

“The 2017 Defence White Paper must be drastically different from the 1964 Defence White Paper”

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The main objectives in the 1964 White Paper were ‘collective defence,’ ‘collective security’ and ‘the protection and surveillance of our territory, air-space and coastal waters.’ Sea-changes in global politics over the last fifty years mean our suggestions for the next Defence White Paper must be critically different, especially compared to half a century ago. The 1964 WP reflected the principles of liberal internationalism according to Lester Pearson.¹ The 2017 WP should be different in the following ways:

‘New Considerations Affecting Future Policy’? (1964 WP). Some new considerations in 2016 are our response to the world’s refugee crisis - which could define us.² Moreover nuclear power is no longer a panacea³ - the planned nuclear waste depository on the shore of Lake Huron warrants reconsideration.⁴ Nuclear waste burial in the Great Lakes water basin is ill-considered and possibly a terrorist threat.⁵ We can learn a precautionary tale from recent federal public hearings⁶ about deep-set differences.⁷ Mothballing nuclear plants is the best plan.⁸ What comes from the crypt should stay in the crypt.⁹ Newer considerations will also have to include the Sustainable Development Goals.¹⁰ Like the Millennium Development Goals, the new SDGs are worth sharing - they could deeply affect Canada’s future defence and foreign policy considerations given their projected costs.¹¹

‘Canada and the Deterrence to Major War’? (1964 WP) Why not join with Russia to plan a joint Ballistic Missile Defence project with the U.S.?¹² We can learn lessons about previous BMD debates and prior cabinet decision-making on US missiles because former Prime Minister Diefenbaker went through a similar situation as Prime Minister Paul Martin.¹³ Russian weapons continue to be a world concern.¹⁴ We are steering in rough waters.¹⁵ The U.S. doctrine of pre-emptive warfare has implications for nuclear deterrence and disarmament as well as crisis decision-making.¹⁶

‘NATO Strategy’ (1964 WP) Canada’s NATO commitment continues to be affected by controversy¹⁷ and the NATO Alliance is drastically affected by the arc of crisis from Ukraine to Turkey to Syria.¹⁸ Ukraine and the Crimean Peninsula are affected by heavy-handed U.S. diplomacy.¹⁹ Canada should spearhead another review of NATO’s Strategic Concept.²⁰ Moreover expanding NATO could be risky.²¹ The costs of NATO expansion will mount.²² NATO should not include Georgia and Ukraine as associate members.²³ Furthermore, there are ways to move NATO forward to a world without nuclear weapons. The 2015 NPT Review Conference ended again in acrimony.²⁴ The role of umbrella states, like Canada, in nuclear proliferation and disarmament will be more important in the international campaign on the abolition of nuclear weapons.²⁵ While countries outside the alliance, like North Korea, arm and become more dangerous due to mounting nuclear and cyberwarfare threats²⁶ –biological weapons are also a great threat because they are the poor man’s nuclear bomb.²⁷ We should refrain from pointing accusatory fingers at petty tyrants, like Kim Jong-Un in the DPRK, so much as ourselves.²⁸

‘The Defence of Canada’? (1964 WP) Dealing effectively with potential chemical, biological, nuclear, radiological and explosive threats must be a higher priority.²⁹ The previous Conservative government’s military plans mainly pleased Republicans, like President George W. Bush, not Canadians.³⁰ If we turn to our allies outside North America and reconsider their Maritime Forces, then we need to rethink the implications of Britain’s ‘wee nuclear problem.’³¹

‘North American Defence’(1964 WP) Membership in the NATO Club is complicated by Afghanistan and we run the risk of ‘northern’ ‘rich’ and ‘white’ nations defending the Imperial Palace.³² We must reorient Canada’s security sector goals within NATO’s mission³³ but refrain from establishing yet another independent special panel to review Canada’s mission and future in Afghanistan.³⁴

‘Peace Keeping’ (1964 WP) The blueprint for a peacekeeping training centre was well established.³⁵ The Lester B. Pearson Peacekeeping Training Centre could be re-established in light of Liberal promises under Prime Minister Jean Chretien.³⁶

‘Organization of the Defence Forces’ (1964 WP) The now-unified Canadian Forces are doing much more to advance human security.³⁷ Other Canadian government agencies can do more to fight international diseases, like Ebola.³⁸

‘The Shape of Canadian Forces 1964-74’ (1964 WP) Canada’s NATO commitments during the Cold War shaped the CF.³⁹ The current modernization debate about the B-61 bombs will negatively shape NATO’s deterrence doctrine and the Alliance’s defence posture for decades.⁴⁰ In terms of ‘a Mobile Force in Canada by 1974’ we now have DARTs but we need more drones. We also need a more effective drone policy with stricter North American regulation of drones. While a Rapid Reaction capability for NATO is in place, lamentably there is still no UN emergency service, like a ‘UN 911’.⁴¹

‘North American Air Defence’ (1964 WP) In terms of ‘Air Forces’, like the Avro Arrow, the story of Canada’s reliance on nuclear weapons including the Bomarc, CF-104s and CF-101s is over.⁴² The Voodoos, the Honest John and the Lacrosse shaped former belief systems about North American defence.⁴³ We don’t need the modern F-35 and there is nothing monotonous about drones now.⁴⁴ Arctic sovereignty? We should ‘freeze out the nukes’⁴⁵ and further discuss policy imperatives for a Canadian-led Arctic Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zone.⁴⁶

‘Canada and UN Requirements’ (1964 WP) If we are to take a seat on the UN Security Council soon, we need new strategies to advance international and national security.⁴⁷ In terms of our UN priorities, combat skill isn’t enough for Canada’s peacekeepers⁴⁸ – more peacekeeping training centres are needed.⁴⁹ We should commit more young Canadians to the UN⁵⁰ in part because questions swirl around the Canadians involved in an Algerian attack.⁵¹ Indications are young men can be enticed into terrorism, so one option is more internships, despite the dangers of interning in disaster.⁵² We must not forget our responsibility to protect⁵³ and the report of the international commission on intervention and state sovereignty.⁵⁴ Most importantly, the UN needs to take practical steps toward zero nuclear weapons⁵⁵; the only absolute guarantee.⁵⁶

‘Civil Defence’ (1964 WP) We can’t defend against nuclear attack by building bomb shelters and relying on NATO’s ‘smart’ defence.⁵⁷ How can we defend ourselves against ‘rogue states’⁵⁸ and stop more attacks from terrorists?⁵⁹ – there are no easy answers.⁶⁰

‘Defence Research and Industry’ (1964 WP) The arms control agreement with Iran - could Iran be just the start?⁶¹ The roulette wheel is spinning on a U.S. – Iran war⁶² so the new Iran arms control agreement could be the template for other such agreements.⁶³ Risks are that Canadian secrets are shared with allies.⁶⁴ Moreover in terms of **‘Industry and Production-Sharing’ (1964 WP)** Canadians will keep asking questions about Saudi arms deal⁶⁵ so for human rights considerations⁶⁶, the Department of Global Affairs needs to cancel the deal⁶⁷ and sell London’s LAVs elsewhere.⁶⁸

‘Conclusion:’ The 2017 Defence Paper will necessarily be very different from the 1964 WP because Canadians are redefining and reassessing security – at many levels of analysis.⁶⁹ Most importantly, we must figure out new ways of thinking about nuclear weapons including nuclear deterrence⁷⁰ so we can move more quickly toward a world without nuclear weapons.⁷¹

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