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CANADIAN VOICE OF WOMEN FOR PEACE

FROM PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY TO SUSTAINABLE PEACE

A Gender-Based, Eco-Feminist and Nonviolent Approach to Canadian Defence and Security Policy

The Canadian Voice of Women for Peace's submission to the Defence Policy Review public consultations

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Executive Summary

Although the Canadian Voice of Women for Peace (VOW) appreciates the opportunity to contribute to this defence policy review (DPR), our organization is concerned that women's voices and the voices of peace are minimized and marginalized. The DPR maintains a masculinized perception of defence and a militarized conception of security. VOW contends that men with guns and the male-dominated institution of the military do not defend our human security. Rather it is the realization of gender equality, the protection of human rights, the adherence to the rule of law, and the investment in social welfare and environmental protection that secures the lives of women, men, girls and boys at home and abroad.

VOW's submission is an important, comprehensive and gendered contribution to the DPR. We argue that it is vital that the Government of Canada reconceptualise the meanings of defence and security away from militarism and instead to sustainable development and disarmament. Our eco-feminist approach to defence and security challenges the conventional militaristic approach that privileges masculinity and violence. A new defence and security policy for Canada must employ a gender-based analysis and implement the United Nations' Security Council's (SC) resolutions on Women, Peace and Security, which requires the active participation of women in all decision-making from conflict prevention to resolution. Our approach puts women and girls at the centre and ensures that the natural environment is protected. A new policy must also comprehensively and publicly account for the military's environmental and climate impacts. The Department of National Defence (DND) is the largest federal landholder and has a detrimental environmental footprint from contaminated sites to munitions debris. Our approach is framed by the UN Charter, the Agenda for Peace, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action for Women, the Earth Charter and the Sustainable Development Goals and is premised on an ethic of care for people and the planet.

The federal government must recognize that the gravest human security challenges that Canadians and indeed all of humanity are facing are poverty and global warming. Yet it spends much more on the military than on social welfare and environmental protection. It is unacceptable that the government is planning to spend billions of tax dollars on new fighter jets and frigates when thousands of Canadians are struggling to make ends meet. Across the country, our towns and cities are in dire need of more affordable housing and expanded public transportation. To confront the climate crisis, our country needs to begin a rapid decarbonization program to reduce greenhouse gases, upscale renewable energy and green the economy. To help the world's most vulnerable people, Canada must meet its target of overseas development assistance. A modern defence policy must address the genuine threats that Canadians and the international community are facing. As Daryl Copeland, a former Canadian diplomat and author of *Guerrilla Diplomacy: Rethinking International Relations*, recently explained in a CBC interview, "There are no military solutions to the most profound problems that are imperilling the planet; it's got to be diplomacy."¹

VOW calls for a transformation of values by the federal government and DND from violence and warfighting to nonviolence and peace. With transformative values, Canada could build the architecture, an agenda and a culture of peace. This would comprise new federal institutions such as a Minister for Peace, a Canadian Department of Peace and an independent National Commissioner for Peace. The federal government must also develop new capacities in preventive diplomacy, unarmed civilian peacekeeping, nonviolent conflict resolution and support research in peace. With a defence policy predicated on disarmament, the Government of Canada could show leadership on the establishment of a nuclear weapons free zone in the Arctic, the abolition of nuclear weapons, the conversion of the arms industry to a green economy, and the withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Most especially, the federal government must implement the UN SC's recent resolution on Youth, Peace and Security and develop a new generation of young peacemakers not military recruits. Eco-feminist defence rejects militarism and war and renews our commitment to peace and sustainable development to ensure security for everyone.

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Introduction

The Canadian Voice of Women for Peace (VOW) appreciates the opportunity to contribute to the Government of Canada's defence policy review (DPR). While we acknowledge the Government of Canada is providing consultations, our organization is concerned that women's voices and the voices of peace are minimized and marginalized. This is the first time that there have been public consultations on defence since the 1994 white paper. The *Canada First Defence Strategy* released by the Conservative federal government in 2008 did not offer any public consultations. In this DPR, of the 105 participants invited to the eight roundtables hosted by the Department of National Defence (DND), only 31 are women, which is equivalent to 29% of the participants. Although DND hosted a roundtable focused on gender in Ottawa on July 6, it excluded women peacemakers, despite the fact that their inclusion is a requirement of the UN Security Council resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. Our organization, which is the oldest women's national peace organization in Canada, requested an invitation to a roundtable but was refused. Further, the current Parliamentary Standing Committee on National Defence comprises ten members but only two members are women: Cheryl Gallant, a Conservative MP, and Sherry Romanado, a Liberal MP.² On the Senate Standing Committee on National Defence and Security, there are nine members but only three are women.³ These figures reveal how women's voices are restricted in matters of national defence and security although these policies have a major impact on our lives. Yet, the Government of Canada has committed to the Beijing Declaration and Action Plan and the UN Security Council's (SC) Women, Peace and Security agenda, which requires all decision-making related to peace and security to include the equal and active participation of women. As well, the federal government has not held a policy review on women's issues since the 1979 white paper entitled *Towards Equality for Women*, which was 37 years ago.⁴ The government has never commissioned a white paper or a public review for peace.

Moreover, the current DPR maintains a masculinized perception of defence and a militarized conception of security. VOW argues that men with guns and the male-dominated institution of the military do not defend women's lives or ensure our human security. Rather it is the realization of gender equality, the protection of human rights, the adherence to the rule of law, and the investment in social welfare and environmental protection that secure the lives of women, girls, men and boys.

In September 2015, the Government of Canada signed on to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the action plan entitled *Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*.⁵ Achieving gender equality, taking urgent action to combat climate change, and promoting inclusive, peaceful societies are three of the seventeen goals that should inform defence and security policy in Canada.⁶ In April of this year, the UN SC passed resolution 2282 encouraging states to work with civil society to construct integrated and comprehensive national strategies for peacebuilding and sustaining peace. Yet, there is scant reference to the United Nations and no mention of the SDGs in the DPR. The UN explains that a transformation of values is needed to achieve the ambitious action plan for sustainable development over the next fourteen years. Specifically, VOW argues that there must be a transformation of values by the Government of Canada and the DND from violence and warfighting to nonviolence and peace. With transformative values, Canada must build an agenda and architecture for peace. This would comprise new institutions such as a Minister for Peace, an independent National Commissioner for Peace, a Canadian Department of Peace and new federal initiatives in preventive diplomacy, unarmed civilian peacekeeping, nonviolent conflict resolution and peace research. These building blocks of peace have been constructed in other countries such as Costa Rica and Colombia.

Canada's conventional approach of preparing for war, increasing military spending, procuring weapons and participating in dangerous NATO and US alliances is irresponsible, unsustainable and endangers the lives of women and girls at home and abroad. VOW is concerned the Canadian defence policy review disdains the UN Charter and disregards peace. Thus, VOW's submission offers a critical and comprehensive gender-based, feminist and ecological approach to defence and security policy. Our approach to security is premised on an

ethic of care for people and the planet and on the values of peace, nonviolence and disarmament. For the realization of sustainable development, we must delegitimize and reject violence and war. Our analysis exposes important issues that are ignored in the DPR document and consultations and ends by answering the ten questions posed by the Department of National Defence.

Acknowledge Biased Defence Policy Review and Define Fundamental Terms

The DPR has been set up as an echo chamber for DND. The majority of the invited experts to the roundtables are pro-military academics and former military personnel. Of the 105 invited experts, 74 are men and 25 are retired military officers. It is clear from their submissions that they support the military and want an increase to military expenditures and greater investment in full-spectrum capabilities.

As well, DND held a special roundtable for the defence industry in Ottawa on July 6 and 18 representatives of companies such as General Dynamics, CAE, BAE, MDA, L3 and Honeywell participated and advocated for more defence procurement. Yet, it should be noted that all these weapons manufacturers already regularly lobby the federal government and have a close relationship with DND.⁷ Worse, Christyn Cianfarani, President of the Canadian Association of Defence and Security Industries (CADSI), was invited twice, once to the Vancouver roundtable in April and again to the Ottawa roundtable in July. Cianfarani gave the same submission pushing for federal support of a defence industrial policy and stated,

There is a critical link between the defence of Canada, Canada's international defence posture and the Canadian defence industrial base. This linkage needs to be understood and considered in the Defence Review. The efficacy of any defence policy is highly dependent on the ability to procure defence equipment and services... Canada needs to nurture its defence industrial base, as our allies do, or it will atrophy, with adverse implications for Canada's independence of action and CAF operational effectiveness.⁸

CADSI wants the Government of Canada to develop a defence industrial policy to benefit its companies, which in turn benefit from the arms trade and war. VOW does not want our country to support the manufacture and export of weapons, such as the deal to sell General Dynamic's light armoured vehicles to Saudi Arabia, a country where women are treated unequally. VOW calls on the federal government *not* to develop a new defence industrial policy that produces guns, bombs, missiles, tanks, frigates and fighter jets used for war. Instead the government must create a green jobs strategy that will help our country transition to a zero-carbon economy and protect our planet. Instead of supporting the weapons industry, the government could invest in an affordable housing strategy that will employ people while achieving the sustainable development goals.

For the DPR, DND has contracted IPSOS Global Public Affairs to analyse the public contributions and to moderate the roundtables. Yet, the CEO of IPSOS, Darrell Bricker, is a Honourary Colonel of the Queen's York Rangers. The Rangers explain Bricker's distinguished appointment, "[i]n recognition of his support to Canada's military he was awarded a commendation by the head of the army."⁹ Bricker is also described by the Rangers as "a passionate supporter of Canada's military."¹⁰ IPSOS and Bricker cannot be considered neutral and independent in the coordination of the policy review.

The DPR does not define the basic terms "defence" and "security." The *National Defence Act* also does not define these terms. Yet these fundamental terms must be defined and be consistent with the new paradigm of common security and human security as articulated by the UN. Common security recognizes that national security is linked to regional and global security.¹¹ In the 2009 document, *Human Security in Theory and Practice*, the UN explained that states must "move away from traditional, state-centric conceptions of security that focused primarily on the safety of states from military aggression, to one that concentrates on the security

of the individuals, their protection and empowerment.”¹² VOW concurs that security must be defined broadly and promote “a new integrated, coordinated and people-centered approach to advancing peace, security and development within and across nations.”¹³ Security is ensuring citizens’ basic needs are met and improving their well-being. The defence of our country can be done non-violently through dialogue and diplomacy in multilateral institutions like the United Nations, the Organization for American States and the Arctic Council excluding NATO. VOW rejects the idea that the military, a male-dominated institution that uses coercion and force, provides genuine security and defends the lives and values of Canadians.

Adopt a Gender-Based and Eco-Feminist Approach to Defence and Security Policy

Despite the commitment made by the Government of Canada that all new federal policies will employ a gender-based analysis, the DPR document does not mention such an analysis. The Government of Canada made a commitment to advance gender equality in government decision-making when it ratified the *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW) in 1981. Ahead of the United Nations’ Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, the Government of Canada released its national plan, *Setting the Stage for the Next Century: The Federal Plan for Gender Equality*, to improve women’s equality and human rights within government and across the country. One of plan’s main objectives was to “implement gender-based analysis throughout federal departments and agencies.”¹⁴ In the report, the DND explained,

The Department of National Defence is currently reviewing its recruitment and advancement policies so women — who in the past have been precluded from assuming certain leadership positions and career advancements because of systemic barriers — will have more career and advancement opportunities. The review will address matters that concern possible systemic discrimination, the need for mainstream social considerations in policy and procedure, the need for critical assessment of institutional assumptions and the way things have always been done. It will also consider the need to standardize the principles of internal monitoring and ensure a deeper, more sophisticated level of self-knowledge and internal review (emphasis added).¹⁵

Later Canada ratified the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* from the UN’s Fourth World Conference on Women. Provision 187 of the *Platform for Action* states:

The equitable distribution of power and decision-making at all levels is dependent on Governments and other actors undertaking statistical gender analysis and mainstreaming a gender perspective in policy development and the implementation of programmes. Equality in decision-making is essential to the empowerment of women.¹⁶

In addition, provision 189 affirms:

In addressing the inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels, Governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes so that before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively.¹⁷

Upon this foundation, the Status of Women Canada (SWC) developed the Gender-based Analysis Plus Framework (GBA+), a set of guidelines, and an action plan to be used by all federal departments and agencies.¹⁸ According to the SWC, when a federal department or agency develops policy, legislation, or program initiatives, it should ask fundamental questions to help identify gender considerations:

- Does the initiative affect women and men differently according to age, education, culture, or other identity factors?
- Does the initiative support the full participation and equal treatment of women and men in all their diversity?
- Does the initiative have unintended impacts on, or create barriers for, specific groups of women or men?¹⁹

GBA+ is framework to help federal departments and agencies provide options that will not have a negative impact on women and men. In the fall of 2015, the Auditor General of Canada conducted an audit and released a report *Implementing a Gender-Based Analysis*.²⁰ The Auditor General found that not all agencies and departments are incorporating a GBA for policy development. If a GBA is conducted, the Auditor learned that it is often incomplete and inconsistent with the SWC guidelines. The Government of Canada has never developed a defence policy or defence white paper that has employed a gender-based analysis. The new defence policy must integrate GBA+ and comprehensively consider the effects on women and girls within and outside the military.

From a gendered perspective, the concept of defence and security must be challenged. VOW does not accept that men with guns provide security for women and girls but rather insecurity. We believe that women's security is founded upon equality, human rights, social welfare and environmental protection. The Government of Canada can defend women and girls by investing in programs and services that improve and save their lives including high quality public health care, education, affordable housing, and early learning and childcare. *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* states,

An environment that maintains world peace and promotes and protects human rights, democracy and the peaceful settlement of disputes, in accordance with the principles of non-threat or use of force against territorial integrity or political independence and of respect for sovereignty as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, is an important factor for the advancement of women. Peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men and development.²¹

The *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* stresses the critical role that women play in decision-making from conflict prevention to resolution. VOW urges the Government of Canada to adopt a feminist defence policy that puts the security of women and children at the centre. Sweden has shown international leadership by announcing a feminist foreign policy in 2014 and Canada could also show leadership by introducing a feminist defence policy. Sweden's feminist foreign policy aims to strengthen women's rights, improve women's access to resources and increase women's representation.²² For Sweden, feminism "is about standing against the systematic and global subordination of women." A feminist defence policy would challenge militarized masculinity and the military's use of coercion and violence on behalf of the state.

Provide Data on Women in the Canadian Armed Forces and the Department of National Defence

The DPR document fails to provide statistics about women in the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) or working for the Department of National Defence. On page 30, Annex: Facts and Figures, the composition of the CAF is not segregated by gender. It is only through searching on the DND web site, that some statistics on women in the military can be found. Women represent only 14.7% or approximately 9,400 of the total 68,000 active duty personnel (see Table 1: Women in the Canadian Military). Though women have had access to all positions, including combat, in the Canadian military since 1995, few women are joining.

Table 1: Women in the Canadian Military

2014	Canadian Military
<i>Number of active duty military personnel (total)</i>	68,000
<i>Number and percentage of women in active duty</i>	9,400 = 14.8%
<i>Number and percentage of women in the combat arms</i>	1,632 = 2.4%
<i>Number and percentage of women at highest rank in the military (General class)</i>	1 = 4%

Source: *Women in Canadian Armed Forces Military Backgrounder*²³

The low numbers of female participation in the military reflect their gendered socialization and their aversion to the institution. The sectors of society that women dominate are in health care, education and the service industry, which is described as “the caring economy.”²⁴ VOW is concerned that the DND is a male-dominated, hierarchical institution that prioritizes patriarchy and armed force. All new military recruits undergo combat and weapons-training to prepare for war and are indoctrinated with the values of coercion, compliance and conformity. Under the leadership of the former Chief of Defence Staff General Hillier and the 2008 *Canada First Defence Strategy*, a greater value was placed on combat and war-fighting than peacekeeping.²⁵ These military values and behaviours are antithetical to a caring, resilient society and to sustainable development.

DND has a recruitment goal to attract more women into the ranks to reach 25% of all military personnel but is well short of that goal. VOW believes that increasing women in the ranks of the CAF and DND is not the answer to dealing with the gender imbalance. The Government of Canada needs to re-construct the institution of the military and create new institutions, like a Department of Peace, based on the feminist values of gender equality, nonviolence, and disarmament.

Transform Military Masculinity and End Misogyny and Military Sexual Violence

VOW is concerned about the dominant, militarized masculine identity that is honed in the Canadian Armed Forces. It is a masculinity that venerates force and domination and denigrates women. This militarized masculinity is socialized through the informal culture of the institution that marginalizes “the feminine” and the formal combat training that dehumanizes “the enemy” and trains soldiers to use weapons, fight and kill. In 2005, General Rick Hillier declared, “We’re not the public service of Canada, we’re not just another department. We are the Canadian Forces, and our job is to be able to kill people.”²⁶ This type of masculine identity manifests itself in the misogyny, violence against women, and domestic abuse prevalent in the CAF.

In a study published in 2013 entitled, *Experiences and Perceptions of Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms*, Gill and Febbraro raised concerns about the unwelcoming male-dominated institution that puts women at risk in the Canadian military.²⁷ Despite the equality provisions, few women are joining the military and those who are at risk of sexual harassment and sexual assault. The DPR document does mention Operation Honour, the CAF’s mission to eliminate sexual misconduct, but it does not mention that it is *women* (and LGBTQ) in uniform who are most at risk of this harmful sexual behaviour. It also does not refer to the report from the external independent review of sexual misconduct in the military released last year by former Supreme Court of Canada justice Marie Deschamps. In her 2015 review, Deschamps stated, “One of the key findings is that there is an underlying sexualized culture in the CAF that is hostile to women and LGBTQ members, and conducive to more serious incidents of sexual harassment and assault(emphasis added).²⁸ To

address the problem of military sexual conduct, Deschamps gave ten recommendations for the Canadian Armed Forces to adopt including establishing an independent accountability centre.

VOW is concerned that the review was too limited in scope and did not analyse military sexual harassment and sexual assault throughout the Department of National Defence and that there was no scrutiny of investigation and prosecution procedures. VOW is also concerned the Sexual Misconduct Response Centre remains under the Department of National Defence and is not sufficiently independent.

In its first progress report released in February of this year, the DND revealed that the Sexual Misconduct Response Centre received 100 complaints including 64 allegations of sexual assault and 44 reports of sexual harassment. Yet, Gary Walbourne, the Military Ombudsman, believes that the real number is much higher than the official figures given by the CAF.²⁹ In a CBC interview, the Ombudsman explained that the department's statistics omit inquiries involving primary reservists or part-time soldiers and allegations of sexual interference, sexual exploitation and voyeurism.³⁰

VOW recalls the news reports of the increase in domestic violence by soldiers returning from their combat missions in Afghanistan. In 2011, CBC reported a five-fold increase in reported cases of domestic violence by post-deployment soldiers from Operation Athena, the CAF's longest running combat mission.³¹ Psychology experts believed that the rise in domestic violence was directly linked to physical and emotional trauma suffered by soldiers in Afghanistan and that more than a quarter of the troops suffered from "operational stress injury." The psychological trauma experienced by soldiers led to more committing suicide than were killed in combat.³² Militarized masculinity and the institution of the military are not only dangerous for women and girls but for men and boys as well.

Implement the United Nations' Women, Peace and Security Agenda

The DPR document mentions only once in passing the UN's Women, Peace and Security agenda. In 2000, the UN Security Council passed resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security that committed member states to ensure the "increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict."³³ This resolution built upon the foundation laid by the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* in 1995 that demanded the participation of women in conflict resolution at all decision-making levels.³⁴ Over the next several years, the UN SC passed accompanying resolutions related to ending the sexual exploitation of women and girls in armed conflict, ensuring women are involved in peace-making and post-conflict recovery efforts, and establishing indicators for the Women, Peace and Security agenda.

In response to UNSC 1325, the Government of Canada released an action plan entitled *Building Peace and Security for all: Canada's Action Plan for the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security*.³⁵ The plan emphasizes the active and meaningful participation and representation of women and local women's groups in peace and security activities. The federal government committed to "increasing the active and meaningful participation of women, including indigenous and local women, in peace operations and peace processes, in the management of conflict situations, and in decision making in all of these areas" and "improving the capacity of Canadian personnel to help prevent violence and to contribute to protecting the human rights of women and girls in the context of peace operations, fragile states, conflict-affected situations and in humanitarian crises or relief and recovery operations."³⁶ The plan is supposed to be a whole-of-government approach that incorporates prevention, participation, protection and relief and recovery, compiles sex- and age-desegregated data, and integrates a perspective that takes into account the differential experiences of men and women, boys and girls, in conflict situations and peace operations.

However, in 2010, the Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights conducted a study on Canada's Women, Peace and Security action plan and found that the federal government was not adequately including women in decision-making and was not doing enough to prevent conflict.³⁷ In testimony before the Senate, DND admitted that UNSC resolutions 1325 and 1820 were not addressed in all its personnel training and education. The senate recommended that training and education provided by DND to their personnel is expanded beyond civilian protection issues to cover the broader issues of women's participation in all conflict resolution processes and post-conflict resolution.³⁸ The Standing Senate Committee concluded that women, peace and security concerns must be integrated throughout Canada's defence and security sector policies and programming.³⁹ The Committee stated, "Women's rights must be treated as an international priority objective. In other words, women's rights must not be treated as a peripheral issue to the core business of international relations, but as one of its central tenets."⁴⁰

DND does not provide any information as to how it is implementing UNSC Women, Peace and Security agenda in its current missions in the Ukraine, Syria and Iraq or its past missions in Libya and Afghanistan. VOW can find no evidence on how DND is implementing the framework and collecting data for the indicators in its missions overseas. From our assessment, DND is failing to ensure gender equality in decision-making related to defence and security matters and operations and uphold the UNSC Women, Peace and Security agenda .

Reduce Military Spending to Fund Social and Environmental Needs

Military spending in Canada has dramatically increased over the past twenty years. According to the Public Accounts of Canada, defence spending was \$8 billion in 1997 and has increased to \$23 billion in 2015 in constant dollars.⁴¹ Among NATO countries, Canada has the 6th highest defence expenditures and spends approximately 1% of GDP.⁴² According to the Stockholm International Research Institute (SIPRI), Canada is ranked 16th highest for military spending worldwide.⁴³ At \$23 billion spent for the last audited period 2014-2015, the budget for DND represents 30% of all federal program spending (less transfer payments) as shown in the Public Accounts of Canada (See Figure 1).

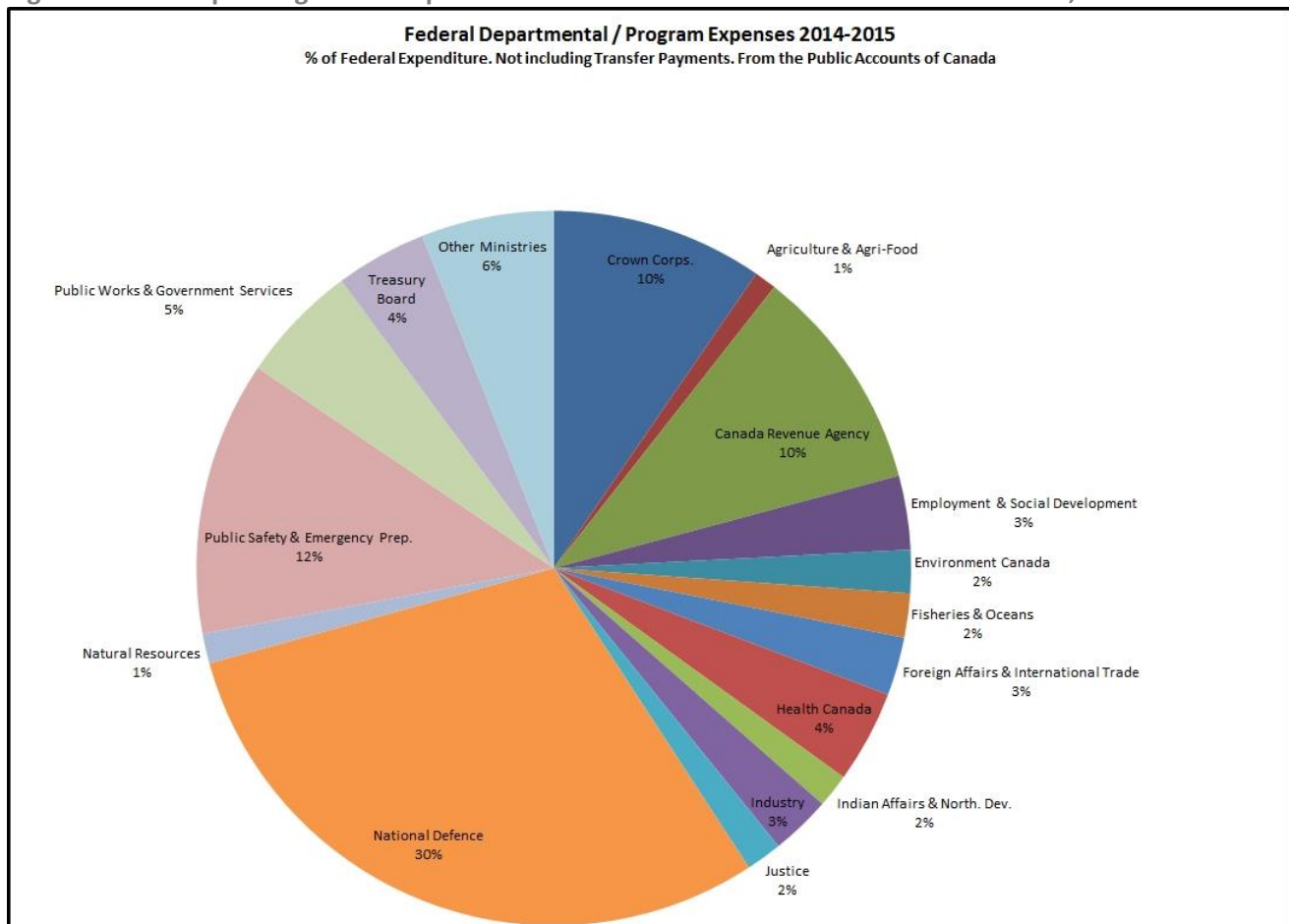
Military spending must be considered in the context of other federal spending and the trade-offs among other federal priorities. Canadian human security priorities cannot be met with militarized defence but instead with a national affordable housing strategy, a climate change strategy, a poverty elimination plan, and an early learning and child care system. In 2013, Maryam Monsef, Liberal MP for Peterborough—Kawartha, said, "Militarism isn't just about war. [It] impacts our lives no matter where we live. Large military budgets mean less money for everything else."⁴⁴ The *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* demanded the reduction of military expenditures, the control of arms, and the conversion of the military for development and peace.⁴⁵ VOW agrees and is calling for a decrease of military spending to pre-war in Afghanistan to \$10 billion with a continued phased reduction until a point of demilitarization. VOW points out that the annual budget of the Status of Women, a federal agency, is only \$30 million whereas the male-dominated Department of National Defence has an annual budget of over \$20 billion.⁴⁶

In 2014, the UN Independent Expert on the Promotion of a Democratic and Equitable International Order, Alfred de Zayas, released a report on military expenditures and stated,

A major shift in priorities is necessary, because human security cannot be achieved for as long as governments, corporations, banks and universities continue to invest trillions in the technology of war rather than in the promotion and protection of human rights. As the former Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Federico Mayor, wrote in 1998, "Concepts of security must change. Until now we thought that investment in arms

was the key to security. Now we know that our real enemies are poverty, ignorance, the destruction of the environment.”⁴⁷

Figure 1: Actual spending of the Department of National Defence v. Environment Canada, 2014-2015



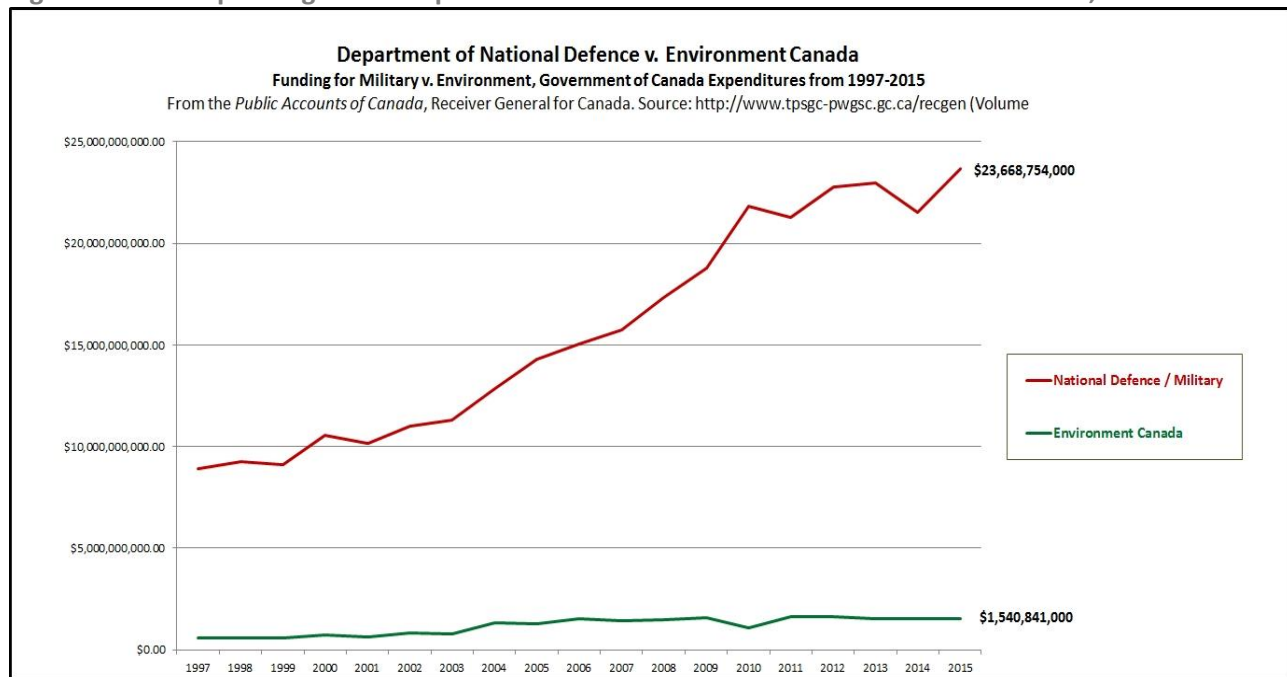
Report on the Environmental and Climate Impacts of the Military

The DPR document does not address the environmental and climate impacts of policies, procurement and operations of the Department of Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces. DND is one of the largest federal land holders maintaining over 2.25 million hectares of land (almost four times the landmass of Prince Edward Island).⁴⁸ DND is one of the federal agencies with the most contaminated sites. According to the Federal Contaminated Sites Inventory, DND has 213 suspected and 835 active contaminated federal sites.⁴⁹ From firing ranges to armouries, carcinogenic and toxic chemicals including petroleum hydrocarbons, polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons, and metalloids (such as arsenic) have been found in military installations across the country threatening air, soil and groundwater. Worse, DND does not allocate adequate financial and human resources to clean up these contaminated sites.

DND is not comprehensively and publicly accounting for its environmental and climate impacts. DND has an inadequate, short and superficial document on its environmental impacts called the *Defence Environmental Strategy*.⁵⁰ DND's sustainable development performance is limited.⁵¹ Its greenhouse gas emissions from overseas operations are omitted from the national greenhouse gas inventory.⁵² VOW is also concerned about the environmental impacts from DND's installations and operations such as toxic discharges and munitions debris and the failure to properly remediate sites.

There is also no mention in the DPR document of the grave security challenge of catastrophic climate change.⁵³ Last November, the Minister of Global Affairs Stephane Dion admitted that the climate crisis, not ISIS terrorism, is the greatest threat to security.⁵⁴ If climate change is the greatest threat to security than the federal government should be funding and implementing more climate adaptation and mitigation programs than military policies and procurement. For example, Environment Canada (recently renamed to Environment and Climate Change Canada) had a budget last year of \$1.5 billion (See Figure 2). By contrast, the Department of National Defence budget was \$23 billion. Thus, Canada spends sixteen times more on DND than on the department that tackles the climate crisis, safeguards water and biodiversity, and ensures compliance and enforcement of the country’s environmental laws. In procurement decisions relating to the proposed replacement for the aging CF-18s there is no consideration given to the climate impacts of new fighter jets. The federal government does not require DND to account for and report on its climate and environmental impacts of its operations. DND did not provide any information about the climate impacts let alone the civilian impacts of Operation Impact, the bombing mission in Iraq and Syria. Military emissions are not desegregated in the Canada greenhouse gas inventory, the annual national report submitted to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Canadians do not know the extent of the climate and environmental impacts of the military. Moreover, Canadian diplomat Daryl Copeland stated that “you can’t call in an airstrike on a warming climate.”⁵⁵ As well, the World Commission on Environment and Development stated in its report, *Our Common Future*, that “there are no military solutions to 'environmental insecurity'”.⁵⁶

Figure 2: Actual spending of the Department of National Defence v. Environment Canada, 1997-2015



Source: Table 1, Volume II: Details of Expenses and Revenues, Public Accounts of Canada

Account for Past Military Operations

In the DPR document, there is no accounting of past Canadian military operations. To make improvements, the federal government needs a full and honest assessment of recent military operations including in Afghanistan, Haiti, Iraq, Libya and Syria. After thirteen years of fighting from October 2001-March 2014, the Canadian military left Afghanistan with a US-backed, corrupt, warlord-dominated national assembly.⁵⁷ Afghanistan remains one of the poorest countries in the world and is ranked 171 in the UN Human Development Index.⁵⁸

Despite claims by the federal government that the military was sent to help women in the country, the Canadian military was predominately engaged in a combat mission in Kandahar province and 158 Canadian soldiers lost their lives.⁵⁹ In addition, according to a Globe and Mail investigation this year, 54 Canadian soldiers committed suicide after their tours in Afghanistan.⁶⁰ Today, Afghan women continue to face brutal gender-based violence, severe inequality and social and political disempowerment. After their deployments in Afghanistan, Canadian soldiers were sent to Cyprus for a decompression tour before returning to Canada. In a study for the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute in 2008, researcher Anne Irwin found that “picking up girls” was a “high priority” and prostitution was prevalent among Canadian soldiers on the island.⁶¹ Yet Cyprus is known for rampant sex trafficking of vulnerable women, especially from Eastern Europe, so the fact that some Canadian soldiers engaged in sexual activity with prostitutes there is troubling.⁶²

As well, the federal government has resisted holding a public inquiry into the allegations of torture of the Afghan detainees transferred by the Canadian military to Afghan National Security Forces authorities. Last year, the Rideau Institute on International Affairs and the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives released a report entitled *Torture of Afghan Detainees: Canada’s Alleged Complicity and the Need for a Public Inquiry* calling for a transparent and impartial judicial Commission of Inquiry into the actions of Canadian officials relating to Afghan detainees.⁶³ The report explains that federal government officials and the Canadian military chain of command bear responsibility for the violations of the UN Convention Against Torture, the Geneva Conventions and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.⁶⁴ These are serious allegations that require public scrutiny.

Further, the Government of Canada has failed to conduct public assessments of the Canadian military’s operations in Haiti, Libya, Iraq and Syria. Why were Canadian Special Forces, Joint Task Force 2 (JTF2), in Port-au-Prince securing the airport that allowed American officials to force the democratically elected president of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, out of the country in 2004?⁶⁵ Why were JTF2 in Afghanistan under US command and involved in operations that killed hundreds of Taliban and al-Qaeda members?⁶⁶ Without public and parliamentary oversight of our Special Forces, there can be no certainty that militants and not innocent civilians were killed. It is dangerously flawed thinking and policy to kill people and not to bring them to justice. Why were Canadian generals serving in the US-led war in Iraq despite a parliamentary decision to stay out of the war? In 2004, Canadian general Walter Natynczyk deployed with the US Third Army Corps as part of Operation Iraqi Freedom.⁶⁷ Operation Iraqi Freedom was a US-led mission that was not sanctioned by the United Nations. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan declared that it was illegal under international law.⁶⁸ Then why were Canadian military officers supporting the war? There needs to be a Canadian equivalent to the Chilcot inquiry into Canada’s participation in the war in Iraq, a crime of aggression. Why were the Canadian navy and air force engaged in the US and NATO-led mission that overthrew the Libyan government in 2011? Former Canadian lieutenant-general Charles Bouchard oversaw the NATO bombing mission of the Libya and is now an executive of Lockheed Martin Canada.⁶⁹ Libya has become a failed state and haven for Al Qaeda and ISIS operatives.⁷⁰ Why did the Canadian government fail to stabilize this North African country post-conflict? Questions must also be asked about the civilian and climate impacts of Canada’s air strikes in Iraq and Syria since August 2014. Why is the Canadian military engaged in surveillance, reconnaissance and refuelling of the US-led Operation Inherent Resolve that does not have UN authorization? The Government of Canada must be held accountable for the failed operations and potentially illegal conduct by the DND and the CAF in Afghanistan, Haiti, Libya, Iraq and Syria. DND has also never explained how it implemented a UN Women, Peace and Security analysis to these conflicts. VOW argues that the federal government must abide by Articles 2 and 6 of the UN Charter, which require the peaceful resolution of international conflict. VOW also contends that the Canadian military must not engage in any overseas operations and violate another state’s sovereignty.

Build the Architecture for Peace and Create a Culture of Peace

The Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces are institutions that prepare for and predominately engage in war from basic combat training of new soldiers to participating in deadly and destructive NATO interventions. Yet, for the achievement of sustainable development, Canada needs to build the institutions and policies that will end war and create a culture of peace. VOW supports the Canadian Department of Peace Initiative (CDPI). CDPI is a non-partisan, non-governmental organization and a member of the Global Alliance for Ministries and Infrastructures for Peace. For many years, CDPI has worked with Members of Parliament to introduce to federal bills for the establishment of a Department of Peace. In 2009, Bill C-447 passed First Reading in the House of Commons and was moved by Bill Siksay (NDP) and seconded by Jim Karygiannis (Liberal). In 2011, Bill C-373 passed First Reading and was moved by Alex Atamanenko (NDP), seconded by Elizabeth May (Green Party) and Jim Karygiannis (Liberal).⁷¹ The federal government should re-envision the DND into a new department dedicated to peace, nonviolent conflict resolution and disarmament.

As a member of the UN, Canada has made a commitment to peace through its observance of the UN Charter and its endorsement of the 1982 Manila Declaration for the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes Between States that requires all states “to settle any conflicts and disputes between States exclusively by peaceful means and to avoid any military action and hostilities, which can only make more difficult the solution of those conflicts and disputes.”⁷² Canada has also affirmed the UN Secretary General’s 1992 Agenda for Peace and the accompanying 1995 Supplement and UNESCO’s 1999 Culture of Peace Action Plan.⁷³ As articulated in the Agenda for Peace, states must fund and build the programs that advance preventive diplomacy, peace-making, peace-keeping and post-conflict peacebuilding. However, Canada’s expertise and research capacity in these areas is inadequate. Currently, few universities or colleges in the country have a peace program and there are no Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council research chairs dedicated peace, nonviolence and disarmament.⁷⁴ One of the few exceptions is Mir Centre for Peace at Selkirk College where there is an innovative program in unarmed civilian peacekeeping.

In 1961, concerned citizens raised funds to establish the Canadian Peace Research Institute (CPRI). The institute was initially coordinated by nuclear physicist Dr. Norman Alcock and his partner Patricia Alcock and for twenty-five years was a global leader in peace research.⁷⁵ CPRI advised Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and his Liberal government on disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation. Unfortunately, the lack of funding and waning political support for the institute led to its demise in the 1980s. The federal government should help to re-establish a Canadian Peace Research Institute and set aside substantial funding to increase the capacity for peace research in the areas of diplomacy, nonviolent conflict resolution, peacebuilding and disarmament at the post-secondary level. The Government of Colombia established an Office of the High Commissioner for Peace to help end the civil war in the country.⁷⁶ Similarly, the Canadian government could appoint an independent National Commissioner and a federal minister for peace to help oversee the construction of the needed architecture and a national action plan for peace. A Commissioner or Minister for Peace could help with the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goal #16 for Peace and Justice, the UN Culture of Peace Action plan, and the Earth Charter.⁷⁷ The Earth Charter was drafted through a global, consensus civil society process and publicly released in 2000. The Charter articulates the ethical principles for sustainable development. For the defence policy review, it is important to highlight principle #16 of the Charter:

- Encourage and support mutual understanding, solidarity, and cooperation among all peoples and within and among nations.
- Implement comprehensive strategies to prevent violent conflict and use collaborative problem solving to manage and resolve environmental conflicts and other disputes.
- Demilitarize national security systems to the level of a non-provocative defense posture, and convert military resources to peaceful purposes, including ecological restoration. (emphasis added)

- Eliminate nuclear, biological, and toxic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.
- Ensure that the use of orbital and outer space supports environmental protection and peace.
- Recognize that peace is the wholeness created by right relationships with oneself, other persons, other cultures, other life, Earth, and the larger whole of which all are a part.⁷⁸

The UN's Agenda for Peace, UNESCO's Culture of Peace Action Plan, the Sustainable Development Goals and the Earth Charter's principles of tolerance, nonviolence, and peace should guide Canada's defence and security policy-making.

Expand Peacekeeping to include Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping and Increase Development Assistance

Canada was once one of the top contributors to UN peacekeeping missions but today is one of the lowest.⁷⁹ The top contributors to UN peacekeeping missions are Ethiopia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Rwanda, Senegal, India, and China. Despite having a well-financed and well-equipped military, Canada is ranked 73rd with only 79 personnel, 67 men and 12 women, who are contributing to UN peace operations according to the latest statistics.⁸⁰ The Public Accounts of Canada also show that the federal government spends only \$271 million for UN Peacekeeping and \$29 million for the Global Peace and Security Fund. By contrast, the federal government spends \$23 billion on the Department of National Defence and transfers \$136 million to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for its military and civilian budget.⁸¹ The numbers reveal that Canadian peacekeeping is dominated by male military personnel and that the federal government prioritizes warfighting over peace-making and peacekeeping.

To improve the effectiveness and professionalism of peacekeeping, more female security and civilian personnel is essential. The inclusion of female personnel helps to mainstream gender perspectives in security operations. The 2002 UN report *Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building*, found that "Women's presence [in peacekeeping missions] improves access and support for local women; it makes male peacekeepers more reflective and responsible; and it broadens the repertoire of skills and styles available within the mission, often with the effect of reducing conflict and confrontation. Gender mainstreaming is not just fair, it is beneficial."⁸² The report also emphasized the critical and essential role of women in securing a sustainable peace. As the federal government considers re-building its peacekeeping capacity, it must be recalled that Canada has had a troubled peacekeeping history tarred with disgraceful racism and murder in Somalia, deadly inaction in Rwanda and allegations of sexual assaults in Haiti.⁸³ To prevent re-occurrences of ethical and criminal incidents in peacekeeping, the federal government must expand its conception of peacekeeping to include more women wearing blue helmets, training in nonviolence, and unarmed civilian peacekeeping. Instead of sending overseas expensive military contingents, the federal government should provide more development assistance. The federal government has never met its target of 2% of Gross National Income for overseas development assistance spending only \$5 billion per year (or less than one-quarter of the military budget).⁸⁴

End the Militarization of the Arctic

The Arctic is a fragile ecosystem that is severely and adversely impacted by global warming. In February of this year, Dr. Peter Gleick, a world renowned expert on water and climate change and founder of the Pacific Institute warned that the rapidly increasing temperatures in the Arctic are "possibly catastrophic" for planet.⁸⁵ It is melting twice as quickly as global average temperatures due to polar amplification and feedback loops. As a result, permafrost is diminishing, glaciers are melting, polar bears and caribou are losing habitat, subsistence hunters and herders are suffering increased food insecurity, and northern communities are facing relocation.⁸⁶ The military should not increase its presence in the area and further threaten this vulnerable region. The federal government should work with international partners to declare the Arctic a zone of peace and

cooperation and a nuclear weapons free zone. It must be remembered that all maritime disputes can be resolved through the peaceful dispute settlement mechanism in the United Nations' Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).⁸⁷

Accede to the Arms Trade Treaty and End Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia

The DPR document states that “defence policy is guided by foreign policy.” Unfortunately, the Government of Canada has not initiated public consultations for a new foreign policy in conjunction with the defence policy review. Canada’s arms trade decisions that are under the purview of Global Affairs Canada are also linked to defence and security policy. Canada has not only failed to ratify the ATT but it has weak arms export controls.⁸⁸ The federal government has not yet acceded to the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), a multilateral treaty that regulates the licit international sale of weapons from small arms to warships and that came into force in 2014.⁸⁹ Though, there are serious weaknesses of this new arms treaty including its limitation to the elimination of the illicit arms trade (the legitimate trade in arms is still acceptable), its lack of an independent verification scheme and its absence of an enforcement mechanism, there has been some progress made in the control of arms. VOW acknowledges that it took years of intense mobilizing by feminist peace groups, such as the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, that the term “gender-based violence” is found in Article 7 of the ATT.⁹⁰ This is the first time that this term has appeared in any UN arms control convention.

Despite not ratifying the ATT, Canada is violating its own export rules with the \$15 billion sale of light armoured vehicles to Saudi Arabia.⁹¹ Saudi Arabia, a country with a poor track record on human rights, has used LAVs against civilians in Yemen.⁹² VOW argues that Canada must not export weapons to other countries, foster the arms trade and foment misery abroad. Further, the federal government should not support the Canadian Association of Defence and Security Industries’ (CANSEC) annual arms show in Ottawa and the Defence and Security Atlantic (DEFSEC) annual arms show in Halifax. The arms trade is a destructive and deadly exchange that endangers everyone.

Invest in Canadian Priorities and Disarmament before Defence Procurement

The Department of National Defence has constant demands for new procurement. The Canadian Navy is acquiring new armed offshore patrol vehicles and surface combatants under the National Shipbuilding Procurement Strategy at an increased cost of \$40 billion.⁹³ The Canadian Air Force wants a replacement for its CF-18 fighter jets. There is intense lobbying of the federal government by weapons giant Lockheed Martin to buy the company’s F-35 stealth fighter jets at an estimated cost of \$29.3 billion.⁹⁴ The Chief of Defence Staff Gen. Jonathan Vance has insisted that Canada acquire armed unmanned aerial vehicles at an estimated cost of over \$1 billion.⁹⁵ However, the use of armed drones by the US has been controversial as thousands of innocent civilians have been injured and killed by these remote-controlled airstrikes.⁹⁶ Human rights groups have argued that the American drone program violates international law.⁹⁷ VOW is opposed to the procurement of new warships, fighter jets and armed drones. VOW is also opposed to the possible development and procurement of lethal autonomous weapons, also known as killer robots.

VOW demands that DND account for the environmental and climate impacts and life-cycles of all procurement decisions and publicize the findings. The UN Environment Programme calls on states to consider the environmental impacts of its military activities.⁹⁸ VOW recognizes that investment in the military deprives the federal government of funding to support critical social and environmental programs. The federal government should not privilege the procuring of weapons over the investment in the well-being of Canadians. VOW argues that procurement decisions for the military be considered in the broader context of crucial priorities of the Canadian people, such as action on climate change, affordable housing, public transportation, health care and education. Finally, VOW advocates for greater public oversight of defence procurement in Canada.

Lead a Global Effort to Abolish Nuclear Weapons

The DPR document does not mention the international security threat of nuclear weapons. The Atomic Bulletin of Scientists (ABS) has moved the doomsday clock to three minutes to midnight, which is the direst setting since the height of the Cold War.⁹⁹ The ABS explains that the continued existence of over 10,000 nuclear weapons combined with global warming puts humanity at an extreme risk. Worse, Canada's close allies, US, UK, and France are modernizing their nuclear arsenals despite their commitment to the Treaty of Nuclear Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Article 6 of the Treaty states, "Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control."¹⁰⁰ VOW urges the federal government to lead a global effort to abolish these weapons of mass destruction as it did with the Ottawa process to ban land mines. Under Canada's effective leadership, the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction (The Ottawa or Mine Ban Treaty) was adopted and today 162 members are parties to it.¹⁰¹ Canada should also extricate itself from NATO as the military alliance permits the continued possession and potential use of nuclear weapons by its members.¹⁰² As well, the Canadian government should provide transparency about and ultimately prohibit the berthing of nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed ships in our ports. Further, the federal government should deny passage through its Arctic waters of radioactive cargoes, including nuclear weapons.¹⁰³ As a member of the Nuclear Supplier Group, Canada should cease providing highly enriched uranium to nuclear weapons possessing countries including the US.¹⁰⁴ Finally, the Government of Canada needs to re-think its defence partnership and interoperability with the American, British and French militaries in light of their countries' plans to upgrade their nuclear arsenals.¹⁰⁵

Stay Out of Ballistic Missile Defence and Support the Prevention of the Arms Race in Space Treaty

VOW is opposed to Canada's participation in US Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD), a dangerous and destabilizing system, which risks an arms race in space. Instead, Canada should show international leadership to protect outer space as a global commons intended for peaceful activity and to prevent its increased militarization and weaponization. Canada should lead in the finalization of the Treaty for the Prevention of the Arms Race in Space (PAROS). PAROS complements the 1967 Outer Space Treaty as it preserves space for peaceful uses by prohibiting the use of space weapons, the development of space weapon technology, the technology related to missile defense and prevents any nation from gaining a military advantage in outer space.¹⁰⁶

Canada has an impressive expertise in outer space technology with RADARSAT, the remote sensing Earth observation satellite program, and Canadarm, zero-gravity robotic manipulation system on the International Space Station, and these technologies must only be used for peaceful purposes. Space cooperation is best exemplified by the International Space Station where Canadian, Russian, American and Japanese partner jointly conduct research.¹⁰⁷ Canada has not had a new space policy since 1998 and VOW calls for a policy review with public consultations coordinated by an independent agency. This new space policy must promote cooperation, uphold international law and preserve peace in space.

Get out of NATO and Get Canadian Soldiers out of Eastern Europe

VOW contends that Canada should not maintain its membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) because it routinely operates outside of the United Nations and has repeatedly contravened international law. The military alliance has an appalling record of failed missions in such conflict zones as the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and Libya. NATO's bombing of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995 was without UN authorization and its 78-day bombing of Serbia in 1999 violated the rules of engagement as civilian infrastructure was destroyed and many civilians killed.¹⁰⁸ Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch released reports documenting NATO's violation of international law in the former Yugoslavia.¹⁰⁹ In addition,

NATO's mission in Libya is widely viewed as a failure as the North African country has descended into civil war and chaos.¹¹⁰ NATO's military interventions threaten the sovereignty of nations. The Alliance's current operation in the Ukraine is dangerously confrontational to Russia and defies the agreement not to expand NATO closer to the Russian border.¹¹¹ NATO's aggressive posture in Eastern Europe threatens the peace and security in the region. VOW is against Canada keeping soldiers in Poland and leading a rotational multinational NATO battlegroup in Latvia. NATO's constant pressure to increase military spending to 2% of GDP deprives member states of resources for health care, education and environmental protection, which provide genuine security for people. Further, NATO's nuclear weapons policy obstructs efforts toward nuclear disarmament as explained above. NATO does not contribute to international security and peace but instead engages in combat missions that violate international law and exacerbates conflict and insecurity.

Prepare Youth for Peace not War

There is no mention of youth in the DPR document though the oldest and largest federal youth program is the Department of National Defence's cadet program. DND funds and administers the cadet program as part of its youth outreach and recruitment strategy. DND partners with the Navy League of Canada, the Army Cadet League of Canada and the Air Cadet League of Canada to deliver the program. Youth aged 12-18 years old are targeted yet children as young as 9 years old can also join. Although cadets are not members of the Canadian Forces, they wear military-style uniforms and train on military bases under the supervision of a Commanding Officer. In cadets, youth are given weapons training, taught military history lessons and offered exchanges with foreign militaries. DND keeps the personnel records of all cadets until they reach the age of twenty-five.¹¹² In 2013, Defence Minister Rob Nicholson admitted that cadets offered young Canadians a chance to experience the military.¹¹³ DND spends \$122 million on the cadets and has 306 full-time staff dedicated to this program.¹¹⁴ An internal evaluation released in 2013 found that the cadet program was costly, inefficient and not serving the interests of youth. Nevertheless, over the next three years, 2017-2019, the budget for the cadet program will increase by \$1-3 million. DND also provides \$1.3 million annually to the Navy League of Canada, the Army Cadet League of Canada and the Air Cadet League of Canada to help deliver the program.

There are currently 52, 890 cadets across the country. DND has a goal to increase enrolment to 70,000 over the next three years. VOW notes that there is a long, troubling history of sexual harassment and assault by senior officers and adult instructors against young male and female cadets.¹¹⁵ It has been estimated that Army cadets report only 10% of the sexual abuse (Most cases of sexual abuse are not reported as highlighted in the 2015 External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces).¹¹⁶ Youth are at risk of sexual abuse in the cadet program, because of power imbalance with the superior officers running the program and the emphasis on the martial principles of obedience and loyalty. Young cadet women are particularly vulnerable under an older male chain of command as women comprise less than 15% of the Canadian Armed Forces. In 2012, the Harper government increased funding to DND for the cadet program, by contrast it ended its \$14 million in annual funding to the Katimavik program, a national youth program that began in 1977 and provided young Canadians with the opportunity to travel and volunteer with non-governmental and charitable organizations across the country. VOW is opposed to the militarization of youth and believes that the cadet program is not in the best interests of young people and must be terminated. Further, the cadet program is antithetical to the intent of Article 38(3) of the Convention on the Rights of Child and Article 3 of the Optional Protocol to the Convention.¹¹⁷

The DPR document also does not mention UN Security Council's resolution 2250 on youth, peace and security.¹¹⁸ This Security Council resolution requires member states to support youth-led, conflict-prevention and peacebuilding programs.¹¹⁹ Clause 10 urges states to support youth violence prevention and clause 17 encourages states to invest in the promotion of a culture of peace. However, Canada is not meeting these UN obligations and is not funding any youth program that promotes peaceful conflict resolution or a culture of

peace. There is no evidence in the Public Accounts of Canada that the federal government provides any financial support to a national program with a focus on youth and peace rather it funds a program to recruit youth into the CAF. To date, the Government of Canada does not have any policy or plan that addresses this resolution for youth, peace and security. Consequently, VOW calls on the Government of Canada to move funding out the cadet program and into a national youth strategy that will protect their human rights, provide educational and employment opportunities, promote peace and sustainable development, and meet our international commitments.

Key Consultation Questions

Though the DPR document poses ten questions for the public to answer, VOW asks these fundamental questions of the Government of Canada and the Department of National Defence. These questions are not answered in the DPR document but should be:¹²⁰

- What exactly does DND/CAF mean by “defence” and “security”? These terms are not defined in the DPR document or the Defence Act of Canada.¹²¹
- How exactly is the Canadian Armed Forces defending and ensuring the security of Canadian citizens (p.5 and 9)?
- The DPR document refers to “national interests” - what are the specific interests that the military is protecting internationally (p.3)?
- Why is the Canadian military supporting the French military in Western Africa (p.5)? What are our Canadian interests in that region of the African continent?
- Who is the enemy? In war planning by DND, who is/are the enemy/ies? Against whom is Canada going to use our new warships and new fighter jets?¹²²
- Why are fighter jets and warships prioritized over a National Affordable Housing Strategy, a National Childcare and Early Learning Strategy, a National Climate Plan, and a National Public Transportation Strategy?
- Why does the Department of National Defence have such a large budget compared to other departments and agencies like Environment and Climate Change Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs, and the Status of Women?
- Why is there no public or parliamentary oversight of the activities of the Canadian Special Forces - the elite Joint Task Force 2 (p.12)?
- Why are more than 700 Canadian military members serving with the United States military and “what are the range of threats” that they are addressing (p.13)? Why is there no public or parliamentary oversight of their activities?

1. Are there any threats to Canada’s security that are not being addressed adequately?

Yes, threats to the economic and environmental security of Canadians are not being adequately addressed in the defence policy review and by the Government of Canada. Poverty, income inequality and food insecurity are getting worse in the country as more Canadians are struggling to make ends meet and using food banks.¹²³ Canadians are also confronted with environmental challenges including water insecurity and air pollution. Climate change is exacerbating droughts and forest fires across the country and threatening Canadian agriculture and municipal supplies. The Alberta oil sands are reported as the worst source of air pollution in North America.¹²⁴ The priorities for the federal government must be ensuring the equality and dignity of Canadians through the elimination of poverty and defending Canadians’ right to a clean and healthy natural environment. There is no military solution to these most pressing social and environmental security challenges facing Canadians.

2. What roles should the Canadian Armed Forces play domestically, including in support of civilian authorities?

There is no domestic role for the Canadian Armed Forces. Other federal agencies such as the Coast Guard, Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness, and the RCMP provide more efficient search and rescue assistance and more quickly respond to emergencies. Humanitarian non-governmental organizations such as the Canadian Red Cross provide first response and critical assistance to communities struck by natural disasters such as forest fires and flooding. As stated above, the most pressing security challenges facing Canadians are economic and environmental. The Government of Canada should move funding from DND and the CAF to those provincial and federal agencies that can assist civilians in times of crisis. The government should invest in programs that will provide genuine security and improve the well-being of Canadians such as affordable housing, public transportation, mental health care, climate-proofing cities and towns, and an early learning and child care system.

3. How should Canada-United States cooperation on defence of North America evolve in the coming years?

There should be less military cooperation between Canada and US. The US military has persistently engaged in conduct that has violated international law such as the bombing of civilian infrastructure in Serbia, the illegal war in Iraq, the drone assassination program in Pakistan and Yemen, and extraordinary rendition and torture at overseas black sites and Guantanamo. Canada needs to exert more independence and sovereignty over defence and security matters. However, there should be cooperation between Canada and the US on improving the economic and environmental security of people. For example, there needs to be greater partnership on reducing greenhouse gases and climate-proofing North America to defend against more frequent and severe climate events. There should be greater cooperation on gun control to prevent US weapons from crossing the border into Canada and more cooperation on international disarmament to make our communities safer. VOW rejects President Obama's speech in the House of Commons calling on Canada to increase military spending and to strengthen military ties with the US and NATO.¹²⁵ As the largest arms dealer in the world, the US is looking to Canada as a market for its weapons.¹²⁶

4. What form should the CAF contribution to peace support operations take? Is there a role for the CAF in helping to prevent conflict before it occurs?

The CAF does not have expertise in conflict prevention but in warfighting. Unfortunately, the Government of Canada is not considered a leader in international conflict resolution, mediation and preventive diplomacy. However, there are many Canadian non-governmental organizations that have the expertise to prevent conflict effectively such as Nonviolent Peaceforce, Peace Brigades Canada and Christian Peacemaker Teams among others.¹²⁷ It should be noted that most of these non-governmental organizations (NGO) were not invited to the defence roundtables. Yet, the federal government should have consulted with these NGO experts. Specifically, the Mir Centre at Selkirk College has a program on unarmed civilian peacekeeping and experts at the centre should have been invited to a roundtable and should be asked to advise the government on nonviolent peace support operations.

5. Should the size, structure, and composition for the Canadian Armed Forces change from what they are today?

Yes the CAF should be greatly reduced and used for self-defence purposes as permitted by Article 51, Chapter 7 of the UN Charter. The CAF should be transformed into an agency that is focused on conflict prevention and uses nonviolent means for resolution as articulated in Chapter 6, the Pacific Settlement of Disputes. Ultimately, the Government of Canada should follow a phased demilitarization process to eliminate the military as Costa

Rica did in 1948.¹²⁸ After a brutal civil war, the Government of Costa Rica abolished its military. The government converted the army headquarters into a national art museum and re-channelled the military budget into healthcare, education and ecological protection. Today, Costa Rica has no army, air force or navy and has recognized December 1st as *Military Abolition Day*. The country is considered a regional leader in negotiation and peace-making. Former President of Costa Rica, Oscar Arias, who negotiated ceasefires and peace accords ending armed conflict in several Central American countries, won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1987.¹²⁹ Arias affirmed that “security does not lie in weapons or fences or armies.”¹³⁰ Canada should follow Costa Rica’s example and pursue a demilitarization process and redirect the military budget to urgent social and environmental needs.

6. How can DND and the CAF improve the way they support the health and wellness of military members? In what areas should more be done?

Through combat training and warfighting, Canadian soldiers develop a violent masculine identity. Killing in war and witnessing death in war leads to profound psychological problems such as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), combat trauma and suicide. Warfighting threatens the health and well-being of all military members and their families. Engagement in combat operations increase soldiers’ likely development post-traumatic stress disorder and increases their risk of suicide. The solution is not only to provide better mental health treatment but to stop engaging in combat and war. As well, women in the military are additionally threatened by widespread sexual harassment and sexual assault. The 2015 external review found that the CAF has a culture that is hostile to women.¹³¹ Studies have also found an increase threat of domestic violence against spouses and children by soldiers after their deployment.¹³²

7. Should Canada strive to maintain military capability across the full spectrum of operations? Are there specific niche areas of capability in which Canada should specialize?

The Canadian military should not strive for a full spectrum of operations but should demilitarize to a non-provocative defensive posture and focus on territorial defence as permitted by Article 51, Chapter 7 of the UN Charter and as proclaimed in the Earth Charter. The CAF should not intervene militarily in other countries and must settle international disputes peacefully as required by the UN Charter and endorsed by the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*. The priorities of the federal government should be in ensuring the human security of Canadians through investment in social welfare and environmental protection and not investing in militarized security.

8. What type of investments should Canada make in space, cyber, and unmanned systems? To what extent should Canada strive to keep pace and be interoperable with key allies in these domains?

Canada should not make any investments in the militarization of space, cyberspace and armed unmanned systems and should not keep pace in military spending with our allies like the US, the UK and France. These countries irresponsibly spend much more on their militaries. VOW does not support interoperability with the US, in particular, as its military too often engages in illegal conduct. In terms of space, Canada should limit its investments to cooperative initiatives such as the International Space Station, an orbiting laboratory.¹³³ The laboratory is an example of peaceful cooperation in space as Canadian astronauts work alongside partners from Russia, the United States, the European Union, and Japan. Important research has taken place at the ISS related to health and climate change. Canada should not acquire and use armed drones. Further, VOW is concerned that the Government of Canada and DND may be engaged in illegal surveillance of civilians through the Five Eyes network (Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand). VOW urges that there be more parliamentary and public oversight of our space and cyber programs.

9. What additional measures could the DND undertake, along with partner departments, to improve defence procurement?

All procurement decisions made by the Government of Canada must consider the climate and environmental impacts. The full life-cycle and environmental costs must be publicly provided in a timely manner. DND must work with Environment and Climate Change Canada to verify and report on greenhouse gas emissions, fuel consumption, water use and other environmental impacts of all DND and CAF mobile and stationary assets and domestic and international operations.

10. What resources will the CAF require to meet Canada's defence needs?

DND and the CAF require fewer human and financial resources. The federal government needs to shift public spending away from the military to urgent social and environmental needs of Canadians. According to the latest Public Accounts of Canada, DND had a budget of \$23 billion last year.¹³⁴ By contrast, the Environment and Climate Change Canada had a budget of only \$1.5 billion or one-sixteenth of the military budget. The priority of the federal government should be caring for the well-being of Canadians and investing in a national climate change strategy, a national affordable housing strategy, a national mental health care strategy and a national early learning and child care strategy. Canada needs resources to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030 and the climate targets of net-zero reductions by 2050.

Conclusion

VOW's submission is an important, comprehensive and gendered contribution to the defence policy review. Our organization argues that it is critical that the Government of Canada reconceptualise the meanings of defence and security away from militarism and instead to sustainable development and disarmament. Our gendered approach to defence and security challenges the conventional militaristic approach that privileges masculinity and violence. VOW is concerned that the male-dominated institution of the military is premised on coercion and armed force that endangers the lives of women, girls and the natural environment. An eco-feminist approach would put women and girls at the centre and ensure that the natural environment is protected. Our approach is framed by the UN Charter, the Agenda for Peace, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action for Women, the Earth Charter and the Sustainable Development Goals and is premised on an ethic of care for people and the planet. Our defence policy is integrated, cooperative, collaborative, nonviolent and peaceful.

The Government of Canada must recognize that the gravest human security challenges that Canadians and indeed all of humanity are facing are global warming and poverty. Yet the federal government spends much more on the military than on environmental protection and social welfare. It is unacceptable that the government is planning to spend billions of tax dollars on new fighter jets and frigates when it has not met its overseas development assistance target to help the world's most vulnerable people and many Canadians are facing poverty. Across the country, cities and towns are in dire need of more affordable housing and expanded public transportation to confront homelessness and global warming. Our country needs to begin a rapid decarbonization program that protects the climate and greens the economy. Canada must also invest in new architecture for peace and develop the capacities of preventive diplomacy, peace-making, peace-keeping and post-conflict peacebuilding. A new Department of Peace, a Minister of Peace and a national action plan for a culture of peace are needed in Canada. VOW's eco-feminist defence policy rejects militarism and war and renews our country's commitment to peace and sustainable development that will ensure security for everyone.

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About VOW

Established in 1960, the Canadian Voice of Women for Peace (VOW) is a non-partisan, non-governmental organization comprised of a network of diverse women across Canada. VOW has consultative status at the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Every year, VOW leads annual women's delegations to the Commission on the Status of Women's annual conference at the UN. For over 50 years, VOW has tirelessly advocated for a world without war and for gender equality, nonviolence and sustainable development. In 2014, VOW launched an international effort for the delegitimization of war. VOW's campaigns include nuclear disarmament, the reduction of military spending, climate justice, and the summer PeacemakeHERS across the country. For more information, visit: www.vowpeace.org

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