



# Classical Drama Literature

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*Kim Richard Nossal*

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*Constitutional Law*  
*and* *Legal Theory*

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the Republic of Korea, and the countries of the Association of Southeast Asian  
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But the Canadian strategy also saw a role for the Canadian Armed Forces  
(CAF) in efforts to contribute to the peace, resilience, and security objectives  
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eqpvtkdwkqp"vq"Wpkvgf"Pcvkqpu"ucpevkqpu"ghhqtvu"ci ckpuv"Pqtvj"Mtgtc0<sup>3</sup> In June  
2023, while in Singapore at the annual Shangri-La Dialogue, the minister of  
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These operational shifts in Canada's defence policy were not inconsequen-  
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historical transatlantic focus has considerable implications for Canada's de-  
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WORLD have to spend much more on that defence enb3extFEFF00203oda- spend mucue5



consistently under-invested in defence policy, what shifts in policy would be possible when the demands for expanded investment arrive all at once?

It might be noted that these were questions that the government itself was asking. In February 2022, the Trudeau government announced that it was undertaking a review of *Strong, Secure, Engaged*, the 2017 defence policy, with an eye to laying out long-term goals for the Canadian military and long-term investments. The review was announced in February 2022, and the IPS was announced in November 2022 without waiting for the defence policy review to be completed.

When the IPS was released in 2022, the Centre for International and Defence Policy at Queen's University and the Canadian Defence and Security Network headquartered at Carleton University believed that it would be useful to provide an assessment of the defence policy requirements for Canada in the context of the IPS.



K. ...

nations that are facing strategic challenges to their vital national interests on all  
have led to the convergence of the threats and opportunities for both Canada  
achieve greater leverage in foreign policy, despite its few levers and limit-  
partners in the Arctic while enhancing cooperation with the United States on  
security and defence, and by buttressing existing alliances in both the Atlantic

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workshop by an Australian with considerable experience in Canadian foreign  
Australian National University, and currently the ANU's Director of the North  
C o g t k e c " N k c k u q p " Q h L e g l " C u " v j g " c w v j q t " q h " S t r a t e g i c C o u s i n s , a key work that  
seeks to compare Australian and Canadian approaches to defence, Blaxland  
C w u w t c n k p " n g p u l 7 W i t h t h e w o r l d f a c i n g t h e h i g h t e n e d g r e a t p o w e r c o m p e t i t i o n , s e e k s t o B I I

equipment that would reshape Canadian military capabilities, the new policy  
equipment that would reshape Canadian military capabilities, the new policy







*Jeremy Paltiel*

## Introduction

Y j cv"Ecpcfc"ecp"eqpvtkdvwg"vq"vjg"dcncpeg"qh" r q y gt"kp"vjg"Kpfq/RcekŁe"ku" cp"cewvg"swgukqp"ikxgp"Ecpcfcøu"nc i i ctfn{"eq o o kv o gpv"vq"PCVQ"cpf"kvu"i gp-gtcnn{"vj tgcfdctg"fghgpeg"rqnke{0"Vjgtg"ctg"v y q"rtqdn g o u"e j c n g p i k p i "Ecpcfcøu" eqpvtkdwwkqu"kp"vjg"Kpfq/RcekŁe<"vjg"Łtuv"ku"cnq y dcnn"eq o o kv o gpv"vq" fghgpeg" spending and readiness; the second is our traditional focus on the North Atlan- vke0"Vjg"swgukqp"qh"tgfggrnq{kpi"tguqwtegu"cv"cnk o g"qh"uvtkpi gpe{"kp"eq o o kv- o gpvu"ku"fqwdn{"cewvg0"Cu"cn"tguwnv."cnuk i pkŁecpv"eqpvtkdwwkqp"vq"vjg"dcncpeg"kp" vjg"y g u g t p"RcekŁe"ku"cv"dguv"curktevkqpcn"cpf"rquukdn{"o qtg"qh"cp"ko c i kpcvkxg" gzgteku g0" Pqpgvj g n g u u ." i k x g p " c v " n g c u v " t j g v q t k e c n " n k r / u g t x k e g " v q " o c m k p i " c " E c p c - f k c p " f k h h g t g p e g " q x g t " v j g " k p e t g c u k p i n {" ð f k u t w r v k x g ö " t q n g " q h " E j k p c . " k v " k u " y q t v j " asking given Canada's traditional strengths and occasional excellence where it o k i j v " d g u v " f g r n q {" k v u " t g u q w t e g u " u j q w n f " v j g u g " d g " o c f g " c x c k n c d n g }

It is unrealistic and wholly illusory to conceive of a wholesale and abrupt change in Canada's traditional defence strategy to transpose it to the Indo-Pa- ekŁe"gvjgt"yjqnn{"qt"kp"cn"uwduvcpvken"ocppgt0"Y j cv"can be done is to look at traditional strengths and existing commitments to see how those can be adapt- gf"vq"dgwgt"ugtxg"ugewtkv{"kp"vjg"Kpfq/RcekŁe0



### The Arctic connection

Vjg"Łtuv"cpf" o quv"qdxkqwu" rnceg"ku"vq"tg/vy gcm"qwt"hqewu"qp"ugewtkv{"kp"vjg"  
 Arctic to better meet the challenge of China's Arctic ambitions, and to rein-  
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 balloon incident in January and February 2023 a foretaste of what might be in  
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 be able to patrol and defend its Arctic airspace as well as keep close surveil-

ØQDGD

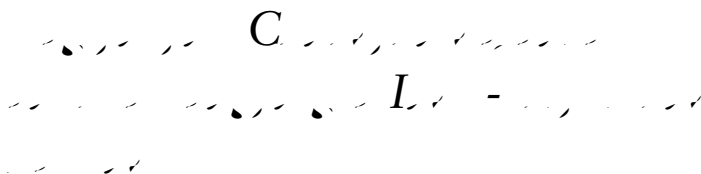
build centres of excellence with export potential within our defence production

We should look beyond better interoperability and joint training with Japan with both these countries, each of which has excess production capacity in

## Conclusion: A clear defence strateg

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*Stephen R. Nagy*

## Introduction

In November 2022, the government of Justin Trudeau released its

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 ment came just months after the minister of national defence, Anita Anand,  
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 against the full-scale Russian invasion that had begun in February 2022; by  
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At the same time that this spending was being announced, however, the Trudeau government was also announcing major spending cutbacks, includ-  
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questions as to how Canada in its defence policy will achieve the objectives  
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Questions as to what Canada should or must do in terms of defence policy  
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of hypersonic missiles and the provision of ballistic and other forms of arms  
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Third, Canada has a defence interest in ensuring that weapons of mass de-  
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 tinues to develop the delivery systems to launch a retaliatory attack against  
 the United States, Canada and its defence policy should be clear-eyed that  
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 da vulnerable to misguided missiles, missiles that may crash over Canada, or  
 missiles that may be intercepted by US missile defence systems revealing a  
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 Korea, and the United States are all on the front lines of North Korean mis-  
 sile systems and an attack or accident stemming from North Korean missile  
 launches on any of these partners of Canada would impact Canada's security  
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 destabilize the natural equilibrium in nature that can impact the environment  
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First, minilateral relationships should be pursued while not eschewing mul-  
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 lateral Security Dialogue may be a formula for cooperating on issues such as  
 supply chains resilience, infrastructure and connectivity, disinformation, and  
 monitoring the activities of weapon proliferators like North Korea through  
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 Canada is already plugged into the Quad in joint exercises such as the Sea  
 Dragon 2021 anti-submarine warfare exercises that took place around Guam in  
 January 2021 (in which the Royal Canadian Air Force won the coveted Dragon  
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 long-term relationship with the United States, Australia, and Japan, to expand  
 the number of opportunities it has to insert high quality and highly trained  
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Ukraine's innovative uses of drone technology to defend itself against Rus-  
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## Conclusion: Geograph , tools, and partners

In short, Canada and its defence policies and institutions need to think about the geographic limits of its engagement, the tools of engagement, and partners

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should avoid using its limited resources in the western or even the eastern parts

qh"vjg"" vjg

# *Introducing AUKUS: Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States - E*

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*Stephanie Carvin and Thomas Juneau*

## **Introduction**

The arrangement between the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, popularly known as AUKUS, and which focused on helping Australia acquire nuclear submarines, took the world by surprise in September 2021. The arrangement, which was announced in a joint press conference on September 15, 2021, was a significant development in the relationship between the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. The arrangement was a result of a long process of negotiation and consultation between the three countries. The arrangement was a significant development in the relationship between the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. The arrangement was a result of a long process of negotiation and consultation between the three countries.

The arrangement was a significant development in the relationship between the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. The arrangement was a result of a long process of negotiation and consultation between the three countries.

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 lar) is not a problem: while Canada may need to renew its aging submarines, it  
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 (or the second pillar) and broadens its remit to cooperation on emerging and  
 disruptive defence technologies, Canada's absence from AUKUS' working  
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 shared values, for the foreseeable future multilateral cooperation will be more  
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vanced cyber, hypersonic and counter-hypersonic capabilities, electronic war-  
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 capabilities, and manufacturing of emerging technologies and means to count-  
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 that they will be able to set technological standards when it comes to the devel-  
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Canada is unlikely to purchase nuclear submarines for the foreseeable fu-  
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 appears to be moving rapidly towards other areas of cooperation in AUKUS  
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Qwt"kpvgtxkgyu"uwi iguv"vjcv."kp"vjgqt{"cp"kp xkvcvkqp"vq"lqkp"CWMWU"eqwnf" be forthcoming, in the sense that the United States and the two others are not tkikfn{"qrrqugf."cu"c"ocwgt"qh"rtkpekrng."vq"rctvkekrcvkqp"d{"Ecpcfc ô qt"qvjgtu." uwej"cu"Lcrpc."Uqwvj"Mqtgc."qt"rgtjcr"uqog"Gwtqrgcp"eqwptkgu0"Dwv"vjg"mg{" ecxgcv"jgtg"ku"vjcv"uwej"cp"kp xkvcvkqp"yqwnf"dg"eqpfkvkqpcn"qp"Ecpcfc"ôdtkpi- kpi"uqogvj kpi"vq"vjg"vcdngö ô c"rtqurgev"qp"y jkej"qwt"kpvgtxkgyggu."kpenwf kpi" uqog"Ecpcfkcpu."gzrtguugf"umgrvkekuo."fgrgpfkpi"qp"vjg"urgekLe"kuuwg0

The United States has sent mixed signals as to whether Canada could be in- xkvgf0"Kp"Lwpg"4245."W0U0"Pcvkqpcn"Ugewtkv{"Eqwpekn"urqmgurgtuqp"Lqjp"Mkt d{" uvcvgf"vjcv"vjgtg"ygtg"pq"rnpcu"vq"kp xkvg"Ecpcfc"vq"lqkp"CWMWU012"Jqy gxgt."kp

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 There is much to criticize in Canada's underinvestment in defence, security, and intelligence capabilities over the decades; it is nevertheless the case that Canada has several niche capabilities that are well regarded by its closest al-  
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 munications Security Establishment, the national cryptologic agency, which is widely viewed as among the best in the world; its knowledge of the Arctic, on  
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 should form the core of Canada's strategy to identify its potential contribution  
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## Endnotes

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## Endnotes

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*Adam P. MacDonald*

### **Introduction: A generational Canadian response?**

If the Liberal government of Justin Trudeau is truly committed to *Canada's Indo-Pacific Strategy* (IPS) as the beginning of, and mechanism for ensuring, comprehensive transformation in the country's geostrategic orientation, international practice, and strategic culture, this is a very ambitious proposition, marking the most revolutionary transformation in Canada's strategic culture and international practice since the change





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Kingston

Y jkng" uvtgpi vjgpkpi "kpvgt/qrgtcdknkv{" . "gzgtekukpi" yct" Łi jvkpi "umknu." cpf" conducting operations (such as sanction monitoring and joint patrols) with al-nkgu"cpf"tgikqpcn"rctvpgtu"ctg"ko rqtvcpv."vjg"rtk o ct{"cpf"öpq"hcknö" o kuukqp"hq"t" vjg"TEP"kp"vjg"Kpfq/RcekŁe"tgikqp"ku" o ckpvckpkpi "c"rtgugpeg<sup>4</sup> The RCN must keep its presence in the region regardless of other factors except in extreme uegpctkqu" \*uwej"cu" c"uk i pkŁecpv" o ctkvk o g"vj tgcv"enqug"vq"Ecpcfc+0"Rtgugpeg"tg- swktgu"uwuvckpcdknkv{0" I kxgp"kvu"u o cnn"uk | g"cpf"vjg"ci kpi "qh" o cp {"qh"kvu"xguugnu." vjg"TEP" o wuv"dg"rtgrctgf"vq"fg rnq {"cp {"cuugvu"vq"vjg"tgikqp."kpenwfkpi "CQRU." the Kingston-class Octkvk o g"Eqcvcn" Fghgpeg"Xguugnu" \*OEFXu+." cpf"kf gcm {" uwd o ctkpgu" vq" o ckpvckp"kvu" rtgugpeg<sup>4</sup> Vjg"TEP" ujqwnf" cxqkf" vjg"vg o rvcvkqp" vq"vj kpm"vjg {" jcxg"hwpevkqpcn {" fkhgtgpkvcvf" cuugvu"qt" Łggvu" tgu rpukdng"hq"t" fkhgtgpv"tgikqpu"cpf" o kuukqpu"ugvu<sup>0</sup>Vjku"ku"rctvkewncn {"vtwg"hq"t"vjg"Ctevke<sup>0</sup>Vjg" CQRU" ecppv" dg"uggp"cu"vjg"Ctevke" cr r g p f c i g"qh"vjg"TEP" y jkej"ku"uqngn {" tgu rpukdng"hq"t"qrgtcvkqpu"kp"vjcv"tgikqp" y jkng"vjg"tgu"qh"vjg" Łggv"hqewugu"gnug- y jgtg<sup>5</sup> J cxkpi "cnn"cuugvu"cxckncdng"vq"fg rnq {" y kmm"cnug"gpwtg" c"uwtig"ecrcekv {" kh"pggfgf"cpf" eqxgtkpi "qhh"fwvkgu" y jgp"urgekŁe" encuugu"qh" xguugnu"ctg" dwu {" qt"wpcxckncdng<sup>0</sup>C" hqewu"qp" o qfwnctk | cvkqp ô vjg"cdknkv {"vq" swkemm {" Łv"urgekŁe" ecrcknkvkgu"qplqhh" xguugnu." wuwcm {"kp"eqpvckpgtu ô ecp" jgnr"cw i o gpv"vjg"uwkv- cdknkv {"qh"vjgug"cuugvu"hq"t"qrgtcvkqpu"kp"vjg"Kpfq/RcekŁe"tgikqp." dwv"kv" o wuv"dg" mgrv"kp" o kp"vjcv"pcxcn"cuugvu"ctg"pqv"gpfnugu {" tgeqpl i wctcdng"kp"vjku"tgictf<sup>0</sup> While evidently moving beyond a periodic, ad-hoc regional presence, clarity is needed from the political level about what type of presence the RCN is ex- rgevgf"vq"uwuvckp"kpugvcf<sup>0</sup>Vjgtg"ctg"vyq"v {"rgu<"rgtukugpv"\*tgiwnct"dwv"pqv"cm"vjg" time) versus permanent (all the time), with each requiring different consider- cvkqpu<sup>0</sup>C"rgt o cpgpv"rtgugpeg" o c {"lwvkh {" jcxkpi "cuugvu"uvckqpgf"kp"vjg"tgikqp." either part of an allied task force or via a bilateral access agreement with a host country, whereas a persistent presence can most likely be done through the eqpvkpwgf"fg rnq {" o gpv"qh"cuugvu"uvckqpgf"cpf"ugt x keg f"kp"Ecpcfc<sup>0</sup>

Kingston

Y jkng"eqpvkpi gpe {" rncppkpi "ku"pqv"uwucm {"kpenwfgf"kp"qhŁekcn" fghgpeg"rqnk- cies (and rightly so, given the impossibility of preparing for all possible futures and the need to avoid making commitments to hypotheticals), there are several

increasingly important issues military and political leaders should be working

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A second contingency is the possibility of being asked by the United States  
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Finally, thinking about war scenarios is needed, not just at the front end in terms of initial moves and responses, but more importantly looking at the back end in terms of psychologically and materially preparing for asset and crew n q u u g u l " V j g " i q x g t p o g p v " p g g f u " v q " d w k n f " e q p k p i g p e { " r n c p u . " k p " e q p l w p e v k q p " y k v j " i n d u s t r y , b u s i n e s s , a n d a l l i e s , a b o u t s h i f t i n g t o w a r d s a n a c c e l e r a t e d m o d e l o f r e c a p i t a l i z i n g n a v a l ( a n d o t h e r ) a s s e t s a n d r e - g e n e r a t i n g s a i l o r s a n d c r e w s i f p g g f g f " s w k e m n { 0 " P c x c n " c u u g v u " \* c p f " e t g y u + " c t g " g z r g p u k x g " c p f " g z k u v " k p " u o c m n " p w o - b e r s , t h u s p r o d u c i n g i m m e n s e c o n c e r n a b o u t e v e n o n e o f t h e m b e i n g d a m a g e d \* d { " g p g o { " c w c e m " q t " c e e k f g p v + " c p f " r w v " q w v " q h " e q o o k u k q p l 0

C

Canada should pursue a multi-tiered engagement approach via the RCN across a wide variety of issues, activities, and groups, but the focus should be

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 scarcity, uncontrolled migration, and food scarcity (all, or in part, climate re-  
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Third, the war in Ukraine has brought home an easily forgotten and hard-  
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 highlighted two powerful realities, namely the technology of war is being de-  
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 have the stockpiles to sustain prolonged warfare? We dug deep and found eight  
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 CAF is not a petri dish for social experiments; nor is it a national guard in the  
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In November 2022, the Liberal government of Justin Trudeau unveiled  
 Canada's Indo-Pacific Strategy" \*KRU+0" Cv"vjg"vk o g."K"y tqvg"vjcv"vjg"uvtcvgi {"  
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gests that the maintenance of foreign-built submarines in Canadian yards is likely to generate enough employment over thirty years to meet the custom-  
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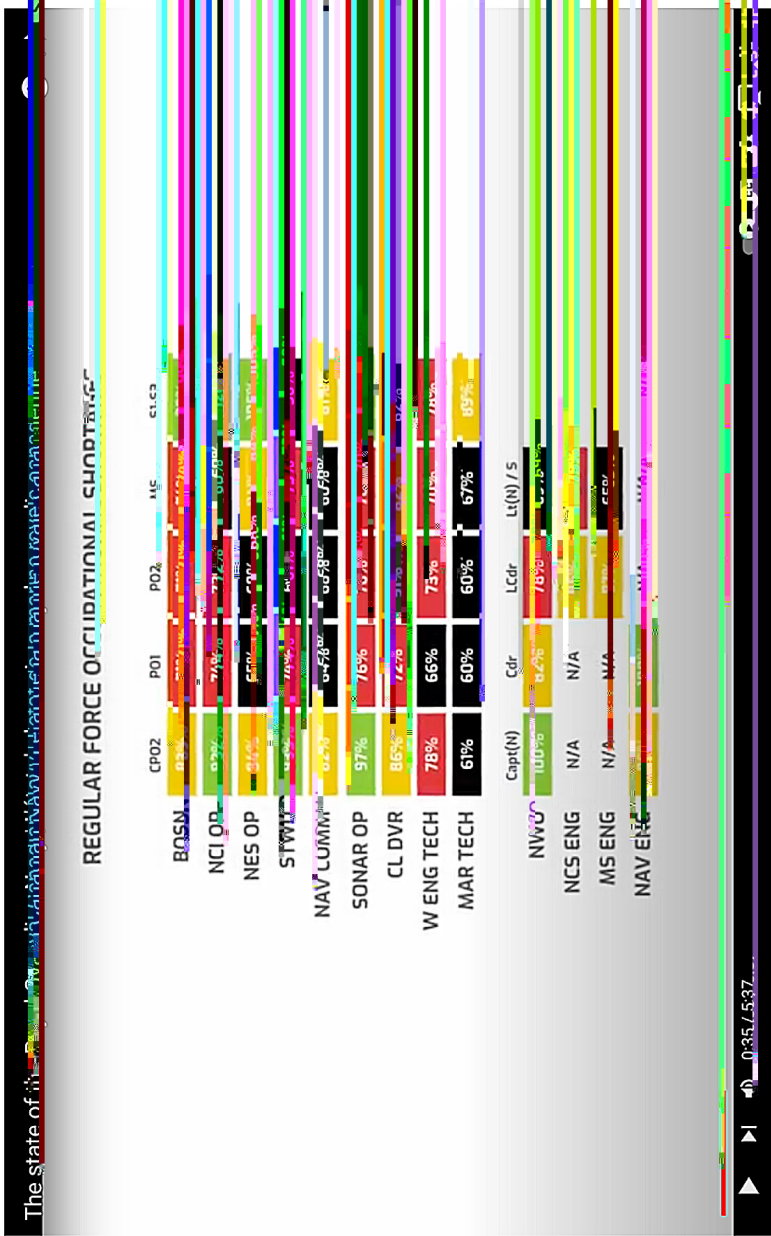


leading to the fall from grace of a recently retired Chief of the Defence Staff, the suspension and then dismissal of his newly appointed successor, as well as the misconduct in the CAF, offering a new roadmap to tackle engrained military issues. In parallel, the Covid-19 pandemic and the substantial reduction of recruiting for public defence have further strained the CAF and the Department of National Defence. To cope with and solve this crisis, the CAF and the Department of National Defence are refocusing personnel time towards essential tasks and foregoing more ceremonial tasks.

While the implementation of the directive and the strategy is underway, the Department of National Defence is currently short of 18,000 troops, well below the goal of 101,500 troops outlined in *Strong, Secure, Engaged*.<sup>4</sup> The 2021-22 Departmental Results estimated that it would take a significant amount of time to reach the target.

In a recent honest YouTube video posted in late November 2023, the Commander of the Canadian Forces Atlantic Region stated that the current situation is a "leakage" of personnel from the mid-levels ranks and roles (master seaman and administrative roles).

Figure 1



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*Winnipeg* needs extensive reparations following its deployment in the Indo-Pa-  
 ekLe"kp"vjg"hcmm"qh"4244."cpf" J OEU *Ottawa*'s transponder broke during its Au-  
 i wuv/ Fgeg o dgt"4245" o kuukqp"kp"vjg"tg i kqp"ykvj" J OEU" *Vancouver*0" Dww" fgnc{u"  
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 this mean for the upcoming Defence Policy Update (DPU)?

## The Defence Polic Update

Announced in Budget 2022 with a promise that it would be released swiftly,  
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 suggested, the goal was to review and revise

in *Strong, Secure, Engaged*" Vjcv"ejcrvgt" rtgugpvgf" c" rngvjqtc" qh"

eguugu\*gzrgevfgf"kp"Lwpg"4246+"cu"uqqp"cu"rquukdng0"Oqtg"tgncvfgf"vq"vjg"vqrke" qh"ko rno gpvkpi"vjg"fghgpeg"curgevu"qh"vjg"kpfg/RcekLe"Uvtcvgi{"kv"cnug"gpvcknu" considering how the current personnel shortage is impacting personnel and the gzgewkqp"qh"vjg"o kuukqp"ugv0"Ukpeg"kv"ku"wpnkmg{"vjcv"vjg"iqxgtp"ogpv"yknn"uecng" down operational tempo to relieve service members, innovative ideas to help vjg"o"eqrg"ykvj"vjg"etkuku"yqwnf"dg"pgeguuct{"0"Dwv"vjg"tg"o ckkp"ce"egpvtcn"kuuwg" nghv"vq"dg"cf ftguugf<"fghgpeg"urpfpki0

### Follow the mone

*Strong, Secure, Engaged* featured a plan for a twenty-year increase in de- hgpeg"urpfpki0"Vjqtqwi j"kvu"vjqtqwi j"ceeqwpvki"gzgtekuq."vjg"4239"rqnke{" was intended to send a clear message that a boom-and-bust approach to de- hgpeg"urpfpki"yqwnf"pq"nqpi gt"dg"chgcwvtg"kp"Ecpcfc0"Vjg"jw"o dng"cnqecvkqp" of additional money for defence in Budget 2022, and the announcement of PQTCF"o qfgtpk|cvkqp/tgncvfgf"kp"pxguv"ogpvu"kp"Lwpg"4244."crrgctgf"vq"jcxg" eqpLt"ogf"vjcv"vjqug"curktcvkqpu"ygtg"kp"hcev"tgcnkv{"0"Dwv"cu" fghgpeg"dwf"igv"gz- rgtv"Fcxf"Rgtt{"pqvgf."Dwfi gv"4244"ujqpg"nki jv"qp"fkhlEwv"vLuecn"qvwvqpm"hq" Ecpcfc0"Jqyngxg."kv"ku"Dwfi gv"4245"vjcv"uwi iguvu"vjcv"ukipkLecpv"dwf"igv"ewvu" ctg"eq"okpi ô kpenwfkpi" fghgpeg."gxgp"vjqwi j"vjg"fqew"ogpv"ocmgv"vjg"rtq"okug" vjcv"ewvu"yknn"pqv"ko rcev"vjg"ECH0"qrgtcvkqpcn"ghhgewkxgpguu0<sup>10</sup> A couple of yggmu"chvgt"PCVQ0"Xknpkwu"Uwo okv."fwtkpi"y jke j"Ecpcfc"rngfigf"vq"jcxg" kvu" fghgpeg"urpfpki"oggv"vjg"4"rgt"egpv"qh"IFR"kv"y cu"cppqwpgef"vjcv"FPFl ECH"yknn"jcxg"vq"ewv"enqug"vq"&3"dknkqp"kp"kvu"dwf"igv"qxgt"Łxg" {gctu0" Fgurkvq"

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320" Rggt{"öVjg"fghgpeg"dwf igv.ö"342634;0

# The American Civil War: Causes, Course, and Consequences

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Ross O'Connor

## Introduction: The historical context

Developed during the American civil war and perfected during the Great Yct."vjg"Wpkvgf"Uvcvgu"dnwgrtkpv"hqt" o knkvct{"xkevqt{"jcf"dggp"vq"Łgnf"c" o wej" nctigt"cto {"vjcp"kvu"qr rqpqp"cpf"qxgt y jgn o "kv0"Cnvjqwi j"vjg"uc o g"uvtcvgi {" was again employed at the start of the American intervention in Europe in the Ugeqpf"Yqtnf"Yct."vjg"Cnkgf"rncp"vq"Łgnf"c"ikcpv"cto {"vq"dgcv"vjg"Ygjt o cejv" jcf"eq o rnvgn{"eqmcrugf"d{"vjg"uw o o gt"qh"3;640" Jcxkpi "tgenk|gf"vjcv"jctf" uvtcvgike"ejqkegu"ygtg"" d{ Yct.

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vq"vjg"Uqvwj"Ej kpc"Ugc"cpf"uwtxgkn"Dgkikpiø"itqy kpi"fggv"qh"uwd o ctkpgu"cpf" ujkru."Ecpfc"jcu"tg o ckpgf"vjg"ukngpv"rctvpgt"kh"qwt"Kpfq/RcekŁe"uvtvgi {"ku"vq" mean anything, it must be buttressed by *game-changing investment in naval capacity*"kp"vjg"uc o g"yc {"vjcv"Octujcm" o cf g"vjg"uvtvgi ke" fgekukqp"vq" i c o dng" qp"ugc"rqygt"kp"vjg"Ugeqpf"Yqtnf"Yctf)

### Building confidence with our allies

C"tqdwuv'dnwg/ycvt"Ecpfc"pcx {"fg r nq {cdng"vq"vjg"Kpfq/RcekŁe"yqwnf" be an invaluable help to allies (including the United States) to secure maritime shipping lanes, help patrol against illegal activity, and act as a deterrent to r qv g p v k c n " o c t k v k o g " g o d c t i q u " c p f " e j q m g r q k p v " d n q e m c f g u " c p f " q v j g t " f c u j r q k p v u l " An increase in the presence of Canadian naval assets would also represent the ðjctf" r q y g t ö " p g g f g f " h q t " E c p f c " v q " f g o q p u v t v g " k v u " e q o o k v o g p v " c p f " d q p c " Ł - f g u " v q " h t k g p f n { " e q w p v t k g u " k p " v j g " K p f q / R e c k Ł e " c u " c " y c { " v q " d w k n f " r c t v p g t u j k r u " c p f "

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 sive tactics at every turn in order to bully its neighbours across the South China  
 Ugc0"Vjg" o quv" tgegpv" gzc o rñg" ycu"kp"vjg"Rjknkr rkpgu." y jgtg" Ejkpgug" xguugnu"  
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 ing, the presence of Canadian naval hardware could be part of the solution to  
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But China's navy continues to grow, with the construction of aircraft-carriers **supra** **D**

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### What would a naval presence look like?

New submarines for Canada would be the most important part of a de-  
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technological edge over China which has a limited capacity to detect, track,  
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Australia is willing to spend billions of dollars over three decades on leasing  
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(and I agree) that our weight in international diplomacy is a function of our  
military capability cpf"vjcv"y"g"owuv"dg"cdng"vq"t{"vjg"t"ci"qp"kpvtgpcvkqpcn"o"ku-  
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### The politics of naval investments

A new investment in submarines, surface ships, and autonomous naval sys-  
tems would come with a hefty price tag that many would see as prohibitive  
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conventional thinking dictates that Canadian voters continue to see themselves  
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qcuugkf}fg0xc

dominated the news cycle for an entire week, and politicians of all stripes were

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 a political communication plan to counter the usual arguments from opposition  
 rctvku"cdqw" i qxgtp o gpv"y cuvg"cpf"vq{u"hqt"vjg" o knkvct{0"Cu"kv"vwtpu"qvw."vjcv"  
 plan was never used since every opposition party praised the purchase instead  
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By comparison, the procurement of F-35 Joint Strike Fighter jets in 2010  
 or the light armored vehicles contract in 2015 went through *agonizing* con-  
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 Ecpcfc" rncpv"kp"Nqpfqp0" Y jkng"ugxgten" hcevqtu"eqpvtkdwvg"vq"vjg"uweegu"qt"  
 unpopularity of military procurement, experience has shown that *Canadians*  
*love ships.*"gxgp"vjg" o knkvct{"mkpf0" Y jkng"vcpmu."ctvkngt{"cpf"Ł i jvt"Igvu"ctg"  
 kpvwkvxgn{"ecvg i qtk | gf"cu"ōgxkn"y gcrqpu"qh"y ctō"kp"vjg"ru{ejqni kecn"eqpuvtwev"  
 of many Canadian voters, ships and naval vessels are beloved and thus largely  
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 my assessment, a new and robust investment in the Canadian navy would be a  
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## Conclusion

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 serve Canadians at home and act as a force multiplier to our allied defence  
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# Canada and the United States: A Shared Destiny

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*Deanna Horton*

## Introduction

Canada and the United States have a shared destiny as three-ocean nations. Throughout its limited foreign policy history, Canada has tended to rely on an approach to strategy, an increasingly multipolar world and the growing limits on resources might propel Washington to be more cognizant of the importance of the shared destiny of the two nations.

Throughout its limited foreign policy history, Canada has tended to rely on an approach to strategy, an increasingly multipolar world and the growing limits on resources might propel Washington to be more cognizant of the importance of the shared destiny of the two nations.

and strategic approach to its activities in all three oceans, including, of course, vjg"Cvncpvke"y jkej"jcu"dggp"Ecpfcou"o ckpuvc{0

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### The Indo-Paci c

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Commonwealth, the United States has brought India into the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad), along with Australia and Japan, currently at the apex of the relationship. The recent crisis that has engulfed Canada-India relations due to allegations of the Government of India's involvement in the assassination of a Canadian Sikh activist, has cast a shadow on any enhancement of the relationship in the near future.

India's involvement in the assassination of a Canadian Sikh activist, has cast a shadow on any enhancement of the relationship in the near future. India's involvement in the assassination of a Canadian Sikh activist, has cast a shadow on any enhancement of the relationship in the near future.

India's involvement in the assassination of a Canadian Sikh activist, has cast a shadow on any enhancement of the relationship in the near future. India's involvement in the assassination of a Canadian Sikh activist, has cast a shadow on any enhancement of the relationship in the near future.

Canada should also be paying attention to the ground-breaking USA-Japan-India-EU security dialogue. Canada should also be paying attention to the ground-breaking USA-Japan-India-EU security dialogue.

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### The Arctic

Vjg"Łtuv" qdlgevkg"qh" *Canada's Indo-Pacific Strategy* \*KRU+ ô eqo o kvkpi" Epcfc"vq"vjg" rtq o qvkqp"qh" rgceg"cpf"ugewtkv{"kp"vjg"tgikqp"cpf" inqdcnm{ ô echoes another foreign affairs document of the government of Justin Trudeau: Canada's 2019 Arctic and Northern Policy Framework (ANPF), which sets out Epcfc0u"uvtcvgi {"vq" o ckpvckp"uqxtgk i pv{"cpf"vjg"twng"qh"nc y0

Epcfc0u" ô vjktf" qegcpö" y cu" cnuq" dtqwi jv" wr" fwtkpi" c" eqphgtgpeg" cv" vjg" Owpm"Uejqqn"qh" Inqdcn"Chhcktu"cpf"Rwdnke"Rqnke {"cv"vjg"Wpkxgtukv {"qh"Vqtqpvq" qp" Octej" 49." 42450" Hqwpfki" Fktgevqt" Lcpkeg"Uvgrp"uvtguugf"vjg"ko rqtvcpeg" qh" j qy" y g"vj kpm"cdqwv"vjg"Ctevke." y jke j." u jg"enck o gf." y km"dg"ôvjg"pgzv"dk i" dwemv"qh"kpvguv o gpv"hq"Epcfc.ö"cpf"vjwu"öcp"kp fq/RcekLe"kuuwg#ö"dgecwug"qh" Ejkpc0u" i tqy kpi" gpi cig o gpv"kp"vjg"tgikqp0" J qy gxt." fgurkvg"vjg"ko rqtvcpeg" of the Arctic to Canada, its governance and protection have not been viewed cu" c" rtkqtkv {"d {" o cp {"Epcfkcpu."qt"d {" i qxgtp o gpvu"hq"vjcv" o cvgt0"Uk o knct"vq" vjg"kp fq/RcekLe." y jke j" jcu"uggp" łwevvcvqpu"qxgt"vjg" {gctu"kp"Epcfc0u" rtk- qtkvk|cvkqp"qh"etquu/RcekLe"tgncvqpu." i qxgtp o gpv"urgpfki"kp"vjg"Ctevke"fqgu" ppq"tg łgev"vjg"uk i pkŁcepeg"qh"vjg" Pqtvj y guv"Rcuuc i g"vq" Epcfkcp"uqxtgk i pv {0" Although it was co-developed with Indigenous, territorial, and provincial part- pgtu."Epcfc0u" CPRH" jcu"dggp"ecnngf"öc"ncwpft {"nkuv"qh"qdlgevkgu ô y jke j"ku" pgkvjgt" c"uvtcvgi {"pqt"gxgp" c" rqnke {"ö"d {"Ctevke"gzrgtv"Vqo "Czyqtvj {0<sup>2</sup>

Canadian-American cooperation in the Arctic goes back to the bilateral Pqtvj" C o gtkecp" Cgtqurceg" Fghgpug" \*PQTCF+ "eqo o cpf" vjcv" y cu" etgcvgf" kp" 3;7:0" Kp" kvu" Ctevke" uvtcvgi {" Gg"" "" "" vjg"le tekpugl

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The Arctic played an important role in the Cold War, with both sides build-

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widening and deepening its Arctic involvement by fostering what some refer to  
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Ctevkē."Dgklkpi" jcu" dggp" w p f g t" kpv g p u g" kpv g t p c v k q p c n" u e t w w k p { 0

For its part, Japan has a long history of Arctic engagement, in particular  
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Japanese engagement in the Arctic has been driven by rapid climate change, ris-  
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become one of the most active non-Arctic states, comparable to Japan and  
E j k p c 0" H k p c n n { . " c u" r c t v" q h" o u o c n n" u v c v g o" f k r n q o c e { . " U k p i c r q t g" j c u" u r g e k Ł e c m n { "  
worked through the Arctic Council to address climate change, promote Arctic  
i x q g t p c p e g. " c p f" s w g u v k q p" v j g" k o r n k e c v k q p u" k p" v j g" o c t k v k o g" f q o c k p 0

## Conclusion: The three-oceans nations

Recent geopolitical developments have underscored the need of both Cana-  
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i t q y v j 0" E c p c f k c p" c p f" C o g t k e c p" C t e v k e" c p f" k p f q/ R c e k Ł e" u v t c v g i k g u" t g e q i p k | g"  
the challenges to their vital national interests in security and economic pros-  
perity as well as the opportunities to bolster their leadership abroad, address  
enk o cvg" e j c p i g. " c p f" u w r r q t v" v j g" e q q r g t c v k x g. " t w n g u/ d c u g f" k p v g t p c v k q p c n" q t f g t 0

It is possible that the emphasis of the administration of Joe Biden on the  
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is being more selective in determining and pursuing its national security inter-  
g u v u 0 3 As for Canada, the IPS and ANPF indicate that there are strategic views  
c v" y q t m. " c p f" c" e q p e g t v g f" g h h t v" h t q o" c p" k p v g t/ o k p k u v t { " e q c n k v k q p 0" J q y g x g t. " v j g"  
nk o k v g f" t g u q w t e g u" d g k p i" c m q e c v g f" u w i i g u v" v j c v" v j g" w n v k o c v g" v g u v" q h" Q w c y c o u" y k n n-  
ingness to make a meaningful contribution, gain the trust of regional partners,  
c p f" d t k p i" c d q w v" k v u" k p f q/ R c e k Ł e" c p f" C t e v k e" x k u k q p" y k n n" d g" k p" v j g" k o r n g o g p v c v k q p 0

partner and contributor and be sure that Washington policy-makers understand  
Although Canada cannot afford to maintain a three-ocean strategy similar to its  
historical engagement in the Atlantic, it will have to make sustained commit-  
ments in the two other oceans and make any trade-offs cognizant of its interests



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*John Blaxland*

**Introduction**9

Vjg" Łtuv" ku" i tgcw/rqygt" eqpvguvcvkqp ô pqv" lwuv" dgvyggp" Ejkpc" cpf" vjg" Wpkvgf"Uvcvgu."dww"kpetgckupin{"qvjgtu0"Twuukc0u"dqtfgt" ykvj"Ecpcfc"uvtgvejgu" pqv"lwuv"cetquu"vjg"Ctevke"dww"vjg"pqtvjgtp"tgcejgu"qh"vjg"Kpfq/RcekŁe"cu" ygn00" Tension and contestation are manifesting in clashes in the South China Sea, vjg"Gcuu"Ejkpc"Ugc."vjg"Mtqgcp"rgpkpuwnc."vjg" Jkocnc{cp"oqwpvcvku."cv"jqog" online and in fractured social settings, and yet again amongst the strategic wa- vgtyc{u"qh"vjg"Okfng"Gcu00

Vjg"ugeqpf"vjgog"ku"nqokpi"gpixtqpogpvcn"ecvcvutqrjg0"Vjku"ku"rctvkew- nctn{"cewvg"hqt"ocp{"RcekŁe"Kuncpf"uvcvgu"cpf"ukonct"nqy/n{kipi"eqoo"wpkvkgu00" Dww"kv"kup0w"lwuv"cdqww"vjg"rtqurgev"qh"ugc"ngxgn"tkug0"Gzvtgog"ygcvjgt"gxgpvu" and pandemics are becoming normal and presenting a greater tempo and scale qh"ejcnngpiguvjcv"tgswtktgu"kpqxcvkg"eqmcdqtcvkqp"vq"cfftguu0"Vjku"igpgtcvgu" itqykipi"cpf"wpuwuvckpcdng"fgocpfu"hqt"vjg"uwr"rqtv"qh"vjg"ctogf"hqtegu0

The third theme is a spectrum of governance challenges: people smuggling, drug smuggling, terrorism, the breakdown in law and order, insurgencies, rev- qnwkqpu"cpf"oqtg0"Cwuvtnkcp"cpf"Ecpcfkc"fhgpeg."kpvgnkigpeg."ugewtkv{"cpf" police agencies cooperate closely on these matters but they are stretched and {gv"vjgtg"ku"ovej"oqtg"vq"dg"fqpg0

These three challenges are being accelerated by the fourth industrial revo- nwkqp." ykvj"ctvkŁekcn"kpvgnkigpeg."swcpwo"eqorwvki."cwwpqoqwu"u{uvgou" cpf"oqtg0"Čnqpi"vjg"yc{"uqekgv{"jcu"oqtrjgf"htqo"dgkpi"ygd/gpcdng"vq" ygd/fgrgpfgp"cpf."kp"vwtv."ygd/xwnpgtcdng0"Vjg"uecnq"qh"e{dgt"kpvtwukqpu"cpf" cwcemu"htqo"uvcvg"cpf"pqp/uvcvg"cevqtu"jcu"itqyp"eqoo"gpuwtcvgn{0"Kp"cf"fkvqp." civil society is struggling with fake news and algorithm-generated echo cham- dgtu."hqogpvkpi"ekxkn"wpvtguv0"Tgetwkvgtu"uvtwining"vq"igv"vjg"tgswtktgf"pwodgt"qh" enlistees who, for a variety of reasons, are staying away from service, leaving vjg"ctogf"hqtegu"fgurgtcvgn{"ujqtv"uvchhgf0"Ecpcfc"cpf"Cwuvtnkc"cntgcf{"yqtm" closely on this, particularly in the security-intelligence, policing and cyber do- ockpu."dww"pggf"vq"uvgr"wr"vjg"kpvguvogp"kp"eqmcdqtcvkqp0

**The utilit of closer collaboration**

Australia and Canada have an enduring interest in making a positive contri- dwwkqp"vq"ugewtkv{"cpf"uvcdknkv{"kp"vjg"Kpfq/RcekŁe0"Vjcv"kpvgtguv"ku"jgkijvgpgf" cu"vgpukqpu"kp"vjg"tgikqp"Łctg0" Fgurkv"Ogtecvqt"rtqlgevkkp"fkuvqtvkqpu."vjg{" ctg"gswkfkuvcpv"htqo"vjg"uvtcvgike"jqurqv"qh"Pqtvjgcu"Cu0k0"Vjg{"ctg"enqug"





Afterwards, Canada contributed a brigade-sized land force plus naval and  
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# Control of the $L_2$ -norm

Similarly, there are a number of ways that Canada could search for mutual

*Shared education and training exchanges:*

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To maintain honed forces and cutting-edge capabilities, maximum use will need to be made of simulation, networked IT facilities and online training re- u q w t e g u 0 " C w u v t n k c " c p f " E c p c f c " u j q w n f " n q q m " v q y c t f " h w t v j g t " f g x g n q r k p i " u j c t g f " q p n k p g " v t c k p k p i " r t q i t c o u " y j g t g " e q o o q p c n k v k g u " g z k u v " c e t q u u " v j g " v j t g g " u g t x k e g u 0 " Such shared arrangements can readily build on existing high levels of compat- k d k n k v { 0

### Enhancing engagement

Whatever collaborative work is undertaken between Australia and Canada will always pale in comparison with the bilateral undertakings each has with the United States, notwithstanding the domestic political upheavals in that e q w p v t { 0 " V q " f c v g . " E c p c f c " c p f " C w u v t n k c " j c x g " t g n k g f " r t k o c t k n { " q p " W U / n g f " o w n v k - n c v g t c n " c t t c p i g o g p v u " v q " r t q x k f g " v j g " x g p w g " h q t " g p i c i g o g p v 0 " D w v " y k v j " v j g " W p k v g f " States distracted by its own protracted domestic political manoeuvrings, there appears to be considerable utility in Canada and Australia expanding their own c t t c p i g o g p v u 0 " V j g t g " c t g " o c p { " c t g c u " y j g t g " d q v j " E c p c f c " c p f " C w u v t n k c " e q w n f " contribute alongside the US to enhance regional security and stability in a way v j c v " e q w n f " c n u q " j g n r " d q n u v g t " E c p c f c / C w u v t n k c " v k g u 0 " V j g u g " k p e n w f g " v j t g g " g n g - m e n t s : ( 1 ) b o l s t e r i n g i t s c o l l a b o r a t i o n s a s p a r t o f t h e i n t e g r a t e d i n t e l l i g e n c e , u w t x g k n n c p e g " c p f " t g e q p p c k u u c p e g " p g v y q t m " h q t " v j g " y g u v g t p " R c e k L e - " \* 4 + " g p j c p e k p i " cooperation on undersea warfare; and (3) increased cooperation and interoperability on precision munitions to allow for common stockpiling (experience in v j g " M q t g c p " Y c t " c p f " v j g " y c t " k p " W m t c k p g " k u " k p u v t w e v k x g " q p " v j k u " r q k p v + 0 "

*Major acquisitions:* There is also scope for closer collaboration on major c e s w k u k v k q p " r t q l g e v u 0 " Y k v j " E c p c f c " j c x k p i " f g e k f g f " v q " r t q e g g f " y k v j " c e s w k u k v k q p " of the P8 Poseidon, the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, and developing its own Type 26 derivative warships, let alone ongoing parallel requirement for land combat systems, close collaboration, including personnel and information exchanges, u j q w n f " h g e v w t g " r t q o k p g p v n { 0 " V j k u " c r r n k g u " c n u q " v q " q v j g t " u w e j " h w w t g " c e s w k u k v k q p " f g e k u k q p u 0 " V j g t g " k u " o w e j " v q " d g " i c k p g f " h t q o " e n u g " c p f " o q t g " u w d u v c p k c n " g z - e j c p i g u 0

### Nuclear-propulsion submarines (SSNs): Doing the un-doable or the must-doable?

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 mous coastlines like Australia and Canada have long seen submarines as a key  
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 itself, it has long been understood that nuclear propulsion submarines provide  
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 surmountable challenges in having such a program endorsed, resourced, and  
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The Australian precedent suggests Canada should get serious about its sub-

compellingly argued that the AUKUS nuclear propulsion submarines can be understood in terms of its ability to deter would-be adversaries, reassure neighbours, bind allies closer, build momentum towards defence preparedness, and

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# C

is a professor of International Security and Intelligence Studies  
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ing *Strategic Cousins: Australian and Canadian Expeditionary Forces and  
the British and American Empires*"\*Oe I knn/Swggpou"Wpkxgtukv{ "Rtguu."4228+."  
*A Geostrategic SWOT Analysis for Australia* (Security and Defence Studies  
Centre, Australian National University, 2019); and, with Clare Birgin, *Reveal-  
ing Secrets: An Unofficial History of Australian Signals Intelligence and the  
Advent of Cyber*"\*Wpkxgtukv{ "qh" Pgy"Uqwvj" Ycngu"Rtguu."4245+0

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is associate professor at the Norman Paterson School of ""

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is a professor at the Department of Politics and International Uvwfkgu"cv"vjg"Kpvgtpcvkqpcn"Ejtkuvkp"Wpkxgtukv{"kp"Vqm{q0" Jg"ku"c"ugpkt"hgmnqy" cv"vjg" Ocefqpcnf/Ncwtkt"Kpuvkwvyg"\*ONK+."c"tgugtej"hgmnqy"cv"vjg"Ecpcfkcp" Global Affairs Institute (CGAI); a visiting fellow at the Japan Institute for International Affairs (JIIA); a research associate at the Institute for Security and Development and Policy (ISDP); a senior fellow for the East Asia Security Centre (EASC); and a Research Committee member for the Research Institute hqt"Rgceg"cpf"Ugewtkv{"\*TKRU+0" Jg"ycu"ugngevgf"cu"c" Fkuvkpiwkujgf" Hgmnqy" hqt"vjg"Cukc"RcekŁe"Hqwpfcvkqp"htqo"4239"vq"42420" Jg"ugtxgu"cu"vjg" Fktgevt" qh"Rqnke{"Uvwfkgu" hqt"vjg" [qmquwmc"Eqwpekn"qh"Cukc"RcekŁe"Uvwfkgu"\* [ ECRU+ "urgctjgcfkpi"vjgkt"Kpfq/RcekŁe"Rqnke{"Fkcnqiwg"Ugtkgu"cpf"cu"c" Iqxgtpqt" hqt" vjg"Ecpcfkcp"Ejcodgt"qh"Eqoogteg"kp"Lrcp"\*EEEL+0

is a professor emeritus of political studies, Centre for Kpvgtpcvkqpcn"cpf" Fghgpeg"Rqnke{"cv" S wggp0u" Wpkxgtukv{" Jku"oquv"tgegpv"dqmq" is *Canada Alone: Navigating the Post-American World* \*Fwfwtp"Rtguu."4245+0

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Defence and the Department of Foreign Affairs as a nuclear non-proliferation  
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 defence; he was twice director of policy for the minister of foreign affairs; and  
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is a professor emeritus of political science at Carleton Uni-  
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