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CANADA'S APPROACH TO DEFENCE SPENDING: IS THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES CANADA'S SECURITY BLANKET OR INSURANCE POLICY?

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By Major S.A. Nickerson

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ABSTRACT

Nickerson, Shelley Anne, MDS, Royal Military College of Canada, December 2014

Canada's Approach to Defence Spending: Is the Canadian Armed Forces Canada's Security Blanket or Insurance Policy?

Dr Craig Stone, PhD

As the Canadian government prepares for an election and moves toward eliminating the deficit by 2015, the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) is once again experiencing a period of transformation and budget cuts. The findings and conclusions in this paper, as they relate to defence spending and the CAF's level of readiness to respond when directed, are a means to ensure the government's ability to fulfill its primary responsibility in providing for the safety and security of its citizens, maintain sovereignty and have a voice on the international stage. The aim of this paper is to argue that a more balanced approach to defence spending ensures a desired effect. This will be achieved by first examining the historical trends of defence spending in Canada and then internationally, it will look at defence spending by the superpowers and some of Canada's important allies to determine how effective their approach is in supporting their militaries. Similarly, it will consider each country's defence spending approach for Canada and discover what the impact would be if it were to adopt a similar approach. Third, it will explore Canada's defence strategy and the CAF's current ability to fulfill the government's mandate and finally, convey what the future holds for the CAF. It will demonstrate, regardless of the political party in power, policies and strategies are not achievable without adequate funding and resources to support it. Due to the globalization of ongoing conflict and the instability throughout the world, Canada is not immune. Public and political will to support the CAF is instrumental in providing Canadians with an *insurance policy* that guarantees a secure and sovereign Canada.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the real sense of the word, a security blanket is something that provides a sense of safety and security as well as peace of mind to the individual who possesses it. The primary responsibility of a nation's government is the safety and security of its citizens and territory with a functional military being one of its primary means to provide this. Therefore, in the abstract sense, the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) can be considered to be Canada's security blanket.

Like any other blanket, a security blanket begins its life brand new. It is chosen to provide warmth, comfort, be slept with, and is washed, cared for and maintained. It is also drooled on, cried upon, stepped on, thrown on the floor and left in a heap until the next time it is needed. Over time, the blanket fades, becomes tattered, and essentially wears out and one wonders how it came to be in such a state. Eventually, the security blanket is no longer required and depending on its sentimental value and condition, it is either packed away for memory's sake or discarded.

The CAF is treated essentially the same way. It is expected to be ready and available, all shiny and new, when called upon, either domestically or internationally, to provide assistance for environmental disasters, fight wars, or be deployed as peacekeepers abroad; a role that Canadians believe to be its *raison d'être*, but one that has significantly changed since the days of Lester B. Pearson.¹ But on a daily basis, when it is not required to assist Canadians or deploy as per government direction, it is often forgotten, leaving some to wonder what its role is or even why Canada needs a military at all. During peacetime, the desire of the government is to take

¹Martin Shadwick, "Defence After Kandahar." *Canadian Military Journal* 10, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 68.

advantage of the 'peace dividend' to cut defence spending and use these discretionary funds elsewhere, even to help reduce the deficit. But what is the impact when there are fluctuations in defence spending?

This paper will shed some light on the impact to personnel, equipment, readiness and infrastructure, and argue that there are more efficient and cost effective ways to fund Canada's military than by injecting large sums of money during periods of high operational tempo and attempting to benefit from reductions in defence spending during peace. It will identify how Canada and its government should treat its military more like an insurance policy² than a security blanket that is retrieved when it is needed and discarded when it is not. Similar to an insurance policy, the government would continue to pay for defence in a more balanced manner, during times of conflict and peace, so that when the military is called upon its level of readiness is assured. This would enable it to more effectively respond to the full spectrum of conflict and achieve mission success.

In order to achieve this, an analysis will be conducted to examine the trends of defence spending throughout the history of Canada's military. It will depict the impact of fluctuations in the defence budget depending on the country's economic state, the deficit, the public's perception of the security threat during periods of conflict and peace, and its effect on the political will of the government to provide the resources necessary to ensure the CAF's readiness to respond when called upon, or spend these funds elsewhere. Next, from an international perspective, it will look at the defence spending approaches of the superpowers and some of

²Jack L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), xii.

Canada's most important allies. It will reveal the impact on a country when too much funding is allocated for defence and when too little is spent in favour of increasing social welfare programs. As well, it will consider the impact on Canada if it were to adopt a defence spending approach similar to any of these countries. The defence spending approach of Canada today, as laid out in the Canada First Defence Strategy (CFDS), will then be analyzed to reveal whether or not it is effective in supporting the CAF by providing the resources required for it to achieve the level of readiness necessary for the defence and security of Canada and Canadians. This analysis will provide a better understanding of the true state of the CAF today, and the impact on what lies ahead for the CAF in the future. Considering the unpredictability of other nations in an ever-changing geopolitical environment, it would be difficult to imagine a time when the CAF would not be required. In saying this, this paper will demonstrate to the reader that the defence spending trends that have plagued Canada's military since the nation's birth could continue, regardless of the political party in power or the desire of senior military leaders, unless the government can be convinced to alter its defence spending in favour of a more balanced, predictable approach that would allow the CAF to plan for the future, reduce the commitment-capability gap, and allow them to train and maintain their equipment and infrastructure to achieve the level of readiness necessary to respond to the demands of Canada's government and its citizens when called upon.

2. HISTORICAL TRENDS OF DEFENCE SPENDING IN CANADA

Introduction

Historically, Jack Granatstein has indicated that the government of Canada has deployed its military to conflicts in an undermanned, ill-equipped, ill-trained and underfunded state.³ This chapter will review the historical trends of Canada's defence spending by examining the pre- and post-periods of the two World Wars and the Cold War era up to present day, in order to provide the reader with a snapshot of the state of the Canadian military prior to engaging in conflict, whether in war or in a peacekeeping role. It will demonstrate how the perceived threat as well as the economic state of Canada prior to, during and after the conflict determined whether or not the political party in power had the public support to provide the Canadian military with the resources necessary to succeed. It will reveal that regardless of the political party in power, the CAF and the Department of National Defence (DND), representing one third or approximately 30 percent of Canada's discretionary spending budget⁴ continues to be the main target for budgetary cuts in paying down the deficit.⁵ This chapter will argue that it is necessary for the Canadian government to adequately fund the CAF regardless of its active participation in a major conflict. Acting as the country's security blanket, rather than its insurance policy, the CAF is still expected to protect Canada and its citizens, both at home and abroad, when directed without receiving the funds to pay for its upkeep. This chapter will explain the necessity of funding the

³*Ibid.*

⁴John D. Conrad, *Scarce Heard Amid the Guns: An Inside Look at Canadian Peacekeeping* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2011), 63.

⁵"In 2011, the discretionary spending envelope was \$80 billion." *The Globe and Mail*, 28 March 2012, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/federal-budget-expected-to-slash-7-billion-from-discretionary-spending/article4096269/>, Internet; accessed 31 October 2014.

CAF more in line with an insurance policy approach to guarantee its level of readiness to respond when called upon.

Pre-World War I

Both before and after Confederation, the citizens of Canada believed that a militia was all that was necessary to protect their country. They believed that a standing army incurred undue cost and was a potential threat to the state because a disgruntled and undisciplined force could rise up against it at any time.⁶ The problem was that the men who formed the militia were the same men who worked the farmlands and sustained the local economy therefore, being away for any length of time was detrimental to the community. These men fought gallantly close to home, protecting their homelands and families, but could not be counted on to do the same for “broader geopolitical interests”⁷ at a distance where protecting loved ones would be impossible. Regular troops were not tolerated in the communities during peacetime as the citizens did not appreciate their lack of discipline, drunk and disorderliness. But during times of war or social unrest, these same citizens demanded that more men and weapons be provided to protect and defend them. Once conflict ceased, it was perceived that the military was no longer required and all but forgotten in favour of expanding settlement, infrastructure and building the economy.⁸ Still dependent upon the British Army for defence, the only force that existed in Canada in 1868, was the Active Militia of 40,000 men with a maximum of 16 days of paid training per year.⁹ It

⁶Jack Granatstein L. *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 5.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*, 14.

⁹“The authorized strength of the 40,000 strong volunteer force or Active Militia was to be the backbone of the Canadian Defence System.” George F.G. Stanley. *Canada's Soldiers: The Military History of an Unmilitary People* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1974), 234.

wasn't until 1871, when the British government decided to pull its troops out of Canada that the Canadian government began to think seriously about its own defence. Two artillery batteries of personnel, the crude beginnings of Canada's Permanent Force, were stood up to protect the artillery guns and stores left behind by the British after their withdrawal.¹⁰ Throughout the 1870s, the threat of invasion from the United States¹¹ and the Fenians had diminished, and since Canada's economy was suffering,¹² defence was put on the back burner. The small financial appropriations that parliament made available on a yearly basis for defence was not enough to solve the militia's weakness as a fighting force, its lack of training, personnel numbers and poor equipment.¹³ Luck played a role when an undisciplined, rag tag force, led by regular officers, headed to the North-West in the middle of winter to quell the unrest between the Métis and Indians. Many lessons were learned from the second Riel Rebellion, the most important one being that the state of the Militia in 1885 meant that it could not defend Canada or its citizens during a crisis.¹⁴

¹⁰“A and B Batteries became the first full-time (regular) Militia units in 1871.” Department of National Defence, A-AD-267-000/AF-003, *Chapter 3 Artillery Regiments and Batteries, Section 1 Artillery Branch*, (Ottawa: DND Canada, 2010), 3-1-1.

¹¹“The Fenian raids of the 1860's exposed many deficiencies in defence. The threatening attitude of the United States remained and sent a strong message to the political leaders of each province: the requirement to adequately provide for defence against invasion, the organization of a united military force vice the assembly of provincial militias during a crisis that were trained, administered, organized and regulated differently, and the advocacy for a united Canada (July 1, 1867).” Stanley. *Canada's Soldiers: The Military History of an Unmilitary People...*, 233.

¹²“During the 1870's, railway development and the improvement of communications across Canada were just as important as defence policy. *Ibid.*, 234. However, prosperity immediately following Confederation came to an end due to the domestic response to the worldwide financial crisis of 1871-72 and the consequence of it was the restriction on the availability of investment capital.” Donald G. Paterson, “Business Cycles” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/business-cycles/>; Internet; accessed 09 December 2014. See also Stanley. *Canada's Soldiers: The Military History of an Unmilitary People...*, 261.

¹³Stanley. *Canada's Soldiers: The Military History of an Unmilitary People...*, 260.

¹⁴“None of the Infantry battalions were prepared to fight, new units had to be created to fill gaps, they had no transport, medical, engineers or supply organizations, nor were there enough cavalry, artillery or infantry.” Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace...*, 32.

The first real reform of the Permanent Force occurred after the Boer War in South Africa. Canada's participation, fighting alongside British and Australian forces, revealed weaknesses in training, tactics, equipment and leadership.¹⁵ The 1904 Militia Act established a Militia Council, with expanded powers under the minister, and appointed an Inspector General to provide advice on war readiness. For the Canadian government, acting on the lessons learned from the African war significantly improved the military's preparedness and undoubtedly would have saved lives had war broken out.¹⁶

Prior to the Great War, Ottawa continued to strengthen its military forces across the country with public support waxing and waning depending on what was happening overseas.¹⁷ By 1913, under the Liberals and defence minister Sam Hughes, Canada's military situation had improved greatly. Hughes continued to advocate the value of the Militia over a Permanent force, to "promote national growth and to defend Canada and the Empire."¹⁸ Despite a severe pre-war financial depression, 55,000 militia men were trained and the defence budget was increased from \$7 million in 1911 to \$11 million by 1914.¹⁹ The country was full of hope and dreams; a trend that would not last long.²⁰

¹⁵Desmond Morton. *A Military History of Canada, 5th Edition* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd, 2007), 117-18.

¹⁶"In addition to the act, the Permanent Force's strength was increased to 2000, improvements were made to militia's medical organization and other corps and services were added. The greatest contribution to militia reform was the take-over of the British fortresses at Halifax and Esquimalt. These, along with other reforms, were nationalist in their effect. Of significance, Robert Borden announced that command of the militia would be open to Canadians and Canadian officers would no longer automatically rank behind British officers." *Ibid.*, 119-21.

¹⁷Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace...*, 47.

¹⁸Ronald G. Haycock. *Sam Hughes, The Public Career of a Controversial Canadian, 1885 – 1916* (Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986), 137.

¹⁹"The pre-war depression was due to huge unused capacity: three transcontinental railways, a northern Ontario mining frontier, hundreds of shut-down factories." Morton. *A Military History of Canada, 5th Edition...*, 127, 134-35.

²⁰"Between 1900 and 1913, Canada was the country to immigrate to. The population grew from 5.3 million to 7.2 million, vast regions of the prairies were settled, two transcontinental railways were built and industrial production increased dramatically. But prospects started to wane in the year that immigration crested and in 1913,

In 1914, when Britain declared war on Germany, Canada's military, by British standards, was still considered ill-prepared, disorganized and ill-equipped for war.²¹ Five months from the day of the declaration of war and with no front-line experience Canadian troops were sent to France, arriving on the front line on January 4, 1915.²² Regardless, Canadian troops were praised for their courage at Ypres and despite sustaining a significant number of casualties,²³ they trained as they fought and gained experience as the war raged on. By the Battle of the Somme the Canadian Corps, under the leadership of General Arthur Currie, transformed from militia men off the streets and fields to "hard-hitting shock troops."²⁴ By the end of the war in 1918, the Canadian Corps had created what would become a legacy for Canada's military that still continues today; a legacy of "competence, courage, stamina and tenacity."²⁵

Inter-War Years

the country started to slide into a severe depression because the liquid capital that the country's growth depended on, dried up causing the reverse of industrial expansion and with it, increased unemployment, especially in the urban areas." Government of Canada, "Forging Our Legacy; Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900-1977," accessed 31 October 2014, Internet; <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/legacy/chap-4.asp>.

²¹"Militia was 70,000 strong and equipped with the Canadian-made Ross Rifle vice the Lee Enfield used by the British Army. Ignoring the mobilization plan that was in place, the first 25,000 troops were mobilized under Sam Hughes' direction. Equipping them was difficult due to the limited stocks of everything from boots, uniforms to machine guns and horse-drawn vehicles. Boots did not stand up to Britain's wet weather, ammo belts could not carry the ammo for the Ross rifle and MacAdam shovels were supposed to be used as shields and digging; they could not be used for either, not good for digging and did not stop bullets. The soldiers lacked training from experienced instructors." Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace...*, pp 54-60.

²²Stanley. *Canada's Soldiers: The Military History of an Unmilitary People...*, 311.

²³"After exhausting all efforts in attempting to recruit volunteers to fight overseas, due to heavy Canadian losses and the demand for labour forces for other vital industry and agriculture in support of the war effort, the unpopular decision of conscription was made." *Ibid.*, 337.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 320.

²⁵Bernd Horn, *From Cold War to New Millennium: The History of the Royal Canadian Regiment, 1953 to 2008* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2011), 379.

Due to their success in capturing Vimy Ridge and more specifically, after the Battle of Amiens and throughout the last 100 days of World War I, the Canadian Corps were hailed as heroes and Canada gained a new sense of identity.²⁶ Because the war ended in the winter months of 1918, it took a year for all of the troops to be shipped home. The returning soldiers were hoping to return to a warm welcome, but by then the country had already returned to an anti-war climate in part driven by the many casualties suffered during the war.²⁷ The reintegration of battle-hardened troops was not the government's only concern as it had other problems to deal with.²⁸ Although a variety of programs were offered to veterans, most were inadequate to meet their needs, leaving many unemployed. Fluctuations in the economy and abrupt closures of wartime industrial plants did not make the difficult reintegration process any easier.²⁹

With no war forecasted in the future, the ability to gain public support for the Canadian Army was very difficult.³⁰ Thus, it did not take long for Canada's military to return to its pre-1914 state of a "partly trained militia, inadequately equipped, out of balance and lacking modern arms."³¹ Many Canadians, except for those who were physically and/or mentally affected by it,

²⁶Government of Canada, "Forging Our Legacy: Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900-1977," accessed 31 October 2014, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/legacy/chap-4.asp>.

²⁷Morton. *A Military History of Canada*..., 166.

²⁸"The Canadian government was dealing with riots in Quebec City over the thought of peacetime conscription, the Spanish flu that had killed millions and millions of people worldwide had arrived in Canada with the return of the troops from overseas, and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919." Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace*..., pp 155-156.

²⁹"Medical advances meant that more sick and wounded soldiers had survived than in previous wars. This resulted in a large and continuing responsibility, aggravated because the post-war depression and high levels of unemployment undermined the optimistic hope that a little retraining would produce self-sufficiency." Morton. *A Military History of Canada*..., 167.

³⁰Larry D. Rose, *Mobilize!: Why Canada was Unprepared for the Second World War* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2013), 43.

³¹Stanley. *Canada's Soldiers: The Military History of an Unmilitary People*..., 340.

tried to put the Great War behind them and forget that it ever happened.³² Since it was again possible for democracy to flourish throughout the world, Canada's government and its citizens believed that a Militia was all that Canada required and it would be quite capable of handling any crises that came along. Without the knowledge of an upcoming war to fight, there was simply no need to waste money on professional soldiers.³³

In 1921, the Liberal Government, under Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, believed that Canada had set aside its domestic problems to engage in international affairs for too long³⁴ and with low public opinion for the military, as Figure 2.1 shows, defence funding continually declined.³⁵

³²“War was an expensive, unpleasant affair, and memories of the last war were too fresh to contemplate a new conflict.” Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, *Canada 1900 – 1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 295.

³³“The dislike of a professional military force and the conviction that the militia provided a cheap form of military insurance were rooted deep in the Canadian mind.” Stanley. *Canada's Soldiers: The Military History of an Unmilitary People...*, 340.

³⁴“Isolationism was the flavour of Canada. Mackenzie was convinced that the efforts of Canada at this time had best be directed to her own salvation rather than to the redemption of the world. Domestic of the post-war period were a full-time job for any Canadian Government and even moderate efforts outside Canadian borders could be undertaken only at the risk of neglecting more urgent duties at home.” Robert MacGregor Dawson, *William Lyon Mackenzie King A Political Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), 404.

³⁵“Memories of heavy losses from the First World War caused the majority of the population to be unwilling to spend money on the military. According to Statistics Canada, the Canadian Defence Expenditure in 1920 was \$30 million and by 1921, it had decreased to \$18 million, and dipped as low as \$13 million in 1923 and 1924.” Rose, *Mobilize!: Why Canada was Unprepared for the Second World War ...*, 46.

Canadian Defence Expenditure, 1920-1938

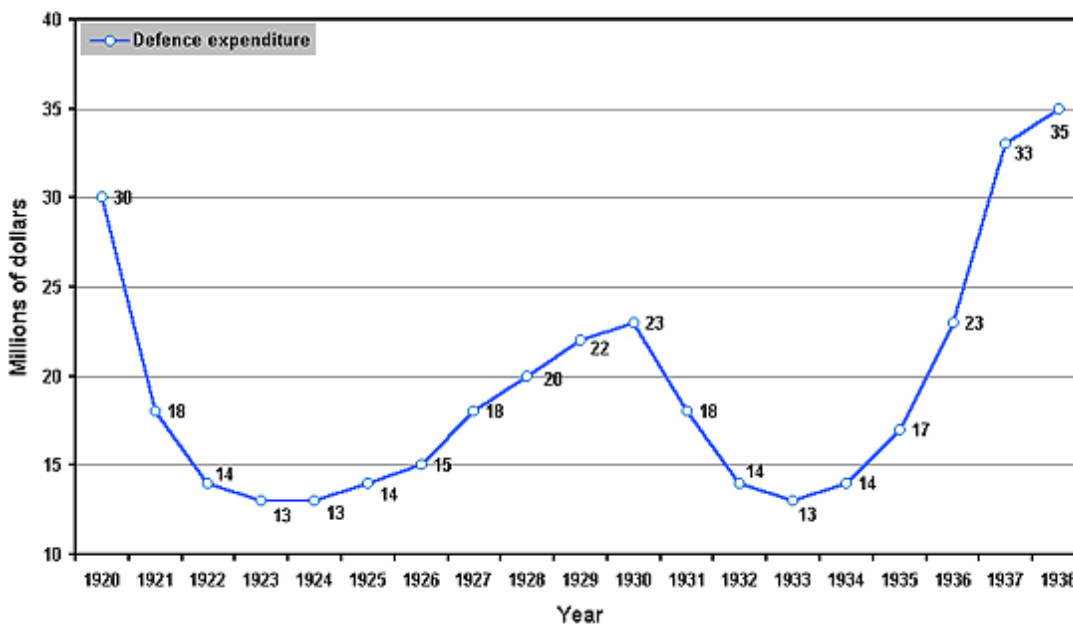


Figure 2.1- Canadian Defence Expenditures, 1920 – 1938

- (1) Figures are for fiscal year ending nearest to 31 December of year named.
- (2) Formally Defence and Mutual Aid.
- (3) Adapted from Series H19-34. Federal government budgetary expenditures, classified by function, 1867 to 1975: Statistics Canada; http://www.statcan.ca/freepub/11-516-XIE/sectionh/H19_34.csv; Internet; 30 March 2000.

In 1929, Canadian business flourished until the stock market crash on Wall Street on the 24th of October which caused many to lose their life savings, businesses to collapse and municipalities to go bankrupt. The Canadian prairies suffered through many years of drought and the winter of 1932 was so cold that “Niagara Falls froze completely solid ..., one-fifth of all Canadians were on relief with the Canadian government inserting a billion dollars into aid.”³⁶ During the Great Depression of the 1930’s, a change in government from King to Conservative Prime Minister Richard Bedford Bennett, meant the introduction of new policies which, as

³⁶*Ibid.*, 57.

depicted in Figure 2.1, led to defence spending falling from \$23 million to \$13 million.³⁷ The Canadian Army's equipment became obsolete and its doctrine lay dormant since 1918, the year that it was written. The professional army that it became in World War I, at a great cost of many lives disappeared and with it, its sense of nationalism.³⁸

In 1939, Canada's Active Service Force (CASF), whose primary role was to train part-time reservists, was of limited strength, ill-equipped, under-trained and was not capable of mounting any type of effective action against anyone.³⁹ Although the government tried to initiate a modest rearmament program in 1936, the citizens of Canada were not happy about it, especially those from Quebec who believed that any increases in defence spending meant Canada would again side with the British Empire in a European war, which could also mean conscription. The French/English divide on the declaration of war was something that Ottawa had to deal with very carefully because it had the potential of dividing the country. Eventually, an agreement was reached and Canada was permitted to declare war as long as there was no conscription.⁴⁰

Similar to September 1914, Canada again sent its soldiers overseas mostly untrained, inexperienced, and ill-equipped with nothing more than high spirits, uniforms and small arms.⁴¹

³⁷“Coping with the Depression was enough; and if it were not, there was the lingering debt left over from the Great War of 1914-18. No Canadian government could contemplate lightly a policy which might require it to spend money on arms, soldiers, or ships...” Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, *Canada 1900 – 1945...*, 296.

³⁸Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace...*, 148.

³⁹“The CASF consisted of a tiny regular army and a much larger army reserve. The initial army mobilization consisted of two divisions, each with approx. 16,000 members commanded by the Canadian Corps headquarters. The army was equipped with arms, equipment and uniforms dating back to 1918 or earlier.” Rose, *Mobilize!: Why Canada was Unprepared for the Second World War...*, 30.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 36.

⁴¹“In September 1939, the Gross Domestic Product was \$5.6 billion and unemployment in Canada was high. The army offered soldiers 3 meals/day, clothing, a trip overseas, all for a good cause. Men joined for a number of

During the war, Canadian soldiers learned how to fight and defeat “what was likely the most skilled army of modern times.”⁴² But the lack of equipment, training and leadership early-on meant that in doing so, many paid the ultimate sacrifice. Still, this reinstated the legacy the Canadian Army built during the Great War, and by the end of the Second World War, all three services had gained the respect they deserved.

Post World War II

The First Canadian Army had become the most professional fighting force that Canada had ever possessed, but it too met the same demise as the Canadian Corps; it dismantled quickly upon returning to Canada.⁴³ Those who fought as well as those who stayed home and supported the war effort wanted to return to a normal life as quickly as possible.⁴⁴

The country that the troops returned to was in much better shape, both politically and economically, than when they had left for overseas. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) had doubled to \$11 billion and industry was doing well.⁴⁵ Canadians were working and had the

different reasons: to escape their wives, families, obligations, or just plain patriotism, while others joined with the conviction that Nazism was evil and had to be stopped.” Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace...*, 181-183.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 256.

⁴³“There were many debates on the post-war composition of Canada’s Armed Forces and what level of preparedness would be necessary in protecting Canada and its interests. Still the Armed Forces as a whole was reduced in size after the war and decision on policy was still not finalized in July of 1947 (total strength was 32,610 personnel).” James Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada: Peacemaking and Deterrence* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 95-96.

⁴⁴“The Prime Minister had set the tone... by remarking at the outset that what [Canada] needed now was to get back to old Liberal principles of economy, reduction of taxation, anti-militarism, etc.” *Ibid.*, 92.

⁴⁵“By late 1942, Canada’s factories, many government-owned, produced billions of dollars worth of military vehicles, aircraft, guns and ships, while billions more in foods and minerals came from the farms and mines. The GDP in 1946 was \$11 billion.” Jack L. Granatstein, “Canada’s War, 1939 - 1945,” *World War II and the NFB*, <http://www3.nfb.ca/ww2/wwii-an-overview-in-moving-pictures/?article=18712&page=3>; Internet; accessed 4 November 2014.

ability to put a little away for the future. Social security benefits were implemented to protect workers against unemployment even during economic downturn, and provide families with both family and children allowances.⁴⁶ The Veterans Charter guaranteed that those who had fought in the war would receive all the rehabilitation and training they needed and deserved.⁴⁷ All Canada needed now was a trading partner interested in buying its exports. Due to the state of Britain both economically and militarily, the United States was its only viable option and since Canada was unable to defend itself, a defence partnership would benefit the country as well.⁴⁸

Since Canada was located directly in the projected path of overflying bombers and missiles from the Soviet Union, the United States wanted to be assured that Canada would commit to and cooperate in the defence of North America.⁴⁹ The downside of Canada's bi-national agreement, known as the Permanent Joint Board of Defence (PJBD) or Ogdensburg Agreement, with the United States was that Canada's policies and military plans took a backseat to those of their superpower partner depicting a more dominant attitude rather than a cooperative one.⁵⁰

⁴⁶Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, *Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics and Provincialism*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 67.

⁴⁷Morton. *A Military History of Canada...*, 226.

⁴⁸“While Britain had gone irreversibly into debt, the Canadian-U.S. defence production agreement initiated by the Hyde Parke Declaration of 20 April 1941, kept Canadian-American trade and settlements in balance.” Morton. *A Military History of Canada...*, 225. “Hyde Park meant that the U.S. spent \$1,187 million in Canada from 1941-45 and helped to integrate the Canadian economy more closely with theirs. Canada aided Britain physically with troops as well as was financially by continuing to allow it to procure goods even though it was short on Canadian dollars.” Bothwell, Drummond and English, *Canada 1900 – 1945...*, 365-66.

⁴⁹“Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada: Peacemaking and Deterrence...*, 344-45.

⁵⁰“One PJBD proposal, as part of the Ogdensburg agreement, was accepted in its entirety and signed February 12, 1947. It cautiously committed Canada to American weapons, equipment, training methods and communications and marked Canadian military integration with its historic enemy.” Morton. *A Military History of Canada...*, 230.

In April 1949, with a Liberal government in power, and Prime Minister Louis St Laurent at the helm, Canada signed the North Atlantic Treaty. Canada had now committed to a multi-lateral agreement with eleven other nations, which included the United States. This meant that the United States would be forced to use a multi-lateral approach in exercising its powers and responsibilities.⁵¹ However, becoming a founding member of NATO was still not enough for Canada to improve its armed forces, update its obsolete equipment or increase its defence budget.⁵² It was only during the fighting in Korea in the early 1950s, under significant pressure to commit ground troops from both the United States⁵³ and NATO that the Canadian government, as Figure 2.2 shows, began to increase defence spending.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵²“The Hyde Park Agreement expired at the end of WWII and it became very hard for Canada to purchase U.S. military equipment or even pay for it when it was available. Despite Canadian lip service paid to the notion of collective security under the auspices of either the UN or NATO, Canada had no troops to send into a conflict of any intensity. The army’s anti-tank guns, mortars, small arms, tanks, field artillery, radios etc. were all from the Second World War. When Canada’s soldiers joined battle in Korea in the spring of 1951, they carried some U.S. equipment with them, all acquired after their arrival on the peninsula. But for the most part, Canadians fought in Korea with Second World War British-pattern, bolt-action Lee-Enfield .303 Mk IV. David J. Bercuson, *Blood on the Hills: The Canadian Army in the Korean War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 22-23.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 31-33.

⁵⁴Mr Abbott’s budget speech suggests that it is nearly impossible to for all groups in the country to achieve all that they want to achieve with the current level of capital investment. The desire to double the defence program is still necessary and belt tightening would have to be achieved elsewhere to achieve this. Budget speech dated 10 April 1951, Parliament of Canada, Budgets, 10 April 1951, pg 1802. The defence expenditures were increased to \$1,664 million. Parliament of Canada, Budgets. pg 1806 of the budget, 10 April 1951, <http://www.parl.gc.ca/ParlInfo/Documents/Budgets/English/1951-04-10.pdf>; Internet; accessed 10 January 2015.

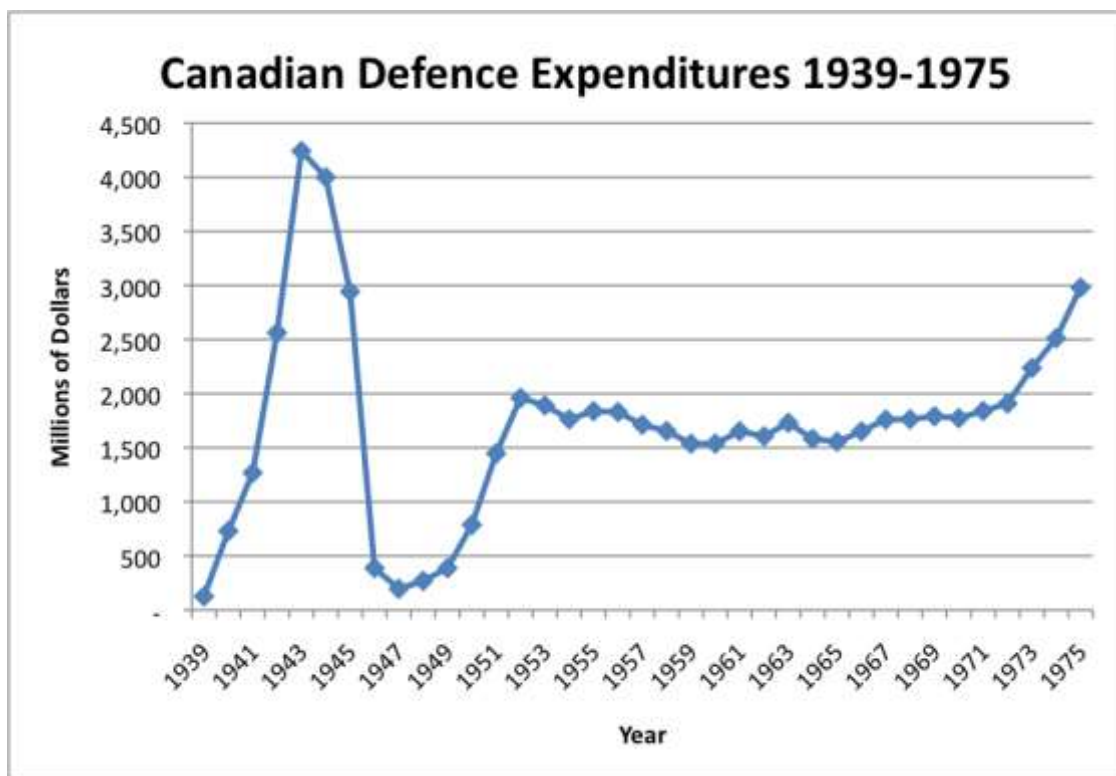


Figure 2.2 - Canadian Defence Expenditures 1939 – 1975

- (1) Figures are for fiscal year ending nearest to 31 December of year named.
- (2) Formerly Defence and Mutual Aid.
- (3) Adapted from Series H19-34. Federal government budgetary expenditures, classified by function, 1867 to 1975: Statistics Canada. http://www.statcan.gc.ca/english/freepub/11516-XIE/sectionh/H19_34.csv; accessed October 2014.

The St Laurent cabinet did not want a repeat of the Hong Kong disaster, and therefore expressed the desire to properly train, equip and attain a degree of perfection for the soldiers of the Canadian Army Special Force that would be created and sent to Korea, in support of the United Nations (UN) to fight under U.S. Corps and army command.⁵⁵

Gaining support from the Canadian public was a difficult task especially since the public was not aware of what was happening in Korea or were interested in supporting another conflict far from

⁵⁵“Canada sent 2,000 poorly trained and ill-equipped men into battle, on the island of Hong Kong, against the Japanese army in 1941 at a cost of 303 men killed and 254 others who died in Japanese POW camps. Ted Barris, *Deadlock in Korea: Canadians at War, 1950-1953* (Toronto: Macmillan Canada, 1999), 36-37.

home.⁵⁶ Despite this, defence spending was increased from \$1.16 billion in 1951 to \$1.9 billion by 1953-54 and the number of regular force personnel increased to 118,000.⁵⁷ As tradition would have it, Canada hastily deployed a contingent that was unprepared for the terrain and type of fighting in Korea.⁵⁸ But, in keeping with tradition, Canadian soldiers learned quickly and performed well in Korea, maintaining the reputation they were known for in both World Wars.⁵⁹ With increases in personnel initiated by the Korean conflict, Canada committed a Brigade Group size force to NATO during peacetime, something that had never been done before, which meant a major change in policy.⁶⁰

In 1957-58, with Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and his Progressive Conservative government in power, Canada and the United States agreed to the North American Air Defence Command in order to work together to defend the airspace over North America against a potential nuclear attack from the Soviet Union.⁶¹ The problem was that the Diefenbaker

⁵⁶“Most Canadians forgot, or in many cases never even acknowledged the Korean War had taken place. The country was preoccupied with seemingly more important matters like the national pipeline from Alberta to Sarnia Ontario, a canal system up the St Lawrence to the Great Lakes and newly-aired television shows.” *Ibid.*, 286. “On the 7th August 1950, Prime Minister St Laurent went on national radio to address the nation, telling Canadians that the UN action in Korea was not war but a ‘police action intended to prevent war by discouraging aggression.’ Bercuson, *Blood on the Hills: The Canadian Army in the Korean War ...*, 11, 33.

⁵⁷Jack L. Granatstein, “Gouzenko To Gorbachev: Canada’s Cold War,” *Canadian Military Journal* 12, no. 1 (Winter 2011), 46. See also Fig. 2.2.

⁵⁸“The Korean landscape very much dictated the way the war was being fought. Instead of being fought by armies, divisions or even battalions, it was fought with small groups of men. Unit survival depended on how much the men trusted their section leader, how well each man’s skills and temperament were used and how quickly the men could adapt to an inhospitable countryside. The land was the master of everything. Only a thin layer of topsoil covered the hills, ridges, and spurs of the landscape which meant there was precious little to build protection against small arms, mortar, or artillery fire. Barris, *Deadlock in Korea: Canadians at War, 1950-1953...*, 66, 93-94.

⁵⁹“The Canadians were ‘fantastic’...the Royal 22e Régiment, like the Princess Patricia’s at Kap’yong, deserved a Presidential Citation for standing firm against the Chinese.” *Ibid.*, 153.

⁶⁰“The immediate aim of the alliance was to form a common military command and build up a force capable of withstanding the armed might of Russia and its communist allies in central Europe. At the outset, the Canadian Government envisaged the Canadian contribution in the form of equipment rather than men. However when General Eisenhower became Supreme Allied Commander in Europe in 1950, he suggested that the Canadians might also send a contingent of men.” Stanley. *Canada’s Soldiers: The Military History of an Unmilitary People...*, 396.

⁶¹In 1946, the Americans had established a Continental Air Defence Command and in 1948, the R.C.A.F. followed suit with their own Air Defence Command in Canada. In 1953, the United States wanted all continental

government coincided with the downturn of the economy, increased unemployment and a deficit and as Figure 2.2 shows, led to government spending restraint and more defence cuts.⁶² With these cuts and at the request of the military, Diefenbaker cancelled the costly CF105 Avro *Arrow* in favour of purchasing American-made F-101 *Voodoo* aircraft and *Bomarc* surface-to-air missiles to intercept Soviet planes.⁶³ These missiles, in addition to the CF-104 *Starfighter* Strike fighters and the 762 rocket used with the *Honest John* launcher, bought for use by the Canadian contingent in NATO, required nuclear warheads in order to be effective.⁶⁴ Much to the chagrin of Washington and the Canadian people, Diefenbaker was very indecisive in purchasing either of these systems. This led to the eventual demise of the government, was a waste of defence spending and added stress to Canada's relationship with the United States.⁶⁵

In March of 1964, Canada sent an infantry battalion as part of the United Nations (UN) force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).⁶⁶ Canadians were very supportive of contributing to world peace and the government leaned toward peacekeeping because it believed that these missions did not require large armies, fleets or air forces to fulfill the role thus, it became a major priority in

air defence hardware under centralized control. In 1954, the R.C.A.F. had envisaged integrated air defence with a joint command. Three years later, the Chiefs of Staff of both countries endorsed the idea and in 1957 the joint command known as NORAD was born. Joseph T. Jockel, *Canada in NORAD, 1957-2007: A History* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 1.

⁶²“Increased unemployment was due to the decline in business capital investment and the liquidation of inventories. The deficit was at \$617 million.” Parliament of Canada, “Budgets.” <http://www.parl.gc.ca/Parlinfo/Documents/Budgets/English/1959-04-09.pdf>; Internet; accessed 03 November 2014. (See also Figure 2.2).

⁶³Jockel, *Canada in NORAD, 1957-2007: A History...*, 43, 47-48.

⁶⁴Bothwell, Drummond and English, *Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics and Provincialism...*, 243. Stanley. *Canada's Soldiers: The Military History of an Unmilitary People...*, 398-99.

⁶⁵“Canada was a vast country that could not, on its own, maintain the whole range of military forces equipped with all types of costly aircraft, armament, and weapons systems necessary for the various defence roles. Thus, the concept of specialization prompted by economic and domestic policy and not necessarily geo-strategic realities became a fundamental idea in Canadian defence policy.” Douglas L. Bland, *The Administration of Defence Policy in Canada, 1947 to 1985*. (Kingston, Ontario: Ronald P. Frye & Company, Publishers, 1987), 17.

⁶⁶“In an effort to avert a war which threatened to develop between two of Canada's NATO allies, Greece and Turkey, over the island of Cyprus, Canada sent 1,100 men on behalf of the UN. Canadian troops were joined shortly afterwards by troops from Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Ireland.” Granatstein, “Gouzenko To Gorbachev: Canada's Cold War,” 48. See also Stanley. *Canada's Soldiers: The Military History of an Unmilitary People...*, 419.

Canada's foreign and military policy.⁶⁷ The period from 1968 to 1984, under the Liberal leadership of Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, was devastating not only for Canada's military but to Canada's NATO commitments and its relationship with the United States.⁶⁸ Trudeau believed defence policy drove foreign policy therefore it needed to change; he harmonized the defence objectives to match his own views on foreign policy which were to "contribute to the maintenance of world peace and add to [Canada's] own sense of purpose as a nation."⁶⁹ Canada needed to focus its efforts at home and because of this, Trudeau re-prioritized defence priorities to reflect this.⁷⁰ The process for determining the optimum level of defence expenditures for the country had changed from that used in the past when traditional concepts such as threats, tactical (and NATO) doctrines, technological changes, political balances and influences, and geopolitical analysis were used as the basis to determine the level of funds required to cover these expenditures.⁷¹ Instead, the minimal level of defence funding was that amount which covered the expenditures for the number of troops necessary to Aid the Civil Authority in the provinces, protect Canada's sovereignty, and any other social policy decisions but, it did not provide the level to allow for the government to accept external defence

⁶⁷“The idea of extending to the world of nations the rule of law which, within the frontiers of national states, provided for common action to regulate disputes and restrain violence, was more desirable than maintaining an uncertain balance of power through expensive and unstable military alliances.” Stanley. *Canada's Soldiers: The Military History of an Unmilitary People...*, 417.

⁶⁸“Trudeau's attitude and actions often offended American leaders which negatively affected trade, defence-backing and trust.” Bob Plamondon, *The Truth About Trudeau* (Ottawa: Great River Media Inc., 2013), 20-21.

⁶⁹Bland, *The Administration of Defence Policy in Canada, 1947 to 1985...*, 56.

⁷⁰“For the most part, the Government's order of priorities did not change the role of the CF all that much; other than perhaps worded differently, they have been the same defence objectives since 1947. A natural order has always existed but it seemed defence officials were confused with the allocation of resources to these priorities. Resource allocation is not determined solely by defence objectives. If all other things (like traditional security measurements such as geographic relationships, threats, capabilities of our opponents as well as our own, etc.) were equal, then resource allocation might follow the so-called priority list. This was the issue.” *Ibid.*, 57-58.

⁷¹*Ibid.*

commitments.⁷² With this and the belief that Europe had recovered enough from the War to pay for its own defence, the Trudeau government made significant cuts to NATO forces in Europe, phased out nuclear weapons, cut Canadian Forces personnel by 30% down to 80,000 and as depicted in Figure 2.2, froze defence spending at \$1.8 billion.⁷³ Despite these cuts, the CAF maintained its professionalism and when terrorism broke out in Quebec in October 1970, Canadian troops deployed to protect Canadian citizens and property.⁷⁴

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the Conservative party were elected in 1984 and re-elected in 1988. As prime minister, he sought to rebuild Canada's relationship with the United States in an effort to improve cooperation on trade policies.⁷⁵ He also promised to revitalize the Canadian Forces by bridging the gap between defence commitments and defence capabilities; a feat that would require a considerable increase in defence spending and the support of the Canadian people to make good on his promises.⁷⁶ In the 1989 post-election budget, growing deficits restricted Mulroney's actions and cuts were made to the initiatives highlighted in the white paper such as the nuclear submarine program, new tanks, aircraft, and increases to

⁷²“Peacetime roles for the forces included sovereignty and independence, especially in coastal waters and the north, national development and other socially useful tasks. NATO, NORAD and peacekeeping were to continue; defence objectives which the government could not escape but really didn't want to honour.” *Ibid.*, 60-61.

⁷³“Defence matters, especially regarding NATO, required reassessment in order to reduce defence expenditures to address the more important national social welfare and economic issues. The White Paper described the rationale for withdrawal from NATO, reflected the optimistic view of Trudeau and others, and continued the trend of developing defence policy outside the Department and without military advice.” *Ibid.*, 59. See also Plamondon, *The Truth About Trudeau...*, 50.

⁷⁴“The October crisis in 1970, the FLQ kidnapped the British trade commissioner in Montreal, James Cross, and Quebec's labour minister, Pierre Laporte. Military assistance was requested by the Quebec government to assist the civil authorities in ensuring the safety of the people and public buildings and Prime Minister Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act and suspended civil liberties, allowing the police to arrest hundreds of individuals without charge.” The Canadian Encyclopedia, “Terrorism,” <http://thecanadianencyclopedia.com/en/article/terrorism/>; Internet; accessed 4 November 2014. *Ibid.*, 71-72.

⁷⁵“Mulroney negotiated a Free Trade Agreement with the United States and won an election over it in 1988.” Granatstein, “Gouzenko To Gorbachev: Canada's Cold War”... , 52.

⁷⁶“In keeping with Conservative election promises, the 1987 white paper was the only one (of five) issued by Canada in the last five decades that was not aimed at reducing the resources, size and role of the Canadian Forces.” Nelson Michaud and Kim Richard Nossal, *Diplomatic Departures: Conservative Era in Canadian Foreign Policy, 1984 – 93*. (British Columbia: UBC Press, 2002), 261.

personnel.⁷⁷ The most important reason for shelving the white paper, besides deficits and domestic politics, was the fact that the Cold War ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall on the 9th November 1989.⁷⁸

Post-Cold War

The early 1990's were considered to be a period to benefit from a peace dividend.⁷⁹ With the dismantling of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, most countries hoped that fewer funds would be required for military forces, equipment and readiness.⁸⁰ These were tough years for Canadians. The decade began with a difficult recession and due to its slow economic recovery, it left over a million Canadians out of work and many more with less money to spend. At the same time, the government was dealing with a huge deficit accumulated since the 1970's which absorbed a huge amount of public revenue just to pay the interest.⁸¹ Like many NATO countries, Canada also wanted to capitalize on the perceived period of peace in order to reduce spending. Hence, the Canadian government believed that it was an opportune time to scale down its support for the defence of Western Europe, offering to leave a contingent of only 1,200 personnel behind.⁸² In 1992, for budgetary and fiscal reasons, Canada announced that it would

⁷⁷“Ten days after tabling the white paper, the prime minister declared that “the paper was postponed because of economic realities and is being scaled down.” *Ibid.*, 270.

⁷⁸Morton. *A Military History of Canada*..., 268.

⁷⁹“Peace Dividend refers to any valid alternative use to which excessive military spending may be re-directed now that the Cold War is over. For some, it may mean the preservation of threatened federal programs in education, health or the environment. For others, it may mean rapid progress toward a balanced budget, or a welcomed cut in federal income tax.” Michael Rostek, “A Framework for Fundamental Change? The Management Command and Control Re-engineering Initiative.” *Canadian Military Journal* (Winter 2004 - 2005), Footnote 2, 71.

⁸⁰Horn, *From Cold War to New Millennium: The History of the Royal Canadian Regiment, 1953 to 2008*..., 207.

⁸¹Morton. *A Military History of Canada*..., 270.

⁸²“June 14, 1991, the prime minister foreshadowed his government's policy when he announced to a European audience that Canada would cut its forces in Germany. It was hard to justify spending the exorbitant amount of money to support Europe when the government was ordering the closure of ordnance and supply depots

withdraw its military assets completely from Europe, potentially saving a considerable amount of money.⁸³ Instead, Canada would continue to honour its commitments to NATO through other means to include the deployment of military personnel, aircraft and ships from home when necessary, rather than maintaining military bases on foreign soil to house large numbers of personnel and equipment.⁸⁴ One of the top priorities for any country's government is a robust foreign policy and the ability to deploy forces when necessary. But, continuing to cut defence spending and personnel would not guarantee either of these.⁸⁵

in Ontario and New Brunswick. Other bases in Canada would close, but only after a drawn-out review process that forced the deferral of decisions until after the next federal election. Marcel Masse insisted that a country that had spent only 2 percent of its gross national product on defence could not expect a peace dividend. Instead, the defence budget would continue to rise faster than inflation until 1995." *Ibid.*, 276.

⁸³“Estimates were that a gradual withdrawal would result in financial saving of \$1.2 billion over five years. Canadian bases at Lahr and Baden-Soellingen would close on July 30, 1993.” Erika Simpson, *NATO and the Bomb: Canadian Defenders Confront Critics* (Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 9.

⁸⁴“For example, Canada could still dispatch an expeditionary brigade group, two squadrons of CF-18s, and an air defence battery to Europe. Canadians continued to serve as part of the NATO Airborne Early Warning (AEW) system in Geilenkirchen, Germany and as aircrew aboard NATO AEW aircraft. *Ibid.*, 11.

⁸⁵“In 1993, the Liberal government was elected on a platform to reduce federal spending while preserving key social programs. Due to the deficit and the search for the elusive ‘peace dividend,’ defence spending cuts became highly desirable politically. This, in combination with the pressures of the deficit resulted in a 23 per cent cut in defence spending (approx. \$7B from 1993-98, see Fig 2.3 and Fig 2.4) and a 30 per cent cut in service personnel (75,000 to 52,000).” Rostek, “A Framework for Fundamental Change? The Management Command and Control Re-engineering Initiative”..., 65-66.

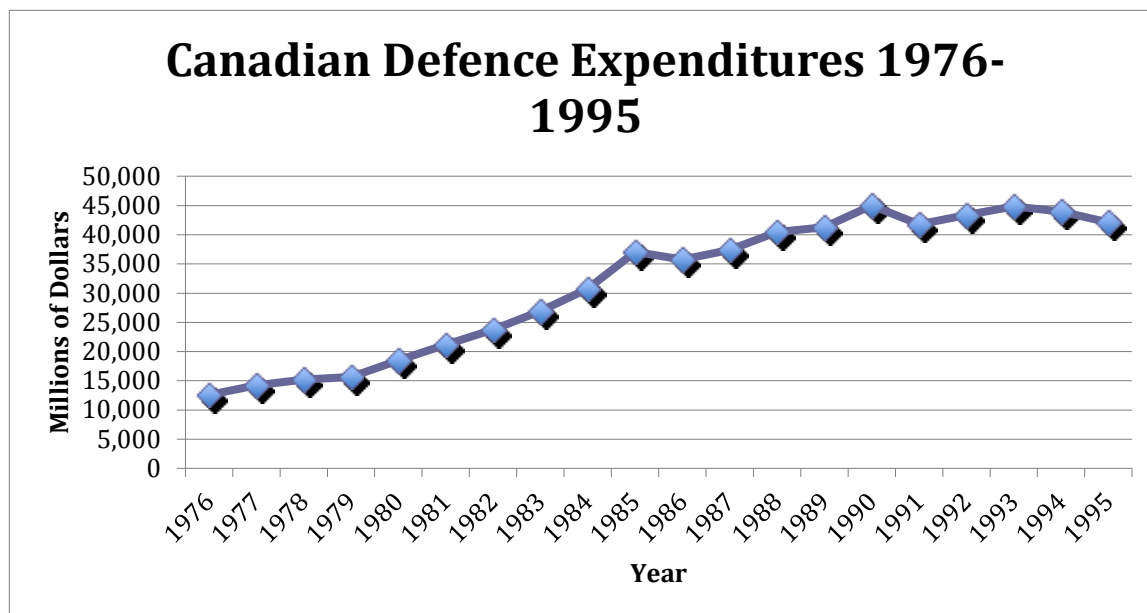


Figure 2.3 - Canadian Defence Expenditures 1976 -1995

- (1) Figures are for fiscal year ending nearest to 31 December of year named. **Defence totals include military pay and allowances.**
- (2) CANSIM table 380-0034, Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/>; Internet; accessed 21 January 2015.

Coinciding with these cuts, the government involved the Canadian Forces in a plethora of peacekeeping turned peace enforcement operations; a clear indication that the world was not at peace.⁸⁶ Difficulties in mission sustainment and troop burn-out were the result of these conflicting actions. They were also frustrated due to the lack of authority to exercise operational command and vague, restrictive Rules of Engagement (ROEs) despite being given the mandate to “force compliance of U.N. resolutions on belligerents or enforce their freedom of movement.”⁸⁷

⁸⁶“Examples of so-called peacekeeping missions turned peace enforcement missions: Op FRICTION, Op SCIMITAR, Op FLAG in the Persian Gulf, UNOSOM (Op Cordon) to UNITAF (Op Deliverance) to UNOSOM II (Op CONSORT) in Somalia, UNOMUR to MINUAR (Op LANCE) in Rwanda and UNPROFOR (Op Cavalier) to IFOR (Op ALLIANCE) to SF-SFOR in the Balkans.” Serge Bernier, “Canadian Military Heritage 1872 - 2000,” in, 1st Quarter 2000 ed., Vol. III (Montreal, Quebec Canada: Art Global Inc., 2000), 237-38.

⁸⁷“Missions to Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) UNPROFOR grew due to the escalation of violence in that part of the world. The Canadian troops sent to this mission were frustrated as they were always outnumbered and didn’t

In missions like Somalia, troops trained for a typical U.N. peacekeeping mission but once in theatre, the mission had changed to peace enforcement with new ROEs for which they had not prepared for. Although the Canadian troops did a lot of great work to provide the humanitarian assistance required by the Somali people, it was the atrocities of a few that made the headlines and were remembered by Canadians back home.⁸⁸ This incident in conjunction with many other problems associated with troops deployed overseas, including the breakdown of leadership, unethical behaviour and disciplinary problems did not help to gain public support for the military. Back in Canada, allegations of the misuse of public funds and lavish spending practices by senior military leadership, during a time when Canada was facing a financial crisis and dealing with a huge deficit, further tainted the reputation of the Canadian Forces.⁸⁹ Deep spending cuts meant that training and programs were reduced or cut completely, the lifecycle of worn-out equipment was extended even further, badly needed capital projects were delayed and personnel strength was reduced even though Canada had committed to a number of deployments; all attributes which significantly affected morale.⁹⁰ These were very difficult times but through

have the weaponry or authority to use them.” Horn, *From Cold War to New Millennium: The History of the Royal Canadian Regiment, 1953 to 2008...*, 214.

⁸⁸“On the night of 16 March 1993, soldiers of the Canadian Airborne Regiment (CAR) caught a young Somali intruder inside their camp perimeter. Later that night, soldiers of 2 Commando tortured and killed Shidane Abukar Arone. Other members of the commando heard his agonized screams but did nothing. During the Military Police investigation, the prime suspect Master Corporal Clayton Matchee, attempted to end his own life by hanging himself. Unsuccessful, he suffered severe brain damage. After an investigation, the preliminary report revealed that the CAR had serious discipline problems. The police and criminal investigation continued and Private Kyle Brown was later charged and sent to jail. The officer commanding 2 Commando, Major Seward served three months detention, and several other punishments and reprimands were awarded to other members of the sub-unit. On 5 March 1995, after the media acquired a video tape depicting CAR initiation rites, the CAR was ordered to be disbanded” The Loyal Edmonton Regiment Military Museum, “Somalia Inquiry, 1994-1997,” Internet; <http://www.lermuseum.org/en/chronology/1946-to-present/1990-2000/somalia-inquiry-1994-1997>; accessed 21 January 2015.

⁸⁹Horn, *From Cold War to New Millennium: The History of the Royal Canadian Regiment, 1953 to 2008...*, 230.

⁹⁰“Canadian military spending dropped by 22% in the years immediately following the end of the Cold War.” Bill Robinson, “Canadian Military Spending 2009.” *Foreign Policy Series*, (December 2009):5,

it all, the Canadian Forces persevered and adapted to the changes that were implemented in order to meet the mandate set out by the government and expected by Canadians.⁹¹

The key to the Liberal's success in being re-elected in 1997, 2000, and 2004 was the ability to achieve a surplus, they did in part by cutting defence spending and reducing personnel strength below the 60,000 target level to 58,000.⁹² The public sympathized with hard-working, poorly paid service personnel, but were not interested in spending a lot of money on defence. Any increase in salary for uniformed personnel could mean further reductions in personnel strength.⁹³ Hard decisions had to be made because although the Navy was receiving twelve new Halifax-class patrol frigates, there was still no replacement for the aging Sea King helicopter fleet. It along with many other air force platforms were rusting out and costing an exorbitant amount in operations and maintenance (O&M).⁹⁴

<http://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/reports/docs/Canadian%20Military%20Spending%202009.pdf>; Internet; accessed 04 November 2014. (Also see Figure. 2.4).

⁹¹“Changes were implemented to create more transparency, accuracy, address employment equity, soldier and family quality of life, increase the emphasis on professional development and make managers more fiscally responsible.” *Ibid.*, 250.

⁹²“Defence spending was reduced by \$2.5 billion from 1996 to 1997 and another \$1.3 billion from 1997 to 1998 (see Fig 2.4). In January 1997, Collenette's successor as Minister of Defence, Doug Young announced his policy: 60,000 regulars and 30,000 reserves. Personnel strength was cut to 58,000.” Morton, *A Military History of Canada...*, 289, 292.

⁹³“Although announced a year prior by the CDS, Defence Minister Art Eggleton announced that with the pay raise, there would be no cuts to personnel.” CBC News, “Canadian Military Finally Getting Pay Raises,” 25 March 1999. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/canadian-military-finally-getting-pay-raises-1.171981>; Internet; accessed 21 January 2015.

⁹⁴“C-130 Hercules transport planes were bought in the 1960's and by 1999, were older than most of the pilots. In some cases, repairs and maintenance took weeks not hours and the manufacturers no longer stocked essential but obsolete parts.” Morton, *A Military History of Canada...*, 294.

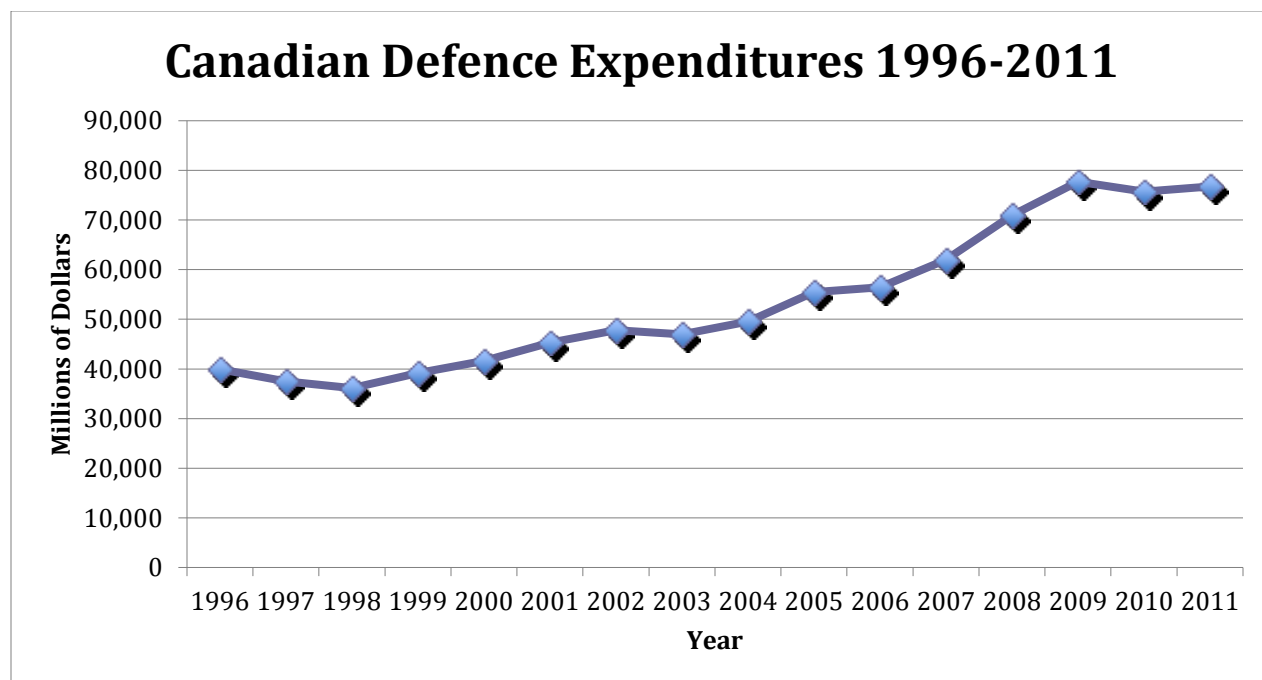


Figure 2.4 - Canadian Defence Expenditures 1996 – 2011

- (1) Figures are for fiscal year ending nearest to 31 December of year named. **Totals include military pay and allowances.**
- (2) CANSIM table 380-0034, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/>; Internet; accessed 21 January 2015.
- (3) There is no data available after Q2 of 2012, therefore these figures were not included.

Canada's soldiers were touted as being able to "fight the best alongside the best"⁹⁵ but their equipment was becoming worn out and obsolete, making it very difficult to live up to this accolade. Deploying soldiers without the proper protective equipment and vehicles, again put the lives of Canadian troops at risk. Despite this, it seemed that the government had a difficult time saying no to the international community. Although senior military leadership may have voiced concerns regarding the number of back to back deployments and the impact they had on their military personnel, when questioned by senior military and government officials, they responded more candidly about what they needed, stating "what we can and cannot do."⁹⁶ Their training

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Wounded: An Interim Report by the Senate Committee on National Security and Defence," September 2005, Colonel René Melançon, "Testimony," *Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security*

and military ethos left them little option to respond in any other way.⁹⁷ As a result, “in 1999, Canadian Forces personnel participated in twenty-three international operations to include a number of post-Cold War arms verification over-flights in Europe and North America.”⁹⁸ In addition, Canadians had the opportunity to experience the great work their military was capable of when deployed domestically across the country. They diffused the Oka crisis in a professional manner, assisted with snow and ice storms, fires, and floods. They also conducted numerous successful search and rescue operations both on land and at sea. Although not forthcoming with funds to pay in advance, Canadians in distress still wondered what took so long for their military to respond and why they did not do so with more personnel?⁹⁹

The state of readiness of the Canadian troops who deployed to Afghanistan to fight the *War on Terrorism* was similar to that of previous wars, once again deploying into a theatre of operations ill-equipped and ill-prepared.¹⁰⁰ The troops had to be flown into theatre on borrowed aircraft, use ground and helicopter transport provided by the United States, and were issued the wrong uniforms and boots for the desert terrain.¹⁰¹

Twenty year-old Iltis jeeps were shipped to Afghanistan where they broke down continuously and since they were not equipped with armour, proved vulnerable to land mines and Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs). The Hercules CC-130 transport aircraft began to have serious

and Defence (January 21, 2005). Internet; http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/SEN/Committee/381/defe/09evb-e.htm?Language=E&Parl=38&Ses=1&comm_id=76 Part I, 9-12, accessed 18 March 2015.

⁹⁷Jack L. Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?* 2nd ed. (Toronto: HarperCollins Publisher Ltd, 2004), 159. “Wounded: An Interim Report by the Senate Committee on National Security and Defence,” September 2005, *Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence* (January 21, 2005). Internet; http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/SEN/Committee/381/defe/09evb-e.htm?Language=E&Parl=38&Ses=1&comm_id=76 ; accessed 20 April 2014, 117.

⁹⁸Morton, *A Military History of Canada...*, 297.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰Roy Rempel, *The Chatter Box: An Insider's Account of the Increasing Irrelevance of Parliament in the Making of Foreign Policy* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2002), 241.

¹⁰¹Granatstein, *Who Killed the Canadian Military?...*, 171.

mechanical problems and air and ground crews were stretched to their limits trying to keep these old aircraft flying. The Navy was also feeling the strain, deploying 16 of 18 ships and 97% of its sea-going personnel to the Persian Gulf.¹⁰²

The Canadian Forces had difficulty maintaining the operational tempo the government had set. At the beginning of 2002, the CAF had 1600 troops in Bosnia and more than 2,500 troops in Afghanistan. Despite living in harsh conditions and the lengthy process to obtain approval from Ottawa to conduct operations, the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI) that were deployed to Kandahar, worked superbly with American forces, earning the credibility and respect from everyone they encountered.¹⁰³

I have personally experienced the frustration of being deployed with minimal training and improper equipment into a hostile theatre of operations.¹⁰⁴ The Government of Canada should not wish that on their worst enemy let alone its own Canadian Armed Forces personnel who willingly volunteer to serve their country. When General Rick Hillier was the Chief of Defence

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, 172.

¹⁰³“The PPCLI worked with the Americans in hunting down the remnants of the al Qaeda leadership that had turned Afghanistan into their home base for the 9/11 attacks and defending the Kandahar Airfield base from sporadic attacks by the handful of Taliban that had not fled the American-led coalition attacks.” *Ibid.*, 247.

¹⁰⁴“In 2005, I deployed to Kandahar, Afghanistan on Rotation 0, as the Technical Assistance Visit (TAV) team leader for the installation of a satellite communications link to enable communications from the theatre of operations back to Canada. Before deploying, the team was given minimal training and issued a mix of arid and green CADPAT clothing and personal protective equipment (PPE). Weapons refresher training was conducted at CAMP MIRAGE before weapons and live rounds were issued, then we departed by C130 Hercules to Kandahar. Everyone was nervous and anxious because most had never been issued live rounds before or experienced combat flying into a combat zone. Upon reflection, one could only imagine the fear and anticipation weighing on the soldiers waiting to disembark the amphibious landing crafts onto the beaches of Normandy on June 6, 1944. While in Kandahar, Iltis jeeps, civilian patterned vehicles and some newly acquired G Wagons were used for ground transport. These vehicles did not offer a lot of protection from IEDs. The first time enemy artillery rounds hit the camp in the middle of the night, forcing us to run to the bunker, was a shock to everyone. I had experienced the sound of artillery fire during tactical exercises on phase training, but reality hit when civilian lives were lost at the camp that night.”

Staff, he was honest when he spoke to both the government and Canadians regarding the true state of Canada's military and the situation it faced in Afghanistan. He provided an honest description of the type of enemy the Taliban were, and about the military being soldiers trained to kill if necessary to ensure the safety and security of non-combatants. It was due to his honesty that the Liberal government under Prime Minister Paul Martin and defence minister Bill Graham more clearly understood the state of the Canadian Forces and what they were up against in Afghanistan. Before accepting the job as Chief of Defence Staff in 2005, Hillier's desire was to enter into a 'two-way contract' with direct support, including financial support in future federal budgets, from the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence and the entire Cabinet, for the changes that he wanted to introduce in the CF because he believed that "all Canadians had to be a part of [the] rebuilding of their armed forces if it was to be successful."¹⁰⁵

The mission in Afghanistan was difficult for both the Canadian Forces and Canada. The Canadian government and Canadians showed their support to the men and women in uniform, but not before Canadian soldiers paid the ultimate sacrifice in doing their job.¹⁰⁶ All in all, the Afghanistan mission provided Canada the opportunity to display and improve its military competence in difficult counter-insurgency warfare and demonstrate "an international leadership role for Canada. It changed the public's image of [its military] to an army engaged in full-scale combat and counterinsurgency warfare, allowing it to transform itself into an efficient fighting machine."¹⁰⁷ In order for the CAF to be that insurance policy that Canadians can count on to be

¹⁰⁵Rick Hillier, General (Ret'd.) *A Soldier First: Bullets, Bureaucrats and the Politics of War* (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd., 2009), 2.

¹⁰⁶"When the funerals and memorial services began across Canada, Canadians came together with these soldiers and their families...it was surreal to see thousands of people lining Highway 401 when the bodies were driven from Trenton to Toronto in what was a spontaneous outpouring of affection and grief." *Ibid.*, 253-54.

¹⁰⁷Wayne C. Thompson, *Canada 2013 (World Today)* (Maryland, USA: Stryker Post Dowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2013), 177.

ready and available when needed, they must be willing to continue their support and pay the premiums associated with it.

Summary

Reviewing the history of the Canadian Armed Forces has demonstrated that regardless of the political party in power, Canada's military has often endured cuts to personnel and defence spending during both peace and times of fiscal constraint. Defence funds are discretionary therefore if there is no perceived threat, the public does not willingly support spending money on defence and pressures the government to spend these funds elsewhere; for important initiatives such as reducing the deficit, supporting social programs, or increasing employment opportunities. But, in order for the Canadian Armed Forces to be efficient, effective and maintain the state of readiness necessary to meet the demands of the government, maintain sovereignty and provide for the defence of Canada and its citizens, it requires sufficient funding, even during peacetime. If not, the military has the potential to lose its professionalism, reputation, and relevance. History has proven that Canada's military can be called upon at any time for service of a domestic nature, as well as provide humanitarian assistance or disaster relief abroad. Modern equipment and well-trained, well-educated personnel are expensive but necessary and Canadians expect them to be available when it matters most.

Canada has a history of sending troops into harms way lacking the training and equipment necessary to do the job they were sent to do and because of it, they cannot perform to the best of their ability and some end up paying the ultimate sacrifice, often unnecessarily. When

Canadians feel threatened and/or discover their military can no longer respond to their needs as expected, then they support the Government in spending funds on defence. The issue is, it takes a number of years to procure the necessary equipment and train personnel effectively. Therefore, cutting funds and personnel not only affects the CAF, it can potentially affect the safety and security of all Canadians, as well as the sovereignty of this great nation. Canada must do better. Treating the CAF like an insurance policy is the only way to ensure its readiness to meet the mandate of the government and the expectations of Canadians when called upon. What do other nations do and how do they support their militaries? The next chapter will look at the defence spending approaches of the United States, Russia, China, Britain and France and find out if there are more effective ways to support a nation's military during conflict and peace.

3. INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT: DEFENCE SPENDING BY THE SUPERPOWERS AND CANADA'S ALLIES

Introduction

Defence spending is an important gauge of a country's military strength and capabilities but it can also affect "employment, inflation, deficits, productivity and unmet social needs."¹⁰⁸ Superpowers like the United States, Russia and China, and important allies such as the United Kingdom and France, spend significantly more money on defence than Canada.¹⁰⁹ Still, they too, deal with obsolescence, equipment and personnel shortages, and the challenges associated with numerous deployments, similar to Canada. Domestically, these countries also have difficulty allocating sufficient funds for the social well being of their citizens. Regardless of how much money is spent domestically or militarily, there is still a requirement for more funding and support in these areas. How much is enough? How much is too much? This chapter will examine the defence spending approach of the aforementioned countries and reveal whether or not their approach is more effective in supporting their militaries and what the impact would be for Canadians if Canada were to adopt a similar approach.

¹⁰⁸David P. Barash, and Charles P. Webel, *Peace and Conflict Studies* (SAGE Publications, 2013), 240.

¹⁰⁹CIA World Fact Book, "Military," <http://www.theodora.com/wfb/#CURRENT>; Internet; accessed 27 July 2014.

United States of America

The United States of America has the largest defence budget in the world.¹¹⁰ Like Canada, it deals with fluctuations in defence spending depending on the extent of its involvement in conflict around the world.¹¹¹ As depicted in Figure 3.1, historically, for example, U.S. national defence spending has ranged from less than one percent of GDP in 1929 up to 43 percent in 1944; extremes that illustrate that resource allocation to defence can increase rapidly when a war demands it.¹¹²

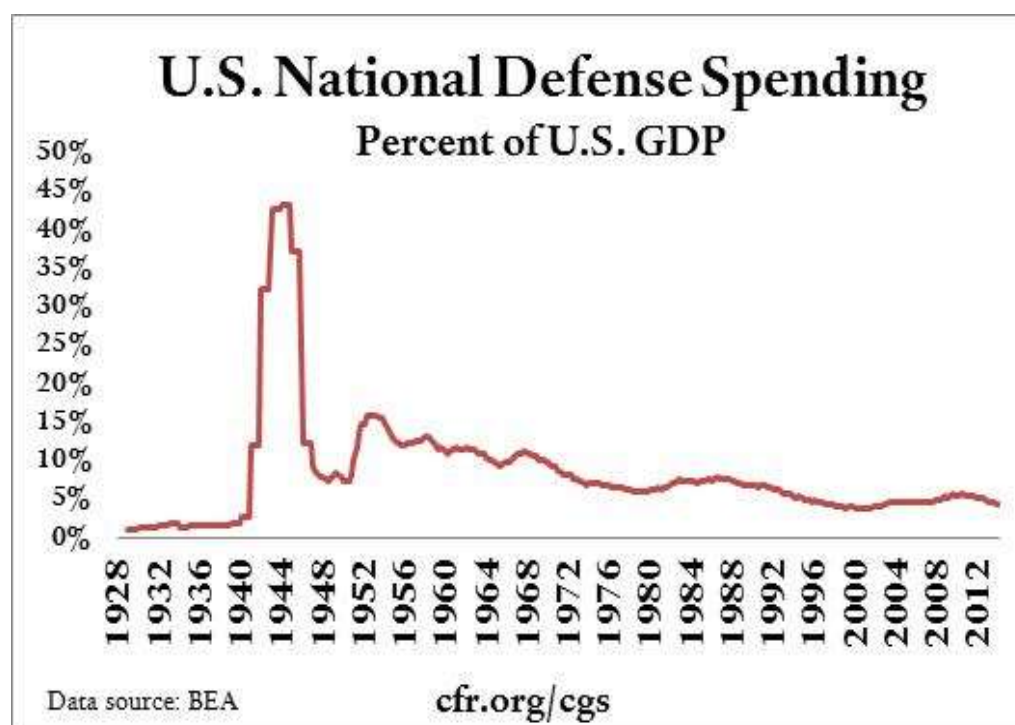


Figure 3.1: U.S. National Defence Spending, Percentage of U.S. GDP.

¹¹⁰“In 2011, the United States spent \$711 billion on its military, which is more than the next 13 countries combined.” Jeanne H. Ballantine, and Keith A. Roberts, *Our Social World* (SAGE Publications, 2014), 387.

¹¹¹David Kinsella, Bruce Russett, and Harry Starr. *World Politics: The Menu for Choice* (Cengage Learning, 2009), 351.

¹¹²“With the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941, defence spending began to rise. It hit an all time high of 43% of GDP with its involvement in the Second World War (1944) before it began to fall, only to rise again with the Korean War (15% of GDP) and slowly fall to as low as 3.7% of GDP by 2000.” Dinah Walker, Council on Foreign Relations “Trends in U.S. Military Spending,” <http://www.cfr.org/defense-budget/trends-us-military-spending/p28855>; Internet; accessed 15 July 2014, 7.

After the World Wars, “Peace through Strength” became a commonly used phrase to represent the U.S. approach to international relations and to them, strength meant military power. The U.S. military experienced significant increases to their defence spending during the Korean War, the Vietnam War and continued throughout the Cold War. Prior to the Reagan and Bush administrations, most Americans opposed large deficits and wanted no part of increased taxes. Therefore, the only alternative for balancing the budget was by restricting spending. Since the country was firmly committed to large military expenditures, social spending had to be curtailed.¹¹³ It seemed the U.S. government had forgotten that a nation’s strength and security also depends on a sound economy and the well-being of its people.¹¹⁴ Following the end of the Cold War, throughout the 1990’s and the Clinton administration, the U.S. took advantage of the peace dividend, decreasing its defence spending to 3.7 percent of the GDP and redirecting these funds towards social programs. As Figure 3.2 shows, this process would be reversed again following the terrorist attacks in 2001.¹¹⁵

¹¹³Bruce Jansson, *The Reluctant Welfare State: Engaging History to Advance Social Work Practice in Contemporary Society* (Cengage Learning, 2008), 538.

¹¹⁴“A strong nation requires a balance between justifiable defence measures and the provision of the basic necessities of life such as food, shelter, health care, education and employment for its citizens; to live in a safe and healthy environment; enjoy human rights; and the ability to participate in the decisions that affect one’s livelihood.” Arthur R. Simon, *Harvesting Peace: The Arms Race & Human Need* (Kansas City Missouri: Sheed & Ward, National Catholic Reporter Publishing Company, 1990), 107.

¹¹⁵“U.S. Military spending fell from \$500 billion in 1990 to ~\$400 billion from 1995 – 2000 then steadily increased again from 2001 to 2010, reaching ~\$700 billion.” Walker, Council on Foreign Relations “Trends in U.S. Military Spending” ..., 8.

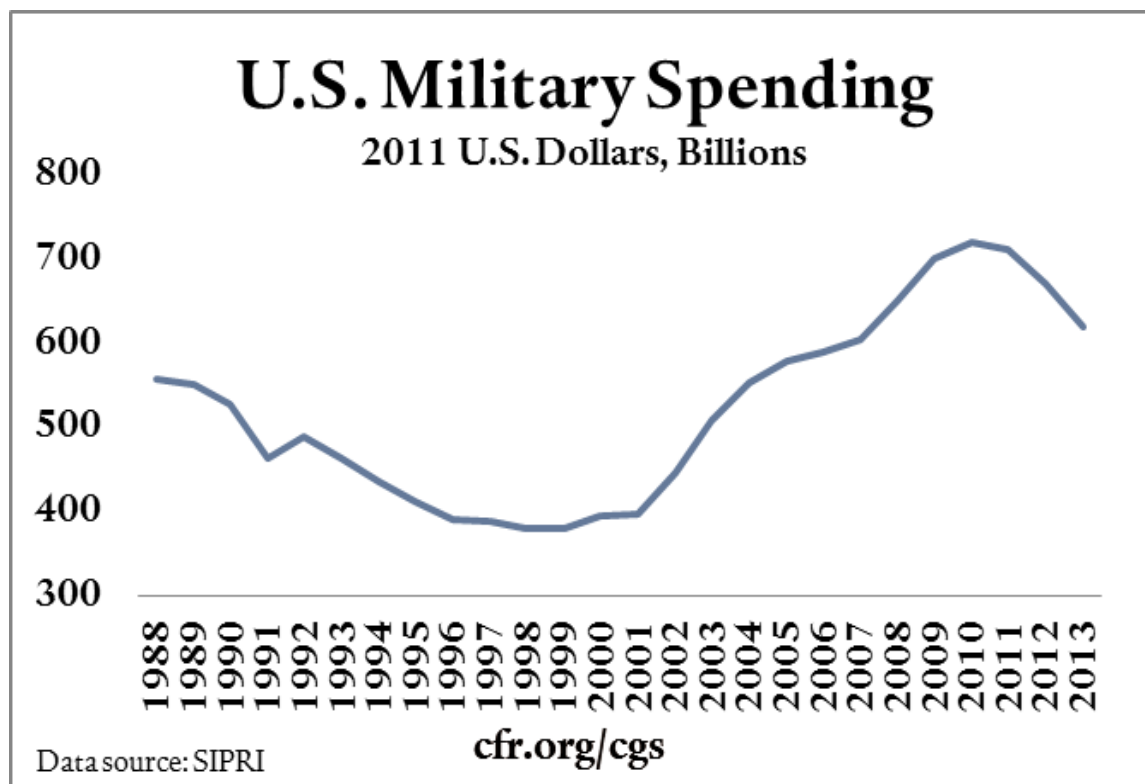


Figure 3.2: U.S. Military Spending measured in Billions of dollars.

Having been attacked both on home soil and abroad, most Americans support defence spending. Public support for increased military spending strengthens when a defined perceived threat exists in the eyes of the general population, which was the case immediately following the September 11th attack in 2001.¹¹⁶

Defence spending cuts not only affect the U.S. military, but the millions of Americans who directly or indirectly depend on the industry for their livelihood. Military bases and defence industries are located in every state and in most congressional districts. Although some U.S. senators and representatives understand the need and agree that large cuts in defence spending are sometimes necessary, they don't want these cuts to affect their constituencies by causing job

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, 2.

loss and company closures that could result in the loss of voter support. By the same token, economists and policy analysts believe that decreases in defence spending could actually benefit the U.S. economy by making resources available for other opportunities that remain viable even during peacetime.¹¹⁷

The Quadrennial Defence Review (QDR),¹¹⁸ released 6th February 2006, revealed that uncontrolled defence spending continues in the United States. According to the QDR, defence spending is a combination of the defence budget, emergency spending funds and supplemental appropriations used to fund overseas operations like Afghanistan and Iraq.¹¹⁹ These allocations and expenditures are so convoluted that auditors have difficulty calculating the total cost therefore, the government and the American people have no idea how much money is truly spent on defence.¹²⁰ The Afghanistan and Iraq wars have significantly affected both the military and Americans by increasing the nation's deficit, affecting the economy and decreasing the availability of government funds for other initiatives.

As far as the average American is concerned, military spending only modestly stimulates the economy. Information technology and communications sectors and multinational corporations seem to be the only beneficiaries of huge government contracts for products and

¹¹⁷Simon, *Harvesting Peace: The Arms Race & Human Need...*, 98.

¹¹⁸“The QDR examines the national defence strategy, force structure, force modernization plans, infrastructure, budget plan, and other elements of the defence program and policies, with a view toward determining and expressing the defence strategy and establishing a defence program for the next 20 years.” David Isenberg, ed., *Independent Policy Report Budgeting for Empire: The Effect of Iraq and Afghanistan on Military Forces, Budgets, and Plans* (Oakland, CA: The Independent Institute, 2007), 2.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, 6.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, 7.

services.¹²¹ Military spending is considered *capital intensive*, because not as many jobs are created for the amount of money that is invested to produce a piece of military hardware, technology or provide a service, as other civilian programs like road construction or education. In most cases, the government has to borrow money from the private sector for the purchase of treasury notes to cover deficits, which translate to less money available for investment in other areas or to provide support funds for those who cannot afford basic needs such as medical care. Increased debt can raise interest rates which hinders investment in business expansion.¹²² In 2004, the \$87 billion supplemental authorization approved for the war on Iraq could have been spent on a number of domestic programs that would have benefited a number of Americans in need.¹²³ In 2011, the country spent “20 percent of the federal budget on defence compared to two percent on education, two percent on science and medical research and three percent on transportation and infrastructure.”¹²⁴ According to a RAND study conducted in 2008, between 2010 and 2030 as the baby boomers reach the retirement age of 65, social security costs will start to increase more rapidly than tax revenues and current spending policies will be financially unsustainable.¹²⁵ Military spending did decrease significantly in 2012 from \$711 billion to \$668 billion, which was the largest decline since 1991.¹²⁶ Today, the United States still remains the

¹²¹“Those companies, whose high-level personnel have served in government and/or the military and have connections with the corporate sector, are known as “military industrial complex or the iron triangle.” Harry Targ, *Challenging Late Capitalism, Neoliberal Globalization, & Militarism* (Changemaker Books, 2006), 59.

¹²²*Ibid.*

¹²³For example, “the funds could have been spent to cover the total budget deficits of all 50 states; covered two years of unemployment benefits; paid 3.3 million workers (\$26,363 each) who lost their jobs since 2001; paid for cuts in after school programs 87 times over and special education programs 9 times over, three years of the President’s Medicare drug program.” *Ibid.*, 61,62.

¹²⁴“In 2011, the U.S. government spent ~\$718 billion on defence and international security assistance which includes the Pentagon’s underlying costs, arms transfers to foreign governments and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (\$159 billion).” Brad Plumer, “America’s Staggering Defense Budget, in charts,” *The Washington Post*, 7 January 2013, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2013/01/07/everything-chuck-hagel-needs-to-know-about-the-defense-budget-in-charts>; Internet; accessed 22 July 14.

¹²⁵John Gordon IV, *et al.*, *Domestic Trends in the United States, China and Iran: Implications for U.S. Navy Strategic Planning* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2008), 12.

¹²⁶See Figure 3.2, Walker, *Trends in U.S. Military Spending ...*, 2.

world's dominant military power¹²⁷ but the mandated sequestration of \$1.2 trillion from the discretionary accounts of the federal budget has forced the country to cut defence and domestic program spending. In 2013, the U.S. federal government still spent \$3.5 trillion amounting to 21 percent of the nation's GDP, with nearly \$2.8 trillion financed by federal revenues and the remaining amount financed by borrowing; this deficit will ultimately be paid by future tax payers.¹²⁸

Canada's defence spending approach is similar to that of the United States in that it deals with fluctuations in defence spending depending on the extent of its involvement in conflict throughout the World, but not nearly on the same scale. As mentioned previously, the United States is the world's top military spender, with Canada falling out of the top 15 and replaced by Turkey.¹²⁹ At first glance, taking into consideration the funds spent and the amount of equipment and personnel the U.S. military has, one could conclude that the defence spending approach of the United States appears to be more effective than that of Canada's in supporting its military. However, if Canada were to adopt the defence spending approach of the United States, the impact to Canadians would be significant. Unlike the United States or like the period following the second World War, Canada no longer has a significant defence industry to supply its armed forces with equipment and ammunition, or on which communities depend on for their

¹²⁷Plumer, "America's Staggering Defense Budget, in charts"..., 4.

¹²⁸cIn 2013, most of the U.S. federal budget was spent on defence and International Security Assistance (19% of budget, \$643 billion), Medicare, Medicaid and Children's Health Insurance Program (22% or \$772 billion), and Safety Net Programs for individuals and families facing hardship (12% or \$398 billion). The remainder went toward Interest on Debt which reached \$12 trillion (6% or \$221 billion) and a wide variety of other public services (17%) to include one percent for non-security programs that operate internationally including humanitarian aid programs." Center on Budget and Policy Priorities "Policy Basics: Where Do Our Federal Tax Dollars Go?" updated 31 March 2014, <http://www.cbpp.org/cms/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1258>; Internet; accessed 06 Nov 2014.

¹²⁹Sam Perlo-Freeman, and Carina Solmirano. "Trends in the World Military Expenditure 2013," SIPRI Fact Sheet, April 2014, Table 1. http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=476; Internet; accessed 12 November 2014.

livelihood. In addition, Canada does not have the population to provide the number of personnel required to maintain, operate or provide the tax revenue to pay for it. Thus, in order to support a similar defence spending approach, Canada would have to endure a situation even more dire than what the United States is currently facing. Taxes and the country's deficit would increase significantly from its current state.¹³⁰ In addition, the Canadian government would possibly have to reduce spending on programs such as health care, education, infrastructure and many other social programs that Canadians benefit from and value. The way of life that Canadians currently enjoy would change significantly!

Russia (former Soviet Union)

The former Soviet Union learned a valuable lesson in what excessive defence spending can do to a country's economy, affecting it so significantly that it eventually led to the country's decline.¹³¹ In the 1980's, former Soviet Union President Mikhail Gorbachev spent approximately 16 percent of the country's GNP on defence in dealing with the external threat from NATO. In addition to having a poor economic system, his defence spending approach contributed significantly in advancing the country's economic crisis in the 1990's. Gorbachev

¹³⁰“In 2013, Canada's population was recorded to be 35,105,000 people. The country's deficit stood at - \$55,204 million or -3.02% of GDP (\$1,826,769 million) totals far below that of the United States with a population of 316,128,839, deficit -\$965,281 million or -5.76% of GDP (\$16,768,100 million).” Country economy comparison, <http://countryeconomy.com/countries/compare/canada/usa>; Internet; accessed 06 February 2015.

¹³¹“The Soviet way of life, characterized by economic hardships, technological standstill and moral degradation, lost its appeal even for the Soviet people.” Vladimir Batyuk, “The End of the Cold War: A Russian View.” *History Today*, <http://www.historytoday.com/vladimir-batyuk/end-cold-war-russian-view>; Internet; accessed 06 November 2014.

was forced to reduce defence spending¹³² and make some difficult decisions regarding nuclear arms. Eventually, he conceded to “defence sufficiency vice equality or superiority with the United States.”¹³³ To turn the country around, Gorbachev focused on increasing domestic production and integrating the Soviet economy into the global market. He also promised to respect the style of government other countries chose without interfering. He redefined the meaning of security for the Soviet Union by reducing its reputation as a credible threat, essentially putting an end to the Cold War.¹³⁴

Between 1992 and 1998, Russia’s GDP decreased by more than 40 percent, inflation skyrocketed, approximately 12 percent of the workforce was unemployed, living standards fell and the government was financially strapped which made it very difficult to meet its obligations. President Yeltsin and his senior advisors considered defence to be a much lower priority than their predecessors¹³⁵ because the Cold War was over, the West was sympathetic toward the country and the Russian military was in good shape with its huge quantity of modern and serviceable equipment.¹³⁶ During the 1999 to 2000 timeframe, rising oil and gas prices aided in economic recovery thus defence spending increased “by an estimated 16 percent¹³⁷ after

¹³²“Russia cut its military spending to 2.6% of the GDP in 1995, equalling approximately one-fifth of the total state budget.” 1996 was the worst year for military spending cuts, “with the situation so dire that many defence ministry units ate away half their emergency rations stored in case of war.” Jürgen Kuhlmann, and Jean M. Callaghan, *Military and Society in 21st Century Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. (Transaction Publishers, 2011), 172.

¹³³Simon, *Harvesting Peace: The Arms Race & Human Need...*, 109.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*

¹³⁵“Yeltsin cut the 1997 budget by 20 per cent. The Russian military had reached a point that it was no longer able to function as a viable military force.” Dale R. Herspring, *Civil-Military Relations and Shared Responsibility: A Four-Nation Study* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013), 235.

¹³⁶John P. Hardt, *Russia's Uncertain Economic Future: With a Comprehensive Subject Index* (United States: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), 168-169.

¹³⁷“In 2000, Russia’s defence budget was \$7 billion, significantly less than Canada even though it had 15 times more manpower, major strategic missile capability, 7 times as many large naval vessels, 14 times as many combat aircraft and close to 200 times as many tanks.” Hardt, *Russia's Uncertain Economic Future: With a*

inflation [and] the GDP grew by about 14 percent,” meaning that for the first time in years, Russia had extra resources available for defence, that would not significantly affect the country’s standard of living or its economy.¹³⁸

During the Soviet era, two thirds of all defence spending was allocated to research, development, procurement and maintenance of military equipment and supporting infrastructure. This meant that there was not a lot of funding left to cover pay, allowances, pensions, food, clothing, or accommodations for the military’s large number of personnel; irrelevant for an army made up of conscripts and as such, one that endured dreadful treatment and living conditions.¹³⁹ In 2001, allocations changed dramatically and according to statistics, 58 percent of the defence budget was allocated for personnel related expenditures.¹⁴⁰

More recently, Pres. Vladimir Putin had expressed his desire for Russia to resume Great Power status which is usually acquired through military posturing.¹⁴¹ As depicted in Table 3.1,

Comprehensive Subject Index..., 171. See also, Gordon *et al.*, *Domestic Trends in the United States, China and Iran: Implications for U.S. Navy Strategic Planning...*, 156.

¹³⁸“In 2000, the nominal GDP was about \$276 billion calculated at the official exchange rate.” *Ibid.*, 144,169.

¹³⁹“A junior officer’s family was living below the poverty line unless his wife was able to work. Enlisted personnel wanted to avoid the draft. Senior conscripts (longer serving) would brutally beat up, rape and steal from junior conscripts.” Herspring, *Civil-Military Relations and Shared Responsibility: A Four-Nation Study...*, 217.

¹⁴⁰“In Russia conscription goes back as far as Peter I when military service was for life. Over the years, the terms of service were gradually reduced to a two-year conscription term that has been in force since 1967. In 2008, it was reduced to one year of obligatory service for all males 18 to 27 years.” *Ibid.*,171.

¹⁴¹“Putin believed that well-trained professionals translate into a more competent fighting force therefore he wanted a professional military by 2010. He promised to fix the social problems (pay, allowances, housing, etc.) of the military but a professional force would cost twice as much as a conscript force.” Herspring, *Civil-Military Relations and Shared Responsibility: A Four-Nation Study...*, 249, 250-51. See also Barash and Webel, *Peace and Conflict Studies...*, 240.

in 2005, Russia spent \$27.3 billion on defence and by 2013, its defence spending had increased to approximately \$87.8 billion.¹⁴²

Table 3.1 – Sipri Military Expenditures by Country 2001 -2013 (millions \$)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Canada	8375	8492	9959	11337	12986	14815	17419	19342	18938	19319	20474	20379	18460
USA	312743	356720	415223	464676	503353	527660	556961	621131	668567	698180	711338	684780	640221
Russia	11683	13944	16974	20955	27337	34518	43535	56184	51533	58720	70238	81079	87837
China	27413	31630	34771	40014	46290	56666	71740	91658	111785	123338	147268	167712	188460
UK	35332	39673	46943	53970	55152	57483	65986	65615	57907	58099	60284	58500	57891
France	33277	36492	45917	53031	52917	54526	60565	66009	66869	61785	64633	60058	61228

- (1) Values for China and Russia are estimates.
- (2) Sipri MilEx Database, “All countries from 1988-2013.”

Increased defence spending will continue with Russia’s implementation of the State Armaments Plan 2011-2020, under which it plans to spend \$705 billion to replace 70 percent of the military’s equipment with modern weapons.¹⁴³ “For the first time since 2003, Russia [has] spent a bigger share of its GDP on the military than the USA.”¹⁴⁴ Russia has other concerns that could hinder rapid growth and affect the country’s future such as its lack of investment in infrastructure, a declining working population, state ownership, poor economic management and corruption; issues that could lead to greater poverty and cause increased agitation among its citizens; a situation that resembles that of the Cold War era.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴²See Table 3.1 Sipri Military Expenditures by Country 2001-2013. Information taken from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Sipri) MilEx Database, “All Countries from 1988-2013,” http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database; Internet; accessed 07 Feb 2015.

¹⁴³Sam Perlo-Freeman and Carina Solmirano, “Trends in World Military Expenditure, 2013,” Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Sipri) Fact Sheet 2014, <http://books.sipri.org/files/FS/SIPRIFS1404.pdf>; Internet; accessed 06 Feb 2015, 2.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁴⁵Gordon *et al.*, *Domestic Trends in the United States, China and Iran: Implications for U.S. Navy Strategic Planning...*, 158.

Canada is blessed with a professional military made up of volunteers who willingly join to serve and die for their country, if necessary. The downside of a professional force is that in order to maintain it and retain personnel, it is very expensive. For Russia, conscription guaranteed a large force but one that had many drawbacks both for its personnel and the country itself. Over the years, the country has reduced the period of service for conscripts and has increased pay to recruit volunteers in building a professional army but it has taken a number of years at significant cost. Although Russia's defence spending approach is effective in modernizing its military, it is not more effective in providing for its personnel. If Canada were to adopt a similar approach in spending a much larger portion of its GDP on defence in order to modernize its military, the impact on Canada and Canadians could be significant. It could have an impact on the standard of living of Canadians either by increasing taxes, the deficit, or by reducing spending in other areas such as health care, education or infrastructure. The Canadian government would not be very popular and in a democratic society, it probably would not remain in power very long.

People's Republic of China

Today, the People's Republic of China (China) is considered a powerful and impressive nation that has made great strides in increasing its position militarily, politically and economically. China has become more assertive in laying territorial claim over a number of small islands and waters along its coasts. This, along with increased economic tensions have caused concern with some of its neighbouring states. Although China has expressed its desire to

increase international relations through cooperation, its aggressive nature in the Asia-Pacific region has warranted a watchful eye from the other superpowers.¹⁴⁶

National defence is the unique and primary mission of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Similar to military establishments around the world, it too has to compete with other agencies for resources.¹⁴⁷ Like Russia, China has had to choose between excessive defence spending and saving its economy in order to maintain domestic stability. Approximately one fifth of the world's population live within China's borders.¹⁴⁸ Up until the late 1970's, China's main concern was feeding its exploding population, thus modernization of the PLA was at the bottom of the priority list below agriculture, industry and science. In addition, the Chinese government was focused on investing in its domestic economy and reducing the country's deficit. In order to achieve this, it expected both military and civilian organizations such as schools, hospitals and government offices to run their own businesses and contribute money. The PLA was also persuaded to become a more professional force however, the government was not about to give it the resources necessary to do so. Defence spending remained flat throughout the 1980's which forced the PLA to cut its personnel strength in half,¹⁴⁹ but enabled them to refine their capabilities. The 1990's were a different story. As its economy rose, China went to the other extreme with its defence spending, so much so that by the end of the 1990's, it was forced to

¹⁴⁶China has been more assertive about its territorial claims along its littoral in the Yellow Sea (west side of the Korean Peninsula) and the South China Sea (between Vietnam and the Philippines)." Paul K. Davis, and Peter A. Wilson, "The Looming Crisis in Defense Planning," *Forum: Joint Force Quarterly* no. 63 (4th Quarter, 2011), 16.

¹⁴⁷Mel Gurtov and Byong-Moo Hwang, *China's Security: New Roles of the Military* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 1998), 145.

¹⁴⁸Approximately 1,367,740,000 people live in China." *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s. v. "China," <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/111803/China/70992/Population-distribution>; Internet; accessed July 24, 2014.

¹⁴⁹Personnel numbers were cut from 4.5 million in 1981 to 2.31 million in 2001." S. L. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 72.

make a choice between its excessive spending approach and economic progress. Eventually the decision was made to move resources from defence to development.¹⁵⁰

By 2005, with its economy continuing to rise, military spending again “increased by 12.6 percent to \$29.9 billion [USD], [approximately] 1.34 percent of its GDP,”¹⁵¹ essentially doubling China’s military spending since 2000. Facing the possible move of Taiwan toward independence, as a contingency measure, China’s navy and air force received the largest allocation of funding in case it had to use military force to stop it; a move that China would never allow.¹⁵² On the one hand, China continues to support its *growth-at-any-cost* policy in increasing its economy while sacrificing its long-term energy resources (primarily coal), pensions and health-care for its elderly, and causing extensive damage to the environment.¹⁵³ These domestic challenges, although a topic of discussion beyond the scope of this paper, must be dealt with in order to continue to maintain domestic stability and increase China’s attractiveness as a model for other countries to emulate.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, its economic growth has allowed China to increase trade with Asia, the United States, and Europe as well as provide resources to fund the modernization of its military, create employment opportunities and raise its once largely peasant population into becoming progressively urbanized.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰Simon, *Harvesting Peace: The Arms Race & Human Need...*, 110.

¹⁵¹Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower...*, 73.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, 72-73, 76.

¹⁵³“Its increased urbanization and accessibility to automobiles has increased air pollution and decreased the availability of fresh water and fertile land for agriculture.” Gordon *et al.*, *Domestic Trends in the United States, China and Iran: Implications for U.S. Navy Strategic Planning...*, 37.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵David L. Shambaugh, and Michael. B. Yahuda, *International Relations of Asia* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008), 144. See also Gordon *et al.*, *Domestic Trends in the United States, China and Iran: Implications for U.S. Navy Strategic Planning...*, 38.

In 2008, around the same time China was building incredible facilities and infrastructure in Beijing to host the 2008 Olympics, it was affected by the global economic crisis. In order to save its economy, the government incurred huge expenditures in all areas, some as high as 14 percent of the GDP, while others, such as research and development, increased over 25 percent.¹⁵⁶ The government also came under enormous pressure to create jobs in order to mitigate growing unemployment. Since the military was regarded as an employment sector, Table 3.1 shows that defence spending was increased to accommodate a huge influx of personnel as well as pay, train and provide them with improved living and working conditions.¹⁵⁷

Internationally, China, as one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, has become one of the largest contributors of personnel for peacekeeping, escort, and anti-piracy operations.¹⁵⁸ It continues to strive towards maintaining and acquiring the symbols of great power status such as “nuclear weapons, space capability and a blue-water navy.”¹⁵⁹ China’s government believes that in order for its military to effectively safeguard national security, sovereignty and territorial integrity, it must make its armed forces more mechanized and information-based.¹⁶⁰ Also, in order to sustain military readiness, it must increase its *real*

¹⁵⁶ Ann Lee, *What the U.S. can Learn from China: An Open-Minded Guide to Treating our Greatest Competitor as our Greatest Teacher* (San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2012), 185.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ “China has sent 12 contingents of naval task forces to conduct escort missions in the Gulf of Aden and off the coast of Somalia since 2008.” Xinhua, March 5, 2013, http://www.china.org.cn/china/NPC_CPPCC_2013-03/05/content_28130104.html; Internet; accessed 07 July 2014.

¹⁵⁹ Buzan, *The Geopolitical Reconstruction of Asia: ...*, 343.

¹⁶⁰ “The Chinese Armed Forces must still deter external attack or intimidation, demonstrate national strength, promote and protect Chinese interests beyond the borders, ensure regime survival, and bolster China’s prestige as a major regional power. What has changed are the domestic and international contexts within which the PLA carries out these functions.” Mel Gurtov and Byong-Moo Hwang, *China’s Security: New Roles of the Military* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 1998), 14.

combat awareness thus, through moderate increases in defence spending, the PLA hopes to achieve increased combativeness by 2020.¹⁶¹

Although China, as an authoritarian capitalist state and rising great power, continues to increase its defence spending, it maintains that its main goal is to minimize the possibility of conflict with its neighbours while increasing economic opportunities.¹⁶² To increase Canada's economic growth, the Canadian government continues to maintain trade relations with the United States and Mexico through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) while still pursuing new trade agreements with other nations, including China, but not at any cost. The prosperity of Canadians and the stability of Canada involve dealing with domestic concerns including its own environmental challenges, while still maintaining sovereignty and the security of Canadians. China's enormous population and defence budget is inconceivable in Canada. Regardless, China's defence spending approach and its economic 'growth at all costs' policy would have a significant impact on Canada. Canada and Canadians could not afford China's approach to defence spending at the expense of increasing taxes and/or the deficit to pay for it or jeopardizing the country's ability to maintain or improve the environment, health care or any other domestic needs of Canadians. The cost to Canada's prosperity, stability and reputation as the country to emulate would be too high.

Great Britain and France

¹⁶¹"In 2013, China's defence spending was estimated at \$188,460 million (USD)." Xinhua, "China defense budget to grow 10.7% in 2013," http://www.china.org.cn/china/NPC_CPPCC_2013-03/05/content_28130104.html, Internet; March 5, 2013, accessed 07 July 2014. Also see Table 3.1.

¹⁶²Gurtov and Byong-Moo Hwang, *China's Security: New Roles of the Military...*, 305.

The United Kingdom (UK) includes England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Great Britain, the official name given to the two kingdoms of England and Scotland and the principality of Wales, is the political term for the main island and will be used for the purposes of this paper.¹⁶³ Great Britain has a population of approximately 64 million people and its Armed Forces is a professional force of 191,410 active and 45,110 reserve personnel. It is one of five recognized nuclear powers with the second highest power projection capability in the world, behind the United States.¹⁶⁴

In the decade following the World Wars, despite its severe economic consequences, defence spending remained high due to the tense international environment, the impact of the nuclear age and the onset of the Korean War. Great Britain felt that a substantial standing force and a nuclear weapons deterrent (UK Polaris Program) justified its increased defence budget in protecting its vital national interests.¹⁶⁵ The public also perceived that Britain's defence spending was justified as one of the nation's top priorities in protecting citizens and infrastructure from the Irish Republican Army (IRA).¹⁶⁶ By 1945, Great Britain's economy was

¹⁶³Mandy Barrow, "Project Britain: British Life and Culture," <http://projectbritain.com/britain/uk.htm>; Internet; accessed 20 January 2015.

¹⁶⁴Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook: The United Kingdom," <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/uk.html>; Internet; accessed 16 February 2015.

¹⁶⁵"The decision to procure Polaris reduced the cost of maintaining a nuclear force, and provided the opportunity for Britain to remain a strategic nuclear power—something which otherwise, would have been beyond its economic reach." Robert H. Paterson, *Britain's Strategic Nuclear Deterrent: From before the V-Bomber to Beyond Trident* (London: Frank Cass, 1997), 53.

¹⁶⁶"The IRA fought a guerilla war against British rule in Ireland in the Irish War of Independence 1919-1921. By the 1930's, the IRA had lost most of its legitimacy with which most supporters of the Republican side initially regarded it. By 1942, it again launched an armed campaign against the British presence in Northern Ireland and from 1948 on, under the leadership of Tony Magan, the IRA rebuilt its organization. The border campaign of the late 1950's and early 60's involved a range of military operations, from direct attacks on security installations to disruptive action against infrastructure. The Provisional IRA (PIRA) continued sporadic acts of violence against British assets throughout the next thirty years. One attack almost killed Prime Minister Thatcher in 1984. This ongoing threat helped justify defence spending in protecting Britons at home." George Bernstein, *The Myth of Decline: The Rise of Britain Since 1945* (Great Britain: Pimlico Random House, 2004), 631. See also "The Irish Republican Army" http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_Republican_Army; Internet; accessed 19 February 2015.

still struggling to pay for the cost of the country's desire to maintain its status as "a power equal to the United States and the Soviet Union,"¹⁶⁷ a desire however, that was hindered by the near bankrupt state of the nation overstretched by the demands of the war and the commitments made to its citizens in providing for a large welfare state.¹⁶⁸

France is a democratic society with a population of approximately 66,259,012¹⁶⁹ people. It has a volunteer military force of approximately 215,019 service personnel.¹⁷⁰ Similar to Great Britain in the early 1950's, the French government wanted to play a larger role in managing its economy. In doing so, it nationalized coal, steel, railroads and healthcare.¹⁷¹ The economies of both Great Britain and France were significantly affected by the rearmament of Western Europe after the Korean War. In addition, the wartime economy of the Cold War forced both Britain and France to allocate both manpower and steel to military goods instead of using them for their export industries. This contributed to problems with making balance payments and made both countries even more vulnerable and dependent on the United States for military assistance.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷“Britain continued to pour resources into defence while pouring resources in the welfare state when in fact the economy was not strong enough to handle it.” Bernstein, *The Myth of Decline: The Rise of Britain Since 1945...*, 28-29.

¹⁶⁸“The Labour government had 3 commitments that had important economic implications: the promise to maintain full employment, expand the welfare state (Health Insurance Act), and nationalize certain key industries like public utilities, the auto, banking and insurance industries and parts of the mining industry.” *Ibid.*, 37, 42. See also, Richard W. Bulliet et al., *The Earth and its Peoples: A Global History, Volume C: Since 1750* (Cengage Learning, 2014), 797.

¹⁶⁹“This population total is for metropolitan France and five overseas regions. Metropolitan France population is 62,814,233 (July 2014 est.)” CIA World Factbook, “France.” <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/fr.html>; Internet; accessed 19 February 2015.

¹⁷⁰“In 2013, the total number of serving military personnel was 215,019 plus 63,696 civilians (278,715).” “Defence Key Figures 2014” Ministère de la Défense website. <http://www.defense.gouv.fr>; Internet; accessed 19 February 2015.

¹⁷¹Richard W. Bulliet et al., *The Earth and its Peoples: A Global History, Volume C: Since 1750* (Cengage Learning, 2014), 797.

¹⁷²Steven H. Lee, *The Korean War* (Taylor & Francis, 2013), 101.

In the 1980's, both Great Britain and France were severely hit by economic recession. In Great Britain, Prime Minister Thatcher wanted to rebuild the country's military strength but her commitment to limiting government spending meant that "piles of money could not be thrown at defence."¹⁷³ In France, the situation was dealt with a little differently, where, under the Socialists, a large portion of the overall economy was still used to fund defence.¹⁷⁴

French society is based on 60 years of experience with well-established welfare policies and distrust in the value of free markets.¹⁷⁵ The French people are very attached to their welfare state, and they have a number of things to be proud of such as a growing population, an impressive infrastructure, good engineers, and the opportunity to move up the social ladder.¹⁷⁶ Its problem however, is the fact that a large number of its population is on social assistance with no real desire to seek employment and independence.¹⁷⁷ The French government has made it possible for one to earn more money on social assistance than going out to work. This policy can lead to a negative spiral, for instance, as more and more people become reliant on social welfare, less people are available in the workforce to pay for the country's social programs. As an example, in 1990, 13.8 percent of the French population was considered to be under the poverty line. In 2009, 11.2 million French persons, out of a population of 65.3 million, received welfare

¹⁷³“Margaret Thatcher (herself) had only one foreign policy agenda when she was elected in 1979: reversing Britain's declining influence (as she saw it) in international affairs. However, she was not very clear about how to go about the task.” Bernstein, *The Myth of Decline: The Rise of Britain Since 1945...*, 578.

¹⁷⁴Phillip H. Gordon, *A Certain Idea of France: French Security Policy and Gaullist Legacy* (Princeton University Press, 1993), 136.

¹⁷⁵Sylvain Charat, *In France's Welfare State Status Quo, Are We Seeing America's Future?* 12 July 2012, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2012/12/07/in-frances-welfare-state-status-quo-are-we-seeing-americas-future/>; Internet; accessed 26 July 2014.

¹⁷⁶Katrin Bennhold, “France and the Fate of the European Welfare State,” *New York Times*, 18 February 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/19/world/europe/france-and-the-fate-of-the-european-welfare-state.html>; Internet; accessed 26 July 2014.

¹⁷⁷Sylvain Charat, *In France's Welfare State Status Quo, Are We Seeing America's Future?* 12 July 2012, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2012/12/07/in-frances-welfare-state-status-quo-are-we-seeing-americas-future/>; Internet; accessed 26 July 2014.

payments costing the government \$78 billion. Because these recipients had families, more than 35 million people were actually benefiting directly or indirectly from welfare payments, which was more than 50 percent of the population. In 20 years, despite all the welfare payments, poverty rates did not decrease. There were no incentives to create wealth, instead it created a poverty trap, and demonstrated that *Welfare* added to the problem, it did not solve it.¹⁷⁸

In 1993, Great Britain joined France in becoming a member of the European Union (EU),¹⁷⁹ which introduced significant changes in Western Europe. Governments increased social spending in many areas to raise living standards which increased the demand for consumer goods and led to the “development of a mass consumer society.”¹⁸⁰ During this same period, British forces were involved in multilateral peacekeeping and conflict missions in the former Yugoslavia. The difficulty here was that Great Britain was in a *demilitarized* state which meant that the personnel strength of its forces was at approximately 208,600, about half of what it was in 1968. In addition, its British forces deployed with obsolescent equipment. Similar to all NATO nations during the 1990’s, with the ending of the Cold War, Great Britain also wished to benefit from the peace dividend. Thus, the country reduced its defence budget “to 2.5 percent of its GDP, the lowest since 1934 ...”¹⁸¹ It seems that British forces were also experiencing a disconnect between its government’s foreign policy ambitions and their military capabilities.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹“EU was formerly known as the European Community (EC), an economic alliance that reflected growing political integration between European countries.” Bulliet et al., *The Earth and its Peoples: A Global History...*, 797.

¹⁸⁰“Governments increased spending on wages, health care, unemployment benefits, old-age pensions, public housing, and grants to poor families.” *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace...*, 419.

In the past decade, the British Armed Forces have been involved in conflicts such as the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, as part of a coalition force with the United States. The Royal Air Force and Royal Navy have been significantly affected by these wars in that they have suffered the brunt of budget cuts in order to equip and support the British Army in fighting the ground war.¹⁸² When British forces pull out of Afghanistan in 2015, it could possibly be the first time in the last 100 years that its forces will not be engaged in fighting somewhere in the world. The public, politicians and most significantly the service personnel are war-weary and rightly deserve what some military staff refers to as a “strategic pause.”¹⁸³ Extensive involvement around the world has also affected its economy. However, its significant welfare state has also been a huge contributor. The problem is that it is politically impossible for Great Britain to reduce the welfare state to a level that would have enabled it to afford all the defence commitments it embraced.¹⁸⁴

With the redeployment of its troops out of Afghanistan, the British Army plans to implement its Army 2020 policy. This plan “assumes greater risk while scaling down the British Army’s ambitions,” forcing it to fight within its means.¹⁸⁵ The plan calls for a reduction in capabilities in order to support and maintain those capabilities that the army decides to preserve and calls for a reduction in force size to 82,000 by 2015. This force will be structured in such a way as to combine tiered readiness with specialization, and it will rely more heavily on reservists. It will make up for the smaller force size by being better trained and fighting smarter. With these reductions in mind, sustained overseas operations for any length of time will be

¹⁸²Shurkin, *Setting Priorities in the Age of Austerity British, French, and German Experiences ...*, 5.

¹⁸³Ewen MacAskill, and Ian Cobain, “British Forces’ Century of Warfare Set to End with Afghanistan Exit,” *The Guardian*, 11 February 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/feb/11/british-forces-century-warfare-end>; Internet; accessed 27 July 2014.

¹⁸⁴Bernstein, *The Myth of Decline: The Rise of Britain Since 1945...*, 670.

¹⁸⁵Shurkin, *Setting Priorities in the Age of Austerity British, French, and German Experiences...*, 11.

impractical. Army 2020 also calls for the continued modernization of its existing vehicle fleet.¹⁸⁶ The army will continue to look for efficiencies within, like its Whole Fleet Management (WFM) rotational equipping strategy to ensure more cost savings.¹⁸⁷ In preparation for future operations, the British Armed Forces' new defence cooperation agreement with France will save money for both countries and will be used to plan "integrated carrier task groups and a combined expeditionary capability with land, sea, and air components to act in support." The two countries will take turns as command lead for these operations, as appropriate.¹⁸⁸

Unlike Great Britain, France was virtually unaffected by its deployment to Afghanistan.¹⁸⁹ In fact French forces left the theatre of operations more ready and willing than when they arrived. It did not have to endure any significant budget cuts thus it has been afforded the ability to maintain the fullest extent of its capabilities.¹⁹⁰ As Figure 3.1 shows, the reason for this is that France's defence budget has remained flat since 2009, which could be considered a cut in itself, but one that has been absorbed through a variety of cost savings measures to include

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁸⁷ "Instead of issuing a full complement of items like armoured vehicles to all units, they are kept in a central pool and issued out as required for training and operational purposes. The fleet is managed and maintained by private industry. Militaries save money by reducing the total size of the vehicle fleet required and leveraging private industry's greater efficiency." *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁸⁸ James Connelly, and Jack Hayward, *The Withering of the Welfare State: Regression* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 202.

¹⁸⁹ "French troops deployed to Kapisa, an area between Kabul and the Pakistani border, and Sarobi – a less violent area than Kapisa. They conducted support operations to the Afghan National Army and trained Afghan soldiers in conducting patrols. France was one of the largest contributors to the NATO mission, peaking at the deployment of 4,000 troops. They lost 88 soldiers in Afghanistan since 2001." Jamey Keaton, "France Afghanistan War Mission Ends, Troops Withdrawn Before NATO Allies." *The World Post*, 20 November 2012, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/11/20/france-afghanistan-war-mission-ends-troops-withdrawn-before-NATO-allies-2164675.html>; Internet; accessed 20 February 2015.

¹⁹⁰ "France did not commit itself to the war in Iraq, and the Afghanistan mission has not strained French resources to nearly the same extent it has the British." Shurkin, *Setting Priorities in the Age of Austerity British, French, and German Experiences ...*, 17.

base closures, cutting operational coherence programs,¹⁹¹ and the adoption of its own version of WFM.¹⁹² Planners have been fortunate in being proactive vice reactive with the change in economic and political conditions and so far they haven't had to cut capabilities.¹⁹³

France is continuing with its modernization program, fielding a new generation of medium-weight high-tech vehicles and Future Combat Systems (FCS) that are interoperable with the United States and eventually, with Great Britain.¹⁹⁴ Although technology enhances ground forces, the French believe that it does not replace them. In order to gain control of territory, future conflicts will still require *boots on the ground*, thus they will continue to maintain a conventional warfare capability. The force may be reduced in size but will understand its role, specifically in stabilization operations, and know when to stop fighting and hand over operations to non-government organizations (NGOs).¹⁹⁵ They are striving to maintain capabilities that truly span the full spectrum of operations. According to the new five-year defence strategy the *Livre Blanc*, published in April 2013, cuts in force size and movement toward specialization, much like the British Army may be in its future.¹⁹⁶ Again, it seems that there is a huge disconnect

¹⁹¹“Operational Coherence programs have no political or industrial importance. portable bridges and tank transporters are examples of these programs.” Shurkin, *Setting Priorities in the Age of Austerity British, French, and German Experiences...*, 19.

¹⁹²*Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁹³“Despite continuing weak economic growth, France has largely maintained its military spending during the global economic crisis, and spending in 2013 was just 4 per cent lower than in 2008.” Sam Perlo-Freeman and Carina Solmirano, “Trends in World Military Expenditure, 2013,” Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Sipri) Fact Sheet 2014, <http://books.sipri.org/files/FS/SIPRIFS1404.pdf>; Internet; accessed 06 Feb 2015, 3. See also, Shurkin, *Setting Priorities in the Age of Austerity British, French, and German Experiences...*, 18.

¹⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁹⁶“Adoption in 2013 of the Military Programming Law (2014-19) sets the total defence budget, excluding military pensions, at \$252 billion over 6 yrs (at 2013 prices). The budgets for 2014-16 are planned to be \$41.7 billion each year in current prices, implying a slight fall in real terms.” Sam Perlo-Freeman and Carina Solmirano, “Trends in World Military Expenditure, 2013,” Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Sipri) Fact Sheet 2014, <http://books.sipri.org/files/FS/SIPRIFS1404.pdf>; Internet; accessed 06 Feb 2015, 3. *Ibid.*, 7.

between foreign policy ambitions and military means, similar to both Great Britain and Canada.¹⁹⁷

Both Great Britain and France continue to portray themselves as global powers, and both are more willing than their European partners to deploy military force as a means to solve international conflicts, and their military expenditures account for 45 percent of all military spending in Europe. If the United States decides to concede some of its responsibility in world affairs, France and Great Britain will have to step up and take it on. This may be difficult considering the direction both countries have taken due to their own financial situations.¹⁹⁸ To maintain their global power status, either cuts in welfare expenditures or increased taxes may be required to undertake the additional responsibility.¹⁹⁹

Although Great Britain's population is almost twice that of Canada, and it spends a higher percentage of its GDP on defence, Canada's defence spending approach is very similar. Although France's spending on social welfare programs is much higher than Canada, its defence spending has remained stagnant for a number of years. In saying this, there is no evidence to suggest that Great Britain and France are any more effective in supporting their militaries than Canada. Therefore, adopting either approach would most likely impact Canadians more than benefit the Canadian Forces. In order to spend more of the country's GDP on defence, the

¹⁹⁷“In 2013, Britain's defence budget was \$57.8 billion USD, approximately 4.9% of the country's total budget. France spent \$61.2 billion, approximately 3.92% of its budget on defence.” See Table 3.1 and also the Country comparison between Great Britain and France. *Country Economy*, <http://www.countryeconomy.com>; Internet; accessed 26 July 2014.

¹⁹⁸“France dispenses \$52 billion Euros annually just in family benefits (a “universal system” created in 1930 in order to ramp up birth rate regardless of income), is among the most generous in the world, and comes at a price – a budget that hasn't been balanced since 1974. Its hemorrhaging public deficit and debt is on track to reach about 100 percent of GDP within two years, leaving the government little choice to attack what in France has been a way of life for almost a century.” Helene Fouquet, “Au Revoir to France's Welfare Model as Socialists Cut Spending,” *Bloomberg Business*, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-10-08/au-revoir-to-france-s-welfare-model-as-socialists-cut-spending>; Internet; accessed 19 February 2015.

¹⁹⁹Connelly and Hayward, *The Withering of the Welfare State: Regression...*, 205.

government would possibly have to increase the deficit, taxes and/or decrease spending in other areas in order to pay for it.

Summary

Regardless of how much money is spent on defence or social programs, there is always a requirement for more. The problem is that nations can only afford so much. Budgets are based on a country's priorities for spending and the strength of a nation depends on its military strength as well as the social well-being of its citizens. In a perfect world, a nation would be so prosperous that it could provide all the basic necessities of life, have no unemployment or deficit, and have the military strength necessary to maintain its sovereignty and ensure the safety and security of its citizens. In addition, it would also have the ability to project power in order to assist failed and failing states and maintain peace in the world. By examining the defence spending approaches of the superpowers and important allies to Canada, one gains a new perspective from the lessons learned in each country. Too much spending on defence can result in huge deficits and domestic instability that can threaten a nation from within. Too much spending on social programs endangers a country's economy; it diminishes the will of its citizens to seek independence or to contribute to the prosperity of their nation. Instead, it pushes the country deeper into the *poverty trap* with little possibility of recovery. There must be a balance between defence spending and social welfare spending. In addition, nations and their citizens must be pragmatic in defining their position in the world versus what they can afford. Defining a foreign policy or role that is appropriate and matches the capabilities of its military is significant. The government and its citizens must be willing to provide its military with the resources necessary

to achieve mission success in fulfilling that role when called upon. Above all, governments must not expect their military to go “above and beyond” the call of duty without the mandate or resources to do so. The outcomes both at home and abroad are too costly.

4. CANADA'S MILITARY TODAY

Introduction

The global economic crisis of 2008-09 significantly affected many parts of the world. Canada on the other hand, weathered the recession quite well “outperforming the United States in healthcare, the deficit, unemployment, immigration and interaction with the global economy.”²⁰⁰ However in 2009, Canada recorded its “first fiscal deficit ... after 12 years of surplus” and because the Canadian financial sector maintained its “conservative lending practices and strong capitalization,” Canada still managed to come out of the crisis “among the strongest in the world.”²⁰¹ The Canadian government remained fiscally responsible while supporting its military deployed overseas to Afghanistan and simultaneously funding social programs without causing the country and its citizens undue hardship.

With a population of approximately 35.4 million,²⁰² Canada is considered a small country with a significant land mass to protect. The majority of Canada's population is located along its vast southern border which is shared with its most important trading partner and ally,²⁰³ the United States. It is considered one of the longest international borders with many miles of rugged, unpatrolled terrain.²⁰⁴ Canada's three remaining borders consist of vast coastlines

²⁰⁰Paul Kellogg, “Welfare State Vs. Warfare State: Toward a Comparative Political Economy of Militarism in Canada and the United States.” *Political and Military Sociology: An Annual Review* 41, 62.

²⁰¹CIA World Factbook, http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurrent/canada/canada_economy.html; accessed 18 August 2014.

²⁰²“According to Statistics Canada, Canada's population as of April 2014 was recorded as 35,427,524 people.” Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/start-debut-eng.html>, accessed 18 August 2014.

²⁰³Thompson, *Canada 2013 (World Today)*..., 179.

²⁰⁴“The C-US border is 5,500 miles (if the Alaska-Canada border is included), and has 130 official crossing points. Over 200 million border crossings occur each year. Ninety percent of Canada's population lives within 100

bordering significant oceans. With the continued melting ice in the Northwest Passage, patrolling the North is becoming more and more necessary in maintaining Canada's sovereignty, preventing the import of drugs and human trafficking and protecting Canada's natural resources.²⁰⁵ In order for the Canadian government to ensure the safety and security of its citizens, respond to domestic crisis and fulfill its international commitments, it requires a flexible and effective military that is ready to respond when directed.²⁰⁶ For the Canadian Armed Forces to be an effective and flexible military, the government must provide appropriate funding to maintain a balance across the four elements of which capabilities are built: personnel (training and support), equipment (maintenance and upgrade, including spare parts), infrastructure, and readiness (the level necessary to respond to assigned missions).²⁰⁷ For Canadians, the government must build a strong economy and provide affordable education and health care to ensure a healthy workforce.²⁰⁸ This is a daunting task for any government, considering there is never enough funding to satisfy the needs of everyone. Thus, either budgets must be curtailed or taxes and deficits must increase. In order to live in a country that is clean, prosperous and more importantly, safe and secure, Canadians must be willing to pay for it, one way or another.²⁰⁹

Canada is perceived to be a safe, secure and prosperous country. On the surface and in comparison to a number of other countries, it is considered to be one of the best countries in the

miles of the border with the U.S. The Great Lakes region contains heavy industry on both sides, yet elsewhere there are many miles of rugged terrain where people can cross undetected." "The Management of Border Security in NAFTA: Imagery, Nationalism and the War on Drugs" *International Criminal Justice Review*, (May 2005), 7, <http://libarts.wsu.edu/isic/research/pdf/border-security-nafta.pdf>; accessed 18 August 2014.

²⁰⁵Thompson, *Canada 2013 (World Today)*..., 179.

²⁰⁶Department of National Defence, *Canada First Defence Strategy* (Ottawa: Canada Communications Group, 2006), 7.

²⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 14.

²⁰⁸Kellogg, *Welfare State Vs Warfare State*..., 65.

²⁰⁹"Wounded, Canada's Military and the Legacy of Neglect," *An Interim Report by the Senate Committee on National Security and Defence*, (September 2005)...., 3.

world in which to live based on standard of living, life expectancy and the ability to obtain an education.²¹⁰ Canada, its citizens, and its values and assets are worth defending but the average Canadian may not understand how vulnerable they really are. Threats are not only man-made; natural disasters both at home and abroad can also threaten their lives. Canadians perceive that Canada's armed forces are strong enough to ensure that the country's values and interests are respected and not diminished by anyone who believes that the country is an easy target.²¹¹ If they did not believe this, they would be willing to invest government funds in defence so that the CAF could be the insurance policy that is prepared and ready to respond when the lives of Canadians are threatened.

This chapter will examine Canada's First Defence Strategy (CFDS), its mandate, as well as the capabilities and funding the Government has assigned to the CAF in order for it to be successful in achieving that mandate. It will then look at the state of the CAF's current capabilities and argue that even with the additional funding and capabilities set out in the CFDS, the CAF will still face many challenges. First, they will have difficulty in acquiring the capabilities in the 20-year timeframe with the funding that was allocated and second, they will have difficulty in actually reaching full operational capability (FOC) in order to achieve the full spectrum of operations stipulated in the policy.²¹² It will demonstrate that although the balanced spending approach laid out in the CFDS is a step in the right direction, it is still insufficient due

²¹⁰“Canadians live better than the Japanese, Germans, and French. There is less visible poverty than in the United States and Canadians are well clothed, housed, fed, educated and cared for.” Thompson, *Canada 2013(World Today)...*, 179.

²¹¹“Wounded, Canada's Military and the Legacy of Neglect,” *An Interim Report by the Senate Committee on National Security and Defence*, (September 2005)..., 3.

²¹²George MacDonald, “Canada First Defence Strategy, One Year Later,” *Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute*, (October 2009), 11.

to the challenges of the commitment-capability gap²¹³ and the vulnerability of the assigned funding during economic downturn, increased inflation, or change in political/public will to support defence spending.²¹⁴

Canada's Defence Policy and the CAF's Ability to Meet its Mandate

At first glance, the CFDS, issued in 2008, is a dream-come true for the DND/CAF. It is not a white paper,²¹⁵ but a hastily written document used by DND as a reference in “establishing resources and priorities for the capabilities needed to fulfil the government-mandated missions.”²¹⁶ In a general sense, it describes defence policy objectives with “the same basic themes since 1964: securing Canada’s sovereignty, peace and security, and supporting Canadian foreign policy.”²¹⁷ It contains a laundry list of capabilities for the DND/CAF to achieve over the next 20 years and more importantly, it describes a balanced approach in the provision of funding over the same time period. It states “through stable and predictable defence spending [it will provide] the planning certainty required to allow the Government to continue rebuilding the

²¹³“Commitment – Capability Gap is the negative correlation between rising commitments and declining capabilities.” Alessandro Gagliardi, “Reviewing the Case for Increased Defence Spending in Canada,” *NATO Council of Canada*, <http://natocouncil.ca/reviewing-the-case-for-increased-defence-spending-in-canada>; Internet; accessed 23 July 2014.

²¹⁴Gerry Madigan, “Canada First Defence Strategy: A Retrospective Look. Too Much? Too Little? Or Just Right?” *Canadian Military Journal* 10, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 32.

²¹⁵“The 1994 White Paper on Defence was guidance concerning Canada’s long-term, defence capabilities written with the consensus of Parliament, the views of average citizens, defence experts, disarmament advocates and non-governmental organizations. It reflects the Government’s overall strategic, fiscal and broader policy priorities.” Department of National Defence, *1994 White Paper on Defence*, https://www.civcap.info/fileadmin/user_upload/Canada/White_Paper_on_Defence_01.pdf; Internet; accessed 25 Aug 2014.

²¹⁶George MacDonald, *Canada First Defence Strategy: Beyond its “best before” date*. Vanguard Magazine, <http://vanguardcanada.com/canada-first-defence-strategy-beyond-its-best-before-date>; accessed 25 August 2014.

²¹⁷“The defence policy objectives have been the same basic themes since 1945.” Madigan, “Canada First Defence Strategy: A Retrospective Look...”, 27.

[CAF] into the state-of-the-art military that Canada needs and deserves.”²¹⁸ In the 2006 budget, the Government had committed to an annual nominal increase in the defence budget from 1.5 percent of the total defence budget to 2 percent per year for the next 20 years commencing in Fiscal Year 2011-12. Supposedly, this would expand the 2008-09 budget to over \$30 billion by 2031.²¹⁹ In addition, incremental costs for major operations would be paid for separately and therefore would not affect the defence budget.²²⁰ This small but steady increase in defence funding would permit balanced investment in personnel, equipment, infrastructure and readiness to meet future requirements which was a step in the right direction. However, further analysis would reveal a different perspective. It would convey that the defence strategy, if one can call it that, would be deemed outdated, unaffordable and therefore unachievable.²²¹

The *decade of darkness*²²² endured by the DND/CAF in the 1990’s contributed to the fact that today, a number of Canada’s major military platforms all require replacement within the same timeframe. New platforms and capabilities take years to develop and implement. Years of defence spending cuts endured by the CAF meant that systems were used long past their expected lifecycle. Replacement programs were cut back or cancelled adding years to the time required to generate new or replacement capabilities.²²³ This continued to affect long-term

²¹⁸Department of National Defence, *Canada First Defence Strategy*, Internet; <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/about/canada-first-defence-strategy.page>; accessed 08 January 2014, 3.

²¹⁹*Ibid.*, 12.

²²⁰*Ibid.*, 13.

²²¹Lee Berthiaume, “Canadian military studying personnel cuts, heavier reliance on allies for new defence strategy,” *Ottawa Citizen*, 29 April 2014, <http://o.canada.com/news/canadian-military-studying-personnel-cuts-heavier-reliance-on-allies-for-new-defence-strategy>; Internet; accessed 03 May 2014.

²²²“Decade of Darkness, presided over by the Liberal government during the 1990’s, where reducing the deficit took precedence over defence spending, which saw the Canadian Forces rusted out.” Murray Brewster, “Canadian Military Cuts Will Hurt Readiness: Expert,” *The Canadian Press*, 26 February 2013. (<http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2013/02/26/military>; accessed 31 July 2014).

²²³Canada. “Wounded, Canada’s Military and the Legacy of Neglect”..., 3.

strategic planning and created a number of challenges along the way.²²⁴ “Resources must be allocated for the purchase of equipment, to provide the necessary infrastructure, recruit and train personnel and enable military readiness through operational employment. If not, there will be continual gaps in the ability of the CAF to deliver on government mandated missions.”²²⁵

Historically, the Canadian military has been subjected to *boom or bust* defence spending which did not always coincide with defence policy.²²⁶ As previously mentioned the intent of the government’s proposed funding framework captured in the CFDS was that over a 20-year period, it would increase annual defence spending from \$20 billion to \$30 billion by 2031; an amount considered to be a small insurance premium to pay to protect Canadian interests and the Canadian economy.²²⁷ It was also a step toward restoring Canada’s reputation on the world stage and providing the opportunity for “DND to plan for the future, strategically allocate resources and build the capabilities necessary to meet the country’s defence needs.”²²⁸ But, there were many issues stemming from this level of spending, one being that the reasoning behind it was never properly explained to Canadians; this caused controversy and criticism.²²⁹ According to Gerry Madigan, “the full cost of the strategy over the 20-year period totalled \$490 billion.”²³⁰ This amount of money was not just limited to capital, it encompassed the recapitalization and revitalization of the CAF in building the foundation for military capabilities across the four key

²²⁴“Ships, fighters, maritime aircraft, army vehicles all require replacement within the same five years, 2012-2017. The challenge is slowing down the rust out of platforms before new ones are implemented and available for use. Injuncts of additional funding, supplemented with inflation protection, received in 2005 and 2006 alleviated some of the pressure of long term resource constraint, but it will continue to be a challenge.” George MacDonald, *Canada First Defence Strategy, One Year Later...*, 10, 11.

²²⁵*Ibid.*, 2.

²²⁶Madigan, “Canada First Defence Strategy: A Retrospective Look...”, 27.

²²⁷*Ibid.*, 35.

²²⁸Department of National Defence, *Canada First Defence Strategy...*, 13.

²²⁹“The average Canadian has difficulty relating “defence spending to the desired policy objectives of their government [like] correlating the importance of defence spending to the sustainment of Canada’s vital interests and values.” Madigan, “Canada First Defence Strategy: A Retrospective Look...”, 28.

²³⁰*Ibid.*

pillars, including pay and benefits for personnel. In the eyes of the taxpayer, it represented a significant amount of money! One has to remember that it is the taxpayer who pays the bill therefore, the costs associated with defence must be clearly understood. Poor choices made by government could either result in increased taxes or a reduction in public services. For the government, if defence policy is not understood or accepted by the taxpayer, it could mean the end of its power and control at election time. A change in the political party could mean the end of the CFDS, only to be replaced by the new party's rendering of a defence policy for Canada.²³¹

The CFDS is not only impacted by public and political will to support defence needs, it is also affected by the economy and inflation.²³² A decrease in public support due to an economic downturn will affect the willingness of the government to keep its promises as stipulated in the policy and increases in inflation affect the DND/CAF's buying power.²³³ As luck would have it, since its initial review in 2008, Canada has experienced a major downturn in the economy. Although Canadian lives were threatened with the mission in Afghanistan and public support for the troops was high, the Government had difficulty sustaining defence spending. "Canada, like other nations, had to redirect significant resources to aid its economic recovery, [which led] to growth in the national debt and deficit."²³⁴

²³¹"The reality is that most of the \$490B would be spent on pay, benefits and training for military personnel regardless of what the government did. It is funding that has to be spent with not a lot of funds left over for equipment." *Ibid.*, 35.

²³²*Ibid.*, 32

²³³"When inflation is taken into account, the military has less buying power." Conference Defence Association. "2014 Ottawa Conference On Defence and Security, Summary of Proceedings," CDA Institute, Internet: <http://www.cdainstitute.ca/images/2014-Ottawa-Conference-proceedings.pdf>; accessed 31 July 2014. See also, Kristen Everson, "Gen Tom Lawson warns military cuts will hurt readiness. Training and maintenance bearing brunt of cuts, top soldier tells defence minister in memo," *CBC News*, 26 June 2014, Internet: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/gen-tom-lawson-warns-military-cuts-will-hurt-readiness-1.2687806>; accessed 31 July 2014.

²³⁴Madigan, "Canada First Defence Strategy: A Retrospective Look...", 30.

At first glance, the CFDS checked all the boxes in satisfying Canada's military and its defence requirements. Not only did it lay out a balanced funding approach, it contained a significant list of capabilities that would be procured and delivered in the twenty year timeframe. It mentioned the elements of readiness, encompassing preparedness and the resources needed to maintain equipment and infrastructure, conduct training, and prepare units for operations.²³⁵ All this to ensure that the CAF could provide maximum flexibility to the government to fulfill the mandate laid out in the policy and address the full range of defence and security challenges faced by Canada today and into the future.²³⁶

It is now 2014 and another *decade of darkness* is looming on the horizon. The CFDS is now considered to be outdated. In truth, most of the capabilities listed in the policy have not been delivered and some have not even progressed toward implementation.²³⁷ The government's promise of stable, long-term funding was short-lived and the commitment to "augment the automatic annual rise in defence funding from 1.5 percent to 2 percent starting fiscal year 2011-12"²³⁸ never really came to fruition. Although the defence budget was increased by 4 percent in order to move some of the capabilities forward, challenges in procurement have persisted.²³⁹ This funding also came with constraints as it was not to be used for training or maintenance. In addition, without prior approval, the DND/CAF is not permitted to cut personnel, whose salaries account for 51% of the defence budget. In 2010, the defence budget was essentially frozen; when

²³⁵MacDonald, *Canada First Defence Strategy, One Year Later...*, 7.

²³⁶Government of Canada, *Canada First Defence Strategy...*, 21.

²³⁷James Cudmore, "Budget 2014: Military Wings Clipped Again," dated 11 February 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/budget-2014-military-wings-clipped-again-1.2532827>; Internet; accessed 31 July 2014.

²³⁸Government of Canada, *Canada First Defence Strategy...*, 4.

²³⁹"Ability to actually spend funds is a challenge in itself as the process is exhausting and procurement experience is dwindling due to retirement. Contracting is an option but an expensive one." MacDonald, *Canada First Defence Strategy, One Year Later...*, 11.

taking inflation into account, the budget had actually shrunk.²⁴⁰ In 2012, “the government announced a \$2.1 billion cut to the military’s \$20 billion budget by 2015”²⁴¹ thus the funding approach promised in the CFDS has essentially been abandoned to eliminate the federal deficit by 2015.²⁴² Since the missions in Afghanistan will be complete by fiscal year 2014-15, the Government has considered decreasing overseas spending to a meagre \$5 million.²⁴³ Although, it committed to separately fund major operations through special budgetary appropriations, the Afghan training mission and Libya bombing campaign were funded out of the National Defence budget; this was another broken commitment for DND.²⁴⁴ Over the last number of months, the Government has expressed its opposition to Russia’s actions toward Ukraine,²⁴⁵ but has yet to budget for any new operations nor set aside contingency funds for unplanned, emergency operations, either at home or abroad. Spending tables are reviewed three times a year therefore

²⁴⁰“Two percent budgetary increases will become decreases in any year that the military’s inflation rate is above two percent.” Canada. Parliament of Canada. “Four Generals and an Admiral: The View from the Top,” *Report of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence. Second Session Thirty-ninth Parliament 2008*. <http://www.parl.gc.ca>; Internet; accessed 19 March 2015, 9.

²⁴¹“According to the Fiscal Reference Tables dated October 2013, Canada spent 1.3 percent of the GDP on National Defence in 2012-13.” Government of Canada, “Fiscal Reference Tables,” *Department of Finance Canada* (October 2013), 16. Internet; <http://www.fin.gc.ca/frt-trf/2013/frt-trf-13-eng.pdf>, accessed 03 September 2014.

²⁴²Everson, “Gen Tom Lawson warns military cuts will hurt readiness...,” *CBC News*, 26 June 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/gen-tom-lawson-warns-military-cuts-will-hurt-readiness-1.2687806>; accessed 31 July 2014.

²⁴³“Internal Defence Department reports show total spending on foreign deployments could drop to just \$5 million in the 2014-15 fiscal year from the current anticipated level of \$476 million.” *The Canadian Press*, 25 Feb 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/canadian-military-may-slash-overseas-spending-1.1396576>; accessed 31 July 2014.

²⁴⁴“Documents obtained by The Canadian Press under access to information revealed that missions such as these were not paid for separately as promised in the CFDS.” “NATO allies unwilling to boost defence spending may soon see compromise,” *The Canadian Press*, 02 Septembers 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/nato-allies-unwilling-to-boost-defence-spending-may-soon-see-compromise-1.2753155>; accessed 03 September 2014.

²⁴⁵“Canada’s spending is closer to one percent of GDP.” Terry Milewski, “Stephen Harper takes big words, small stick to NATO summit,” *CBC News*, 01 September 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/stephen-harper-takes-big-words-small-stick-to-nato-summit-1.2752422>; accessed 02 September 2014.

the Government has the option to increase the defence budget if cabinet decides to deploy the military.²⁴⁶

The aforementioned budget cuts have led to the cancellation of exercises, reductions in training and delays in spares procurement. The question is: “How does the CAF cut operations and maintenance (O&M) and training budgets without affecting front line troops and/or operations?”²⁴⁷ As the CAF continues its search for “more teeth and less tail,” the RCN is already stretched to the limit. Its ships range in age from approximately 20 (Canadian Patrol Frigates) to 45 years old (Resupply ships) and significant cuts to maintenance budgets have affected ship and submarine upgrades that are currently under support contracts. To meet its budget reduction obligations, the army has plans to reduce its truck and light-armoured fleets and ammunition requirements; these reductions can potentially affect training effectiveness and operational readiness. Significant budget cuts to the air force will “impact forces engaged in operations” and reduce flying rates which could adversely affect training and the ability to graduate pilots.²⁴⁸

Regardless of the size of the defence budget, there will always be a requirement for personnel and equipment, and infrastructure must still be maintained. The CFDS has now been deemed unaffordable²⁴⁹ and with all the budget cuts, and cancellations/delays of capital projects, it is also unachievable. Despite this, Canada, and more importantly Canadians, still requires a

²⁴⁶“Canadian military may slash overseas spending: Defence Department document mulls chopping foreign deployment budget to just \$5M in 2014.” *The Canadian Press*, 25 Feb 2013, accessed 31 July 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/canadian-military-may-slash-overseas-spending-1.1396576>.

²⁴⁷Everson, “Gen Tom Lawson warns military cuts will hurt readiness...”

²⁴⁸*Ibid.*

²⁴⁹“...the passage of time has proven the difficulty of operating this strategy under conditions of economic constraint... [it] is no longer affordable in its entirety, given the change of national economic circumstances.” Madigan, “Canada First Defence Strategy: A Retrospective Look...”, 34.

military that is well-trained and ready to respond to national security threats both at home and abroad. This has been proven time and time again. In the last year, the CAF has responded to flooding in Manitoba and New Brunswick; fires in British Columbia; the extraction of OGD personnel due to the closure of the embassy in Libya; deployments of CF-18s to Ukraine and the provision of non-lethal aid to Iraq. The CAF has repeatedly demonstrated that it will assist Canadians when called upon while still remaining committed to its mandated operations. But, it seems as though the CAF's ability to always respond when necessary has given the government the green light to further cut defence spending.

Canada has a small military and therefore cuts to defence spending of any amount, without “reducing its operational tempo will have potentially lethal consequences for personnel.”²⁵⁰ Due to current funding challenges, it has been suggested that the CAF “slowly and systematically reduce its overseas commitments and focus on domestic operations and training.”²⁵¹ This is easy to say but it is not an option. As a member of the UN and NATO, Canada has various commitments and obligations to International peace and security.²⁵² As demonstrated by recent events, instability in various parts of the world warrants that Canada contribute in some way in order to remain a player on the world stage. Not doing so, would diminish the views of other nations regarding Canada's commitment to global peace and stability

²⁵⁰Alessandro Gagliardi, “Reviewing the Case for Increased Spending in Canada,” *National Council of Canada*, 26 January 2014, <http://natocouncil.ca/reviewing-the-case-for-increased-defence-spending-in-canada/>; accessed 23 July 2014.

²⁵¹*Ibid.*

²⁵²“The Treaty upholds individual rights as well as their international obligations IAW the Charter of the United Nations. Commits each member country to sharing the risks and responsibilities as well as the benefits of collective security and requires each of them to undertake not to enter into any other international commitment that might conflict with the Treaty. As The defence committee, set up by the NATO Council, consult together whenever the territorial integrity, political independence, or security of any of the Parties is threatened. The Parties agreed that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all.” North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); <http://www.nti.org/treaties-and-regimes/north-atlantic-treaty-organization-nato/>; Internet; accessed 10 February 2015.

and would ultimately damage the country's international reputation. Given the deteriorating state of the CAF's major capabilities, it becomes more and more difficult for the CAF to maintain the level of readiness necessary and still be effective and available to respond when asked to do so. In accordance with the CFDS, "Canada cannot lead with words alone; leadership requires the ability to deploy military assets, including boots on the ground. Canada must be prepared to act and provide appropriate resources in support of national interests and international objectives."²⁵³ But, if the government does not back its policy with funding and resources, the commitment-capability gap widens and without warning, the safety and security of Canadians will be put at risk, both at home and abroad.

Summary

The Canada First Defence Strategy may be considered a hastily written document but it is the only form of defence policy that the DND and CAF can use as a reference in establishing resources and priorities in acquiring the capabilities necessary to achieve the Government's mandate that is stipulated in the policy. Upon closer analysis the CFDS may have been considered a pipe dream but all in all, it depicts a balanced approach to defence spending that is necessary for Canada's military to plan for the future in protecting Canada and Canadians, defending North America in cooperation with the United States and contributing to international peace and security. The CFDS was not excessive by any means; a two percent nominal increase in the defence budget per year was a small premium to pay for the CAF to have the ability to meet the Government's mandate and provide Canadians with the insurance policy they expect and deserve. It would have been a balanced investment in keeping with Canada's growth and

²⁵³Department of National Defence, *Canada First Defence Strategy*..., 9.

provide stable funding to maintain Canada's military readiness posture while simultaneously allowing the Government to continue to build a strong economy and offer affordable education and the health care necessary to maintain a viable workforce. Since the government has only been spending between 1.1 and 1.3 percent of the GDP on defence over the past ten years,²⁵⁴ it would take a significant injection of funds just to reach the two percent of GDP defence-spending benchmark agreed upon between NATO allies; an amount that indicates the burden a country is willing to place on its citizens to fund defence. Canadians would not agree to spend ~\$30B that equates to 2% of GDP in today's dollars, and given the country's current deficit and upcoming election, it is an amount the government is not prepared to spend. In the end, the military still requires stable, long-term funding. Therefore, although the CFDS was a step in the right direction, it must be revisited and updated. The Government must decide on what is affordable and what Canadians would agree to in terms of the appropriate amount of funding and resources for DND to acquire the capabilities necessary to achieve the CFDS mandate and enable the CAF to be a flexible and effective military that is always ready to respond when needed. Canadians must be provided with the situational awareness in understanding what their military's true capabilities and vulnerabilities are and be willing to support its government in delivering what is necessary to achieve and maintain the readiness level required to respond to national threats both at home and abroad. Only then, can the CAF be the insurance policy Canadians expect and deserve.

²⁵⁴Government of Canada, "Fiscal Reference Tables," *Department of Finance Canada* (October 2013), 16. Internet; <http://www.fin.gc.ca/frt-trf/2013/frt-trf-13-eng.pdf>, accessed 03 September 2014. Table 8, p16.

5. THE FUTURE OF CANADA'S ARMED FORCES

The Canadian Armed Forces have just recently returned from operations in Afghanistan. They had been deployed as part of a 48 nation, NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) that supported the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) in the conduct of security operations throughout the country for more than ten years. In 2011, the combat mission shifted to a more enabling role which focused on training, advising and assisting the Afghan forces in being responsible for maintaining peace and stability in their own country and providing a safe and secure environment for the Afghan people.²⁵⁵

Now that the main body of the Canadian Armed Forces has returned home, media reports from overseas no longer contain news of casualties or fatalities of our men and women in uniform. Canadians have essentially put their thoughts regarding the CAF on the back burner with some possibly wondering what is next for Canada's Armed Forces. As previously mentioned, since 2010 the defence budget has either been frozen or cut due to the government's desire to reduce the deficit by 2015. The problem with this, is that the World has not suddenly become a peaceful place and by all accounts it can be argued that it is becoming even more unstable. Not much time has elapsed since the CAF's return from Afghanistan yet the Canadian government has again received requests for assistance from the international community. In February 2014, Russia flexed its military muscle by sending troops and equipment into Ukraine and gradually taking control of Crimea. In response, the Canadian government imposed economic sanctions under the Special Economic Measures Act against those responsible for the

²⁵⁵North Atlantic Treaty Organization, *ISAF's mission in Afghanistan*, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_69366.htm; Internet; accessed 17 Oct 2014.

ongoing crisis in Ukraine. In addition, the Prime Minister announced that all planned bilateral activities between the CAF and the military of the Russian Federation were to be suspended.²⁵⁶ The HMCS Toronto was repositioned to join its allies in conducting patrols to the Black Sea and F-18 fighters were deployed to the region to conduct air policing patrols.²⁵⁷ In West Africa, the deadly Ebola virus had struck Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Guinea. Canada, among other countries, was called upon to provide assistance in stopping the spread of the virus that has taken thousands of lives.²⁵⁸ War has broken out again in Iraq with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) committing atrocities against innocent foreigners and men, women and children who do not adhere to their extremist ideologies. Canada is caught between conflicting realities of declining defence budgets and the increased threat of violence and disease around the world. Although there is political will to respond to the international community's requests and the public will to support a response. In terms of equipment and capabilities, Canada's military is stretched to the limit but continues to be asked to do more. In its current state, one has to wonder what it can provide, for how long, and at what cost.²⁵⁹

The Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) faces numerous challenges in meeting its combat readiness requirements, from a lack of maintenance staff to keep ships seaworthy to inadequate combat training. Although work has begun in modernizing the Navy's Halifax-class frigates, in repairing the Victoria-class submarines and integrating the Cyclone CH-148 helicopters, not a

²⁵⁶Government of Canada, *The Government of Canada's Response to the Situation in Ukraine*, <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2014/03/22/government-canadas-response-situation-ukraine>, Internet; accessed 15 October 2014.

²⁵⁷"NATO Chief Anders Fogh Rasmussen urges Canada to boost defence spending," *CBC News*, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/nato-chief-anders-fogh-rasmussen-urges-Canada-to-boost-defence-spending-1.2748701>; Internet; accessed 23 October 2014.

²⁵⁸Amber Hildebrandt, "Why Canada must approach Ebola outbreak like a natural disaster." *CBC News*, 05 September 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/why-canada-must-approach-ebola-outbreak-like-a-natural-disaster-1.2754828>; Internet; accessed 17 October 2014.

²⁵⁹Thompson. *Canada 2013 (World Today)*..., 171.

single piece of steel has been cut in the fabrication of the Arctic Offshore Patrol ships, Joint Support Ships or Canadian Surface Combatants; ships that would enhance the combat readiness of the RCN.²⁶⁰ The navy's destroyers, HMCS Algonquin and Iroquois, and replenishment ships, the HMCS Preserver and Protecteur, are 40+ years old and their maintenance and repair costs, due to corrosion and fire, exceed the navy's ability to keep them seaworthy.²⁶¹ Due to their single hull construction and fear of toxic spills, the tankers were already being banned from docking in some European and American ports.²⁶² The RCN has recently announced that it will retire these vessels earlier than expected creating a significant capability gap for Canada's Navy. The replenishment ships are "essential to strategic autonomy on the high seas and separate a purely coastal defence force from a navy that can project power far from its home bases, either at home or abroad."²⁶³ In addition, the destroyers are instrumental in fulfilling Canada's Naval Task Group commitments. The RCN may have to rely on allies for replenishment until its supply ships, scheduled to arrive in 2019, are replaced.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper and his government recently announced that Canada would contribute F-18 fighters and CP-140 surveillance aircraft to the combat mission against ISIL. These aircraft, similar to the RCN's ships, are old with no sign of a contract for the replacement of either of these airframes. Brought into service in the early 1980's, the Royal

²⁶⁰Terry Milewski, "Stephen Harper takes big words, small stick to NATO summit," *CBC News*, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/stephen-harper-takes-big-words-small-stick-to-nato-summit>; Internet; accessed 23 September 2014.

²⁶¹James Cudmore, "Canada's navy looks to fill fleet gap with purchase from U.S.," *CBC News*, 23 September 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-s-navy-looks-to-fill-fleet-gap-with-purchase-from-u-s-1.2775533>; Internet; accessed 23 September 2014.

²⁶²Bill Curry, "Canadian Navy's ships risk being banned from foreign ports," *Globe and Mail*, 23 August 2012, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/canadian-navys-ships-risk-being-banned-from-foreign-ports/article1212835/>; Internet; accessed 22 October 2014.

²⁶³Lee Berthiaume, "Navy Ship Retirements Expected to Have Far-reaching Impacts," *Ottawa Citizen*, <http://ottawacitizen.com/news/politics/navy-ship-retirements-expected-to-have-far-reaching-impacts>; Internet; accessed 15 October 2014.

Canadian Air Force (RCAF) warned the government that the CF-18 airframe would no longer be structurally able to fly combat missions beyond 2017.²⁶⁴ In 2014, there is still no way ahead in replacing these fighters, in fact just recently the government announced that measures will be taken to extend their life for another ten years.²⁶⁵ Extending the life of the CF-18 beyond 2020 will increase O&M costs and operational risk for the department and “represent investments in an ever-declining capability in an aging fleet;”²⁶⁶ spending funds from the existing defence budget, vice new capital, that could otherwise have been spent elsewhere. In addition, due to budgetary constraints, the RCAF’s yearly flying rates (YFR) have been reduced significantly over the past few years. These reductions constitute reduced pilot training flights as well as supporting other military units and OGDs at home. Tough decisions have to be made on whether to transport troops, fly surveillance missions (possibly affecting their readiness posture), or saving the precious YFR for un-forecasted, more critical operations, domestic or abroad.²⁶⁷ The CAF is struggling to meet the demands of the government while still managing its reduced defence budget.

The Prime Minister has mentioned that it wants ‘more teeth and less tail’²⁶⁸ but the CAF still requires funding for operations and maintenance (O&M), training, infrastructure,

²⁶⁴Elinor Sloan, “Harper failing Canada’s Armed Forces,” *Ottawa Citizen*, <http://ottawacitizen.com/news/politics/sloan-harper-failing-canadas-armed-forces>, Internet; accessed 14 October 2014.

²⁶⁵The Canadian Press, “CF-18 Upgrades will keep jets flying until 2025, Ottawa says,” *CTV News*, <http://www.ctvnews.ca/politics/cf-18-upgrades-will-keep-jets-flying-until-2025-ottawa-says-1.2031683>; Internet; accessed 30 September 2014.

²⁶⁶Canada. Government of Canada, National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, “CF-18 Hornet Estimated Life Expectancy,” http://www.forces.gc.ca/assets/FORCES_Internet/docs/en/about-reports-pubs/06%2011%20Task%204%2028En%29%20Report%20Final.pdf; Internet; accessed 15 March 2015, 13.

²⁶⁷“RCAF fretted over Libya bombing campaign’s wear and tear on CF-18s,” *The Star*, http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2012/09/09/rcaf_fretted_over_libya_bombing_campaigns_wear_and_tear_on_cf18s.html; Internet; accessed 27 October 2014.

²⁶⁸“Readiness preserved, more resources freed up for the front line (teeth) by reducing administrative burdens (tail). Readiness: the ability to keep soldiers, sailors and aircrew, as well as their equipment and vehicles ready to

maintaining readiness levels and looking after the welfare of its personnel. Without adequate funding, the CAF cannot continue to say yes to its government without the potential of putting the lives of its soldiers, sailors and air men and women in danger.

The senior leadership of the CAF must convey to the government that the military's willingness to achieve the mandate of the CFDS is still strong but its ability to do so effectively and safely while still sustaining day to day operations is becoming more and more challenging.²⁶⁹ In addition, the government must determine its level of political will to support Canada's military. Perhaps due to the incidents that occurred back in October 2014 on home soil, including the continued threats by ISIL to the security of Canadians,²⁷⁰ the public has found its voice and will to support the government in increasing defence spending to develop the insurance policy that could guarantee their safety.

Budget cuts are not the CAF's only issue, it also has issues with being treated like any other government department. Normally, this would not be a concern but when it comes to the procurement of military platforms, weapon systems and vital personal protective equipment, it presents some challenges. The government's defence procurement strategy is time consuming,

deploy to operations both at home and abroad." The Canadian Press *Macleans*, "Canadian Military losing as much 'teeth' as 'tail' in budget cuts: expert." 26 February 2013, <http://www.macleans.ca/news/canadian-military-losing-as-much-teeth-as-tail-in-budget-cuts-expert/>; Internet; accessed 15 March 2015.

²⁶⁹“The CFDS is currently being revisited but as of the writing of this paper, its revision has not been published or distributed.” Jeffrey F. Collins, “Reviving and Revising the Canada First Defence Strategy.” *C2C Journal*. <http://c2cjournal.ca/2014/11/reviving-and-revising-the-canada-first-defence-strategy/>; Internet; accessed 16 March 2015.

²⁷⁰Prime Minister of Canada: Stephen Harper, “Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada on ISIL motion debated in Parliament.” 07 October 2014, <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2014/10/07/statement-prime-minister-canada-isil-motion-debated-parliament>; Internet; accessed 15 March 2015.

exhaustive and approvals are based on a *whole of government* approach.²⁷¹ For most government departments, the procurement process enables definition, competition and delivery of requirements within a couple of years. But due to the complexity, quantity and cost of systems and equipment related to defence, the length of time to procure is significantly longer in comparison to other departments.²⁷² According to Martin Shadwick, defence procurement projects very rarely deliver “on time, on budget and on specification.”²⁷³ Just as an example, the National Shipbuilding Procurement Strategy was announced by the government in 2010 and four years later, although a decision for the design of the Joint Support Ship has been reached, the project still remains in the definition phase.²⁷⁴ In reality, the DND/CAF is not like any other government department. It is the largest both in terms of financial budget and personnel²⁷⁵ and arguably, it is the most complicated, diverse and one of the most important. Its security requirements are truly unique and are often driven by external forces such as multinational agreements with its *five eyes*²⁷⁶ partners, making the current procurement strategy all the more cumbersome and ineffective. More importantly, it is the only government department where its

²⁷¹“The Defence Procurement Strategy has three key objectives: delivering the right equipment to the CAF and the Canadian Coast Guard in a timely manner; leveraging our purchases of defence equipment to create jobs and economic growth in Canada; and streamlining defence procurement processes.” Public Works and Government Services Canada, *Defence Procurement Strategy*, 08 September 2014, <http://www.tpsgc-pwgsc.gc.ca/app-acq/stamp-lamsmp/sskt-eng.html>; Internet; accessed 23 October 2014.

²⁷²“Complex developmental projects, such as naval vessels, require years to design and build.” Martin Shadwick, “The National Shipbuilding Procurement Strategy and the *Ambition-Capability Gap*.” *Canadian Military Journal* Vol 14, no. 2 (Spring 2014): 79.

²⁷³Martin Shadwick, “Procurement and the Perfect Storm.” *Canadian Military Journal* 14, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 64.

²⁷⁴Department of National Defence, *The Canadian Armed Forces Joint Support Ship (JSS)*, 02 December 2013, <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/business-equipment/joint-support-ship.page>; Internet; accessed 24 October 2014.

²⁷⁵“The Defence Team is comprised of over 100,000 employees (68,000 Regular force, 27,000 Reserve force, 24,000 civilians) and approximately \$20 billion.” <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/about/faq.page>; “Canadian Defence Matters, Contemporary Defence Issues From a Canadian Perspective,” 18 July 2013, see also <http://jgmjgm516.blogspot.ca/2013/07/robert-nicholson-minister-of-national.html>; Internet; accessed 09 November 2014.

²⁷⁶“The five eyes community consists of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United Kingdom and the United States (AUS/CAN/NZ/UK/US), a relationship that has existed for nearly seventy years.” James Cox. “Canada and the Fives Eyes Intelligence Community,” *Canadian International Council, Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute* (December 2012), <http://opencanada.org/features/the-think-tank/essays/canada-and-the-five-eyes-intelligence-community>; Internet; accessed 09 November 2014.

personnel can be ordered into harm's way to risk their lives in the service of their country and Canadians. For these reasons, the CAF should have a procurement process that is effective and timely for procuring equipment that is vital to their safety and security in achieving mission success. From experience, when an item is required to fulfill an operational capability deficiency or save lives, the decision making segment of the procurement process can be expedited and the item is purchased and brought into service as quickly as possible; even when it is something as significant as the purchase of the CC177 GLOBEMASTER, a strategic/tactical airlift capability. The aircraft were delivered in 2007 during the war in Afghanistan and have been a workhorse for the CAF and the Government of Canada in providing airlift of troops, vehicles, emergency and humanitarian aid worldwide, increasing Canada's international reputation with relatively little cost or risk to Canadian troops.²⁷⁷ In essence, the procurement process should always be this effective and timely.

Mental health, morale, family issues and the safety of Canada's military personnel are probable second and third order effects when budgetary cuts are combined with a high operational tempo that forces military personnel to be away from their families for extended periods of time.²⁷⁸ Canada's military continues to do more with less. Funding constraints also affect the CAF's ability to maintain equipment and systems and tough decisions have to be made regarding which capabilities to keep and which ones to cut. Down the road, it may be necessary to regenerate these capabilities, a difficult task once the decision to cut them has been made.

²⁷⁷Department of National Defence, *CC-177 Globemaster III: Transport Aircraft*, April 23, 2014, <http://www.rcf-arc.forces.gc.ca/en/aircraft-current/cc-177.page>; Internet; accessed 24 October 2014.

²⁷⁸“Budget cuts could force reductions in capabilities and personnel numbers causing those personnel that remain with the CAF to be deployed more often, spending too many months away from home that disrupt and sometimes destroy families.” Canada. Parliament of Canada. “Four Generals and an Admiral: The View from the Top,” *Report of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence. Second Session Thirty-ninth Parliament 2008*. <http://www.parl.gc.ca>; Internet; accessed 19 March 2015, 18.

These are all questions the CAF is forced to answer with the budgetary constraints forced upon them in reducing the deficit.

It is important that Canada increases its defence spending due to the fact that today, the defence of a country and its citizens encompasses more than just going to war against another country's military force. According to Bernd Horn, "...the CAF lacks the breadth and depth of capability to confront the broad range of challenges that the future will hold."²⁷⁹ He believes that the CAF must also pay attention to non-traditional security threats such as terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, narcotics, transnational crime, and people smuggling.²⁸⁰ Although the CAF may not be the lead organization in dealing with all of these threats, it may be asked to assist other government departments and therefore must have the ability to do so when called upon. With the recent attacks targeting Canadian soldiers and Parliament at home, Canadians have experienced first hand the complexities associated with the defence of Canada. Due to globalization, the lack of peace and security in other parts of the world have far-reaching effects, meaning threats are imminent here at home. The Canadian government really has no choice but to assist its allies and international partners in thwarting direct or indirect threats by ISIL or any other terrorist group, organization, or individual, to the security of Canada and Canadians both at home and abroad. Like many of its allies, Canada has cut its defence budget in favour of deficit reduction. Regardless, the government may have to rethink its decision regarding defence spending because some threats are too significant to ignore and the consequences of further neglect are too severe.

²⁷⁹Horn, "*The Canadian Way of War: Serving the National Interest*" ..., 374.

²⁸⁰*Ibid.* (Horn)

With a more comprehensive definition of security and the reality of budgetary constraints, the *whole of government approach* becomes more significant. Perhaps the CAF could draw upon the diverse expertise and resources available across the government to assist in achieving the CFDS mandate. As an example, it could look to the Canadian Coast Guard (CCG) to assist in its role of patrolling the North. The CCG has more ice-capable ships and far more experience and competence in the North. In its current state, moving the Navy into the Arctic will drain its effectiveness elsewhere.²⁸¹ In responding to natural disasters and diseases such as Ebola it should look toward assisting public health agencies and non-government organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO). Whether the response is domestic or international the CAF can no longer afford to accomplish missions on its own.

By researching the types of operations that the CAF could be involved in, this author suggests that future operations will be Joint, Interagency, Multinational, Public (JIMP) based, requiring the CAF to be flexible, fully integrated, joint and interoperable, not only amongst its own environments but also with its allies, OGDs and NGOs. Whether in a domestic or expeditionary environment, JIMP identifies the various players or organizations that inhabit the Area of Operations (AOR) in which military operations take place and allows them to effectively interact in adopting a comprehensive approach to solving a problem.²⁸² The CAF will have to be knowledgeable enough to know when to stop fighting and hand over command and control of operations to those who are experts in the role of stability operations so that it can head home to prepare to fight another day.

²⁸¹MacDonald, *Canada's First Defence Strategy, One Year Later...*, 6.

²⁸²David W. Grebstad, "Rowboat Diplomacy: The Dominion of Canada's Whole of Government Approach to the Red River Rebellion." *Canadian Military Journal* 13, no. 3 (Summer 2013): 62.

Summary

In addition to security threats and natural disasters at home, there will always be conflict somewhere in the world for which the international community will ask the Government of Canada to respond in some way. Whether it is a terrorist threat, hurricane, earthquake, forest fire, or flood, the military must be ready to respond to the demands of its government. In order to do so safely and effectively, the CAF must be provided with the resources necessary to successfully meet its mandate. It cannot continue to do more with less and it certainly cannot continue to do so alone. The whole of government must do its part to assist, or step aside and the government must find its political will and provide the resources required to support the mandate it has set out in the CFDS. With the perceived threat both at home and abroad, there should be no question of the public's willingness to support Canada's military in being that insurance policy against any adversary, natural or man-made that threatens the safety and security of Canada and its citizens.

6. CONCLUSION

Reviewing the history of the CAF has demonstrated that regardless of the political party in power, Canada's military has always endured cuts to the defence budget and its personnel during peacetime. Without a perceived threat, the public seems unwilling to support defence spending, thus pressures the government to spend the funds elsewhere, either to reduce the deficit, support social programs, or increase employment opportunities.

Regardless of how much money is spent on defence or social programs, there is always a requirement for more. But nations can only afford so much. Budgets are based on a country's economic and fiscal capacity and the strength of a nation depends on its military strength as well as the social well-being of its citizens. In a perfect world, a nation would be prosperous enough to provide all the basic necessities of life, have no unemployment or deficit, and be strong enough militarily to maintain its sovereignty and ensure the safety and security of its citizens. In addition, it would have the ability to project power to assist failed and failing states in maintaining peace in the world. By examining the defence spending approaches of the superpowers and some of Canada's important allies, a new perspective is gained from the lessons learned in each country. One discovers that a balance must be struck between defence and social welfare spending. Nations and their citizens must be pragmatic in defining their position in the world based on what they can afford. Defining a foreign policy or role that is appropriate and matches the capabilities of its military is significant. Above all, governments must not expect or permit their military to go "above and beyond" the call of duty without the mandate or resources to do so. The outcomes both at home and abroad are too costly.

Currently, the Canada First Defence Strategy is the only defence policy that the DND and CAF can use as a reference in establishing resources and priorities in acquiring the capabilities necessary and plan for the future in protecting Canada and Canadians; defending North America in cooperation with the United States; and contributing to international peace and security. The CFDS is not excessive by any means; it depicts a balanced defence spending approach that is a small premium to pay for the CAF to become the insurance policy that Canadians expect and deserve. Going forward, it represents a stable, predictable investment that is both desired by the military's senior leadership and is in keeping with Canada's growth. It provides the CAF with the ability to maintain its readiness posture while simultaneously allowing the Government to continue to build a strong economy and offer affordable education and the health care necessary to maintain a viable workforce.

Although the CFDS *is* a step in the right direction, it is out-of-date and therefore it needs to be revisited and updated in an effort to reduce the current commitment-capability gap. Taking the country's current economic state and the deficit into consideration, the Government must again decide what is affordable and what Canadians would approve of in terms of the appropriate amount of funding (taking inflation into account) that would give the CAF the buying power to obtain the capabilities necessary to become a flexible and effective military. To assist in this decision, Canadians must be provided with the situational awareness in order to better understand what the CAF's current capabilities and vulnerabilities are and be willing to support the government in providing the resources necessary for the CAF to respond when called upon. The CAF cannot continue to do more with less and it certainly cannot continue to *soldier on*

without Canada's support. Today, with the presence of a threat felt on home soil, there should be no question of the public and political will to support Canada's Armed Forces in being that insurance policy against any adversary, natural or man-made, that threatens the safety and security of Canada and its citizens wherever they may be.

Alternatively, Canada's Armed Forces will have to accept the reality that, despite government promises, the defence spending trends that have plagued them since the nation's birth will continue regardless of the political party in power. Therefore, senior military leaders will have to find more efficient and effective ways to manage the defence budget that is allocated in ensuring that Canada's security blanket is maintained to a level of readiness that can respond when called upon.

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