arms being transferred over from the KRG to the PYD. These arms would supposedly have been supplied by Barzani's rival party in the KRG – the PUK, which is seen as politically close to the PYD.[14]

It is, as they say, complicated.

The Conflict Inside Iraq

The complexity increases when it is understood that the YPG/PKK fighters have shown themselves to be most effective at tackling ISIS; in Iraq as well as in Syria. For instance, during the ISIS push across northwest Iraq in August 2014, it was PKK fighters (coming over from Syria) who protected the hundreds of Yazidis forced from their homes and onto Mount Sinjar. The only help for the members of this Kurdish non-Muslim sect was coming from the PKK. In the face of the ISIS onslaught, they had been abandoned by both the Iraqi army and by the KRG's peshmerga forces.[15]

One consequence of this episode is that, in the town of Sinjar, lying between Mosul and the Syrian border, the PKK has seemingly now carved out a territory – a 'canton' – of its own inside Iraq. This is in an area previously controlled by Barzani's KDP, which has warned the PKK personnel to go back to Syria; but they are not moving.[16]

And the challenges within Iraq to Barzani from other Kurds do not end at Sinjar: peshmerga forces from his rival party in the KRG, the PUK, have – along with other PKK elements – recently seized control of Kirkuk.[17] As ISIS are pushed back in Iraq with the help of coalition airstrikes, it tends to be Kurdish forces that take over areas previously controlled (at least partially) by Sunni Arabs. Denise Natali of the National Defense University, and perhaps the foremost US expert on the Kurds, points out the problem. She wrote recently in *Foreign Affairs* that, 'Peshmerga forces are using coalition air strikes to engineer territorial and demographic changes that are antagonizing Sunni Arabs – the very communities the United States needs on its side to degrade ISIS'. She goes on:

> If policymakers and military planners in the United States want to rely on Kurdish partners to degrade and destroy ISIS, they must understand the complicated local dynamics of their alliances and the consequences they will have on long-term strategic objectives. By providing weapons to the KRG unconditionally, and without offering corresponding support to Sunni Arab groups that oppose ISIS, the coalition has unintentionally fueled Kurdish nationalist ambitions, shifted the balance of power in northern Iraq, and reinvigorated deep-rooted conflicts over disputed territory and resources.

Natali concludes: 'by using the Kurds

as local partners to protect Kurdish territories, at least initially, the coalition has unintentionally encouraged transborder Kurdish nationalism.'[18]

This all does not look good.

The Kurds as Proxies

So, Barzani is at loggerheads with fellow Kurds from the PKK, the PYD in Syria, and the PUK. He is also faced with both Sunni Arabs and a Baghdad government intent on recovering the 'disputed territories.' But the issue for the Western powers currently arming and training Barzani's KDP peshmerga is that they are doing so in order to assist the KDP solely in its fight against ISIS. As the German defence minister, Ursula Von Der Leyen, put it when visiting Erbil recently: "I believe it's right to extend our support… we know that the Peshmerga aren't just fighting for their own country but for all of us."[19] But in 'fighting for their own country' Barzani and his KDP also have several other opponents to consider besides ISIS.

One of the major issues to consider whenever major powers attempt to employ proxies to (at least in part) do their fighting for them, is that aims may not align. Yes, the likes of the US, the UK and Canada, along with the KRG government of Masoud Barzani, do have a common enemy in ISIS. But Barzani also has a host of other enemies. A good deal of diplomacy – based on a genuine understanding of the situation of 'the Kurds' – is going to be required to keep Barzani focused on tackling ISIS. It is this understanding that is key. Without it, Western powers may end up being dragged blindly into someone else's war; into another Middle Eastern conflict. ■

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MARKETING VIOLENCE: FRANCHISING AS PART OF THE ISLAMIC STATE'S BUSINESS STRATEGY*

by Erwin van Veen

Over the last weeks, the battlefield fortunes of the Islamic State (IS) have waxed once more after a number of setbacks that some considered to be the beginning of its end. The IS´s seizure of Ramadi and Palmyra have not only supplanted its defeat in Kobani, but also put an end to talk about the imminent recapture of Mosul or the reconquest of Anbar province. In fact, its recent victories have opened a range of possiblities for further IS expansion, particularly in Syria.[1] Direct territorial conquest will in all likelihood remain an important and feasible plank of IS's business strategy.

In addition, the IS has also expanded significantly beyond its Syrian and Iraqi heartlands since November 2014.[2] This has taken the form of a number of IS affiliates being negotiated or established around the Muslim world. While this process has unfolded somewhat under the radar of the media headlines, it is significant as it includes countries as far apart as Algeria, the Caucasus, Egypt, Indonesia, Libya, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Phillippines, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. In consequence, creating a ´global´ footprint of alliances and affiliates represents an obvious second plank of the group's business strategy.

While the solidity and relevance of these alliances and affiliates vary – contrast for example the reported establishment of new IS training camps in Libya[3] with its more isolated acts of sectarian violence in Saudi Arabia – they merit close attention for two reasons. First, they are vehicles that spread the violence, fear and perception of strength on which the IS thrives. Second, they may contribute to its long-term survival and growth as Islamist terrorist groups have impressive track records of amalgamation and transformation, ensuring that the violent threat they pose persists.

Developing a better understanding of such processes is the first step in countering them. This brief article examines whether IS expansion beyond Syria and Iraq can sensibly be understood through the lens of franchising. As a franchise is a flexible business model that is highly standardized, mutually profitable, and, in consequence, low-risk and rapidly scalable, an affirmative answer is cause for concern.

Typically, a franchise is a commercial arrangement by which a franchisor allows an operator (the franchisee) to use his trademark and distribute his goods on the basis of a detailed set of instructions that safeguard quality and brand protection. In return, the operator pays the supplier a fee.[4] Examples include McDonalds and Subway. There are at least four key questions that need answering to assess whether IS expansion beyond Syria and Iraq can be meaningfully seen as a franchising strategy, namely whether there is a clear trademark that IS franchisees can and do adopt, a standardized product that franchisees can market locally, a clear expectation of mutual profitability between IS and its franchisees, and a measure of strategic control from IS over its franchisees.

Starting with the trademark, it is straightforward to point to the brutal, highly visible and well-published acts of violence that IS franchisees have committed as evidence for the existence and uptake of a clear IS brand. The beheadings of James Foley and Steven Sotloff, as well as the burning of Jordanian airforce pilot Moaz al-Kasasbeh, were evidently mirrored by the IS's Algerian affiliate, Jund al Khilafa, in the beheading of Herve Gourdel, as well as by its Libyan affiliate in the form of the decapitation of 21 Copts in orange jumpsuits. Other elements that form part of the IS trademark include adoption by new affiliaties of the term 'wilayat'[5] followed by the geographic reference as to where it is operational – replacing their old name – and their use of the black-and-white IS flag. In short, there is a clear IS brand and it is effectively franchised. The benefit for the franchisor (IS) is that it gives the impression of reach and presence; for the franchisee that it has the support of a larger, powerful organization.

The product that the IS has on offer consists, roughly speaking, of the aspiration to restore the worldly might of the Caliphate and the dominance of Sunni Islam that it symbolizes. This product has two main components: a social side, as exemplified by a rigid socio-religious code and the provision of (at least some) local governance and services;[6] and a repressive side, as exemplified by deep intelligence control[7] at micro-level, advanced guerilla combat tactics and zero tolerance for doctrinal deviation.[8] This does evidently not

represent a standardized product in the manufacturing or service-industry sense of the word. In fact, its two constituent components make full standardization very difficult; it is much easier to standardize the product's repressive component – this can be done cheaply and does not require territorial control – than it is to standardize its social component.

Indeed, to date little evidence has emerged that local IS affiliates, such as the Derna Islamic Youth Council in Libya or Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis in Egypt, have managed to establish much by way of rudimentary governance and social services as the IS has done in places like Raqqa and Mosul. Even if allowing for a sequenced strategy, in which social services would follow military success that establish territorial control, the Islamic State nevertheless only seems to have a partially standardized product to franchise for now. The business risk is that franchising a 'toolkit for violence' – rather than an ideological-geopolitial aspiration – limits the possibilities for scaling because it is too radical and one-sided to attract broad demand.

In terms of mutual profitability, the obvious deal on offer is that IS as franchisor benefits from the stronger image – if not reality – of power, influence, and visibility that its franchisees confer upon it, while these in turn accrue local benefits from association with the IS brand, for example greater ease of local recruitment and fundraising. In addition, it is interesting to observe that the series of declarations of allegiance to the IS in late November 2014 coincided with several of the local groups doing the pledging, as well as the IS itself, facing military setbacks. For example, it was in the course of the same month of November that Kurdish forces steadily gained ground in the 'battle for Kobani,' in northern Syria. Hence, another mutual benefit of franchising might be to create the popular impression of a united front that grows in strength despite unavoidable setbacks.

Finally, in a commercial franchise central control is exercised through a comprehensive articulation of shared purpose, detailed product standardization (discussed above) and monitoring of compliance. Achieving such a level of control is clearly not feasible for the IS at present. However, one could argue that the IS exercises a loose form of strategic control of purpose by having prioritized the fight against the 'near-enemy' (i.e., corrupt and infidel Muslim regimes and believers – from their viewpoint), instead of the fight against the 'far-enemy' (i.e., the US, Zionists and their Western allies) as Al-Qaeda (AQ) does.[9] Contrary to previous AQ franchises in the mid-2000s, this creates greater unity of purpose between the IS and the domestic agendas of the local groups that are its potential franchisees.

Moreover, several commentators have observed how shared prison and combat experiences have produced high levels of social cohesion between members of different terrorist groups. It is for example said that Camp Bucca, a US-prison in Iraq, provided a safer meeting space for the incipient IS leadership than they could ever have organized themselves.[10] There is also considerable evidence of jihadists returning home from places like Syria and Iraq to strengthen local terrorist groups, as well as of jihadists serving as emissaries from one group to the other on the basis of such shared experiences.[11] Interpersonal connections of this nature provide the IS with additional levers of influence over its franchisees, obviously without amounting to full control in the hierarchical sense.

In sum, the tentative answers to these four questions suggest that IS expansion beyond Syria and Iraq can be considered an imperfect franchising strategy. There is a clear trademark that IS franchisees can and do adopt, a partially standardized product that can be marketed locally, a clear expectation of mutual profitability between IS and its franchisees and a modest measure of strategic control. In other words, IS offers a proposition that is reasonably attractive to a franchising formula. On this basis, it can be expected that further franchises will be established in the near future.

In the meantime, the key from a policy perspective is likely to be prevention. It is obvious where the IS has a direct presence and partial action is underway to reduce it. Partial, because in the absence of a feasible international strategy to bring the conflict there to a halt, Syria remains a significant direct growth market for the IS. However, it is much less clear where most growth potential exists for IS franchises – initial research suggests that factors like the degree of state absence, the tribal nature of areas, and the absence of strong local competition play a role, but these need further work. Hence, an important next step is to identify those countries, areas, or cities where conditions are favorable for IS franchises to take root, and to consider which actions, international or domestic, can address these conditions. ■

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Notes

**This article was inspired by the recent report of Clingendael's Conflict Research Unit titled 'Islamic State franchising: Tribes, transational jihadi networks and generational shifts' by Rivka Azoulay (online at:* http://www.clingendael.nl/publication/islamic-state-franchising*).*

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2015 OTTAWA CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND DEFENCE – PHOTO ESSAY

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The CDA/CDA Institute 2015 Ottawa Conference on Security and Defence took place 19 to 20 February 2015, and featured extensive corporate sponsorship (see page 57), high-level keynote speakers and panelists, and well over 500 attendees. This year's event proved to be especially timely, with the Honourable Jason Kenney providing his first public address in his new role as Minister of National Defence. A summary can be found in the Security and Defence Briefing (03-2015).

Participants and audience members enjoying their morning coffee at the 2015 Ottawa Conference on Security and Defence.

CDA Institute Executive Vice-President Ferry de Kerckhove presenting the findings of his newly released *Strategic Outlook for Canada 2015*.

Audiences members at the 2015 Ottawa Conference on Security and Defence.

Keynote speaker US Admiral Bill Gortney, Commander of NORAD & US Northern Command.

CDA Institute President General Ray Henault (Ret'd) giving his thanks to keynote speaker The Honourable Jason Kenney, newly minted Minister of National Defence.

Minister of National Defence Jason Kenney in a media scrum following his address.

Ross Munro Media Award winner Louie Palu being presented with his award.

A panel session with David Perry, Peggy Mason, Lieutenant-General Stuart Beare (Ret'd), and Dr. James Boutilier.

A panel session with Scott Tod, Cheri McGuire, and US Admiral Michael Rogers.

Keynote speaker Lieutenant-General Guy Thibault, Canada's Vice Chief of the Defence Staff.

Keynote speaker General Gratien Maire, French Vice Chief of Defence Staff.

Keynote speaker Lieutenant-General Gordon Messenger, United Kingdom Deputy Chief of Defence Staff.

A panel featuring Rear-Adm Rowan Moffitt (Ret'd), Cmdre Eric Lerhe (Ret'd), Cmdr Jonathan Odom, and moderator David Collins.

A luncheon featuring keynote speaker The Honorable Michèle Flournoy, CEO of the Center for a New American Security.

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IRAQ AND SYRIA:
SAME PROBLEMS, DIFFERENT TARGETS

by Dr. Stephen Saideman

The Canadian mission in Iraq and Syria re-appeared in the news, as officials try to figure out how our friends, the Kurdish pershmerga, could fire upon the Canadian Special Operations Forces (CANSOF) that were there to help them. This could be *déjà vu*, as much of the reporting in 2002 was centered on the American bombing of Canadian Forces exercising near Kandahar. Friendly fire is and always has been a part of war, but it is not the only element of the current campaign that seems to be an echo of Afghanistan. While there are many similarities of the two campaigns, the first against Al Qaeda and the Taliban and the second against the Islamic State (IS), I want to focus on two key dimensions: Canada's outstanding effort amid coalition burden-sharing dynamics and the need for humility when considering the endgame.

Mediocre Attendance and Canadian Risk Acceptance

The new mission is actually more like Libya than Afghanistan in that every NATO member and many partners showed up in Afghanistan to some degree while only a select few NATO members and some regional partners took part in the Libya mission and now in the counter-IS effort. Still, as we know only too well, the level of effort in Afghanistan varied widely, with some countries sending token contingents (Greece had less than thirty troops in Afghanistan for much of the mission) and others deploying troops with very restrictive rules of engagement that limit what they could and how much they could help their allies.[1]

In the new campaign, we have a division of labor, where select European countries are willing to assist the Iraqi government by bombing various assets and troop formations of the Islamic State. Notably, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands and the UK have joined Canada, Australia and the US in this effort. For the Syrian side of the mission, authoritarian Arab regimes (Bahrain, Jordan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates) are helping the United States and now Canada. In both places, the US is doing most of the work – dropping most of the bombs, providing most of the reconnaissance and coordination, doing most of the training of the Iraqi security forces, and on and on. People who argue that the US is disengaged simply are not paying attention to which country is doing most of the heavy lifting in Iraq, Syria, and elsewhere.

Canada stands out in a couple of ways. First, besides the US, it is the only country willing to engage IS targets in both Syria and Iraq. For the European countries, the Syrian mission is too problematic. The legal basis is more complex as Iraq has a recognized government which has invited outsiders to help with the fight against IS. In Syria, there is no legitimate government, with Bashar al-Assad deservedly seen as a war criminal, so it is not clear how he can give consent for external intervention. Which leads to the second challenge: hurting IS in Syria helps Assad, and who wants that (well, besides Iran)?

Second, CANSOF seem to be doing a bit more than the other soldiers deployed to Iraq. Despite the contradictory statements made by Chief of Defence Staff General Tom Lawson, we know that the Canadian special operators have been using their advanced equipment to target IS troops and equipment so that the air strikes can be effective. Thus far, it is not clear that the special operation forces from other countries are doing anything like that.

That CANSOF is spending about twenty percent of its time near/at the front lines indicates that Canada is far more willing to accept risk than other countries. Indeed, the willingness to bomb Syria also indicates a greater acceptance of risk. Canada can do so for two reasons. First, Prime Minister Stephen Harper has a majority in Parliament so he does not have to bargain with other parties to get enough support for this mission. Legally, he needs no support since the institutions in Canada give the prime minister the power to deploy troops without the support of Parliament.[2] Politically, majority government and strict party discipline means Harper does not have to take seriously the qualms of the other parties or of backbenchers. Second, the attack on Parliament on 22 October 2014 has helped to create a reservoir of public opinion in favor of the on-going missions in Iraq and now Syria. The Canadian public supports efforts to strike at the Islamic State, more so than who supported the war in Afghanistan except

Canadian members of Air Task Force-Iraq and coalition partners participating in the SHAMAL SERIALS, a combat search and rescue exercise held for personnel of the Middle East Stabilization Force conducting operations against ISIL in Kuwait on 16 March 2015. (Image credit: Op Impact, DND.)

in its early days.

Together, Canadian institutions and public opinion actually make these decisions fairly easy for Harper, especially if they put Liberal leader Justin Trudeau in a difficult position, stuck between a hawkish Conservative Party and a dovish New Democrat Party and running a divided Liberal Party. Indeed, Trudeau faces problems that are most familiar with Stephan Dion and Michael Ignatieff as they had to grapple with the politics of the Afghanistan mission: figuring out how to keep the party together while appealing to voters of both left and the right.

The key is that Canada is distinct from its European partners. Here, Prime Minister Harper is relatively unconstrained *and* the public is supportive of the effort. The news stories thus far – that CANSOF is doing more than expected by being close to the frontlines, the friendly fire incident – have not been harmful to the prime minister precisely because the public supports the effort and the Liberals are in a difficult spot. The key criticism levied by both the Liberals and the NDP has largely gone unanswered: where will this lead?

Bombing and Assisting to What End?

While the questions have been asked, they has not been adequately answered: what are we trying to accomplish? Can we bomb IS into submission? No. Can a small contingent from CANSOF train enough fighters so that they can defeat the Islamic State? No. Can Canada along with its allies train enough Iraqi security forces to do the job? No. Why? Because the conflict is a political one, and using force is only part of the solution. This is where Afghanistan *déjà vu* hits most powerfully: building governance and providing security is really, really hard and depends critically on local partners. And what have we learned about our local partners? That they have their own interests and agendas.

Who are Canada's local partners in Iraq? The Kurds and the Iraqi government. The recently friendly fire incident may have revealed some of the limitations of the former, although Canada has been bombed by friends before (2002 and 2006, to name two times the Americans have hit the Canadian Armed Forces). The latter? The Iraqi government is not doing what it needs to do, which is reach out to the Sunni minority so that they become less supportive of IS. Instead, the Shia dominated government has moved in the opposite direction, relying heavily on Shia militias and the Iranian government. These allies of Iraq's governments have been most brutal to

A Canadain Polaris airbus refuels an Australian F/A-18F Super Hornet during Operation *Impact* on 2 February 2015 in Kuwait. (Image credit: Canadian Forces Combat Camera, DND.)

the Sunnis in territories they recapture. Of course, this means that what we need to have happen – the Sunnis to turn on IS – is ever unlikely. Even so, there is a recipe for success in Iraq: if the Iraq government could find ways to restrain itself and its allies, it could provide some guarantees to the Sunni population. While this is not probable in the near term, it is at least a pathway towards defeating IS in Iraq.

This endgame only looks good when compared to Syria, where there is no such strategy to end the conflict. While the Kurds and the Iraqi government may be suboptimal partners, they at least exist. In Syria, what partners are there for the coalition effort? The Free Syrian forces are more myth than reality at this point. The government of Syria? Yes, the international community could assist the Assad regime to defeat ISIS in Syria, but thus far Assad has killed more Syrians than the Islamic State has. Indeed, Assad makes the ethnic cleaning of the Iraqi government look modest.

As always, much hinges on the local partners who are either inadequate or fatally flawed. So we need humility as we consider what outsiders can achieve. Bombing will not produce victory by itself. Air strikes are capable of, as President Obama has described it, degrading IS and can also assist those on the ground. The training effort in Iraq remains relatively modest, so it is not clear how long it will take to produce enough competent forces. This all depends on good military leadership, as the collapse of the Iraqi armed forces was caused by a corrupt and inept senior officer class. Selecting competent generals, rather than submissive or politically valuable ones, is a key step and depends on, again, the politics of Iraq.

Understanding Our Limitations

It always comes back to politics. As we have learned repeatedly, the agendas of the outsiders and the insiders are rarely the same or even compatible, and we have to realistically acknowledge that Canada, the US, and the other countries can only do so much. This does not mean that we cannot act. Yet we need to be aware of the limits of our influence. The reticence of putting thousands of troops on the ground to engage in combat is not just about being burned out by Afghanistan, but also learning some key lessons about the limits of what can be achieved when working with unreliable local allies.

While many preach patience for the fight against the Islamic State, and rightly so, we also need to foster low expectations. Whatever victory looks like, it will not be a democratic and just society in either Iraq or Syria. Perhaps it will look like a less capricious semi-democratic system that is capable of fighting a low-level insurgency. IS may ultimately be destroyed, but it will take much effort by Iraqis and Syrians – *and something else may replace it*, as Islamist extremism is not going to go away. We must, therefore, focus on limiting the damage that IS and its ilk can do. We cannot eliminate terrorism, but we can reduce our vulnerabilities and improve our resilience. Remaining realistic about what we can and cannot do is crucial as we figure out the road ahead. ■

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Notes

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THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN REVISITED: CANADIAN ARMED INTERVENTIONS SINCE 1990

by Dr. Peter Kasurak

Take up the White Man's burden, The savage wars of peace—
Fill full the mouth of Famine And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest The end for others sought,
Watch sloth and heathen Folly Bring all your hopes to nought.

* * * * *

Take up the White Man's burden And reap his old reward:
The blame of those ye better, The hate of those ye guard—
The cry of hosts ye humour (Ah, slowly!) toward the light:—
"Why brought he us from bondage, Our loved Egyptian night?

Rudyard Kipling
"The White Man's Burden"

Kipling's Victorian world embraced the concept that developed states (then more or less all "white") were not only fated to rule, but were *obligated* to do so. The Victorians, of course, imagined this as a very long term project to be accomplished through imperial rule. As Kipling's poem stated, maintenance of world order was a "burden" for which they did not expect to be thanked. World War II killed the European empires. However, with the end of the Cold War, thinking again emerged to justify interventionism and drive the Canadian Armed Forces to intervene in Europe, Africa and the Middle East.

The impetus behind the new interventionism arose from multiple sources, but the United Nations was an early and strong advocate. In 1987 the UN International Humanitarian Commissions' independent report stated that sovereignty should not be allow to trump humanitarian considerations and that humanitarian corridors should be established by force, if necessary, to facilitate aid to the victims of armed conflict.[1] The Gulf War of 1991 increased the sense that military intervention could make a difference. The Canadian government was not immune; in September 1991, Prime Minister Mulroney stated that Canada "favour[ed] re-thinking the limits of national sovereignty in a world where problems have no borders." Mulroney claimed that "there are certain fundamental rights that all people possess. . . [and] sometimes, the international community must act to defend them."[2]

Canada quickly became involved in humanitarian interventions, by being first to contribute troops in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia in 1992 and then serving in its successor NATO missions. As External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall explained, Canada had provided troops to UNPROFOR "because the reality of human suffering is so compelling" and also because peace in Europe was in Canada's national interest. UNPROFOR was, at best, a qualified success. Peace under NATO supervision was eventually restored by the Dayton Accords in December 1995, but not before atrocities had been committed in Sarajevo, Srebrenica, the Medak Pocket, and "ethnic cleansing" had entered common usage.[3]

Even less successful was the Somalia mission that took place concurrent with UNPROFOR. Mulroney and McDougall had pressured UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali to involve the UN and promised Canadian aid if the UN could assure delivery. Mulroney, Boutros-Ghali and the "CNN factor" of televised famine victims secured approval of a mission.[4] As part of the US-led UN Task Force in Somalia (UNITAF), Canada eventually deployed the Canadian Airborne Regiment Battle Group to provide adequate protection to relief efforts. UNITAF worked hard at civil development, but it would be hard to claim any lasting effect and the Joint Task Force was withdrawn about seven months after arrival.

Officials in Ottawa – political, military and civil service – concluded that there was little hope of restoring peace amongst the warring Somali factions. The UN agreed that the "cost of restoring Somalia as a nation and a society will be enormous" and "will take many years." In the event, the successor mission, UNOSOM II, attempted to implement a more aggressive disarmament policy bringing it into conflict with General Aidid. An attempt to capture Aidid himself resulted in the well-known "Black Hawk Down" incident and the death of 18 American soldiers. The result was the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the end of the mission itself.[5]

The limited success of these missions might well have tempered enthusiasm for "the new peacekeeping," but the example

of Rwanda provided a telling example of doing little or nothing. An extremely small UN force under Canadian Major-General Roméo Dallaire was able to save thousands when communal violence broke out, but between 700,000 and 1,000,000 died in the Rwanda genocide. The consequences of the UN's failure to reinforce Dallaire left an indelible impression in New York, Ottawa, and elsewhere.

Liberal governments under Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin moved to make uninvited intervention and nation-building Canadian policy. Minister for Foreign Affairs Lloyd Axworthy justified the NATO intervention in Kosovo by "the plight of innocent civilians" and the advancement of human security. At the UN, the comprehensive "Brahimi Report," named after the study group chairman Lakhdar Brahimi, concluded that peacekeeping had to move from policing post-conflict situations to both make the peace and to also make peace "self-sustaining" – by achieving national reconciliation, consolidation of disarmament, demobilization, reintegration programs, electoral assistance and support for governance institutions.[6] The Canadian response, initiated by Prime Minister Chrétien and Foreign Minister Axworthy was to assemble an International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, with the resultant report, *The Responsibility to Protect*, providing a policy framework for implementing Brahimi's recommendations.

Two key principles stand out in the R2P Report: the principle of non-intervention yields to the **international responsibility to protect** where a population is suffering serious harm from internal war, insurgency, repression or state failure and the state in unwilling or unable to halt or avert it; and the international community also bears a **responsibility to rebuild** following military intervention, including not only reconciliation, disarmament and the resettlement of refugees but also economic growth, the recreation of markets and sustainable development. The report was hopeful that the population might even become "better accustom[ed] to democratic institutions and processes if these had been previously missing from their country." The full Victorian "white man's burden" had thus been relegitimized – if somewhat less "white" than before.[7]

Parallel to these civilian diplomatic initiatives, Western militaries were developing counter-insurgency (COIN) techniques which drew them into the nation-building process. In a 1997 speech,

A row of Canadian Leopard tanks prepares to depart a forward installation for operations during the Afghan mission. (Image credit: Canadian Forces Combat Camera, DND.)

US Marine Corps Commandant General Charles Krulak described what he called "the 3 Block War," with humanitarian relief, peacekeeping, and mid-intensity war occurring concurrently in a three block area.[8] The US Army published a *Counterinsurgency Field Manual* in December 2006, which considered it necessary to "meet the contested population's needs" while protecting it from the insurgents and presented the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Afghanistan as a favourable case study. Canada followed with its "Whole of Government" (WoG) approach and the military's "Joint, Interagency, Multinational, Public" (JIMP)-enabled concept. The Canadian Land Force *Counter-Insurgency Operations* manual stated that COIN objectives must be achieved by developing "responsible governance, a competent civil service and politically subordinate security forces" as well as economic, social and security programs.[9] Western militaries accepted the nation-building role and thought there was a way in which it could be done.

The final consolidation of R2P came in the Martin government's 2005 *International Policy Statement*, which noted that borders would no longer "serve as an excuse for tolerating actions that contravene human security or contribute to global insecurity." It linked intrastate instability with terrorism, said that the "front lines" stretched from the streets of Kabul through the rail lines of Madrid into Canadian cities, and concluded that the government would "rely heavily" on the Canadian Forces to make the world a safer place. There was little discussion of whether the means existed to pursue these policies, although this would soon be tested in Afghanistan.[10]

Canada's initial contribution to the Afghanistan intervention was relatively modest. The key decision came in May 2005, when Defence Minister Bill Graham announced that Canada would increase its troop deployment and take on a new mission in Kandahar Province, including taking over the PRT from the United States. Reflecting a complete WoG approach, it was aimed at building the Afghan economy and society as well as security. The level of military resistance the Taliban was able to generate was, however, severely underestimated. The focus soon became the military mission, although the government attempted to sell it domestically on the basis of civil reconstruction and the advance of Afghan society, especially women's rights. Faced with continuing bad news the government was compelled to carry out an independent review in 2007. Even with the improvements recommended by the Manley panel, the mission was unable to make significantly better military progress or garner substantially more political support. Canadian troops remained in Afghanistan until 2011, with little public debate over their withdrawal.[11]

HMCS Charlottetown provides protection for a Belgian Mine Hunter, M923 *Narcis* during Operation *Unified Protector*. (Image credit: Corporal (Cpl) Chris Ringius, Formation Imaging Services, Halifax.)

The results achieved have been modest indeed. Al-Qaeda was essentially defeated in the first phase of the operation, but little progress was made in defeating the Taliban and "winning the hearts and minds" of the populace. In May 2011, more people in the south thought working with the Taliban was right than wrong. Almost everyone agreed that military operations were bad for the country and that working with foreign forces was the wrong thing to do. The US Special Inspector General continues to document the effects of corruption on the US aid program while the Canadian "summative evaluation" of its aid program concluded that "with the benefit of hindsight, it can be concluded that sustainability of development results – in particular the building the necessary capacity and local ownership – requires more time than foreseen in military stabilization theories." Prime Minister Harper told the press "We're not going to win this war just by staying. . . My reading of Afghanistan's history is that they've probably had an insurgency forever, of some kind."[12]

After Afghanistan, the Canadian government's enthusiasm for R2P waned, if not its willingness to intervene. When the Gaddafi government in Libya threatened its opponents with slaughter and called them "rats" and "cockroaches," evincing the Rwandan *génocidaires*, the government deployed naval and air forces to evacuate Canadian nationals and to protect safe havens for the insurgents. Although Prime Minister Harper characterized the situation in terms consistent with R2P – e.g., the Libyan government's unjustifiable force against its own citizens, multilateral approval for such action, etc. – he studiously avoided calling the action R2P. The UN Security Council itself also used R2P language,

but did not explicitly refer to either Chapter VII or invoke the R2P doctrine in its resolutions. Canada's Liberal Party showed no such restraint and argued that the intervention was a shining example of the doctrine. The government did not disabuse them, but was careful not to promote a "Liberal" policy. The government may also have been trying to avoid discomfiting the Russians and Chinese who were leery of R2P as a cover for regime change.[13]

Whether one believes Libya was an example of R2P or not, the results were ultimately counter-productive. The civil war ended with no one party controlling the country, Tobruk and Tripoli controlled by different factions, Tuareg tribes a slice in the West and Islamist militias in urban areas. Without effective government, the country has become a haven for terrorism.

After two decades of the White Man's Burden, revisited under the banners of "the new peacekeeping," "R2P" and COIN, there has been a singular lack of success. Yet uninvited interventions coupled with rebuilding of a state have many defenders. On the right, Sean Maloney has complained that asking "Was it worth it?" is only a "meme" created by "the media and their fellow travelers, the pollsters." He asks us to avert our eyes and come back in twenty years when we can know for sure. He has been joined by journalists like Terry Glavin and Christie Blatchford. On the left, "R2P celebrationists" like Lloyd Axworthy insist that the policy works when rightly applied, although maybe not in Libya or more recently in Syria. A constituency for the concept remains.[14]

On the other side sit the skeptics. With the benefit of hindsight, civil supporters of intervention are changing their minds about its effectiveness. Louise Arbour, former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and former prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, has concluded that R2P "is pretty stuck" and "is not really delivering on its original promise."[15] Military thinkers and officials are also losing enthusiasm. David Kilcullen, a former US State Department counter-terrorism official whose works are cited as required reading in the US Army *Counterinsurgency Field Manual*, now thinks that COIN is asking the military to do something it is not designed to do and in Western countries not allowed – forcibly create a particular political outcome. He even questions whether COIN is a viable approach.[16] Colin Gray, the British strategist, is not quite so despairing but states that,

> If success in COIN requires prior, or at the least temporally parallel, success in nation-building, it is foredoomed to failure. Nations cannot be built. Most especially they cannot be built by well-meaning but culturally arrogant foreign social scientists, no matter how well intentioned and methodologically sophisticated. . . Nations build themselves by and through historical experience.[17]

The skeptics seem to echo Kipling's warning that "the savage wars of peace" will not result in harmony and gratitude, but in loss, blame and hate.

In short, it is time for the White Men (and everyone else who has recently joined up) to give up their burden. The Harper government's approach in its latest intervention in Iraq seems to be a reasonable alternative. Within the overall objectives of assisting the government of Iraq and blunting and eventually defeating the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, the Canadian government is supporting a politically viable and cohesive community (the Kurds) against a common enemy. Canada is not trying to engineer a regime change, change Kurdish society or deploy major land forces. Instead, air forces, special forces, and technology are being used to assist a regional ally. Although the mission has been extended and air strikes expanded to include Syria, the government has constantly reiterated it does not intend to deploy significant ground forces, even when faced with military reverses. On the other hand, it has begun minor aid projects with the grandiose objective of "helping build a democratic, inclusive, resilient and well-governed Iraq."[18] There is also the risk of mission creep engendered by a desire to appeal to domestic supporters in an election year.[19]

Perhaps the Victorian Age of Canadian foreign policy may actually be over. Only time will tell. ■

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MAKING A CANADIAN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

by Dr. Peter Layton

Many argue Canada needs a National Security Strategy (NSS) but often overlook that there are two quite distinct types. The US has long used a grand strategy approach for its NSS whereas newcomer UK has opted for risk management.[1] The grand strategy approach aims to try to shape international affairs to be more favourable; it is driven by the objectives a nation seeks. In contrast, the risk management approach aims to respond meaningfully to events that might arise. It is accordingly focused on the nation having the right capabilities ready to limit the impact of an anticipated risk if it eventuates.

Which approach should Canada choose? This article addresses the question by examining these two NSS alternative approaches from a policy-making viewpoint.

Making a Grand Strategy NSS

There is much debate whether countries like Canada can even have grand strategies, as some hold only America or other great powers are capable of such grand visions This argument can be best defused by thinking of grand strategy as simply a methodology that policy-makers can choose to use to solve specific types of problems. These problems are those that firstly involve interacting with intelligent, adaptive adversaries and secondly where a particular objective can be defined. If the first factor is missing, a plan as opposed to a strategy is needed.[2] The second factor involves determining, as Liddell-Hart so eloquently put it, the kind of peace you want.[3] A grand strategy tries to change the existing relationship a country has with another nation or group of nations to something more favourable. In this regard, grand strategy is highly ambitious; it seeks to make a better future, a better peace.

At this point, some might argue that this is wrong: grand strategies seek to change the whole world, all 200 or so states. The archetypal modern grand strategy is often held to be the American containment of the USSR during the Cold War. But, even then, it by no means sought to change the whole international system. Containment was consistently focused on the bilateral relationship between the US and the USSR, even if over time actions were taken across the globe. For America, the rest of the world was seen in terms of this central relationship. Other countries could help, hinder or distract the implementation of the containment grand strategy but were unimportant in themselves.

Viewed in this light, making a Canadian grand strategy NSS starts to become a more practical policy-making exercise. For Canada then, which nation or regional grouping is the most important to focus on in terms of security? This is importance in the sense not just of threat, but also of opportunity. An NSS might focus on the nation that posed the greatest sum of opportunities if things went well and harm if they did not.

An example might be Canada's Cold War grand strategy that sought to guarantee both Canadian security and prosperity by supporting America's grand strategy; in David Pratt's memorable phase "a grand strategy within a grand strategy."[4] Indeed, in a "back to the future" Canadian NSS, the most important nation from a security viewpoint might, for many reasons, still be the US. Thinking more broadly though, others that could be considered include Russia, China or the European Union (EU).

Russia poses many problems but the prospect of a friendly Russia helping quell international crises and supporting global prosperity is tantalizing. China might be a potentially seriously worrying challenger to the current liberal world order; however, if China became an active partner, long-term prosperity and security could be assured. Lastly, the EU: might actively supporting this regional political and economic grouping give the greatest overall gain to Canadian security just as supporting the US during the Cold War did?

Why not focus on all three as well as the US? The problem is that having several grand strategies, each trying to change the relationships existing with multiple states in multiple regions, would make decision-making much harder, risk serious implementation incoherence, and dramatically increase resource demands. Casting too wide a net over too many countries, would most likely result in Canada becoming event driven, lurching from incident to incident and sliding into crisis management rather than purposefully building a better future with the most important nation or regional grouping.

The answer to which is the most important nation is a matter of judgement. Given this though, the question is what kind of a relationship does Canada want with this country? What is the better peace that is sought? It might be to work towards balancing against them, to contain the threat they pose as was done with the USSR. It may be to work with them to together build a rules-based relationship, as some propose concerning China. It may be by reforming them, by working to change the norms and beliefs that another holds to more desired ones, such as bringing democracy across the Middle East. There are a range of alternatives. But crucially, the 'ends' sought must be reasonably plausible with Canada's limited resources. An astute grand strategy can, however, also leverage off and exploit others' efforts, thereby bringing much greater resources into play.

Knowing the most important nation from the point of view of an NSS, and the future relationship that Canada seeks to build with them would provide a useful broad guide for future policy-making. Just as with the US and containment, Canada's relationships with other states and non-state actors could now be informed by whether these others help, hinder, or distract from the central security relationship of concern. Moreover, the way new crises and emerging problems were managed could be considered based on the degree to which these impacted on the central relationship. This would not mean that other relationships could be ignored, simply that broad priorities could be readily grasped.

Given known priorities, scarce resources can be focused on the most important matters. This is both crucial for nations with limited resources and a further benefit from using the grand strategy approach. As noted historian Hew Strachan observes: "if ambition outstrips resources, the need for grand strategy, and for a coherent grand strategy at that, is all the greater because waste is both unaffordable and unforgivable."[5]

These resources, the 'means' of a grand strategy, are whole-of-nation and encompass the diplomatic, information, military and economic instruments of national power. Such instruments are used in a manner integrated across time and space and focused on achieving the ends sought. For example, in the latest American NSS that proffered the rebalance to the Asia-Pacific, the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement is as important as regional military realignments.

Grand strategy does not just consider the application of diverse means, but also takes into account the development of the means necessary to implement it. The tangibles (money, manpower, and materiel) and intangibles (legitimacy and soft power) all need to be built before they can be available for use. The Transatlantic

Trade and Investment Partnership, for example, has a part to play in the Asia-Pacific rebalance. Grand strategy is a policymaking methodology with a focus on the practical.

Prioritizing the use of scarce resources is important but rarely popular. There are many demands on a nation's resources and some may advocate different priorities. The grand strategic rebalance to the Pacific means that the Middle East is now not central, but rather viewed more in terms of how it can help the main game in Northeast Asia. As an upset Max Boot argues, the Obama administration is readjusting downwards American involvement in the Middle East.[6] Unlike the earlier Bush NSS, the Obama NSS does not consider the Middle East central. It is grand strategy 'ends' that drive priorities, the application of the instruments of national power, and resource allocation, even if ultimately proving contentious.

Making a Risk Management NSS

Grand strategy is a demanding approach so thankfully there is a viable alternative: risk management. With this, the intent is not some specific objective but instead to lessen the impact of any identified risks that eventuate. In risk management the state contends with events as they occur. All countries at some time suffer misfortunes but making preparations to respond can reduce their impact.

If risks transpire there will be losses and associated costs but risk management hopefully limits such possibly negative outcomes to tolerable levels, although the degrees of acceptable damage are rarely elaborated upon. This notion of limiting losses has been extended in the idea of building resilience. Resilience objectives can vary from building capabilities and capacities to survive shocks, to continuing operation in the presence of shocks, to recovering from shocks to the original form, or to absorbing shocks and evolving in response.

The UK's 2010 NSS is a good example of this type of approach. The NSS was developed from a National Security Risk Assessment that assessed and prioritized all major areas of national security risk, whether domestic or international. The risks assessed encompass "natural disasters, man-made accidents and… malicious attacks both by states and by non-state actors, such as terrorists and organised criminals." From the fifteen priority risks determined, a shorter list of eight national security tasks was developed and this then helped define seven military tasks the Armed Forces would be funded to undertake.

This approach for an NSS has some real appeal, given its use in Canada over the last decade. Recent examples of the risk management approach (albeit with a narrower focus) include the *2004 Securing an Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy*, the *2010 Canada's Cyber Security Strategy*, and the *2013 Building Resilience Against Terrorism*. In terms of an NSS, several issues still need considering.

First, the likelihood of any particular event occurring is a matter of judgement and when assessing the impact of a disaster the tendency is for a 'worse case' analysis to be recommended. The selection of risk is therefore a political decision rather than a quantitative assessment. This is fertile ground for debate, disagreement, and bureaucratic manoeuvring; less likely risks that all can agree on may be selected almost by default. The risk from Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) was chosen as the most threatening and needing precautionary action purportedly because it was the only risk all the main actors in the American government and bureaucracy could agree on. Risk management may appear a suitably technocratic, non-politicized approach but it is not.

Second, resource prioritization and allocation is problematic, making inertia attractive. The extant resource distribution reflects past difficulties and bureaucratic battles and thus the onus of proof is on those who would propose that new risks are more likely and more terrible than the old proven harms. Disrupting an old order can lead to bureaucratic dissension and inside experts marshalling domestic constituents. In a risk management approach, staying with the current prioritization may be the easiest and – given no one knows if a risk may eventuate or not – the most appropriate of all. Risk management may seem to encourage innovation and a timely response to new and emerging threats but this is not necessarily true.

Third, risk management implicitly assumes a well-resourced state. The conventional approach is to list threats, rank them, and then fund the mitigation of just those risks for which there is sufficient resources. All risks inherently cannot be addressed; no one has enough funding for that. At the other extreme of having few resources, however most risks will go unaddressed and make the logic of this approach tenuous. In this, risk management does not actively seek a better future order where these risks are eliminated and so they will reappear indefinitely. The approach of not taking positive action to eradicate the identified risks – continually treating the symptom and not the cause – is inherently resource intensive. In the matter of how much is enough, in risk management there is, almost by design, never enough.

Lastly, good news: the intellectual and bureaucratic demands of a risk management approach are limited. It requires only the periodic compilation of possible risks and a simple focus on the 'means' almost independent of external factors.

Which Approach for Canada?

The two approaches to building an NSS have different purposes, assumptions and implications. The choice of which to use depends on the judgment of those involved; however, this is a real choice with real consequences.

A risk management NSS approach is the

simplest to develop and sustain, although advocating higher levels of defence spending simply to manage possible events that may occur can be problematic in tough economic times. A risk management approach may also expend significant resources on developing unnecessary capabilities and capacities and provide little tangible benefit; is this the best use of scarce national resources? Defence budgets can be difficult to justify with no real measure of adequacy, making sustaining reasonable budgetary levels increasingly difficult. Moreover, risk management approaches are difficult to evaluate and to hold decision-makers to account, unless the risk is realised. In this, the approach might have some political and bureaucratic appeal, even if suffering from a democratic deficit. All this is not to say the risk managament approach lacks usefulness – it clearly does. Perhaps this approach is better suited to addressing specific, narrowly focused security concerns rather than being used for an NSS.

By contrast, the grand strategy NSS approach is a complex endeavour that makes substantial, ongoing intellectual demands. It is not a "set and forget" approach but needs constant adjustment to keep on track to the desired objective. An advantage though is that a national security strategy could be devised that was compatible with other government initiatives whether domestic or international. Importantly, the goals of prosperity and security could be integrated, thereby resolving today's tensions between boosting economic growth, lowering budget deficits, and escalating defence costs. There is also a possibility that Canada may end up where the nation wishes to be, an outcome that would only be serendipitous using risk management. While the formulation and ongoing development of a Canadian grand strategy NSS might be challenging, the potential returns on the investment may be worth the trouble. ■

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Notes

1. The current examples include Barack Obama's 2015 *National Security Strategy* and David Cameron and Nick Clegg's 2010 *A Strong Britain in an Age of Uncertainty: The National Security Strategy*.
2. The 2008 *Canada First Defence Strategy* is then arguably a plan. The first sentence of the executive summary on page 3 agrees: "The Canada First Defence Strategy provides a detailed road map for the modernization of the Canadian Forces."
3. B.H. Liddell-Hart, *Strategy, 2nd Revised Edition* (New York: Signet, 1974), p. 322.
4. Matthew Trudgen, "A Canadian Approach: Canada's Cold War Grand Strategy, 1945 to 1989," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 14, 3-4 (2012), p. 3; David Pratt, "Is there a Grand Strategy in Canadian Foreign Policy?" *The 2007 Ross Ellis Memorial Lectures in Military and Strategic Studies* (Canadian Foreign and Defence Affairs Institute: Calgary, 2008), p. 19.
5. Hew Strachan, "Strategy and Contingency," *International Affairs* 87, 6 (2011), pp. 1281-96, p. 1285.
6. Max Boot, "Obama's Mideast Realignment," *The Wall Street Journal*, 25 March 2015, http://www.wsj.com/articles/max-boot-obamas-mideast-realignment-1427324786.

RECAPITALIZING A MODERN MILITARY: CANADA AND AUSTRALIA

by Dr. Andrew Davies

Australia and Canada face similar defence problems. Both have a continent-sized area to surveil and defend, and both have frontages onto three quite different theatres – the Atlantic, Pacific, and Arctic in Canada's case, and the Pacific, Indian, and Southern Oceans for Australia. Both have to develop the defence force required for the task from the resources generated by relatively small populations. The two Commonwealth countries are also culturally and demographically similar.

Not surprisingly, the defence forces and policies of Australia and Canada are similar – in fact, remarkably similar. Both are American allies, and both maintain forces that are technologically sophisticated but small in overall size compared to major powers (See Table 1).

Table 1. Australia and Canada comparators

	Australia	Canada
Population (2013)	23.1 million	35.2 million
Defence budget (billion $)	A$32.1 US$25.0	C$19.0 US$15.3
Defence budget (% GDP)	1.93	1.0
Army (full time)	28,600	25,000
Strike fighter aircraft	95	77
Maritime patrol aircraft	18	14
Surface combatants	12	13
Submarines	6	4

Source: World Bank, budget papers, IISS Military Balance 2014, Strategic Outlook for Canada 2014/2015

A glance at Table 1 will show that Australia and Canada have made remarkably similar investment decisions in the past. However, there are signs that they might be heading in different directions in the future, as the budgetary outlooks of the two militaries are markedly different. This paper looks at the prospects for force modernization and operational funding for the two militaries in the years ahead.

Defence Inflation and Force Structures

In order to put the discussion of future budgets in perspective, it is worth noting that a real budget increase is required every year in order for military effectiveness not to go backwards. The cost of maintaining a defence force increases faster than consumer inflation because wage growth, health costs, and other inputs typically outstrip the rise in prices of consumer goods. While there is some debate about the magnitude of the effect in general,[1] it can be substantial in some circumstances. For example, in the past decade, Australian wages for defence personnel increased at around 2.5 percent above inflation each year.[2] There cost of specialized materiel rose by around 1.5 percent in real terms. And when it comes time to recapitalize major military capabilities, there is the added effect of substantial real increases in unit costs over time.

The net result of these factors is a tension between the defence capabilities sought and the budget required to acquire and maintain them. A government weighing investment in its defence forces and against other portfolios essentially has three choices:

- provide real increases in the defence budget each year just to maintain the current forces (and even more if it wants to modernize or expand them);
- accept that cutting the defence budget or keeping it the same in real terms means that capability will decline;
- find efficiencies in the way that the defence budget is spent to stave off the effect of rising prices while maintaining capability.

The last of those, which has been tried by governments around the world at various times, is not going to keep the wolves from the door in perpetuity. But even if – and it is a big 'if' – a one-off saving of 10 percent could be generated, defence inflation of 2 percent above consumer price index (CPI) would negate the effect in under five years.

Successive Australian governments have tacitly adopted the second option at

various times when they have preferred to spend their money elsewhere (though of course not announcing that a capability decline would be the result). The capability of the Australian Defence Force (ADF) ran down considerably in the 1990s as a consistently flat budget profile eroded buying power. After just eking through the East Timor operation launched in late 1999, the government saw fit to deliver a substantial funding boost in the early 2000s. The result was an improvement in both availability and operational effectiveness throughout the decade – but as soon as money tightened a little following the global financial crisis, the inexorable effect of inflation meant that the Army and Navy found themselves mothballing platforms again in the early 2010s.[3] While the ADF today is in pretty good shape, there is a little fraying around the edges in places; for example, a substantial amount of facilities maintenance has been deferred.

Canada's story is again very similar. The period 1995-2004 was one in which the funding provided was inadequate to sustain the forces, and significant force structure shortfalls appeared. The 2015 Parliamentary Budget Officer (PBO) report into defence funding noted that there was shortfall in funding across that decade of approximately C$13.4 billion,[4] which resulted in the 'hollowing out' of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF). This was

> [m]anifested most significantly in a shortage of trained personnel, loss of airlift and surveillance capability in the Air Force, loss of command, control and air defence platforms in the Navy and loss of direct and indirect fire capabilities and wheeled logistics vehicles in the Army.[5] …A very recent example is the complete loss of at-sea replenishment capability for the Navy.[6]

In response, defence funding was ramped up in 2005 and – much like in Australia – additional resources above and beyond the 'tread water' level (approximately C$20.9 billion) were provided, which allowed many of the force structure and readiness deficiencies to be addressed.

That is the backdrop for the analysis below of the future prospects for the armed forces of the two nations. As will be seen, the prospects for the ADF seem to be much healthier than for the CAF. That should not be surprising, as even a cursory review of the figures in Table 1 shows that Canada maintains an armed force of a roughly similar size to Australia but has a current budget that is almost 40 percent smaller.

Future Budget Plans

While everything so far in this paper has suggested a close parallel between the two countries approach to defence, the future might be quite different. Australia's government has a stated policy of increasing defence spending to 2 percent of GDP by FY 2023-24. While the current-year Australian defence budget figure in Table 1, which represents a full 6.1 percent real increase on the previous year, might suggest that the target is remarkably close, in fact the GDP percentage figure is inflated by supplementation for foreign exchange effects (in practice this is mostly the decline of the Australian dollar relative to the greenback) and for the cost of operations. There is no substantial extra buying power for the ADF yet. But if the spending promises are kept, by some estimates as much as an extra A$70 billion (US$55 billion) will be made available for capital investment over the next decade, even allowing for the greater than inflation cost increases in personnel and operating costs.[7]

In Canada, however, the situation looks very different. Since 2008, the Canadian Government's stated policy under its Canada First Defence Strategy (CFDS) has been to increase defence funding at a rate of 2 percent nominal growth per year – i.e., no real growth at all if underlying inflation runs at 2 percent. Given that defence inflation is higher still, that almost guarantees a rundown in defence capability again, albeit a slower one than seen in the 1990s and early 2000s. The 2015 PBO report notes that in the period 1995-2014, the average annual funding growth of the CAF was 1.9 percent real (though the use of an average figure belies the reality of years of underinvestment followed by remedial overinvestment relative to the baseline), compared to cost growth of 1.5 percent real. Quite why defence inflation was so low in that period is not clear, but it does mean that there was enough money for modest remediation to occur.

However, the net result was more or less a catch up to earlier levels of readiness and capability. For as long as defence gets a 2 percent nominal increase and consumer inflation runs around the 2 percent mark (consistent with most predictions), the future Canadian defence budget will be flat in real terms, and defence inflation will result in a steady decline of buying power for the CAF. If that situation continued for a decade, the PBO estimated that the Canadian defence budget in the year 2025 would be more than C$6 billion lower than the amount required just for sustainability and the cumulative shortfall across the period 2015–25 would be a whopping C$42 billion.

The PBO also examined cases in which Canadian defence funding increased as a constant 1.1 percent share of GDP (which assumes, of course, that GDP continues to grow) and, as a best case, in which the 1.9 percent real average of the preceding decades was maintained. Neither of those approaches comes close to closing the gap – the least bad result being a C$33 billion cumulative shortfall in the 1.9 percent model.

That was the setting against which the Canadian government announced in its 2015 budget an increase of the defence budget by 3 percent nominal each year, starting in 2017/18. Assuming that inflation doesn't rise over 3 percent in that time, at least it is now a real increase.

But it is still likely to be significantly lower than the 1.9 percent real of the PBO's "least bad case" – which itself was not a great prognosis for Canada's defence forces.[8]

Australia's new guided missile destroyer HMAS *Hobart* under construction. (Image credit: Bahudhara via Wikimedia Commons.)

Those sorts of deficit would be bad enough if Canada was able to soldier on with its existing materiel. But the CAF needs to do some major recapitalization of its frontline assets, not least among them being the replacement of the CAF's ageing CF-18 Hornet strike fighters. The corresponding program in Australia has seen 24 F/A-18F Super Hornets purchased and in service already, with 72 F-35A Joint Strike Fighters approved for purchase later this decade. The total cost of those acquisitions is likely to be around A$20 billion (approximately C$19.2 billion).

Similarly, the Canadian Air Force would ideally like to replace its CP-140 Aurora maritime patrol aircraft. Australia has already signed deals to replace its similar vintage AP-3C Orions with a mixture of P-8 Poseidon and MQ-4 triton aircraft, at a total approved cost of around A$7 billion. Bluntly stated, Canada will not be recapitalizing its aircraft fleets with the sort of money likely to be made available. In fact, even major upgrades to keep the current fleets flying would have to be marginal propositions.

Similarly, while Australia is developing plans for an enlarged fleet of submarines (from six to anywhere from eight to twelve) and replacements for its existing frigates – again with extras being a possibility – just looking at the budget available, it seems likely that any such modernization plans for Canada will perforce be much more modest in scope that Australia's acquisitions. Australia has spent A$9 billion building three Hobart class guided missile destroyers, and is expected to spend A$20 billion or more on each of the expanded future submarine fleet and future frigates, the latter almost certainly being substantially bigger than the current 3,000-ton Anzac class. Even with the promised 3 percent annual increase, it is hard to see how the CAF can free up upwards of C$50 billion for a similar program.

Why the difference?

Given the remarkable similarities between the current and past trajectories of Australian and Canadian defence funding, it seems odd that they are now apparently diverging so markedly. Of course, we should note the caveat that plans are plans, not reality. Canada could change its mind as the realities of the current abstemious policy sink in. And a future Australian government could decide that it has better things to do with 2 percent of GDP – it was less than two years ago that the then government thought 1.58 percent was acceptable.

So the question is actually what is it about the current day that has led to such big differences in outlook? Domestic politics always plays a part, but at least from the other side of the Pacific, that does not look so different. Australia and Canada also have similar local defence industries and the special pleading for government money from industry sectors such as naval shipbuilding looks pretty much the same everywhere.

The answer might lie in each country's assessment of the security position. One very substantial difference between Australia and Canada is geography. While both are about the same size, one of us has an alliance and a long land border with the United States while the other has only an alliance, being instead at the end of very long lines of communication. That simple fact means that, all other things being equal, Australia has to work harder than Canada at alliance maintenance to be sure of the security guarantee. That probably explains the existing difference in government spending priority shown by the commitment of just 1 percent of GDP on Canada's defence compared to well over 1.5 percent for Australia.

But it does not quite explain why the difference is set to grow larger. The rest of the explanation is China, or more accurately the growing hard power and

Australia's new Canberra-class Landing Helicopter Dock HMAS *Canberra* prior to being commissioned . (Image credit: Hpeterswald via Wikimedia Commons.)

assertiveness being wielded by Beijing. As a result, the security situation on the western side of the Pacific is less sanguine than to the east. Successive Australian governments have noted the decline in relative American power, and the 2009 Australian Defence White Paper (DWP 2009) was fairly direct on the issue:

> In Northeast Asia, China is likely to be able to continue to afford its foreshadowed core military modernisation. Over the long term, this could affect the strategic reach and global postures of the major powers.
>
> There are many potential strategic scenarios that could emerge. Any future that might see a potential contraction of US strategic presence in the Asia-Pacific region, with a requirement for allies and friends to do more in their own regions, would adversely affect Australian interests, regional stability and global security.[9]

It also added that

> there is likely to be a question in the minds of regional states about the long-term strategic purpose of [China's] force development plans, particularly as the modernisation appears potentially to be beyond the scope of what would be required for a conflict over Taiwan.[10]

As foreshadowed above in the discussion of the difference between plans and reality, DWP 2009's enhanced force structure expansion and the funds promised to acquire it failed to materialize – subsequent defence spending went down rather than up. That could happen again, but the underlying strategic concern remains, and that will tend to bolster the resolve of Australian governments to spend on Defence. If it is serious about fixing the looming defence funding crisis, perhaps Canada needs to learn to worry a bit more. ■

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Notes

1. Malcolm Chalmers et al, *Defence Inflation: reality or myth*, RUSI Defence Systems, June 2009.

2. Mark Thomson, *The Cost of Defence 2008–09* (Canberra: Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2008), section 2.5.

3. See for example the ADF Chief of Army's 2012 explanation of the decision to mothball armoured vehicles: http://news.defence.gov.au/2012/05/11/chief-of-army-letter-to-the-editor-the-west-australian/

4. Canada, Parliamentary Budget Officer, *Fiscal Sustainability of Canada's National Defence Program* (hereinafter PBO Report) (Ottawa: Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer, 26 March 2015), page 10.

5. PBO Report, p. 18 (footnote 29), quoting Douglas L. Bland, ed., *Canada without Armed Forces* (Montreal: McGill - Queen's University Press, 2004).

6. PBO Report, p. 18 (footnote 30).

7. Mark Thomson, *The Cost of Defence 2015–16* (Canberra: Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Canberra, 2015).

8. For an expansion on these observations, see also David McDonough, "Mind the 'gaps' in Canadian defence policy, even after Budget 2015," *OpenCanada.org*, 23 April 2015, http://opencanada.org/features/mind-the-gaps-in-canadian-defence-policy-even-after-budget-2015/

9. Australia, Department of Defence, *Defending Australia in the Asia–Pacific century: force 2030* (Canberra: May 2009), p. 32, http://www.defence.gov.au/whitepaper/2009/docs/defence_white_paper_2009.pdf.

10. Ibid., p. 34.

FUTURE FULL OF UNCERTAINTY FOR CANADIAN NAVAL RESERVES

by Ken Hansen

The senior leaders of the Royal Canadian Navy have a new mantra: "One Navy." It is used unofficially to assert the concept of conformity within the organization. Of the many sub-groups within the navy, the naval reserve seems to be the principle target of this new push for uniformity. But, compelling distinct people into a one-size-fits-all construct could invite some unpleasant consequences. The results of this new direction in organizational change are already becoming evident, some of which were unanticipated.

This should not have been the case. The history of the naval reserve is full of indicators that are clear warning signs any move to amalgamate them into the regular force navy would be difficult at best to accomplish. In the worst case, this could cause a major disruption to the naval identity, which has been characterized by a friendly, if not exactly cozy, relationship between the regulars and reserves.

It is a long way from "Sea to Shining Sea" in Canada (4,473 kilometers from Halifax to Victoria, according to Answers.com). Now that climate change is causing a great thaw in the north, the challenges of distance in Canada are growing even greater. The Harper Government has launched the National Shipbuilding Procurement Strategy with plans to build the Arctic Offshore Patrol Ship (AOPS) at the Irving Shipyard in Halifax. The lead ship of the class, which may eventually number five or six, is to be named after Vice-Admiral Harry DeWolf.[1] The ships are intended to bring a significant naval presence to the north that has not been possible, with the exception of a series of short exercises last summer, since HMCS *Labrador* was part of the naval fleet between July 1954 and November 1957.

It is no secret that the navy was slow to adopt the idea that northern sovereignty patrols would become part of its official set of missions. Seen largely as a coast guarding platform, a slow and barely armed ship like the DeWolf-class doesn't do much, if anything, to add to the combat capability of the navy. The idea that manning the AOPS would become a reserve responsibility was unofficially discussed but never formally announced. In a recent interview, Vice-Admiral Mark Norman mentioned the naval reserve only once, and that was in the context of reducing their contingent in the Kingston-class Maritime Coastal Defence Vessels (MCDV) from 100 percent to 60 percent.[2] The move, never publicly explained, appears to have been done for a wide variety of reasons.

Handing duties to the reserves for which the regular navy holds no passion has been a habit of long-standing in Canada. During the Second World War, reservists were assigned to what were viewed as secondary functions: amphibious operations, minesweeping, merchant ship inspection, port control, manning of minor warships for patrol and escort, and a wide variety of logistical duties. The advantage was the regulars could concentrate on gaining the proficiencies for modern naval warfare that they clearly lacked: the downside was that a lot of wartime experience was never codified into doctrine and was lost when conflict-only reservists returned to their civilian lives.

The current concept of the naval reserve dates back to the 1980s, when they were massively restructured and reorganized in an effort to deliver functional capabilities, including: route survey and mine clearance, harbour defence, and naval control of shipping. Unqualified sailors or those with qualifications no longer related to the primary functions were purged. It was a whole new lease on life and the start of a new relationship with the regular navy. That all started to unravel when the Cold War ended.

The twelve Kingston-class ships were envisioned to be training platforms for a group of about ten minesweepers and minehunters that would bring our reserve navy into functional alignment with other NATO navies. When peace broke out, the 'real' mine clearance ships were cancelled and the regular force navy assigned the Kingston-class ships a new function: coastal defence. Never mind that the ships were not designed for such a job. The regular navy could once again pass off tedious sovereignty patrols and concentrate on what they viewed as more important work.

The result was that the naval reserves became split along functional lines between those hired on yearly full-time contracts to man the coastal defence ships and those participating in part-

HMCS *Saskatoon*, one of the RCN's fleet of Kingston-class MCDVs, training alongside a CH-149 Cormorant helicopter. (Image credit: Rayzlens via Wikimedia Commons.)

time training nights at the 24 reserve 'divisions' across the country. In contrast, the 'perma-reservists' averaged 150 days at sea while regular-force sailors averaged just 89 days over the same period. The best that the remaining reservists might look forward to was a two-week training 'stint' onboard any ship that would take them in the summer. It had to fit in their vacation time from civilian employment. The original strategic idea of the 'citizen sailor,' someone from the local community that could become a visible and credible representation of the navy to the majority of the population inland,[3] became of decidedly secondary importance to the task-oriented navy.

As the budget cuts over the last ten years piled up, the naval leadership was faced with a conundrum. The MCDVs were exceptionally cost-effective to operate. Ten of the twelve ships are kept running while the other two rotated into short maintenance periods that still made all twelve available for summer 'peak demand' reserve training. The rest of the time they did a myriad of small tasks, mostly in local waters, although trips to the Caribbean for counter-drug operations and to the north for Operation *Nanook* were becoming commonplace.

The problem is that to keep this capability, the navy is required to maintain a reserve organization of about 4,200 people in 24 locations,[4] which includes a stand-alone headquarters in Quebec City plus a variety of training and support personnel integrated into the maritime operations groups on both coasts. The ships themselves have a full complement of only 47 people. If all twelve ships are manned, the total ship crewing bill is 564 people, or a little over 13 percent of the total. Adding a few more for staff positions might raise the total to 20 percent but not more. Compared to the manpower bill for the regular navy, which operates on a 60-40 sea-shore ratio, that is seen by the regulars as a high price to pay for a constabulary and coast guarding type of capability.

As program allocations shrank, all parts for the navy were subjected to intense scrutiny. Among the first cuts felt by the reserve were the education reimbursements that made part-time navy jobs attractive to university students. That the reserve force is far better educated than the regular navy is one of the ironic outcomes of this way of attracting recruits. The move to place regulars into the Kingston-class ships – driven by shrinkage in the size of the destroyer-frigate-replenisher fleet – caused more reserve jobs and training bunks to disappear.

At a recent public presentation in Halifax about the AOPS program, the decision

to make regular force qualification standards common for positions in the new DeWolf-class ships was made public.[5] The 'CPF-Standard' for all trades will mean that reservists wanting to serve will have to find a way to attend months-long courses; otherwise they will not be eligible for jobs in the new ships. The old Kingston-class ships will undoubtedly be decommissioned as the new DeWolf-class ships enter service. Added to this is the news from reserve career managers to their clients that, once promoted to the rank of petty officer, jobs for reservists in the fleet will be exceptionally few; administrative training and drill back at the division on a part-time basis will be the most they can look forward to.

Not surprisingly, the net result of all of these changes was a plummet in naval reserve recruitment rates. Lee Berthiuame reported in December of 2014 that the uptake was only 21.3 percent of targets.[6] This unrefined number hides the ongoing problem of attracting and retaining reserve sailors for the technical trades. Basic seamanship jobs in the Boatswain's trade remain popular but most others are being turned down for lack of a workable plan to achieve the requisite qualifications on a part-time basis.

The size of the Canadian naval reserve is not disproportionate to the international standard. At about 37 percent of the strength of the regular naval force manpower, it is very close to the global average of 35 percent.[7] Internationally, naval reserve organizations fulfill one of three institutional functions: provider of specialist services, a general manpower recruitment tool for the regular navy, or a supplementary manpower pool comprised of former regular force members who have left after a requisite period of service. In the Canadian case, all of these options have been closed in favor of integrating the reserves interchangeably with regulars but only at the most junior levels. This has undoubtedly been chosen as the lowest cost and simplest option to operate.
What could the future hold for the naval reserves? Based on the administrative changes that have taken place and the unofficial plan for 'One Navy,' it is hard to remain optimistic about there being an ongoing distinct reserve identity. The ability to maintain the large and stand-alone network of reserve infrastructure across the country will probably be a target for future cost cutting activities. As the identity of reservists is subsumed into the larger navy, the need for such a network of installations will diminish. This is where the most significant clash of culture will come about.

The purpose of the naval reserve in Canada, as originally conceived by its founder Commodore (later Rear-Admiral) Walter Hose, was to make the navy visible to the public so that it could not be reduced to the point of irrelevance. Despite its confinement to small cities on the coasts, the modern navy has to be part of the national fabric, both French and English: "The most effective method of educating the people is to bring the Navy to their doors, into the lives of families and their friends … a reserve force distributed across Canada would bring the Navy home to a great number of people."[8] Anything that removes this capability will come into conflict with the strategic purpose of the reserve in Canada; the ability to communicate directly and intimately with the people and, in turn, translate that understanding into political leverage. Cost cutting for the sake of small savings at such an expense should only be made with a clear and abundantly workable alternate vision for the future of the reserve. That, to me, does not appear to be the case. ■

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7. J. Matthew Gillis, *The Global Navy/Coast Guard Relationship: A Mandate-Based Typology* (Halifax, NS: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 2010), p. 13, Table 2.

8. Comments attributed to former naval secretary of the RCN, Paymaster Commander J.A.E. Woodhouse, RN, in 1927, as cited in Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy: The First Century* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 62.

WHAT THE CRITICS GET WRONG: A REALISTIC APPRAISAL OF CANADA'S ARCTIC OFFSHORE PATROL SHIPS

by Timothy Choi

The Royal Canadian Navy's (RCN) planned Harry DeWolf-class Arctic Offshore Patrol Ships (AOPS) have been the subject of much controversy. The RCN has done little more than present the ships' strict capabilities and missions, isolated from the greater environmental and geopolitical contexts in which they will operate.[1] As a result, there is little appreciation amongst the general public for these ships, especially given well-publicized reports critical of these ships. This article will repudiate many of the concerns put forth against the AOPS.[2]

Criticisms of the AOPS have generally fallen into two camps: on the one side are those who claim the ships are completely inappropriate for Canada's needs and should be replaced in their entirety; on the other side are those who believe the AOPS design is a good start, but requires significant improvements in its military capabilities. The position of the former is perhaps best summarized in the report *Titanic Blunder* by Michael Byers and Stewart Webb,[3] and the latter in a *Canadian Naval Review* article by Rob Huebert.[4]

Byers and Webb argue that the AOPS design is irrelevant to the point that it should be completely replaced by the purchase of two separate classes of ships: an unspecified addition to the Canadian Coast Guard (CCG) that takes into account constabulary capabilities and a small, speedy intercept vessel to fulfill the offshore patrol duty in the Atlantic and Pacific. The basis for this recommendation is their assessment that the AOPS is, essentially, a poor jack-of-all-trades and master of none. The bulk of this article will deconstruct and rebuke their arguments, as well as some of those of Huebert's.

As an Arctic Patrol Ship

One of *Titanic Blunder*'s main arguments against the AOPS as a suitable Arctic vessel is its inability to break as much ice as dedicated icebreakers. Of course, this is true. However, as a naval platform, the AOPS' primary duty is to offer a counter to a source of threat. Thus, what matters is not how much ice the AOPS can break, but whether it can operate in as much ice as other countries' armed ice-capable vessels: the threat is another vessel, not the ice itself. So the relevant question is whether the AOPS can access the same area as another vessel that may offer an armed challenge to Canadian or contested maritime territory?

The answer is probably yes. The other four Arctic Ocean navies and coast guards lack an armed vessel known to exceed the AOPS' Polar Class 5 standard: the ability to operate in a metre of first-year ice. The Royal Danish Navy's Thetis-class patrol frigates are also rated for operations in up to one metre of ice, while their newer Knud Rasmussen-class is limited to only 80 centimetres. The Norwegian navy is devoid of ice-capable vessels, though their Coast Guard's Svalbard and three old Nordkapp-class appear capable of operating in no more than one metre of ice.[5]

The United States has an impoverished capacity to operate in ice; its two remaining Coast Guard icebreakers are unarmed, and none of its Navy's ships are rated for ice operations. The US does have an extensive fleet of submarines capable of polar operations, but they are hardly suitable for any likely force-based encounters in the North. There is also little progress in the US Coast Guard's quest to renew its icebreaking fleet. Finally, the Russian Navy also lacks ice-capable surface ships, even if their coast guard equivalent does own six Ivan Susanin-class vessels with a size – a key determinant for ice-breaking – that suggests a similar rating as Norway's Nordkapp-class. Although the Russian Northern Fleet is currently building four icebreakers, they are capable of operating in only 80cm of ice and appear to be unarmed, meant for escort missions along Russia's Northern Sea Route.[6]

To sum up, there does not appear to exist an armed vessel between the Arctic Ocean states that can operate where the AOPS cannot, either today or in the near future. Importantly, as the Arctic ice decreases in extent and thickness each year due to climate change, the Harry DeWolf-class will be able to operate for an extended duration of the year in the North, gradually transforming them from an occasional presence to a more permanent fixture.

The other distinctive aspect of the AOPS is its armaments: one 25mm cannon in a climate-controlled housing and two .50 calibre machine guns. Of the different

An artist's impression of the Harry DeWolf-class Arctic Offshore Patrol Ship. (Image credit: Royal Canadian Navy.)

armed Arctic vessels listed above, these weapons make Canada's AOPS the least heavily-armed of them all. Its competitors wield gun calibers between 57mm and 76mm. On this point, both *Titanic Blunder* and Huebert agree as a point of critique, though from two different directions: the former that the weapons are completely unnecessary, the latter that it is insufficient.

While most Arctic observers agree that a shooting war between states over Arctic issues is highly unlikely, the possibility of small-scale challenges over contested maritime boundaries cannot be discounted, nor too should non-state threats to maritime security. For Canada, the Northwest Passage's (NWP) slow, but eventual, opening to Arctic and trans-Arctic shipping has resulted in a still unresolved sovereignty issue. In essence, while Canada sees the NWP as internal waters over which it has complete authority to regulate traffic, most other states – including our US, Norwegian, and Danish allies – view it as an international strait subject to no Canadian control beyond that allowed in Article 42 of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), such as pollution issues.[7]

Thus, if another country wants to send a vessel through the NWP, Canada needs a means to threaten tangible consequences. Should the intruder be one of the aforementioned ice-capable military vessels, or be escorted by one, the AOPS gun can offer an option other than asking the intruder to stop. While critics such as Huebert lament the AOPS' lack of "teeth," it is also crucial to note that the point of having a patrol vessel is not to sink or destroy a violator but to deter violations by the threat of force. The force of a 25mm cannon, in this context, is more than sufficient to cause casualties to any enemy vessel at close ranges, and thereby induce the intruder's commander to think twice before risking the lives of his crew. The difference between a ship with a 25mm gun and one with a 76mm at close ranges is not so great as to induce the former to have no choice but to surrender without a fight.

The same situation may also occur with the eventual opening of the broader Arctic Ocean and its extended continental shelf. Due to a significant backlog, the UN still needs many years to examine all of the Arctic states' extended continental shelf submissions. Until that occurs, countries may well begin exploratory and even extractive operations of seabed resources in areas that may overlap with those of neighboring states. Even after the UN deems all parties' submissions to be scientifically valid, one still needs to resolve any possible overlapping results. Again, this may result in subtle shows of

force where contradicting parties come to assert their presence. Given that the Arctic states' ice-capable armed ships are all roughly equally armed,[8] the AOPS' armament should be sufficient to deter a potential aggressor. In the event an encounter takes place in ice-free waters, Canada can of course also send its non-ice-capable warships as a counter.[9]

Lest the reader mistakenly thinks that an armed AOPS is unjustified, I offer a recent maritime security incident that occurred in the Dardanelles Strait. On 12 March 2015, the Turkish Coast Guard ordered the cargo vessel *Doğan Kartal* to halt for inspection while transiting the Dardanelles. The vessel refused to do so, and the Coast Guard had to resort to opening fire, targeting the engine room and disabling it in preparation for boarding. On board were 337 illegal Syrian migrants on their way to Italy.[10] Regardless of the vessel's cargo and purpose, this incident shows quite clearly that a country wishing to enforce its laws on even non-state actors requires the option of an armed response.

Finally, *Titanic Blunder* criticizes the AOPS for not having sufficient fuel capacity for Arctic operations. While the ships will undoubtedly have only two-thirds the range of the CCG's major icebreakers, one should keep in mind the Nanisivik forward refuelling facility. With this facility, the AOPS' lesser organic range can be significantly extended, lengthening their patrol time in the North. Critics may point to Nanisivik's reduced size and scope but they do not specify how, exactly, this will affect the AOPS' ability to remain on station. After all, while Nanisivik will no longer be permanently manned, this does little to affect the AOPS' ability to access its fuel, nor does the reduction in the facility's fuel reserves necessarily means there will be less fuel than required to make full use of the patrol season. The delay in Nanisivik's completion has also been cause for concern; however, the AOPS' own delay into entry means that the former will actually be ready around the same time as the latter.

As an Offshore Patrol Vessel

Titanic Blunder also criticizes the AOPS as a non-Arctic patrol vessel: that it is insufficiently armed for patrol duties, too slow to catch smugglers, and too unstable for helicopter operations. The authors suggested that Canada should procure the Sentinel or Armidale-class patrol ships used by the US Coast Guard and Royal Australian Navy instead. However, this suggestion makes little logical sense: neither options are rated for heavier armament and are in fact equipped with the same 25mm gun as the AOPS. Furthermore, if a seaborne

An artist's impression of the Harry DeWolf-class Arctic Offshore Patrol Ship. (Image credit: Royal Canadian Navy.)

threat emerges that exceeds the ability of these guns to address, it would be the responsibility of the rest of the RCN's fleet of major surface combatants (whether the modernized Halifax-class or their replacement) and submarines, as opposed to simply patrol vessels. Byers and Webb's call for a better armed offshore patrol vessel thus makes the very basic error of assuming patrol ships are the sole source of Canada's maritime defence.

An artist's impression of the Harry DeWolf-class Arctic Offshore Patrol Ship. (Image credit: Royal Canadian Navy.)

So the critics are on thin ice regarding AOPS' armaments. How about speed? It is true the AOPS is slow for a patrol vessel, with its maximum speed of 17 knots compared to the 25 knots of the Sentinel and Armidale classes. *Titanic Blunder*'s rationale for increased speeds is based on the assumption that this is necessary for catching smugglers in high speed boats. There are two problems with this. First, a patrol vessel, regardless of whether it is operating at 17 or 25 knots, is not going to be able to catch up to a "go-fast" drug smuggler cruising at over 65 knots. Of course, the "go-fast" speedboat problem is one more common to the Caribbean than Canadian shores, but as the RCN's frequent contributions to Operation Caribbe demonstrates, this is a mission for which our patrol ships will need to be prepared.

So if the patrol ship's speed is irrelevant to catching fast-moving targets, what is the alternative? In fact, the AOPS offers a much better option than the proposals in *Titanic Blunder*: the same helicopter pad that Byers and Webb deride as a feature necessary only for Arctic operations. No patrol vessel can catch up to a dedicated speedboat, but a helicopter definitely can. Indeed, this has been the lesson learnt by the US Coast Guard, which deploys helicopters on its helipad-equipped cutters exactly for this role.[11] Thus, a helicopter deployed on the AOPS will be imminently more suitable for the maritime security role in both Arctic and non-Arctic regions than an option that sacrifices organic aviation capabilities for a mere 8 knot increase in speed.

Finally, *Titanic Blunder* claims the AOPS are insufficiently stable for helicopter operations – that their lack of seaworthiness requires a helicopter "haul-down" system, which is not planned to be built into the AOPS from the outset. Given the paragraph above, this would certainly seem to put a large hole in the favourable assessment of the AOPS' utility. However, to what extent is it true? Contrary to early rumours on the removal of its original active stabilization system, the RCN's latest illustrations for the AOPS, dated April 2015, highlight that this system remains fully in place and have not been removed. These stabilizers, located far below the waterline and which act like an underwater version of an aircraft's wings, automatically rotate and adjust themselves in order to reduce the amount of rolling experienced by the vessel. For a hull as "tubby" as the AOPS, this is especially necessary to reduce undesired movements. The fact that they appear to still be in the plans is very good news.

However, even if the stabilization system is insufficient to provide a steady landing pad for helicopters in heavy seas, it should be noted that the AOPS is fitted for, but not with, a helicopter haul-down system.[12] Thus, if it becomes necessary to ever install such a device, it should be accomplished with minimum difficulty. In any case, some helicopter capability is still better than none, which would be the case if Byers and Webb's suggestion was adopted.

AOPS and Underwater Surveillance: A Way Forward?

Although providing a strident defence of the current AOPS design, this article does not preclude room for improvement. Perhaps the most significant would be the ability for underwater surveillance. The Arctic, being difficult to access for surface vessels due to sea ice, has long been the operational area for nuclear-powered submarines – Russian and American ones being the most common, but French and British as well. Non-Arctic powers such as China, which has a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines, have also indicated their interest in the North. As the unexpected arrival of the Chinese icebreaker *Xue Long* in Tuktoyaktuk in 1999 illustrates, there is no guarantee

that other states, friendly or not, will comply with Canadian requests for prior notice – especially not for ever-secretive submarine operations. Thus, to support *de facto* control over the country's northern waterways, Canada must have a modicum of underwater surveillance capability.

Although repeated efforts have been made to develop such a capability, such as Northern Watch,[13] these have often been too fragile for a hostile natural environment. Sonar buoys in the water, for example, were quickly crushed between ice sheets. Recently, however, Defence Research and Development Canada (DRDC) developed and tested a new means of underwater surveillance from on top of the ice called "geobuoys," which are vibration sensors dropped from aircraft, with their icepick nose securing them into the sea ice below.[14] Much in the way sonar buoys can hear sounds, these geobuoys can pick up minute vibrations transferred from an underwater object to the water, through the sea ice, and thence into the geobuoy. Details are sparse regarding their efficacy against submarines, but DRDC's public statement that these are meant for monitoring underwater activities relevant to the military's interests leaves little ambiguity as to the geobuoys' intended target.

But where does the AOPS fit into all this? The key is in the geobuoys' air-dropped characteristic. The AOPS, having an organic aviation capability, can take advantage of its onboard helicopter to deploy these geobuoys. This not only gives the AOPS an underwater surveillance capability without needing to carry out costly and complicated hull modifications for a hull-mounted sonar, but it will also increase its surveillance range far beyond that provided by normal sonar. This fact certainly ameliorates Huebert's concern over the difficulties of installing shipboard sonar systems on the AOPS. But it also underlines his point on the need to make the AOPS fully compatible with Canada's new Cyclone maritime helicopters. As it stands, the AOPS can operate and refuel the Cyclone, but is limited in its ability to carry out the maintenance required for more robust and enduring operations. Alternatively, a joint approach involving fixed-wing Royal Canadian Air Force aircraft dropping geobuoys in larger amounts may be possible. In this scenario, the AOPS will be there to provide a persistent "node" for the collection and processing of geobuoy data.

The issue then becomes a matter of what the ship should (or could) do if it detects an unknown submarine. The ability to prosecute targets in ice-covered conditions is one that has vexed the surface anti-submarine warfare community for many years. A torpedo, whether surface-launched or air-dropped, is not suited for punching through the sea ice to get underwater. However, there may be the possibility of simply lowering a torpedo from the stern of an ice-capable vessel through the ice it has broken. The AOPS' stern cargo deck, which can fit multiple standard 20-foot containers, is being built to be compatible with "towed bodies." In theory, this should be adaptable for a possible torpedo deployment mechanism to assist in prosecuting hostile contacts. Although concerns exist over acoustic performance underneath sea ice, there are already plans to modify existing Mk. 46 torpedoes to make them compatible with such conditions.[15]

That said, it appears highly unlikely that the AOPS will ever come into a situation in which it will fire in anger, even if it could, against a submarine target. As a vessel whose military mission is limited to that of sovereignty assertion, rather than defence *per se*, keeping the AOPS as a monitor of the North may be the more practical course. In this mission, it may well suffice to do as the Finns did in the April 2015 when confronted with a suspected incursion by a foreign submarine in their waters: drop some small depth charges meant to inform the target that they have been noticed, not harm them.[16] The battle for Arctic maritime sovereignty would be better fought in an international legal and diplomatic venue, supported by robust evidence collected from the AOPS fleet, than under the waters of the fragile northern ecosystem.

Conclusion

The Harry DeWolf-class will bring a transformative new capability to Canada's maritime domain awareness activities. Contrary to critics, the AOPS is a well-balanced design that can carry out the missions expected of it. It will be able to access any ice-covered areas that its naval rivals seek to approach, be sufficiently armed for deterring undesired intrusions, and prosecute non-state surface targets via its organic aviation capability. The large size of the AOPS also makes it imminently more suitable for adopting future technologies, such as unmanned aerial vehicles, than smaller conventional patrol ships. If there are legitimate criticisms of the Arctic Offshore Patrol Ships, they do no lay within the capabilities of the vessels. Their bulky appearance may not inspire as much confidence as a sleek frigate or destroyer, but that is no reason to be pessimistic about their strengths. ■

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Notes

1. Tom Sliming, "The Royal Canadian Navy returns to Arctic Ice," *Crowsnest* 9, 1 (2015), pp. 2-5.

2. Most data on the Arctic Offshore Patrol Ships are based on Canada,

Department of National Defence, AOPS SRD – Draft, Department of National Defence, 15 September 2010. Since 2010, much of it has been reconfirmed in Canada, Royal Canadian Navy, "Harry Dewolf-Class Arctic/Offshore Patrol Ship," 19 May 2015, http://www.navy-marine.forces.gc.ca/en/fleet-units/aops-home.page.

3. Michael Byers and Stewart Webb, *Titanic Blunder: Arctic/Offshore Patrol Ships on Course for Disaster* (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives and the Rideau Institute, 2013).

4. Rob Huebert, "The Case for a More Combat-Capable Arctic Offshore Patrol Ship," *Canadian Naval Review* 10, 3 (2015), pp. 4-9.

5. This assessment is based on available photos, as the author has yet to find written sources with available figures.

6. Trude Pettersen, "New icebreaker for Northern Fleet," *Barents Observer*, 23 April 23, 2015, http://barentsobserver.com/en/security/2015/04/new-icebreaker-northern-fleet-23-04.

7. Ironically, Russia has little cause to challenge Canada's position on the NWP due to its own Northern Sea Route (NSR), which is in a similar situation. If Canada were to lose authority over the NWP, it risks Russia losing its currently unquestioned jurisdiction over the NSR.

8. Only the Danes' Knud Rasmussen-class and its modular system has the potential for anti-ship missiles, but this has yet to be demonstrated. While the modular "slots" may interface with the Harpoon anti-ship missile module, it remains unknown whether these modular slots are actually located in a way that enables the missiles' use.

9. As far as Huebert's worry of future inter-state conflict is concerned, I would suggest that we re-examine the suitability of the AOPS armament only if there is clear evidence that any of the other Arctic countries are also increasing their weapons capabilities.

10. "Illegal Immigrants Detained by Turkish Coast Guard," *The Maritime Executive*, 13 March 2015, http://www.maritime-executive.com/article/400-immigrants-detained-by-turkish-coast-guard.

11. Ted Carlson, "HITRON: One of a Kind," *Naval Aviation News* 86, 4 (2004), pp. 20-25.

12. Canada, Department of National Defence, *Arctic/Offshore Patrol Ship Helicopter Interface Requirements Rev 4.* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 13 October 2010).

13. Adam Lajeunesse and Bill Carruthers, "The Ice Has Ears," *Canadian Naval Review* 9, 3 (2013), pp. 5-9.

14. Canada, Defence Research and Development Canada, "Spring 2015 geobuoy comparison trial," Defence Research and Development Canada, http://www.drdc-rddc.gc.ca/en/dynamic-article.page?doc=spring-2015-geobuoy-comparison-trial/i99x7ifv.

15. Canada, National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, "Defence Acquisition Guide 2015: Lightweight Torpedo Upgrade," 2015, http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/business-defence-acquisition-guide-2015/naval-systems-24.page.

16. David Crouch and Mark Odell, "Finns drop warning charges after possible sub sighting off Helsinki," *Financial Times*, 28 April 2015, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/89fab004-ed9d-11e4-987e-00144feab7de.html#axzz3acc7wK00.

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BOOK REVIEWS

***Canada and the Great Power Game 1914-2014* by Gwynne Dyer, Toronto: Random House Canada, 2014, 448 pages, ISBN 978-0307361684**

All walks of political life mythologize their accomplishments, ascribing virtue and certitude to cases better characterized as selfishness and accident. Beyond the stakes with which they deal – the life and death of millions, the survival and extinction of states – practitioners of foreign policy are no different. How many songs have been sung, how many bards have been written, for noble exploits that were nothing of the kind? It was Roman practice, Tacitus tells us, to "make a desert and call it peace." Caesar, after all, put a million Gauls to the sword and enslaved a million more. One can only imagine the Gaulish take on such Roman 'tranquility.'

It is therefore good practice to maintain a steady dose of revisionism in one's literary diet. On this front, Gwynne Dyer's *Canada in the Great Power Game* makes a useful contribution. Dyer takes on long-cherished myths such as Britain as unflinching defender of its wintery North American Dominion, Canada as unstinting proponent of the League of Nations, and America as purely benevolent and pacific watchman of the Communist rimland. He raises important questions about the utility of NORAD in the missile age, effectively illustrates US Air Force General Curtis LeMay's first-strike proclivities, and points out that English Canada's enlistment rates during the Great War were anything but demographically uniform. The last hundred years, in other words, has seen a great deal of Western self-aggrandizement.

That said, the reader will eventually tire of some of Dyer's wilder claims. To state "there is a lingering suspicion that the Canadian troops were deliberately sent [to Hong Kong in October 1941] to get killed" (p. 217) is more than a little incendiary absent accompanying empirical substantiation. Other claims are similarly unnerving. The Second World War was as "equally devoid of moral content" as the First (p. 269). "Stalin never showed the slightest ambition to extend the Soviet domain in Europe beyond the territories allocated to the Soviet Union at Yalta" (p. 269). The "Cuban [missile] crisis was… never really as dangerous as it seemed," (p. 356) even though at the time the US was primarily occupied "deciding whether or not to blow up the world" (p. 358).

There is neither the time nor space – nor frankly even the necessity – to dispute each of these claims here. But carve out the hyperbole and Dyer's book does illustrate the awkward tension that is Canada's central foreign policy conundrum: are a middle power's vital interests well served by participation in wars far away?

Dyer's position is that such involvement only turns out badly. The Boer War? Canada's contribution curried no British favour during the subsequent Alaskan boundary dispute. The Great War? German victory would have been "no worse than the world we inherited from the Allied victory in 1918," (p. 139) leaving thousands of graves and little to show for it. The same can be said for the Second World War, since "Hitler never expressed any interest in expanding westward" (p. 180). Besides, the Soviets were certainly going to crush him "even if Britain and France had stayed out of the war" (pp. 250-251). So, he asks, why send a mass Canadian army to the continent?

Dyer is far too sanguine in his counterfactuals. A victorious German juggernaut, ruled by an emboldened, autocratic military elite, would have made post-1918 life painfully uncertain for the democratic nations of Europe. A generation later, Hitler was so enamoured with the West he razed Coventry and ordered the demolition of Paris. Such could be expected of a man who starting building a navy to challenge Great Britain, the so-called 'Z-Plan', even before war broke out. In the East, the mighty Wehrmacht not only survived the winter crisis of 1941, but lived to make another run in 1942—and still retained considerable potency into 1943. Better handled, an eastern stalemate was entirely within reach of German forces.

Yet it is useful to consider just how far into the trap of our own mythos we have fallen. Take the Canadian Corps of 1918. It was a remarkable instrument, an exceptional cudgel that did much to batter Ludendorff's armies into submission. But what – in raw terms, stripped of any moral considerations for the people of Belgium and France – did Canada gain in return for the blood and treasure demanded by its combat operations? In terms of immediate national threat, either French victory or French defeat would have eventually sent home the U-boats marauding Canadian shores. As for longer-term considerations, Britain's imperial star, at least vis-a-vis the relative power of the United States, began to wane long before the Great War's outbreak. A Canadian north-south strategic reorientation would have followed regardless what happened in Europe. And any hope Canada might 'grow up' and become an integral part of the international community through its newfound military power was belied by the wholesale demobilization of the 1920s. In short, would craven isolationism have led us to a much different place?

This is not to say such a policy is morally acceptable, politically tenable, or even without strategic risk. British troops, after all, kept America at bay whenever the predatory attitude of 'manifest destiny' drove US territorial claims northwards; our national autonomy today is almost entirely predicated on that fact. And few would argue, as minor a nuisance as they were against such a great tide of evil,

dropping bombs on Hitler's industrial heartland was anything but helpful to the global good. Yet the application of force costs dearly—a fact we have painfully learned from South Africa to Afghanistan We must therefore ask the same question *Canada in the Great Power Game* asks: against the multigenerational tide of idle platitudes about imperial duty, multilateral ties, and global responsibilities, has it all been worth it? ■

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***Pakistan's Counterterrorism Challenge*, edited by Moeed Yusuf, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014, 272 pages, ISBN 978-1-62616-045-3**

As Pakistan entered into the 'war on terror' after 9/11, it took the country well over a decade to accept that militancy, extremism, and terrorism posed an existential threat to its survival. Pakistan's former army chief, General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani declared on 14 August 2012, "the war against it (radicalism and terror) is our own war, and a just war too. Any misgivings in this regards can divide us internally, leading to a civil war situation." Despite the Pakistan army changing its doctrine in the Green Book from India-centricity to internal terrorism as well as carrying out numerous military operations against militants in the tribal area, success remains afar. Meanwhile, the government's National Action Plan, initiated after a tragic school attack in Peshawar, sowed the seeds of its own demise as the government could not muster the courage to take action against sectarian, extremist, and militant forces within the country.

Moeed Yusuf's book, *Pakistan's Counterterrorism Challenge,* highlights Pakistan's poor resolve in combating terrorism. It examines various aspects of Pakistan's counterterrorism (CT) approach throughout the course of nine chapters. Sadly, the sobering account that has been substantiated by over 300 references is not available for sale in Pakistan – probably due to the fear of getting banned – which shows a lack of desire on the part of Pakistan's civil leadership and military establishment to benefit from objective and unbiased studies in meeting the country's existential challenges.

Written in a pessimistic tone, which underlines Pakistan's lack of capacity and will, the contributors of the book distinguish five prominent flaws in Pakistan's CT strategy, which may lead to the collapse of the country or its army: (i) lingering ambiguity about the CT targets; (ii) overlapping, contradictory, dated or altogether absent laws, policies and jurisdictions; (iii) the lack of an overarching coordinating body; (iv) acute shortcomings in understanding and actions (despite short-term successes); and (v) civil-military imbalance and the need for public support (p. 9).

In the backdrop of Pakistan's notoriety as a "failed state," as the "world's most dangerous place," and as the "epicentre of global terrorism," Yusuf identifies that the aim of Islamist insurgency and violence is to change the ideology and ethos of society (p. 7). Noting Pakistan's institutional weakness and "confused outlook," Yusuf finds that the military's use of jihad as a "foreign policy tool" (p. 26) has led to the general belief by ordinary Pakistanis that terrorism is an "external geostrategic factor" (p. 37). Castigating Pakistan's army for manipulating public opinion for self-projection and to rally anti-US sentiments, Yusuf observes that Pakistan's actions in Afghanistan and Kashmir has brought "tremendous harm to Pakistan's reputation worldwide" (p. 41).

In the second chapter, Marvin Weinbaum continues to explore Pakistan's overarching lack of "will and capacity" from a US perspective and, moreover, attributes this weakness as a direct threat to Western security (p. 47). Weinbaum argues that Pakistan's political instability and its Inter-Services Intelligence's (ISI) selectivity in targeting militants has undermined the country's trustworthiness, consequently making it a "part of the (international terrorism) problem" (p. 49).

The third chapter, written by Ejaz Haider, discusses major military operations and peace deals, as well as the West's anxiety concerning Pakistan's "capacity" (p. 65). He opines that Pakistan's 'Islamization' has brought a negative perception of the army as an 'infidel force' for taking part in American coalition (p. 68). In the absence of a dominant national security strategy, Haider blames the shortcomings of the police and the laws they enforce as "state failure[s]" in countering Islamist militancy (p. 79).

Chapter four, written by Savail Meekal Hussain and Mehreen Zahra-Malik, finds that political instability in the country has led to the "factionalization" of both society and politics (p. 83). The authors discuss the appeasing attitude of political leaders towards militants (p. 90) and how "civil-military disconnect" has led to a turf-war between the National Counterterrorism Authority (NACTA) and ISI (p. 100).

The fifth chapter, authored by Suhail Habib Tajik, identifies deficiencies in Pakistani police and law-enforcement agencies (LEA) belonging to the military and paramilitary forces. Tajik also examines the high acquittal rate (74 percent) of terrorism cases due to poor prosecution and inefficient rule of law (p. 120). Finally, he concludes by pointing-out the struggle between police and LEAs, which only serves to further frustrate CT efforts (p. 123).

In chapter six, Ahmer Bilal Soofi examines the legal aspects of military operations and highlights some of the shortcomings in the existing criminal justice system (p. 127). By focusing on Article 245 of the constitution (in aid of civil power), Soofi identifies that the unlawful acts of intelligence agencies not only lead to security sector issues, like missing persons and extra-judicial killings (p. 129), but also infringe upon human rights laws that come under the purview of the Geneva Convention and international war crimes (p. 131). Soofi

also points to "poor prosecution," "age-old laws," "threats to judges and witnesses" and a confusion between "rebellion and terrorism" as factors that have afflicted Pakistan's troubled court system (pp. 139-142).

Chapter seven's contribution by Muhammad Amir Rana explores the trends in the "formal and informal financial sources of funding" for militants. This includes interactions in the religious economy, organized crime and other illegal channels charity, welfare trusts and bonafide business activities (p. 151). Rana also identifies the government's failure to regularize its banking and financial sector through proper legislation, specifically regarding "anti-money laundering laws," and stresses the urgent need for substantive 'financial curbs' on militants (p. 165).

Chapter eight, written by Zafarullah Khan, discusses various aspects of information and communication technologies (ICT) through which militants establish their own "Cyberia" and spread their ideological narrative (p. 169). Identifying the absence of a "coherent legal regime" or corresponding "institutional capacity" to counter militants' "digital sword" – through which they wage "global jihad" (p. 169) – Khan points out deficiencies in ICTs that have propagated an "Islamic Idiom" (p. 171). Khan finds that the unrestrained growth of 'jihadi journalism' and 'militant media' has facilitated the rise of cyberterrorism (p. 171). Arguably, Pakistan is not prepared for this new form of radicalized activity, as the state has no laws to check "*cyberactivism*," "*hacktivism*," or "*cyberterrorism*" (p. 173).

The last chapter, written by Anatol Lieven, addresses the puzzle of Pakistan's survival in the face of Islamist insurgency-cum-terrorism. It examines the country's internal weaknesses and the possibility of a domestic revolution stirred up by a restless population overflowing with anti-Americanism, – one that could result in an overthrow of the current system and the "collapse of Pakistan" (p. 187). Lieven discusses a hypothetical situations, such as if the "state is overthrown by anarchy and ethno-religious civil war" or a "full-scale war against India [leads to the] complete destruction of Pakistan's armed forces and [a] nuclear exchange" (p. 190). However, he later discounts such a scenario for not finding: (i) widespread insurgency; (ii) a mass movement on the streets; and (iii) military coup/mutiny among the lower ranks (p. 193).

The editor acknowledges the book as a "pessimistic" and "extremely dismal read" (p. 205). Yusuf highlights Pakistan's lack of clarity about the enemy, in which the state continues to condone Islamist groups. Lacking a cohesive CT approach, Pakistan faces the dilemma of "capacity versus will" which may consume the country (p. 204).

In the absence of an overarching coordinating mechanism and legal framework, the civil-military disconnect further impairs CT efforts (p. 207). Amid a confused public outlook that retains a preference for talks with militants and half-hearted support for military operations, Pakistan battles for its survival (p. 209). Social injustice and socioeconomic disparities, coupled with a lack of governance and institutionalized corruption, continues to antagonize the masses which find deliverance in Islamic rhetoric and Sharia law.

The West, meanwhile, sits bated breath at the nightmare scenario of a collapsed nuclear weapon state overrun by Islamist militants. ■

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