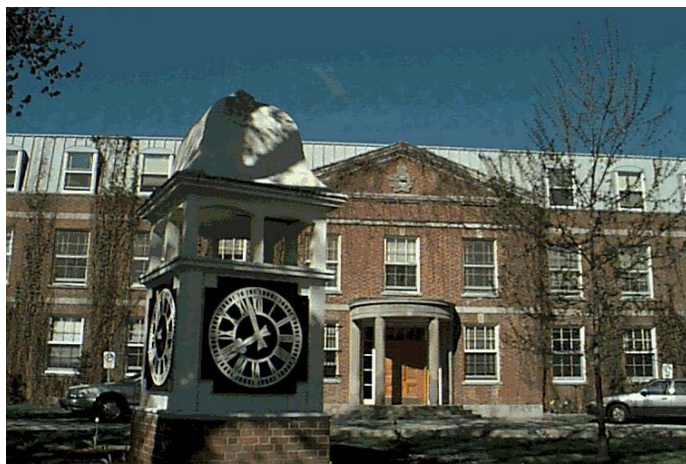


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THE CAPACITY TO BUILD

Major C.T. STRAIN

JCSP 40

Exercise Solo Flight

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SOLO FLIGHT

THE CAPACITY TO BUILD

By Major C.T. STRAIN

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“La présente étude a été rédigée par un stagiaire du Collège des Forces canadiennes pour satisfaire à l'une des exigences du cours. L'étude est un document qui se rapporte au cours et contient donc des faits et des opinions que seul l'auteur considère appropriés et convenables au sujet. Elle ne reflète pas nécessairement la politique ou l'opinion d'un organisme quelconque, y compris le gouvernement du Canada et le ministère de la Défense nationale du Canada. Il est défendu de diffuser, de citer ou de reproduire cette étude sans la permission expresse du ministère de la Défense nationale.”

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...without security almost everything else is impossible: no effective government; no reconstruction; no return of refugees; no return to school; no elections.

- United Nations Security-General Kofi Annan¹

All states have national interests; national interests are normally associated with a countries goals or ambitions.² Canada has the desire to contribute to global peace and security for multiple reasons. These reasons can be separated into two categories. The first being values, such as those associated with human rights, democracy and rule of law. The second being a national interest, of which Canada has many, ranging from security to the economy. The Department of Foreign Affairs Trade and Development (DFATD) has clearly outlined Canada's position in relation to fragile states³ "The consequences of state fragility and violent armed conflict can threaten Canadian security, stability and prosperity, at home and abroad."⁴ Through instability, these states can adversely affect Canadian national interests directly or indirectly. Through defence diplomacy or capacity building, the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), a military with a tradition of democratic civilian control, cultural understanding and positive global reputation, is well placed to contribute to international peace and security. Capacity building offers the CAF the

¹ United Nations, "Secretary-General Outlines Key Lessons for Building Peace," <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2004/sgsm9549.doc.htm> (Last accessed 29 April, 2014).

² Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan McMillan, "The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics: Overview - National Interest," Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100224268> (Last accessed 7 May, 2014).

³ DFATD defines fragile states in which the following or any combination of challenges exist: political violence, autocratic rule, criminality and corruption, population movement, widespread human deprivation including human rights abuses and vulnerability to external shocks and natural disasters.

⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. "Why We Work in Conflict Affected Situations and Fragile States" <http://www.international.gc.ca/START-GTSR/why-pourquoi.aspx> (Last Accessed 3 May, 2014).

ability to improve a fragile state's security forces, while concurrently achieving Canada's national interests of contribute to global security in a positive and lasting manner.

Canada must take an interest in assisting others in confronting their security challenges to ensure global stability thus ensuring the safety and security of Canadians.

This paper will examine the issues at hand through the use of Clausewitz's trinity as a framework as outlined in *On War*. National power, the role taken by military forces in national power and capacity building are also key considerations of this discussion and a brief summary of these will also be necessary. These are all important to the discussion of global peace and security and the role which states such as Canada can play.

The trinity as described in *On War*, consists of three interconnected aspects that are present during war. Clausewitz's asserts that in war there is an interrelated relationship between the people of a state, the commander and his army (for the purpose of this paper referred to as the military) and finally the government,⁵ each represents a side of the trinity. H.P. Willmott, noted historian and academic and Michael B. Barrett, a professor of history and retired brigadier-general of the United States Army, contend that *On War* is dated and does not reflect the modern state of warfare / military operations, the state or society.⁶ By contrast Antulio J. Echevarria II, in his study, *Clausewitz &*

⁵ Michael Howard and Peter Paret, eds., *Carl Von Clausewitz: On War*, trans. Vom Kriege. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989). 89.

⁶ H. P. Willmott and Micheal B. Barrett, *Clausewitz Reconsidered*. (Santa Barbara, Calif: Praeger Security International, 2010). 3-12.

Contemporary War, insists that Clausewitz's ideas remain as relevant today as when they were written. "Clausewitz demonstrated that the nature of war, which he captured synthetically in metaphor of a wondrous trinity, divisible and yet not, is complex and variable."⁷ He concludes that the bulk of military doctrine still finds Clausewitz principals valid and reinforcing much of the body of knowledge related to armed conflict today.⁸

Clausewitz's own comparison of war to a chameleon, demonstrates he acknowledged the outer face of war may change, but its inner nature represented by the trinity will not.⁹ Therefore, the use of the trinity is an effective manner in which to examine capacity building in the perpetually changing global security environment in which military operations take place. Within conflict the interaction between the people, the government and the military cannot be separated as they are all interdependent.

The world has evolved since Clausewitz wrote *On War* and with this evolution the employment of military forces has increasingly changed. As has been stated by Clausewitz, in *On War* "...therefore, that war is not merely an act of policy but a true political instrument, a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means."¹⁰ While war fighting remains the reason for the existence of military forces, it is

⁷ Antulio J. Echevarria, *Clausewitz & Contemporary War* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007). 192.

⁸ *Ibid* 2, 191-196.

⁹ Thomas Waldman. *War Clausewitz and the Trinity*. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013). 53.

¹⁰ Michael Howard and Peter Paret, eds., *Carl Von Clausewitz: On War*, trans. Vom Kriege (Princeton, New Jersey.: Princeton University Press, 1989). 87.

not the sole means at their disposal to obtain and secure the national interest of their states. Military forces are increasingly used in operations throughout the spectrum of conflict, in what is often referred to as operations other than war. These operations can range from peacekeeping to disaster relief and any number of other operations up to and including war fighting. Military forces have traditionally and remain a major component of a state's national power, allowing for the projection of that power both regionally and globally.

National Power

Political scientist and former Dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government, at Harvard University, Joseph S. Nye Jr., has defined national power as “the ability to effect the outcomes you want and, if necessary, to change the behavior of others to make this happen.”¹¹ National power and the instruments of national power, therefore allow a state to achieve its national interests.

National power can be divided into four distinct instruments of power, which although separate are closely connected. These instruments of power are defined as Diplomatic, Informational, Military and Economic, which are denoted by the acronym DIME.¹² This power can further be divided into hard power and soft power. Hard power, is derived through the employment of military forces and threat of economic sanction or

¹¹ Joseph S. Nye, *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go it Alone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 4.

¹² Joint Doctrine, United States. *Joint Publication 1: Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States* (Joint Electronic Library, 2013). I-12 to I-14.

reward. Soft power, is less tangible, with the goal of influencing others through persuasive ideas in accordance with a state's national interests. Soft power offers the reward of international stability and advantage, this is the realm of diplomacy and information.¹³ The focus of this paper will be upon the military instrument of national power; however its interconnectedness to the other instruments of national power cannot be overlooked.

The role of the CAF fits within Nye's description of national power as an instrument to be used in achieving national interest. The use of the military instrument of power has evolved over time and the conditions of its employments vary widely from state to state. "The US employs the military instrument of national power at home and abroad in support of its national security goals."¹⁴ As described by then Minister of National Defence, The Honourable Peter Mackay, in *The Canada First Defence Strategy*, the role of Canada's armed forces is to support the governments wider security and foreign policy objectives,

...by maintaining the ability to deliver excellence at home, be a strong and reliable partner in the defence of North America, and project leadership abroad by making meaningful contributions to operations overseas.¹⁵

¹³ Colin s. Gray, *Hard Power and Soft Power: The Utility of Military Force as an Instrument of Policy in the 21st Century* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 2011). v-ix.

¹⁴ Joint Doctrine, United States. *Joint Publication 1: Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States* (Joint Electronic Library, 2013). I-13.

¹⁵ Canada, Department of National Defence, "Canada First Defence Strategy," <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/about/canada-first-defence-strategy.page?> (Last accessed 29 April, 2014).

By addressing the issues of fragile states, through building military institutions and structures within these states, the CAF can project leadership abroad, while contributing to global peace and security.

The projection of national power by a military force can be archived through a number of different methods. A state can maintain and employ a standing armed force, such as the CAF in support of its national interest. Secondly, membership in alliances and defence agreements, in the case of Canada, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the North American Aerospace Defence Agreement (NORAD) are the best known, with frequent Canadian contributions. Thirdly, the use of proxies to conduct operations in pursuit of a state's objectives, the Spanish Civil war, is an example of a conflict in which Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union both supported opposing combatants for their own national interests and objectives. Finally, through the provision and support of other states or groups in the form of military aid and training and knowledge transfer in the form of capacity building. The training of the Afghan National Army, by the CAF and its allies is the most recent large scale example.

Capacity Building

Capacity building can be summarized as the provision of military assistance in the form of training, professional education, weapons, equipment, and technical aid to enable and build a recipient nations capacity to conduct military operations. All aspects

previously mentioned may be part of capacity building or limited in scope to one area only. Canadian military assistance originated during the Cold War. However, the Canadian military was heavily engaged in this type of activity as part of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan (BCATP) during World War II. “By the end of the Second World War, the BCATP had produced 131,553 aircrew, including pilots, wireless operators, air gunners, and navigators for the Air Forces of Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada.”¹⁶ The RAF numbers not only included British aircrew but also Poles, Norwegians, Czechs, Free French, Belgian and Dutch aircrew members. This is an impressive feat of training given this program did not exist at the beginning of World War II.

The CAF has undertaken a number of capacity building operations beginning in the 1960s. Directorate - Military Training & Cooperation (DMTC) is currently the Canadian Armed Forces instrument of coordinating foreign military training primarily focused on peace support operations. This department is the direct descendant of the early provisions of military training assistance that occurred in the 1960s and today coordinates the provision of training to international partners on behalf of the CAF and Government of Canada. “...its mandate evolved to reflect the changing times... DMTC facilitates what is often the CF’s first or only point of contact with developing regions of the

¹⁶ Canada, Department of Veterans Affairs. The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, <http://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/history/second-world-war/british-commonwealth-air-training-plan> (Last Accessed 18 April, 2014).

world.”¹⁷ Canada’s capacity building is not limited to peace support operations and has recently seen the CAF train and conduct combat operations in conjunction with the Afghan National Army. Numerous other missions which are less known have been conducted by both conventional and Special Forces in recent years contributing to peace and security in Canada’s national interests.

The People

The impact of public opinion has gained increasing influence in western democracies upon their governments, particularly with the rise of mass media and the internet. In an examination of Clausewitz’s trinity conducted by Thomas Waldman, a Research Fellow at York University in the United Kingdom, in which he has interpreted Clausewitz theory in terms of modern conflicts he writes: “The emotional predisposition and reaction of the people to uses of force can have crucial political implications...”¹⁸ Securing and maintaining the support of the public is of particular importance in a democracy in order to maintain popular support and remain in power.

The population of Canada believes that the use of the CAF in operations should reflect national values. “Public support for a strong Canadian role internationally is

¹⁷ Canada, Department of National Defence. Directorate - Military Training & Cooperation, <http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/training-international-policy/index.page> (Last accessed 17 April, 2014).

¹⁸ Thomas ,Waldman. *War Clausewitz and the Trinity*. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013). 154.

largely rooted in our proud history of peacekeeping.”¹⁹ The national interests of Canada are often forgotten by the public in this values based perception of the role of the CAF.

Confronting the unique challenges associated with fragile states and conflict-affected situations promotes Canadian values of freedom, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, as well as with our foreign policy priorities prosperity and security.²⁰

This statement is part of The Government of Canada’s Counter Terrorism Strategy, in which the foreign policy priorities of prosperity and security have been wrapped in Canadian values, in a manner appealing to the public.

Recent military operations in Libya and Afghanistan have clearly displayed the hard edge of Canada’s national power. During these operations the CAF actively engaged in combat against a defined enemy. In the case of operations in Afghanistan capacity building played a key role during the campaign. A 2010 Angus Reid poll, highlights Canadians discomfort with combat operations in Afghanistan, in which just over one third of people supported the combat mission.²¹ Missions such as peacekeeping, Disaster Assistance, humanitarian and Non-combatant evacuation operations better reflect the public perception of the use of Canada’s military forces in a manner which has seen the CAF project more soft power than hard power. “In fact, many Canadians regard

¹⁹ Lane Anker. "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion" Canadian Military Journal, <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo6/no2/public-eng.asp> (Last accessed 5 May, 2014).

²⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. “Terrorism” <http://www.international.gc.ca/crime/terrorism-terrorisme.aspx> (Last accessed 4 May, 2012).

²¹ Angus Reid, *Canadians Divided on Assuming Non-Combat Role in Afghanistan* (Vancouver: Angus Reid Public Opinion, 2010). 1.

peacekeeping as the most positive contribution that Canada makes to the world.”²²

Capacity building can also archive many of the same objectives of promoting and exporting Canadian values by assisting fragile states while contributing to global peace and security in Canada’s national interest.

The recent development of the whole of government approach to operations or the comprehensive approach, is yet another instrument of national power which can be employed by the government in a soft power approach to security. Strengthening a partner nation’s military is just one area in the development of effective democratic governments. “...experience has shown that the assurance of stability is an essential prerequisite for the implementation of effective programs of economic and social development, and such stability cannot be assured without adequate security forces.”²³ In a summary of a seminar held last year, with regard to the subject of capacity building held by The Royal Danish Defence College it was stated that “The hope is that by strengthening a countries' military and the ability to solve their own and regional security threats will also help tackle the root causes of insecurity.”²⁴ Not all capacity building operations require involvement in combat operations, the CAF’s participation in the International Military Advisory and Training in Sierra Leone is one such reference. In a number of examples of recent peacekeeping operations training and transition to local security forces has proven beneficial. This ensures long term security and prosperity for

²² Lane Anker. "Peacekeeping and Public Opinion" *Canadian Military Journal*, <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo6/no2/public-eng.asp> (Last accessed 5 May, 2014).

²³ Anonymous “Canadian Team for Tanzania” *Canadian Army Journal* Vol 19:1, 1965. 31.

²⁴ Government of Denmark, Royal Danish Defence College. *Military Capacity Building: Risk-Taking in Danish Development Aid?*. (KØBENHAVN: Royal Danish Defence College, 31 January 2013). 2.

the country. The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), is one such mission in which capacity building is just one feature in the UN approach to build the civil institutions, including police, a judiciary system and human rights through influence or soft power. The UN goal for security forces is:

An improved capacity of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to effectively protect the population through the establishment of professional, accountable and sustainable security forces with a view to progressively taking over MONUSCO's security role.²⁵

Thus capacity building can be an alternate to peacekeeping that is in line with the public's perception of how to contribute to global peace and security and Canada's national interest.

The population of Canada plays an important role in how the country's military forces are employed. While peacekeeping addresses the conflict at hand, it does not establish security forces within fragile states to set the conditions for long term recovery and stability. In the same Angus and Reid poll, it was found that 48% of Canadians supported the 2011 transition from combat operations to the training the Afghan security forces.²⁶ Capacity building was only part of the campaign in Afghanistan, in which it formed an extension of Canada's hard power up to 2011, at which point the goal was to enable the Afghan Government. Capacity building when separated from the Afghan

²⁵ United Nations, "Resolution 2053 (2012)," [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2053\(2012\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2053(2012)) (Last accessed 10 May, 2014).

²⁶ Angus Reid, *Canadians Divided on Assuming Non-Combat Role in Afghanistan* (Vancouver: Angus Reid Public Opinion, 2010). 1.

conflict is a way in which Canada can contribute to global security. The emotional predisposition and reaction of the public must be considered by the Government of Canada when contemplating the use of the CAF in the projection of national power. It is clear that public opinion supports the use of the CAF in a soft power role and capacity building is one way in which the CAF can contribute to securing Canada's national interests and global peace and security.

The Government

The Government of Canada must balance Canada's values with its national interests in the employment of military forces. It must also consider how best to address security issues through the use of hard power, use of military force or economic sanctions, or soft power through diplomacy or informational in the form of influence.

“There are between 40 and 60 states, with a total population of some two billion people, which have either collapsed or are on the brink of failure. The world's most pressing problems: “terrorism, drugs, and human trafficking, extreme poverty, ethnic conflict, disease and genocide, tend to originate in such states.”²⁷

²⁷ Dr Anthony. Cleland OBE, "Why Defence Institution-Building Matters," The British Army Journal, <http://army.newsdeskmedia.com/british-army-2012/why-defence-institution-building-matters> (Last accessed 10 April, 2014).

When applying the Clausewitz trinity which states: "... the political aims are the business of government alone."²⁸ It is necessary to examine the domestic and international environments as they apply to the political aims or Canada's national interests. The threat of fragile and failed states directly and indirectly impact Canada's national interest as these states create regional and global instability.

The government must effectively tailor its resource and response to the global security situation in accordance with Canada's values and interests. Capacity building is a way in which military power can be engaged in a method which employs soft power to transmit national values while concurrently achieving national interests. An example is Canada's Counter-Terrorism Capacity Building Program (CTCBP): "... assists other states with training, funding, equipment, technical and legal assistance so that they can prevent and respond to terrorist activity, within international counter-terrorism and human rights norms, standards and obligations."²⁹ This program can be an effective diplomatic tool and can form a key component of Canada's international engagement and development objectives.

The projection of Canadian values is directly tied to Canada's national interest. Former Commander of the Canadian Army, Lieutenant General (Retired) Mike Jeffery stated that "The process of developing a professional military capable of defending the

²⁸ Michael Howard and Peter Paret, eds., *Carl Von Clausewitz: On War*, trans. Vom Kriege (Princeton, New Jersey.: Princeton University Press, 1989). 89.

²⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. "Terrorism"
<http://www.international.gc.ca/crime/terrorism-terrorisme.aspx> (Last accessed 4 May, 2012).

nation and supporting the government is a long one, and only through consistent and trusted mentoring can nations like Canada expect to achieve the influence essential for success.”³⁰ Not only can the CAF build an ally, to fight our conduct operations alongside the CAF or coalition forces, but conditions can be set through capacity building for stability in a post conflict environment. There does however exist a risk to Canadian interests and values in this type of military operation.

Militaries in fragile and failed states are frequently more politicized and engage in political activities when compared to their western counterparts.³¹ There is the risk that capacity building conducted by Canadians could result in unintended consequences. This was recently evident by the involvement of the Canadian Special Operations Regiment and the training of paratroopers in Mali prior to a recent coup.³² “In previous interviews, Canadian military leaders noted that the paratroopers were selected for training after a rigorous review of the unit’s human-rights record by Foreign Affairs officials.”³³ The fact that the both The Government of Canada and the CAF employed a selection criteria likely mitigated the involvement of Canadian trained troops in the coupe. David Pugliese, a Post Media reporter, noted these troops initially fought the coup and then later led a

³⁰ Mike, Jeffery. "The Future of Foreign Military Training." Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute, <http://www.cdfai.org/PDF/The%20Future%20of%20Foreign%20Military%20Training.pdf>. (Last Accessed 24 March 2014). 1.

³¹ Henr, Bienen. Editor. *The Military and Modernization* (New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers, 2009). 14-15.

³²David, Pugliese. "Soldiers Trained by Canadian Special Forces Hunted, Tortured in Mali After Failed coup," National Post, <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/01/27/soldiers-trained-by-canadian-special-forces-hunted-tortured-in-mali-after-failed-counter-coup/> (Last accessed 18 April, 2014).

³³ Ibid .

counter-coup, in a failed attempt to reinstate the democratic government.³⁴ This is an example of the influence of Canadian values upon military forces trained by the CAF in which those forces attempted to reinstate the democratically elected government of their country.

The soft power of capacity building has the ability to increase Canada's reputation and influence. This was recognized by the Government of Canada in the 1950's. By combining both diplomatic and military efforts into what is now referred to as the comprehensive approach, Canada can expand its influence and reputation. "Charles Richie, the deputy undersecretary of state, argued that such aid would serve primarily to increase Canada's heightened postwar international stature"³⁵ This statement made early in the cold war holds true today. The opportunity for Canadian leaders to establish relationships with other global leaders serves the national interests of Canada as illustrated by both Prime Ministers Diefinbaker and Pearson. Who both employed military assistance to build personal relationships with Commonwealth states receiving support from Canada.³⁶

³⁴ David, Pugliese. "Paratroopers Trained in Canada Led Counter-Coup in Mali, but Presidential Guard Unit Failed to Regain control," National Post, <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/01/26/paratroopers-trained-in-canada-led-counter-coup-in-mali-but-presidential-guard-unit-failed-to-regain-control/> (Last accessed 18 April, 2014).

³⁵ Greg, Donaghy. "The Rise and Fall of Canadian Military Assistance in the Developing World, 1952-1971," *Canadian Military History* Vol. 4, no. No. 1 (1995). 76.

³⁶ Greg, Donaghy. "The Rise and Fall of Canadian Military Assistance in the Developing World, 1952-1971," *Canadian Military History* Vol. 4, no. No. 1 (1995). 75.

Caution is called for in capacity building as both the donor nation and the recipient attempt to achieve their national interest. The reputation and influence of the donor must be guarded at all times, as donors risk of influence and reputation of seen as to have been taken advantage of by a lesser state. Donald Stoker, a Professor Emeritus, at the US Naval War College, authored a book in which he examines the arms trade of Britain and France in the Baltic between 1919-1939. In this book he draws attention to the employment of a British military advisory mission to Finland, which appeared to serve no other purpose from a Finnish perspective than to improve its relationship with the British government.³⁷ While the opportunity to establish new relationships has the potential for positive results, caution must be used to ensure that the relationship is mutually beneficial and the donor states national interest protected.

International and alliance commitments can also be fulfilled while fostering the development of defence institutions in fragile states. Operation Proteus, is one such example in which Canadians train the Palestinian Authority while encouraging security sector reform. This in turn contributes to the Middle East Peace Process, while decreasing Israeli security concerns, leading to improved security for Palestinians. Concurrently, Canadian bilateral relationships with the US are being enhanced.³⁸ This mission demonstrates that for very little input from the government there can be very large rewards. Not only has regional stability in the Middle East improved, a pro-western

³⁷ Donald J. Stoker. *Britain, France and the naval arms trade in the Baltic, 1919-1939 : grand strategy and failure.* (London, Frank Cass. 2003). 102-119.

³⁸ Canada, Department of National Defence, *End Tour Report - Task Force Jerusalem Operation PROTEUS July 10 to July 11* (Canada: Department of National Defence, 13 August 2011). 1-2.

security force has been created. Canada has fulfilled international obligations and built influence with key military and economic partners in the form of the United States and Israel, which is in Canada's national interest.

Threats to this type of capacity building exist as other states and most recently non-state actors; have gained an interest in these types of activities, attempting to build their own influence through soft power. The *National Post* recently referred to a DFATD report concerning terrorist groups operating in Syria "...the listed terrorist group Jabhat al-Nusra, ...it employs a combination of military exploits and delivery of social services to build a support base and position itself for power after the transition."³⁹ This is a clear demonstration that the idea of soft power and the comprehensive approach is gaining traction. The legitimacy that is brought by a state or organizations such as NATO or the UN can counter the temptation to side with organizations like this as benefits that can be offered by Canada and its allies through soft power are more tangible to the population than the hard power of either the military or economic sanctions.

Domestically the government must balance public opinion and international commitments. Military operations are expensive and often polarizing in nature. In the paper, *The Changing Nature of World Power*, Joseph S. Nye Jr., discusses the opposition of the public in Western democracies to conflicts which are expensive and protracted.⁴⁰

³⁹ National Post. <http://news.nationalpost.com/2014/04/14/canada-prepared-for-possible-military-mission-in-syria-defence-documents-show/> (Last Accessed 14 April, 14).

This is a very real concern that must be addressed by the government. Capacity building is a way in which the government can with minimal investment achieve this.

Col John D. Waghelstien, former Commander of US forces in El Salvador, noted that both expense and the concern over the deployment of a large number of US forces played a significant role in the approach taken to operations. "Finally, and best of all, the congressionally imposed 55-man-limit on MILGP [US Forces in El Salvador] helped keep the war essentially a Salvadoran effort."⁴¹ The public and political concern of the US becoming engaged in another Vietnam like war resulted in immense pressure being placed on the US Government of the day. However, by using capacity building it was able to satisfy both its domestic and international interests. This type of operation is an effective use of resources minimizing the force contribution, achieving similar effects to the deployment of large contingents and the host nation is left with a capable military upon completion of operations.

Capacity building can also set the conditions for a mutually beneficial economic relationship for the states involved. States which are in receipt of capacity building are likely to permit access to their natural resources and markets by the donor state. Capacity

⁴⁰ Joseph S. Nye Jr., "The Changing Nature of World Power," *Political Science Quarterly*. <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail?sid=9aff18f3-634e-4ae2-a2e5-b2ff9001c115%40sessionmgr4003&vid=1&hid=4111&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtOGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=tsh&AN=9106170991> (last accessed, 4 May, 2014).

⁴¹ John D. Waghelstein, "Ruminations of a Woolly Mammoth, Or Training and Advising in Counterinsurgency and Elsewhere during the Cold War" in *Military Advising and Assistance*, ed. Donald Stoker (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008). 160.

building has also been frequently used as a means of assisting domestic arms industry or through the provision of training once the equipment has been sold.

U.S. weapons maker General Dynamics Corp has won a contract worth up to \$13 billion for its Canadian division to build light-armoured vehicles for Saudi Arabia, in what Ottawa said was the largest advanced manufacturing export win in Canadian history.⁴²

This is a significant sale of military equipment upon which training will be required.

There are however, multiply threats that must be considered with capacity building and its reciprocal benefits of trade more specifically in the export of arms.

The threat posed to governments during capacity building in which arms sales also occur is that of public and international perception. This perception can impact on how the donor states is perceived in relation to the states reputation and values. The current US interests in Africa have raised these types of criticism. “The view here is that the prevalence of conflict and instability in an underdeveloped region potentially fosters terrorism by affording extremist groups with motivating causes, recruitment opportunities and safe havens.”⁴³ In other words if the US was not interested in the region these as outlined would not exist. However, by investing in capacity building programs the fragile

⁴² National Post, "Canadian Arm of Weapons Maker General Dynamics Wins ‘biggie’ Saudi Contract Worth Up to \$13-Billion," <http://business.financialpost.com/2014/02/14/canadian-arm-of-weapons-maker-general-dynamics-wins-biggie-saudi-contract-worth-up-to-13-billion/> (Last accessed 17 April, 2014).

⁴³ Benedikt, Franke. "Enabling a Continent to Help itself: U.S. Military Capacity Building and Africa's Emerging Security Architecture" Center for Contemporary Conflict, http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/5480~v~Enabling_a_Continent_to_Help_Itself_U_S_Military_Capacity_Building_and_Africa_s_Emerging_Security_Architecture.pdf (Last accessed 14 April, 2014).

states in questions will be able to develop the security apparatus required to be prosperous. This in turn contributes to regional stability and development of an economy, able to support the basic needs of the population moving the fragile states onto a more solid footing.

The Military

The CAF's positive reputation around the globe has the potential to contribute to global security and national interests. Clausewitz wrote that "...the scope which play of courage and talent will enjoy in the realm of probability and chance depends on the particular character of the commander and the army..."⁴⁴ In this case the CAF's courage, talent and character are the points to be considered.

The CAF is uniquely suited, to not only employ hard power but also soft power through the conduct capacity building. This can be accomplished by drawing upon years of peacekeeping, counter insurgency operations, as well as recent maritime and air campaigns. This knowledge can be used to assist fragile states in establishing their security apparatus. The CAF does not carry any of the baggage of being a colonial power or the polarizing issues which surround the United States. The bi-lingual and

⁴⁴ Michael Howard and Peter Paret, eds., *Carl Von Clausewitz: On War*, trans. Vom Kriege (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989). 89.

multicultural nature of the CAF also affords it the ability to understand and work with different cultures.

As western military budgets have become constrained the world has become a more dangerous place. Capacity building is a way in which the CAF can contribute to global security at a fraction of the cost of deploying large organizations to achieve the same objectives. In the *Small Wars Journal*, Stephan A. Mackay makes the point that: “The cost of combating terrorism using host nation forces is trivial compared to combating these threats with US Troops”⁴⁵ The cost effective use of scarce funds is a major feature of capacity building, while limiting Canadian deployments yet assisting fragile states in building security forces.

Capacity building is however an easy target for cost cutting as these types of operations often requires time to develop tangible results; this is especially true in the case of institution building. The Canadian Armed Forces Advisory and Training Team, Tanzania (CAFATTT) mission was such an example “Cabinets decision was taken within the context of a cost cutting exercise and there is no reason to doubt the view that military assistance was primarily a victim of budgetary pressures.”⁴⁶ However, when compared to

⁴⁵ Stephan A. Mackay, "Government in a Box" *Small Wars Journal*, <http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/government-in-a-box>; (Last accessed 19 April, 2014).

⁴⁶ Greg, Donaghy. "The Rise and Fall of Canadian Military Assistance in the Developing World, 1952-1971," *Canadian Military History* Vol. 4, no. No. 1 (1995). 83.

the possibility of addressing the issue at a later time capacity building offers a cost effective alternative to major operations.

The majority of fragile states are faced with some form of insurgency. Counter-insurgencies require large number of forces; concurrently western military forces are becoming smaller and more technologically sophisticated. This was highlighted by *The Economist* noting the growing conclusion of the US and its allies that insurgencies "...are best fought indirectly, through local allies."⁴⁷ In times of fiscal restraint in which armed forces are required to be more effective while seeking efficiency, capacity building offers a way in which fragile states can be assisted. Capacity building is a way in which the CAF can contribute to global security at a fraction of the cost of large scale deployments.

In his book *The Roots of Soft Power*, Canadian author and former Army officer, Sean Maloney notes "Canada cannot opt out of the global security environment. Canada must be able to participate effectively in coalition endeavours, especially when Canadian interests are involved."⁴⁸ Capacity building is a way in which CAF can effectively and quickly contribute to coalition operations while minimising the number of deployed forces. This was the case during Operation Attention upon completion of combat operations in Kandahar Province. The employment of the CAF in this manner permitted

⁴⁷ "Irregular Warfare: After Smart Weapons, Smart Soldiers. "The economist, <http://www.economist.com/node/10015844> (Last accessed 7 May, 2014).

⁴⁸Sean M. Maloney. *The Roots of Soft Power: The Trudeau Government, De-NATOization and Denuclearization* (Kingston, Canada: Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, 2005). 44.

the CAF to achieve the interests of Canada while contributing to both security and alliances. This is seen through the comments U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Philip Crowley, when questioned by media with regard to Prime Minister Harper's announcement that Canada would commit to train Afghan Force's instead of conducting combat operations. "Well, Canada has made a significant contribution to the ISAF mission in Afghanistan. And we have had discussions with Canada about continuing its role, and we are grateful that Canada is willing to consider an ongoing contribution."⁴⁹ Capacity building offers an alternate to combat operations to achieve the national interest of upholding international and alliance commitments.

The argument could be made that the motivation of western states, including Canada, to provide assistance through capacity building is for reasons of self interest in the form of burden sharing. The argument is then that these forces will be used as proxy forces to fight and secure western interests. Operation Attention is an excellent example of capacity building in action. Major-General Day, former Deputy Commander of the NATO Training mission in Afghanistan, stated in his closing remarks during his 2012, appearance in front of The Standing Senate Committee on Defence and Security, in relation to his experience in Afghanistan, "If they do not own the solution, it is not a solution."⁵⁰ This is an important step in bringing stability to failed states and

⁴⁹ United States, Department of State, Daily Press Briefing November 12, 2010. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2010/11/150851.htm#> (Last accessed 17 April, 2014).

⁵⁰Parliament of Canada. Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence, Issue 8 - Evidence - Meeting of June 11, 2012.

reconstruction. Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations has also echoed this idea “The people of the country or region concerned must feel that it is their process, if it is to have any hope of success.”⁵¹ The CAF with its peacekeeping past and recent counter insurgency experiences is uniquely suited to assist through the transfer of CAF institutional knowledge and technical knowledge to fragile states. This will allow the establishment of not just a trained security force by the institutions that are required in order to be the owner of the process. Without security the issues of governance and economic development cannot occur, all of which contribute to long lasting peace and security.

There exists the threat to these types of activities that national interests and goals need to be clearly defined in order for capacity building to be effective. Former Army Commander Mike Jeffery, has argued that without strategic vision the end results of training will be limited.

The Canadian Forces has excelled at providing foreign military training. However, the effectiveness of such assistance is limited by the nation’s lack of a strategic focus and the consequent short term provision of training.⁵²

This is a very real threat however numerous capacity building operations have provided a clear idea of the objectives which need to be achieved. The Canadian contribution to the

<http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/sen/committee/411%5CSECD/08EV-49626-e.HTM> (Last accesses 29 April, 2014).

⁵¹ United Nations, "Secretary-General Outlines Key Lessons for Building Peace," <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2004/sgsm9549.doc.htm> (Last accessed 29 April, 2014).

⁵² Mike, Jeffery. "The Future of Foreign Military Training." Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute, <http://www.cdfai.org/PDF/The%20Future%20of%20Foreign%20Military%20Training.pdf>. (Last Accessed 24 March, 2014). 2.

British led International Military Advisory and Training Team to Sierra Leone is one such example.

IMATT Mission. IMATT(SL) is to provide advice and assistance to the Sierra Leone Ministry of Defence and Armed Forces (RSLAF) and to support the continued development of a democratically accountable and self-sustaining defence capability within a comprehensive security architecture in order to help a professional RSLAF to meet Sierra Leone's defence missions and tasks, which will contribute to internal and regional stability, thereby encouraging national economic and social development.⁵³

With clearly defined goals the British led operation built an effective armed forces over a ten year period, which has contributed to regional and international security.

Fragile states are not limited to seeking the assistance of another state and their associated professional military. Private military training has seen a marked increase in the last decade, as western militaries became heavily engaged in operations. As fragile states explore ways to improve their capabilities these companies offer a viable alternative. There are a number of broad implications to this. "Specifically, it obscures the fact that PSCs [Private Security Companies] are both the agent and effect of de-linking of military training from the state's armed forces..." As these organizations are profit driven, have no accountability to a government, other than the one employing them and loss of opportunity for influence fragile states is a concern. The US military's *Joint Publication 1*, best describes why military forces of a state are preferred over PSC to

⁵³ Canada, Department of National Defence, *Operation SCULPTURE Task Force Freetown Operation End-Tour Report (ETR) October 2011-June 2012* (Canada: Department of National Defence, 7 June 2012). 1.

conduct capacity building. “Regardless of when or where employed, the Armed Forces of the United States abide by US values, constitutional principles, and standards for the profession of arms.”⁵⁴ The CAF must remain capable of delivering capacity building to fragile states on behalf of Canada in order to shape global security, projecting Canadian values and interests, if it is unable to do so other organizations often driven by profit or with interests which do not aligned with Canadian values and interests will fill this void.

Conclusion

Clausewitz proclaimed that without the creation and maintenance of the relationship between the trinity of the people, government, and military that anything created would be ineffective. “Our task therefore is to develop a theory that maintains a balance between these three tendencies, like an object suspended between magnets.”⁵⁵ Capacity building can provide an effective way of balancing the three sides of the trinity, fulfilling the needs of the people, government and military. By using the instrument of military power in this nature, Canada can project national power in a soft power manner. The objective of capacity building is to improve conditions in fragile states by building security, enabling the rule of law and democracy. These goals appeal to Canadian values and consequently the public. Capacity building can be employed as an instrument of national power, to achieve influence in areas of strategic interest, while contributing to promoting and obtaining Canada’s national interest. Capacity building offers a viable

⁵⁴ Joint Doctrine United States, *Joint Publication 1: Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States* (Joint Electronic Library, 2013). I-13.

⁵⁵ Michael Howard and Peter Paret, eds., *Carl Von Clausewitz: On War*, trans. Vom Kriege (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989). 89.

opportunity to foster global stability, while ultimately contributing to both Canadian and global economic prosperity. As stated in the introduction the CAF is a military with a tradition of civilian control, culture of understanding and a positive global reputation. The CAF as an instrument of national power can also gain from the experience of capacity building while aiding fragile states. These types of operations can provide significant advantages to Canada with minimal expenditure of resources; these advantages include regional and global stability, enhanced influence and credibility, economic benefits. Strengthened relations with fragile states, through capacity building will assist in the development of rule of law and human rights both regionally and globally. Through capacity building the CAF can be an instrument capable of export Canadian values in support of national interests, while contributing to global security.

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