

Canada, Democracy and the F-35

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2012

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& DGD GHPRFUFD\ DQG WKH) \$ODQ 6 :LOO

&RS\ULJKW < 'HIHQFH 0DQDJHPHQW 6WXGLHV 3URJUD
6FKRRO RI 3ROLF\ 6WXGLHV 4XHHQ·V 8QLYHUVLW\ .

DEDICATION

7R P\ SUHFLRXV JUDQGFKLOGUHQ \$UL DQ
ODXJKWHU DQG ORYH LQWR P\ OLIH OD\ V
PHQWDOO\ DQG SK\VLFDQO\ VWURQJ QHYH
DOZD\V ZLOOLQJ WR VHUYH WKHLU

7KH &OD[WRQ 3DSHUV

7KH 4XHHQ·V 8QLYHUVLW\ 'HIHQFH 0DQDJ

YLL7KH &OD[WRQ 3DSHUV

3DSHUV GR VR IRU VFKRODUVKLS SXUSRVHV F
WKHLU ZRUN

7KH DXWKRU ZRXOG OLNH WR WKDQN FROOH
DQG SURYLGHG FODULW\ WR PDQ\ RI WKH LVV\
PXFK DSSUHFLDWLRQ WR %LOO 6ZHHWPDQ 3
0LOOV (ULF 3DOPHU 0DUN &ROOLQV DQG 6W
7KH DXWKRU DOVR ZLVKHV WR WKDQN &DU

& R Q W H Q W V

) R U H Z R U G

[7KH &OD[WRQ 3DSHUV

&KDSW&DUVLQJ 2EVHUYDWLRQV

1RWHV

\$QQH[HV

\$QQH[HV ² 6RXUFH ,QIRUPDWLRQ

)RUHZRUG

2Q -XO\ WKH &DQDGLDQ JRYHUQPHQ
EH DFTXLULQJ WKH /RFNKHHG 0DUWLQ) M
DJLQJ ÁHHW RI &) V 6LQFH WKHQ WKH JRYH
LWV SRVLWLRQ E\ DUWLFXODWLQJ D ZLGH UD
UHLQWHUSUHWLQJ KLVWRU\ ,W KDV LQVXOW
DQV OLNH QDwYH FKLOGUHQ ZLOOLQJ WR EH
D GHPRFUDF\ DQG DV VXFK WKLV GXO\ HOHI
DQG SRZHU WR WDNH VXFK D GHFLVLRQ %XW
REOLJDWLRQ ² WR KHOS HQVXUH WKDW JRYHU
ZRUGV DQG WKHLU DFWLRQV \$V WKH SHUVRQ
RI 8QGHUVWDQGLQJ 028 RQ)HEUXDU\ Z
LQWLDPDWHO\ DZDUH RI WKH IDFWV DQG FLUF
SDUWLFLSDWLRQ LQ WKH SURJUDP 7KH JRYH
&DQDGLDQV ,I ZH FDQQRW WUXVW WKH JRYH
LW RQ R)@WKRW FK
GPVWUQFW"YH 8&DQDGLDQ 8QHGG8pR8D°H7@
W°LRp@

/LVW RI \$EEUHYLDWLRQ

[LY7KH &OD[WRQ 3DSHUV

3:*6&	3ÆOLF :RUNV DQG *RYHUQPHQW 6HU
6\$5	6ⓂHFWHG \$FTXLVLWLRQ 5HSRUW
6''	6\WHP 'HYHORSPHQW DQG 'HPRQVW
625	6D\WHPHQW RI 5HTXLUHPHQWV
6/(3	6H\LFH /LIH ([WHQVLRQ 3URJUDP
6729/	6R\UW 7DNH 2II DQG 9HUWLFDO /DQQ
73&	7H\KQRORJ\ 3DUWQHUVKLSV &DQDGD
86	8Q\WHG 6WDWHV
8.	8Q\WHG .LQJGRP

& + \$ 3 7 (5

- R L Q W 6 W U L N H) L J K W H U

+, 6 7 2 5 <

: K D W Z H N Q R Z W R G D \ D V W K H - R L Q W 6 W U L N

WKLW ZDV WKH SULPDU\ PRWLYDWRU IRU &DQ
WKH VHFRQG SKDVH RI WKH SURJUDP

7KH -6) ZLOO EH SRZHUHG E\ WKH 3UDWW
GLUHFWRU RI WKH 86 &RQJUHVV WKH 86 'H
WDEOLVKHG DQ DOWHUQDWLYH HQJLQH WKH
-6) SURGXFWLRQ DQG RSHUDWLRQV DQG VXS
RI DQ DOWHUQDWH HQJLQH IRU WKH -6) SURJ
DQG '2' KDV DWWHPSWHG WR HOLPLQDWH IXQ

7KH) \$ YDULDQW RI WKH -6) ZLOO EH D VL
,W LV GHVLJQHG WR KDYH D UDQJH RI QP
RI DSSUR[LPDWHO\ PLOHV SHU KR XU
,W ZLOO FDUU\ WZR OE ZHDSRQV LQWHU
DGYDQFHG PHGLXP UDQJH DLU WR DLU PLVVL
NP GHSHQGLQJ RQ DOWLWXGH

352*5\$0 6758&785(

7KH -6) SURJUDP ZDV VWUXFWXUHG LQ WK
VWUDWLRQ SKDVH &'3 IURP WR WR
YLDEOH DQG WR GRZQ VHOHFW WR D VLQJOH
86 ELOOLRQ D V\ VWHP GHYHORS PHQW DQG
WR WR GHVLJQ GHYHORS WHVW DQ
ZLWK SHUIRUPDQFH VSHFLÀFDWLRQV ZLWK D
SURGXFWLRQ VXVWDLQPHQW DQG IROORZ RO
WR WR SURGXFH DQG PDLQWDLQ WKH
86 ELOOLRQ

,17(51\$7,21\$/ 3\$57,&,3\$7,21

7KH) SURJUDP LV '2'.V ODUJHVW LQWHUG
\$V PHQWLRQHG DERYH '2' KDV DFWLYHO\ SXU
WR GHIUD\ VRPH RI WKH FRVWV RI GHYHORSLO
LQ WXUQ ZHUH HQFRXUDJHG WR YLHZ SDUWL
DIIRUGDEOH ZD\ WR DFTXLUH D ÀIWK JHQHUDV
NQRZOHGJH LQ DUHDV VXFK DV VWHDOWK V\
DOORZ IRU LQGXVWULDO RSSRUWXQLWLHV IR

'HYHORSPHQW 36)' SKDVHV RI WKH SURJUDP
FRQWULEXWHG YDU\LQJ DPRXQWV RI UHVHDU
SURJUDP UHFHLYLQJ LQ UHWXUQ YDULRXV O
7KH HLJKW SDUWQHU FRXQWULHV DUH H[SHF
ZLWK WKH 8. EHLQJ WKH ODUJHVW DQWLFLSD
QRWHG WKDW DV D UHVXOW RI WKH 8. XQGHU
EX\ QXPEHU ZLOO OLNHO\ EH NQRZQ RQO\ DIV
8. PD\ FXW LWV RUGHU WR DSSUR[LPDWHO\
6729/ -6) YDULDQW LQ 7DPRXQWV WKH 8. FRXQ
DQG 6LQJDSRUH 2 DUH VHFUXLW\ FRRSHUDW
FRRSHUDWLYH GHYHORSPHQW SDUWQHUVKLS
SRVVLEOH

,QWHUQDWLRQDO SDUWLFLSDWLRQ LQ WKH
OHYHOV DFFRUGLQJ WR WKH DPRXQW RI PRQ
JUDP 2 WKH KLJKHU WKH DPRXQW WKH JUHD
WR DLUFUDIW UHTXLUHPHQWV GHVLJQ DQG
GHYHORSPHQW /HYHO SDUWQHU VWDWXV U
FRQWULEXWLRQ WR DLUFUDIW GHYHORSPHQW
VWDII DQG D QDWLRQDO GHSXW\ DW GLUHFWR
LQWHUQDWLRQDO SDUWQHU LQ WHUPV RI ÀQD
SDUWQHU 2Q 'HFHPEHU WKH 86 DQG
028 RQ %ULWLVK SDUWLFLSDWLRQ LQ WKH -6)
LQ WKH GHÀQLWLRQ RI UHTXLUHPHQWV DQG D
WKH %ULWLVK JRYHUQPHQW WR FRQWULEXW
WKH 2 203 -DQXDU\ WKH 86 DQG 8
VLJQHG DQ 028 ÀQDOL]LQJ WKH 8. V SDUWLFL
WKH 8. FRPPLWWLQJ WR VSHQGLQJ 86 ELO
HVWLPDWHG FRVW RI 6''

/HYHO UHTXLUHV DQ LQYHVWPHQW RI 86
E\ ,WDO\ DQG WKH 1HWKHUODQGV FRQWULEX
OLRQ UHVSHFWLYHO\ \$XVWUDOLD 'HQPUN
WKH) SURJUDP DV /HYHO SDUWQHUV ZLW
PLOORQ WR 86 PLOORQ

\$QDO\VWV VD\ WKDW %ULWDLQ V 2 DQG RV
SURJUDP PDNHV LW PXFK PRUH GLIÀFXOW IRU
WR FDQFHO W@HKSURJUDP DWLRQ KHDULQJ '
3HWH \$OGULGJH WHVWLÀHG WKDW DQ\ GHFLV
WR ZHLJK LWV 'LQWHUQDWLRQDO LPSOLFDWL

-RLQW 6WULNH)LJKWHU %DFNJURXQG

(;3(&7(' '(/,9(5< 6&+('8/(

\$W WKH WLPH RI WKH VLJQLQJ RI WKH
DLUFUDIW ZHUH WR EH RUGHUHG EHWZHHQ
RU ZHUH IRU WKH 86 DQG ZHUH IRU V
7KH SHDN SURFXUHPHQW \HDEV ZRXOG EH
WLPH DLUFUDIW ZRXOG EH SURGXFHG DQC
028 WLWOHG (VWLDPDWHG -6) \$LU 9HKLFOH 3U
\$QQH[RI WKLV ERRN 'HOLYHULHV ZRXOG Á
RUGHU GDWH &DQDGD·V WRWDO ZDV IRU D

& + \$ 3 7 (5

& D Q D G D (Q W H U V W K H - 6

- 2 , 1 , 1 * 7 + (3 5 2 * 5 \$ 0

&DQDGD (QWHUV WKH -6) 3URJUDP

7KHUH DUH DOVR H[WHQVLYH QRQ ÀQDQFL

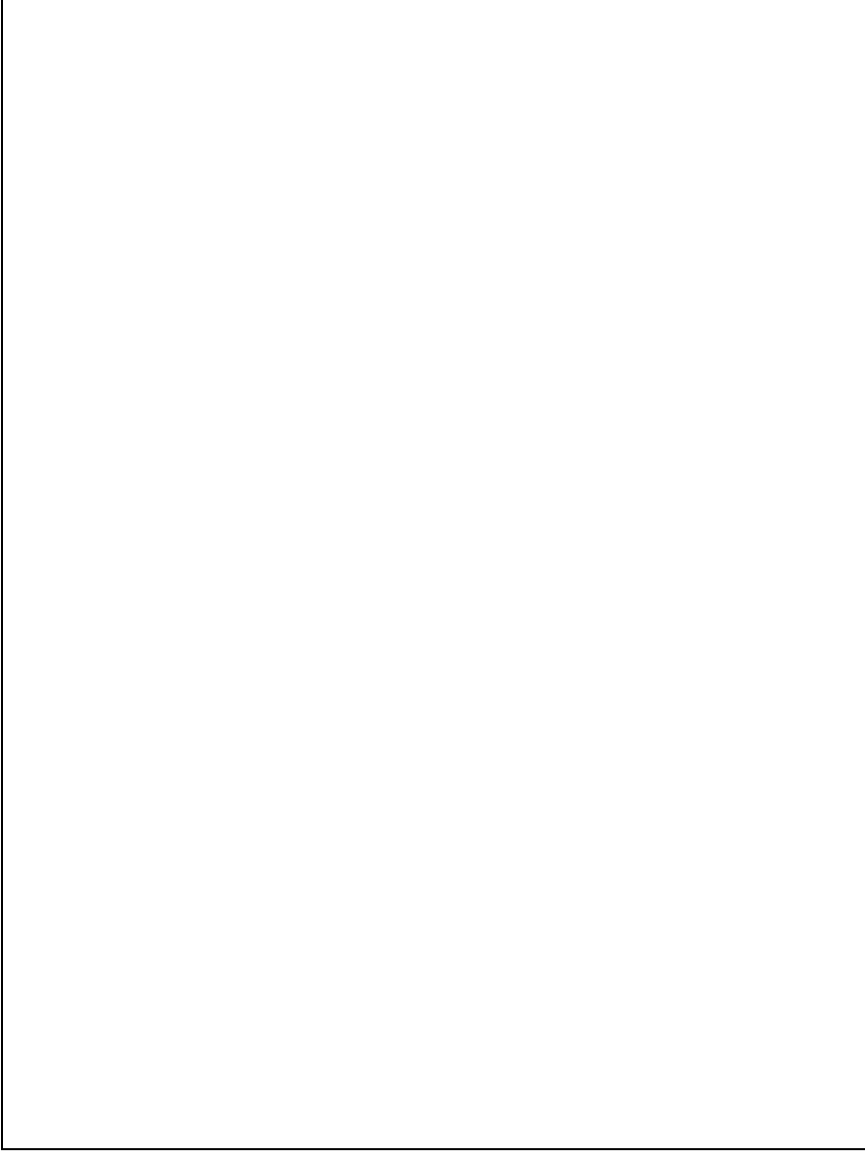
,1'8675,\$/ %(1()),76

%\ DQ\ REMHFWLYH PHDVXUH &DQDGLDQ L
VWDQGLQJ \$V RI HDUO\ &DQDGLDQ FR
LQYROYHG ZLWK RU KDG H[SUHVVHG LQWHUH
GLVSOD\V WKH UHJLRQDO GLVWULEXWLRQ RI
GLVSOD\V PDMRU DZDUGV DQG FRPPLWPHQWV
7KHVH DZDUGV GR QRW QHDUO\ UHÁHFW WK
VXFFHVV WR GDWH +HUH DUH VRPH QRWHZR

Participation

D FRPSHWLWLYH RSSRUWXQLWLHV ZHUH

Figur E 2.1 Canadian Firms Identified to JSF Companies



6RXUFH 'HSDUWPHQW RI 1DWLRQDO 'HIBQ*BU\HFN 3URJUDP %DFNJURXQG

TABLE 2.1

& + \$ 37 (5

3URJUDP 6WDWXV

352*5\$0 '(9(/230(17

7KH 86 *RYHUQPHQW \$FFRXQWDELOLW\ 2IÀ
DXGLWRU RI WKH 86 JRYHUQPHQW·V FRQVRO
RI WKH DJHQF\·V ZRUN LQYROYHV SURJUDP H
OHJDO RSLQLRQV DQG GHFLVLRQV RQ D EUR
DQG DFWLYLWLHV ERW, Q DLW KRPH D D Q G DEURH
*\$2 SURYLGHG D YHU\ VRPEUH DVVHVPHQW
-6) SURJUDP 7KH *\$2 VWDWHG WKDW

DIWHU PRUH WKDQ QLQH \HDUV LQ GHYHORSPH
SURJUDP KDV QRW IXOO\ GHPRQVWUDWHG WKDW
WXULQJ SURFHVVHV DUH PDWXUH DQG WKH V\V
DUH VWLOO EHLQJ UHOHDVHG WR WKH PÀGXFW1

RXWFRPHV 5HVWUXFWXULQJ KDV FRQVHTXHQF
DLUFUDIW LQ WKH QHDU WHUP WUDLQLQJ GHO
GHOLYHULQJ FDSDELWLHV WR ZDUÅJKWHUV

\$QG ÅQDOO\

1HDU WHUP SURFXUHPHQW TXDQWLWLHV ZHUH
WKH DQQXDO UDWL RI LQFUHDVH LQ SURGX
SURGXFWLRQ GHFLVLRQ PRYHG WR D \HD
7KH PLOLWDU\ VHUFLFHV ZHUH GLUHFWHG WR
FDSDELWLW\ ,2& UHTXLUHPHQWV WKH FULWL
PXVW KDYH LQ SODFH WKH ÅUVW LQFUHPHQW R
EDW :H H[SHFW WKH ODULQH &RUSV. ,2& ZLOO
GDWH DQG WKDW WKH \$LU)RUFH.V DQG 1D
WKH FXUUHQW GDWHV LQ

\$V RI 1RYHPEHU WKH GHYHORSPHQW R
E\ DW OHDVW IRXU \HDUV DQG WKH GHYHORS
IURP 86 ELOOLRQ LQ WR 86 ELOO

&267 2) \$,5&5\$)7

2YHU WKH SDVW GHFDGH WKH -6) SURJUD
LQFUHDVHV ,Q ODUFK WKH 86 'HSDUWPHQ
SURJUDP H[SHULHQFHG D EUHDFK RI WKH FULW
XQGHU ZKDW LV NQRZQ DV WKH 1XQQ 0F&XUG
HQFHV D 1XQQ 0F&XUG\ EUHDFK RI WKH FULW
LV UHTXLUHG WR WDNH D QXPEHU RI VWHSV I
VXEPLWWLQJ D FHUWLÅFDWLRQ WR &RQJUHVV
&RPPRQO\ UHIHUUHG WR DV 1XQQ 0F&XUG\
WKH UHTXLUHPHQW IRU '2' WR VXEPLW XQLW
TXLVLWLRQ SURJUDPV RU GHVLJQDWHG PDMR
WUDFNHG DJDLQVW WKH FXUUHQW DQG RULJI
SURFXUHPHQW XQLW FRVW WRWDO SURFXUH
V\WHPV SURFXUH DQG SURJUDP DFTXLVLW
RSPHQW SURFXUHPHQW DQG V\WHP VSHFL
E\ WKH TXDQWLW\ RI V\WHPV SURFXUH ,I
RU DFTXLVLWLRQ XQLW FRVW LQFUHDVHV E\
EDVHOLQH HVWLPDWH RU DW OHDVW SHUFH
LW FRQVWLWXWHV D EUHDFK RI WKH FULWL
UHTXLUHG WR QRWLI\ &RQJUHVV LI D 1XQQ 0F

7KH 'HSDUWPHQW RI 'HIHQVH VXEVHTXHQW
 LQ -XQH WKDW WKH -6) SURJUDP VKHORZ
 PDULJHV WKH HYROXWLRQ RI -6) FRVW HVWLPL
 KLVWRU\ WKURXJK WKH 1XQQ 0F&XUG\ UH
 -DQXDU\ WKH 6HFUHWDU\ RI 'HIHQVH DQQ
 FRVW LQFUHDVHV DQG IXUWKHU FKDQJHV FR
 EXW KDV QRW \HW HVWDEOLVKHG D QHZ DSSU

TABLE 3.1
Changes in reported JSF Program Cost, Quantities, and Deliveries

2FWREHU 'HFHPEHU	0DUFK	SSULO	-XQH
V\WHP GHYHOBSODQDSSURYHGQLWLD	SURJUDP		
PHQW VWDUW	EDVHOLQHJHVWUXFW	0F&XUG\	

Expected quantities

F ' ,OWTP

,I \RX ZHUH WR DVN D VDOHVDPDQ IRU WKH
WKH VDOHVDPDQ UHVSRRQGHG WKDW WKH GLUH
UHDFW" 0RVW OLNHO\ \RX ZRXOG EH RIIHQGH
FRQIXVHG <RX ZRXOG NQRZ WKDW \RXU ÀQDC
ZRXOG LQFOXGH GLUHFV PDWHULDO FRVWV
IHHO WKDW WKH VDOHVDPDQ ZDV WU\LQJ WR P
JRYHUQPHQW KDV GRQH ZLWK UHVSHFW WR W

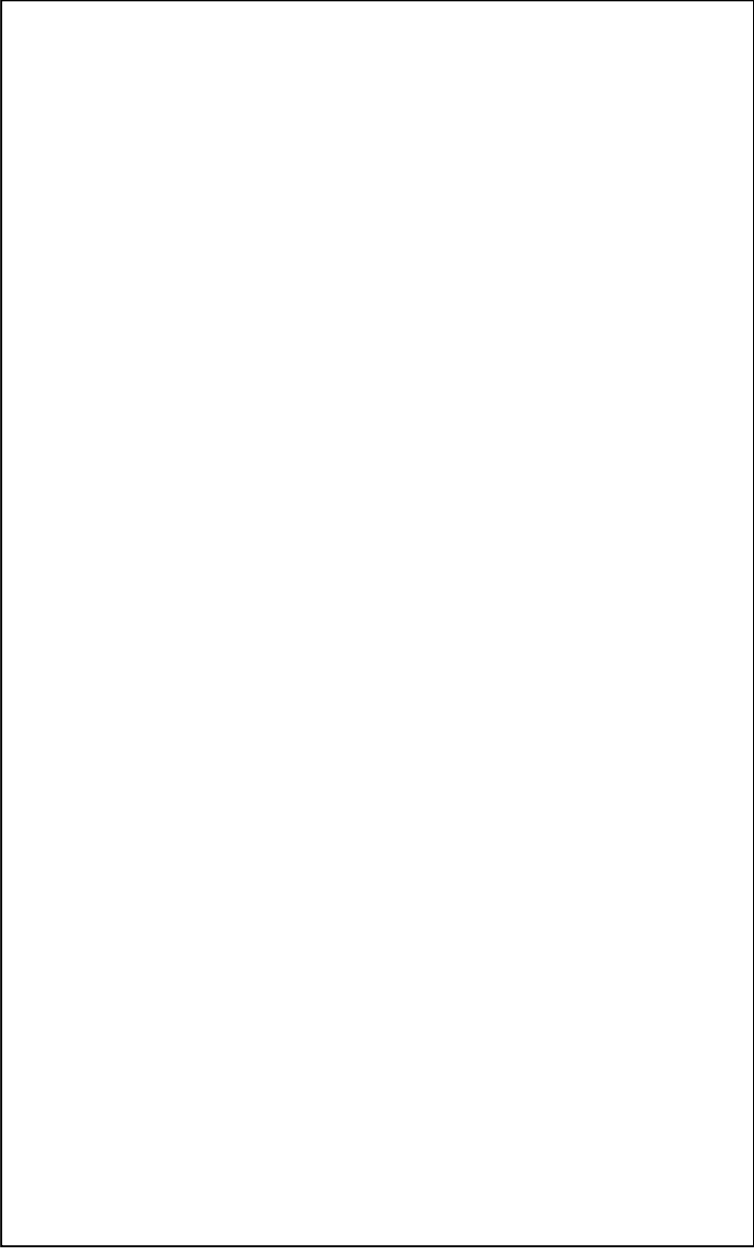
2QH RI WKH PDLQ GLIÀFXOWLHV ZLWK WKH
) LV WKDW WKHUH DUH VR PDQ\ GHÀQLWLRQ
'XQLW UHFUULQJ Á\DZD\ FRVW µ WKH 'WRWD
XQLW FRVW µ WKH 'DFTXLVLWLRQ XQLW FRVW
IHZ \$QQH[GHVFULEHV WKHVH FRVWV DQG V

2I DOO WKH FRVW WHUPV WKH 'XQLW UHF
HVW FRPSRQHQW RI WKH RYHUDOO FRVW ,W
HTXLSPHQW VXSSRUW DQG WUDLQLQJ HTXLSP
LV D PRUH DFFXUDWH UHÁHFWLRQ RI WKH DF
WKH 'SURFXUHPHQW XQLW FRVW µ DQG LV FR
SURFXUHPHQW XQLW FRVWµ RU \$38&

\$V PHQWLRQH G DERYH &DQDGD DV ZHOO
028 LV H[HPSW IURP SD\LQJ WKH UHVHDFK D
DWLRQ FRVWV DVVRFLDWHG ZLWK WKH SURJU
DQG DV VXFK DQ\ FRVWV TXRWHG VKRXOG H
,W LV WKH \$38& QRW WKH XQLW UHFUULQJ Á
WR &DQDGD WR SXUFKDVH WKH) <HW LW LV
WKH JRYHUQPHQW TXRWHV DW PLOOLRQ

\$V 7DEOH LQGLFDWHV WKH \$38& KDV U
WKH ODXQFK RI WKH GHYHORSPHQW SURJUDP
DQ LQFUHDVH RI SHUFHQW :KLOH WKHVH
DQWV WKH\ GR UHÁHFW WKH KXJH FRVW RYHU
&KDSWHU ZLOO GLVFXVV LQ JUHDWHU GHSH
LQ RUGHU WR DFTXLUH DQG VXVWDLQ WKH)

TABLE 3.2 Air Power Australia Analysis of JSF Program of record
Historical record and Independent Assessment of Progressive Decline in Commitments to buy: uSA, Total Program and International Partners



3URJUDP 6WDWXV

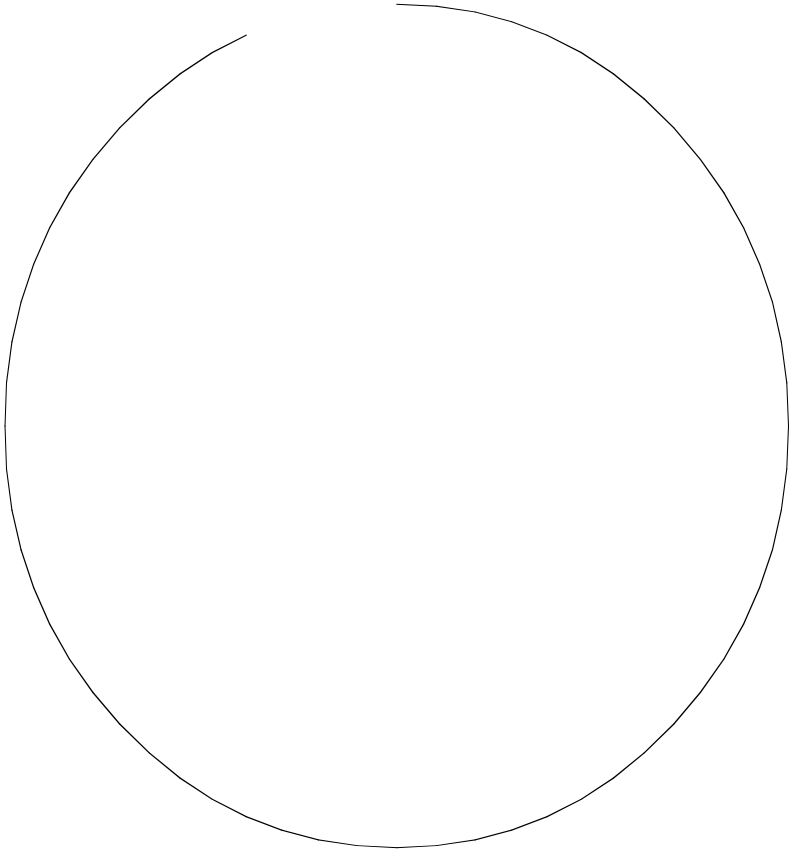
DLUFUDIW WRKH D Q U F L D I O W S O D Q Z D V I R U / 5
DLUFUDIW , Q D G G L W L R Q W K H 8 6 \$ L U) R U F H Z
H [W H Q V L R Q S U R J U D P 6 / (3 D Q G D Y L R Q L F V X S J
) D O F R Q V W R F R P S H Q V D W H I R U D Q H [S H F W H G
L V H [S H F W H G W R F R V W H D C E R D X U N 8 6 D V E H W O W L R Q
F K R L F H R I W K H) , W Z L O O G H F L G H Q H [W \ H
Z K L F K W K H) \$ () 6 X S H U + R U Q H W L V W K H P D

& + \$ 3 7 (5

& D Q D G D . V 6 R O H 6 R X U F H

7 + (\$ 1 1 2 8 1 & (0 (1 7

Figure 4.1
Defence Procurement Process



6RXUFH \$ODQ 6 :LOOLDPV 5HLQYHQWLQJ &DQDGLDQ '
WKH ,QVLGH 0F*LOO 4XHHQ·V 8QLYHUVLW\ 3UHVV

&DQDGD·V 6ROH 6RXUFH 'HFLVLRQ

HYDOXDWLQJ WKH ELGV DQG LGHQWLI\LQJ WK
IRU VSHFLI\LQJ DQG HQVXULQJ WKDW WKH D
WULDO DQG UHJLRQDO EHQHÀWV DUH REWDLQ
QHFHVVDU\ PLQLVWHULDO DQG RU FDELQHW
WKH ZLQQHU RI WKH FRPSHWLWLRQ

6DGO\ -XOLDQ)DQWLQR \$VVRFLDWH 0LQLV
VLEOH IRU GHIHQFH SURFXUHPPHQW LV XQDZD
LQ KLV RUJDQLJDWLRQ \$SSURZHUHQ DQG 26FRVLEW
ZDV DVNHG D VWUDLJKWIRUZDUG TXHVWLRQ I
PRQ 'RHV WKH EXFN VWRS ZLWK \RX"µ ,Q RV
DFFRXQWDEOH IRU GHIHQFH SURFXUHPPHQW" 7
WKH TXHVWLRQ ZLWK UHVSHFW WR KLV RZQ D
PLQLVWHU LV DFFRXQWDEOH IRU GHIHQFH SU
PHQW RI 0LQLVWHU)DQWLQR WKH DFFRXQWD
PXGGLHG 1RZ WKHUH DUH WKUHH PLQLVWHU
ZKRVH UROHV DQG UHVSQRVLELOLWLHV RYHU
GLVFXVVRQ RI WKLV FULWLFDO QLVXWV WLSOHB
3URFXUHPPHQW \$ 9LHZ0)URPVWKHU)DQWLQR ZDV

&DQDGD.V 6ROH 6RXUFH 'HFLVLRQ

D FRPSHWLWLRQ 5LJLLQJ DQ 625 WR HQVXUH
KRZHYHU LV QRW D YDOLG UHDVLRQ WR VROH
\$V PHQWLRQHG DERYH WKH SUHSDUDWLRQ
RU IRXQGDWLRQ IRU DQ RSHQ IDLU DQG WUD
VXSSOLHUV DUH LQYLWHG WR ELG DQG D UHF
WKH ZLQQLQJ ELGGHU %XW LQ WKH FDVH RI
RI HYHQWV WRRN SODFH ,Q D EULHÀQJ
WKH PLQVWHU WKDW WKH '-6) IDPLO\ RI DLUF

À\ Wd @ U DWpP0\HWpP

&DQDGD.V 6ROH 6RXUFH 'HFLVLRQ

μ \$W WKH VDPH KHDULQJ 0LQLVWHU 3HWH
LV HYLGHQFHG E\ WKLV H[FKDQJH ZLWK -DFN

Mr. Jack Harris: 0U 0LQLVWHU ZLWK UHVSHFW , WI
LQWHOOLJHQFH WR VXJJHVW WKDW WKDW FRPS
&DQDGLDQ PLOLWDU\ UHTXLUHPHQWV IRU WKH

Hon. Peter MacKay: 7KDW.V H[DFWO\ ZKDW LW GLG

Mr. Jack Harris: 7KDW ZDV DERXW ZKR ZRXOG EXLOG
DERXW ZKHWKHU RU QRW &DQDGD ZRXOG SXUF

Hon. Peter MacKay: 7KH FRPSHWLWLRQ ZDV H[DFWO\ DF
DLUFUDIW IRU &DQDGD

7KH JRYHUQPHQW LV FODLPLQJ WKDW WKH
GXULQJ ZKLFK /RFNKHHG 0DUWLQ ZDV VHOHFV
6WULNH)LJKWHU VDWLVÀHG &DQDGD.V UHTX
DQG WKH IDFWV DUH FOHDU

)LUVW ZKHQ WKH DQQRXQFHQW ZDV PD
RIÀFLDOV IURP WKH 86 DQG WKH 8. ZHUH VWD
WLRQHG HDUOLHU RQ 'HFHPEHU WKHVH
HVWDEOLVK WKH 8. DV D FROODERUDWLYH SD
DQG DLUFUDIW GHVLJQ 7KH 8. SDLG GHDUO\

PLOLRQ WR WKH ÀUVW SKDVH &DQDGD F
ELOLRQ WR WKH VHFRQG SKDVH &DQDGD
8. DQG RQO\ WKH 8. MRLQHG WKH 86 WR EH D
WKDW FKR VH /RFNKHHG 0DUWLQ RYHU %RHLQ

6HFRQG IRU WKH FRPSHWLWLRQ WR KI
&DQDGD ZRXOG KDYH KDG WR GHWHUPLQH L
WKH\ ZHUH LQFRUSRUDWHG LQWR WKH HYDOX
GLG QRW RFFXU \$V ZH QRZ NQRZ &DQDGD.V
QLQH \HDUV ODWHU DV /LHXWHQDQW *HQHUD
KH DSSHQDQGHU DQG GRORQ\ WYHFEHU)XUW

&DQDGD·V 6ROH 6RXUFH 'HFLVLRQ

WR HQVXUH WKH\ FRXOG ODVW XQWLO 2
LQJ WKDW &DQDGD·V 625 ZDV QRW DYDLODEO
FKRVHQ E\ WKH 86 '2' DQG WKH 8. 0LQLVWU\ I

**2. The government was just continuing along the lines established
by the previous Liberal government.**

,Q PDNLQJ VXFK FODLPV WKH JRYHUQPHQ
\$V WKH SHUVRQ ZKR VLJQHG WKH 02 €\ I

&DQDGD·V 6ROH 6RXUFH 'HFLVLRQ

3. The F-35 is the best aircraft at the best price.

7KLV FODLP KDV EHHQ WKH JRYHUQPHQW·V

&DQDGD·V 6ROH 6RXUFH 'HFLVLRQ

,V WKH -6) WKH RQO\ MHW DLUFUDIW FDS
RI &) V" :LWK WKH VSLUDOOLQJ FRVWV RI W
RGGV RYHU WKLW SURJUDP :KDW ZRXOG &DQ
FDQFHOOHG" :RXOG ZH VD\ WKHUH LV QR DFF
V" , GRQ·W WKLQN VR 0RUH OLNHO\ ZH ZRXO
SLFN WKH EHVW DYDLODEOH RSWLRQ LQ WKH
VROXWLRQ LV DYDLODEOH WR UHSODFH RXU &
DQG GLVDGYDQWDJHV \$Q RSHQ IDLU DQG WU
DQG GHWHUPLQH WKH EHVW VROXWLRQ IRU &
VXFK D FRPSHWLWLRQ 0RGLI\LQJ WKH VDW
RSHQ IDLU DQG WUDQVSDUHQW FRPSHWLWL
SURFHVV FDQ EH FRQFOXGHG ZLWKLQ WZR W
FDQ PDNH D GHFLVLRQ E\ \$OORZLQJ WZR
OHDG WLPH LQ WKH -6) SURJUDP RXU UHSOD
WR DUULYH LQ RU UQ0FLRQDP RU Y €
WR D SWKH D SH pR G RI Pp< P0
W€p IWR D R RD

HVWLDPDWH ZDV UHÁHFWHG LQ WKH PDWHULD
EHIRUH WKH 3DUOLDPHQWDU\ DQG +RXVH
7KHUH DUH WKUHH ÁDZV ZLWK WKLW FRVW HV
SOHHW)RU H[DPSON LW PDNHV QR PHQWLRQ
DLUFUDIW ZLWK WKH VDWHOOLWH FRPPXQLFD
IURP WKH QRUWK \$QQH[6HFRQG WKLW F
WKH 86 \$LU)RUFH ,Q LWV EXGJHW SUHVH
)RUFH LQGLFDWHG DQ H[SHFWHG 'XQLW UHFX
PLOORRQ µ SHUFHQW DER)XUWKBWPRIUH'.M
'2' SUHSDUHV DQQXDO UHSRUWV RQ WKH SUR
UHIHUHG WR DV 6HOHFWHG \$FTXLVLWLRQ 5H
LV EDVHG XSRQ SDJH IURP WKH 'HFHPEHU
DJH FRVWV FDOFXODWHG DQG DGGHG WR WKH
\$V LV HYLGHQFHG IURP WKH FROXPQ WLWC
MHFWLQJ IRUZDUG WR WKH \HDU DW QR W
FRVW GURS EHORZ 86 PLOORRQ GROOMOV
:KLOH WKHVH WZR HUURUV DUH VHULRXV
ÁDZ LQ WKH JRYHUQPHQW.V 86 PLOORRQ
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7DEOH VKRZV WKDW IURP WR -XQH
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LQ ODUFK 9LFH \$GPLUDO 'DYLQ 9HQOHW \$
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UHJDUGLQJ WKH) V +H WROG WKH FRPPLW
WKH SURJUDP KH LV FRQÀGHQW LQ KLV QHZ
PRGHO &DQDGD SODQV WR DFTXLUH KLV SU
PLOORRQ LQFOXGLQJ 86 PLOORRQ IRU
WKH 86 PLOORRQ DYHUDJH
6HFRQG ,VUDHO KDV SXUFKDVHG) \$V D
PLOORRQ \$V ,VUDHO LV RQO\ FRQVLGHUHG D
WKHLU FRVW LQFOXGHV WKH UHVHDFK DQG
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IURP WKHLU FRVW UHVXOWV LQ DQ DYHUDJH
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\$OO HYLGHQFH WR GDWH LQGLFDWHV WKDV
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W DD 0HZZ&DQDGLDQV DOWHUQDWLYH FRVW DQG

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ELOOLRQV RI RXU GROODUV ZLWKRXW NQRZL
ZKDW WKH\ ZLOO EH FDSDEOH RI SHUIRUPLQJ

5. Canada needs the F-35 because of the industrial and regional benefits.

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PHHWV WKH FULWHULD HVWDEOLVKHG E\ ,& ,
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+RZHYHU OLVWHQLQJ WR JRYHUQPHQW PLQL
RI WKH) \RX ZRXOG ZRQGHU ZKDW GULYHV
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ZH ZRXOG EH UXQQLQJ WKH ULVN RI &DQDGLDQ
DQG FRPSHWH DV SDUW RI WKH JOREDO VXSSO
KHDULQJ IURP &DQDGLDQ LQG XVWU\ IRU WKH
7KH ULVN RI VWDUWLQJ WKH SURFHVV DOO RYH
EH DEOH WR EH SDUW RI WKLW GHDO

7KLV VWDWHPHQW PDNHV LW FOHDU WKDW
MHWV LQ -XO\ RXW RI IHDU WKDW ZH ZR
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ORVH IXWXUH RSSRUWXQLWLHV WR FRPSHWH
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2WKHU SDUWQHUV FRXQWULHV KDYH GHOD\HG
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RI D &DQDGLDQ FRPSDQ\ WKDW KDV DOUHDG
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&DQDGLDQV WKLQN VR ,Q WKHLU DSSHDUDQF
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7 K H O L Y H V R I W K H V H P H Q D Q G Z R P H Q D U H G
H T X L S P H Q W W R W K H U L J K W S O D F H D W W K H U L
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SOHDVH UHIHU WR -HUHPLDK *HUWOHU 6SHFLD
-RLQW 6WULNH)LJKWHU -6) 3URJUDP %DFNJU
\$SULO SS

5XWHUV '1R GHFLVLRQ RQ AQDO 8. AJKWHU Q
DFFHVHVG DW KWWS ZZZ UHXWHUV FRP DU
GHIHQFH MVI LG86:(\$ 'DYLQ &DPHURQ
DQG MHW AJKWHUFRXOGFRDHIHG V DFFHVH
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0DUF 6HOLQJHU '-6) GHFLVLRQ VKRXOG ZHLJK
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2FWREHU DFFHVVHG DW KWWS ZZZ GRZ
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3RZHUB B3ROLWLFV ,'
1''1 6HSWHPEHU DFFHVVG DW KWWS Z
WLRQV 3XEOLFDWLRQ DVS["'RF,G /DQJXDJ
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,EG
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7KH RYHUDOO REMHFWLYH RI WKH -6) 36)' (WLRQ VXVWDLQPHQW DQG IROORZ RQ GHYHO

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\$XVWUDOLD	%
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7KH 1HWKHUODQGV	%
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\$OO DFWLYLWLHV RI WKH 3DUWLFLSDQW
DFFRUGDQFH ZLWK WKHLU QDWLRQDO ODZV D
FRQWURO ODZV DQG UHJXODWLRQV 7KH UHV
EH VXEMHFW WR WKH DYDLODELOLW\ RI IXQG
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7KH 3DUWLFLSDQWV LQWHQG WR SURPRW
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ZLOO QRW DSSO\ WR DQ\ \$LU 6\ VWHPV WKDW
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FRRSHUDWLYH SURGXFWLRQ DUUDQJHPHQWV
E\ WKH 8 6 *RYHUQPHQW WR WKH &DQDGLDQ
WKH 8 6 'R' ZLOO FRQVLGHU H[FOXGLQJ IUR
DOO RI WKH 8 6 'R' UHVHDFK DQG GHYHORS
6\ VWHP SURYLGHG WKDW WKH &\$ '1' GRHV Q
)UDPHZRUN 028 DQG WKLV 6XSSOHPHQW ,Q D
'1' UHVHDFK DQG GHYHORSPHQW FRVWV LQF
EH H[FOXGHG IURP WKH SULFH RI DQ\ \$LU 6\ V
WR WKH &DQDGLDQ *RYHUQPHQW

7KH 3DUWLFLSDQWV UHFRJQL]H WKDW SX
6'')UDPHZRUN 028 WKH\ ZLOO EH JLYHQ WKH
IURP VDOHV DQG RWKHU WUDQVIHUV WR 7KLU
WKDW 028 LQ RUGHU WR UHFRXS WKHLU LQYH

6XEMHFW WR QDWLRQDO ODZV SROLFLH
ZLOO LQ HYDOXDWLQJ RIIHUV IURP &DQDGLDQ
VXSSOLHV DW ERWK WKH SULPH DQG VXEFRO
ZLWKRXW DSSOLFDWLRQ RI WKH %X\ \$PHULFD
&DQDGLDQ RIIHUV

,Q RUGHU IRU WKH &\$ '1' WR DVVXUH LWV
WLRQV DUH FRQGXFWHG IDLUO\ DQG SURYLGH
WKH &\$ '1' ZLWK LQVLJKW LQWR WKH VXEFRO
SDUWLFLSDWLRQ DWWHQGDQFH DW 3URJUDP
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WKR VH GHVFULEHG LQ SDUDJUDSKV WKURXJK
SURYLGHG WKDW LW GRHV QRW GR VR IRU WKH

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National Security

\$UWLFOH RI WKH \$,7 UHDTV DV IROORZV

1RWKLQJ LQ WKLW \$JUHHPHQW VKDOO EH FRQV

D UTXLUH WKH IHGHUDO JRYHUQPHQW WR SURY

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ESUYHQW WKH IHGHUDO JRYHUQPHQW IURP W

HUV QHFHVVDU\ WR SURWHFW QDWLRQDO V

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Tb Contracting Policy

10.2 Exceptions

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H [F H S W L R Q V W K D W S H U P L W W K H F R Q W U D F W L
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D W K Q H F O U H T R P T \ À W 6 H D p B G 0 W

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,Q H[FHSWLRQ D D SUHVVLQJ HPHUJHQ

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6KRXOG WKH FRQWUDFWLQJ DXWKRULW\ KDYH
WR DZDUG VXFK D FRQWUDFW LW VKRXOG EH
DSSURYH D GLUHFWHG FRQWUDFW ZKLFK GRH
H[FHSWLRQV ,Q VXFK FDVHV DQ H[FHSWLRQ
2UGHU ,Q &RXQFLO ZRXOG EH UHTXLUHG

OLQN K VU ÁiFK X0RK`0ÀN p VU P P

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;A2?;.A6<;.9 & :2:/2?@ 5.C2 .?4B21 3<? 6;0?2.@21 .002@@ A<
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=2?3<?;. ;.1.A<?F :.6;A2;.02 .;1 @B@A.6;;2;A D<?8 A5?<B45 A52 9
<3 A52 .6?0?.3A 1232;@2 @<B?02@ @.F

.?962? A56@ F2.? ?.F@<; A<91 :2:/2?@ <3 A52 &2;.A2 ?;21 &2?C
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=9.;@ A< 2E=9<?2 .9A2?;.A6C2@ A< A52 B;12? A52 I\$9.; J @A?
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%23B@6;4 A< 4< 6;A< 12A.69@ ?24.?16;4 A5<@2 \$9.; <=A6<;@ A5
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6:=<?A.;02 <3 @2286;4 .9A2?;.A6C2@

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/?6236;4

*5692 205<6;4 A52 @2;A6:2;A A5.A =?296:6;.?F 2C.9B.A6<;@ <3 A52
5.C2 @5<D; A52 .6?0?.3A A< /2 A52 .;@D2? A< 6A@ 3645A2? ?2>B6
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363A5 42;2?.A6<; .6?0?.3A

I A56;8 A5.A D2 .?2 4<6;4 A< 9<<8 .A A52 3B99 @=20A?B: <3 0.=./
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To: The Hon Robert Gates
US Secretary of Defense

Dear Mr Gates,

The term *5th Generation Fighter* appears very frequently these days in public statements, press releases, PowerPoint slides and interviews. More than often the label is attached concurrently to the F-35 Lightning II Joint Strike Fighter and the F-22A Raptor, despite the enormous differences in the design of these aircraft.

This begs two very basic questions. What is a *5th Generation fighter*; and which fighters actually qualify as *5th Generation* designs? The question which follows, is whether the F-35 Lightning II Joint Strike Fighter actually qualifies, on merit, as a *5th Generation fighter*.

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Yours sincerely,

Peter Goon

Peter Goon
Principal Consultant/Adviser
Head of Test and Evaluation
Co-Founder, Air Power Australia
Peter Goon and Associates

Mob: + 61 (0)41 980 6476
Sunday, 8 November 2009

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All Aspect, Wideband (+1)	All Aspect, Wideband Design Target (0)	Yes or Partial (0)	Yes but Partial (0)	No (-1)
Yes >18 klbs (0)	Yes >20 klbs (0)	Unknown	Yes >18 klbs (0)	Yes >25 klbs (+1)
Yes 6 + 2 (0)	Yes 8 - 10 (0)	Highly Likely Nos. Unknown (0)	Yes 4 (0)	Partial (Tunnel Pod) 2 - 4 (-1)

Table © 2009, Peter Goon, Air Power Australia, Peter Goon & Associates.

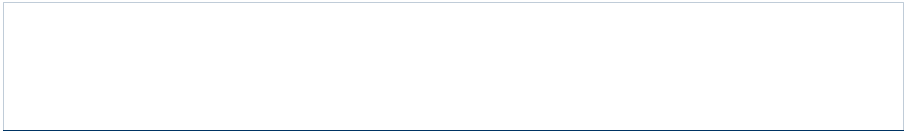
Air Power Australia Website - <http://www.ausairpower.net/>

Air Power Australia Research and Analysis - <http://www.ausairpower.net/research.html>

F/FB-22	SUKHOI	PLA AIR PWR	F-111	F-35 JSF	F/A-18	AMR/AIRLIFT	DEW / EMP	WEAPONS	CONTRAILS	MEDIA/NEWS
PACRM NEPS	RUS WEPS	SAMS/IADS	MSLS/BMD	STRATEGY	HISTORICAL	ISR / NCW	INFOWAR/EW	TECHNOLOGY	LINKS	MEMBERS

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September 7, 2011 (by Eric L. Palmer) -

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Part of the presentation showed a computer simulation which calculated that the F-35 would be consistently defeated by the Russian-made SU-35 fighter aircraft. The defeat calculated by the scenario also showed the loss of the F-35's supporting airborne-early warning and air-to-air refueling aircraft.



The technology in the SU-35 will also see its way into growth upgrades of other SU-fighter variants used by countries like [Indonesia](#), India, Malaysia and Vietnam. Chinese variants of these aircraft should also see similar growth capability in the coming years.

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The Russian-made T-50, PAK-FA low-observable fighter now in development is expected to be much more lethal than the SU-35 in air-to-air combat against the U.S. made F-35. The SU-35 and T-50 made

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9HH=9J9F; =K L@AK Q=9J 9L L@= 3MKKAF 9=JGKH9; = AF <MKLJQ 9AJ K@GO CFGOF
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5@=) , fii <=>=9L: JA=>AF? JMFK; GML=L J LG L@=; DPAE K; Q L@= ; G; C@==<
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L@=9L KALMPLAGFK : JA>LG , KJ9=D fii i z " GJ @9L A OAD: = S LAE =KT E GJ=
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4AF; * 9L=K =F <GJK=E =FL G>L@= LJGM D<) , fii HJG?J9E " A @9K; GFLAFM<
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; GE : 9L J=9<Q) , fii K' 8 A@L@=) , fii HJG?J9E =F <AF? " L@= E 9PAE ME
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) , /! + GJF=L" \$ K=H9J9L= 6^4" O9NQ KLMAQ 9DXG 9?J=< " 5@AK AK; GML=L J LG
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G>fii E GJ=) , /! 4MH=J + GJF=LK E 9<= : Q %G=AF? " 5@= 4MH=J + GJF=L AK 9DXG
MF9; D: LG L9C= GF @AP @=F < L@J=9LK AF L@= 29; AA 3AE J=?AGF AF L@=; GE AF?
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	(=H9JLE=FL G> 09LIGF9) (=>=F; = Program-based Analysis	Cost		29J09 E=FL9JQ &M<?=L 1>>k; =J Estimates
/ % , 0 6) 0 % 0 *)	Estimates derived from the Department of National Defence detailed for fl/ Q=9JK G> iF, K=JN; = KMHHGJL to include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • F-35 sustained as a global fleet of 3000+ aircraft with unprecedented economies of scale including shared non-recurring costs • Annual sustainment costs of \$250-\$300M per year which is equivalent to other modern fighter aircraft • 20 years for in-service support, logistic support, software reprogramming 	~Z!& '%(~fl' /& 75 (Based on an annual cost (GJ L/ Q=9JK) of 6.4% of the Parliamentary Budget Officer's cost estimate for acquisition of \$9.7B USD <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The PBO states <p style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;">However, the 6.4% is based on unspecified data and an unknown cost estimating relationship model.</p>
	F-35 approach to upgrades and follow-on development: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Software upgrade every two years and hardware upgrade every four years • Upgrades undertaken collectively and applied to global fleet with non-recurring engineering costs shared amongst F-35 operators achieving economies of scale when sourcing/contracting equipment 	~ / **already included in acquisition costs at (1) and Operating & Support (7)	~L'#& 75 (PBO using traditional approach to upgrades and follow-on development. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • two major overhaul and upgrades (10 and 20 years following delivery) • Undertaken by nations individually, thus each nation pays 100% of non-recurring engineering costs and sources/contracts equipment individually Based on \$30.4M (+/- \$5M) per aircraft X 65 aircraft X 2 upgrades

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The objective of the Next Generation Fighter Capability project is to acquire 65 next generation fighters to replace the CF-18 fleet on its retirement so as to maintain a manned fighter capability necessary for the defence of Canada and North America, and for Canadian Forces collective expeditionary operations.

This project will:

- The Department of National Defence will acquire 65 operational aircraft in accordance with the Defence Strategy, fulfilling a commitment to defend the sovereignty of Canadian airspace, remain a strong and reliable partner in the defence of North America through NORAD, and provide Canada with an effective and modern air capability for international operations;
- The Department of National Defence will secure sufficient spares and support equipment, and will participate in the Logistics and Global Sustainment Support concept;
- The project will provide initial on-aircraft training for aircrew and maintenance personnel in order to ensure a smooth transition to the new equipment;
- The project will secure access to all documentation, technical data and licenses required for operations and maintenance;
- The project will support infrastructure enhancements directly attributable to the new fleet, such as upgrades to hangars, maintenance shops and supply stores. Most enhancements will be related to the security nature of the project;
- The project will acquire on-ground aircrew and maintenance training systems to support training requirements for the life of the aircraft; and
- Where possible the project will use existing inventory to support assigned missions. To ensure that the Canadian Forces maintains a capability for high precision target standoff engagement with minimized collateral damage, the Canadian Forces will purchase additional weapons for the fleet, including advanced, network enabled precision weapons.

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C5>9?B '5>D17?> ?669391<C 9B ?B35 13AE9C9D9?> 5H53ED9F5 1F94 ,1> EB
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3?==9DD55 851B9>7 D89C G55; D81D D859B <1D5CD182GB 5GB9=1D5C 1B5 3B54
F1B9?EC B535>D B5F95GC

*85 19B3B16D>D<I 3?>DB13D54 9> <?G B1D5 9>9D91< @B?4E3D9?> #' #?D
69H54 @B935C G9<< 5138 3?CD =9<<9?> =9<<9?> 1>4
=9<<9?> D85I B5@?BD54 *85C5 697EB5C 5H3<E45 D85 3?CD ?6 D8
5>79>5G8938 1B5 @B?3EB54 C5@1B1D5<I 6B?='B1DD -89D>5I *85 <1D5CD
@B?4E3D9?> @B935C 6?B D85C5 1B5 =9<<9?> 5138 6?B D85 F5BC9?>C
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D? CB68B 45<9F5BI 2579>>9>7 9> G9<< 3?CD 29<<9?>

EB5> 1>4 ,5><5D C194 D81D 16D5B DG? B5CDBE3DEB9>7C ?F5B D85 @1CD 151
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B54E3D9?> 9> 3?>3EBB5>3I M ?G5F5B D85I 14=9DD54 D81D B5@19BC D? D85
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D8B55 49665B5>D G11C 45@5>49>7 ?> D859B 2E9<4 CD1D5

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D85 CDB5CC 3B13;C 1>4 ?D85B @B?2<5=C 16653D9>7 D85 CE38 1C D85 11
\$50 ? C, 08,?2<1B•

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Annex 1 – Extracts from 2006 PSFD MOu

\$QQH[FRQVLVWV RI H[WUDFWV IURP WKH
LQJ 028 DPRQJ \$XVWUDOLD &DQDGD 'HQP
1RJZD\ 7XUNH\ WKH 8. DQG WKH 86 FRQFHUQ
PHQW DQG)ROORZ RQ 'HYHORSPHQW 36)' RI
-6) 36)' 028 ZDV DFFHVVHG DW KWWS ZZZ MVI
-6)B36)'B028B B B)HEB SGI

\$QQH[\$ 2 (VWLDPDWHG -6) \$LU 9HKLFOH 3URF
'HFHPEHU DSSHUV RQ SDJH RI WKH GR

\$QQH[\$ 2 (VWLDPDWHG -6) \$LU 9HKLFOH 3URF
1RYHPEHU DSSHUV RQ SDJH IURP WKH
DFFHVVHG DW KWWS ZZZ MVI PLO GRZQORDG
8SGDWHB B 3')

Annex 2 – Extracts from 2002 SDD MOu

\$QQH[H[WUDFWV DUH IURP WKH \$PHQGF
UDQGXP RI 8QGHUVWDQGLQJ EHWZHHQ WKH 8
WKH &RRSHUDWLYH)UDPHZRUN IRU 6\ VWHP 'H
WKH -RLQW 6WULNH)LJKWHU -6) 6'')UDPHZR
ZZZ GHIHQVH JRY QHZV)HE G MVI SGI

Annex 3 – uS Cost Definitions

\$LU 3RZHU \$XVWUDOLD 1RYHPEHU DFFH
DXVDLUSRZHU QHW \$3\$ 127\$0 KWPO

Annex 4 – uK and the JSF

'DYL G 6 0F'RQRXJK ' &DQDGD DQG WKH)
\$VVHVVR &DQDGD LDQ , QWHUQDWLFRQRPHURXQ
DFFHVVG DW KWWS ZZZ RSHQFDQDGD RUJ
WKH I SURFXUHPHQW DQ DVVHVVRPHQW

5K\ V -RQH V DQG 0RKDPPHG \$EEDV '8. :LOO
EHUV %HIRUHWXWHUWHEUXDU\ DFFHVVG D
DYLDWLRQZHHN FRP DZ JHQHULF VWRU\BFKDK
DZ[DZ[B B B BS [PO KHDGC

HW FR`R`% €HQ D # DQX • `QA5pt1P% F - X F QI

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Annex 9 – briefing Note – September 2006

%ULHÀQJ QRWH IRU WKH 0LQLVWHU \$FFHWWLRQ
WR ,QIRUPDWLRQ \$FW \$7, 6HSWHPEHU

Annex 10 – “uK, Canada Keep JSF Options Open”

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\$QQH[HV 2 6RXUFH ,QIRUPDWLRQ

KWWS P WKHJOREHDQGPDLQ FRP QHZV QDW
LW\ WR FRPPXQLFDWH IURP FDQDGDV QRUK

**Annex 16 – “F-35 Production Costs Still unacceptable,
Pentagon Officials Say”**

&KULV 3RFRN ´) 3URGXFWRQ &RVVV 6WLC
6D\$YLDWRQ ,QWHUQDWLRQDO 10-FVHVHG DV

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