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**THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE**  
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**MAKING USE OF  
NEUTRAL FORCES:  
MEDIATION OF  
PERFORMANCE  
APPRAISAL DISPUTES  
WITHIN THE  
CANADIAN FORCES**



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STRATEGIC TRENDS:  
A BRIEF EXAMINATION  
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## DEFEAT STILL CRIES ALOUD FOR EXPLANATION: EXPLAINING C FORCE'S DISPATCH TO HONG KONG



## A CASE FOR THE F-35 LIGHTNING



## HOW MUCH ARE PRIMARY RESERVISTS WORTH?

# CANADIAN MILITARY JOURNAL

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## NOTE TO READERS

As a bilingual journal, readers should take note that where citations in endnotes are translated from their original language, we will use the abbreviation 'TOQ' at the end of the note to indicate that readers can find the original citations in the other language version of the Journal.

**H**ere in Kingston, Ontario, yet another autumn is upon us. Those chilly 'westerlies' are starting to blow after a particularly warm and tempestuous summer in the Great White North. However, we sincerely hope that, in spite of dealing with bouts of heat prostration, we have managed to cobble together an issue that will both interest and inform our readership.

At this time, it gives me great pleasure to introduce Claire Chartrand as the Journal's new Publication Manager. Claire comes to us directly from the Commander's suite at the Canadian Defence Academy Headquarters, where she ably served as Executive Assistant to the Commander for four full years. Highly skilled and full of boundless enthusiasm, Claire has taken to the new position like the proverbial 'duck to water,' and she has already established herself as a valuable member of our miniscule CMJ team. A warm welcome, Claire!

On to the current issue...The timely and appropriate evaluation and appraisal of a Member's performance and potential is an extremely important aspect of military life. In our lead article, Navy lawyer Mike Madden examines the current alternative dispute resolution (ADR) process for resolving Performance Evaluation Report (PER) grievances within the Canadian Forces, assesses its effectiveness, and offers suggestions as to how the system could be improved.

Mike is followed by a young, scholarly voice from the CF intelligence community. Lieutenant Nick Deshpande considers seven global dynamics, including declining American power, cyber warfare, environmental degradation, and rising energy consumption, all significant challenges in their own right, which, he believes, "... will have a significant impact upon Canada and its military's role in the world." Next, another young intelligence officer, Captain Levon Bond, takes a fresh look at Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities in Canada's Arctic. In particular, Bond examines the *Polar Epsilon* program and the JUSTAS project, and makes a case for employing layered and integrated ISR through the expansion and merging of these two initiatives.

In an article that bridges historical and present-day issues, Major Jim McKillip, an historian at the Directorate of History and Heritage in Ottawa, examines the UN intervention in the Congo from 1960 to 1964, and the ongoing violence in the region. In McKillip's words: "The long and unfortunate record

of international involvement in the Congo remains a troubling legacy for Western decision-makers to this day."

Our historical section contains two articles pertaining to Canadian military history. In the first, Ottawa scholar Galen Perras examines the historiography associated with the tragic fall of Hong Kong to Japanese forces in December 1941. Herein, Perras maintains, "... [that] we still need a monograph that avoids nationalist 'finger-pointing and grudge settling,' is interpretatively innovating, and mines multinational archival sources." In the second article, Canadian Forces College scholars Jérôme Lacroix-Leclair and Eric Ouellet examine the nature of irregular warfare, the so-called *Petite Guerre*, as it was practiced in New France from 1660 to 1759. In particular, and as a current linkage, they examine the ongoing reality "... [that] irregular conflicts are implicitly perceived by regular armed forces as illegitimate, and that it is therefore difficult for regular forces to adapt to them."

In our Views and Opinions section, award-winning communications practitioner and former serving officer Tim Dunne makes a very strong advocacy case for the acquisition of the Lockheed Martin F-35 *Lightning II* as Canada's next fighter aircraft, while Chief Warrant Officer Rob Unger of the Black Watch (The Royal Highland Regiment of Canada) advances a compelling argument as to why Primary Reservists should be financially compensated on a par with their Regular Force compatriots for equivalent service rendered. Our own Martin Shadwick then takes a retrospective look at how defence policy issues factored into the recent 2011 federal election. Finally, we close with the usual potpourri of book reviews for our readership's consideration.

On a personal note, I am delighted that the two recent articles dealing with the ethics and the legality of battlefield mercy killings, by Dr. Peter Bradley and Lieutenant-Colonel Michel Reid respectively, have generated so much interest. In fact, very senior and respected Allied military educational institutions have specifically asked for the Journal's permission to use these two articles as case studies for their future Flag officers under training. More to follow on this timely and important subject in the next issue...

Until the next time.

David L. Bashow  
Editor-in-Chief  
Canadian Military Journal



## VALOUR

DND photo GG0318-049 by Master Corporal Dany Veillette



Group shot of the recipients at the 10 June presentation ceremony held at Rideau Hall.

Canada's three military valour decorations, namely, the Victoria Cross, the Star of Military Valour, and the Medal of Military Valour, were created by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of Canada, on 1 January 1993. All the decorations may be awarded posthumously.

The **Victoria Cross** is awarded for the most conspicuous bravery, a daring or pre-eminent act of valour or self-sacrifice, or extreme devotion to duty in the presence of the enemy.

The **Star of Military Valour** is awarded for distinguished or valiant service in the presence of the enemy.

The **Medal of Military Valour** is awarded for an act of valour or devotion to duty in the presence of the enemy.

Additionally, the **Mention in Dispatches** was created to recognize members of the Canadian Forces on active service and other individuals working with or in conjunction with the Canadian Forces for valiant conduct, devotion to duty, or other distinguished service. Recipients are entitled to wear a bronze oak leaf on the appropriate campaign or service medal ribbon. Like the military valour decorations, the Mention in Dispatches may be awarded posthumously.

On 10 June 2011, His Excellency the Right Honourable David Johnston, Governor General and Commander-in-Chief



Victoria Cross



Star of Military Valour



Medal of Military Valour

# VALOUR

of Canada, awarded two **Stars of Military Valour** and six **Medals of Military Valour**, as well as 38 **Meritorious Service Decorations**, to members of the Canadian Forces and allied forces.

These members received their decorations during a ceremony held at Rideau Hall in the presence of the Chief of the Defence Staff. They were recognized for devotion and acts of valour in the presence of the enemy, and for military deeds performed in a highly professional manner. During the ceremony, Governor General Johnston said, in part:

*It is with great pride and respect that I welcome you to Rideau Hall today.*

*This ceremony is an opportunity to recognize your outstanding dedication to the principles that make this country great. Your commitment to serving others and to the basic rights and freedoms we enjoy in Canada is truly an example to us all. Allow me to quote my predecessor, General Georges Vanier, who once said:*

*"The overpowering strength of a free people is the readiness voluntarily to defend not merely themselves, not only their allies, but the very democratic principles they cherish."*

*When you enlisted in the Canadian Forces, each of you demonstrated that readiness. And today, each of you is here because you have lived up to your*

*ideals and served these principles in an extraordinary manner...*

*Canadians have a lengthy tradition of service and of sacrifice for our ideals. Ninety-seven years ago, at the outset of the First World War, Prime Minister Robert Borden spoke of the "... fortitude, the determination and the resourcefulness" that would carry our nation through that terrible conflict.*

*The same can be said of your qualities as members of the present-day Canadian Forces. As a result, you have helped us to navigate new challenges in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century...*

*Today, as you receive your decorations for military valour and meritorious service, your responsibility is made even greater. You must never underestimate the power of your example as role models, because you embody the depth of our commitment to the common good.*

*These decorations are a testament to your courage, ingenuity and quiet determination, which have led you to fulfill your duty in remarkable ways. And so it is with great pleasure that I thank you for your efforts on behalf of all Canadians.*

*Your example of service and devotion is an inspiration to us all.*

*Thank you.*

## MILITARY VALOUR DECORATIONS

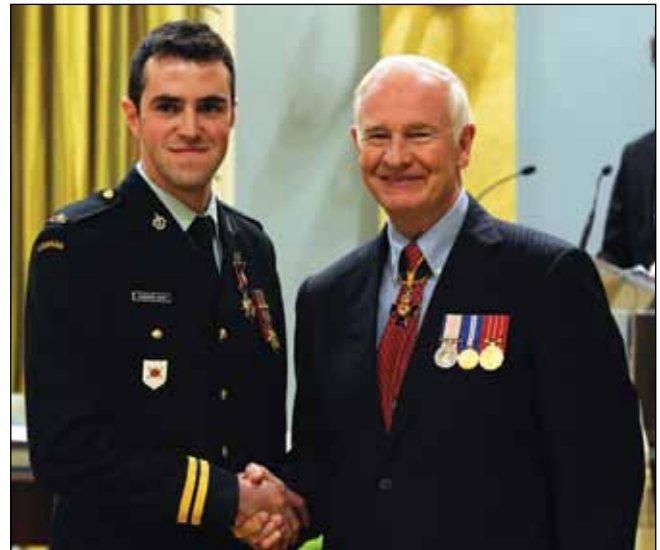
### Star of Military Valour

Lieutenant Gabriel Chassé-Jean, SMV – Alma, Que  
Master Warrant Officer Richard Stacey,  
SMV, CD – Edmonton, Alta

### Medal of Military Valour

Sergeant T. David Bérubé, MMV, CD –  
Québec, Que  
Master Corporal Simon R. Frigon, MMV –  
Québec, Que  
Master Corporal Jeremy Joseph James Leblanc,  
MMV – Coalhurst, Alta  
Sergeant Joseph Martin Stéphane Mercier,  
MMV, CD – La Sarre, Que  
Leading Seaman Pier-Vincent Michaud, MMV –  
Trois-Rivières, Que  
Sergeant Joseph Denis François Ranger,  
MMV, CD – Vaudreuil, Que

## CITATIONS



Lieutenant [now Captain] Chassé-Jean receives his Star of Military Valour from His Excellency the Right Honourable David Johnston.

Lieutenant Gabriel Chassé-Jean, SMV  
Star of Military Valour

From June 8 to 29, 2009, Lieutenant Chassé-Jean demonstrated valiant service under fire while leading his platoon to defeat the enemy in Afghanistan. Over an extended period, and amidst the chaos and confusion of combat, his fearless conduct in the engagement of a determined enemy, as well as his ability to keep his soldiers composed, were critical to multiple victories in a difficult theatre of operation. Whether leading a frontal assault, controlling the situation while trapped in dangerous positions, or directing supporting gunfire, he showed courage and inspirational leadership, which were the key to the success of multiple engagements.

DND photo GG0318-001 by Master Corporal Dany Veillette



The Governor General presents the Star of Military Valour to Master Warrant Officer Richard Stacey.

**Master Warrant Officer Richard Stacey, SMV, CD**  
Star of Military Valour

On August 4, 2009, Master Warrant Officer Stacey's valour in the face of the enemy enabled his multinational combat team to fight through multiple ambushes by insurgents in Afghanistan. He led the complex recovery of multiple vehicles which had been disabled by improvised explosive devices, while under enemy fire from all sides. He sorted through the chaos and issued clear direction to Canadian, American and Afghan forces. Throughout eight hours of intense combat, his gallantry, perseverance and selfless dedication to his soldiers were critical to defeating a ferocious and determined enemy.

**Sergeant T. David Bérubé, MMV, CD**  
Medal of Military Valour

From May 29 to June 29, 2009, Sergeant Bérubé repeatedly placed himself in exposed positions to coordinate fire support for his combat team during operations in Afghanistan. Often isolated and finding himself in dangerous positions, he fearlessly moved forward to gain a clear view of the battlefield and guide artillery and aviation assets onto their targets. His ability to simultaneously and accurately coordinate multiple gun batteries and attack helicopters, while under intense enemy fire, was a decisive factor in the engagements. His courage and outstanding soldiering ability were crucial to the defeat of the enemy.

**Master Corporal Simon R. Frigon, MMV**  
Medal of Military Valour

As a section commander in Afghanistan, Master Corporal Frigon distinguished himself during two separate enemy engagements on May 7 and 20, 2009. In both instances his section was trapped and isolated during an ambush. Yet his unwavering composure and willingness to expose himself to enemy fire inspired his soldiers and instilled them with confidence. With little regard for his personal safety, he was able to precisely define the enemy location, defeat the initial attack and lead his section's fighting withdrawal. Master Corporal

Frigon's courageous front line leadership and tactical acumen were critical to repelling the enemy without taking casualties.

**Master Corporal Jeremy Joseph James Leblanc, MMV**  
Medal of Military Valour

On October 14, 2006, Master Corporal Leblanc's section was occupying a position in Afghanistan when insurgents unleashed a devastating attack that resulted in several casualties, including the death of his section commander. Seamlessly assuming command, he rallied his section to return fire while personally tending to the wounded. Despite being injured himself and under constant fire, he continued to lead and inspire his section to keep fighting and hold its ground against a determined enemy. His selfless actions no doubt saved the lives of some of his fellow soldiers.

**Sergeant Joseph Martin Stéphane Mercier, MMV, CD**  
Medal of Military Valour

From April 28 to August 15, 2009, Sergeant Mercier displayed courage in the aftermath of several ambushes and improvised explosive device attacks in Afghanistan. Willing to expose himself to heavy fire, he often moved fearlessly throughout the battlefield to identify enemy locations, provide clear direction to his soldiers and position himself to effectively engage the enemy. Throughout these intense battles, his front line leadership, tactical acumen and unwavering courage inspired confidence in his soldiers, kept them safe and enabled them to repeatedly defeat a determined enemy.

**Leading Seaman Pier-Vincent Michaud, MMV**  
Medal of Military Valour

On May 29, 2009, Leading Seaman Michaud was a member of a joint Canadian-Afghan patrol that was ambushed by the enemy, leaving one Afghan soldier dead and severely wounding two others. Immediately engaged in an intense, close-quarter firefight, Leading Seaman Michaud directed the Afghan soldiers to seek cover and then moved 50 metres to the casualties' location, which provided a short 60-centimetre wall for cover. As bullets impacted all around his position, he calmly administered first aid to the casualties and personally brought them to the extraction zone, despite the unrelenting enemy attack. His courage and selfless actions undoubtedly saved the lives of the Afghan soldiers.

**Sergeant Joseph Denis François Ranger, MMV, CD**  
Medal of Military Valour

On June 14, 2009, Sergeant Ranger was mentoring an Afghan reconnaissance company during an air-mobile operation when they were attacked by insurgents. With the company taking heavy mortar fire and suffering numerous casualties, Sergeant Ranger rallied his soldiers, established a position and returned heavy fire. As mortar bombs continued to fall, and with little regard for his personal safety, he single-handedly secured a casualty evacuation point. His leadership, fearless engagement of the enemy and ability to stay composed were critical to the defeat of the insurgents and the successful evacuation of casualties.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

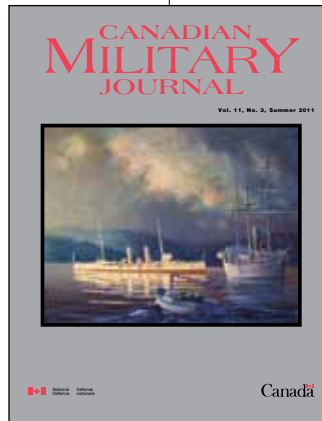
Padre (Major ret'd) Art Gans, CD, MTh  
13363 Carr's Landing Road  
Winfield, BC, V4V 1A2

I could not pass up the opportunity to comment on Michel Reid's article in the Summer issue of CMJ. I could not agree with him more when he says that an "ethical disobedience clause" is a needed addition to both the Queen's Regulations and Orders (QR & Os), and to the Laws of Armed Conflict.

One of the reasons that the Canadian military is held in high respect in this world is that we have not only trained our personnel in military skills, but we have also trained them in a standard of military professional ethics and ethical decision making. And we expect our members to exercise these skills as well as their military skills, not only when it is easy to do, but when it is difficult.

I do not know what I would have done in the position of Captain Semrau in Afghanistan. But I agree with Lieutenant-Colonel Reid that neither a simplistic appeal to military law, nor an almost equally simplistic appeal to some ethical system would result in an easy direction. As someone who made at least one very costly ethical decision while a serving officer in the United States Army Reserve, I think it is fair to say that when questions arise that touch our ethical core, they are never easy or simple.

The proposal to have an "ethical disobedience clause" would, I believe, provide a strengthening of both our military law and our military professional ethics. I would not foresee it being used with great regularity, but the simple fact of its existence would mean that both our legal system and our professional ethics systems would recognize the importance of the concept of "conscience."



Some of the dialogue concerning neurobiology and neuropsychology which have recently come to my attention suggest that we may indeed be "hard wired" for some form of empathy, and that the lack of that, which does occur in some people, is an almost certain diagnosis of a severe psychosis. I would suggest that actions which might fall under such an "ethical disobedience clause" would be those in which the individual's conscience or hard-wired empathy came into conflict with either the military law, or his or her military professional ethics. Such a conflict would not be common, but such a defence would, in my opinion, be a proper response when such a situation did arise. And for those of an historical bent, it would fulfil the opinion of the Nurnberg Tribunals that said conscience *could* and *should* require one to disobey an order.

Sincerely,  
Padre Art Gans



DND Photo JS2011-1027-04(1)



DND Photo

# MAKING USE OF NEUTRAL FORCES: MEDIATION OF PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL DISPUTES WITHIN THE CANADIAN FORCES

by Mike Madden

## Introduction

**T**he Canadian Forces (CF) is a unique employer, providing Canada with essentially legitimized violence in furtherance of national and international security interests. Notwithstanding the distinct nature of the work performed by the CF, the organization shares many of the same labour goals as those espoused by other employers: training, motivating, and retaining personnel; managing personnel conflicts; and resolving workplace problems in a prompt and cost-efficient manner.

Inevitably, personnel grievances arise within the CF. These grievances, if not resolved fairly and expediently, can detract from overall morale within the organization. In extreme scenarios, unresolved grievances can also lead to protracted litigation.<sup>1</sup> In other words, the existence of an effective grievance resolution system within the CF could help to maintain personnel satisfaction and productivity, while the absence

of such a system could lead to unnecessary work force attrition and litigation costs.

One of the most common subjects of grievances within the CF is member performance appraisals,<sup>2</sup> or, as they are called internally, Performance Evaluation Reports (PERs).<sup>3</sup> Under the National Defence Act (NDA), a member who is unhappy with his/her PER, or with almost any other "... decision, act or omission in the administration of the affairs of the Canadian Forces for which no other process for redress is provided under this Act is entitled to submit a grievance."<sup>4</sup> Since PER griev-

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Lieutenant (N) Madden, CD, BA, MA, LLB, JSD (candidate), has served operationally as both an artillery and naval officer, and is now employed as a Deputy Judge Advocate in Halifax. His doctoral work (Doctor in the Science of Law) at Dalhousie University's Schulich School of Law is focused upon criminal and international criminal law. He also teaches International Humanitarian Law and Law of Armed Conflict at the Schulich School.



ances arise so frequently, it is particularly important that a mechanism exist to deal with them in an appropriate manner.

The purpose of this article is to examine the current alternative dispute resolution (ADR) scheme<sup>5</sup> for resolving PER grievances within the CF in order to assess the system's effectiveness, and in order to explore how the system could be improved. Ultimately, I will argue that existing ADR measures are not optimally serving the needs of the CF, and that a system of voluntary mediation of PER disputes, using neutral mediators, should be implemented in order to dispose of such disputes more quickly, inexpensively, and with better post-dispute sentiments between the parties.

## Performance Appraisals and Grievance Resolution within the CF

### A. Performance Appraisals

The Canadian Forces Performance Appraisal System (CFPAS) is a comprehensive program designed to measure and encourage improvement in personnel performance. "The aim of CFPAS is to develop CF members through constructive feedback and to accurately assess the level of demonstrated performance and potential for career administration purposes."<sup>6</sup> Under this program, CF members are administered one or more Performance Development Reviews (PDRs) over the course of the annual reporting period, wherein the member's strengths and weaknesses are listed and discussed between supervisor/subordinate.<sup>7</sup> At the end of the reporting period, the member is given a PER that scores and ranks the member according to various performance and potential criteria.<sup>8</sup> This document is subsequently used for promotion, posting, training, reengagement, and other merit-based purposes within the CF;<sup>9</sup> in other words, the document has very real career consequences for individual CF members.

PERs and PDRs are typically prepared (and signed) by a member's immediate supervisor,<sup>10</sup> and are reviewed (and signed) by the member's Commanding Officer (CO), or his/her delegate.<sup>11</sup> The interviews during which these documents are discussed with a member<sup>12</sup> can be very sensitive situations. On the one hand, an immediate supervisor must ensure that a truthful and justified picture of the member's performance, strengths, and weaknesses are presented to the member, but, on the other hand, the immediate supervisor must also strive to preserve a good working relationship with the subordinate into the future. Consequently, when a member is unhappy with his PER, the supervisor may also be unhappy, since working relations between the two individuals will often become strained as a result of an unfavourable assessment.



The Supreme Court of Canada building, Ottawa.

Supreme Court of Canada photo by Philippe Landreville

### B. Grievances

In order to appreciate how the CF's current ADR regime for resolving PER grievances might be deficient, and how it might be improved by neutral mediation, it is first necessary to understand how the grievance resolution system now operates.

The CF grievance resolution process is triggered upon submission of a formal grievance, which is to say, a grievance that is in writing, signed by the grievor, and submitted to the grievor's commanding officer.<sup>13</sup> As a minimum, the grievance must contain a description of the event that is the subject of the grievance, a description of the redress sought by the grievor, copies of all substantiating documents in the possession of the grievor, and contact information for any person who can substantiate the content of the grievance.<sup>14</sup> The grievance is then assessed by an initial authority (the person next in the member's chain of command who has authority to grant the redress sought by the grievor), who must render a decision within 60 days from receipt of the grievance<sup>15</sup> (although the average time that grievances *actually* spend at the initial authority level is approximately 18 months).<sup>16</sup>

A member who is not satisfied with a decision of the initial authority may submit his/her grievance to the final authority for determination.<sup>17</sup> The final authority is the Chief of the Defence Staff (CDS),<sup>18</sup> although final authority has been delegated under some circumstances to the Director General Canadian Forces Grievance Authority.<sup>19</sup> The final authority has no time limit imposed by statute or regulation, but the average time for determining grievances at the final authority level is also 18 months,<sup>20</sup> which means that it would take an average of three years for a grievance to proceed through initial and final assessment. Such a delay is obviously not ideal in the case of PER grievances, since the career implications that could flow from a performance appraisal (including promotion, and so on) would normally be effected in the year following the administration of the PER. Thus, if

**"The interviews during which these documents are discussed with a member can be very sensitive situations."**

a PER is in dispute within the grievance system for three years, the affected member will miss out on several promotion and training cycles pending the outcome of the grievance.

Perhaps in recognition of this adverse consequence of delays within the CF grievance resolution system, and in light of the fact that "... personnel evaluation report (PER) grievances account for the largest proportion of grievances in the CF," the Chief of Military Personnel recently promulgated a message dictating, "...[that] any conflict resulting from an evaluation should be resolved at the lowest possible level using any alternative dispute resolution (ADR) methods available to the chain of command so that the matter is resolved informally and locally," with submission of a formal grievance being a measure of last resort.<sup>21</sup> However, no specific instructions as to the modes of ADR, or the resources to be used in implementing ADR measures were contained within this, or any other instruction. Consequently, there may have been significant variances in the informal approaches taken to resolve PER disputes within different units of the CF.

The author's experience as PER Monitoring Board Chairman onboard HMCS *Iroquois* in 2006 and 2007 provides an example of one approach to informal resolution of PER disputes that has been used within the CF. Out of the approximately 200 people who received PERs onboard *Iroquois* in 2007, approximately ten dissatisfied people indicated their intentions to submit grievances, but were also amenable to the idea of informal resolution prior to submitting formal grievances. The CO of *Iroquois* therefore decided that these people could provide written submissions to an intermediate member of their chain of command (i.e., someone higher in rank than the immediate supervisor who wrote the PER, but someone lower in rank than the person who was the reviewing authority for the PER), indicating why the grievor felt the PER should be adjusted. The intermediate member of the chain of command then adjudicated the dispute between the supervisor and the aggrieved subordinate, and determined whether the PER should be adjusted. This process was completed within approximately one month from the member's receipt of the PER, and usually within several days of the member indicating his desire to have the PER adjusted. In other words, this process provided an outcome much more quickly than the formal grievance process described earlier. It should be noted, however, that this process was much more akin to arbitration than to mediation: the intermediate member of the chain of command who adjudicated the dispute had full authority to determine whether the PER should be adjusted, and he/she was more concerned with seeing the member receive a fair PER score than with reconciling the perspectives of the supervisor and the subordinate.



HMCS *Iroquois* leading NATO's SNMG fleet during the autumn of 2006.

DND Photo

### Strengths and Weaknesses of the Current PER Grievance Resolution System

The existing ADR scheme for resolving grievances within the CF is very comprehensive. As described above, there are two levels of review of any grievance, and the lower initial authority must not have been involved in the decision that is being grieved.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, at the final authority level, many of the most important and complex grievance matters (such as those involving financial entitlements, entitlement to medical care, and racist conduct), must, by regulation, be referred by the CDS to the Canadian Forces Grievance Board.<sup>23</sup> The Board will then make (non-binding) findings and recommendations to the CDS before the CDS determines the grievance.<sup>24</sup> The Board is currently composed of six retired members of the CF (who are therefore independent of the military chain of command), many of whom are trained as lawyers.<sup>25</sup> In summary, the system provides for reasonably independent, informed decision-makers and for a form of appellate review of first-level decisions by a final authority. These characteristics of the grievance process are perhaps the system's greatest strength. With specific respect to PER grievances, the system is even stronger, since there is provision *for*, and (albeit vague, imprecise) encouragement *toward* informal resolution of disputes prior to the submission of formal grievances. In some cases, as the *Iroquois* example demonstrates, this type of ADR can lead to extremely fast resolution of PER disputes.

However, there are also many drawbacks to the current grievance system. To begin, the average delay of 18 months at each of the initial and final authority levels of adjudication is utterly unacceptable in light of both the regulated timeline (60 days) for initial authorities, and the time that it would reasonably take for a decision to be judicially reviewed by the Federal Court. In other words, if the CF grievance system seeks to resolve disputes quickly and inexpensively in order to prevent them from being heard in an alternate forum, such as the Federal Court, then grievors must be offered some incentive in terms of time savings to encourage them to forgo

seeking legal remedies outside the grievance system. At present, it is not clear that any such time savings exist between CF grievances and conventional judicial review.

A second disadvantage of the current grievance system is that it is entirely adjudicative and rights-based. Initial and final authorities engage in fact-finding, and render decisions based upon law and policy without regard to the non-legal interests of the respective grievors. While this approach to resolving disputes might be appropriate for determining whether a member is entitled to a financial benefit under a given Treasury Board regulation, it is not necessarily the best way to determine the outcome of a subjective inter-personal dispute with respect to how a member's performance and potential was assessed by his supervisor in a PER. The grievance system, then, merely serves as a kind of alternate court: it keeps many grievances from ending up in Federal Court, but it mimics that Court's process and adjudicative approach in ways that do not necessarily lead to optimal labour force outcomes.

**"At present, it is not clear that any such time savings exist between CF grievances and conventional judicial review."**

On a 'macro' level, the weaknesses of the CF grievance system that I have enumerated here could serve to undermine member confidence in the system, and will often do nothing to improve the satisfaction of an individual who has submitted his/her grievance for determination. Simply put, a member is unlikely to accept a decision that was the subject of that member's grievance merely because another two officers within the CF chain of command, as initial and final authorities, have affirmed that decision, without something more having been done to close the gap between the manner in which the employee and the employer, respectively, perceive the situation that caused the grievance.

### **Neutral Mediation of PER Disputes: A Proposal for Improvement**

After having considered the effectiveness of the existing ADR scheme for resolving PER disputes within the CF, it is now possible to consider how the system could be improved. As I will explain, the introduction of a voluntary mediation program, led by neutral mediators, at the initial informal resolution stage of PER disputes, could significantly improve the legitimacy of the grievance resolution system, and could provide additional benefits in the form of employee satisfaction and motivation gains that are not achievable within the current adjudicatory framework.

#### **A. Theoretical Advantages of Grievance Mediation**

Employees are typically viewed as vulnerable parties in labour environments, and this might be particularly the case within armed forces, where emphasis upon rank hierarchies could prevent subordinates from voicing otherwise valid grievances. As Evans and Sloan have noted, "... an employee's dispute, if left unresolved, tends to escalate and intensify, ultimately resulting in a failed

working relationship. At the same time, the employee harbors fears – sometimes justified – that a complaint will lead to reprisals or retaliation."<sup>26</sup> However, employees are not entirely without bargaining power in grievance situations, since it is also in the employer's best interests to preserve good working relationships. Unfortunately, the CF grievance system, apparently like most institutional grievance systems, is not designed to foster good working relationships and improved communication between employees and employers within the workplace: "Maintaining and enhancing 'working relationships' would seem to be the self-evident goal of effective grievance procedures. Yet it is that end product, 'winning' or 'losing,' rather than the process and relationship dynamics, which for many years has determined model curriculum of grievance training."<sup>27</sup>



DND Photo

A good supervisor always takes notes related to the performance of his subordinates.

Finally, the independence of the decision-makers within the grievance system is somewhat questionable. While efforts are made to ensure that the authority who determines a grievance is not personally involved in the subject of the grievance, as described above, it is nonetheless always the case that the authority who determines the grievance is the employer's representative. To be more precise, it will always be an officer superior to the grievor, and one within the CF chain of command, who actually decides the outcome of the grievance. Even in cases where PER disputes were resolved informally within a unit, as the *Iroquois* example demonstrates, the decision-maker remained within the grievor's immediate chain of command, and he/she may therefore have had an interest in upholding the supervisor's original performance assessment of the aggrieved subordinate.





Mediation, in contrast with other adjudicative modes of dispute resolution, such as litigation and arbitration, has the potential to improve or maintain the working relationships of parties to a dispute. The benefits of mediation in an employment context include:

... speed of resolution, cost containment, **the potential for preservation or enhancement of relationships**, flexibility and creativity in settlements, confidentiality, and participant satisfaction with the process. [...] Although reduced costs and increased efficiency are certainly high on any *litigant's* list of advantages mediation offers, the nature of workplace relationships requires that other benefits also be considered.<sup>28</sup>

Furthermore, while “litigation is like a rear-view mirror – it looks backward,”<sup>29</sup> the opposite can be said of mediation: “By contrast, mediation focuses on making matters right for the future.”<sup>30</sup> This forward-looking element of mediation is perhaps what renders it particularly suitable as a dispute resolution mechanism in inter-personal workplace grievance scenarios.

It should also be recalled, within this discussion about preserving working relations, which an employee grievance can be upsetting to more people than just the grievor. As Berger has insightfully noted:

Occasionally, too, somebody on the defense side will feel the sting of disrespect and require efforts to defuse this emotion. The employee's expressions of pain should not obscure the fact that other mediation participants may need succor; after all, businesses and agencies are made up of flesh-and-blood human beings whom the employee may have offended. [...] Above all, no one should underestimate the power of an accusation of prejudice to wound its target.<sup>31</sup>

**“Mediators are not empowered to, and do not, decide the dispute.”**

As this analysis demonstrates, there can often be many parties affected by a workplace grievance.

On a personal note, I would further observe that the “outrage” and the “sting of disrespect” described by Berger can be felt in many employee grievance situations, even when no accusations of prejudice are present. In particular, I recall a PER dispute onboard *Iroquois* in which I was involved as the immediate supervisor of a member who was unhappy with his PER. My subordinate sought informal resolution, and made submissions to an intermediate member of his chain of command. I was insulted and angry that my assessment was being challenged through this process: I kept incredibly-detailed notes on my subordinates that captured both positive and negative aspects of their performance, and I conducted two formal feedback sessions with each of them during the course of the year in an effort to help them reach their full potentials. In other words, I felt my assessment was both fair and justified. In short, my lack of voice and participation in the informal process was frustrating, even though I had no personal stake – nothing to be lost or gained, other than my view of the integrity and legitimacy of the PER system – in the outcome of the dispute. As this example illustrates, the forward-looking benefits of grievance mediation can extend to almost limitless members of the work force, and they do not accrue strictly to the grievor.

It is important at this juncture to specify what exactly is meant by the term ‘mediation,’ especially in the context of grievance resolution schemes. In broad terms, mediation could be defined as “... a loosely structured process in which a third-party neutral assists in negotiating a settlement. Mediators are not empowered to, and do not, decide the dispute. Rather, mediators help the parties to create and apply their own norms and structures.”<sup>32</sup> Simon and Sochynsky have further suggested that, with respect to in-house employment mediation schemes,



HMCS *Iroquois* fires her main gun during a NATO exercise, autumn 2006.

the mediator must be "... either so high-ranking or so protected from general workplace politics that he or she is seen to be 'above the fray.'"<sup>33</sup> In other words, the intermediate member of a grievor's chain of command who was used to *adjudicate* informal PER disputes onboard *Iroquois* would not be a suitable candidate for a similar *mediation* program, since he/she would not be sufficiently neutral and/or insulated from command influence as to be able to effectively mediate a PER dispute.

### B. Theoretical Disadvantages of Grievance Mediation

Many of the commonly cited disadvantages of mediation are not particularly applicable in the specific context of PER grievance mediation. For instance, it has been argued that "mediation may not produce a principled outcome [and] has little or no precedential force."<sup>34</sup> However, since performance appraisals are written on a case-by-case basis, and since they are based so heavily upon unique facts, there is little call for a PER grievance resolution system that would have widespread precedential value. Similarly, mediation is often criticized for its costs,<sup>35</sup> since at least one person who is not a party to a dispute must assist in resolving the dispute. However, if the alternative to grievance mediation equally involves at least one additional person, as it *likely* does in most cases, and as it *certainly* does within the CF system, then cost ceases to be a relevant system design factor.

One of the real disadvantages of mediating PER grievances "... is that case-by-case, private resolution does not expose systemic problems."<sup>36</sup> For instance, the CDS Grievance Report identifies several systemic issues that have arisen within the CF, including a trend wherein supervisors do not follow CFPAS guidelines for writing and administering PERs/PDRs, and these trends were only discoverable through the central, formal grievance system.<sup>37</sup> This disadvantage could potentially be mitigated, however, if the settlement agreements of mediators were centrally collected, and were scrutinized for statistical and trend-identifying purposes.

Another disadvantage of mediation is the "potential narcotic effect: the parties may become so dependant on mediation that they cease to resolve disputes unaided."<sup>38</sup> However, realistically speaking, the power imbalance that typically exists in employment environments in favour of the employer's representative (i.e., the higher ranking individual), is such that PER grievances will almost always need the intervention of a third party, and present CF policies reflect this reality. The only issue, then, is what role the third party should take: arbitrator/adjudicator, or mediator? If anything, the latter role is the one that is likely to encourage the parties to 'own' the dispute, and to develop communication skills that will serve them well in the future. Therefore, I believe it should be the preferred choice.

### C. Mediation in the CF?

#### A Possible Implementation Strategy

As the above discussion of the costs and benefits of mediation make clear, mediation offers a net advantage to the employer who would seek to resolve performance appraisal disputes without compromising workplace relations. However,



Federal Court Coat of Arms.

is it practical to suggest mediation as a means of resolving PER disputes within the CF?

It would seem that an ideal (but poorly publicized) resource is already in place to assist in implementing a neutral mediation scheme for CF PER grievances. The Department of National Defence (DND) has established Dispute Resolution Centres at each of the 16 largest bases located throughout Canada.<sup>39</sup> These centres are staffed with trained mediators, and are available to serve all CF personnel and all civilian members of DND.<sup>40</sup> They would thus be an obvious choice from which CF units could draw mediators each year during the typical PER season. As a DND agency, these centres are also not part of the (CF) military chain of command, and they would therefore be sufficiently insulated from military influence as to be capable of serving effectively as mediators. It is remarkable that, when such centres are already established and operating locally on most bases, no reference to them is specifically made in either the CF Grievance Manual, or in CANFORGEN 127/08, which deals explicitly with PER grievance resolution processes.

However, even if staff members from the Dispute Resolution Centres were not available to mediate PER disputes, the centres also offer a series of training modules designed to teach ADR techniques to CF members.<sup>41</sup> Thus, if a minimum number of uniformed personnel were trained in mediation by Dispute Resolution Centre staff, they could serve as mediators of PER disputes at local units (other than their own units) as a secondary duty for several days each year. Although these mediators would still be part of the broad military chain of command, they, like initial and final grievance authorities, would be reasonably removed from the decisions that form the subject of PER grievances, since they would come from outside the grievor's unit. Thus, they would be more neutral than the intermediate adjudicators that were employed onboard *Iroquois*, and, more importantly, they

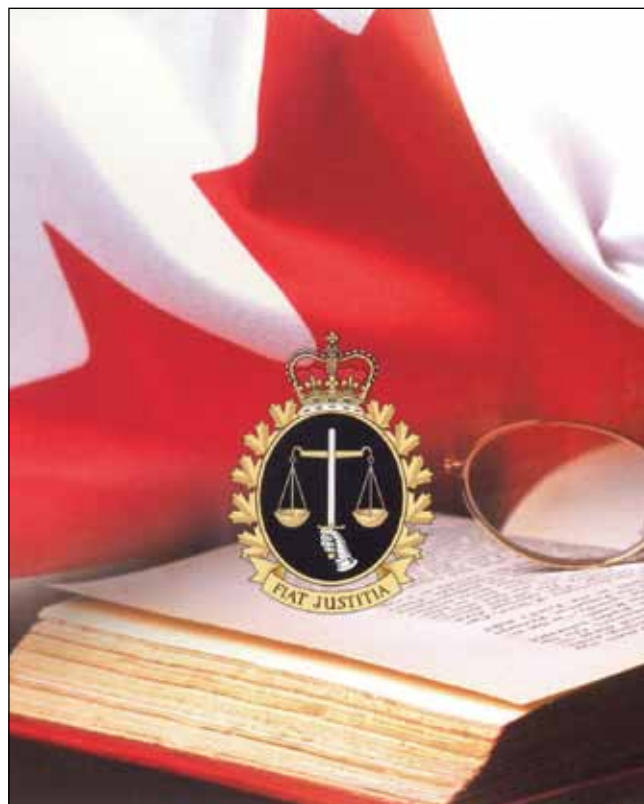
Federal Court photo



would be trained to mediate – to consider the interests of all those affected by a grievance, to facilitate the maintenance/improvement of working relations, and to empower the parties to reach their own settlements.

## Conclusion

The CF's current PER grievance system is probably adequate. However, employees, and particularly, employees who risk their lives in the line of their duties, deserve more than just an adequate system for raising concerns they have with respect to PERs that could drastically affect their careers – they deserve excellence. Incorporating voluntary neutral mediation into the current CF scheme would arguably raise the quality of the system to the point of excellence, and would yield benefits to both CF members and the Crown with almost negligible costs and drawbacks. Furthermore, the change proposed within this article is practically achievable, especially where mediation training centres already exist to serve the CF. In a military institution that typically thinks predominantly of friendly and enemy forces, it is now time to consider a *neutral* force – the force of neutral mediators in PER disputes – and to make the change toward a better system for resolving performance appraisal grievances within the CF.



DND photo

## NOTES

- For instance, between 2003-2008, some 32 cases involving grievances by CF members were heard before Canada's Federal Court: see *Chief of the Defence Staff Annual Report on the Canadian Forces Grievance System: January – December 2008*. (Ottawa: Canadian Forces, 2009), online: <http://www.cfga.forces.gc.ca/pub-man/ar-ra-eng.asp>, at p. 9 [CDS Grievance Report]. Additionally, a search of the *Quicklaw* database performed on 22 April 2010 revealed that a further seven cases had been heard at the Federal Court between 1 January 2009, and 22 April 2010.
- Ibid.*, at p. 10.
- See generally *Defence Administrative Order and Directive 5059-0: Performance Assessment of Canadian Forces Members*, online: <http://www.admfincs-smafinsm.forces.gc.ca/dao-daod/5000/5059-0-eng.asp>, for the source of authority to assess CF personnel, and for reference to the Canadian Forces Personnel Appraisal System (CFPAS). More information regarding CFPAS and the PERs administered under CFPAS can be found online: <http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/cfpas-sepfc/index-eng.asp>.
- National Defence Act*, R.S., 1985, c. N-5, s. 29(1) [NDA].
- In the context of this paper, the ADR scheme for resolving grievances includes all internal, or "in-house," procedures employed by the CF as an alternative to litigation of such grievances, since nothing precludes a member from applying for judicial review of a CF decision in lieu of following the statutory grievance procedure: see *Gayler v. Canada (National Defence)*, [1994] F.C.J. No. 1896.
- DND CFPAS Website. Online: <http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/cfpas-sepfc/index-eng.asp>.
- PDRs are discussed at Article 103 of the CFPAS *Help File*, available within the CFPAS 2009 software suite. CFPAS 2009 and its associated help file can be downloaded for free, online: <http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/cfpas-sepfc/ps/download-telechar-eng.asp>.
- Ibid.*, at Article 104.
- Ibid.*
- Ibid.*, at Article 505.
- Ibid.*, at Article 506.
- Ibid.*, at Articles 408 (PDR Feedback Session) and 511 (PER Interview).
- Ibid.*, at Article 5.2.
- Ibid.*
- Queens Regulations and Orders for the Canadian Forces* (enacted pursuant to the NDA), article 7.01(1), online: <http://www.admfincs.forces.gc.ca/qro-ord/vol-01/index-eng.asp> [QR&O].
- CDS Grievance Report, at p. 6.
- QR&O, Article 7.10(1).
- NDA, s. 29.11.
- CDS Grievance Report, at p. 5.
- Ibid.*, p. 8.
- Canadian Forces General Message (CANFORGEN) 127/08 CMP 141411Z Jul 08 at Paragraph 1, online: <http://www.cfga-agfc.forces.gc.ca/can/canfor-gen-127-08-eng.asp>.
- QR&O, Article 7.06(2). If the officer who would normally be the initial authority was personally involved in the decision that is being grieved, then that officer must refer the grievance to her superior for determination.
- Ibid.*, Article 7.12.
- NDA, s. 29.2(1).
- A biography of each member of the Board is available online: [http://www.cfgb-cgfc.gc.ca/english/AtB\\_BM.html](http://www.cfgb-cgfc.gc.ca/english/AtB_BM.html).
- Frank Evans and Shadow Sloan, "Resolving Employment Disputes through ADR Processes," in *South Texas Law Review* 37 (1996), p. 749.
- Thomas J. Quinn, Mark Rosenbaum, and Donald S. McPherson, "Grievance Mediation and Grievance Negotiation Skills: Building Collaborative Relationships," in *Labor Law Journal* 41 (1990), p. 769.
- Aimee Gourlay and Jenelle Soderquist, "Mediation in Employment Cases is Too Little Too Late: An Organizational Conflict Management Perspective on Resolving Disputes," in *Hamline Law Review* 21(1998), p. 264. (Bold emphasis added, italicized emphasis in original).
- Vivian Berger, "Respect in Mediation: A Counter to Disrespect in the Workplace," in *Dispute Resolution Journal*, January 2009, p. 21.
- Ibid.*
- Ibid.*, p. 25.
- Deborah A. Schmedemann, "Reconciling Differences: The Theory and Law of Mediating Labor Grievances," in *Industrial Relations Law Journal* 9 (1987), p. 526.
- Howard A. Simon and Yaroslav Sochynsky, "In-House Mediation of Employment Disputes: ADR for the 1990s," in *Employee Relations Law Journal* 21 (Summer 1995), p. 35.
- Schmedemann, p. 534.
- Simon and Sochynsky, p. 33.
- Schmedemann, p. 535.
- CDS Grievance Report, p. 11.
- Schmedemann, p. 536.
- DND Dispute Resolution Centres Website, online: <http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/adrmarc/ps/cen/index-eng.asp>.
- Ibid.*
- Ibid.*



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## SEVEN SINISTER STRATEGIC TRENDS: A BRIEF EXAMINATION OF EVENTS TO COME

by Nick Deshpande

*It is impossible to predict the future, and all attempts to do so in any detail appear ludicrous within a few years.*

Arthur C. Clark (1962)

### Introduction

This article considers seven dynamics that will have a significant impact upon Canada and its military's role in the world. These developments – declining American power, cyber warfare, fiscal sustainability, organized crime, environmental degradation, a potential global pandemic, and rising energy consumption – are significant challenges on their own. In combination, they will shape the geopolitical contexts in which the Canadian Forces (CF) and its allies operate, and, therefore, generate a new and highly complex set of realities upon which to base suitable strategic policy and posture. In any case, these issues can, both *singularly* and in virtually any *combination*, induce strategic surprise – demanding a flexible and robust military guided by transformational leaders. Acknowledging that humans, including defence planners, are seldom proficient at predicting the

future, we might also accept a potential lack of preparation for the anticipated strategic surprise arriving on the heels of what I have coined the 'sinister seven.' However, CF leaders could direct, manage, and wield the CF in a manner that makes it agile and organic (applicable across the spectrum of warfare) enough to enable relevancy across a broad spectrum of scenarios, so that strategic surprises do not significantly undermine the government, society, and Canadian values that the CF are tasked to protect and uphold.

In 1999, the Department of National Defence (DND) released *Defence 2020*. In it, the authors fortuitously note that no one can accurately forecast what the world will look like 20 years out, yet it is vital to always consider key trends and patterns. Further, they are advocates for strategic planning based upon a matrix of future scenarios in order to establish a reliable and viable roadmap.<sup>1</sup> More recently, General Martin

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E. Dempsey, the current Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, discusses preparing for moments of change. He writes how military planners "... should expect to be surprised more frequently and with greater impact in the future."<sup>2</sup> With that in mind, the following developments – the 'sinister seven,' are expected to have some considerable influence on future planning and subsequent posturing, and they merit examination and consideration.

and Brazil, for example, which have enacted a naval partnership unlike any other. Brazilian navy personnel will train their Chinese counterparts in the intricate and lesser known art of carrier operations; such unique and potentially far reaching collaboration buoys their relationship well beyond a strictly economic context. Brazil can expect improved relations with an Asian giant. For China, cooperation with Brazil is only a part of larger naval modernization effort, coupled

with significant fleet growth.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, amid the context of maritime influence, India is anticipated to have the third or fourth largest navy in the world in the near term (including the world's second-largest number of carriers).<sup>6</sup> That is to say, it will possess a 'blue water' navy capable of expeditionary operations. But the state of the navy and the associated limits of sea control is certainly not the only barometer of a nation's power. India benefits from accelerated globalization and a vast export market to wield considerable economic power today, with even greater expectations for the future. This has

enabled the world's largest democracy to hike its defence spending by 34 percent in 2009-2010, the largest increase since 1987-1988.<sup>7</sup> Further, spending jumped an additional 8.6 percent for the 2010-2011 period, permitting considerable expansion of capabilities.<sup>8</sup>

The steady rise of new powers, some more surprising than others, can be expected to force noticeable change within the world system at a potential rate and salience unseen since the collapse of the Soviet Union. As new markets emerge, millions of persons could be absolved of their impoverished conditions and become accustomed to previously unimaginable higher standards of living. Political and military multi-polarism will catch up with the economic multi-polarity the world has known for almost two decades. This reconfiguration *could* and *should* alter Canada's strategic outlook, and, as a result impact the nature of the country's present centre of gravity: its strategic partnership with the United States. It is little wonder

Canada is, as Dr. Frank P. Harvey, Professor of Political Science and International Relations at Dalhousie University's Centre for Foreign Policy Studies points out, addicted to American security.<sup>9</sup> There should be little doubt that events south of the border matter to a great extent to Canadians, and further, that if America 'tumbles a few rungs down the global



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## The Decline of the United States

Talk of a declining America permeates the media and scholarship today, as consensus grows over the realization that the world is *potentially*, maybe even *likely*, on the cusp of a geo-strategic reorganization. Citing various 'drivers,' pundits cast Canada's immediate southern neighbour in the shadow of decline. Power, according to political scientist Timothy Garton Ash, is no longer concentrated in the West. "... It is more diffused, both vertically and horizontally."<sup>3</sup> Renowned international relations theorist Dr. Christopher Layne from Texas A & M University appears to agree, noting how "... the case for U.S. hegemonic exceptionalism has grown weak."<sup>4</sup> Given its status over the last century and estimated rate of decline, the U.S. will remain a world power for decades to come, but it will likely share the stage with others. What will be the impact on Canada in general, and the CF, in particular, when the unipolar moment – generated in the early 1990s with the collapse of the Soviet Union – ends? The answer to this question must take into account the relative growth of other countries.

Counter-hegemonic states, those that directly challenge American dominance on political, economic, and military planes, are rising – sometimes in concert. Consider China

**"Counter-hegemonic states, those that directly challenge American dominance on political, economic, and military planes, are rising – sometimes in concert."**



power ladder,' there is a good chance that Canada will see downward movement as well.

### Cyber Threats

Will the next interstate conflict begin with a blackout of all components related to power projection, including banking, communications, and much of our security apparatus? There is an increasing likelihood that Canada's adversaries, and/or belligerents between which the military may be required to intervene, will utilize cyber attacks to disable power and communication networks to disrupt defence networks and the numerous platforms and activities that are reliant upon them. United States President Barack Obama has characterized this threat as "... one of the most serious economic and national security challenges the United States faces as a nation."<sup>10</sup> The same could be said of Canada, due to its advanced level of reliance upon activities in the cyber realm. Indeed, both Canada and the U.S. have much with which to be concerned.

In one of the most significant breaches acknowledged by the American government, a foreign power was able to download about 12 terabytes of sensitive military information in 2007, the Director of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (an American 'think tank') told *60 Minutes*. In yet another incident, a foreign power was able to breach the firewalls of the network belonging to U.S. Central Command (US CENTCOM), and observed traffic for "several days" in late-2008.<sup>11</sup> Pentagon officials acknowledged that in March 2011, thousands of documents were pilfered during an intrusion of a defence contractor's system.<sup>12</sup> These acknowledged compromises, even without the larger effects of a disrupted over-arching power grid, offer only a glimpse of a wider issue at hand.

The CF's ability to function as an armed force rests, for a large part, upon its computer networks. Most communication, the transmission of classified intelligence, the execution of operations in both domestic and foreign theatres, and other routine activities, rely upon a vast grid underpinned by only a few central nodes (and kept functioning by a related power grid). This also applies to the government at large, which, in 2005, (the latest year for which reliable figures are available) invested approximately \$8.5 billion in a robust information and communication technology (ICT) infrastructure to engage citizens, encourage efficiency in line departments and agencies, and streamline government processes.<sup>13</sup> As a result, the country is at the fore of 'e-governance.' Unfortunately, Canada's reliance upon ICT networks contributes to its vulnerability to cyber

attacks.<sup>14</sup> In February 2011, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) reported that federal departments, including Defence Research and Development Canada (DRDC), had been targeted by foreign hackers using unsophisticated phishing techniques.<sup>15</sup> Further attacks of this nature are likely, due to the 'soft underbelly' that networked systems represent for relatively advanced nation-states.

Regarding such future attacks, the potential perpetrators are as varied as the targets. Foreign intelligence services, disgruntled or rogue employees who upload bad code or swipe valuable data, organized crime syndicates, or even everyday hackers, could damage or compromise the integrity of information systems in a number of ways. Social 'hacktivism' has also come to the forefront lately as groups such as Anonymous and Wikileaks operate relatively unimpeded within the cyber domain. Moreover, these aforementioned entities are known to cooperate with each other. To safeguard its involvement, for example, an opposing government could hire the services of criminal syndicates to breach a country's or a company's networks to retrieve sensitive data. Likewise, a 'cyber-gang' could itself initiate a breach with a view to selling its findings to a willing buyer.<sup>16</sup>

With respect to warfare on the cyber battlefield, the major challenge is attribution. How does a target entity (nation or company) determine who initiated an attack, especially with the existence of thousands, if not millions, of 'bots' (virtual slave computers to which cyber attackers have access and utilize as proxies to hide their true identities) that are employed to conduct them?<sup>17</sup> The ability of cyber attackers to enact sophisticated denial and deception techniques further complicates the attribution challenge.<sup>18</sup> The CF, as a guardian of Canadian sovereignty and interests, must continually focus upon safeguarding proprietary information, especially that which is related to our vulnerabilities and capability gaps. This could require a significant investment, something that may become increasingly fiscally, intellectually, and practically difficult in the future.



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## Fiscal Sustainability

There are blatant signs that the global economy has not yet fully recovered from the so-called great recession of 2008. Despite recovery rhetoric in Canada and elsewhere, an economic future shaped by an aging population, mounting debt, and uncertainty in global capital markets appears to be looming over the horizon. As a result, the fiscal arena in which strategic planners will find themselves will be increasingly characterized by *restraint* (self-imposed) and *constraint* (imposed by a higher order). The training and educational system, capital acquisition projects, and sustainment programs will be forced to absorb reduced costs. Paying for the armed forces that Americans and Canadians have become accustomed to will become increasingly difficult. This is to say nothing of their fundamental and expected ability to execute overseas contingency operations, or even to assist civil powers at home. Both endeavours carry enormous costs that the armed forces of both nations, and their directing democratic governments, might not be able to shoulder in 10-20 years.

Consider the ongoing American predicament. Rudolf Penner, the White House Chief of Staff during the Clinton Administration and the President of the Center for American Progress, 'sounded alarm bells' in Washington, D.C., recently. He opined that America is on "... an unsustainable path on the national security front. We're spending about - in real dollar terms - 50 percent more than at the peak of the Reagan build-up on defense."<sup>19</sup> And, according to Cindy Williams, a Principal Research Scientist of the Security Studies Program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, budgeted costs rarely reflect a military's true costs. "Covering all the likely costs would require another \$700 billion over the five-year period (2008-2012). Yet admitting today to the full costs of the present path would force the nation into a conversation the administration wishes to avoid."<sup>20</sup> Given the very real controversy and the emotional debates underway in the U.S. as this article is being written, it is a conversation that needs to take place, especially as social security spending is set to rise, both in the U.S. and in Canada.

A 2010 report on Canadian debt identified unfunded pension liabilities as representing approximately 12 percent of the nation's GDP. CF pensions are one of the 'big three,' along with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), and the entire federal public service representing collectively "... the largest component of non-market debt."<sup>21</sup> This does not take into account the costs of long-term health care, which, in

general, will rise along with Canada's and the United States' aging populations. One source estimates that U.S. social security spending could push the deficit to 80-100 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by 2050, with Canada [supposedly - Ed.] expected to reach a 100 percent deficit of GDP by the same date.<sup>22</sup> Given their demographic patterns, such as declining birth rates and an aging population, entitlement spending will pose a major challenge to Western nations in general and to Canada and the United States *specifically*. This challenge could be amplified by further economic shocks.

Risk is diffused within the global financial system, ensuring that many the economies of many nations have been forced to accommodate some level of fragility. It is a near certainty that companies or countries will default on large debt repayments in the near future. The impact of their inability to

repay such debts, much like many American homeowners in 2007 and 2008, will reverberate through the tightly interconnected system that is the global economy. Most recently, the end of the 'housing bubble' and other fiscal practices in the U.S. led to the collapse of banks in Iceland, and revelations of structural deficiencies in the Greek, Italian, Irish, and Spanish economies, among others. Experts are already 'sounding alarm

bells' over a likely and troubling commercial real estate 'bubble' and consumer debt load at a time when global trade governance is shifting precipitously.<sup>23</sup>

Ultimately, mounting debt, in tandem with entitlement costs, has the potential to cripple the fiscal solvency and related government agility of the United States and Canada. But the global economy can be undermined in many ways, with both nation states and the private sector not being the only players in the market. Organized crime has increasingly been able to globalize its endeavours and establish itself in a variety of environs, fostering fear and instability.

**"There are blatant signs that the global economy has not yet fully recovered from the so-called great recession of 2008."**



Reuters RTR2QZXA by Stringer

## Transnational Organized Crime

From Miami and Vladivostok, to Accra and Yokohama, organized crime is firmly rooted in societies all over the world, including that of Canada. The vast and varied networks within which these entities operate have tentacles that stretch upwards, and also corrupt government officials. These networks also facilitate the movement of people and illicit goods, such as narcotics, small arms, and improvised explosive device (IED) components. Organized crime is very much the 'grease' in the machine of terrorist organizations or insurgent groups, such as the Taliban. Furthermore, criminal syndicates likely represent the greatest threat to post-conflict reconstruction and stability. Such environs are fertile ground for illicit enterprises to spring up and thrive amid the chaos and vacuums of legitimate power. Russia, the Balkans, and even Iraq and Afghanistan all attest to this process. In turn, criminal syndicates metastasize, much like a cancer upon society, to produce stagnant economies and political instability.

What Brock Dahl, an American scholar, who, working for the U.S. Treasury Department, helped formulate and implement U.S. policy relations to fiscal and macroeconomic environments in Iraq and Afghanistan, calls the 'quiet enemy,' has grown in power over recent decades, but especially since the collapse of the Soviet Union.<sup>24</sup> The trafficking of illicit narcotics alone is thought to generate approximately \$400-500 billion of economic activity annually, according to the United Nations. The smuggling of other goods and people garners another \$100 billion each year.<sup>25</sup> Estimating the size of underground markets is a practice imbued with uncertainty. Yet, they are leading 'sectors' of the global economy (as much as 15 percent, according to the United States Attorney General's Office).<sup>26</sup> Trends further indicate that black markets are growing ever larger.

Down the road, organized crime is expected to wield even more power in the global system and to exert greater influence over events. The reach of criminal groups is expanding in tandem with illicit business interests, cementing their presence in North America. Elements of Mexican cartels, for example, have reportedly established themselves in British Columbia, a province already playing host to many other criminal groups. Any competition has the potential to incite violence. In other countries, similar developments could contribute to doubts with respect to governmental legitimacy. Organized criminal networks have become major players, and their influence must be both considered and stemmed.



Reuters RTR2KNE by Carlos Barria

## Environmental Degradation and Resource Scarcity

While hotly debated, the issue of climate change is having very real effects in countries around the world. It *contributes to and exacerbates* the environmental changes brought about by human activity. Desertification, deforestation, acidification, and other environmental changes have a significant impact upon agricultural output, national and regional economies, and, ultimately, human security. There is an increasing demand for finite resources as the global population grows. By 2025, estimates suggest there will be eight billion people inhabiting the earth, with 90 percent of the anticipated growth expected to take place in the developing world where the food and water supplies of certain countries is unreliable.<sup>27</sup> In 2007, scientific experts in Great Britain identified 46 countries, collectively home to 2.7 billion people, where a scarcity of water is highly likely to agitate violent conflict in the near future.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, nations with inadequate access to fresh water often make up for this deficit by importing grain, which is considered virtual water because of the water used to produce it and contained within it.<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, in recent years, the world's grain supply has been characterized as uncertain. Increased heat and drought resulted in decreased grain production in at least five of the major grain exporting nations between 2002 and 2004.<sup>30</sup>

The scarcity of water and other essential resources has the potential to upset conventional norms and to induce instability in many parts of the world. Conflicts that become widespread due to resource scarcity are likely to demand military intervention if they are to be resolved. Given the Canadian government's commitment to United Nations operations and other coalition arrangements, the CF can be expected to come face-to-face with the issue of environmental degradation in diverse theatres, and, over time, also closer to home. Such engagements will pose complex sustainment issues and demand tightly configured coordination mechanisms with humanitarian aid providers, among others. Planners should be primed to



consider the impact of environmental degradation and resource scarcity as they weigh increasingly diverse effects in future operating environments.

we could turn on the spigot. Moreover, many of these new reserves are located in geographically and politically inhospitable regions, generally the last places on earth to be mapped in great detail.<sup>35</sup>

Reuters RTXTMKC by Stephane Mahe



### Energy Crisis

The ‘rising Asian giant’s are competing with each other and with the rest of the world, including Canada, for a finite pool of energy resources and raw materials to meet the requirements of their production-based economies and domestic growth. Today, China is second only to the U.S. when it comes to importing crude oil, and it has worked voraciously to diversify its sources.<sup>31</sup> In 2006, India consumed only 40 percent of China’s share but has since embarked upon a “growth turnpike” that will lead to an accelerated demand for oil.<sup>32</sup> The global oil market is subject, not only to significant demand (approximately 1000 barrels per second),<sup>33</sup> but also to tightly controlled supply along with the speculation that takes place in commodity investment circles. In this environment, Russia – which would otherwise have a stagnant economy (along with a shrinking population) – is able to flex geostrategic muscle and influence politics in Europe and beyond.

The crisis aspect simmers below the surface and concerns the finite supply of oil, along with general military reliance upon it for everything they undertake. There was a amount of writing devoted to energy crises and peak oil during the mid-1970s. The difference now is based upon demographics as well as the technological advances since that time that have allowed experts to more accurately gauge just how much global oil resources remain. Oil rich fields, such as those possessed by Saudi Arabia, will still yield copious barrels of oil for some time.<sup>34</sup> But newly discovered caches, according to renowned economist Peter Tertzakian, “... are increasingly smaller in size.” He further writes:

A new oil field containing a few hundred barrels of reserves is big news. At the current rate of global consumption, such fields would be drained in days if

ing demand. Many of the mechanisms (i.e. transportation, industrial processes, the generation of electricity, the manufacture of numerous goods, and so on) upon which society relies could become redundant or practically impossible. It is a potentially fatal burden that militaries will be unable to escape, and therefore, they will be forced to operate very differently. It is little wonder, then, that the U.S. military has invested significant dollars into alternative energy sources such as ‘biofuels’ for wheeled fleets.<sup>37</sup> The CF has undertaken similar initiatives through its educational institutions from which it stands to benefit. Ultimately, trans-national cooperation between countries in the realm of alternative energy will likely be necessary to overcome the challenges presented by scarce oil.

### Global Pandemic

The possibility that a global pandemic will sweep the world has grown over the last decades, especially given the rapid rate at which goods and people travel. Thus far, the world has had to confront viruses that are either highly transmissible and/or scarcely pathogenic (i.e., Swine flu) or vice-versa (i.e., Avian flu), ensuring that death rates have remained relatively low. Even the 1918 Spanish influenza pandemic killed only three percent of the world’s population. Yet, it was enough to significantly impact the regional and global economies and governments of the day. Recent experiences have demonstrated that the world’s pandemic preparedness is ‘patchy’ at best.<sup>38</sup> Neither SARS, which originated in China, nor H1N1, which originated in Mexico, were adversarial in nature. They occurred naturally. Other scenarios of concern involve less benign versions.

The barriers that may have hitherto prevented or slowed terrorist acquisition of certain biological weapons are no longer as robust or potentially as successful, given the availability of



knowledge, expertise, and cheaper technologies. Epiphenomenally, the increased probability of the use of either genetically modified biological weapons, or genetically targeted biological weapons, exists. The first could involve, for example, the artificial combination of Avian influenza (H5N1) with Swine influenza (H1N1), harnessing the lethality of the *former* and the transmissibility of the *latter* toward a human vector, while maintaining the requisite pathogenicity to create either a new super-virus strain or sub-type.<sup>39</sup> The second could involve rogue scientists leveraging the available genetic code of human beings (or another animal species, livestock, or crops) to identify a specific genetic marker that makes a segment of that species unique from the rest of the population. They could then, theoretically, produce a weapon designed to explicitly target that segment, such as males, or bovine stock. For years, scientists have engaged in similar biotechnological innovation to create disease-resistance wheat. Fortunately, the possibility of either case remains remote in the near term, yet, given the strategic environment in which actors that desire to employ such weapons operate, the likelihood continues to increase, in concert with more broadly available technologies. Should either of the previously described scenarios occur, a pandemic would likely ensue, the sheer scale and implications for which it would be impossible to adequately predict and plan.

Whether a pandemic were to be man-made or naturally occurring, the implications are serious. There are scarce resources, such as anti-virals and vaccines, to treat influenza on a massive scale. Public health officials and emergency workers will certainly be counted among the sick, regardless of what preventative and protective measures are in place. Migration patterns will be suddenly and significantly altered. Certain resources, such as food and oil, could become impossible to access. Within the next 20 years, medical experts expect H5N1 – Avian flu – to mutate in such a way that it will be transmissible between humans.<sup>40</sup> Should a pandemic occur, it will be particularly difficult to isolate, and it may necessitate the domestic or international deployment of armed forces.

## Conclusion

An appreciation of these trends and others will not result in a great measure of certitude about future events, nor is it designed to do so. Rather, it could provide a breadth of consideration as a mere point of departure to allow defence planners to better prepare and plan for possible eventualities. The true natures, combinations, or future salience of the above dynamics – this author's 'sinister seven,' reside in relative obscurity. There is no guarantee of *when* and *if* they will manifest to their full individual or collective potentials. There are, however, some developments that can be assessed with greater certainty; transformation will continue to be a way of life for CF personnel, and fostering the requisite leadership will be *prima laboris* if the military is to remain relevant and effective.

By no means are the seven topics considered herein the only strategic concerns. Failing and failed states, terrorism, the proliferation of both conventional and unconventional weapons, as well as other dynamics, will also shape the times to come. Furthermore, just as each of these issues bundles a unique set of challenges, yet they are inextricably interconnected in space and time, given their borderless nature. They are, in essence, a cross section of the sibling spawn of globalization. A financial crisis or pandemic may originate in a single state or region, but they are rarely confined to them. Criminal syndicates smuggle goods and people across regional borders, and often continents, with impunity. The environmental impact of developing nations – especially those with an eye to challenging the American hold on world dominance – affects the standard of living for each person, and this could lead to widespread scarcity. So also could the impending energy crisis. Finally, cyber warfare will undoubtedly alter the landscape of war and how it is waged.

From the context of uncertainty generated by these dynamics emerges the potential for 'black swan' (as coined by Professor Nassim Taleb of the Polytechnic Institute of New

York University) events in either the sovereign boundaries or areas of interest of Canada or further abroad, each potentially precipitating CF involvement. This possible development gives rise to inevitable tension, as demonstrated by the reaction to strategist and international security analyst Nathan Freier's 2008 paper articulating the potential domestic deployment of the American military in the event of civil disorder beyond the control of local, state, and national authorities.<sup>41</sup> The 'sinister seven' also speak to the finite and time-limited nature of rule sets. The rule

**"Whether a pandemic were to be man-made or naturally occurring, the implications are serious."**



Reuters RTR2PJX0 by Thomas Mukoya

sets that guided us ten years ago will be anachronistic in ten years, just as those that imposed some order during the Cold War are no longer fully relevant today. An awareness of their limited applicability and the constant assessment of major trends and patterns, accompanied by a dose of healthy scepticism, will ensure that the CF is better poised to stand prepared for any eventuality.

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US Coast Guard photo

Deepwater Horizon offshore drilling unit on fire in the Gulf of Mexico, 2010.

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DND Photo IS2011-5016-018





Northern Lights

## JUSTAS AND PROJECT EPSILON: INTEGRATED INTELLIGENCE, SURVEILLANCE, AND RECONNAISSANCE OF THE CANADIAN ARCTIC

by Levon Bond

### Introduction

Canadians have historically relied upon extreme cold and vast distances to defend its massive and sparsely populated Arctic territories. These two great bastions of northern defence will no longer be a reliable bulwark against potential aggressors, since many climate researchers anticipate that the Arctic could be ice-free through the summer months before the end of the next decade.<sup>1</sup>

An accessible Arctic would be an attractive transit route that would substantially reduce cross-continental shipping distances, and hence, would drastically increase the number of ships operating in Canada's Northwest Passage. Altered Arctic seaways will have important security and defence implications, as the disappearance of summer ice will leave the north coast of Canada vulnerable to criminal activity and to military incursions by rival Arctic states.<sup>2</sup> In terms of sovereignty, Canada's claim to its territorial possessions, its waterways, and its underwater resources are not universally recognized by the other Arctic states, necessitating a greater governmental presence in regions that are largely uninhabited.

The mandate to defend Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic has been identified as one of the primary missions of the Canadian Forces (CF) for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Therefore, the CF will need to orient itself to this task, while the government will need to allocate sufficient resources to the Department of National Defence (DND), so that the CF can accomplish this mission. One of the key components of this mission is improved Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities in the Arctic, since both surveillance and enforcement are required for other nations

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and actors to take Canada's claims seriously. In order to satisfy part of this requirement, the Canadian government has committed to the development of a satellite-based surveillance program named *Polar Epsilon*, which uses the Canadian owned and operated RADARSAT-2 satellite constellation. Meanwhile, the CF's unmanned aerial surveillance program - the Joint Unmanned Surveillance Target Acquisition System (JUSTAS) - has been put on hold while it waits for the government to commit to the procurement of either a high or medium altitude, long endurance (HALE or MALE), unmanned aerial system (UAS). The first stage in developing suitable and appropriate security in the far north will be to establish an adequate sensing capability through the integration of aerial and satellite-based ISR.

This article will examine how the *Polar Epsilon* program, in conjunction with other CF projects such as JUSTAS, can be developed to fulfill the first of the six core CF missions, while satisfying the security requirements of the government's Northern Strategy.

I will make a case for employing layered and integrated ISR, utilizing different sensor capabilities offered by different platforms, thereby expanding the JUSTAS program and merging it with *Polar Epsilon*. This will entail the acquisition of both HALE and MALE UASs, capable of operating remotely through the use of space-based satellite data-links. By doing so, the Canadian Government and its armed forces will be embracing the UAS revolution that is already on course to change the nature of ISR.

### Arctic Surveillance and Project Epsilon

The Conservative government has made Arctic sovereignty one of its major government initiatives, but it has yet to flesh out a comprehensive ISR program for the Arctic. In the June 2008 *Canada First Defence Strategy*, the top priority set by the government for the CF is to provide security at home, which includes the Arctic. The document states:

[The] Canadian Forces must have the capacity to exercise control over and defend Canada's sovereignty in the Arctic.... As activity in northern lands and waters accelerates, the military will play an increasingly vital role in demonstrating a visible Canadian presence in this potentially resource rich region, and in helping other government agencies such as the Coast Guard respond to any threats that may arise.<sup>3</sup>

Of the six core missions identified in this document, the first is to "... conduct daily domestic and continental operations, including in the Arctic and through NORAD."<sup>4</sup> The Canadian defence strategy was followed by "Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future" in July 2009.<sup>5</sup> In terms of ISR, the document only briefly mentions the *Polar Epsilon* project, with the RADARSAT-2 satellite to be used in a maritime surveillance role, but it does not commit to any other ISR programs. Considering the poor infrastructure, the sparse population, and the vast territorial expanse of the Canadian Arctic, the ISR systems required for sufficient cover-

age of the north will have to be both air- and space-based. *Polar Epsilon* constitutes a good beginning, but additional resources will be required to produce a robust ISR capability.

Established on 30 May 2005, *Polar Epsilon* is designed to provide all-weather day/night surveillance capabilities utilizing imagery through the Canadian-based RADARSAT-2 satellite constellation. The program itself is estimated to cost \$64.5 million,<sup>6</sup> although the Government of Canada has invested \$445 million to support the construction and launch of RADARSAT-2, which is owned and operated by MacDonald Dettwiler and Associates (MDA). The government support was necessary to keep the project in Canada, and, once completed, it will provide users a variety of satellite-based products and capabilities. The Canadian Space Agency (CSA) boasts: "Canada's next-generation commercial radar satellite offers powerful technical advancements that will enhance marine surveillance, ice monitoring, disaster management, environmental monitoring, resource management and

mapping in Canada and around the world."<sup>7</sup> According to Doug Bancroft, the Director of Environment Canada's Canadian Ice Service, "Routine surveillance to support sovereignty and security in the icy waters of the North would not be affordable without RADARSAT programs."<sup>8</sup> The program is comprised of three satellites, which are expected to be launched between 2014 and 2015.<sup>9</sup> According to the RADARSAT-2 information page, "Each satellite has a capability to perform 12 minutes of active detection per orbit, for a total of 36 minutes... This 36-minute active detection [window] is long enough to capture images over Canada from coast-to-coast-to-coast... providing full coverage of the area every 10 hours."<sup>10</sup> Lieutenant-Commander Robert Quinn, the *Polar Epsilon* Project Director, also claims that the information can be formatted and made available in just 15 minutes, which will provide near-real-time intelligence for defence and security agencies.<sup>11</sup>

The real advantage of the *Polar Epsilon* program for an ISR role is its consistency. CSA maintains: "Earth-observation satellites have an advantage over aerial surveillance missions. Satellites operate day and night in all weather conditions, and provide timely coverage of vast areas."<sup>12</sup> During periods of increased Arctic traffic, images of fixed positions, such as ports and collecting points for naval vessels, can be collected twice daily, a capability that will be invaluable for tracking the movement of vessels of interest (VOI). "RADARSAT-2 improves ship detection with its Ultra-Fine beam mode (three-metre resolution) and offers the potential for ship classification."<sup>13</sup> Images of named areas of interest (NAI) can be taken on a routine basis, and then analyzed for accounting purposes. If a VOI is no longer observed at its last known location, the CF, in conjunction with the Canadian Coast Guard or the RCMP, will be alerted to the fact that the VOI is 'on the move,' and will need to be tracked, using a different surveillance method until the VOI is again spotted at a NAI. It will enable government agencies to determine who is where, and for roughly how long.

**"The Conservative government has made Arctic sovereignty one of its major government initiatives, but it has yet to flesh out a comprehensive ISR program for the Arctic."**



RADARSAT-2-01

This program will be an instrumental step towards providing observation of Canada's maritime domain, but it will have limited utility without integration with other ISR assets. In his description of the *Polar Epsilon* project, Major P.J. Butler of the Directorate of Space Development maintains that the RADARSAT-2 synthetic aperture radar (SAR) capabilities will need to be cued with other maritime surveillance assets in order to achieve near-real-time ship detection, and develop the recognized maritime picture (RMP).<sup>14</sup> He states: "The overall requirement in domain awareness is to detect, classify, identify, track and determine intent. As no single sensor is capable of meeting all of these requirements all of the time, the strongest surveillance architecture exists when the strengths of all available surveillance sensors are used in a complementary manner."<sup>15</sup>

For this reason, the system should not be used in isolation from other aerial surveillance platforms, and should not be the sole provider of intelligence imagery. This means that the tasking and processing components of the RADARSAT-2 imagery should be co-located with the like processes of other intelligence collection platforms, or at least remotely linked. RADARSAT-2 imagery can provide near-real-time intelligence, but only if the imagery is quickly analysed and disseminated to other principal agencies, so that they can either act upon the intelligence, or use the information to re-task other platforms to continue surveillance. This effort will need to be both interagency and joint in scope and involvement.

### Canadian Forces UAS Requirements

With RADARSAT-2 firmly established in the Government of Canada's plan for Arctic sur-

veillance, the question remains as to what additional systems will be required to provide integrated ISR coverage in the north. The Canadian Air Force will be required to obtain and employ emerging aerial reconnaissance technology similar to what is presently utilized by the US Air Force (USAF), albeit on a much smaller scale. As the CF continues to rebuild its capabilities after the dearth of procurement in the 1990s, UAS technological innovations provide the ideal solution to the problem of Arctic surveillance, and could put the CF at the forefront of the robotics revolution in military operations. In his book, *Wired for War*, P.W. Singer argues that the robotics revolution is not a future *possibility*, but a present *reality*. For example, he claims that since the start of the war in Iraq, "... the Pentagon estimated that the demand for drones has gone up 300 percent each year."<sup>16</sup> Singer claims that there were 5331 drones of various sizes and capabilities in the US military inventory as of 2008, which was almost double the complement of manned aircraft.<sup>17</sup> According to *Jane's*, the USAF currently operates 125 MQ-1 *Predators*,<sup>18</sup> 44 MQ-9 *Reapers*, and 17 RQ-4 *Global Hawk* UASs,<sup>19</sup> with well over double the number of the latter two systems expected to be in service in the near term.<sup>20</sup> These acquisitions are a part of a larger shift within the USAF towards unmanned air operations.



MQ-1 Predator



The Canadian Air Force has been anticipating the changing nature of ISR operations, and in its strategic planning document entitled *Projecting Power Trends Shaping Canada's Air Force in the Year 2019*, produced by the Canadian Forces Air Warfare Center (CFAWC), several trends involving Arctic surveillance and the use of UASs are identified. This document states, "The Arctic will place greater importance on unmanned platforms, persistent surveillance and sustainment," and, "Semi-autonomous and intelligent systems will revolutionize the way the Air Force operates. The number of unmanned aerial vehicles within the Air Force will increase, and new concepts and doctrine will be required to address the advent of mixed air fleets."<sup>21</sup> CFAWC anticipates CF participation in the emerging field of unmanned systems, but when this will manifest itself is still uncertain, since the government has yet to commit to the acquisition of larger UASs, preferring to lease systems as an interim solution.

Although Canada was originally on the forefront of UAS development, the CF does not currently maintain a robust aerial ISR capability.<sup>22</sup> Endorsed by the military's Senior Review Board in October 2000, JUSTAS was originally conceived to provide a UAS capability for the Canadian Forces. The JUSTAS project is expected to proceed in two phases, with Phase One providing a domestic and expeditionary overland capability. Phase Two will involve the implementation of a domestic maritime and Arctic UAS capability.<sup>23</sup> Prior to taking on its Arctic role, the HALE UAS were expected to operate out of the current CP-140 *Aurora* wings at 19 Wing in Comox, British Columbia, and 14 Wing in Greenwood, Nova Scotia, to provide coastal surveillance, while the CP-140s would deploy to Goose Bay, Newfoundland, for Arctic patrol missions.<sup>24</sup>

**"The one key ISR capability that neither the RADARSAT-2 nor the Global Hawk are able to provide is FMV, or persistent surveillance."**

to both a lack of funding, and the current priority to maintain the tactical UAV (TUAV) capability in Afghanistan. Phase One appears to have been shifted to the Joint Airborne ISR Capability (JAIC) program, a temporary offshoot of the JUSTAS program. The CF has leased the CU-170 *Heron* TUAV since January 2009, which replaced the unreliable CU-161 *Sperwer* TUAV. The *Heron* has been able to provide the task force commanders with excellent electro-optical (EO)/infra-red (IR) full motion video (FMV) imagery that has been invaluable for mission planning and the maintenance of battle space situational awareness. The CF currently operates the *Heron* through a three year contract that will end in 2011, necessitating either a renewal or a transfer to another system. According to Major Andrew McCorquodale of the Directorate of Air Requirements, JUSTAS is expected to replace the *Heron* with a more robust all-weather air vehicle that will be capable of carrying weapons. It will be able to operate in icing conditions as well as in rain and snow.<sup>25</sup>

For the Phase Two HALE requirement, there really only exists one candidate, the Northrop Grumman *Global Hawk* RQ-4. The *Global Hawk* can accurately survey large geographic areas such as the Canadian Arctic, providing real-time information regarding the location, resources, and personnel of possible adversaries.<sup>26</sup> The Block 10 *Global Hawk* has a range of up to 12,000 nautical miles at altitudes up to 65,000 feet, while flying at speeds approaching 340 knots for as long as 35 hours. However, following a typical mission profile, the aircraft can fly 1200 miles to an area of interest, and then remain on station for 24 hours.<sup>27</sup> The US Navy (USN) procured two Block 10 *Global Hawk* Maritime Demonstration (GHMD) vehicles as a precursor to the Broad Area Maritime Surveillance (BAMS) development effort.<sup>28</sup> The two Navy *Global Hawks* have participated in naval exercises such as *Trident Warrior* and *RIMPAC*, where they performed a wide range of maritime surveillance operations. The *Global Hawk* offers the greatest sensor range, and it relies upon SATCOM (satellite communication) data links, which could create a challenge when operating at high latitudes.<sup>29</sup> Challenges notwithstanding, Dane Marlot, Manager of the International Business Development branch at Northrop Grumman, believes the *Global Hawk* is perfectly suited for coastal and Arctic surveillance, and he believes the corporation should compete for the JUSTAS contract.<sup>30</sup> He claims: "We could cover an ID zone for the complete northern part of Canada in one mission rather easily. There are some issues with operating at northern latitudes, but we've operated in Alaska and at times have had to turn the aircraft to point toward the satellite, but that's not a problem."<sup>31</sup>



*Heron* being operated from a Ground Control Station (GCS).

The timelines for the completion of these phases are uncertain, as it appears that the project has been delayed, due

The one key ISR capability that neither the RADARSAT-2 nor the *Global Hawk* are able to provide is FMV, or persistent surveillance. Once a VOI has been identified via imagery, there will be a further

requirement to maintain persistent surveillance on the vessel or individuals. This will require aerial FMV with a reasonably long 'on station' time. In Afghanistan and Iraq, *Predator* and *Reaper* UASs are employed to monitor insurgents preparing and planting improvised explosive devices (IED). Once a suspicious individual has been positively identified, UASs are able to maintain continuous surveillance by handing off the 'overwatch' between different airframes as they come on station. As Arctic traffic increases, it will become necessary to have such FMV capability to monitor vast regions that would be too distant for either foot or sea patrols to accommodate.

Operations Centres (MSOC) that exist on each coast.<sup>34</sup> The intent with respect to *Polar Epsilon* is to have the satellite surveillance tied in with maritime surveillance, since maritime domain awareness is one of the primary missions of the RADARSAT-2 system. The JUSTAS program, however, is primarily an air force program, since it involves aircraft that will be managed and operated by the Canadian Air Force. As an ISR function, the JUSTAS program has moved to Winnipeg, where it can be combined with other ISR capabilities in the Combined Air and Space Operations Centre's (CAOC) Intelligence Surveillance, and Reconnaissance Division (ISR/D).

USAF photo 061003-F-7441T-003



RQ-4 Global Hawk

The General Atomics *Predator* B UAS is the ideal platform at this time for such a mission, with a capability of providing up to 20 hours on-station time. In March 2007, the CF proposed a sole-source purchase of the *Predator* B.<sup>32</sup> Such a system could be used for Arctic surveillance, as well as in a theatre of operations supporting ground troops. Although the Government of Canada has acknowledged the value of such an acquisition, it has reneged in favour of a competitive tenure, which has yet to occur.

### Command and Control of Arctic ISR

The primary command and control for any CF Arctic defence mission would naturally fall to Canada Command. On 29 June 2010, *Polar Epsilon* transferred its Arctic surveillance capabilities to Canada Command. Subsequently, Lieutenant-Commander Quinn announced: "We have delivered to Canada COM the ability to access RADARSAT-2 with exploitation software, and an image analyst who will help them exploit RADARSAT-2 from now on."<sup>33</sup> Canada Command is centrally located in Ottawa, and it works closely with other governmental organizations for the defence of Canada. Further, the Arctic sovereignty mission will be an all-of-government effort.

The ground stations for RADARSAT-2 will be located on Canada's west coast in Aldergrove, British Columbia, and on the east coast in Masstown, Nova Scotia, thereby providing decentralized execution close to the Maritime Surveillance

and processing of the Arctic ISR mission will reduce the overall integration of the ISR platforms and capabilities, thus creating too much lag time between the sensing and the execution of the mission. C2 necessarily will remain with Canada Command, but the planning, execution, and analysis of ISR missions should fall to the ISR/D within the CAOC, while the military response to the finished intelligence products should then be tasked to appropriate elemental commands.

### Conclusion

As the Arctic becomes a growing defence priority, and as the CF prepares to scale down its operations in Afghanistan, the period between 2011 and 2015 will be the optimal time for the CF to invest in the platforms, personnel, and support requirements of a more robust ISR capability that combines satellite and UAS systems. Although interim measures have been used to provide ISR for operations in Afghanistan, the JUSTAS program needs to become a procurement priority. The robotics revolution is upon us, and it is well on its way to changing the nature of air operations. Meanwhile, climate change is poised to dramatically alter the geo-strategic considerations in the Arctic. Without a substantial law enforcement and military presence therein, the use of HALE and MALE UASs will provide the most effective and efficient solution, enabling the CF to defend Canadian sovereignty, and to assist in the provision of domestic security in the northern frontier.



USAF photo 090127-F-7383P-00



MQ-9 Reaper

## NOTES

1. For example, University of Manitoba geoscientist David Barber, who was the head of the largest climate change study ever undertaken in Canada in the summer of 2007, estimates that by 2015, the Arctic will be ice-free in the summer. John Bowman, "Arctic ice melting faster than feared: study," on *CBC News*, 5 February 2010. Also see Gwynne Dyer, *Climate Wars* (Mississauga, ON: Random House, 2008).
2. For a more detailed account of Arctic rivalries and what it means for Canadian sovereignty, see: Jennifer Parks, *Canada's Arctic Sovereignty: Resources, Climate and Conflict* (Edmonton, AB: Canadian Currents, 2010); Ken Coates *et al.*, *Arctic Front: Defending Canada in the Far North* (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 2008); Roger Howard, *The Arctic Gold Rush* (New York: Continuum, 2009); and Rob Huebert, "Canada and the Changing International Arctic: At the Crossroads of Cooperation and Conflict," in *IRPP*, September 2008.
3. *Canada First Defence Strategy*, National Defence and the Canadian Forces, (2008), at <http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/pri/first-premier/index-eng.asp?WT.svl=CFDLEFT>. Accessed 12 December 2010.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Some of the government initiatives outlined in this document include the establishment of an Army Training Centre in Resolute Bay, the expansion and modernization of the Canadian Rangers, the establishment of a deep-water berthing and fuelling facility in Nanisivik, and the procurement of a new polar icebreaker in conjunction with the acquisition of new ice-capable patrol ships. *Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future: Canada's Northern Strategy*, Government of Canada, (2009), at <http://www.northernstrategy.ca/index-eng.asp>. Accessed 12 December 2010.
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12. *RADARSAT-2*, Canadian Space Agency, at [www.asc-csa.gc.ca](http://www.asc-csa.gc.ca). Accessed 12 November 2010.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Major P.J. Butler, "Project Polar Epsilon: Joint Space-Based Wide Area Surveillance and Support Capability," in *International Society for Photogrammetry and Remote Sensing*, at <http://www.isprs.org/publications/related/ISRSE/html/papers/1000.pdf>. Accessed 15 November 2010.
15. *Ibid.*
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## THE LEGACY OF INTERVENTION: THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE CONGO

by James McKillip

### Introduction

**O**n 30 June 1960, in accordance with an agreement between Congolese leaders and the government of the colonial authority, Belgium, the Congo became an independent state.<sup>1</sup> Almost immediately, the new government was overthrown. Belgian and other international forces quickly intervened in the conflict with mixed and highly controversial results. Thirty-six years later, in the face of a looming humanitarian disaster, the international community contemplated another intervention in the country. This intervention, with considerable potential Canadian involvement, did not materialize. No fighting force was dispatched to the Congo.

The complex and extremely violent war in the Congo continued, and, although a ceasefire was negotiated in 1999, and a more comprehensive accord was negotiated in 2002, the country remains one of the most dangerous places on earth. In spite of the presence of a large and growing United Nations peacekeeping mission in the country, currently the largest such

effort, the international community has demonstrated a conspicuous unwillingness to engage in direct action in the Congo, in spite of much talk to the contrary, and in contrast with actions taken in other areas of world, such as the former-Yugoslavia, East Timor, Sierra Leone, and, most recently, Libya. The long and unfortunate record of international involvement in the Congo remains a troubling legacy for Western decision-makers to this day.

### Background

**F**oreign intervention in the Congo is not comprehensible without an understanding of the roots of international involvement in the country. This began late in the 15<sup>th</sup>

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Century, with the first contacts between the peoples of Europe and the people populating the area that came to be known as the Congo. These early Portuguese explorers were searching for the gold, spices, and precious stones that were believed to exist in the mysterious and uncharted lands south of the barrier posed by Muslim control of Northern Africa. In addition to the lure of treasure, these explorers were drawn to Africa by stories of the legendary Christian kingdom of Prestor John that was said to exist somewhere in the depths of the continent. The first European, Diego Cao, landed at the mouth of the Congo River in 1482, and promptly announced that the land had been 'discovered' in the name of the King of Portugal.<sup>2</sup> This idea of 'discovery' that ignored the existence of any indigenous populations or societies anticipated the later dismissal of the rights of native populations that became such a recurring theme in the age of 'discovery.' Over the next several hundred years, 'discovery' by Europeans had a profound impact upon Africa *generally* and the people of the Congo basin *specifically*.

When the Portuguese penetrated inland a decade after their first landfall, they found that the Kongo people inhabited the area to the south of the Congo River's mouth.<sup>3</sup> This kingdom, in addition to providing the name for the river, formed the basis of European/Congolese relations for the better part of the next four hundred years.<sup>4</sup> The relationship, welcomed at first by the Kongo, was based upon the trade in slaves that was the principal European interest in Africa until well into the 19th Century. However, it was not long before the insatiable European appetite for slaves to work mines and plantations in the Americas led to a realization by Africans that their very existence was threatened by the nature of the trade. By 1665, this realization led to open conflict between the Kongo and the Portuguese. In the resulting war, the Kongo were defeated, and their king, the ManiKongo, was beheaded. No further organized resistance was offered to European encroachment until the end of the 19th Century.<sup>5</sup>

With the decline of the overseas slave trade during the first half of the 19th Century, commerce between Africa and Europe became more focused upon the export of commodities to Europe.<sup>6</sup> These commodities, primarily ivory and palm oil, were paid for in such a trifling way that the resulting commerce was essentially one-way. At the same time, maturing market concepts demanded that imports of raw materials needed to be paid for with exports of manufactured goods. It was becoming clear that purely extractive colonial policies were not to the long-term commercial advantage of the colonial powers. Added to this was a growing awareness among some of the older colonial powers of the true costs of maintaining formal rule over far-away lands. Taken together, these influences resulted in a general reluctance among European powers to take on new colonies. Unfortunately for Africa, this reluctance did not last long. In spite of the commercial logic that had slowed colonialism by the mid-19th Century, a new and powerful wave of colonizing zeal took hold in Europe in the second half of the century. This zeal was a product of dynamic nationalism, Christian missionary enthusiasm, the

search for markets, the search for new opportunities for the investment of surplus capital, and vague notions of imperial prestige. Nowhere were these influences combined more strongly than in the peculiar personality of the Belgian king Leopold II.

The story of Leopold's obsession with Africa is one of the most peculiar in the entire history of colonialism. Through a convoluted series of personal, financial, and diplomatic manoeuvres, Leopold was able to stake a claim to virtually the entire area drained by the Congo River and its tributaries.<sup>7</sup> This claim was formalized in 1885 at the conclusion of the Conference of Berlin that had been convened to bring order to

the rush for African colonies that had come to be known as the 'scramble.' On 29 May 1885, the État Indépendent du Congo (the Congo Free State) was officially created by Belgian royal decree. For the next quarter of a century, the Belgian king ruled the Congo as a personal fiefdom in a manner that defined colonialism at its worst and deeply affected the nature of Congolese societies and peoples. The country was run as a purely exploitive commercial concern and it routinely employed coercion and terror to generate profits. The principal business was

rubber. This had to be laboriously collected by hand from native rubber trees. To make this profitable, the administration of the Congo Free State effectively re-introduced European-operated slavery.

By 1908, the true nature of Leopold's rule in the Congo had been exposed to international scrutiny and near-universal condemnation. The resulting embarrassment led the Belgian government to successfully pressure Leopold to transfer authority for the Congo Free State to the Belgian state.<sup>8</sup> This put an end to the worst of Belgian colonial excesses, but it did nothing to erase the memory of Leopold's dominion. And, while Belgium tried to disavow its complicity in Leopold's run of terror, it could not avoid the fact that the country had benefited greatly from the ruthless exploitation of the region. Not a few Belgian palaces and public works were financed on the backs of the people of the Congo.<sup>9</sup>

While the transition from Leopold's personal rule to Belgian state rule certainly represented an improvement in the situation in the Congo, the fact remained that the country was still under foreign domination. And while Belgian government administration of the colony was certainly less oppressive than that of its immediate predecessor, the relationship between the Congo and Belgium was still based upon the presumption that Congo was an asset for exploitation. During the 52 years of Belgian rule, virtually nothing was done to prepare the country for independence.<sup>10</sup>

The decolonizing rush that followed Ghanain independence in 1957,<sup>11</sup> quickly spread to other parts of Africa, including the Congo. Following a prolonged outbreak of violence and serious rioting in the Congolese capital Leopoldville in 1959, the Belgian government hastily convened a conference to discuss the eventual independence of the country.<sup>12</sup> It

**"When the Portuguese penetrated inland a decade after their first landfall, they found that the Kongo people inhabited the area to the south of the Congo River's mouth."**



was clear from the beginning that Belgium had not developed any plans for Congolese independence.<sup>13</sup> When the conference convened on 20 January 1960, a vague proposal for independence in four years was tabled.<sup>14</sup> When the conference ended an agreement had been reached that set the deadline for the birth of the new country in less than five months, on 30 June 1960.<sup>15</sup>

factions led to the formation of a government, “[...] sympathetic to the West, and American persuasion, and money, was again said to have been involved.”<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile, in accordance with the United Nations Security Council Resolution S/5002 of 24 November 1961,<sup>22</sup> the secession of Katanga province was condemned, and its leader, Moïse Tshombe, was pressured to bring Katanga back into the Congo state.

Tshombe agreed to end secession, but delays over ratification of the agreement led to more fighting. Strongly encouraged by the United States, the United Nations force was strengthened and Tshombe was eventually forced to surrender.<sup>23</sup>

In spite of having rejected the Congo’s original call for help, the United States actively supported the deliberations that led to the creation of the United Nations mission. As the operation developed, the United States provided key support, especially with respect to transportation, supply, and the provision of equipment. More importantly, the United States paid a substantial part of the financial cost of the operation.<sup>24</sup>

Although Belgian intervention had provided justification for international involvement in the affairs of the new country, East-West rivalry was credited at the time for stimulating the actions and reactions of the principal powers. The Congolese government had reacted to their original rebuff from the United States by making a request for help to the Soviet Union. This request had resulted in the offer of considerable Soviet assistance.<sup>25</sup> Groups within the United Nations, the United States, and the Congolese government itself, exploited Western fears of Soviet penetration into Africa.<sup>26</sup> The resulting United Nations mission was widely supported because of genuine desires to avoid further East-West confrontation, and, “ONUC [Opérations des Nations Unies au Congo] was seen by the West as a very useful stabilizing agency at a potentially dangerous international crossroads.”<sup>27</sup>

With the situation in the Congo stabilizing by mid-1962, public discussion of the importance of Africa to the West tended to be discussed in conventional terms of national interests. On this basis, it was clear that, emotional and intellectual reactions notwithstanding, the actual American stake in Africa was, “[...] relatively slight.”<sup>28</sup> By 1965, the American foreign service agencies assessed Africa *generally*, and the Congo *specifically*, as being, “[...] of primary interest for the outgoing colonial powers and not for the United States.”<sup>29</sup> Africa was given the lowest priority of any area of United States interest confirming what, “[...] had always been more or less State Department practice.”<sup>30</sup>



Debating the Congolese situation in the United Nations.

This deadline was met, but within a week of independence, Congolese soldiers mutinied against the Belgian officers who had remained in the new National Army in accordance with terms of the independence agreement. Belgian intervention quickly followed, ostensibly to guarantee the safety of the 80,000-odd Belgian nationals still living in the country. The new Congolese government, not unreasonably assuming that this intervention was an attempt by Belgium to retain real power in the Congo, appealed to the United States for help. When this request was rejected, the Congo appealed to the United Nations. The United Nations Security Council quickly agreed that the Congo should be provided with military assistance, and passed Resolution S/4387 to that effect on 14 July.<sup>16</sup> Adding to the confusion, the mineral-rich southern province of Katanga declared its secession from the Congolese state within a week of Congolese independence, followed by the province of South Kasai a month later.<sup>17</sup>

On 5 September 1960, the Congolese President, Joseph Kasa-Vubu, fired the Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, who responded with an attempt to take over the Presidency. A week later, the Congolese Army under Joseph Mobutu,<sup>18</sup> and with the support of the President, assumed power with, according to some commentators, “[...] the encouragement and aid of the United States.”<sup>19</sup> A year of chaos followed, during which time Lumumba was killed and international tensions flared.<sup>20</sup> Discussions and negotiations between various

**“The Congolese government had reacted to their original rebuff by the United States by making a request for help to the Soviet Union.”**



UN photo 72369



RCAF North Star aircraft as part of ONUC forces.

In 1977, a string of events originating in Angolan independence resulted in the next significant foreign intervention in the Congo, renamed Zaire by President Mobutu in 1971. Angola, on the Congo's southern border, approached independence in 1975 after a long and bitter fight against the Portuguese government. As was the case with the Belgians in the Congo, Portugal had made almost no preparations for the handover of the administration of Angola to local authority. With Portuguese withdrawal imminent following a *coup d'État* in Portugal, a struggle between various factions for control of Angola boiled into the open. Mobutu decided to assist nominally pro-Western elements in Angola in their bid to take control of the country, in particular, the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA).<sup>31</sup> With considerable ostentation, the supposedly-elite Kamanyola brigade of the Forces armées zairoises (the Zairian Armed Forces) led an invasion into Angola in July. Inching their way south, they were within 40 kilometres of the Angolan capital Luanda by the end of November. However, when forces of the Soviet-oriented Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) were joined by regular Cuban troops equipped with rocket artillery, the Zairian forces, "[...] dissolved into disorderly bands of looters."<sup>32</sup>

This embarrassing defeat of the FAZ made it clear that the army had improved little since the days of the civil war, and was of negligible value in actually defending the state. This obvious weakness led a group of Katangan rebels, styled the Front pour la libération nationale du Congo (FLNC), based in and receiving support from Angola, to attack Zaire with the aim of provoking a popular insurrection that would lead to the long-sought independence of

Katanga province. This invasion began on 8 March 1977 by a force composed of less than two thousand poorly trained and sparsely equipped FLNC fighters. But even this weak force proved too much for the FAZ. In spite of bold press releases that described heroic fighting, international press reported that the FAZ, "[...] bears more resemblance to the panic-stricken, undisciplined mobs that passed for Congolese army units in the early 1960s. They flee rather than fight."<sup>33</sup> The attack progressed slowly, with the FLNC capturing a series of administrative and mining centres. By mid-April, it was clear to the world that the FAZ was doing little to stop the advance. Finally, the French government announced that it would provide air transport for a force of regular Moroccan troops that were being readied to assist the FAZ. The FNLC was clearly, "[...] reluctant to engage the Moroccan Army,"<sup>34</sup> and began to withdraw from Katanga within a week of their arrival in the area. By the end of May, the province was completely reoccupied by government forces.

There were two main results from this episode. First, in the aftermath of the reoccupation of the province, the FAZ conducted a ruthless punitive campaign against the population. In its wake, more than 200,000 Katangan refugees fled across the border into northern Angola. This had the double effect of swelling both the pool of potential FNLC recruits and providing them with considerable motivation for further action. The second main result of the invasion was a realization in the international community that, "[...] despite substantial Western aid and repeated retraining programs over the years [...],"<sup>35</sup> the FAZ was not capable of protecting its mineral-rich southern province, nor was it likely to be of much assistance in Western efforts to combat Soviet influence in Africa.



UN photo 18443

UN ONUC troops salvage a stranded jeep.

Less than a year after the end of the first invasion, the FNLC attacked Katanga province again. Beginning on 13 May 1978, this attack was much better prepared than that of a year earlier. Not only was the force larger, better equipped, and better trained, its political goals were much clearer. As the first town, Kolwezi, fell to the invaders, the establishment of a provisional Katangan government was announced.<sup>36</sup> This time, the international response was swift. A force of French Foreign Legion and Belgian paratroops was dispatched to the area almost immediately and went into action on 19 May, recapturing Kolwezi the same day. The United States provided air support for the force, both in the form of air transport, and, in the provision of ground attack aircraft that directly attacked FNLC troops. Although mopping-up operations continued into June, the invasion had been effectively defeated within a week of its commencement. A multinational force composed primarily of Moroccan troops was quickly organized to maintain a presence in the area.<sup>37</sup> In the aftermath of the second annual invasion of Katanga, Mobutu greatly increased the number of foreign military instructors and advisors serving alongside FAZ officers. In addition to providing direct assistance, these advisors served a much more important function, especially in view of the palpable ineffectiveness of the FAZ. As a United States Senate report stated, "Conspicuous evidence of Western support has a symbolic value which far exceeds the actual number of foreign personnel involved. The 'tripwire' presence of these personnel represents the assurance of foreign intervention during a 'crisis.'"<sup>38</sup>

## Aftermath

For the next 15 years, the Congo remained relatively quiet. Throughout the period, a low-profile Western presence remained in the country. More important was the economic situation. Triggered by a collapse in the price of copper in 1974, the Congo developed deep financial problems. Payment issues, aggravated by the burden of financial arrangements related to very large development projects, such as the Inga Dam<sup>39</sup> and the Maluka steel mills,<sup>40</sup> put the country into a near permanent state of economic crisis. Other blows, such as the rise in oil prices, the costs associated with the Angolan crises, and failures in the agricultural sector all contributed to and aggravated the situation to such an extent that, by the early-1990s, the Congo was facing near-total financial collapse.<sup>41</sup>

**"At the same time, in Rwanda, on the country's eastern border, events were unfolding that were to have a profound impact upon the Congo."**

At the same time, in Rwanda, on the country's eastern border, events were unfolding that were to have a profound impact upon the Congo.<sup>42</sup> In 1994, Rwanda exploded in a paroxysm of murderous violence that stunned the world. A half-hearted international response did little to control the situation. Within weeks, the country was in full-blown civil war. A rapid victory by powerful and well-organized rebel forces resulted in the massive flight of a large portion of the Rwandan population across the border into eastern Congo. As the numbers swelled to the millions, the threat of a humanitarian disaster of gigantic proportions loomed large. The international response remained lukewarm. By 1996, there was widespread agreement that, 'something needed to be done,' but few countries were willing to put their own personnel and resources into the effort. Particularly absent from efforts to take positive action were the countries most able to respond – the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. Also noticeably absent was the former colonial power, Belgium. Although there was a flurry of activity around Canadian efforts to sponsor and lead a multinational force for intervention in eastern Congo, the force was never mounted. Eventually, internal forces in Rwanda led to a return of the bulk of the refugee population without significant international involvement.

Over the last 15 years, the country has been plagued by continuing civil war, political turmoil, and a level of civil chaos and violence that makes Congo rate as one of the worst and most dangerous places in the world to live. As of 2011, the American Central Intelligence Agency ranked the Congo 199th out of 222 countries in the world for life expectancy, and estimated that 71 percent of its population of more than 70 million people lived below the poverty line. In addition to the more than four million people<sup>43</sup> who are estimated to have been killed as a result of the widespread fight-



Map of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.



ing and general anarchy, the Congo is considered by many to be the, “rape capital of the world,” and the “worst place on earth to be a woman.”<sup>44</sup> Although a new United Nations mission was mounted in the country as a result of the Lusaka agreement of 1999, the mission began slowly, and only recently began deploying significant numbers of troops to the country. Even were it to reach its mandated strength of some 22,000 troops, the new UN force would still be woefully inadequate for the needs of a country roughly one-quarter the size of Canada, with more than 200 ethnic groups represented in its very large population.

### Congo in Context

**B**efore assessing the legacy of these events on contemporary attitudes in the West, it is necessary to put them in the context of major international events. First, by the time the Congo was granted its independence, the world was in the grip of the Cold War. First articulated by Sir Winston Churchill in 1946 in his “Iron Curtain” speech,<sup>45</sup> the idea of continuous confrontation between the West, led by the United States, and “Communism,” led by the Soviet Union, was codified in the policy of “containment” explained in the famous “Mr. X” article written by George Kennan.<sup>46</sup> In May 1949, the Berlin Blockade and Airlift demonstrated the degree of East-West estrangement following the Second World War. In October of the same year, the Chinese civil war ended in a near-total communist victory.<sup>47</sup> By 1953, the first great East-West challenge had been fought to a stalemate in Korea. In January 1959, Fidel Castro completed his takeover of Cuba and began his drift towards communism. The establishment of the Berlin Wall (1961), the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962), and the beginnings of large-scale American involvement in Viet Nam (1964) all occurred during the years of the Congo Civil War. By the time of the Katanga invasions (1977-1978), the United States had been defeated in Viet Nam. This defeat generated a widespread reluctance to become involved in any regions that were not clearly in the national interest.

Even more dramatic were the events that followed the sudden unraveling of the Soviet Union in 1989 that led to the effective end of the Cold War. This was almost immediately followed by the massive response to Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait in 1990. Western victory in Kuwait, greatly facilitated by the lack of Soviet interfer-

ence, led to buoyant optimism in 1991 that “a new world order” was at hand.<sup>48</sup> But almost immediately, this new world order was challenged by events in Somalia in 1992. By the following year, the lack of progress in Somalia, combined with mounting costs, including scores of dead ‘peacekeepers,’ led to a widespread disillusionment with the new world order.<sup>49</sup> This disillusionment held full sway throughout the Rwandan crises. By 1996, the brief international interest in humanitarian intervention operations had vanished. The great powers were, as one commentator sarcastically noted, not prepared to conduct, “Foreign Policy as Social Work.”<sup>50</sup>

The record of international intervention in the Congo reveals a consistent trend of action motivated by clearly identified national interests. During the period from 1960 to 1989, the primary element in the Congo’s foreign affairs was exploitation of the widespread perception that the country represented a bulwark against Soviet expansionism in Africa. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, international interests in the Congo rested almost exclusively upon commercial bases. While this was sufficient to maintain business activity at a moderate level, it was not sufficient to generate much in the way of official government action. The costs of intervention over the years had proven to be far too high. Western decision-makers contemplating intervention in the Congo were, and remain, confronted by a long list of ‘Nos.’ There is no great motivating principle or imperative such as the Cold War. There are no essential assets in the Congo. There is no confidence that an intervention will be successful in the chaotic situation that exists in the country. And finally, there is no willingness to take great risks for altruistic ideals. Should an intervention in the Congo be proposed in the near future, it is not difficult to imagine what the likely answer will be.



Major André Martin, deployed on Operation *Crocodile*, visits Kimpoko village to follow up on a Canadian project to build and refurbish housing and wells for Congolese war widows and children, 15 March 2011.

DND photo IS2011-1005-17



## NOTES

1. Nomenclature is a source of perpetual confusion with respect to the Congo. Not only has the country changed names several times, this is also true of other places and personalities. For the purposes of this article, unless otherwise specified, the country variously known as: the Congo Free State, the Belgian Congo, The Congo, Zaire and The Democratic Republic of The Congo will be referred to as the Congo. Congo's southern province, Katanga, was renamed Shaba by President Mobutu in 1971, and the capital was renamed from Leopoldville to Kinshasa.
2. Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), p. 8.
3. Winsome J. Leslie, *Zaire: Continuity and Political Change in an Oppressive State*, (Oxford: Westview Press, 1993), pp. 5-8.
4. Hochschild, p. 16.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
6. The slave trade that was internal to Africa, and the export of slaves to the east, continued long after the formal abolition of slavery by European nations. For example, see, David N. Gibbs, *The Political Economy of Third World Intervention: Mines, Money and US Policy in The Congo Crisis*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 38-39.
7. For a description of these manoeuvres, see Hochschild, pp. 21-87.
8. Leslie, p. 10.
9. The "haunting" of the Congo and the history of Leopold's rule are vividly described in Hochschild.
10. For a discussion of this period see, Jean van den Bosch, *Pré-Zaire: Le Cordon mal coupé*, (Bruxelles: Le CRI, 1986).
11. Ghana, the former British colony of Gold Coast, became an independent state in March 1957.
12. Gibbs, pp. 74-75.
13. For a discussion of Belgian government ideas, initiatives and intentions see, A.A.J. Van Bilsen, *Vers L'indépendance du Congo et du Ruanda-Urundi*, (Kinshasa: Presse Universitaire du Zaïre, 1977).
14. Alan James, *Peacekeeping in International Politics*, (London: MacMillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1990), p. 291.
15. The speed of the transition from colonial rule to independence has been routinely blamed for a significant part of the Congo's early difficulties. For an example of a particularly charged polemic, see Jean-Grégoire Kalonda Djessa, *Du Congo Prospère au Zaïre en Débaîcle*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1991), pp. 158-159.
16. Arthur Lee Burns and Nina Heathcote, *Peace-Keeping by UN Forces: From Suez to Congo*, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1963), p. 249. Over the next four years, the United Nations force in the Congo grew to a strength of over 20,000 troops, and became actively involved in military operations in support of the government, quite in contravention of the original mandate's direction that force was only to be used in self-defence.
17. James, p. 295. For a discussion of ethnic and nationalist sentiment in Katanga, see Edouard Bustin, *Luanda Under Belgian Rule: The Politics of Ethnicity*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 236-238.
18. As with the country as a whole, Mobutu's name is a source of confusion. At the time of independence, he was known as Colonel Joseph Desire Mobutu. After his takeover of power in 1961 he was commonly referred to as General Mobutu. His assumption of dictatorial power in 1965 led to his adoption of the title of prime minister, amended in 1970 to president. In 1972, he changed his name to Mobutu Sese Seko.
19. James, p. 295.
20. For example, the Soviets accused the UN Secretariat of "[...] acting with the deliberate intent of ousting Lumumba [...]" *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
22. Burns, pp. 254-255.
23. James, p. 297. See also the view that, "Secession collapsed, not because of a torrent of words from the African states, but because of the perseverance of the United Nations, whose main support – against British and French equivocations – was the United States, notably Ambassador Edmund Gullion, and the liberal American press, that buttressed an exasperated Kennedy against the doubts and hesitations of Dean Rusk, Averill Harriman, and many others." Russell Warren Howe, "Man and Myth in Political Africa" in *Foreign Affairs: An American Quarterly Review*, Apr (1968), p. 596.
24. None of the permanent members of the Security Council contributed combat troops. James, p. 292.
25. This in spite of Soviet wariness regarding Lumumba's character, which, "[...] was markedly on the left, but his chameleon-like nature detracted from his appeal as a potential ally [of the Soviet Union]." *Ibid.*, p. 294.
26. This view is based to a considerable degree upon Stephen R. Weissman, *American Foreign Policy in the Congo 1960-1964*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1974).
27. James, p. 294.
28. Rupert Emerson, "American Policy in Africa," in *Foreign Affairs: An American Quarterly Review*, January 1962, p. 303.
29. Arnold Rivkin, "Lost Goals in Africa," in *Foreign Affairs: An American Quarterly Review*, October 1965, pp. 111-126.
30. Rivkin, p. 113. For an alternative view of American orientation, see David Louis Cingranelli, *Ethics, American Foreign Policy and the Third World*, (New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1993), pp. 155-56.
31. The pro-Western elements in Angola also included the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) and units of the South African Defence Force (SADF)
32. Crawford Young and Thomas Turner, *The Rise and Decline of the Zairian State*, (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 254.
33. *Washington Post*, 25 March 1977. Quoted in Young and Turner, p. 256.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
37. This "inter-African peacekeeping force," was composed of 1500 Moroccan troops, with token elements from Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Togo, Gabon, and the Central African Republic. All the countries in the force had close ties with France and with President Mobutu. Young, *The Rise and Decline*, 258.
38. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Zaire*, July 1982, 97<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, p. 5. Quoted in Young and Turner, p. 268.
39. For details see *Ibid.*, p. 298.
40. For details see *Ibid.*, p. 296.
41. Leslie, pp. 294-325.
42. The long-term effects of the events of 1994-1996 in Rwanda are beyond the scope of this article. However, there is little doubt that these events contributed to the general instability that led to the overthrow of Mobutu, the assassination of President Laurent Kabila, and the continuing and complex civil and international war in the Congo.
43. This number is the UN estimate of deaths during the period 1998-2003 alone.
44. So described in 2010 by the UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, Margot Wallstrom.
45. This speech was made at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, on 5 March 1946. Churchill was not prime minister at the time, having been defeated in the 1945 general election. Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, and Kenneth J. Hagan, *American Foreign Relations: A History since 1895*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), p. 237.
46. X, "Zaire: The Sources of Soviet Conduct" in *Foreign Affairs: An American Quarterly Review*, July 1947, pp. 566-582.
47. Only the island of Taiwan remained under the control of the nationalist Kuomintang government.
48. President Bush's "new world order" speech may be found in "Address to Congress on Persian Gulf Crisis," 11 September 1990, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, George Bush, 1990 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991), Book II, pp. 1218-1222.
49. Paul F. Diehl, *International Peacekeeping*, (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 190.
50. Michael Mandelbaum, "Foreign Policy as Social Work," in *Foreign Affairs*, January 1996, p. 1.

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"C" Company of the Royal Rifles en route to Hong Kong, 15 November 1941, aboard HMCS *Prince Robert*.

## DEFEAT STILL CRIES ALOUD FOR EXPLANATION: EXPLAINING C FORCE'S DISPATCH TO HONG KONG

by Galen Roger Perras

### Background

In 1992, when I expostulated on the historiography of Hong Kong's loss in 1941, I concluded we needed a good book that eschewed nationalist grudges.<sup>1</sup> Nathan M. Greenfield's 2010 monograph, *The Damned: The Canadians at the Battle of Hong Kong and the POW Experience 1941-45*, a 'popular account,' has tried, and has received positive reviews.<sup>2</sup> But Greenfield wrongly asserted C Force's story is "little known,"<sup>3</sup> and did not cite British documents and revisionist Canadian studies that put Hong Kong's reinforcement in a strategic context. The book's strength, a moving depiction of the pain C Force members endured in battle and in Japanese POW camps, is problematic as well. By emphasizing this narrative of suffering, Greenfield has perpetuated the notion that C Force's sacrifices were the tragic product of colonial subservience. For this reason, and more, we still need a monograph that avoids nationalist 'finger-pointing and grudge settling,' is interpretatively innovating, and mines multinational archival sources.

Three 'official' publications initiated the debate. Prime Minister W.L.M. King formed a Royal Commission in 1942, which absolved his government of responsibility as Supreme Court Chief Justice Lyman P. Duff accepted claims by General Harry Crerar and Minister of Defence J.L. Ralston that Canada had to respond to Britain's September 1941 request for help at Hong Kong, as war with Japan did not appear imminent. The army was castigated for failing to deliver vehicles to the colony, and for dispatching 120 under-trained C Force members, although Duff ruled these failings had not seriously impaired C Force's effectiveness.<sup>4</sup> Although Conservatives labeled Duff's report a whitewash, discord faded until 1948, when Major-General C.M. Matlby's report about Hong Kong's fall became public. Written in 1945, the

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General H.D.G. Crerar (left) and Lieutenant-General E.L.M. Burns in Italy, 1944.

document was edited after Canada insisted that Hong Kong's fate "... would not have been changed to any appreciable extent" had C Force equaled the standard of units fighting in 1944.<sup>5</sup> Still, the revised version asserted that the Royal Rifles of Canada and the Winnipeg Grenadiers had been "inadequately trained for modern war," and that Hong Kong's defence was "a worth-while gamble." King wanted to reveal secret documents that would demonstrate why London and Ottawa had buttressed Hong Kong in 1941. When London declined, King was castigated by Canada's pro-imperial Conservatives for appealing to "his master's London voice." Moreover, *The Globe and Mail* opined that as Britain had not asked King before releasing Maltby's report, King did not need Britain's approval. By 'hiding behind British skirts,' *The Globe* accused King of taking a "mighty leap from nationhood to colonialism."<sup>6</sup>

Politics also affected C.P. Stacey, the Canadian Army's official historian. As his 1983 memoir recounted, explaining Hong Kong was Stacey's toughest historical task, due to a dearth of battlefield documentation, the death of C Force commanders, and powerful personages safeguarding reputations. An "embarrassed" Stacey had demanded Maltby's report be amended, as Maltby, 'fiddling the facts,' had "put an undue share of the blame" on C Force. Stacey's 1948 preliminary account echoed that Ottawa did not believe war was imminent, but did not mention that Major-General A.E. Grasett, Hong Kong's former Canadian-born chief, had told Crerar and Britain's Chiefs of Staff in August-September 1941 the colony could be made more defensible. Stacey also did not say Britain's Chiefs in August 1940 had ruled Hong Kong was an outpost that could not be relieved and should not be reinforced. Instead, he cited Winston Churchill's admission that having rejected plans to reinforce Hong Kong in February 1941, Churchill "allowed himself to be drawn from this position."<sup>7</sup>

Volume One of the Army's official history, published in 1955, created the mild nationalist critique that predominated

in Canada for 25 years. Stacey adopted a tougher tone, perhaps, as he told a British historian, Canadians who survived Hong Kong "... assert, pretty universally," that Maltby and Brigadier Cedric Wallis, "... being in search of scapegoats for the failure of the defence, fixed upon the Canadian battalions for this purpose." As Canada, relying upon British intelligence, believed London's claim that a small reinforcement could deter war, Churchill's reversal "... would seem to have been one of those cases where second thoughts are not best." More pointedly, it was an "egregious absurdity" to believe that two Canadian battalions would deter Japan. Mentioning Grasett, Stacey did not say Crerar had welcomed a request to reinforce Hong Kong, a scenario Crerar had denied to Chief Justice Duff. Maltby's splitting of C Force had been "a serious disadvantage," as the Royal Rifles had little confidence in Wallis, while C Force commander, Brigadier J.K. Lawson, unimpressed by garrison's capabilities, had asked Ottawa for a third battalion.<sup>8</sup> Stacey had 'pulled

some punches,' noting: "... my view is that, particularly in the light of the rather fortunate fact that many of the controversies [over battle worthiness] have not reached the press, there is no point in raising these matters in print more than we have to."<sup>9</sup> Still, Stacey and official historians, with exclusive access to documents, "provided the first foundational studies."<sup>10</sup>





## Further Studies

However, some downstream British pronouncements proved unsettling. In 1957, the official historian S. Woodburn Kirby postulated that Canada mistakenly believed Britain's request for help meant Hong Kong's outpost status had changed. Another official historian, J.M.A. Gwyer, maintained that Hong Kong had to be defended, although it was known, "... we could not press the defence beyond a certain point."<sup>11</sup> A 1960 book by British Army veteran Tim Carew dismissed Grasett's opinion that Hong Kong could be held as "light-hearted facile optimism."<sup>12</sup> Carew scorned Lawson as an amateur soldier, as he had taught school between the wars, and said C Force, trained for perfunctory security details, lacked British "sturdy independence of spirit."<sup>13</sup> Bereft of footnotes or Canadian sources, Carew's book had two themes; sympathy for the 'poor bloody infantry,' and disdain for stupidity in high places.

According to his posthumously-edited wartime diary, King had been reluctant to aid Hong Kong, lest it "later afford an argument for conscription,"<sup>14</sup> but Minister of National Defence for Air C.G. Power, his son serving in the Royal Rifles, vociferously advocated sending C Force. King avowed it was a mistake "to rush things unduly,"<sup>15</sup> and to let the military take on more than it "had any right to assume."<sup>16</sup> In 1961, journalist Ralph Allan slammed London's request as an old practice that regarded Dominion forces as "toy automata." Professor James Eayrs termed Britain's strategic assessment in 1941 "... a woefully inadequate appraisal of the situation." J.L. Granatstein, a former official historian, said Canada was "... led down the golden path by a willingness to accept British assessments of the situation." Still, Duff's findings "were the only ones possible under the circumstances," for while C Force's training deficiencies were obvious, war did not seem imminent and King could not have easily refused London's request.<sup>17</sup> For former military historian George Stanley, reinforcing Hong Kong was a political decision that "displayed a political naïveté beyond comprehension." Donald Creighton, in a vitriolic book that assailed King for selling Canada out to America, maintained London had not kept Canada in the picture about Hong Kong, while its "request" for C Force amounted to an order.<sup>18</sup>

Excepting General Maurice Pope, who averred sending C Force was "a manly and courageous stand to take,"<sup>19</sup> no Canadian writer challenged Stacey, an omission that rankled University of Alberta historian Kenneth Taylor. Opining official military histories, "more celebratory than heroic than definitive," pasteurized, homogenized, and tidied up war, he accused academic historians of absorbing Stacey's opinions as "sacred codas which must be left to gather dust in respectful silence."<sup>20</sup> Early revisionist results were modest. Official historians W.A.B. Douglas and Brereton Greenhous said King's "customary political insight had deserted him," thanks to his limited military knowledge, an excuse neither Crerar nor Ralston could claim.<sup>21</sup> Journalist Ted Ferguson's emotional 1980 book condemned Ottawa for not "fully realizing the enormity of the task awaiting those troops."<sup>22</sup>

**"Volume One of the Army's official history, published in 1955, created the mild nationalist critique that predominated in Canada for 25 years."**



Troops of C Force en route to Sham Shui Po Barracks, Hong Kong, 16 November 1941.

Two books better met Taylor's revisionist hopes. Using newly opened British and Canadian records, Oliver Lindsay claimed, in 1978, that while defeat was a foregone conclusion, Hong Kong required defence, as Sino-American resolve to confront Japan might have waned. Still, Canadian troops should not have taken part because an overly optimistic Grasett believed they might deter attack, while Crerar's dispatch of under-trained men demonstrated a poor understanding of the situation's urgency. Lindsay asserted that the Royal Rifles commander, Lieutenant-Colonel William Home, asked about a cease-fire as further resistance was futile, but Wallis told Home to fight or to leave the front line under a white flag.<sup>23</sup>

Grant Garneau stalwartly defended the Royal Rifles in 1980. Although not the best available, C Force troops were not "... without preparatory seasoning for the active service into which all ranks found themselves plunged within two months of departure." Crerar's reasoning the soldiers could fix deficiencies was retrospectively "faulty and naive," but the historical record indicated "it must be realized that the possibility that the troops might be immediately involved in action was apparently never seriously considered." Ottawa's decision was made in "good faith," yet Canadian authorities did not "calculate the risks involved nor were they willing to assume the responsibility when the loss of the force occurred."<sup>24</sup> Unhappy with local defences, Lawson wanted another battalion plus artillery and engineers, while the Rifles endured "an apparently inept British officer who was used to dealing with Indian troops and was

incapable of comprehending vital aspects of the Canadian personality.” Although victory was impossible, more soldiers would have survived had Wallis not ordered needless counter-attacks that produced a 37 percent casualty rate and compelled Home’s demand, on 24 December, that his unit be relieved.<sup>25</sup>

DND PHOTO LAC/PA-037419



Infantrymen of “C” Company, Royal Rifles of Canada, disembarking from HMCS *Prince Robert*, Hong Kong, 16 November 1941.

In *No Reason Why: The Canadian Hong Kong Tragedy*, Carl Vincent decried that C Force members were the only Commonwealth soldiers in the war to be “deliberately sent into a position where there was absolutely no hope of victory, evacuation, or relief.” This blunder would baffle future investigators, for “there was no reason why.”<sup>26</sup> Grasett was the sole British actor to believe two battalions would help, thanks to his “contempt for Japanese military ability, a fixed determination to ‘put on a good show,’ and remarkably poor powers of military appreciation.” Grasett’s success stemmed from his claim the men would come from an untapped source, while Churchill had forgotten “the risk to the garrison or considered it worth taking.”<sup>27</sup> The Dominions Office telegram of 19 September 1941 asking for soldiers had remarked British policy “has been” to see Hong Kong as an outpost, the present tense falsely implying a policy change. As Canada’s Ministers were busy men with “neither the knowledge nor the inclination to read between the lines or wonder about motivations,” an automatic ‘yes’ was in order, unless there were sound military reasons to say ‘no.’<sup>28</sup> Reasons existed, but when Ministers sought his expert opinion, as Crerar claimed, “political and moral principles were

involved, rather than military ones.” This explanation – equated to Pontius Pilate washing his hands twice – demonstrated Crerar had forgotten he was to advise his political masters, not usurp their jobs “... by failing to make it plain to the politicians that the military risks were very real.”<sup>29</sup>

Unwilling to divert formations slated for Britain, Crerar judged the Grenadiers and the Royal Rifles to be of proven efficiency. Vincent revealed that Major J.H. Price, the Rifles’ second-in-command, had asked Power, in September 1941, to get his unit attached to a larger body so that it could get advanced training. As Power responded that events overseas would “soon develop to the point where it will be possible for your lot to have the opportunity it deserves,” it could not be coincidental that Price’s unit joined C Force.<sup>30</sup> After Japan’s landing on 18 December decimated the Royal Scottish and Rajput Regiments, and left the Middlesex and Punjab Regiments trapped in fixed positions, the combat burden fell upon the Rifles, who launched more company level counter-attacks than all imperial units combined, a standard the Grenadiers nearly matched. The Japanese suffered their heaviest losses in encounters with C Force.<sup>31</sup> Vincent had contempt for Duff’s inquiry, but recognized an impartial Duff could not have questioned King’s war management, as that was Parliament’s task.<sup>32</sup> Duff uncritically accepted senior officer testimony about C Force training standards from “men whose professional reputations would have been injured if their choice of these battalions had not been upheld.” Vincent put the number of untrained men at 250, while 20 percent of the Grenadiers and 40 percent of the Rifles had not passed elementary weapons tests.<sup>33</sup> The transport issue, however, ensured Duff’s findings were a whitewash. While three witnesses on Vancouver’s docks in October 1941 testified vehicles could have accompanied the troops, Duff accepted contrary testimony from an official who had not been in Vancouver, and had overlooked reports about Hong Kong’s desperate transport shortage.<sup>34</sup>

Vincent’s Anglophobic book relied on just 14 files from Britain’s Public Record Office but none from key War Office, Foreign Office, Admiralty, or Cabinet record groups, an omission that injured his thin prewar explanation.<sup>35</sup> Kenneth Taylor, in the *Globe and Mail*, attacked Vincent’s “emotional anti-Liberal and anti-Churchillian hysterics” and the implication C Force had fought for nothing. Who knows, Taylor claimed, how close Japan came to changing its plans in late 1941.<sup>36</sup> But it took several years for academic historians to weigh in. In 1994, University of Calgary historian John Ferris said Vincent’s argument “is accepted by no reputable authority,” while Tony Banham, a Hong Kong-based author, dismissed *No Reason Why* as “damaged by a blatant nationalism that is painful to the non-Canadian (and hopefully, for most Canadians as well),” and for doing “little to advance our knowledge of the subject.”<sup>37</sup> Yet, Canadian historian Gregory A. Johnson said Vincent’s “vitriolic” study “essentially created a new foundational myth about the Canadian experience at Hong Kong that was given wide currency more than a decade later,” when *The Valour and the Horror*, a controversial TV documentary, appeared.<sup>38</sup>

**“Unwilling to divert formations slated for Britain, Crerar judged the Grenadiers and the Royal Rifles to be of proven efficiency.”**



DND photo 17\_08\_2001-2



The spot where the Royal Rifles of Canada stood guard over Lemun Pass and repelled two attempts by the Japanese to land.

Brereton Greenhous, who countered that any competent military historian could attest there was “no evidence that Japanese plans were affected,” later called Vincent’s study “the best Canadian monograph on the subject.”<sup>39</sup> When the Canadian Hong Kong Veterans Association campaigned in 1987 to compel Japan to compensate C Force survivors, it used *No Reason Why*, while the media cited Vincent.<sup>40</sup> Stacey, savaged by Taylor and Vincent, oddly did not respond. His 1984 study of King’s foreign policy ‘astonishingly’ did not mention Hong Kong once,<sup>41</sup> perhaps Stacey believed, as he had stated in his last official history in 1970, Hong Kong’s “ill starred” story was “fully told elsewhere.”<sup>42</sup> Granatstein said Vincent had failed “to understand the political realities” pertaining in 1941, a critique buried in an 2002 endnote.<sup>43</sup>

Two overlooked studies bettered our understanding. David Ricardo Williams’ 1984 biography of Duff revealed that King and Duff had ensured the government would escape censure.<sup>44</sup> In 1989, Gregory A. Johnson produced a fine doctoral thesis, *North Pacific Triangle? The Impact of the Far East on Canada and Its Relations with the United States and Great Britain, 1937-1948*. Adroitly using Canadian, British, and American records, Johnson put Canada’s involvement in Pacific affairs in proper context, and refined King’s role. Fearful pro-imperialists would pounce, King “was forced

to let Canada stand, once again, at Britain’s side.” Further, in a hidden diary entry, King had written “For Canada to have troops in the Orient, fighting the battle of freedom, marks a new stage in our history. That, too, is a memorial”<sup>45</sup> Contrast this entry to King’s false assertion in 1948 that he had opposed “strenuously sending troops to cross the Pacific Ocean” in 1941.<sup>46</sup>

In January 1992, *The Valour and the Horror*, the aforementioned docudrama by journalists Brian and Terence McKenna, shocked many. Given its claims that incompetent Canadian and British militaries had wasted Canadian lives, and that officials and historians had hidden this wrongdoing, Brian McKenna had thought “controversy” was probable.<sup>47</sup> Despite winning national television awards, including best documentary, the CBC’s Ombudsman ruled, in late-1992, that the “flawed” series had not met network “policies and standards.”<sup>48</sup> The McKennas failed to mollify critics as Brian, averring the issue was “about history and who gets to tell it,”<sup>49</sup> labeled his research “bullet-proof,” and the Senate hearings a “smear job.”<sup>50</sup> The McKennas argued the Ombudsman had not found “a single serious error in the entire six hours of television,” adding “our work is to be severely judged, not because of what we actually said, but because of the many other things Mr. Morgan and others wanted to hear that we did not say.”<sup>51</sup>

This sharp fight was about “ownership” of history, generational identity, freedom of speech, objectivity, interpretation, and dissent from dominant hegemonic viewpoints.<sup>52</sup> Admitting the McKennas “had a right to their point of view,” senators wanted a disclaimer to say the series was “a docudrama only partly based on fact,” asked the CBC to shelve the unamended series, and invited the National Film Board to produce a documentary that “redresses the imbalances and corrects the inaccuracies of *The Valour and the Horror*.”<sup>53</sup> For Professor Michael Bliss, the anti-McKenna hostility was not “very Canadian.”<sup>54</sup> When Granatstein asserted the “real issue” was about who “writes history,” and that television history will “have more impact on ...people who know nothing about



Sau Ki Wan, where the *Tanaka Butai* landed on the night of 18-19 December 1941. The person in the foreground is General Tanaka himself, 19 March 1947, taken just prior to his war crimes trial.

DND photo 17\_08\_2001-01



the war than anything I write,” Bliss retorted Granatstein thought history “properly belongs to the historical profession.” Professor Terry Copp, targeting the baby boomer McKennas, declared there was “no worse present for viewing the past of the 1940s than to have been a university student and a young man in the sixties and early seventies.”<sup>55</sup>

able person could object. However, it is precisely those three minutes that contain two of the most controversial allegations made by the program producers. There, the McKennas present their interpretation of why Canadians were sent to Hong Kong in the first place, criticize the Canadian government for doing what it did, and assert that the dispatch of essentially untrained-for-war soldiers was a monstrous act.<sup>58</sup>



The third installment, *Savage Christmas*, centered upon two Canadian veterans revisiting Hong Kong and Japan. An encounter between one Canadian and Japanese veterans from Hong Kong was riveting, as the Japanese froze when they found out the absent Canadian, a witness to the murder of prisoners at Hong Kong, refused to meet them. But a lack of vital context about Hong Kong's strategic situation and pervasive anti-British bias distorted the show. Further, asserting British and Canadian officials “knowingly” sent C Force to its doom was so preposterous even Vincent would not use the word “knowingly,” when asked by the Ombudsman.<sup>56</sup>

For David Bercuson, co-editor of a 1994 book about *The Valour and the Horror*:

“The clear impression presented is that Canada, as Britain's lap-dog, either deliberately and knowingly sent its young men, untrained for war, to slaughter to stay in Britain's good graces, or should have known that they were being sent to the slaughter. This is pure fiction. Thus, although much of the film presents a balanced view of the Hong Kong battle and its aftermath, the central theme is developed without regard to a readily available mountain of evidence that that theme is a figment of the imagination of the producers. No part of that mountain of evidence which runs counter to this theme is presented to the viewer.”<sup>57</sup>

John Ferris, an intelligence expert, was no kinder.

Indeed, except for three minutes of a 104-minute presentation, *Savage Christmas* showed nothing to which any reason-

debacle, one need merely look in the mirror. The guilty men were a Canadian society and government that starved its military forces for years on end and then one day sent them off against well-equipped enemies, in pursuit not of national interests defined by Canadian politicians but of international interests defined by external authorities. Hong Kong was not the first example of the phenomena or the last. It happened in the First and Second World Wars, in the Korean War and in the Gulf Conflict. The risk was taken in NATO and everywhere Canadians have served as UN peacekeepers. It is the Canadian way of war.<sup>60</sup>

*The Valour and the Horror* had a catalytic impact. In January 1993, Britain's Cabinet, irked by Canadian accusations of British perfidiousness, and Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating's public denunciation in 1992 of Britain's failure to hold Singapore in 1942, a catastrophe that had enveloped 20,000 Australians, acted. It unlocked Maltby's unedited report and the Wavell Report on Singapore, which claimed cowardly and mutinous Australians had doomed Singapore, revelations that received prominent press coverage in Britain and Hong Kong.<sup>61</sup> *The Calgary Herald* called Maltby a lying strategic bungler, Vincent told *The Edmonton Journal* that Canadians were “convenient scapegoats” for “the early fall of Hong Kong,” and *The Vancouver Sun* termed C Force's dispatch “a suicide mission.” C Force veteran Sid Vale called British troops “cowards” who hid “back at the hotel,” while Canadians fought. *Globe and Mail* columnist Michael Valpy charged it was “a toss-up who posed the greater threat to [Canadian troops] – the British and Canadian generals and politicians who sent them, or the Japanese.”<sup>62</sup>



DND Photos 17\_06\_2001-04 and 17\_06\_2001\_05 respectively. (left to right)

Two Japanese propaganda leaflets, in this case, directed against Commonwealth troops from India.

The series also prompted Canadian historical revisionism. As Crerar had studied Hong Kong at the Imperial Defence College (IDC) in the 1930s, Paul Dickson contended the general's decisions derived from "a reasoned analysis of the contemporary strategic situation in the Far East, his long-term objectives for the army, and the reality of the state of the army's training," plus a belief that Japan would lose any war as America would join Britain. Still, "Crerar should be faulted for his failure to make the potential risks inherent in garrisoning Hong Kong absolutely clear to the government. That was his responsibility."<sup>63</sup> Two articles by myself and Christopher M. Bell, which mined British records, made two key arguments: a long-standing debate existed with respect to Hong Kong's defences; and Hong Kong's reinforcement must be seen as part of a broad Western attempt to deter war by buttressing the Asia-Pacific bases. As Bell noted: "The nature of the debate over Hong Kong's defence during the pivotal period 1934-38 has been widely misunderstood. That Hong Kong would be difficult to defend was apparent, but it was not always judged to be impossible." Local commanders underestimated the likelihood of Japanese attack, and overrated defensive prospects, while London was more confident war could be averted, or that American support would be forthcoming.<sup>64</sup>

Such welcome revisionism was absent in Greenhous' 1997 book, *"C" Force to Hong Kong: A Canadian Catastrophe, 1941-1945*. For a work that Banham nicknamed "Maltby's Great Mistakes,"<sup>65</sup> Greenhous relied upon C Force veteran accounts and a small number of files located in Ottawa. He slammed Crerar as "a ruthless and studiously and ambitious sycophant," whose assertion that Grasett did not ask for help should be doubted, although the general may have spoken "obliquely." The Dominions Office was "perfidious Albion," Maltby a crude caricature, and Stacey had not blamed Crerar because he "had been a Crerar protégé since

1940, and he owed his appointment as official historian to Crerar, who was still alive at the time."<sup>66</sup>

While the Oxford Companion of Canadian Military History listed only Greenhous' book as recommended reading with respect to Hong Kong,<sup>67</sup> Greenhous could not stem revisionism. Terry Copp, having argued in 1996 that "there was a reason" for C Force's dispatch – Canada had sought, with its allies, "for the best of reasons," to strengthen Hong Kong to "defer or deter war"<sup>68</sup> – dedicated the Autumn 2001 edition of *Canadian Military History* to C Force. Copp alleged that this story of sacrifice had been forgotten, "because, we are told, they fought in a hopeless cause and should not have been there in the first place." Canadians had to "free ourselves from the distorted sense of hindsight" to comprehend C Force's fate.<sup>69</sup> C Force had been badly served by a Canadian government, whose cheapness had left troops "grievously handicapped by their lack of training, poor equipment and shortages of ammunition." Further, Churchill had sacrificed "British and Commonwealth forces in the Far East rather than jeopardize hopes of a major victory in North Africa."<sup>70</sup>

Granatstein's views hardened. In 1993, he termed Grasett's mannerisms "... almost a caricature of those of the British upper classes," while Crerar escaped censure "as he almost always did." His 2002 history of Canada's army bluntly stated that Canada's Cabinet had been "snookered" by Britain's aid request. That C Force's vehicles did not arrive was a "catastrophe," while Maltby's choice to leave the vital high ground to the Japanese was curious. In 1941, Canada's army was not efficient administratively, and Ottawa lacked an "ability to determine if troops should be committed to operations. In effect, Canada needed to act like a nation, not a colony."<sup>71</sup> Then, in *Who Killed Canadian History?*, averring Canada's historical meta-narrative was threatened by touts of class, gender, and race, Jack Granatstein condemned the McKennas,

**"The nature of the debate over Hong Kong's defence during the pivotal period 1934-38 has been widely misunderstood."**





Winnipeg Free Press political cartoon of the Canadian deployment to Hong Kong, November 1941. Unwarranted optimism, as it transpired.

who “tried to be ‘fair’ to the Nazis, and alleged that “generals and officers strive for personal glory as they threw away their troops at Hong Kong and in futile attacks in Normandy.”<sup>72</sup>

Three works were notable for different reasons. Despite his difficulties accessing Canadian, British, and Japanese records in the 1950s, Tim Cook maintained that a constrained Stacey kept to “a middle course” by not blaming any general or politician for C Force’s deployment.<sup>73</sup> Tony Banham’s *Not the Slightest Chance: The Defence of Hong Kong, 1941*, painstakingly chronicled Hong Kong’s siege. Condemning Vincent, Greenhous, and *The Valour and the Horror*, Banham called Ferguson’s effort “one of the best balanced books to come from Canadian sources,” and said Garneau’s “scholarly” monograph was a “must for anyone seriously studying East Brigade or the battle as a whole.”<sup>74</sup> Kent Fedorowich’s 2003 article, which credited *The Valour and the Horror* for rekindling debate, postulated that debate was injured by three tendencies; viewing Hong Kong as an adjunct of Singapore’s loss; compartmentalizing military and political aspects at the expense of the diplomatic canvas in Asia; and ‘trotting out’ the highly charged claim that Britain had sacrificed Canadians. Fedorowich set Hong Kong’s reinforcement in a complex temporal and thematic framework, although he admitted, “the Hong Kong controversy is far from settled.” Britain badly needed to retain Hong Kong to prevent China from making peace with Japan, while Canada “badly wanted to demonstrate to the Canadian public, its Commonwealth partners, and especially its southern neighbour, that its war effort consisted of more than just wheat, warships, and fixed-wing aircraft.” To say Canada was ‘led down a garden path’ at Hong Kong “... by having to rely on British assessments is superficial and inaccurate. Ottawa had travelled well down that path already.”<sup>75</sup>

This brings us again to Greenfield’s book. Greenfield clearly saw himself, like Vincent, as an advocate for C Force’s

members. Explaining that he was the first author to use the Japanese official history and Japanese memoirs, he could not “divide morality in half,” as that “would verge on blasphemy.” And while he argued that some of Wallis’ East Brigade Diary “was indeed correct,” taken as a whole, it was a “calumny.”<sup>76</sup> Although Greenfield’s bibliography was large, most sources, including Bell and Fedorowich, were not found in any endnotes, while half the endnotes in the introduction came from *No Reason Why*. Advocacy is not necessarily good history.

Why has this small episode from a vast conflagration that killed 60 million people sparked such vehement debate? Canada suffered five times more casualties taking Vimy Ridge in 1917, but Vimy may have arguably ‘created’ modern Canada. Over 10,000 Canadians died in Bomber Command in the Second World War. And yet, excepting the McKenna’s episode with respect to bombing, a brief

contretemps at Canada’s War Museum about wording on its bomber offensive panel, and vet concerns about how the Air Force official history portrayed that offensive as murderous, costly and ineffective,<sup>77</sup> Canada is not awash in dueling air power critiques and defences. However, as Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan astutely noted, “... defeat cries aloud for explanation; whereas success, like charity, covers a multitude of sins.”<sup>78</sup> Both the massive compendium of historical literature dealing with America’s Pearl Harbor defeat, and Australia’s ongoing obsession with respect to Singapore’s fall, illustrate that recrimination about battles lost is not exclusively a Canadian preoccupation.<sup>79</sup> Hong Kong provides much to discuss, with allegations of incompetence, political misconduct, ‘buck-passing,’ and colonial subservience. David Ricardo Williams offered another explanation. Hong Kong marked the first time Canada dispatched soldiers to the Orient “... and it may be that the sense of strangeness and the unfamiliar ground keeps this concern alive.”<sup>80</sup>

Canada’s army suffered two great defeats during the Second World War, at Hong Kong, and at Dieppe in August 1942, where the Second Division took 3400 casualties, including 907 dead. Dieppe has produced a contentious historiography, notably Brian Loring Villa’s 1991 book that alleged Lord Mountbatten, the head of Combined Operations in Britain, launched the raid without authorization.<sup>81</sup> Terry Copp, while praising Villa as “... a serious historian who has invested years of archival research,” did not accept Villa’s thesis,<sup>82</sup> but that contentious debate remained civil. Perhaps Dieppe’s dreadful casualty list has been made more tolerable, as Allied leaders argued lessons learned there paved the way for D-Day in 1944,<sup>83</sup> or perhaps the disparate fate of the two groups of Canadian POWs matters. Seventy-two of the 1946 Canadians taken prisoner at Dieppe died in German camps, a death rate of four percent. However, 281 C Force members died in captivity, a 17 percent fatality rate.<sup>84</sup>



DND photo 17\_08\_2001\_3.



Canadians en route to Hong Kong aboard HMCS *Prince Robert*. Note the smiles.

### Conclusions

What we now possess is a collection of works of varying length and quality, none of which has combined all of the aspects of this topic – political and military, domestic and international – into an integrated, comprehensive statement. It is all too easy to say that Grasett's view that a modestly-reinforced garrison could resist a Japanese assault swayed Britain's Chiefs, or Churchill himself. We need to better understand Churchill's role in this event. Was Grasett's case so convincing, was Churchill's judgment so bad, or was he far more concerned with reassuring allies that Britain would defend its profitable Asian possessions? Few have delved deeply into Grasett's role. While he acted determinedly to bolster his former command in late-1941, such energy, Lindsay claimed, would have surprised former subordinates, as Grasett had done little to secure Hong Kong while in command.<sup>85</sup> Fedorowich played up Grasett's eloquence in making his case to British leaders in September 1941, especially as his optimistic claims fit an apparently-easing diplomatic situation at the time.<sup>86</sup> But was it clever phrasing, or Grasett's expertise that made the difference? And, despite Dickson's defence, Crerar's role needs greater examination. What did he know and *not* know about the Asian strategic situation when he told Canada's Cabinet in the autumn of 1941 that sending C Force was a *political*, not a *military* decision? How did he escape censure in 1942?

Cooperation between the Canadian and British militaries prior to 1941 needs study. As Jack Granatstein noted, ten Canadian officers, including Crerar, studied at the IDC before

**"Canada's army suffered two great defeats during the Second World War, at Hong Kong, and at Dieppe in August 1942 ..."**

1939, examining various military-political scenarios, including Hong Kong.<sup>87</sup> We know little about how Canadian officers viewed the IDC, their imperial classmates and instructors, or how they incorporated global imperial defence concepts into Canadian mind-sets. We must expand upon Norman Hillmer's 1978 article about cooperation between Canadian and British officers prior to 1939.<sup>88</sup> Most Canadian analysts have viewed C Force's dispatch as a decision made solely for political reasons, without accounting for the concrete and emotional ties between Britain and Canada. If one ignores how such influences affected Canadian decision-makers in 1941, a vital part of the C Force story is missing.

'Getting the story right' might entail making one consider the subject in different ways, and using different sources. In 2008, Gregory A. Johnson cited some C Force veterans who doubted that they had been knowingly put at risk. Thanks to the presence of Power's son and other boys from wealthy Quebec Anglophone families in their ranks, some thought the Rifles, the "million dollar regiment," went to Hong Kong to keep it from combat in Europe.<sup>89</sup> Lawrence Lai Wai-Chung's 1999 paper compared the performance of Hong Kong's garrison to British defeats at Crete and Malaya/Singapore. Although Hong Kong's defenders had been outnumbered three-to-one, Crete's garrison had enjoyed a two-to-one advantage over the attacking Germans, while Malaya's imperial forces outnumbered the Japanese three-to-one. Hong Kong's defenders lasted 18 days and suffered twice as many fatal casualties – 2.11-to-1 – as the Japanese. At Crete, Allied forces suffered more than twice as many dead as the Germans, 2.39-to-1, in 11 days. Only at Singapore did the British lose fewer men – 0.73-to-1 – but 120,000 Allied troops surrendered there. After weighing the relative loss rates of Allied defenders against the relative strength of invaders to defenders, Allied loss rates were 4.6 percent at Crete, 1.74 percent for Malaya/Singapore, and just 0.68 percent at Hong Kong. Hong Kong's garrison, "... however unprepared and poorly equipped, had fought quite well," thanks to rugged topography, the fact that the garrison "... fought in an orderly manner according to a pre-conceived plan with defence structures well in place," Japan's failure to destroy British forces withdrawing from the mainland, and many machine guns and artillery pieces of various kinds equipping the defenders.<sup>90</sup>



Canadian and British prisoners-of-war liberated by the boarding party from HMCS *Prince Robert*, Hong Kong, August 1945. Again, note the smiles.

Robert Ward, America's Consul in Hong Kong when the colony fell, offered an explanation for the defeat. Doubting Japan had employed more than 12,000 troops against 9000 imperial regulars and 3000 volunteers, Ward stated that the defenders possessed essential provisions to withstand a six-month siege. Instead, the garrison surrendered after just 18 days, as a complacent local British community had not psychologically prepared itself or the Chinese populace for war. British leadership in Hong Kong was so intent upon not destroying a colony that it hoped to get back at war's end that it declined to practice a scorched earth policy, and its defeatism "... reached up to the Governor and down to the men."<sup>91</sup>

decision-makers can avoid ramifications of their bad decisions, while their 'victims' bear the terrible consequences. Another academic history may not satisfy everyone. As a journalist had stated in 1994 during the McKenna contretemps, one is only "... permitted to speak about great events in world history if you are a dean at an approved university."<sup>92</sup> It needs to be done, and the Canadian revisionists' pieces provide the base upon which to build a study that will critically examine the complicated prewar context, the battle itself, and the political and historical battles that have yet to abate.



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*Council with the Allies* by Robert Griffing. Montcalm confers with the Aborigines.

## THE *PETITE GUERRE* IN NEW FRANCE, 1660–1759: AN INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

by Jérôme Lacroix-Leclair and Eric Ouellet

### Introduction

**I**rregular conflicts are not new, nor is the use of radically different tactics and strategies to fight an adversary that is perceived as superior. The long history of irregular conflicts should, in theory, have been assimilated by contemporary military institutions, but that has not been the case. Now, in the early 21st Century, irregular conflicts are just as prevalent as they were in the past, but they seem particularly difficult to manage. The question, then, is why they pose so many problems. The answers to that question are numerous and varied. However, one central element of the answer is rarely discussed: the fact that irregular conflicts are implicitly perceived by regular armed forces as illegitimate, and that it is therefore difficult for regular forces to adapt to them.

One of the key components for understanding contemporary conflicts is the institutionalization of the use of violence in the West. “Regular” armed forces, in the sense that we

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understand the term today, result from the formalization of states and the relationships between states since the end of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Those relationships were put in place not only by the Treaty of Westphalia, but also by the introduction of the concept of national armed forces that are accountable to the State. But accountability means that the actions of the armed forces must be conducted within a framework of social legitimacy. In short, not everything is permitted in the name of victory; if it were, the very integrity of the military institution would be seriously called into question. The tension at the heart of regular armies between what is permitted and what is useful has made itself felt since the 17th Century.

**“What led the military institution to use the technique of irregular warfare for almost a century?”**

This article takes a comparative historical look at the relationship between institutional legitimacy and forms of warfare, using the example of the *Petite Guerre*<sup>1</sup> in New France. “*Petite Guerre*” is the designated term for the method of asymmetrical warfare inspired by the irregular warfare of North American Aboriginal peoples. The method has often been labelled as barbaric and as contrary to the ethics and morality of its time. It was employed by Canadian soldiers and militiamen during the 17th and 18th Centuries, in particular, during the Seven Years' War. The Canadian military institution used it successfully for almost a century to fight the British and their Aboriginal allies, but during the Seven Years' War, it was increasingly marginalized.

What led the military institution to use the technique of irregular warfare for almost a century? What are the factors that led to its rejection during the Seven Years' War?

To answer those questions, this article will employ institutional analysis—an analytical framework used to study how institutions evolve in response to external and internal factors. Institutional analysis is based on three pillars: regulative, normative and cognitive. Those three pillars are used to characterize changes and trends in institutions and organizations.

### The Institutional Analysis Framework

Changes within institutions have long been studied by sociologists through the lens of institutional analysis. That form of analysis, which focuses particularly on environmental pressures and cultural beliefs, helps to explain decision-making processes in institutions. Institutional analysis is based upon the premise that the ultimate

goal of any institution is to preserve the powers and privileges that it affords its members, and therefore to protect, first and foremost, all the social legitimacy that enables it to justify those powers and privileges. Although institutional analysis has proven useful for explaining decisions which at first seem irrational, up till now few sociologists have applied it to military institutions.

There are many schools of thought that use institutional analysis. However, few specialists provide an analytical framework as complete as that proposed by Richard Scott.<sup>2</sup> Scott brings together in one theory the ideas of institutional analysis specialists who focus mainly on one or another of the regulative, normative or cognitive aspects to characterize an institution. The regulative pillar is based on a system of formal or informal rules, sanctions and laws that regulate a society. The normative pillar emphasizes normative rules that introduce the dimensions of prescription, evaluation and obligation into social life. Thus, normative systems include values, norms and a sense of identity. They define the goals to be achieved but especially the appropriate (legitimate) way of achieving them. Lastly, the cognitive and cultural pillar is based upon convictions, beliefs, and systems of thought specific to the institution.

By combining the three pillars in his analysis, Scott brings together the sociologists' theories. He thus paves the way to an understanding of the reasons for action (or inaction), the decisions made by an institution, and the institution's evolution. The three pillars are interdependent and they influence each other. When they converge, they can ensure an institution's stability; when they diverge, the result is instability. For example, the regulative pillar, through laws and rules, can limit or even prohibit practices that the cognitive-cultural pillar permitted.



The Seven Years War in North America 1756-1763.

Map 30728 by 17 Wing Winnipeg Publishing Office



## Defining the *Petite Guerre* in the Canadian Context

"While the French suffered enormous disadvantages in manpower and resources in the imperial wars, they possessed a clear advantage in the frontier warfare because of their Indian alliances and the adoption of the Indian way of war by colonial officers and militia."<sup>3</sup>

It is important to define the *Petite Guerre* in the Canadian context in this study in order to avoid confusion. *Petite guerre* and *guerrilla* both mean "little war" in French and Spanish respectively, but they are not the same thing.<sup>4</sup> Although guerrilla warfare has always existed,<sup>5</sup> *petite guerre* was a specific phenomenon that developed in the 17th and 18th Centuries, as noted by numerous theoreticians who studied it, such as Turpin de Crissé and Hector de Grandmaison. Guerrilla warfare is combat led by an entity that is weaker in the military sense against armies that are stronger. The term generally refers to a civilian population that takes up arms to fight an invader.<sup>6</sup> *Petite guerre*, on the other hand, is described as "... all the movements that merely back up the operations of an army [translation]."<sup>7</sup> Today, it can be compared to the actions carried out by commandos or special forces, as it shares the same characteristics.<sup>8</sup> Historically, *petite guerre* was the specialty of regular light troops who harassed the enemy, gathered intelligence, and carried out deep strikes. They were organized into small groups called "parties," and terrorized the enemy's rear party.<sup>9</sup> Thus, *petite guerre* was the way in which those light troops were used in Europe within the military institution.

But the *Petite Guerre* in New France also had a strategic dimension that did not exist in Europe. Although that form of warfare was influenced at the outset by Amerindian customs, it was the result of a careful strategic calculation aimed at ensuring the survival of the French colony,<sup>10</sup> which was still under-populated and was subject to the vagaries of its climate and agriculture.<sup>11</sup> The *Petite Guerre* was based upon terrorizing the people of New England. By means of acts that were considered cruel, and raids that penetrated deep into the English colonies, the *Petite Guerre* created a permanent climate of fear that paralyzed the English colonists, and kept the military forces of New England on the defensive. That meant that it was always difficult for the English colonial forces to mount large expeditions against New France. As Starkey notes, it was "... a war in which the French and their Indian allies excelled and which terrorized the inhabitants of the English border settlements. The ferocity of those raiders still conjures up nightmares ..."<sup>12</sup> Today, those tactics could be characterized as unlimited warfare.

## The Regulative Pillar: Complicity of the Legal Authority

The regulative pillar, defined by royal authority and its representative, the Governor, supported the *Petite Guerre*

in New France for almost a century. It gave political support to the Amerindians and their practices, as well as to the *Petite Guerre* when it was waged by the Canadians themselves.<sup>13</sup> Louis XIV understood that the far-off colony, whose principal resource was furs, was vulnerable to the English, and that it had to be protected. Therefore, Louis XIV, and his successor, Louis XV, supported the use of the *Petite Guerre* because that method of warfare enabled them to hold New France without having to commit significant financial, military, or human resources there—resources that were absolutely essential for conducting a war in Europe. Moreover, that asymmetrical method was effective against the enemy: it

**"Consistent with this attitude was the French authorities' policy of paying the Amerindians for the scalps of English enemies and their allies."**

took almost 70 years for the British to triumph over their French-Canadian neighbours, even though the British outnumbered this group 20-to-1 from 1689 onward.<sup>14</sup> The Governor of New France institutionalized the *Petite Guerre* as the only way of waging war in the colony and beyond its borders, and as the only solution for ensuring the colony's survival. The military institution of New France, which was essentially maintained and led by Canadian officers who had formerly practised Amerindian-style warfare, therefore received political support for its use of the *Petite Guerre*.

"...[T]he French government did not concern itself with specific forms of violence practiced by the colonial soldiers of New France. The crown harped on the exorbitant costs of Indian diplomacy on the frontier, but did not criticize the performance of violence."<sup>15</sup>

Consistent with this attitude was the French authorities' policy of paying the Amerindians for the scalps of English enemies and their allies. Although it was intermittent, between 1692 and 1760, that policy enabled the French authorities to ensure the cooperation of the Aboriginal peoples and thereby maintain the French presence in New France at a lower cost. Thus, from a strategic point of view, the policy contributed to reinforcing the psychological impact of the *Petite Guerre* on the English population. Although the practice of scalping was considered immoral in Europe, it was tacitly supported, and, on occasion, officially encouraged, as shown in correspondence between Versailles and the colonial administrators.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the policy was directly implemented by some governors of New France,<sup>17</sup> such as the Comte de Frontenac, or the Marquis de Vaudreuil.<sup>18</sup> One of the first governors to put a policy in place offering bounties for scalps was the Comte de Frontenac, who had promised 10 *écus* to the Amerindians in exchange for the scalps they brought him. Later, during the War of the Spanish Succession, the bounties were suspended, but they were later reinstated by the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Torture was also institutionalized in New France.<sup>19</sup> The Canadians themselves carried out torture, as described by Bacqueville: "[A] Frenchman started pressing a rifle barrel against his feet, an Outaouais took another one, they burned him one after the other up to the back of his knees while he continued to sing softly [translation]."<sup>20</sup> This policy of torture was encouraged by the French administrators, such as



Governor Frontenac.<sup>21</sup> The Amerindian custom was thus transposed into colonial culture within the legal system, and its use was legitimized: "... it became more acceptable through being used to serve the purposes of the colonial authority."<sup>22</sup>

Political support for the *Petite Guerre* was easy to obtain, as the colony was first and foremost a military society<sup>23</sup> acquired through the *Petite Guerre* and led by a military government.<sup>24</sup> The French government had favoured the promotion of officers born in Canada to the highest military positions. Those officers were accustomed to the *Petite Guerre*, and were still convinced of its legitimacy. The military institution of New France ensured its long-term sustainability and its inherent stability by promoting only Canadian-born officers. Thus, the officer corps became definitively Canadian. In addition, even though the other ranks were recruited in France, the naval troops were also led by Canadian officers.<sup>25</sup>



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Major-General James Wolfe, pyrrhic victor of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham at Québec in 1759.

### The Cognitive Pillar: The Legitimacy and Necessity of the *Petite Guerre*

"Necessity and familiarity drew the Canadians to the Indian way of war... Because of fewer people guerrilla war was a necessity for the French-Canadians who made it into an art."<sup>26</sup>

Given the nature of the French colony, isolated from Paris and from the human and military power of New England, the *Petite Guerre* was, to Canadians' minds, clearly the only effective means of ensuring their own survival in a hostile environment. From a cognitive point of view, therefore, the Canadians justified its use and accepted its deviant practices,

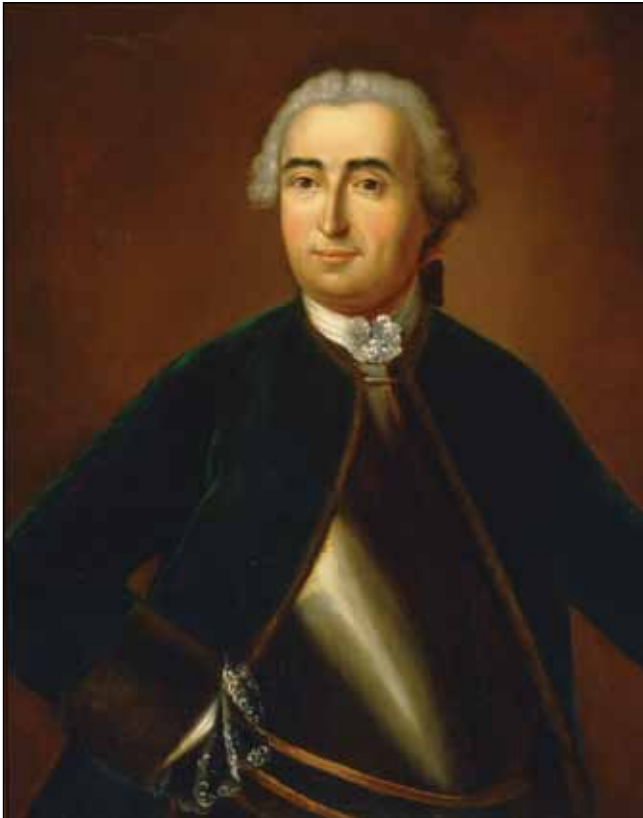
such as scalping and the use of torture during the 17th and 18th Centuries. Over time, the *Petite Guerre* became an informal doctrine on how to conduct warfare.

Cognitive support for the *Petite Guerre* first developed because of the French colony's isolation. The Canadian climate meant that the St. Lawrence River was impassable for almost six months of the year, thus preventing French ships carrying food, men, and correspondence from reaching Quebec City. But the isolation of the French colony was also the result of the French authorities' relative lack of interest, and the British navy's superiority at sea. The Royal Navy, which had succeeded in controlling the Atlantic, prevented aid from Paris from reaching the French colony. But it was the "Canadianization" of the military institution, more than anything else, which ensured cognitive support for the *Petite Guerre*.

The beliefs of the period justified the use of the *Petite Guerre* because it had become the most natural way of fighting. The learning and transfer of that method of irregular warfare were possible because of the Canadians' absolute need to ally themselves with the Amerindians. Indeed, the vastness of the territory, and the fact that it was so underpopulated, left the Canadians with little choice, in the face of threats from the Iroquois and the British, but to form an alliance with the Aboriginal peoples.<sup>27</sup> After coming into contact with the Amerindians, the colonists gradually adopted their customs. Amerindian culture enabled the Canadians to adapt to the climate and to meet their transportation, food, and clothing needs. Over time, a number of customs replaced and transformed the habits of the French colonists.<sup>28</sup> They soon adopted Amerindian war equipment and clothing, with the expeditionary corps wearing moccasins as their regulation shoes. And, by travelling on snowshoes in winter and in canoes in summer, the combatants could move around more stealthily. "The French went farther, often adopting the entire Indian costume from war paint to breech cloth."<sup>29</sup> Little by little, the Amerindian style of warfare cut the colonists off from their European origins,<sup>30</sup> and they lost their European cultural and ethical references.<sup>31</sup> During the 18th Century, the King's representatives realized that the Canadians had become a people with a vision of the world that was very different from their mother countries.

Thus, even though scalping was seen at the time as barbaric, it hardly shocked the population of New France—because, for one thing, the practices of France's legal system at the time were just as barbaric,<sup>32</sup> but especially because it was seen as necessary, and people grew accustomed to the idea. The colonists arriving in New France tolerated the practice out of pragmatism, since the British were also using it, as were the Amerindian nations that were enemies of the French. By justifying its use cognitively, they gave it legitimacy.

Some experts on Aboriginal practices who later took positions in the militia transferred their knowledge, thus contributing to Amerindian-style warfare's assimilation into the colony's military institution. Among these experts were militia captains Médard Chouart des Groseilliers, Guillaume Couture, and Nicolas Perrot.<sup>33</sup>



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Louis-Joseph, the Marquis de Montcalm.

### The Clash between the Normative Pillars of New France and Paris

During the Seven Years' War, there was a confrontation between two normative pillars: the one imported from Europe by Montcalm, his officers, and the regular troops, and the one already in place in New France within the Canadian military institution. Bougainville describes that normative confrontation quite clearly:

"What a country, my dear brother, and what patience it requires to bear the distasteful spectacles we are subjected to. It seems that we are a part of a different, even an enemy, nation ... the Canadians and the French, although they have the same origin, the same interests, the same principles of religion ... cannot agree; it seems that they are two entities that cannot be amalgamated [translation]."<sup>34</sup>

The cultural distance between Paris and the colony was also reflected in a normative divergence concerning the art of warfare. The European normative framework included the traditional method of warfare, and the concept of honour. At the time, European-style warfare was based upon battle lines that resembled a chess game. The routine on the battlefield was well established; it was a ceremony that the officers on both sides reproduced faithfully. In the 17th Century, and especially in the 18th Century, most sieges of cities and fortresses ended with conditions of honourable surrender if the besieged population had behaved well by limiting the number of victims and by avoiding exposing civilians to the consequences of the conflict, such as massacres or pillaging. They were then

allowed to leave the battle with all the honours of war.<sup>35</sup> In addition to the highly mechanical and rhythmic nature of the conflicts of that time, one of the fundamental principles of warfare in Europe was the notion of honour and respect for non-combatants. This method of conducting warfare was sometimes called *guerre en dentelles* ["lace wars"], but it was more than just a matter of appearance; it was a first attempt to limit the atrocities of war in the wake of the religious wars, and the Thirty Years' War.

The officers of those armies had understood that they were gentlemen, whose role was not to wage unlimited warfare upon civilians.<sup>36</sup> That had become an accepted rule in Europe, a rule which affirmed that respect for what we now call human rights should not be suspended in time of war.<sup>37</sup>

From a European normative point of view, the *Petite Guerre* had become a dishonourable way of conducting combat, but it fit into the larger context of regular warfare in the form of an auxiliary tactic. French officers were very familiar with the *Petite Guerre*, yet its use was not banned on the battlefield. It had even become central to the thinking of many 18th Century theoreticians and strategists.<sup>38</sup>

On the other hand, for regular officers in the 18th Century, the *Petite Guerre* was not a form of warfare, but a criminal act.<sup>39</sup> The practices it involved, such as ambushes, attacks upon civilians, and mistreatment of prisoners, were considered unjust or inhumane. Snipers did not hesitate to target sentries or officers, which was considered murder.<sup>40</sup> Torture had become a rite that the regular officers could no longer tolerate<sup>41</sup>—a rite in which Canadian soldiers were also participating.<sup>42</sup> The Canadians themselves became adept at that kind of violence and its cruel methods. The catalyst for this rejection was undoubtedly the British surrender of Fort William-Henry on 9 August 1757. Those who surrendered were massacred, an act which violated the rules of honour and the principle of treating non-combatants differently.

In his writings about Canada, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville related that event, which traumatized him, as it did Montcalm and the French officers: "[I]t is never acceptable to sacrifice humanity to what is nothing but the shadow of glory [translation]."<sup>43</sup> The British capitulated and negotiated their surrender in accordance with European habits and customs. The vanquished, who numbered about 2000 men, were supposed to be allowed to leave with the honours of war, but the Amerindians would not accept those conditions. Montcalm had obtained their promise to restrain themselves, but that was not what happened: they pillaged avidly.<sup>44</sup> On 10 August, Amerindians dependent upon the French army, massacred part of the garrison at Fort William-Henry. But that incident was just one of the atrocities committed by Aboriginal people, and often led by Canadian officers.<sup>45</sup> The event illustrates that such practices were supported unconditionally by the Canadian soldiers of the period.

This normative opposition also exacerbated the continuing divergence between the French and the Canadians concerning the strategic objectives of war.<sup>46</sup> That split would manifest itself at the highest level between Montcalm and

Vaudreuil, who held opposing concepts of how to fight the British in New France:

“Unfortunately, Montcalm and Vaudreuil quickly came to detest each other.... Vaudreuil did, however, know the country and what warfare in it entailed. Montcalm rejected this strategic concept. He wished the war to be conducted on European lines, sieges and set battles.”<sup>47</sup>

While the Canadian governor Vaudreuil, his militias, and his Amerindian allies continued to wage war according to the frontier traditions of warfare, the defence of Canada was placed in the hands of a commander who intended to fight the war in the European manner.<sup>48</sup> Montcalm wrote that the nature of war had changed profoundly because of the way the British attacked, and that there was no longer any place for the *Petite Guerre*.<sup>49</sup> He believed that asymmetrical warfare was no longer decisive in a conflict that would henceforth be based on mechanical, codified confrontation between the French and the British.

Not only was there a clash of values between Canadian and French soldiers, but, in addition, the strategic situation had changed radically. The British were determined to conquer New France. They had set up a naval blockade that was unprecedented and relatively effective. In addition, they had federated the colonial troops of New England so as to better protect the colonists against Canadian raids. Lastly, they increased the number of regular troops to an unprecedented level.

Thus, on the battlefields of the Seven Years' War, the military institution held within it two diametrically opposed ways of doing battle. For the Canadians and their allies, war meant only the *Petite Guerre*, while the French conceived of warfare as a strictly mechanical activity conducted within a European context, and imbued with the humanist values of chivalry and honour. The military institution had to find its way and to choose between the Canadian normative vision and the French vision. That confrontation, which undermined the institution's legitimacy, led it to favour the European norm, relegating the *Petite Guerre* to a secondary role of *petite guerre*. Thus, the European norm supplanted that of New France in order to ensure the stability of the military institution. Although the Canadian military institution disappeared at the end of the Seven Years' War, it is interesting to note that some of its elements would resurface 50 years later in the irregular methods used by the French-Canadians in the War of 1812.<sup>50</sup>



*Montcalm Trying to Stop the Massacre*, wood carving by Alfred Bobbett, based upon the painting by Felix Octavius. Montcalm attempting to stop Native Americans from attacking British soldiers and civilians as they leave Fort William Henry after the battle in 1757.

## Conclusion

Scott's institutional analysis model was particularly useful in analyzing the military institution through the use of the *Petite Guerre* in New France. Two parallel military institutions co-existed until the arrival of Montcalm: the French one, which was based upon honour and the fledgling concept of the law of armed conflict, and that of New France, which had adopted the *Petite Guerre*. The regulative pillar, common to both institutions, supported the *Petite Guerre* financially and politically, thereby enabling the kings of France to hold on to the colony without spending too much money on it.

The cognitive justification of the use of the *Petite Guerre* was that it made it possible to ensure the geostrategic survival of the population in the face of the threat posed by the British and the Iroquois, and despite the colony's isolation from Paris.

That cognitive acceptance was transformed over time into a true integration into the norms upon which the Canadian society of the period was built. Gradually, the *Petite Guerre* was assimilated into the Canadian military institution. It was therefore legitimate, stable, and sustainable. However, the massive deployment of European regular troops to fight the Seven Years' War changed the environment, and the balance

of the military institution of New France. The pressure for change was not only for pragmatic reasons; it was also a result of the importation of norms from the mother country to New France on the art of warfare as conducted by the Europeans, and the values associated with it. In order to survive, the Canadian military institution, which at the time was subject to the authority of France, had no other choice but to be absorbed by the French institution.

**“Thus, on the battlefields of the Seven Years' War, the military institution held within it two diametrically opposed ways of doing battle.”**





*The Death of Montcalm.* Inspired by Henry Woollett's famous engraving after Benjamin West's *Death of General Wolfe* (see cover), Fr  ois-Louis-Joseph Watteau rendered this even more fanciful version of the French general's passing.

As we have seen, the institutional issues involved in regular armies' adaptation to irregular warfare are not new, and problems with that adaptation did not always stem from the

role. Will the 'regular' military institution remember?



## NOTES

1. The *Petite Guerre* (capitalized) refers here to the irregular war method used by the North American Aboriginal peoples and adopted by the Canadians.
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4. General Raymond Boissau, «Combattre, gouverner,  crire: Etudes r  unies en l'honneur de Jean Chagniot,» in *Hautes  tudes Militaires* (Paris: Economica, 2003), p. 161.
5. Herv   Coutau-B  garie, *Traite de strat  gie*, 6th Edition. (Paris: Economica, 2008), p. 238.
6. Boissau, «Combattre, gouverner,  crire,» p. 161.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Starkey, *European-Native American Warfare*, p. 19.
9. Boissau, «Combattre, gouverner,  crire,» p. 162.
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16. *Ibid.*
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19. St  phanie Chaffray, «Regards crois  s sur le Canada et la France,» in *CTHS-Histoire*, Pierre Guillaume and Laurier Turgeon [eds.], (CTHS - Presses de l'Universit   Laval, 2007), p. 223.
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24. Nicolai, «A Different Kind of Courage,» p. 2, and Jay Cassel, «The Militia Legend: Canadians at War, 1665-1760,» in *Canadian Military History since the 17th Century: Proceedings of the Canadian Military History Conference, Ottawa, 5-9 May 2000*, p. 62.
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43. Louis-Antoine De Bougainville, *Ecrits sur le Canada: M  moire - Journal - Lettres* (Montreal: Editions du Septentrion, 2005), p. 252.
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48. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
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## A CASE FOR THE F-35 *LIGHTNING*

by Tim Dunne



F-35 Lightning II. png. Lockheed Martin Corporation

### Introduction

The Canadian Government's 16 July 2010 announcement that it was to replace the ageing CF-18 *Hornet* with the Lockheed Martin F-35 *Lightning II* joint strike fighter (JSF) aircraft predictably attracted stern admonishment from Rideau Institute president Steven Staples, and from others who oppose military purchases.

Their objections revolve around their beliefs that Canada does not need a fifth generation (5G) combat aircraft; that there was the arbitrary selection of a single aircraft without a legitimate competitive process; and that the cost is excessive. They suggest that we purchase lesser aircraft, presumably for a lesser cost, if, indeed, they agree with a fighter aircraft acquisition program at all.

Typically, Canada squeezes all possible productivity out of its aircraft (and other military hardware) before they are retired. Witness the continued service of the Second World

War DC-3 *Dakota*, acquired in 1943 and flown until 1988, and the *Sea King* maritime helicopter, which will celebrate its 50<sup>th</sup> year of service on 1 August 2013. Our current CF-18A *Hornet* fighter aircraft, purchased in the 1980s, will be nearly 40 years old when they are ultimately decommissioned and replaced. Rapidly becoming moribund in the air combat world, our *Hornets* would be dangerous vehicles in which to engage in fifth generation warfare. The aircraft is wearing out, and it needs to be replaced within five-to-ten years.

The US JSF program had its origin in the 1980s and 1990s, and was intended to replace several fleets of American tactical aircraft: the McDonnell Douglas AV-8 *Harrier II* 'jump jet' used by the US Marine Corps; the General Dynamics F-16 *Falcon* (both of which were extensively employed by 'friendly' foreign militaries); and the carrier-based Grumman A-6 *Intruder* medium attack fighter, all of which were approaching the end of their useful service lives. The end of the Cold War, however, reduced flying hours on these particular fleets, and therefore, the relative urgency for fleet replacements.

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The JSF is the single largest fighter aircraft program in history, with expenditures expected to exceed US\$383 billion in producing up to 5000 aircraft. The requirements for the JSF were stringent and complex. There were to be three variants; a conventional take-off and landing model, a carrier-based model, and a short take-off and vertical landing model. All variants had to share common components, generate increased lethality over their predecessors, be survivable during the rigorous demands of combat, be supportable in increasingly challenging operational environments, and, be affordable.

Ultimately, three corporate bidding teams 'threw their hats into the ring,' consisting of Lockheed Martin, Boeing, and McDonnell Douglas.

### The Competitive Process

Canada joined the JSF program in 1997, when DND signed onto the Concept Definition Phase with an initial investment of US \$10 million. As part of this phase, Canada, as a partner nation, was consulted in the US-led competitive process, during which the three bidding teams developed their submissions.

McDonnell Douglas designs were rejected in 1996. Over the next five years, Boeing and Lockheed Martin developed and constructed their prototypes, the X-32 and the X-35 respectively, which were extensively flight tested and evaluated until 2001, when the F-35 was ultimately selected as the joint strike fighter. As a partner nation, Canada had been consulted during the extensive and rigorous US-led process.

In addition to Canada and the United States, the multi-national effort to build and sustain an affordable, multi-role, 5G stealth fighter aircraft includes partner-level participation by Australia, Denmark, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Turkey, and the United Kingdom (UK), as well as peripheral/potential participation by other nations. All partner nations were given the opportunity to participate in the evaluation and selection process, and all, except the UK, deferred to the US, since the Americans were acquiring the 'lion's share' of the aircraft. Canada assigned DND personnel to the International JSF Project Office to keep the Canadian government informed about program developments, which gave Canada full access to the results of the JSF competition

### A Canadian Competition?

In a comprehensive article in *Frontline Defence* magazine (Issue 3, 2011), Lieutenant-General (ret'd) Ken Pennie noted that if a decision was made to conduct a purely Canadian competition, the competing aircraft would likely be:

- the Lockheed Martin F-35 *Lightning II* (US);
- the Boeing F-18F/A *Super Hornet* (US);
- the Saab *Gripen* (Sweden);
- the Dassault *Rafale* (France); and
- the British Aerospace *Eurofighter*.

This roster, General Pennie believes, would quickly be pared down to three: the F-35, the F-18F/A, and the *Eurofighter*, which, in turn, would be quickly further reduced to the F-35. The *Eurofighter* is the least capable and the most expensive, and the F/A-18, the *Gripen*, and the *Rafale* do not meet Canada's mandatory minimum requirements, leaving the F-35 as the only logical choice for Canada's air force.

Theoretically, there could be a further two fifth generation competitors: China's Chengdu J-20, and Russia's Sukhoi PAK-FA. However, these aircraft should not be considered serious contenders. If either nation should disagree politically with Canada over issues, such as Chinese relations with Taiwan or India, or should Russia mount an aggressive challenge to our Arctic policies and activities, they could easily choke off access to vital spare parts. They would also know exactly what countermeasures to use, or to advise our adversaries to use, against our air force in operational deployments.



Two Sukhoi T-50 PAK-FA Fifth Generation fighters at a recent display.

Reuters RTR2Q115 by Sergei Karpuhin



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Furthermore, there would be several attendant consequences associated with a purely Canadian competition.

- Canada would lose its place in the F-35 queue, adding years to the CF-18 replacement program.
- While there would be no financial penalty incurred *per se*, Canada would effectively withdraw from the memorandum of understanding with the US Government, thereby losing its \$160 million investment. If Canada were to pursue the only other avenue of acquiring the F-35, i.e., through the US Department of Defense (DoD) Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program, the cost would increase by \$850 to \$900 million.
- Canadian industrial involvement in the JSF project could be eliminated, thereby ending the high-value work which Canadian companies would contribute to the entire fleet of F-35s, for the life of the program, scheduled to extend to 2051. Of note, the proceeds of Canadian industrial involvement could ultimately exceed Canada's purchase price for the planned fleet of 65 aircraft.
- The industrial regional benefits negotiated for just 65 aircraft could pale when compared to the potential industrial program offered by the entire JSF program of 3000 to 5000 aircraft. In addition to Canada's industrial involvement, Canadian membership in the nine-nation partnership to acquire this aircraft will result in royalties expected to be as much as \$130 million being paid into the Government of Canada's Consolidated Revenue Fund from sales to non-partnership nations.
- Canadian industry would lose its privileged position in competing for contracts to manufacture components, or to develop software for the entire fleet of JSFs, which already amount to \$350 million, and are expected to significantly increase in the coming years.

### Cost

The fine art of explaining funding of major equipment programs to the public in a clear and easily understood manner continues to elude DND. Cost estimates are clouded by terms such as *budget year*, *then-year*, *infrastructure costs*, as well as a continuously confusing litany of cost factors and life cycle management statistics. The purchase of the F-35 is further confused by the efforts to compare the cost figures of the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) with those of the Department of National Defence. However, simply stated, this is an effort, (and I apologize for the tired metaphor), to 'compare apples and oranges.'

Canada joined the program's System Development and Demonstration Phase in 2002 with an investment of US \$100 million, as well as an additional \$50 million contributed

through federal Canadian technology investment programs. This phase extends until 2015.

In 2003, the Americans invited the current partners to participate in the Production, Sustainment and Follow-on Development phase, culminating with Canada signing the *JSF Production, Sustainment and Follow-on Development Memorandum of Understanding* in December 2006. Canadian participation in this phase will cost approximately US \$551 million over the course of the 2007-2051 timeframe to cover Canada's portion of production, sustainment, and follow-on development costs, including common tooling and sustainment. The US is funding most of the research and development (R&D).

Four types of costs are associated with the JSF acquisition of the F-35: recurring flyaway cost; procurement cost; acquisition cost; and total ownership cost. While each is an important element in the project, they continue to confuse those who are concerned with respect to the cost of an aircraft purchase to replace the venerable CF-18 *Hornet*.

Canada undertook an extensive assessment of the options, including a detailed cost comparison based upon data provided to Canada on a government-to-government basis. This information verified that the F-35 was the only aircraft that could meet the CF's operational requirements at an affordable price. In short, the JSF program was developed to provide the most effective fighter aircraft for the most affordable price possible.

David Perry is a defence analyst with the Conference of Defence Associations Institute. His excellent paper, *Canada's Joint Strike Fighter Purchase: Parsing the Numbers* (in *CDA Institute, On Track*, Summer 2011), details the cost of the F-35:

The basic unit of analysis is the recurring flyaway costs ... [which] include program management, hardware, airframe, vehicle and mission systems, propulsion and engineering change orders. Procurement costs are frequently expressed per aircraft as average procurement unit costs (APUC). The acquisition costs of the JSF include procurement costs, plus research, development, test and evaluation and cost of facility construction. Finally, total ownership costs include all the preceding costs, plus operations and support, improvements and modifications.

DND's announced program states that the *unit recurring flyaway cost* (URF) is \$70 to \$75 million.

Perry insightfully notes that DND's URF cannot be meaningfully compared to the GAO's \$133 million estimate. The GAO's figure is an *average procurement unit cost* (APUC), and this includes spare parts, logistics, and other cost figures, *and is an average cost for all three variants of the aircraft*. However, Canada is purchasing the conventional take-off and landing (CTOL) version – the cheapest of the three variants. Canada's Department of National Defence (DND) accounts for other costs separately.

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These seemingly contradictory figures even have Ottawa's Parliamentary Budget Office (PBO) questioning DND's estimates. PBO estimates the total acquisition costs for the 65 fighters to be \$9.7 billion, and \$1.7 billion for logistic set-up, plus 30 years of operating and support costs (\$14 billion), plus \$3.9 billion in overhaul and upgrade costs.

This is an astounding and confusing series of figures to be included in the procurement package, but the 'bottom line' is that whichever aircraft Canada purchases will have follow-on costs associated with training, storage, operations, maintenance, and armament purchases for the fighter. Whatever we buy will require retooled and redesigned facilities at the two fighter bases. We can expect that these costs will probably increase from those associated with the CF-18 fleet.

For a more realistic figure, one should look at the acquisition costs of the aircraft as it will exist in the Canadian context, which DND stipulates will be approximately \$75 million per airplane, or \$4.55 to \$4.88 billion in sum. The remaining funds in the budget envelope will, as DND's Assistant Deputy Minister for Materiel Dan Ross wrote in a 15 June letter to the *Ottawa Citizen*, be used for "...weapons, supporting infrastructure, initial spares and training simulators." Associate Defence Minister Julian Fantino and Dan Ross reconfirmed these estimates on 14 June 2011 in their joint remarks to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Government Operations and Estimates.

The GAO estimates the APUC to be \$133 million, *which is the average unit cost of for all three variants over the entire production line, including the very expensive aircraft at the earliest production period.* By way of comparison, and using this measurement yardstick, Boeing's F-18E/F *Super Hornet* would cost about \$5 to \$10 million more per aircraft than the F-35.

Canada's acquisition of the aircraft is expected to begin in 2016, when the production line has been in operation for several years, and when the unit cost will be at its lowest. Production lines are most expensive as they begin construction of aircraft and decrease quite dramatically once the assembly line has been fully established. DND says it will be able to adjust the purchase date to coincide with the start of the multi-year production, if desired, to take advantage of the reduced price point.

When all these factors are considered, David Perry notes: "... [that] DND's cost estimates for the F-35 (CTOL) appear very similar to the GAO's when expressed in comparable terms, although the PBO's estimates are significantly higher."

With nine nations and their collective industrial capabilities engaged in the aircraft's development, the JSF program is a new model of international partnership in aircraft production. The multinational approach to F-35 production is intended to cut costs by reducing redundant research and development, by providing access to the technology and replacement parts in partner nations, and by generating economies of scale. Component commonality across the three variants reduces the requirement for unique spare parts and simplifies the logistics footprint on the assembly line, specifically embodied in shared wing platforms, in common systems that enhance maintenance, in field support, and in service interoperability.

Industry Canada has signed agreements with member companies of the Lockheed Martin team, and this participation has already provided Canadian aerospace industry with long-term, high technology industrial opportunities for its advanced composite manufacturing, mission systems, and high speed machining, to mention just a few of these opportunities. To date, Canada has invested just over \$200 million in the JSF. Since 2002, the Canadian government's participation in this program has led to more than \$350 million in contracts for more than 64 Canadian companies, laboratories, and universities.

Now that Canada has committed to purchasing the F-35, Canadian industrial opportunities could exceed \$12 billion for the production of the aircraft. Sustainment and follow-on opportunities for Canadian industry are emerging, and they will be available over the 40-year life of the program. Industrial participation agreements provide stipulate that all 19 Canadian companies which are manufacturing items for the F-35 will also repair and overhaul those components for the entire global fleet.



F-35 15 Jul 11. Lockheed Martin Corporation



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### Too much aircraft for Canada?

The end of the Cold War sowed expectations for a more peaceful world with a greater level of international development and cooperation that could not, as it materialized, be reaped. Since then, Canada has experienced several geostrategic shocks where Canadian air power was deployed: During the Persian Gulf War (1990-1991), CF-18 aircraft provided air cover for multinational maritime operations in the region. Over Kosovo in 1999, our *Hornets* participated in UN-sanctioned NATO operations to protect ethnic-Albanian Kosovars as part of Operation *Allied Force*. And over Libya, in a mission still in progress at the time of writing, six CF-18 aircraft have been deployed as part of NATO's Operation *Mobile*.

Without exception, each of these operations came as a surprise to Canadians, requiring fighter aircraft to deploy quickly. Future operations can be expected to happen in a similar manner, with little or no notice. But as military technology develops and becomes less expensive, older and less sophisticated aircraft will be flying into increasingly perilous situations.

Many of the arguments against the F-35 are seriously misinformed. There is a need to replace Canada's CF-18 aircraft and upgrade our air combat capabilities to meet emerging threats and challenges that we cannot foresee at this point in time.

Many people disregard new and emerging security concerns emanating from sovereignty challenges, terrorism, ille-

gal migration, and climate change, as well as the global threats facing Canada in years to come. Canada cannot rely upon its allies for domestic security, and we must be prepared to participate in collective defence to honour our international commitments and treaty obligations, and to participate in pacification efforts whenever and wherever the Canadian Government decides to deploy our forces.

Several of these security challenges may be developing in the Canadian north. Some 'analysts' scoff at the suggestion that the F-35 can contribute to Arctic sovereignty. However, this contingency may not be so far-fetched when it is taken into consideration in tandem with: the five-nation competition for ownership of the Arctic, and the resources believed to sit beneath a rapidly-diminishing ice cap. Canada's contested ownership of the Northwest Passage, Russia's Tu-32 *Bear* aircraft flights approaching Canadian airspace, and Russia's planting of her national flag on the ocean floor at the North Pole all give credence to sovereignty concerns for the region. Several nations contest Canada's claim that the Northwest Passage lies within the Canadian Arctic archipelago, and if they are successful in having the Passage *internationalized*, the airspace above it also becomes *internationalized*, creating yet another strategic challenge for Canada.

Canada is one of seven nations that share the Arctic, and four are competing with us for increased ownership. While all competitors have agreed to pursue their claims amicably and cooperatively, Russian actions do not match their words. In March 2009, Russia announced it intended to create a special operations unit exclusively for military operations in the Arctic. While Canada has established a military Arctic



F-35(3). Lockheed Martin Corporation

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Training Centre at Resolute Bay, we are still lagging behind our allies and our rivals. In March, 2010, Russian president Dmitry Medvedev announced his intention to ensure Russian access to mineral resources in the Arctic and acknowledged that competition over these resources could spark future conflicts between Arctic states.

### Conclusion

The F-35 purchase is the first to incorporate extensive partner nation engagement in a major acquisition program. Unit production costs drop because of the economies of scale, the logistics footprint is reduced, industrial engagement is spread among all participating nations for the life of the project, and complete interoperability is assured among the participating nations, something that previously proved to be an elusive ideal.

To purchase a lesser aircraft, one that does not possess the same stealth qualities, electronic interoperability, armament, and capabilities as the F-35, would jeopardize mission success for our air force, and would reduce the potential for pilot survivability. A *Super Hornet* or a *Eurofighter* might be good enough for today's strategic demands, but we would be effectively using yesterday's technology to meet challenges in the coming decades that have yet to be even fully hypothesized.

When Canada sends its sons and daughters into harm's way, they must have the best equipment that is available. The world of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century has already proven to be unkind and unpredictable, and we cannot know what threats and dangers the future will hold. However, whatever happens, we have learned from hard experience that it will be a 'come as you are party,' and we, as a nation, must anticipate this eventuality.

Our political decision makers should also be mindful that those who oppose this purchase will never have to fly a combat aircraft into harm's way. They will not have to defend their claims whenever Canada faces domestic or international adversity. They will not be held accountable if the Canadian Forces fails to meet its mission objectives because an inferior aircraft with inadequate capabilities to achieve the mission aims and provide pilot survivability was purchased. In aerial combat, there are no points for second place.

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## HOW MUCH ARE PRIMARY RESERVISTS WORTH?

by Robert Unger



US Army photo DRE\_2089 by Major Marler

Over the past 10 years, the high operational tempo of the Canadian Forces (CF) has put a strain on the institutional force. With the high number of troops either preparing to deploy on expeditionary or domestic operations, or having recently returned from operations, the Primary Reserves have ‘stepped up’ to fill in key positions vacated by deployed Regular Force officers and NCMs in headquarters, schools, and units across the country. At every level, the CF has recognized the value of the contribution of the Primary Reserves – in several venues, strategic-level senior officers and CWOs<sup>1</sup> have stated that the CF could not have continued to function effectively without the thousands of Reservists who have filled empty Regular Force billets across Canada, while simultaneously taking on new Reserve-specific tasks, such as ‘standing up’ Territorial Battalion Groups and Arctic Response Companies on the domestic front, and developing and deploying Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) and Psychological Operations (PSYOPS) trained personnel and elements for expeditionary operations.

The increased number of Primary Reservists working effectively alongside their Regular Force counterparts has raised a recurring question: why is there still a 15 percent gap<sup>2</sup> between Regular and Reserve Force pay? In 1996, when Reserve pay was revised and increased to its present level, there were several elements that were used to justify the difference between the two types of pay:<sup>3</sup>

- Primary Reservists were not subject to the same level of liability as Regular Force members;
- Primary Reservists were not required to meet the minimum standards for Universality of Service;
- Primary Reservists did not pay into a pension fund;
- Regular Force members face frequent separation from family; and
- Primary Reservists are not subject to being posted.

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Most of these conditions no longer apply. The concept of unlimited liability applies equally to all CF members,<sup>4</sup> Regular and Reserve, as evidenced by the fact that both Regular and Reserve Force members, regrettably, have suffered serious injury or death in Afghanistan, and during other operations. Since 2006, DAOD 5023-1<sup>5</sup> has clearly stated that Primary Reservists are required to meet the minimum operational standards in order to be ready for operational duty at all times, including meeting their environmental fitness requirement, annual personal weapon qualification, and a long list of other requirements. Since 1 March 2007, Primary Reservists have been paying into the Canadian Forces Pension Plan,<sup>6</sup> and those Reservists serving on Class B and C service for over 60 months join Part 1 of the CF Pension Plan, the same plan as Regular Force members.<sup>7</sup> Reservists, like Regular Force members, are often separated from their families. Reservists attend school or civilian employment during week days, and then don their uniforms to attend military training during the evening, weekends, and during the summer when away on taskings.<sup>8</sup> Finally, an increasing trend has seen Reservists accepting to be posted,<sup>9</sup> as was offered in 2010 and 2011 to Reservists who applied for positions with the Influence Activities Task Force based in Kingston.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, Regular Force members are requesting to be posted to units within the same geographical area, or are refusing postings, citing compassionate reasons (family stability, children in school, spouse's career, single parent issues, and proximity to relatives) for preferring not to move as frequently as was the practice in the past.

If the majority of the reasons for the pay gap are no longer valid, why does the gap continue to persist? A document entitled "Comparison of Military or X-factors between Canada, Commonwealth Countries and the US" lists several of the above components that were used to justify the Regular-Reserve Force pay gap during the 1996 pay review, and provides a valuation for each. For example, Member Liability, which includes Personal Liability/Risk to Life and Limb, Subjected to strict code of military discipline and Regimented Service Life, is assessed as being worth 3 percent of CF pay; Turbulence to Family and Member, which includes Postings, Frequent Moves, and Severing Social Contacts, is assessed as being worth 2 percent; Frequent Separation from Family is assessed as being worth 2.5 percent. The document also lists an Overtime Valuation, assessed at 6 percent for NCMs, and 4 percent for General Service Officers, and Acting Pay is assessed at 0.5 percent. Ask any Class A Reservist, and he/ she will tell you that they spend a lot of unpaid

time at home getting prepared for their military duty, whether it is maintaining fitness on their own time in order to meet the requirements of Universality of Service, contacting their subordinates to collect or pass on information, or preparing training. Another important consideration with regards to the overtime valuation amount is the high number of Class B Reservists who do double duty by continuing to volunteer their services with their parent unit, and receive no compensation for their time.

Assuming that all accept that the requirement to be posted (valued at 2 percent) is still an element that clearly differentiates the Regular Force from the Primary Reserve, but that all other above mentioned factors are equally applicable to Regular and Reserve Force members, it seems reasonable that Reserve pay should be re-evaluated and increased to 98 percent of that of their Regular Force counterparts. The majority of Primary Reservists are Class A, or part-time soldiers, so those who might argue that a Reservist should not be earning the same pay as a Regular Force member must remember that Reservists would earn a pro-rated amount of Regular Force pay, based upon the actual number of days worked. For example, a Regular Force Sergeant Basic earns \$61,704 per year; an Army Reserve Force Sergeant Basic earning 98 percent of Regular Force pay, and who works the programmed 37.5 days of Reserve training, would earn \$6,212 per year.<sup>11</sup> Currently, that same Reserve Sergeant earns \$5388 annually.<sup>12</sup>

As the Afghanistan campaign has shown, Reservists have proven that they can fight, bleed, and die like their Regular Force counterparts. Those Reservists who chose instead to support efforts on the home front have also proven their worth by helping the CF 'grow' the force, conduct and sustain operations, and move key CF initiatives forward. As the CF deploys in its new role in Afghanistan and the majority of the troops return home to rest, refit, and prepare for the next expeditionary mission, Primary Reservists will con-



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tinue to prepare for their own responsibilities of responding along the domestic line of operation in accordance with the *Canada First Defence Policy*, while also being prepared to augment Regular Force units and formations on expeditionary operations when called upon to do so. Have Reservists not proven that they are a valued CF resource worthy of similar compensation?

Chief Warrant Officer (CWO) Rob Unger is a Primary Reservist and Regimental Sergeant-Major of The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada, an Infantry unit based in Montréal. Between 2005 and 2010, CWO Unger deployed to Afghanistan and contributed to the CF as a Class B Reservist, while also serving on a voluntary basis with his parent unit.

### **NOTES**

- Lieutenant-General Andrew Leslie is quoted in a 29 March 2011 *Ottawa Citizen* article by David Pratt, viewed at <http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/decision-canada/thinking+Reserves/4519009/story.html>, as saying: "The Army could not have done what it did in Afghanistan without the Reserve. We would have crashed and burned. The country owes them a huge debt of gratitude." This message is also repeated during the Command Chiefs Forum on every Advanced Leadership and Senior Leadership course conducted at the NCM Professional Development Centre in St-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Quebec.
- Canadian Forces Rates of Pay – Regular and Reserve, as viewed at <http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dgcb-dgras/ps/pay-sol/pr-sol/index-eng.asp>.
- The author was unable to find documentary evidence of this. However, Major Benoit Mainville, SO2 Land Force Reserve Restructure within the Land Staff at the time this decision was taken, confirmed these were some of the reasons used to justify the gap between Regular and Reserve pay.
- A-PA-005-000/AP-001 *Duty with Honour: the Profession of Arms in Canada*, 2009, Chapter 2, Section 2 reads: "Unlimited liability is a concept derived strictly from a professional understanding of the military function. As such, all [CF] members accept and understand that they are subject to being lawfully ordered into harm's way under conditions that could lead to the loss of their lives." (Author's italics). Also discussed in B-GJ-005-000/FP-001 CFJP 01 Canadian Forces Joint Publication: Canadian Military Doctrine, Chapter 4, Article 0414, Sub-paragraph a.
- DAOD 5023-1, Minimum Operational Standards Related to Universality of Service, as viewed at [http://admfincs.mil.ca/admfincs/subjects/daod/5023/1\\_e.asp](http://admfincs.mil.ca/admfincs/subjects/daod/5023/1_e.asp).
- Canadian Forces Pension, as viewed at <http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dgcb-dgras/ps/pen/index-eng.asp>.
- Canadian Forces Superannuation Act (R.S., 1985, c. C-17).
- According to the Compensation Benefits Instructions, Reserve Force Members are entitled to all core allowances, which include Aircrew Allowance, Land Duty Allowance, Sea Duty Allowance, JTF2 Allowance Special Operations Allowance, and Temporary Duty Travel Allowance, and each of these allowances has a Casual variant. Therefore, it stands to reason that Reserve Force members are subject to separation from family when on duty.
- Compensation Benefits Instruction 205.45(5) defines the entitlement for Post Living Differential for Reserve Force members.
- For example, see REO: O-4550 - IATF Trainer & Mentor-CIMIC Instructor Position 271064, as viewed at <http://lfdts.kingston.mil.ca/reo-oer/details-renseignements.aspx?positionnumber=O-4550>. Accessed on 14 April 2011. Para 5.d. states that a 'cost move' will be considered for members applying for this position.
- Regular Force Sergeant Basic monthly pay \$5,142 x 12 months = \$61,704 ÷ 365 = \$169.05 per day x 98% = \$165.67 per day (proposed new Reserve Force Sergeant Basic daily rate) x 37.5 training days = \$6,212.
- Reserve Force Sergeant Basic daily rate \$143.70 x 37.5 training days = \$5,388.75.

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# DEFENCE AND THE 2011 ELECTION

by Martin Shadwick



DND photo HS2011-H003-009 by Corporal Rick Ayer

**T**he federal election campaign of 2011 was far from stimulating or exciting, but few would deny the watershed nature of the final outcome. Stephen Harper's Conservatives, after multiple attempts, finally secured their long-sought majority in the House of Commons. The once omnipotent Liberals plummeted from official Opposition status to third place—perhaps slightly mollified by the electoral survival of sufficient MPs to provide the critical mass for a lengthy and difficult period of rebuilding—while the New Democrats, much to their own shock, vaulted from fourth place to form the new official Opposition. The promotion will, of course, provide a much more visible and prestigious platform for voicing the NDP perspective on Canadian foreign and defence policy, but it will also generate more intense scrutiny of the party's positions. The Bloc Québécois, a fixture on Parliament Hill for two decades, was essentially decimated—although federalists would be prudent not to read too much into the Bloc's fate at the hands of the NDP—while the Green Party of Canada secured its first elected Member of Parliament, fittingly, leader Elizabeth May. Interesting times, indeed.

Defence policy made a cameo appearance in the 2011 campaign (primarily because of the Harper government's proposed acquisition of 65 F-35s to replace the veteran CF-18s), but the continued absence of foreign and defence policy, both important and not inexpensive public policy areas, from Canadian federal election campaigns, remains deeply troubling. If one examines the role of defence in the four most

recent elections, the tally is a cameo appearance in 2011, near-invisibility in the election of 2008 (thereby falling short of even cameo status), a modest (and rather bizarre) appearance in 2006, and a somewhat more edifying stature in 2004. In the 2006 election, defence received some attention as a result of the Conservative pledge to create mixed regular/reserve "territorial defence battalions" in or near major urban areas. Condemned, rightly, by historian Jack Granatstein on the grounds that it would "fritter away scarce trained regulars in penny packets," the idea is best remembered for prompting the Liberals to produce—but ultimately not to *broadcast*—a television commercial warning of "troops in the streets." Defence achieved a somewhat loftier status in the 2004 election, when the Liberals pilloried the Conservatives for their perceived "massive military build-up," but then weakened their own case by misrepresenting a Conservative pledge to acquire "hybrid carriers"—admittedly a most unfortunate choice of words—for helicopter support and sealift.

In the 2011 campaign, the NDP platform envisaged three "main priorities" for the Canadian Forces: (1) "defending Canada"; (2) "providing support for peacemaking, peace-building and peacekeeping around the world"; and (3) "assisting people facing natural catastrophes, including floods, earthquakes, forest fires and other emergencies, both at home and abroad." The New Democrats pledged to "ensure the Canadian Forces are properly staffed, equipped and trained to effectively address the full range of possible military operations" arising from the three priorities, "maintain the current

planned levels of defence spending commitments,” “equip the Canadian military to resume leadership in United Nations peacekeeping operations,” and “improve search and rescue capability to international standards within the current budgetary framework.” A new white paper on defence charged with “redefining our military’s role, its priorities and needs” would be completed within twelve months of taking office. During that time, “all major defence projects”, including the F-35, would be “reviewed.” Also envisaged, “within the existing budget”, was an “annual fund for government shipbuilding” to “provide stability to the industry and include construction of new ships for the Navy and the Coast Guard.” In an Esquimalt speech, NDP leader Jack Layton stated that “for five years Stephen Harper has failed to procure the ships we need to patrol the world’s longest shoreline. Canada’s supply ships have reached the end of their operational lives. Instead of focusing on [F-35s], I’ll get the job done when it comes to building Joint Support Ships for our naval forces.” The latter are not irrelevant to coastal patrol, but it is curious that the NDP leader would seize upon the importance of Joint Support Ships, rather than coastal patrol vessels.

Michael Ignatieff’s Liberals envisaged “a return to peace operations,” and a revitalized commitment to the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). Their platform noted that “traditional peace-keeping has changed significantly since Canada vacated the field. Increasingly, deployments are undertaken to more complex and often dangerous situations, better described as peace-making missions. These increasingly involve combat. Based on the hard-earned experience in Afghanistan, a Liberal government will develop a new leadership role for Canada in today’s peace operations. It will include training, commanding and deploying personnel where it’s clear that a mission is consistent with Canada’s interests, values, and capabilities.” Given that a Liberal government would “have a very different vision of Canada’s role in the world,” the “entire procurement programme in the Department of National Defence will have to be reviewed in the context of that changing role.” The Liberals pledged to cancel “the Harper [F-35] deal,” adding that “when Canada purchases new fighter planes, we will have a transparent, competitive process to procure equipment that best meets our needs, achieves best value for money, secures maximum industrial benefits, and fits a realistic budget.” The financial savings from the end of the combat mission in Afghanistan would be reallocated “in a balanced manner across the full spectrum of defence, development and diplomacy.”

The incumbent Conservatives fashioned much of their defence platform around reaffirmations of support for a host of previously announced initiatives, ranging from acquisition of the F-35 and the Arctic/Offshore Patrol Ship (AOPS), to the creation of an expeditionary air wing at CFB Bagotville, and the implementation of a National Shipbuilding Procurement Strategy (NSPS). In the most robustly partisan statement concerning defence policy during the election,

the Conservative platform declared that “the previous Liberal government refused to provide our men and women in uniform the tools they need to do their job, sending them into harm’s way without the necessary equipment. Since then, the Ignatieff-led Coalition has opposed every attempt to reverse the effects of what our military calls the ‘Decade of Darkness’.” In spite of this obstruction, Stephen Harper’s Government has taken major steps forward to ensure the [Canadian Forces] have the equipment they need to defend our country.”

The very modest (dare one say stealth-like?) presence of defence in the 2011 election provides comparatively little scope for fresh analyses, but some themes are deserving of note. It is intriguing, for example, that the opposition parties were unable to get real traction with the F-35 issue, and failed to emulate Jean Chrétien’s success in bashing the Progressive Conservatives with the EH101 during the 1993 election. For the Liberals, part of the problem may have been an inability or unwillingness to replicate Chrétien’s legendary street fighter style, but it is important to remember that it was relatively easy—albeit misleading—to label the EH101 a Cold War relic when the Cold War had just ended. In the case of the missing F-35 debate, the Liberal acknowledgement that a CF-18 replacement of some description, and considerable cost, would still be required, the absence of a signed F-35 contract (thereby making the issue appear somewhat abstract), and a less cavalier post-9/11 approach to security on the part of Canadians may have been contributing factors.

Also noteworthy, as Jack Granatstein pointed out in a post-election commentary for the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, were the “Liberal and NDP platform positions on peacekeeping. Both were enthusiastic about serving the United Nations; neither seemed unduly interested in war-fighting, although the Liberals, whose agreement was essential for the 2008 three-year extension of combat in Afghanistan and for the three-year training commitment there, did seem to concede it as a possibility.” Arguing that “the real question...is whether Canada and the Western nations should put future military action in the hands of the United Nations





and the Security Council,” Granatstein took careful note of Ignatieff’s pro-UN positions during the election, contrasted them with Ignatieff’s blunt criticisms of the UN prior to his return to Canada, and concluded that “his personal and party defeat does suggest that no leader should run against his convictions. Or, perhaps, that political expediency is not always the best course.”

For the Conservatives, majority status will facilitate the shift to a more muscular foreign policy, anchored, as Prime Minister Harper noted in a fascinating July 2011 interview with *Maclean’s*, by perceptions of Canada as a “courageous warrior, compassionate neighbour [and] confident partner.” He acknowledged that “we’ve received some criticism for re-investing in our military, but when you’re in a dangerous world and countries are from time to time called upon to do things to deal with those dangers, if you don’t have the capacity to act you are not taken seriously. Nobody takes your views seriously unless you can contribute to solutions, and it’s very difficult to contribute to solutions unless you can contribute across the range of capabilities, up to and including military capabilities.” The world, he added, “is becoming more complex, and the ability of our most important allies, and most importantly the United States, to single-handedly shape outcomes and protect our interests, has been diminishing, and so I’m saying we have to be prepared to contribute more, and that is what this government’s been doing.”

Canadian attitudes on security have, to some extent, shifted in the post-9/11 era, but in a nation where a stereotyped and romanticized notion of peacekeeping remains deeply rooted in the national psyche, wherein visions of a more muscular foreign policy—even one, as the Prime Minister has noted, that includes peacekeeping—will require a careful and thoughtful nurturing of public support. It therefore seems more important than ever that the Conservatives move forward with a clear, cogent, and compelling white paper or other major policy statement on foreign policy, and a freshened and considerably more detailed Canada First Defence Strategy written with an eye to Canadian defence policy in the post-Afghanistan geo-strategic environment. In addition to outlin-

ing their world view and identifying the appropriate mix of real-world capabilities—both military and non-military—the Conservatives need to deal with fiscal and other realities. The Canadian economy has fared better than many others, but the economic recovery remains fragile, the manufacturing base has suffered serious damage, and overall debt levels—federal, provincial, and individual—remain distressingly high. Competing demands upon the public purse, not least those related to health care, will continue to grow. The Harper government has injected significant national treasure into defence, but it is clear that there are limits...and no credible way to isolate defence from Ottawa’s broader ‘belt-tightening.’

This, one fervently hopes, need not mean a Canadian clone of the United Kingdom’s capability-slashing 2010 Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR)—in reality, more a massacre than a review—but it *does* mean that some hard choices will be required. The mid-2011 decision to phase out the Canadian component of the NATO airborne early warning force (i.e., AWACS)—clearly the end of an era for the Canadian military presence in Central Europe—provides but one example of fiscal pruning. Further reductions could embrace any number of options, including reductions in the number of headquarters (or, at the very least, reductions in headquarters staffing levels), reductions in the number of reservists on full-time duty, quantitative and/or qualitative ‘walkbacks’ in new procurement, and, while politically dangerous, the closure of bases and other installations. Desirable acquisitions, such as a fifth C-17 *Globemaster III* transport, are likely to prove ‘non-starters.’

The post-election Conservatives also need to move faster with respect to the reform of a clearly broken procurement system, upon reinvigorating search and rescue and upon resuscitating the military presence in the Arctic. It is supremely ironic that long-standing Conservative plans for an expanded military presence in the Arctic were initially condemned, *largely* but not *exclusively* by left-learning academics, on the grounds that Ottawa was attempting to ‘militarize’ the north. The complaint was frankly ludicrous, given the very modest number of personnel required to operate the proposed northern

training centre, northern refuelling facility, and, say, one or two Arctic/Offshore Patrol ships, but without prompt action, the Conservatives will find themselves increasingly vulnerable to the more recent political and media charge that the promised Arctic expansion has stalled at the ‘exercise photo-op’ level. There are reasons for the delay—including time-consuming environmental assessments, the brief northern construction season, and various challenges on the AOPS front—but the Conservatives would be prudent to hasten the glacier-like pace of these projects. Credibility, after all, comes in many forms.

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DND photo IS2011-0006-57 by Sergeant Norm McLean

## A KNIGHT IN POLITICS: A BIOGRAPHY OF SIR FREDERICK BORDEN

by Carman Miller

Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010

430 pages, \$49.95

ISBN 978-0-7735-3730-9

Reviewed by John MacFarlane

**S**ir Frederick Borden (1847-1917) was Canada's longest-appointed minister of defence. Serving under Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier from 1896 to 1911, he led Canada's armed forces through the South African War, and shaped the expansion and modernization of the country's military during a period of imperial reorganization, preparing it for service as a national force in the First World War. The largest Canadian Forces (CF) base, just northwest of Toronto, carries his name, as does a village 64 kilometres southeast of Saskatoon.

Unfortunately, history has not been kind to Sir Frederick. Many assume that Camp Borden, and Borden, Saskatchewan, were named to honour his Conservative cousin, Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister from 1911 to 1920. Contemporaries criticized his weakness for wine and women, as well as his controversial overlapping of private business interests and public responsibilities. John Buchan's rapid but influential 1924 biography of Governor General Lord Minto (1898-1904) credits military reforms of the period to British general officers commanding the Canadian militia, notably the General Officer Commanding (GOC) Major-General E.T.H. Hutton (whose self-promotion did much to encourage the distortion), and also Lord Dundonald. More recently, Richard Preston and Desmond Morton have portrayed Borden as a "... reforming, committed, informed public servant, a competent administrator with a well-defined agenda, the catalyst for a military renaissance who presided over 'the greatest peacetime expansion and modernization of Canada's military forces.'"

Carman Miller's excellent work allows us to more completely understand and appreciate Borden's contribution. Instead of glossing over personal controversies of his subject, Miller skilfully reveals how the complex "symbiotic relationship" between Borden's business and political interests was fused. Times were very different; political-business dealings, that today might make even Karl Heinz Schreiber and Brian Mulroney blush, were common. Trained as a medical doctor in Canning, Nova Scotia, Borden became an important member of the community where his family had deep roots. Aided by

inheritance and marriage, as well as the ability to use his opportunities well, he invested in ships, land, and other aspects of the regional economy. He took particular interest in the local militia. Miller seizes the opportunity in this biography to present, not only the life of one man, but also his society, and how each affected the other.

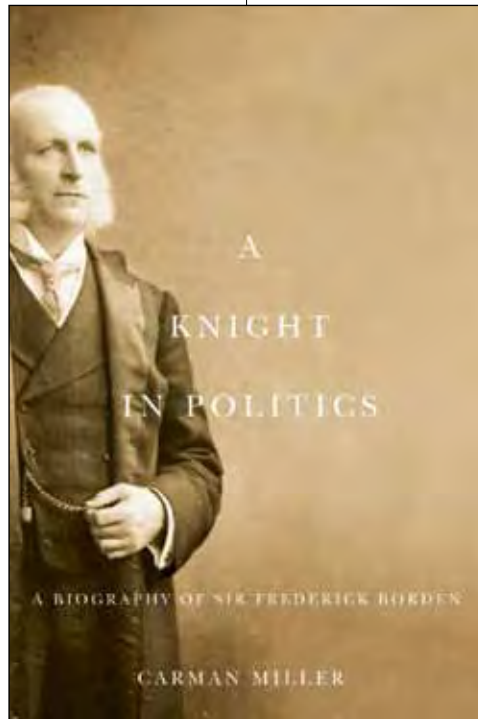
Although still a physician, Borden, by 1896, had become more occupied with business activities than medicine, when the Liberal victory led him to focus more upon politics. He had been first elected to Parliament at the age of 27 in 1874, the same year as his colleague and personal friend, a young Wilfrid Laurier, who was 33 at the time. Both shared similar interests and vision for the country that included pragmatic, inclusive approaches to controversial questions of the time related to economics, religion, language, and regions. Laurier selected Borden as Minister of Defence, and over the next fifteen years, the MP for King's, Nova Scotia, devoted much attention to a growing department. Miller presents vividly that growth by noting the budget for Defence grew sevenfold over Borden's fifteen years, ultimately to account for nearly 10 percent of the government's overall budget—which had increased only '2.3 fold' during the same period.

Carman Miller is perhaps best known to students of Canadian military history for his classic account of Canada's first war of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899-1902*. The Miller database of Canadians involved in that war, available at Library and Archives Canada, is invaluable. *A Knight in Politics* will not be the first source for those study-

ing Canadians in that war, but there is excellent information on Borden's role; his motives, key decisions, relationships, and personal reactions—notably upon learning of the loss of his only son, Harold.

The famous clash he had with Major-General Hutton is also described in detail. Seeking greater control over political decisions since his arrival in Canada in August 1898, Hutton, encouraged by his friend, Governor General Lord Minto, used the war to further his agenda before being dismissed, in the words of Miller, underestimating "Borden's political skills, his standing within the cabinet, and his friendship with Laurier...In retrospect, Hutton's dismissal proved an important turning point in Borden's ministerial career. It established his authority in his department and earned him the respect of his cabinet colleagues as well as that of some of his former detractors..."

The major part of the book, and its most important contribution, is the account of the significant reform of Canada's



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armed forces under Borden. The South African War had accelerated the desire of many Canadians to develop as a separate nation; most sought imperial *cooperation*, but not *integration*. Borden announced that the Empire was "... no longer a power with dependencies, but a power made up of several nations," and realized the importance of self-defence in this evolution. A greater attempt to produce and use Canadian equipment was one consequence, which mostly yielded good results, despite the experience of the Ross rifle.

Borden's reforms, often described as being focused on the country's militia, relied upon a vastly different, and larger, permanent force. The experience in South Africa led to the creation of several specific service units in the following years (medical, engineer, signals, army service, ordnance, army pay, veterinary, and postal). Of course, 1910 witnessed the birth Canada's navy, and the taking over of the British garrisons at Halifax and Esquimalt. Miller correctly emphasizes the importance of Borden's insistence upon professionalism during this

period of rapid change and growth: removing military appointments and promotions from partisan politics, developing military education and training institutions, while maintaining public support.

Well researched and written, *A Knight in Politics* was deservedly short-listed for the 2011 J.W. Dafoe Prize. The work provides a fascinating look at Borden, the man, and his turbulent times, both of which significantly influenced the Canadian military, not only as it entered the First World War, but to this day.

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John MacFarlane is a historian at the Directorate of History and Heritage, Department of National Defence. He co-authored, with William Johnston, William Rawling, and Richard Gimblett, *The Seabound Coast: The Official History of the Royal Canadian Navy, 1867-1939*, and is currently working on the official history of Canadian observers in Indochina, 1954-1973.

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### THE CAPTURE OF LOUISBOURG, 1758

by Hugh Boscawen

Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011

466 pages, \$39.95 Cloth.

Reviewed by Emily Spencer

For enthusiasts of the colonial era, specifically the contest for North America, this book is a 'must have.' It is very well written, and clearly demonstrates in-depth research. Moreover, in addition to the exquisite detail contained throughout the book, its style is engaging and fast-flowing. The human drama and the challenges of launching such an ambitious military operation are clearly captured within the pages of *The Capture of Louisbourg*.

The book itself is an excellent examination of both the British and French naval and army commanders, and the challenges they faced in the struggle for Louisbourg. It begins by providing some context to the period and to the theatre of operations. Notably, however, the synopsis of British foreign policy at the front end may deter some readers, as to fully follow it, one requires a good understanding of the period, particularly events as they transpired in North America.

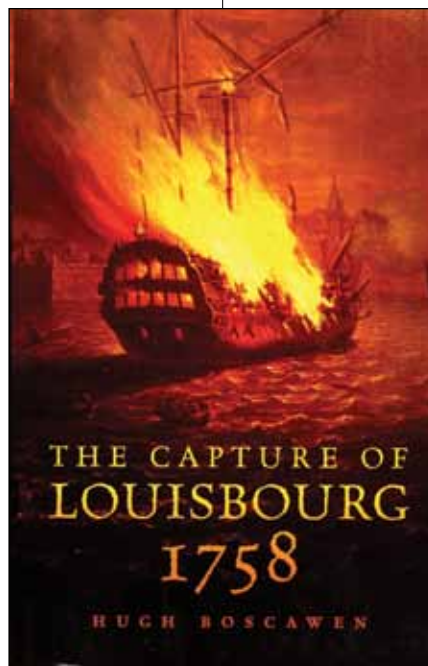
Boscawen then describes the actions of the antagonists, from the French struggle to continue to supply the Fortress of Louisbourg, to the English efforts to block these attempts. Very little literature has actually focused upon this obscure component of the struggle for North America, and, as such, *The Capture of*

*Louisbourg* adds important detail to an understanding of the larger struggle.

The remainder of the book focuses upon training the invasion force and the actual campaign. It utilizes journals, letters, and official reports in order to fully capture the essence of the military experience. The story ends with a chapter on the aftermath, namely the tension and struggle to decide what follow-on actions should be undertaken with regard to continuing operations against the French with what remained of the campaigning season, as well as the effect of how the news was received in Europe.

As noted, the book is well written, and it belies an understanding of military affairs. This is not surprising since the author, Hugh Boscawen, is a retired colonel who served in the Coldstream Guards. He is also a direct descendant of Admiral Edward Boscawen, who commanded the Royal Navy fleet at Louisbourg. Adding to the author's understanding of army operations is the fact that he is also a skilled yachtsman and a specialist in 18<sup>th</sup> Century naval and military history.

Importantly, in addition to Boscawen's personal connection to the material, the research is commendable. Boscawen utilizes a vast array of primary sources, and provides detailed endnotes, which are of great value. Moreover, there is a very detailed map, located on the inside covers, both front and back, which makes access very convenient, should the reader wish to situate action in the text on the ground. Additionally, there are six maps at the front of the book that put the action within the context of the larger war in





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North America, as well as a series of maps that provide greater detail of the siege itself. There are also 24 black-and-white images which provide some visual support in terms of the personalities involved and of Louisbourg itself. Unfortunately, however, none of the images adequately capture the battle, or even the essence of the fortress, and are thus somewhat disappointing.

Aside from that minor criticism, the volume offers much to the historian or active enthusiast of the period and acts as a detailed reference and resource book. It has detailed end-notes, an excellent bibliography, and a comprehensive index. Moreover, it includes four detailed appendices. The first provides a very helpful guide to those who wish to visit the battlefield today. The next two appendices provide the British and French orders of battle, and the fourth outlines the ships and regiments that participated in the attack, and their current status. Finally, the book includes an outstanding glos-

sary that explains a number of technical terms utilized during the period.

In all, *The Capture of Louisbourg* is an outstanding book. It captures, in a detailed and exciting manner, a key military campaign in Canadian and world history. Moreover, it acts as a detailed resource manual for that campaign, which will prove timeless for those studying the period or event. In sum, historians, history buffs, and military enthusiasts will enjoy and benefit from reading this book.

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Dr. Emily J. Spencer is a Research Associate with the Canadian Special Operations Forces Battle Laboratory. She is also an Adjunct Assistant Professor at the Royal Military College of Canada. Her research focuses upon the importance of cultural knowledge to success in the contemporary operating environment, as well as the role the media plays in shaping understandings of world events.

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### THE CIVIL WAR OF 1812: AMERICAN CITIZENS, BRITISH SUBJECTS, IRISH REBELS AND INDIAN ALLIES by Alan Taylor

New York: Alfred Knopf, 2010.

620 pages, two maps, 77 illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.  
\$25.50 Cloth

Reviewed by John Grodzinski

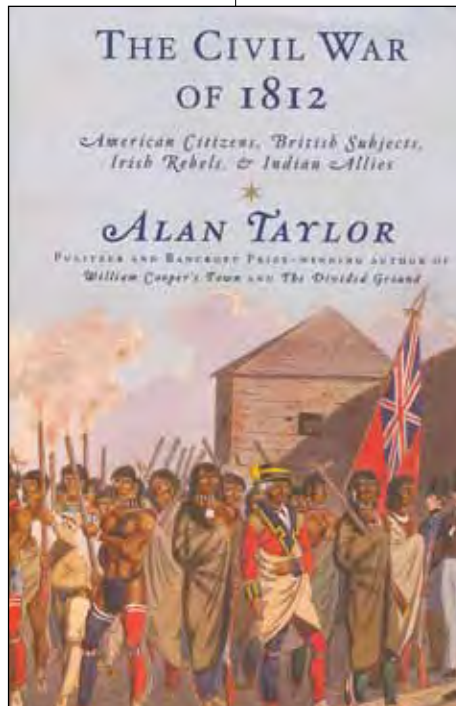
**T**he *Civil War of 1812* presents the Anglo-American conflict fought between 1812 and 1815 as a series of civil clashes along the frontier of Upper Canada. According to Alan Taylor, who teaches American and Canadian history at

the University of California, the War of 1812 has four dimensions, each a contest in its own right. The first was the continued struggle between Loyalists and Americans for the control of Upper Canada; next was the political partisanship in the United States that nearly ignited a war between the states; the third was the importation of the struggle for Irish independence from Britain to the frontier of British North America; and the final contest was between the native peoples living on either side of the border. At 620 pages, the book is a hefty and sometimes dense study that seems not as deeply researched or as clearly written as the jacket notes suggest it to be.

To demonstrate his case, Taylor concentrates on events along the borderlands of Upper Canada. He believes that through the three campaign seasons, neither Britain nor the United

States was capable of asserting their vision of North America, either imperial or republican, over the other, and both decided to co-exist. This argument assumes that Britain's ultimate goal was to smash the new republic, which is false. Because the author limits the British perspective of the war to events around Upper Canada, much of the British context of the war is lost. For example, British political leaders are reduced to an anonymous group known as the "Imperial Lords," (this term is used frequently, and examples appear at pp. 78, 150, 172, 403, and 435). King George III, who was ill at the time and had no direct bearing on the war, is mentioned four times, while the Prince Regent, who assumed many of the monarch's responsibilities in 1811, is mentioned in passing. Prime Minister the Earl of Liverpool is ignored, while Earl Bathurst, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, and the cabinet official responsible for the conduct of the war, is only mentioned once (p. 290). Unlike their nameless British counterparts, American political and military leaders, such as James Madison, James Monroe, James Wilkinson, Jacob Brown, Thomas Jefferson, and even George Washington appear throughout the text.

Thus, British strategy, at least until 13 October 1812, is presented as a struggle between the dashing and powerfully built Major-General Isaac Brock, and the cautious Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of British North America, Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost. The rationale of the massive reinforcement sent by Britain to North America in 1814 is never fully explained, and the war in Europe against Bonaparte is hardly described. The Prince Regent's instructions to Prevost, written in 1811, were



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clear in that he was to avoid any situation that would cause a large-scale diversion of resources from Europe. And when the circumstances dictating that strategy changed, Britain did send substantial reinforcements to North America in 1814, not so much to humble the Americans (p. 413), but to secure the frontier of the Canadas in anticipation of the coming peace talks.

While Upper Canada was certainly the cockpit of the war, the author's decision to restrict the discussion to that province ignores the remainder of British North America. Little consideration is made of the Lower Canada's largely French population, which totalled about half of British North America's 600,000 people. Lower Canada is described curiously as "... a Catholic country occupied by British troops" that "... resembled Ireland with a French twist" (p. 77). Yet, that colony played an important role in the war effort. In the Maritimes, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shared strong cultural and economic ties with New England, so why is there no consideration of the republican-imperial dynamic that occurred in that region?

The native peoples figure prominently in the text, and, as the author acknowledges, were instrumental in defeating American plans during 1812 and 1813 (p. 435). With the peace, many of Britain's native allies found themselves in American territory, and the author contends that the Americans exploited the "ambiguous" (p. 437) peace treaty to consolidate their dominion over natives within their territory, ending British influence over them, and allowing the Americans to gain continental predominance. The apparent abandonment by Britain of their native allies is a common theme in War of 1812 historiography. However, little acknowledgement is given to British efforts to secure native rights in the Ninth Article of the Treaty, and the American decision to ignore these clauses.

There is a nagging host of minor errors throughout the book. None are terribly serious, but there are enough to distract the reader's attention and to question the author's under-

standing of the British perspective of the war. Quebec's defences did not include a citadel in 1785 (p. 14); Guy Carleton would certainly not have described himself a "loyal Irishman" (p. 17); the number of British subjects in "Canada" in 1785 is said to be 100,000 people (p. 27), but the geographic extent of this territory is undefined. Why not use census data from the early-1800s? Peter Hunter is wrongly identified to as the Governor-General of Canada, when he was, in fact, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada between 1799 and 1805 (p. 87); the wrong date is given for the repeal of the Orders in Council in 1812 (p. 134); and it was the Prince Regent, and not Parliament, who ratified the Treaty of Ghent on 27 December 1814 (p. 419).

While this book is disappointing from the British perspective, it offers several interesting insights: a population that had not been completely separated by the American War of Independence became more distinctive in the aftermath of the War of 1812; the only quantifiable outcome of the conflict was the confirmation of the existing border between America and British North America. The author also provides interesting examples of contrasts between Upper Canada and the American republic before the war, such as the lower tax burden carried by Upper Canadians, as compared to Americans. Taylor's descriptions of the interactions between soldiers and civilians are vivid and in contrast to other works. For example, the operations of the two fine American divisions in the Niagara Peninsula during the summer and fall of 1814, while valiant, did little towards securing American victory, and actually "... wasted the nation's finest troops in futile battles" (p. 407). Tactical successes cannot make up for strategic failure, and this appears to be the author's lesson of the war that, superficially at least, the post-war American idea of victory was a crafted mirage.

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Major John R. Grodzinski, CD, PhD, *an armoured officer, teaches history at the Royal Military College of Canada in Kingston. He also leads battlefield tours focusing upon the War of 1812.*

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### THE SEABOUND COAST: THE OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN NAVY, 1867-1939, VOL. I

by William Johnston, William G.P. Rawling,  
Richard H. Gimblett, and John MacFarlane

Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2010

1014 pages, \$70.00

ISBN: 978-1-55488-907-5

Reviewed by Jurgen Duewel

**W**hen I first picked up this book, there were a couple of things that immediately struck me, and they caused me to wonder if this book was really about the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN). The first was the sheer size of the volume at over 1000 pages; the second was the

image on the back cover, which makes one think of some sea battle off the Dutch coast; and the third was the start date of 1867 for the defined scope of the work, over 40 years before the founding of the Canadian Navy. Nevertheless, all is explained in the first few pages.

Although the book is substantial in length, it is very well researched and very readable, with chapters being well defined. This allows the reader to fully appreciate a very colourful and exciting time in Canada, namely, the development of a national navy.

The book starts its narrative well before 1867, through an accounting of Canada's maritime history with the arrival of the Europeans, and the centuries-long conflict between France and Britain. Hence, the image chosen for the back cover. Although the British conquest and final victory in North America is perhaps best remembered by the battle on the

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Plains of Abraham, the authors clearly establish that the British operations against the French very much constituted both a sea and a land campaign.

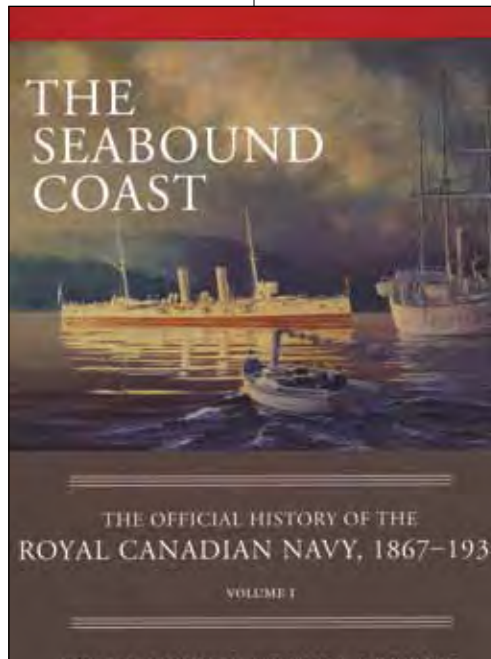
The next threat to Canada would come from the south during the War of 1812. Although most Canadians are well aware of the battles at Lundy's Lane and Queenston Heights, the sea battles for control of the Lake Ontario and Lake Erie are less well known. However, the authors do a credible job of describing that era.

The first chapter of the book begins with Confederation and the question of naval defence. As the writers remind us, it is the United States that generates the greatest security concerns. The Americans, having just come through a civil war, were pushing their settlers west, and this raised the chilling spectre of Manifest Destiny, especially considering the state of Canada's invitingly-empty western territories. Because the threat was *continental*, as opposed to *maritime*, it was clear that Canada's defence rested upon Britain being able to transport troops to Canada if a threat from the south seriously materialized. Therefore, it was important that Britain retain its two continental naval stations, one in Halifax, and the other in Esquimalt, British Columbia. However, as the book points out, as time went on, Canada came to realize that Britain was also keenly interested in keeping peace with the United States, and was sometimes doing so at Canada's expense. The fisheries situation pertaining to the east coast, and the Alaskan boundary disputes, are two cited examples of this trend.

By the turn of the 19th Century, the situation was starting to change. The threat for Britain no longer came from the United States, but from Germany. The launching of *HMS Dreadnaught* had rendered obsolete every warship that had preceded it, and consequently, Britain's huge numerical advantage of warships over her naval rivals was greatly reduced. Britain clearly suffered from 'Imperial overstretch,' and was desperately searching for a remedy. The Admiralty's preferred solution was to require Britain's colonies to pay for their defence by creating an 'Imperial fleet' through contributions toward the building of British warships. Canada's Prime Minister Laurier, however, had a different plan, and he had built a consensus across the population, including (importantly) Quebec, for an independent Canadian Naval Service as a much more palatable alternative. As a result, on 4 May 1910, the Canadian Navy came into being. However, as the authors point out, the election the following year of Robert Borden as Prime Minister, who had campaigned against the establishment of the navy, created a great amount of uncertainty, not only in Canada, but in Britain, with respect to Canadian inten-

tions. In fact, in hope of getting at least something out of the Canadians, the British Admiralty dispatched Admiral Jellicoe with the suggestion that perhaps Canadian shipyards could be put to work building submarines. However, as the authors point out, when Canada entered the war, it had contributed neither submarines nor dreadnaughts to the imperial fleet, nor had it yet formed a proper naval service.

Canada's contribution to the First World War was four army divisions for the battlefields of France and Belgium, but no resources were provided for the navy to defend Canada's coasts. This omission became all too apparent when German submarines started operating in Canadian waters. The writers have also added an interesting section dealing with Canada's vulnerability to a surface threat, when the German cruiser *Leipzig* appeared off the West Coast. Then, the relatively-familiar story of the provincially-owned British Columbia submarines adds some new information, and also makes for an amusing read. Not so amusing, of course, was the navy's lack of success against German submarines, which seemed to be operating at will as far west as the Gulf of St. Lawrence. This created a great amount of angst; indeed, panic, and quite naturally, blame was directed at the navy. Finally, when it seemed that the navy's reputation could not sink much lower, on 6 December 1917, in Halifax harbour, the Norwegian-registered ship *Imo*, (although also confusingly referred to in the book as being of both Belgian and Norwegian registry) collided with



the French ammunition ship *Mont Blanc*. The resulting explosion killed 1600 people, injured another 9000, mostly from flying glass, and rendered 6000 Haligonians homeless. Although the navy was a hapless bystander, an anxious and angry populace looked for someone to blame, and the navy became a convenient target. The only positive result that came out of this tragedy was that the responsibility for shipping was passed to the British Ministry of Shipping, and this allowed the navy to return its focus upon defending Canada's coasts. When the First World War ended, it was the army that had defined the nation, and the navy turned out to be more of an overall embarrassment. Consequently, the cuts to an already-underfunded institution came quickly, and by 1922, the navy was down to two ships, and a personnel establishment of 80 officers and 250 ratings. However, as the authors point out, the navy had at its helm Commodore Walter Hose, whose seemingly-unending optimism knew no bounds. Hose wrote, in 1922, that within a couple of years, he would have 1500 men organized and trained, and that the naval service would again expand into a seagoing service. as it materialized, he was right.

The final chapters of the book detail the efforts of men like Hose and Nelles, who would keep the navy alive. In fact, so much so, that in 1939, the Royal Canadian Navy entered



## BOOK REVIEWS

the war as a more coherent force with a much better understanding of its mission. The work completed by Hose would lay the foundation for a navy that 'punched well above its weight' in the next conflict.

The book contains a large number of photographs, maps, and diagrams, which add greatly to its credibility and impact. In sum, *The Seabound Coast* fills a long standing gap in the

history of Canada and her Maritime roots, and it is essential reading for the serious historian.

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### ENHANCING HUMAN PERFORMANCE IN SECURITY OPERATIONS. INTERNATIONAL AND LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSPECTIVE

by Paul T. Bartone, Bjorn Heige Jonsen, Jarle Eid, John M. Violanti, and Jon Christian Laberg (eds.)

Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas Publisher Ltd, 2010.

457 pages, \$93.95 (HC), \$66.95 (PB).

Reviewed by Bernd Horn

For those involved in security operations, whether military or in law enforcement, the title of the book alone is enough to attract interest. Simply opening this hefty volume will pull it all together, and it is, by all accounts, an impressive book.

Notably, however, it is not for those who are looking for light reading on the subject. *Enhancing Human Performance in Security Operations* is an authoritative handbook on the subject, written by a collection of international experts, both military and civilian, in the fields of stress, resiliency, and human performance. There are 35 contributors, many of whom are psychologists, and all of whom have unimpeachable credentials.

The book examines research and the practical applications related to security operations in the widest sense. It is designed to provide some guidance on the ever present problems of human adaption, stress, and resilience in ambiguous and dynamic situations where human decisions, often made in split seconds, can have life and death consequences. Specifically, it provides insight and perspectives on the psychological pressures faced by operators in this domain. More importantly, the book also furnishes practical recommendations on how to optimize human performance in the complex and dangerous realm of security operations.

To accomplish this monumental task, the volume is divided into three sections. The first section provides an excellent grounding in basic theoretical perspectives on psychological and social factors that significantly affect human performance in high stress work. It includes a theoretical model of resilience that, while centered on law enforcement,

has relevance to all those who work in security operations. Many aspects of the model resonate throughout the book, as do the selection and training issues it raises.

The second section of the book emphasizes practical approaches for selecting, training, and preparing personnel to function effectively in today's dynamic operating environment. The data is scientifically based and it deals with such critical topics as personality measures in selection programs, as well as organizational, leadership, and training approaches with respect to increasing individual qualities and skills that are critical for successful performance in high-risk professions.

The final part of the book provides some outstanding case studies that explore real situations, and thereby provide a degree of vicarious experience for the reader. Chapters include topics such as training new police officers in Kosovo, the challenges of training indigenous forces for demining and explosive ordnance disposal (EOD) clearance in Sudan and Iraq, psychological processes in deadly force incidents, and preventing abuse of prisoners and detainees, to mention but a few subjects covered. In sum, the third section provides an excellent array of scenarios that are of great utility for study.

In all, *Enhancing Human Performance in Security Operations* is an extraordinary handbook. The chapters are well written and well researched. In addition, each chapter has an extensive, detailed list of references that allows the reader to access related material. Moreover, this very handsome book contains high quality paper, as well as clear and precise charts and graphics. Importantly, it also boasts an outstanding, comprehensive index. In sum, this volume is an excellent resource for anyone working in the security domain, and, particularly, for those who are entrusted with selecting, training, and preparing individuals for operations, whether military or in law enforcement.

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