



David Cameron and Barack Obama hold a joint news conference at the White House on 20 July 2010

under John Major, observes: "The survival and success of the partnership depends on the usefulness of Britain to the United States as an efficient ally. We are sometimes deceived on this point by the courtesy of the Americans in their appearing to regard the Anglo-American partnership as crucial to the United States when in fact it is not" (12).

TRANSLATED BY TOM GENRICH

(1) Report to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, UK Trade and Investment, Global Security: UK-US Relations, sixth report of the 2009-2010 session, HC-114, Ev 110, March 2010.
 (2) Only 70 members of the delegation have diplomatic status; to these must be added the 142 people stationed in Washington who work for the Ministry of Defence, as well as 550 British military personnel and arms specialists (2008 figures; see Global security: UK-US relations).
 (3) "Mr Brown's silence endangers US relations", *The Daily Telegraph*, London, 25 August 2009.

(4) Con Coughlin and James Kirkup, "British al-Qaeda hub 'is biggest in West'", *The Daily Telegraph*, 16 January 2010.
 (5) William Wallace and Christopher Phillips, "Reassessing the Special Relationship", *International Affairs*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, 85-2, 2009.
 (6) Defence White Paper – Delivering Security in a Changing World, Cm 6041, December 2003.
 (7) Ministry of Defence, Defence Industrial Strategy, London, TSO, December 2005.
 (8) The Agreement for Cooperation on the Uses of Atomic

Energy for Mutual Defence Purposes.
 (9) Brian Wicker and Hugh Beach, eds, *Britain's Bomb: What Next?*, SCM Press, London, 2006.
 (10) In a conference at the Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies, John Hopkins University, 10 November 2009. An edited version has been published as "A special relationship in jeopardy" in *The American Interest*, July-August 2010.
 (11) Written evidence to the Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, Global Security: UK-US Relations, Ev 141.
 (12) *Ibid*, Ev 83.

EXPERTS IN EXPEDITIONARY COUNTER-INSURGENCY

Canada, a peaceable kingdom no more

The popular historian Peter Newman recently observed that "one of Canada's sustaining myths is that we are a peaceable kingdom, and that even when our armed forces are dispatched on gruesome missions abroad, they will be recognised as spreading goodwill and not be harmed" (1). But Canada has had to abandon this idea. Since 2001, when Canada joined the war in Afghanistan, it has transformed its military capabilities to favour expeditionary counter-insurgency.

"Transformation" is a military buzzword for the reorientation of forces toward the complex insurgencies that now define the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan and, according to planners, will dominate the 21st century. The US defence secretary Robert Gates has said that such wars require the use of the "full range of instruments of national power" – defence, diplomacy and development aid. Gates told the US Institute for Peace, Washington, on 15 October 2008 that Afghanistan was a "laboratory" for the changes.

James Mattis, US general and Nato Supreme Allied Commander responsible for transformation, told military professionals last year that "Canadian Forces stand once again in the front rank of war fighters, as role models. [Your expeditionary soldiering] is a force that all troop contributing nations in Afghanistan look on with awe and confidence."

Mattis co-authored the US army counterinsurgency field manual, FM 3-24 (2). General Stanley McChrystal, the US and Nato commander in Afghanistan, said last year that Canada's transformation "foreshadowed" the US integration of civilian and military capabilities: "We are leveraging the example of Canadian operations to date to help move the rest of the force."

Canada's military is active across the globe, from its Special Forces operatives training Jamaican forces to hunt drug runners, to its forces countering the heart of the counterinsurgency in Kandahar, Afghanistan. Canada has at least 18 expeditionary deployments. "The sun never sets on the Canadian Forces," said General Walter Natynczyk, the Canadian Forces Chief of Defence Staff, invoking the classic imperial posture.

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The Canadian military has 'transformed' its forces in every way to be ready to deal with the 21st century's expected asymmetrical insurgent warfare

BY JON ELMER

While Canada's peacekeeping mythology served a useful domestic political function, the military was always keen to point out that Canada has a long history of expeditionary adventures. Canadian troops participated in the scorched earth and concentration camp strategies under the leadership of British forces during the Boer war in 1900 at the beginning of the 20th century, and closed it in 1999 flying bombing missions over Serbia.

Canadian Forces flew combat missions during the 1991 Gulf war and its navy enforced the decade-long sanctions regime on Iraq. Canadian soldiers were in Somalia in 1993 and present to clear up the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. In 2004 Canadian commandos were up front during the overthrow of Haiti's president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Since September 2001, Canada has stood shoulder to shoulder with US interests in the global war on terrorism. Visiting the White House in 2006, the prime minister Stephen Harper called the alliance the "strongest relationship of any two countries, not just on the planet, but in the history of mankind." The former US ambassador to Canada, David Wilkins, noted in May 2007 that "no two militaries are more closely united than those of the United States and Canada. Our forces work and train together all over the world."

Since 2001, the focus of Canadian operations has been between the Horn of Africa and Pakistan, which the Pentagon calls Central Command (Centcom), informally the "arc of instability". Canadian warships have patrolled the coast of Somalia, effecting a policy Nato's top naval commander described as "throwing a perimeter fence" around the Gulf of Aden to protect vital oil shipping routes from piracy (3). The navy operates with US aircraft carrier battle groups off the coast of Iran, guarding the Straits of Hormuz and serving as a launching platform for the bombing raids in Iraq.

During Israel's bombardment of Lebanon in 2006, Canada played a critical diplomatic function in blocking ceasefire resolutions at the G8 summit while calling Israel's attack "measured".

In the West Bank and Gaza, Canada has had an integral role in the establishment of Palestinian security forces under the auspices of US General Keith Dayton. More than half his operational staff are Canadian officers, whom the general called his "road warriors" and his "eyes and ears" on the West Bank (4). The Palestinian security forces have been tasked with shutting down Hamas's civilian infrastructure, attacking charities, mosques, and forcing the elected government underground. There have been 1,000 arrests, including teachers, health workers and journalists and widespread human rights abuses, including torture that has resulted in several deaths in custody.

In Iraq, Canadian generals have assumed deputy command roles for operations by US forces. The exchanges are not simply a gesture of goodwill but a crucial launch pad for senior command roles in Canada. Canada's current armed forces chief, General Walter Natynczyk, served first as deputy director of strategy, policy and plans and then as deputy commanding general during Operation Iraqi Freedom.

When the US and UK launched the war in 2003 without a final UN resolution, Canada declined to formally join the coalition. But, as US ambassador Paul Cellucci noted in 2003, in the first week of the war, "the Canadian naval vessels, aircraft and personnel in the Persian Gulf who are fighting terrorism will provide more support indirectly to this war in Iraq than most of the 46 countries that are fully supporting our efforts there." Peter Devlin, Canada's head of the army – another general who served in a deputy commanding role in Iraq – observed that countries like Canada were an important part of the public relations strategy, providing "greater legitimacy to the effort here in Iraq" (5).

Canada's role in the war in Afghanistan remains its most important so far. Canada has restructured its armed forces since 2002 – from its training and procurement of weaponry to doctrine and operational deployments. Canadian Forces have embraced the "whole of government" counterinsurgency model of political warfare, issuing its first field manual for this in 2008. A key training base in Wainwright, Alberta, has been transformed into a "failed state" city, where soldiers use new technology to simulate house-to-house urban battles.

Canada's military has significantly upgraded its materiel to match the shift. Israeli-leased Heron drones, heavy-lift and attack helicopters, and strategic long haul C17 jets have been added, so Canada can deploy anywhere at a moment's notice, a capability shared by only four nations.

As former head of the Canadian army, Lieutenant-General Andrew Leslie, noted in 2007: "Let's not kid ourselves, the resources are not for Afghanistan alone. In the near future, we'll be going somewhere similar to Afghanistan, doing the same sorts of things." He is now Canada's Chief of Transformation, and a leading candidate for the next Chief of Defence Staff (CDS).

The present CDS, General Natynczyk, pointed out that Afghanistan "has defined the Canadian Forces in this decade and, with the experience of our young veterans, will for decades to come. Veterans from this operational experience are seeing the 'new normal' of complex, multinational operations in dangerous, rapidly changing parts of the world... When the Canadian Forces withdraw from Afghanistan in 2011, I have no doubt that our services will be called upon in troubled regions elsewhere as the Government chooses" (6).

Harper told US policymakers shortly after he was elected prime minister in 2006: "Make no mistake, Canada intends to be a player."

ORIGINAL TEXT IN ENGLISH

(1) Peter C Newman, "Peaceable kingdom no more", *Maclean's*, Toronto, 15 March 2006.

(2) Conference of Defence Associations, Ottawa, 27 February 2009.

(3) Commodore Steve Chick, *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 9 December 2009.

(4) Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 7 May 2009.

(5) Joshua Partlow, "List of 'willing' US allies shrinks steadily in Iraq", *The Washington Post*, 8 December 2007.

(6) Conference of Defence Associations, Ottawa, 27 February 2009.