

A Macdonald-Laurier Institute Publication

FIRST PRINCIPLES AND THE NATIONAL INTEREST

Report Card on Canadian Defence Policy 2018

Jeffrey Collins



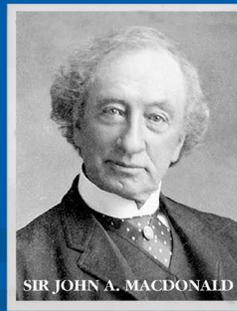
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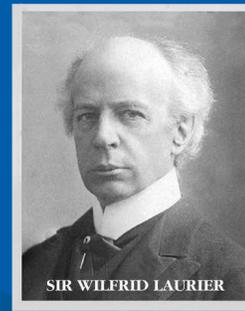
True North in
Canadian public policy



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Executive Summary

The Justin Trudeau-led Liberal government came to office in 2015 with the promise of a new defence policy, an end to the combat mission against the Islamic State, removal of the F-35 as an option for the fighter jet replacement program, and a return of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) to UN peacekeeping operations. Implementing some of these plans, however, has proven a challenge.

Sweeping geopolitical currents saw pressure to fulfill and support alliance obligations in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. In addition, in 2017, with a new US president keeping tally of who was paying their American alliance “dues,” the government ended up producing a new defence policy in June 2017, titled, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy*. This 2017 policy committed billions in new defence spending over the following several years, which if fulfilled will amount to the largest recapitalization of the CAF since the Korean War.

Sweeping geopolitical currents saw pressure to fulfill and support alliance obligations in Eastern Europe and the Middle East.

Before *Strong, Secured, Engaged* (SSE) was released, the Macdonald-Laurier Institute (MLI) conducted its own defence policy review. In total, MLI surveyed 19 leading defence policy thinkers and practitioners and gathered their comments and collective input, which formed the basis of the recommendations in the institute’s report, *First Principles and the National Interest: Recommendations for a New Canadian Defence Policy* (Speer and Collins 2017). Published in March 2017, the report outlined 26 recommendations across five themes: defence priorities and principles, the security environment, alliances, UN involvement, and future capabilities.

In order to determine whether or not the Trudeau government’s actions and commitments have adhered to the experts’ prescriptions, this paper offers a report card on these 26 recommendations. Dividing the 26 recommendations from *First Principles* into these five themes this report assessed each recommendation as either **complete** (i.e., the government has achieved the recommendation), **ongoing** (i.e., the government has in both word and deed committed to fulfilling this recommendation but gaps in either time, money, capability, and follow-through remain), or **incomplete and prognosis poor** (i.e., the government has simply not met the recommendation and/or has given no indication that it will).

This report card finds the Trudeau government scoring eight completes, 11 ongoing, and seven incompletes. Each of the scores highlights a trend in Canadian defence. Chief among the eight completed recommendations are those actions that are in keeping with long-standing defence policy practices in Canada, including prioritizing defence policy along domestic, continental,

and international lines; and responding to immediate allied operational concerns, which in this case continue to be in the Middle East and Eastern Europe.

For recommendations that are “ongoing,” a key theme has been the impact of the Trump presidency and the growing uncertainty over the US role in the world. The emergence of great power rivalries and nativist US foreign policy are challenging the international norms relied upon for stability since 1945. For Canada, questions remain over US interest in maintaining NATO and the continental alliance represented by NORAD. Diversifying trade and economic relations and strengthening existing military alliances will remain a difficult balancing act for the Trudeau government, especially since the country’s geostrategic position requires that Ottawa maintain good terms with Washington.

The incomplete recommendations point to the continuing challenges of defence procurement, domestic political sensitivity, and money. Such examples include replacing the CF-18s, ballistic missile defence, and determining how much money is enough to spend on defence. SSE outlined billions in new monies for personnel and recapitalizing major equipment fleets, but key capabilities like new submarines and replacing the North Warning System carry questions as to whether they will ever be funded. Given the failure to spend allocated monies in 2017, uncertainty also persists on whether the planned funding promised in the SSE will be forthcoming. The government’s decisions about key platforms like the fighter jet replacement does not make one sanguine about the reliability and long-term sustainability of the funding promises outlined in *Strong, Secure, Engaged*

Sommaire

Le gouvernement libéral dirigé par Justin Trudeau est entré en fonction en 2015 en promettant une nouvelle politique de défense, la fin de la mission militaire contre le groupe État islamique, l'abandon du F-35 en tant qu'option de remplacement de la flotte d'avions-chasseurs et le retour des Forces armées canadiennes (FAC) au sein des opérations de maintien de la paix des Nations Unies. La mise en œuvre de certains de ces plans s'est toutefois avérée difficile.

De larges courants géopolitiques ont fait pression pour que les obligations de l'alliance en Europe de l'Est et au Moyen-Orient soient appuyées et pleinement remplies. De plus, en 2017, alors que le nouveau président des États-Unis s'appliquait au décompte des « contributions

» de chacun à l'alliance américaine, le gouvernement canadien présentait finalement en juin 2017 une nouvelle politique de défense dans le document intitulé « *Protection, Sécurité, Engagement : La politique de défense du Canada* ». Cette politique de 2017 prévoit des milliards de dollars en nouvelles dépenses de défense au cours des années à venir. Si ces promesses sont tenues, elles donneront lieu à la plus grande re-capitalisation des FAC depuis la guerre de Corée.

Avant que *Protection, Sécurité, Engagement* ne soit publié, l'Institut Macdonald-Laurier (IML) avait procédé à son propre examen de la politique de défense. À ces fins, l'IML avait interrogé 19 experts et spécialistes de la politique de défense au Canada et recueilli leurs commentaires et leurs contributions collectives, qui ont servi de base aux recommandations présentées dans

De larges courants géopolitiques ont fait pression pour que les obligations de l'alliance en Europe de l'Est et au Moyen-Orient soient appuyées et pleinement remplies.

l'étude « *First Principles and the National Interest: Recommendations for a New Canadian Defence Policy* » (*Principes premiers et intérêt national : Recommandations pour une nouvelle politique de défense canadienne*) par Collins et Speer. Publiée en mars 2017, l'étude présente 26 recommandations portant sur cinq thèmes: les priorités et principes en matière de défense canadienne, l'environnement de la sécurité au pays, les alliances du Canada, le rôle du Canada dans l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les capacités futures.

Le présent document présente un bilan qui permet de déterminer si les actions et les engagements du gouvernement Trudeau ont respecté les 26 recommandations des experts. Après avoir classé en cinq thèmes ces 26 recommandations tirées des Principes premiers, cette étude évalue chacune d'elle et lui attribue la note **réussite** (c'est-à-dire que le gouvernement a donné suite

à la recommandation), **en voie de réussite** (c'est-à-dire que le gouvernement s'est engagé à mettre en œuvre la recommandation, mais des difficultés sur le plan des délais, des ressources financières, des capacités et du suivi doivent être résolues) ou **échec ou en voie d'échec** (le gouvernement n'a tout simplement pas mis en œuvre la recommandation ou n'a donné aucune indication qu'elle le serait).

Ce bilan indique que le gouvernement Trudeau a obtenu huit « réussites », onze « en voie de réussite » et sept « échecs ou en voie d'échec ». Chacune des notes met en évidence une tendance de la défense canadienne. Parmi les huit recommandations qui obtiennent la mention « réussite », les plus importantes concernent les mesures qui sont conformes aux pratiques de longue date de la politique de défense au Canada, notamment la priorité accordée à la défense le long des frontières nationales, continentales et internationales et la prise en compte des préoccupations opérationnelles immédiates des alliés, qui, dans ce cas, continuent de se retrouver au Moyen-Orient et en Europe de l'Est.

L'un des thèmes principaux des recommandations en voie de réalisation concerne l'impact de la présidence Trump et l'incertitude croissante à propos du rôle des États-Unis dans le monde. L'émergence de rivalités entre les puissances dominantes et le nativisme de la politique étrangère américaine remettent en cause les normes internationales qui ont assuré la stabilité depuis 1945. Du point de vue du Canada, l'intérêt des États-Unis envers le maintien de l'OTAN et de l'alliance continentale représentée par l'institution du NORAD demeure problématique. Le gouvernement Trudeau trouvera difficile d'équilibrer le rapport entre la diversification des relations commerciales et économiques et le renforcement des alliances militaires existantes, car la position géostratégique du pays exige qu'Ottawa maintienne de bonnes relations avec Washington.

Les recommandations qui obtiennent la mention « échec ou en voie d'échec » font ressortir les difficultés persistantes liées aux achats de matériel militaire, à la sensibilité politique nationale et au financement. Au nombre de ces exemples, on compte le remplacement des CF-18, le programme de défense antimissile balistique et la détermination d'attributions budgétaires suffisantes au chapitre de la défense. *Protection, Sécurité, Engagement* a annoncé des milliards de dollars en nouveaux fonds pour le personnel et la recapitalisation des flottes d'équipements majeurs, mais d'autres capacités essentielles, par exemple de nouveaux sous-marins ou le remplacement du Système d'alerte du Nord, soulèvent des questions quant à savoir si l'on trouvera tout le financement nécessaire. Les fonds alloués en 2017 n'ayant pas été dépensés, l'incertitude persiste également quant à savoir si les financements prévus dans la politique de défense *Protection, Sécurité, Engagement* seront disponibles. Les décisions du gouvernement concernant certaines plates-formes clés, par exemple le programme de remplacement des avions-chasseurs, ne permettent à personne de présager de la fiabilité et de la durabilité à long terme des promesses de financement présentées dans *Protection, Sécurité, Engagement*.

Introduction

“Sunny ways” and “Canada’s back”: Three years ago, these phrases went out as the clarion call for a return to Canada’s supposed traditional “middle power” broker status. In winning the longest federal election campaign in over a century, the Justin Trudeau-led Liberals promised a new defence policy, an end to the combat mission against the Islamic State, removal of the F-35 as an option for the fighter jet replacement program, and a return of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) to UN peacekeeping operations. Implementing some of these plans, however, has proven a challenge.

Sweeping geopolitical currents saw pressure to fulfill and support alliance obligations in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. An additional factor was the election of Donald Trump in November 2016, occurring exactly when the new Canadian government was undertaking its own defence policy review exercise. With a US president keeping tally of who was paying their American alliance “dues,” the Trudeau government ended up producing a new defence policy in June 2017 titled, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy*. (All references to, and quotations from, *Strong, Secure, Engaged* in this paper will be to Canada, DND 2017.) That 2017 policy committed billions in new defence spending over the following several years in what will amount to the largest recapitalization of the CAF since the Korean War.

Before *Strong, Secured, Engaged* (SSE) was released, the Macdonald-Laurier Institute (MLI) conducted its own defence policy review. In total, MLI surveyed 19 leading defence policy thinkers and practitioners and gathered their comments and collective input which formed the basis of the recommendations in the Institute’s report, *First Principles and the National Interest: Recommendations for a New Canadian Defence Policy* (Speer and Collins 2017). Published in March 2017, the report outlined 26 recommendations across five themes: defence priorities and principles, the security environment, alliances, UN involvement, and future capabilities.

This paper represents a report card on these 26 recommendations. Its aim is to determine whether or not the Trudeau government’s actions and commitments have adhered to the experts’ prescriptions. In doing so, this report relies on the SSE report (still the Trudeau government’s definitive defence policy), statements from the prime minister and the ministers of national defence and foreign affairs, federal budgets, media reports, think-tank studies, and Department of National Defence (DND) publications (e.g. *Defence Capabilities Blueprint*).

METHODOLOGY

The report card’s methodology divides the 26 recommendations from *First Principles* into their five respective themes. Each recommendation is assessed as **complete** (i.e., the government has achieved the recommendation), **ongoing** (i.e., the government has in both word and deed committed to fulfilling this recommendation but gaps in either time, money, capability, and follow-through remain), or **incomplete and prognosis poor** (i.e., the government has simply not met the recommendation and/or has given no indication that it will).

This report does not pretend to represent an exhaustive or conclusive study on the Trudeau government’s defence policy performance. We recognize that the prime minister and his cabinet continue to confront an ever-changing and dynamic international environment for which plans are likely to be altered. However, given the absence of clear metrics and a thorough, independent assessment by the government, this report does offer a rare, high-level overview of the actions that have – or have not – taken place since the conclusion of the 42nd federal election in November 2015.

Canada’s Defence Priorities and Principles

RECOMMENDATION	STATUS
1. Canadian defence policy should be guided by three priorities: defence of Canada, defence of North America, and support for international security.	✓
2. Canada’s armed forces need to be funded and properly equipped to project power in the Arctic and over Canadian territory.	Ongoing
3. Immediate defence operational concerns are responding with our allies to the threats of global terrorism and supporting NATO in Eastern Europe.	✓
4. International deployments need to be guided by clear rationales and exit strategies. Deployments should occur alongside like-minded allies.	✓
5. Canada must work to strengthen international norms surrounding the counter-proliferation of WMD, border security, democracy, and trade.	Ongoing

Recommendation 1: Canadian defence policy should be guided by three priorities: defence of Canada, defence of North America, and support for international security (Complete)

The Trudeau government’s stance on defence aligns with the experts’ recommendation. With SSE, Canadian defence priorities are to be: (1) “Strong at home,” with the CAF ready to defend national sovereignty, assist in search and rescue, offer aid to civil power, and respond to natural disasters; (2) “Secure in North America,” with an emphasis on close ties with the US and renewing the NORAD partnership; and (3) “Engaged in the world” with the CAF deploying in stabilization operations and peacekeeping.

Although SSE describes itself as presenting “a new strategic vision for defence,” it remains grounded in the same priorities that have long characterized earlier defence policies, including the Harper government’s 2008 *Canada First Defence Strategy* (Canada, DND 2008) and the 1994 Chrétien-era *White Paper on Defence* (Canada, DND 1994). A notable departure from the campaign rhetoric associated with the Liberals, the SSE positions the CAF “as an instrument of national power” able to “advance national interests, promote Canadian values, and demonstrate leadership in the world” (Canada, DND 2017).

Recommendation 2: Canada's armed forces need to be funded and properly equipped to project power in the Arctic and over Canadian territory (Ongoing)

Defence funding is addressed later in this paper (see Recommendation 13). However, when it comes to the Arctic, the Trudeau government has taken a pragmatic view of the region. Noting the difficulties of operating in the harsh northern environment, SSE identified challenges emanating from “Arctic and non-Arctic states alike” (Canada, DND 2017). Due to climate change,

However, questions remain over some major Arctic and territorial defence projects.

Canada's northern challenges are less about hard security and more about resource development, tourism, and commercial shipping. Moreover, SSE continues many of the infrastructure commitments made by the previous Conservative government (2006-2015), albeit without the same public emphasis on security.

The previous government planned to build six to eight new Arctic/offshore patrol ships (AOPS), later scaled back to five to six, and a new polar icebreaker for the Canadian Coast Guard (CCG), as well as to purchase fixed-wing search-and-rescue aircraft and construct a new naval refueling station at Nanisivik (CBC 2007). Annual northern military training operations, known as *Nanook*, became a regular photo-op event. Relying on the “we use it

or lose it” premise, new policy frameworks were unveiled in 2009 (*Canada's Northern Strategy*) and 2010 (*Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy*) (Canada 2007; Canada 2009; Canada 2010).

Although a new Arctic policy is currently under review, several key Harper-era capital projects remain on the books, including the AOPS, the CCG icebreaker, the fixed-wing search-and-rescue aircraft (contract awarded in December 2016), and the Nanisivik Naval Facility. Delays that began under the Conservative government's federal shipbuilding program, the now named National Shipbuilding Strategy, have seen further schedule slippages.

The first Harry DeWolf-class AOPS was launched in September 2018. And, owing to an impending production gap at Irving's Halifax shipyards, a sixth AOPS was ordered in November 2018 at an additional cost of \$800 million (Pugliese 2018a). The entire fleet is expected to be operational in 2025 (Canada, DND/CAF 2018a). Because of delays at Vancouver's Seaspan shipyards, work has yet to begin on the polar icebreaker. In response to the decaying capabilities of the CCG's icebreaker, the Trudeau government inked a \$610 million deal in summer 2018 with Quebec-based Davie shipyard to convert three commercial icebreakers for CCG use (CTV News 2018). Other commitments, both for Arctic and territorial defence, include expanding the Canadian Air Defence Identification Zone (CADIZ) to cover the entire Canadian Arctic archipelago, gaining polar satellite communications and access to the new RADARSAT Constellation Mission (also delayed until 2019), ground vehicles for the army, and drones (Beeby 2018).

However, questions remain over some major Arctic and territorial defence projects, chief of which are replacing both the 47 radar sites that comprise the Northern Warning System (NWS) and the RCAF's CF-18s with 88 new jets. Built between 1986 and 1992, and cost-shared 60-40

between the US and Canada, the NWS replaced the DEW Line as the key continental northern radar system. It is becoming obsolete and funding for its replacement is conspicuously absent from the SSE. DND estimates the cost of replacement at more than \$1.5 billion (Canada, DND/CAF 2015). The long, drawn out attempt to replace the CF-18s is dealt with in Recommendation 15, but suffice to say, it will be another decade before a new replacement aircraft arrives.

Recommendation 3: Immediate defence operational concerns are responding with our allies to the threats of global terrorism and supporting NATO in Eastern Europe. (Complete)

On supporting allies in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, the Trudeau government has either maintained the operational commitments inherited from the Harper government or expanded upon them, including taking on key leadership roles. Tellingly, in both regions, the CAF's ground presence is now larger than it was under the Conservative government.

In Eastern Europe, multiple missions are occurring in response to Russia's seizure of Crimea and its intervention in eastern Ukraine. Under *Operation Unifier*, Canada has contributed 200 CAF personnel to the non-NATO international training mission for the Ukrainian armed forces. Begun in 2015, this mission is due to continue until March 2019. To date, 7,680 Ukrainian soldiers have received training in demining, logistics, weapons handling, and combat survival (Canada, DND/CAF 2018b).

The larger mission in the region is *Operation Reassurance*, a catchall term for a variety of Canadian NATO activities that began in 2014 (Canada, DND/CAF 2018c). Initial CAF commitments included troops dispatched to Poland (between 2014 and 2017) for training exercises; periodic CF-18 task forces (five to six jets) to Romania, Iceland, and Lithuania; and rotations of Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) vessels, largely Halifax-class frigates.

However, Canada's single largest contribution has been to NATO's enhanced Forward Presence (eFP) (Canada, DND/CAF 2018c). First announced in 2016, the eFP has seen the CAF assume leadership of a NATO battlegroup in Latvia, one of four such battlegroups dispersed throughout the Baltics and Poland. The 540 CAF troops are backed by troops from Spain, Italy, Poland, Albania, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic. At the 2018 NATO Brussels Summit, Prime Minister Trudeau stated that the roughly \$134-million-per-year mission is extending to 2023 although NATO estimates that it may need these battlegroups in place for a decade (Brewster 2018a).

American-led anti-ISIS efforts in the Middle East began in 2014 after the rapid expansion of the terrorist group across Iraq and Syria. Canadian participation in what is known as *Operation Impact* commenced in fall 2014 and included six CF-18s in a ground-attack role, a CP-140 Aurora for target coordination, a CC-150 Polaris for aerial refueling, and a detachment of 60 special forces operators to train Kurdish forces in northern Iraq. The mission has since changed over time owing to both Liberal Party electoral calculations – chiefly the end of the CF-18 combat component – and the evolving security environment in Iraq.

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In order to fulfill a 2015 campaign pledge, the CF-18s were withdrawn in March 2016 and, because of new operational demands, the CP-140 was pulled back in December 2017. In their place, the government has dispatched niche, value-added assets: 20 engineers to assist in explosive threat training; four CH-146 Griffon helicopters (based near Erbil in northern Iraq); a “Role 2” medical facility with 35 personnel (also in northern Iraq); headquarters staff; and, at their peak, 210 (now down to 120) special forces to train and support Kurdish troops (Canada, DND/CAF 2018d; Kapelos 2018).

Canada’s military contributions to Iraq are currently transitioning from those outlined in *Operation Impact* to a new training mission announced by the prime minister at the 2018 NATO Brussels Summit. Based in Baghdad, Canada will command the alliance’s Iraqi training mission. Canadian military contributions include 250 CAF personnel, four Griffon helicopters, and armoured vehicles. Fifty trainers will work with the Iraqi Army Schools and Training Centres, a major-general will command the mission, and 125 troops will provide force protection (Trudeau 2018a, 2018b).

Recommendation 4: International deployments need to be guided by clear rationales and exit strategies. Deployments should occur alongside like-minded allies. (Complete)

There has been no break with past governments’ decisions to deploy CAF personnel alongside “like-minded allies.” As has been characteristic of post-9/11 Canadian military deployments, the missions initiated or maintained by the Trudeau government were launched with timelines in mind. The new Iraqi mission is slated to last one year, from fall 2018 to fall 2019. Canada’s eFP battlegroup will remain in place in Latvia until 2023 and the UN Mali mission, *Operation Presence* (dealt with in further detail in Part V), is being limited to 12 months. Pertaining to mandates, each of these missions are largely focused on providing support to allied forces, especially with niche, sought after capabilities like helicopters (e.g. Mali), medical staff (e.g., Mali, Iraq), and headquarters staff (e.g., Iraq, Latvia). Of course, the challenge of pursuing international deployments with allies is the inevitable pressure to maintain forces overseas, something the CAF experienced in the Balkans and Afghanistan. Time will tell if the government sticks to these deadlines.

Recommendation 5: Canada must work to strengthen international norms surrounding the counter-proliferation of WMD, border security, democracy, and trade. (Ongoing)

Between a resurgence in trade protectionism, allegations of cyber attacks on electoral systems, and weapons proliferation, there is no shortage of challenges to the long-standing international norms that underpin the liberal world order. The Trudeau government has consistently emphasized the need to uphold these norms and safeguard international institutions. The 2017 defence policy statement reaffirmed Canada’s “strong interest in global stability and open trade” (Canada, DND 2017). SSE singled out defence diplomacy (defence attachés, RCN deployments) as a means for DND/CAF to play a role in norm strengthening. SSE outlined additional areas for support including joining the Arms Trade Treaty and assisting UN, NATO, and regional states in combating WMD and ballistic missile proliferation in the Middle East and North Korea.

Uncertainty remains as to the long-term prospects of these efforts. The 2018 G7 meeting in Quebec was especially illustrative when US President Trump rejected the meeting’s official

communiqué after initially agreeing to it. Notably, the communiqué pushed for the condemnation of Syria over violating non-proliferation norms in its use of chemical weapons and, separately, Iran’s proliferation of ballistic missile technology (Reuters 2018a). On nuclear weapons proliferation, Canada’s hosting of the Vancouver Summit on North Korea did not include China and Russia, both of whom remain opposed to sanctions against Pyongyang (Fife 2018a). Canada has regularly deployed frigates and even a submarine in the Indo-Pacific as part of its defence engagement efforts, including through the South China Sea as a means to uphold norms around freedom of navigation.¹

On the trade front, Canada has found its progressive free trade agenda challenged by India and China, which see such a move as an unnecessary intrusion in their domestic affairs, and US trade protectionism has not ceased despite the creation of the provisional United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA). Neither has the Trudeau government established any organizations that promote harmonious behaviour, similar to the Harper-era Office of Religious Freedom (shut down by the Trudeau Liberals) and the Mulroney-era Office of Human Rights, Freedoms and Inclusion (shut down by the Harper Conservatives) (Hemmadi 2018; Globe and Mail 2018).

Canada’s Security Environment

RECOMMENDATION	STATUS
6. The Canada-US relationship cannot be allowed to deteriorate over isolationist or security concerns.	Ongoing
7. Great power challenges from Russia and China will remain a major preoccupation. Canada will need to reassure its allies in Eastern Europe and the Asia-Pacific that state sovereignty will be respected and upheld.	Ongoing
8. Investments in intelligence capabilities are required to properly assess the impact of great power challenges	Ongoing
9. Weak governance and failed states in North Africa, the Middle East, South and Central Asia, and parts of Latin America will remain an ongoing concern for defence planners.	✓
10. Domestic terrorism and hate groups represent a growing problem that will require investments in intelligence capabilities and cooperation with other government agencies.	Ongoing
11. Cyber threats and the proliferation of WMD by rogue states will remain a defence concern.	✓
12. Defence policy will need to recognize and respond to the growing threat of climate change and environmental disasters both at home and abroad.	Ongoing

Recommendation 6. *The Canada-US relationship cannot be allowed to deteriorate over isolationist or security concerns. (Ongoing)*

Through little fault of their own, the Liberal government has presided over what is arguably the most tumultuous period in the 70-plus year-old Canada-US relationship. Close ties with the Obama administration have given way to a new administration that remains sceptical of existing US alliances and trade relationships, and it generally holds a transactional view of US foreign relations. The willingness of President Trump to label Canadian steel and aluminum a national security threat under Section 232 of the *Trade Expansion Act* (1962) amidst his

on-going rhetoric that countries need to “pay up” for American security guarantees illustrates the degree to which Canada can no longer take US security guarantees as a given.

The prime minister and his cabinet have continually emphasized the importance of the Canada-US relationship.

The prime minister and his cabinet have continually emphasized the importance of the Canada-US relationship, particularly during the USMCA negotiations and the steel and aluminum tariff disputes. *Strong, Secure, Engaged* stressed that the “defence partnership with the United States remains integral to continental security and the United States continues to be Canada’s most important military ally” (Canada, DND 2017). The 2017 defence policy commits Canada to working with the US on continental defence, particularly in modernizing NORAD, cooperating in the Arctic, particularly on renewing the

North Warning System, and, separately, sharing intelligence through the Five Eyes network. In jointly securing the North American continent, the CAF will need to procure interoperable capabilities, including key platforms such as fighter jets.

Recommendation 7: *Great power challenges from Russia and China will remain a major preoccupation. Canada will need to reassure its allies in Eastern Europe and the Asia-Pacific that state sovereignty will be respected and upheld. (Ongoing)*

In the SSE, the government recognized the re-emergence of great power competition. On Russia, Ottawa saw Moscow’s “willingness to test the international security environment” as requiring a response from Canada; that response took the form of NATO’s eFP in Eastern Europe. Regarding China, the 2017 defence policy took a cautious line, noting that the country is a “rising economic power with an increasing ability to project influence globally” (Canada, DND 2017). Admittedly, SSE did not go into as much detail on this challenge as it had over the threat from Russia (Lerhe 2017), nor did it specify how Canada will respond to this threat beyond “develop[ing] stronger relations with other countries in the region” (Canada, DND 2017). SSE stated that Canada will be a “reliable player in the region” through engagement in regional security organizations and diplomacy such as the East Asia Summit and the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting-Plus (Canada, DND 2017).

The careful position Canada has taken on China likely reflects the Trudeau government's interest in improving trade relations with Beijing. Surprisingly, the SSE failed to mention this fact, despite it being a stated major foreign policy goal. Since the 2015 federal election, China's great power ambitions have not receded; indeed, they have only grown, particularly when it comes to exerting influence on one of the world's key maritime trade routes, the South China Sea, a conduit for \$3 trillion in annual trade (Hopkins 2018). The People's Liberation Army has stepped up its anti-ship and surface-to-air missile deployments in the region and Beijing has blatantly ignored a 2016 Hague ruling that represented a wholesale rejection of China's legal claims in the South China Sea, including its claim of waters within the "Nine Dashed Line," its claim to territorial seas around many islands (that earlier were tidal features), and its claim justifying the building of man-made islands (Lim 2018).

Under Presidents Obama and Trump, the US Navy has undertaken freedom of navigation (FON) operations in the South China Sea. These missions are designed to challenge excessive maritime claims by sailing within 12 nautical miles of Chinese-occupied islands and features. Countries like France and the UK have openly supported such operations and have deployed warships through the South China Sea as a show of that support. In comparison, as defence researcher Adam MacDonald has noted, Canadian governments have remained "virtually silent on [these] major geopolitical tensions" (MacDonald 2017).

Importantly, however, Canada has continued to deploy ships through the South China Sea on multiple occasions, in one instance even referring to a FON operation. Admittedly, these did not go within the 12 nautical miles of any islands or features, so did not qualify as FON according to the United States. Of course, the UK and France have also been coy about whether they have undertaken US-styled FON operations (Joshi and Graham 2018).² Indeed, countries like Australia and Japan have deployed to the South China Sea but have refrained from US-styled FON operations. That being said, when the Canadian Senate passed a non-binding motion in April 2018 calling for a halt to China's "hostile behaviour" in the South China Sea, it was met with a negative response from the Chinese embassy but a muted response from the Prime Minister's Office (Hopkins 2018).

So far, Ottawa has maintained this delicate balancing act in the face of China's belligerent behaviour. Yet, tellingly, the Trudeau government vetoed the \$1.5 billion takeover of Canada's largest construction company, Aecon Group Ltd., by a Chinese state-owned enterprise in May 2018. It did so on the grounds that it threatened Canadian sovereignty through its control of critical infrastructure projects like the Darlington Nuclear Generating Station in Ontario (Fife 2018b). The government has yet to come out on the side of banning Huawei from our 5G networks, as the United States and Australia have. But that still is a possibility, especially with a cyber security review currently underway that will discuss the potential national security challenge posed by foreign ownership of Canada's 5G network, including by Huawei (Solomon

Canada has continued to deploy ships through the South China Sea on multiple occasions.

2018). And, in November, the government led our allies in criticizing the Chinese government for its human right violations and repression in China's Xinjiang region (Blanchfield 2018).

Recommendation 8: Investments in intelligence capabilities are required to properly assess the impact of great power challenges. (Ongoing)

With the launch of SSE in 2017, the DND/CAF have committed themselves to an ambitious investment in new intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities. Domestically, SSE described ISR “as Canada’s first line of defence”; for international operations, it is seen as a crucial capability that will allow for “effective targeting that minimizes collateral damage and civilian casualties” (Canada, DND 2017). Trudeau’s defence policy takes a sweeping view of ISR; it refers to CAF assets like aircraft, unmanned aerial vehicles, ships, submarines, people, satellites, and land vehicles as “Joint ISR” capabilities.

ISR is viewed as a necessity for burden-sharing within the Five Eyes intelligence partnership.

Beyond military operational concerns are Canada’s alliances. ISR is viewed as a necessity for burden-sharing within the Five Eyes intelligence partnership of Canada, the US, the UK, Australia, and New Zealand. Likewise, investing in ISR is a part of Canada’s “shared responsibility to help defend North America” (Canada, DND 2017).

SSE described a number of ISR expansion plans including hiring 120 new military intelligence positions and 180 civilian intelligence personnel. New ISR platforms include an estimated \$389 million for three King Air 350 aircraft for Canadian Special Operations Forces Command (Pugliese 2018c), a remotely piloted aircraft system (RPAS) (estimated to cost up to \$5 billion), and \$50-\$100 million for an unspecified number of smaller, unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) to be operated

from Halifax-class frigates (Canada, DND/CAF 2018f).

In space, the CAF is looking at an expanded RADARSAT Constellation to observe maritime traffic in all weather, day or night. The “Surveillance of Space 2” project (costing upwards of \$250 million) will eventually replace the existing Sapphire satellites, giving the CAF the ability to detect and track man-made objects orbiting Earth and operate seamlessly with the US Joint Space Operations Centre (Canada, DND/CAF 2018g). More long-term projects include replacing the CP-140 patrol aircraft and upgrading the Victoria-class submarines, both of which are multi-billion-dollar projects.

Although the King Air 350s were purchased off the shelf, many of the other capabilities will not be replaced until the mid-2020s or, in the case of the CP-140 replacement, the 2030s. Of note, the government has not committed to replacing the Victoria submarines. Procurement challenges are not unknown with ISR projects. For example, the RPAS is a rebranding of the Joint Unmanned Surveillance and Target Acquisition System (JUSTAS) program launched in October 2000 (Pugliese 2017). Similarly, the launch of the RADARSAT Constellation is delayed

until 2019 due to technical problems. With such delays across a variety of systems, it remains more uncertain when or even if all these projects will be brought to fruition.

Recommendation 9: Weak governance and failed states in North Africa, the Middle East, South and Central Asia, and parts of Latin America will remain an ongoing concern for defence planners. (Complete)

Failed states and weak governance received prominence as a defence and foreign policy concern during the Liberal government under Paul Martin (2003-2006). While the subsequent mission in Afghanistan and the 2008-2009 global recession consumed the Harper government's attention, ongoing conflicts in Libya, Mali, Ukraine, and Syria continue to illustrate both the prevalence and problem of failed states to international security.

SSE posited that failed states and weak governance were the product of a mix of economic inequality, population growth and shifts to urban areas, climate change, and large migration/refugee flows. Conflicts emanating from such countries have seen an increasing blurring of distinctions between inter-state and intra-state. SSE identified conflicts in the Middle East and Ukraine as increasingly complex and intense because of "the injection of state-backed resources" (Canada, DND 2017). Beyond the training and capacity missions outlined above, the Trudeau government envisions strengthened relationships with regional powers in Latin America, Asia, and Africa as a means to contending with regional instability around the world.

Ongoing conflicts in Libya, Mali, Ukraine, and Syria continue to illustrate both the prevalence and problem of failed states.

Recommendation 10: Domestic terrorism and hate groups represent a growing problem that will require investments in intelligence capabilities and cooperation with other government agencies. (Ongoing)

Although listed as a defence policy recommendation in *First Principles* (Collins and Speer 2017), responding to and combatting terrorism remains a whole-of-government, interdepartmental effort involving a range of agencies affiliated with public safety and emergency preparedness. These include the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA), the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS).

The DND/CAF role remains focused on countering "global terrorism" through international operations abroad and by providing counter-terrorism assistance "to civil authorities and law enforcement" at home (Canada, DND 2017). On the international front, the Islamic State and Al-Qaeda are singled out as key threats in SSE. Still, the minister of public safety is the lead official responsible for government terrorism response efforts. The DND/CAF can only assume a lead role if "an incident is determined to be an attack against Canada" (Public Safety Canada

2018). Hate crimes like the 2017 Quebec City mosque shooting are not a defence responsibility and remain within the purview of national and local law enforcement.

Recommendation 11: *Cyber threats and the proliferation of WMD by rogue states will remain a defence concern. (Complete)*

Cyber security received renewed emphasis under the Trudeau government. Although the use of the Internet by terror groups to recruit, fundraise, and spread propaganda remains a concern, SSE viewed the “most sophisticated cyber threats com[ing] from the intelligence and military services of foreign states” (Canada, DND 2017). Due to this growing threat, the new defence policy commits to enhancing the CAF’s command, control, communications, computer, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (C4ISRs) capabilities.

*The Canadian
battlegroup in Latvia
has been subject to
Russian cyber attacks
and disinformation.*

SSE described cyber (along with space) as a domain applicable for deterrence. The CAF are being equipped for “offensive cyber operations,” which can “target, exploit, influence and attack in support of military operations.” A “purely defensive cyber posture,” the 2017 defence policy noted, “is no longer sufficient” (Canada, DND 2017). For the CAF, this is no longer a hypothetical scenario; the Canadian battlegroup in Latvia has been subject to Russian cyber attacks and disinformation, and a team of Canadian “cyber warriors” have been sent to support the battlegroup (Brewster 2018b).

The Trudeau government is tackling cyber security from a multi-departmental approach. Budget 2018 committed \$507.7 million over five years for a new national cyber security strategy with \$201.3 million going to establishing an

RCMP National Cybercrime Coordination Unit. The new strategy is especially needed today; the 2010 predecessor is outdated and the cyber threat is growing in sophistication.

One only needs to look at the allegations of Russian interference in US and European elections, as well as Canada’s 2015 election, as recently admitted by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. One can also point to the alleged 2014 cyber attack by China on the National Research Council, which cost this country several hundred million dollars, as a demonstration of the vulnerability of Western societies (Canada, Ministry of Finance 2018, Freeze 2017). The NRC attack came on the heels of repeated attacks on federal agencies in 2011, including the Immigration Refugee Board and the Privy Council Office. These latter attacks are thought to have originated from a Shanghai-based cyber unit of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army, Unit 61398 (Freeze 2014).

As Carleton University’s Stephanie Carvin has written, the move to offensive cyber capabilities aligns with proposals outlined in Bill C-59. This Bill would empower the Communications Security Establishment (CSE), the signal intelligence agency that is the Canadian equivalent of the National Security Agency in the United States, to engage in offensive cyber missions. Notably, a Canadian Centre for Cyber Security was created within the CSE in October 2018 to serve as a point of reference for government and private officials looking for help. Any of-

fensive cyber missions would be subject, post-operation, to review by the National Security and Intelligence Committee of Parliamentarians and a new National Security and Intelligence Review Agency. According to Carvin, there remain unanswered questions as to cyber offensive capabilities, including the legal status of those who participate in the mission, privacy concerns, and whether such capabilities will contribute to a cyber arms race (Carvin 2018).

On WMD, the Trudeau government has maintained the Weapons of Mass Destruction Threat Reduction Program as the principle mechanism for Canadian counter-proliferation efforts. Since its inception at the 2002 G8 meeting in Alberta, Canadian governments have spent \$1.2 billion on combatting the risk of states and terrorists acquiring WMDs. The program is Canada's contribution to the Global Partnership Against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction, also launched at the 2002 G8 meeting. The early phases of these global efforts were focused on securing materials in Russia and the former Soviet Union (Canada 2017).

The 2017 defence policy listed WMD proliferation and ballistic missiles as “troubling” and a “concern” (Canada, DND 2017). While SSE provided no specifics on other counter-proliferation efforts, 2018 did see a stronger focus on containing North Korea. In January, Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland hosted an international summit in Vancouver on North Korea's nuclear program where Canada contributed \$3.25 million to the US State Department's efforts to enforce UN Security Council resolutions aimed at stopping Pyongyang from generating income for its WMD programs (Simpson 2018). Moreover, the submarine HMCS *Chicoutimi* was deployed in late 2017 and early 2018 in part to monitor the international sanctions regime against North Korea; a CP-140 patrol aircraft was later deployed to Japan in April 2018 to assist in this monitoring mission (Sevunts 2018).

Recommendation 12: Defence policy will need to recognize and respond to the growing threat of climate change and environmental disasters both at home and abroad. (Ongoing)

Forest fires, hurricanes, and floods in recent years have all highlighted the security challenges that come from the environment. In keeping with a key 2015 campaign theme, the Trudeau government has sought to tackle climate change head-on. In line with commitments made in the 2016 Paris Agreement, the current federal goal is to reduce Canada's carbon emissions by 30 percent below 2005 levels. Domestic climate change efforts have focused largely on carbon pricing and regulations under the federal-provincial *Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change* (Canada 2018). However, the 2017 defence policy also outlined the security implications of climate change.

SSE posits that climate change is a “security challenge that knows no borders” and is a contributing cause to humanitarian crises, weak governance, resource competition, and large-scale migration (Canada, DND 2017). Closer to home, the impact of changing weather patterns in the Arctic will lead to security challenges in the form of more search and rescue operations and foreign military activity.

Aside from acquiring new utility aircraft for northern operations and bringing into service the incoming AOPS and fixed-wing search and rescue aircraft, DND is tasked with reducing its carbon emissions by 40 percent below 2005 levels by 2030. By 2020, some \$225 million will be spent on climate-friendly infrastructure projects and 20 percent of the CAF's “non-military vehicle fleets” will be hybrid or electric. It remains to be seen if DND will meet the emissions target, especially as in late 2017 the federal environment commissioner signalled DND as one of 14 departments that failed its ability to assess the risks of climate change (Tremonti 2017).

Canada’s Alliances

RECOMMENDATION	STATUS
13. The US alliance is key to Canada’s security. Ottawa needs to examine whether it should increase defence spending to 2 percent of GDP, the standard set by NATO.	Incomplete and prognosis poor
14. Canada should pursue information-sharing arrangements with the US on maritime intelligence and monitoring capabilities, and cyber security.	Ongoing
15. The Royal Canadian Air Force’s CF-18 fighters need to be replaced as soon as possible.	Incomplete and prognosis poor
16. The North Warning System requires upgrading.	Incomplete and prognosis poor
17. Canada should notify the United States that it is interested in participating in the continental Ballistic Missile Defence system.	Incomplete and prognosis poor
18. US participation in NATO needs to be encouraged as it helps counter isolationism.	

Recommendation 13: *The US alliance is key to Canada’s security. Ottawa needs to examine whether it should increase defence spending to 2 percent of GDP, the standard set by NATO. (Incomplete and prognosis poor)*

In keeping with Canada’s NATO commitment at the 2014 Wales Summit, our experts recommended that the country spend 2 percent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on defence, up from the current 1.23 percent. While the 2017 defence policy planned increases in defence spending over 2017 levels, that spending will not reach the NATO target. In fact, the prime minister has indicated that “there are no plans to double our defence budget” (Brewster 2018f).

In the lead-up to the 2018 Brussels Summit, President Trump sent letters to NATO members declaring his “growing frustration” with US allies and their “failure to meet shared security challenges.” By not meeting the 2 percent target, Canada was called out for “undermin[ing] the security of the alliance and provid[ing] validation for other allies that also are not meeting their defence commitments” (Wright 2018). In responding to these criticisms, the Trudeau government echoed the arguments of its Conservative predecessors in stressing Canada’s willingness to respond when called upon, including leading both a NATO battle group in Latvia and a new alliance training mission in Iraq.

Under the SSE, defence spending will have a “modest annual budget increase” with an additional \$62.3 billion cash over a 20-year period. Spending will rise by 3 percent annually, compounded, and much of it will be allocated to new capital procurement projects like the CF-18 replacement and the Canadian Surface Combatant frigate replacement program. This spending projection, as defence budgetary expert David Perry has noted, leaves Canada with the largest military recapitalization plans since the Korean War.

Defence spending will also be calculated differently; from now on, payments to veterans, DND information technology support to Shared Services Canada, employee pensions and benefits, and the Communications Security Establishment Canada will be included as defence expenditures. By 2024-25, Canadian defence spending is envisioned to be 1.4 percent of GDP, which is far short of the 2 percent goal. However, Canada will exceed another NATO target – the allocation of at least 20 percent of the budget for new equipment. By that year Canada will spending around 32 percent of the defence budget on procurement, up from the average 8 to 13 percent over the five years preceding SSE (Perry 2018).

Its worth noting a few points about Canada's defence spending plans under Trudeau. Recent criticisms aside, SSE was positively received by both NATO and the Trump administration when unveiled last year. That being said, the plan to reach 1.4 percent of GDP in defence spending has been questioned, due not least to the government's ongoing problem of actually spending the defence dollars it allocates. In 2017, for example, the Department of National Defence spent \$2.3 billion less than it had allocated (Berthiaume 2018b). Lastly, it might be a moot point when it comes to the US. After all, with the Trump administration, there is no guarantee that meeting the 2 percent threshold will mollify US criticisms. Both South Korea and the UK spend more than 2 percent of their respective GDPs on defence and yet have not seen an alleviation in calls from the White House for them to do more.

The plan to reach 1.4 percent of GDP in defence spending has been questioned.

Recommendation 14. Canada should pursue information-sharing arrangements with the US on maritime intelligence and monitoring capabilities, and cyber security. (Ongoing)

Beyond modernizing NORAD “to meet existing challenges and evolving threats to North America” and acquiring more joint signals intelligence and cryptographic capabilities (see Recommendation 16, information-sharing with the United States was not specifically identified per se in the SSE. As detailed in Recommendations 8 and 11, Canada will launch new interoperable satellites to monitor space activity and, separately, the Arctic; it will hire more intelligence analysts; and it will develop offensive cyber capabilities. These actions are much in line with the 2017 defence policy's emphasis on Canada being a “responsible partner” in the intelligence sphere, that “adds value to traditional alliances” (i.e., NORAD, NATO, and Five Eyes) (Canada, DND 2017).

Recommendation 15: The Royal Canadian Air Force's CF-18 fighters need to be replaced as soon as possible. (Incomplete and prognosis poor)

Unfortunately, the replacement of the Royal Canadian Air Force's (RCAF) four-decade-old CF-18s remains mired in partisan mudslinging. Although the Liberals walked back their 2015 election pledge to “not buy the F-35,” the promise to “immediately launch an open and transparent competition” will not see a contract awarded until 2021-22 (i.e., well after the 2019 election) (Liberal Party of Canada 2015). While the government gets marks for increasing the

number of planned replacement aircraft from the Harper-era 65 jets to 88, the first aircraft of the “Future Fighter Capability Project” will not be delivered until 2025. When it’s finally completed, the estimated \$15 billion to \$19 billion project will provide the RCAF with a “fighter fleet that is capable, upgradeable, resilient and interoperable” to operate into the 2060s (Canada, DND 2017; Canada, DND/CAF undated).

Compounding the controversy is the government’s attempt to buy an “Interim Fighter Capability” to plug a so-called “capability gap” between the aging CF-18s and the delivery of a new fleet. MLI Senior Fellow Richard Shimooka has challenged whether such gap even exists,

Compounding the controversy is the government’s attempt to buy an “Interim Fighter Capability.”

viewing the call for an “interim” jet as more of a political manoeuvre to avoid buying the F-35 (Shimooka 2017). The initial plan in 2016 and through most of 2017 was to purchase 18 new Super Hornets from Boeing for US \$5 billion, a plan that was later scuttled after Boeing launched trade litigation against Bombardier; claiming the Canadian company was in receipt of unfair amounts of subsidies for its C-Series commercial plane. Boeing may have lost its legal challenge in January 2018, but the damage was done: the Super Hornet purchase was abandoned in favour of acquiring 25 surplus Australian F-18s for an estimated \$500 million. The last CF-18 is set to remain in service until 2032, almost 50 years after they were first bought (Pugliese 2018d).

Confusion abounds as to what aircraft will be selected. The F-35 remains a political third rail in Canada but the government continues to

participate in the project – spending \$54 million in 2018 to remain a developing partner to allow Canadian firms to take advantage of supply chain contracts (Berthiaume 2018a). Canadians should not expect to see new jets any time soon.

Recommendation 16: The North Warning System requires upgrading. (Incomplete and prognosis poor)

Under SSE, Canada is committed to working with the US on polar surveillance and control, “including renewal of the Northern Warning System” (NWS) (Canada, DND 2017). The NWS consists of 47 unmanned long- and short-range radars built in 1985; stretching from Labrador to Alaska, the NWS replaced the famed Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line constructed in the 1950s and provides air surveillance to NORAD (CBC 2014). As the University of Manitoba’s Andrea Charron and James Fergusson have noted, the NWS suffers from aging infrastructure and technological limitations. For example, the NWS cannot identify cruise missile launches. A new NWS must be able to identify and track maritime threats and “air breathing threats far from North America” (Charron and Fergusson 2017).

Any replacement of the NWS will likely have to be located further north than the current system is, or include a mix of ground, air, space, and sea-based sensors. In 2016, DND estimated the cost of a new NWS as costing “more than \$1.5 billion” with a contract expected to be awarded

for 2026 with completion by 2036 (Canada, National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces 2016.). However, the Trudeau government's promise to work with the United States on renewing the NWS has not led to a costed-out promise specifying the project that has been chosen to replace it. The SSE did not include the NWS modernization as a funded project nor is it included in the government's 2018 *Defence Capabilities Blueprint* (Canada, DND 2018). It is possible the government is waiting to discuss options with the United States on a replacement, including perhaps a role for its replacement in a purported ballistic missile defence (BMD) system, but this money will be in addition to the supposedly already costed SSE plans (Berthiaume 2017a).

Recommendation 17: Canada should notify the United States that it is interested in participating in the continental Ballistic Missile Defence system. (Incomplete and prognosis poor)

The fate of Canadian participation in BMD also remains incomplete. BMD was raised as an issue during the public consultations preceding SSE in 2016-17 but the Trudeau government backed away from joining in the US continental defence system. In SSE the government admitted that North Korea's nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs are undermining global governance, and that Pyongyang "poses a serious and increasing threat to both regional stability and international peace and security" (Canada, DND 2017). Ballistic missile technology from countries like North Korea and Iran are expected to get more advanced and remain "a source of concern" (Canada, DND 2017).

Recent activities since 2017 have seen Ottawa designate two bunkers at Canadian Forces bases for contingency operations in the event of a missile attack; deploy a submarine for the first time in 50 years to East Asia to ostensibly monitor North Korean sanctions; and host an international summit on North Korea in Vancouver in January 2018. While Prime Minister Trudeau has stated that BMD is off the table, Canada remains committed to modernizing NORAD and renewing the NWS.

Still, there is a sense that the global security situation demands Canadian involvement in BMD. Former Prime Minister Paul Martin has even mused that his 2005 decision to not join BMD might be different today given the changed global circumstances. Tellingly, a July 2018 MLI study found that 90 percent of the 49 leading defence policy experts in Canada recommended Canada's participation in continental BMD (Collins 2018).

Recommendation 18: US participation in NATO needs to be encouraged as it helps counter isolationism. (Complete)

Since the beginning of the Trump presidency, Canada has been working with its allies to encourage the US to continue its involvement in NATO. In fact, getting and keeping the US involved in NATO goes back to the alliance's founding, best encapsulated in the famous phrase from the organization's first Secretary General, Lord Ismay, "to keep the Soviet Union out, the Americans in, and the Germans down" (NATO undated). Since 2016, the Trump administration has threatened to review its commitments to NATO allies, particularly Article 5, the collective defence clause, in the face of what it sees as a lack of allied military investment. A 2018 House of Commons Standing Committee on National Defence report cited such rhetoric as "causing worries and uncertainty within NATO" (Standing Committee on National Defence 2018, 11).

As detailed above, the Trudeau government has responded by planned increases in defence spending (although not at two percent of GDP) and taking on NATO leadership roles in

Latvia and Iraq. Two years into the Trump administration, there is a sense that the mercurial president’s comments are just that – comments not reflected in US actions. In 2018, the US deployed 1,500 soldiers to Germany, complementing the 33,000 already based there. A 2017 Congressional bill mandated US Army troop increases of which some are going to Europe. Separately, alongside Canada’s leadership in Latvia, the US also leads one of the alliance’s four eFP battlegroups (Poland) (Reuters 2018b). As further proof of the distance between the President’s rhetoric and the country’s position on NATO, the US Ambassador to NATO, Kay Bailey Hutchison, said in a recent interview that “America is committed to this alliance.” She commended Canada for its leadership roles and contributions in Eastern Europe (Starr 2018).

Canada’s Role in the United Nations

RECOMMENDATION	STATUS
19. The UN’s strengths are in non-security areas: humanitarian aid, health and education programs, etc. Canada’s efforts should complement and improve these programs (e.g., disaster assistance, military field hospitals).	✓
20. Military contributions to UN missions should be in areas in which the organization needs improvement – e.g., training and technical support – and not frontline ground forces..	✓
21. Canada needs to work with like-minded countries in reforming the UN security and governance structure.	Incomplete and prognosis poor
22. Canada must pay attention to advancing its defence interests in regional, multilateral organizations in the Arctic and Asia-Pacific (e.g., Arctic Council, ASEAN, ADMM-Plus).	Ongoing

Recommendation 19: *The UN’s strengths are in non-security areas: humanitarian aid, health and education programs, etc. Canada’s efforts should complement and improve these programs (e.g., disaster assistance, military field hospitals). (Complete)*

Recommendation 20: *Military contributions to UN missions should be in areas in which the organization needs improvement – e.g., training and technical support – and not front-line ground forces. (Complete)*

Engagement with the UN was a key foreign policy promise in the Liberals’ 2015 election platform. During the campaign, the Liberals promised to “renew Canada’s commitment to peace-keeping operations” and “lead an international effort to improve and expand the training of military and civilian personnel on peace operations” (Liberal Party of Canada 2015). The platform outlined areas for UN involvement, including troop contributions to international peace operations, headquarters staff, civilian police, and specialized capabilities like transport aircraft, engineering support, and medical teams on a “case-by-case basis.” In 2016, the prime minister announced that Canada would campaign for a UN Security Council seat for a two-year term

starting on January 1, 2021 and ending on December 31, 2022. The government also pledged \$450 million, 600 troops, and 150 police for an unnamed UN mission in Africa (Collins 2017).

The election of the Trump presidency and NATO requirements in Eastern Europe sidelined these UN efforts. *Strong, Secure, Engaged*, published June 2017, reiterated the UN's importance to international security and Canada's intent to "make important contributions of Canadian personnel and training UN peace operations." But the details were limited. Concrete UN plans only materialized in November 2017 – over a year after the initial UN pledge and almost two years after the Liberals had come into government with a promise of a return to peacekeeping.

The November 2017 announcement is in line with Recommendations 20 and 22. Announced at the UN Peacekeeping Defence Ministerial conference in Vancouver, the prime minister committed to the Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations, specifically, to increase the number of female police and military personnel on UN operations (Trudeau 2017a). Separately, he espoused the Vancouver Principles on Peacekeeping and the Prevention of the Recruitment and Use of Child Soldiers. At the core of Canada's UN re-engagement, though, is the five-year "Smart Pledge" framework of select CAF deployments.

Through Smart Pledges, Canada committed to undertaking one-off deployments of CAF equipment and personnel, key of which are a C-130J Hercules tactical aircraft for up to 12 months, a quick reaction force of 200 personnel, an aviation task force of helicopters (available for 12 months), and a Canadian training and advisory team. This team is to work with a UN member state before and during the deployment of that country's troops in addition to contributing to UN training centres. Each Smart Pledge is to be deployed in coordination with the UN. Finally, another \$24 million was earmarked for "capacity building projects" for international peace operations, such as training senior UN mission leaders and pre-deployment training for African troops (Trudeau 2017b).

The first Smart Pledge to achieve a firm commitment was the deployment of a C-130J aircraft to the UN's regional support centre in Entebbe, Uganda, though this deployment has yet to take place due to deadlocked negotiations between Ottawa, Uganda's government, and the UN (Brewster 2018c). So it was the aviation task force mission to Mali for 12 months that has garnered the most media attention since its announcement in March 2018 (Berthiaume 2017b).

Considered the world's most dangerous UN mission, Canada's *Operation Presence* replaced an outgoing German helicopter detachment in the central African country. Having achieved initial operational capability in the summer of 2018, the task force features three CH-147F Chinook helicopters for medical evacuations and troop transport for other UN contingents, and five armed Griffons that will supply armed escort and protection. Based in Gao, northern Mali, this deployment involves 250 CAF personnel, including medical and logistics staff.

The election of the Trump presidency and NATO requirements in Eastern Europe sidelined these UN efforts.

A separate detachment of 10 CAF officers is located at the UN mission headquarters in Bamako (Canada, DND/CAF 2018e).

The Mali mission has not been without its critics, who have noted that this mission is simply too small, and that Canada had dragged its feet for months on its deployment. That being said, it does represent a meaningful return to UN operations where the capabilities of wealthier, advanced states are much in demand (Arsenault 2018). Unlike past Canadian UN missions (e.g., Cyprus, Bosnia) *Operation Presence* is not open-ended and will terminate next year.

Recommendation 21: Canada needs to work with like-minded countries in reforming the UN security and governance structure. (Incomplete and prognosis poor)

Canada hopes to obtain a UN Security Council seat as a first step to reform the UN's security and governance structure; a goal that has largely disappeared from government rhetoric since 2016. As University of Manitoba's Andrea Charron has written, the prime minister has tied Security Council reform to obtaining a seat in 2021. Of course, it remains to be seen how feasible such an approach may be, especially in light of how resistant the Permanent Five have been to change when it comes to the institution's governance structure.

Previous governments have used this position to advance governance changes including adopting new funding formulas for peacekeeping missions and instilling transparency mechanisms on Security Council sanctions monitoring efforts. While the Trudeau government's initial conception of UN reform was on changing Security Council membership, this is unlikely to happen given the veto powers of the permanent five (UK, France, China, Russia, and the US). If Canada is successful at obtaining a seat in 2021, it should focus its reform efforts on "improving the bureaucratic processes of the United Nations Security Council" (Charron 2018).

Recommendation 22: Canada must pay attention to advancing its defence interests in regional, multilateral organizations in the Arctic and Asia-Pacific (e.g., Arctic Council, ASEAN, ADMM-Plus). (Ongoing)

Efforts to strengthen Canada's ties to regional and multilateral organizations have carried over from the Harper era. The SSE, for example, emphasized the need for stronger relationships with the European Union, the African Union, and the Francophonie in order to "further enhance global capacity to promote peace and stability" (Canada, DND 2017). In the defence sphere, new proposals include obtaining membership in the East Asia Summit and the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting-Plus, supporting the Conference of the Defence Ministers of the Americas and the Inter-American Defence Board, and more involvement in the ASEAN Regional Forum.

Questions remain, though, on the seriousness of Canada's resolve to engage with these regional organizations. During discussions in late-2017 over a renewed Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement in the wake of US withdrawal earlier that year, Australian officials vowed to block Canadian participation in the 2018 East Asian Summit, the premiere regional security forum affiliated with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), over Canada's insistence on including protection for autos and cultural industries (Tasker 2017). Ottawa received an invitation partly thanks to the efforts of Filipino President Rodrigo Duterte, although Duterte's relationship with Canada soured in early 2018 when the Trudeau government decided to review the potential sale of 16 helicopters to the Philippines over human rights concerns (Blatchford 2017).

Canada's Future Capabilities

RECOMMENDATION	STATUS
23. Canada still needs a multi-purpose, combat-capable force, but certain niche capabilities can be enhanced so that they fulfill multiple demands (e.g., special forces, military training, and disaster assistance).	Ongoing
24. When it comes to future procurements, we must examine opportunities for joint purchasing with allies who have similar defence requirements.	Incomplete and prognosis poor
25. Off-the-shelf purchasing should be considered in military defence procurement. Domestically sourced acquisitions should be based on a competitive cost and quality basis only.	Incomplete and prognosis poor
26. A “whole-of-government” view to defence policy is essential if Canada is to leverage all of its resources in international affairs.	Ongoing

Recommendation 23: *Canada still needs a multi-purpose, combat-capable force, but certain niche capabilities can be enhanced so that they fulfill multiple demands (e.g., special forces, military training, and disaster assistance). (Ongoing)*

In committing to maintaining a “multi-purpose, combat-ready military,” the Trudeau government has followed the footsteps of previous post-Cold War governments (Canada, DND 1994, 2005, 2008). But there were also pledges in SSE to boost key niche capabilities, particularly for Canadian Special Operations Forces Command (CANSOFCOM), including adding 605 personnel and buying ISR platforms, communications systems, and new armoured SUVs. On disaster assistance, SSE commits to no new resources beyond a promise to sustain one Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART) deployment. Other sections of this paper have identified the various UN and NATO training capacity obligations planned and operationalized. However, uncertainty remains on the CANSOFCOM pledges; for instance, 18 months later no clarification has been provided on which CANSOFCOM units will receive new personnel nor have all of the new platforms been acquired.

Recommendation 24: *When it comes to future procurements, we must examine opportunities for joint purchasing with allies who have similar defence requirements. (Incomplete and prognosis poor)*

Recommendation 25: *Off-the-shelf purchasing should be considered in military defence procurement. Domestically sourced acquisitions should be based on a competitive cost and quality basis only. (Incomplete and prognosis poor)*

Fixing procurement remains a pressing issue in Canadian defence with DND declaring in 2017 that 70 percent of all projects were subject to delays (Collins 2018b, 1). Over the next two decades, the Trudeau government has planned \$33.8 billion in new procurement projects on top of managing an estimated \$74.2 billion in previously announced equipment and infrastructure

projects. SSE did outline measures to improve the government's "[c]umbersome decision-making and approval processes" including hiring 60 procurement specialists, providing clearer communications and regular updates on major projects, and reducing approval time in DND by 50 percent "for low risk and low complexity projects" (Canada, DND 2017).

Of course, low risk projects are not where the problems are; they are in major, costly projects like the \$60 billion Canadian Surface Combatant program. It is also debatable whether the government has become better at communicating and updating the public or being more transparent when it comes to military procurement. Federal officials have been tight-lipped about delivery dates for ships being purchased under the National Shipbuilding Strategy (Brewster 2018d). And the government has made the controversial decision to force more than 200 personnel to sign a lifetime gag order to prevent them from discussing the controversy-plagued fighter jet replacement program.

Meanwhile, delays and an inability to spend existing funding remain (Brewster 2018e). Likewise, no plans have been officially made on pursuing either joint purchasing or collaborative opportunities with allies, akin to the Australia-New Zealand collaboration that secured the successful ANZAC-class frigates in the 1990s (Collins 2015, 30-32). It's very possible that the ripple effects stemming from the Harper government's attempt to buy multinational F-35 fighter jets has soured ambitions for additional collaborative procurements. Similarly, off-the-shelf purchasing is not identified outright in procurement reforms, although the Trudeau government has moved ahead with acquiring three converted icebreakers from Quebec's Davie shipyard (Dougherty 2018).

Recommendation 26: A "whole-of-government" view to defence policy is essential if Canada is to leverage all of its resources in international affairs. (Ongoing)

Lastly, *First Principles and the National Interest* called for a "whole-of-government" approach to defence policy that used federal agencies, departments, and resources (e.g., Global Affairs Canada and CSIS) to advance defence interests (Collins and Speer 2017). This is not a concept new to Canadian defence and was in fact invoked in the Paul Martin government's 2005 *International Policy Statement* as an attempt to overcome departmental silos (Canada, DFAIT 2005).

Initially developed for the Afghanistan mission, the whole-of-government approach has proven more difficult to implement successfully, especially in light of bureaucratic opposition (Desrosiers and Lagassé 2009, Saideman 2017). Similar attempts to use whole-of-government approaches in procurement have been unable to contain escalating program costs (KPMG 2017). The Trudeau government in SSE argued for "coordinated action across the whole-of-government" for addressing security issues, particularly in the diplomatic and development spheres. Tellingly, the 2017 defence policy was endorsed by Foreign Minister Freeland. SSE singled out Canada's North, terrorism, cyber security, and UN plans as areas for whole-of-government efforts but given past precedence it remains to be seen if the current government can overcome similar obstacles.

Final Scorecard

In assessing the 26 recommendations laid out in *First Principles*, this report card finds the Trudeau government scoring eight completes, 11 ongoing, and seven incompletes. Each of the scores highlights a trend in Canadian defence. Chief among the eight completed recommendations are those actions that are in keeping with long-standing defence policy practices in Canada, including prioritizing defence policy along domestic, continental, and international lines; and responding to immediate allied operational concerns, which in this case continue to be in the Middle East and Eastern Europe. Significantly, the Trudeau government has remained committed to those missions that have their origins in the Harper era. This continuity speaks to the structural pressures and realities facing Canada, which arises from its long-standing role in key military alliances. It also highlights the degree to which flexibility in Canadian defence can be constrained.

For recommendations that are “ongoing,” a key theme has been the impact of the Trump presidency and the growing uncertainty over the United States’ role in the world, especially as it relates to reassuring its long-standing allies like Canada. The emergence of great power rivalries and nativist US foreign policy are challenging the international norms relied upon for stability since 1945. For Canada, questions remain over US interest in maintaining NATO and the continental alliance represented by NORAD. Diversifying trade and economic relations and strengthening existing military alliances will remain a difficult balancing act for the Trudeau government; the country’s geostrategic position atop the North American continent requires that Ottawa maintain good terms with Washington.

Finally, the incomplete recommendations point to another prominent theme in Canadian defence policy: procurement woes, domestic political sensitivity, and money, which makes not only these recommendations incomplete but also their prognosis of being fulfilled very poor. The unwillingness and inability for successive Canadian governments to replace the aging CF-18s is an endemic problem that needlessly complicates the CAF’s ability to fulfill Canada’s domestic and international duties. BMD is another issue that remains unresolved for domestic political considerations despite the seriousness of the North Korean ballistic missile threat; something even the Trudeau government has recognized.

Likewise, determining how much money is enough to spend on defence is a persistent theme throughout the report card. SSE outlined billions in new monies for personnel and recapitalizing major equipment fleets, but key capabilities like new submarines and replacing the North Warning System carry questions as to whether they will ever be funded. Given the government’s failure to spend allocated monies in 2017, uncertainty also persists on whether the planned funding promised in the SSE will be forthcoming. The government’s decisions about key platforms like the fighter jet replacement does not make one sanguine about the reliability and long-term sustainability of the funding promises outlined in *Strong, Secure, Engaged*.

About the Author



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Endnotes

- 1 Canada has reportedly undertaken freedom of navigation (FON) operations in the Indo-Pacific, though only if such missions are defined very broadly. The US defines FON in a more intrusive manner. Yet most countries that are seen to undertake FON, such as Japan and Australia, undertake naval deployments more similar to Canada's.
- 2 The recent UK deployment in September 2018 does not appear to have traversed the 12 nautical mile range of US FON operations, though it still was widely considered to have gone close enough to be a challenge to Chinese maritime claims. France has not revealed the extent to which their ships have gone to Chinese islands and features. See Luc, 2018.

Appendix A – Evaluation Summary

RECOMMENDATION	STATUS
1. Canadian defence policy should be guided by three priorities: defence of Canada, defence of North America, and support for international security.	✓
2. Canada's armed forces need to be funded and properly equipped to project power in the Arctic and over Canadian territory.	Ongoing
3. Immediate defence operational concerns are responding with our allies to the threats of global terrorism and supporting NATO in Eastern Europe.	✓
4. International deployments need to be guided by clear rationales and exit strategies. Deployments should occur alongside like-minded allies.	✓
5. Canada must work to strengthen international norms surrounding the counter-proliferation of WMD, border security, democracy, and trade.	Ongoing
6. The Canada-US relationship cannot be allowed to deteriorate over isolationist or security concerns.	Ongoing
7. Great power challenges from Russia and China will remain a major preoccupation. Canada will need to reassure its allies in Eastern Europe and the Asia-Pacific that state sovereignty will be respected and upheld.	Ongoing
8. Investments in intelligence capabilities are required to properly assess the impact of great power challenges	Ongoing
9. Weak governance and failed states in North Africa, the Middle East, South and Central Asia, and parts of Latin America will remain an ongoing concern for defence planners.	✓
10. Domestic terrorism and hate groups represent a growing problem that will require investments in intelligence capabilities and cooperation with other government agencies.	Ongoing
11. Cyber threats and the proliferation of WMD by rogue states will remain a defence concern.	✓
12. Defence policy will need to recognize and respond to the growing threat of climate change and environmental disasters both at home and abroad.	Ongoing
13. The US alliance is key to Canada's security. Ottawa needs to examine whether it should increase defence spending to 2 percent of GDP, the standard set by NATO.	Incomplete and prognosis poor
14. Canada should pursue information-sharing arrangements with the US on maritime intelligence and monitoring capabilities, and cyber-security.	Ongoing
15. The Royal Canadian Air Force's CF-18 fighters need to be replaced as soon as possible.	Incomplete and prognosis poor

16. The North Warning System requires upgrading.	Incomplete and prognosis poor
17. Canada should notify the United States that it is interested in participating in the continental Ballistic Missile Defence system.	Incomplete and prognosis poor
18. US participation in NATO needs to be encouraged as it helps counter isolationism.	✓
19. The UN's strengths are in non-security areas: humanitarian aid, health and education programs, etc. Canada's efforts should complement and improve these programs (e.g., disaster assistance, military field hospitals).	✓
20. Military contributions to UN missions should be in areas in which the organization needs improvement - e.g., training and technical support - and not frontline ground forces.	✓
21. Canada needs to work with like-minded countries in reforming the UN security and governance structure.	Incomplete and prognosis poor
22. Canada must pay attention to advancing its defence interests in regional, multilateral organizations in the Arctic and Asia-Pacific (e.g., Arctic Council, ASEAN, ADMM-Plus).	Ongoing
23. Canada still needs a multi-purpose, combat-capable force, but certain niche capabilities can be enhanced so that they fulfill multiple demands (e.g., special forces, military training, and disaster assistance).	Ongoing
24. When it comes to future procurements, we must examine opportunities for joint purchasing with allies who have similar defence requirements.	Incomplete and prognosis poor
25. Off-the-shelf purchasing should be considered in military defence procurement. Domestically sourced acquisitions should be based on a competitive cost and quality basis only.	Incomplete and prognosis poor
26. A "whole-of-government" view of defence policy is essential if Canada is to leverage all of its resources in international affairs.	Ongoing



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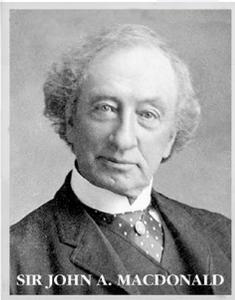
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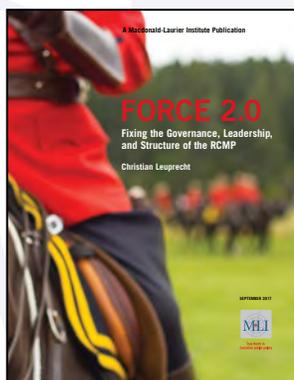
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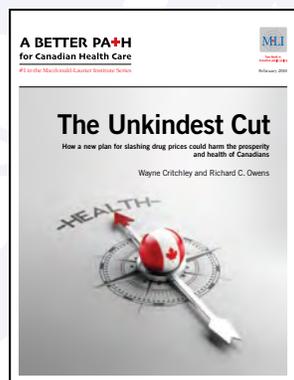
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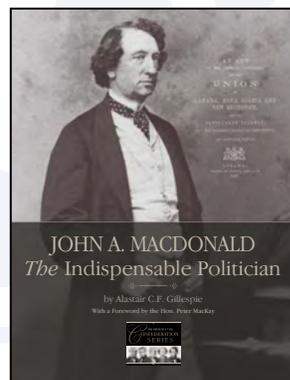
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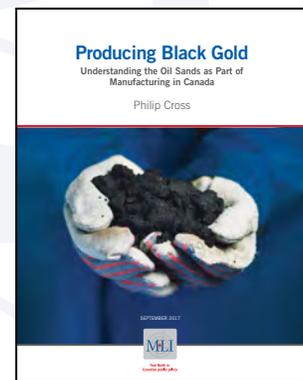
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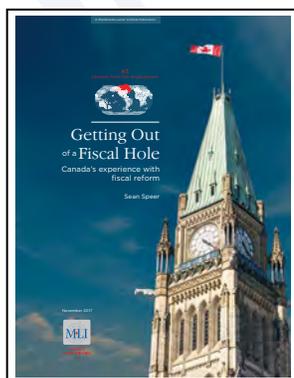
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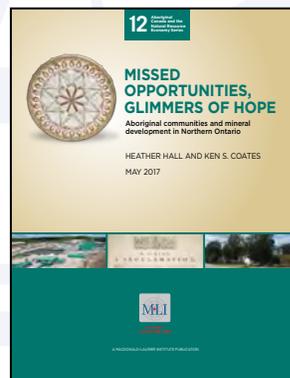
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