



ON TRACK

Conference of Defence Associations Institute • L'institut de la conférence des associations de la défense

March, 2004

Volume 9, Number 1



Photo: Bob Lockhart

- *Summary of the CDA Institute's 20th Annual Seminar*
- *A Broader Security Framework.....Is it needed?*
- *Who is in our waters?*
- *Kosovo Condition 1991-1999*

FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Colonel Alain Pellerin, O.M.M., C.D. (Ret'd)

The photograph of Lieutenant Matt Cossaboom, Officer Commanding Rover Troop Headquarters and Signal Squadron on duty in Kabul, on the front cover, was provided by Lieutenant-Colonel Bob Lockhart, CDA Vice-Chairman, during a recent assignment as an embedded photo-journalist in Afghanistan. We salute the servicemen and women of the Canadian Forces whose presence in Kabul with the NATO International Security Assistance Force are enabling the establishment of democracy in that war torn country.

Our 20th annual seminar, presented in collaboration with the Chair of Defence Management Studies, Queen's University, and the Institute for Public Affairs of Montréal, was held on the 26th of February. Its theme, *The Way Ahead for Canadian Foreign & Defence Policy*, was a timely one, given the impending review of Canada's foreign affairs and defence policies. The Ballroom of the Fairmont Château Laurier, in which the seminar was held, was filled to capacity, and I am pleased to note that the feedback we have received has been very positive.

The seminar was attended by members of the Canadian Armed Forces, senators, members of Parliament, military attachés, students from Ashbury and Elmwood Colleges and, most importantly, members of the Canadian public. The day was filled with prominent speakers from across Canada, and from the United States and Germany. Addresses included those of the Minister of National Defence, the Chief of the Defence Staff, and General Klaus Naumann (Ret'd), former Chairman NATO Military Committee. It was gratifying for the profession of arms to see the lively exchange of views that took place between the speakers and the audience.

Copies of the addresses that were delivered are on our website, www.cda-cdai.ca, under *AGM Proceedings*, and *Defence Seminars*. Colonel Howie Marsh (Ret'd) presents for the readers of *ON TRACK* a summary of the seminar and of the annual general meeting which followed the seminar. Both the CDAI's 20th annual seminar and the 67th annual general meeting of the Conference of Defence Associations were truly successful, reflecting the public's heightened interest in matters of security and

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MOT DU DIRECTEUR EXÉCUTIF

Colonel Alain Pellerin, O.M.M., C.D. (ret.)

La photo du Lieutenant Matt Cossaboom, commandant de la troupe Rover, Escadron de commandement et communications, en poste à Kaboul, sur la page couverture, a été prise par le lieutenant-colonel Bob Lockhart, vice-président du conseil de la CAD, lors d'une récente mission à titre de photo-journaliste intégré en Afghanistan. Nous saluons les militaires des Forces canadiennes dont la présence à Kaboul, avec les Forces internationale d'assistance à la sécurité, facilitent l'instauration de la démocratie dans ce pays déchiré par la guerre.

Notre 20^e séminaire annuel, présenté en collaboration avec la chaire des études en gestion de la défense de l'Université Queen's et l'Institut des affaires publiques de Montréal, a eu lieu le 26 février dernier. Son thème, *La voie de l'avenir pour la politique étrangère et de la défense du Canada*, était ponctuel, vu l'examen imminent des politiques canadiennes en matière d'affaires étrangères et de défense. La salle de bal de l'hôtel Fairmont Château Laurier, où avait lieu le séminaire, était comble et je suis heureux de remarquer que les suggestions que nous avons reçues étaient très positives.

Ont participé au séminaire des membres des Forces canadiennes, des sénateurs, des parlementaires, des attachés militaires, des élèves des collèges Ashbury et Elmwood, et surtout, des membres du public canadien. La journée a été animée par des conférenciers éminents issus de tous les coins du Canada, des États-Unis et d'Allemagne. Au nombre des allocutions, figuraient celles du ministre de la Défense nationale, du chef d'état-major de la Défense et du général Klaus Naumann (ret.), ancien président du comité militaire de l'OTAN. Le métier des armes a eu beaucoup de plaisir à observer l'échange d'opinions animé entre les conférenciers et l'auditoire.

Des retranscriptions des allocutions figurent sur notre site Web, www.cda-cdai.ca, sous la rubrique *de débats de la RGA et séminaire annuel*. Le colonel Howie Marsh (ret.) présente aux lecteurs de *ON TRACK* un résumé du séminaire et de l'assemblée générale annuelle qui a suivi. Tant le 20^e séminaire annuel de l'Institut de la CAD que la

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national defence. Our challenge is for all of us to maintain the high level of professional interest in the Institute and its work. We were honoured at the seminar luncheon, this year, with the presence of Admiral Edmund Giambastiani, US Navy, Commander US Joint Forces Command and NATO Supreme Allied Commander - Transformation, who addressed the

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The Conference of Defence Associations is a non-governmental, non-profit organization. It restricts its aim to one specific area - **defence issues**. CDA expresses its ideas and opinions and utilizes its political rights to influence government defence policy. It is the most senior and influential interest group in Canada's pro-defence community. Defence issues are brought to the public's attention by analysis and informed discussion through CDA's Institute.

The CDA Institute implements CDA's public information mandate. The Institute is a non-profit, charitable agency, dependant on private donations. See the donor application form in this newsletter. In return, donors will receive **ON TRACK** and other publications for the next 12 months. The CDA Institute is a registered charity and donations to it qualify for tax receipts.



La Conférence des associations de la Défense est un organisme non-gouvernemental et à but non-lucratif. Son champ d'expertise se limite aux **questions de la défense**. La CAD exprime ses opinions et ses idées et se prévaut de ses droits politiques pour influencer le gouvernement en matière de défense. La CAD est le groupe le plus ancien et ayant le plus d'influence au sein de la communauté canadienne pro-défense.

L'institut de la CAD s'occupe de l'information publique. L'Institut, une agence charitable, à but non-lucratif, est complètement dépendant des dons reçus. Veuillez donc vous référer au formulaire inclus à ce bulletin. En guise de retour, les donateurs recevront **ON TRACK** et les autres publications pendant les 12 prochains mois. L'Institut de la CAD est un organisme de charité enregistré et tous les dons reçus sont déductibles d'impôt.

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67^e assemblée générale annuelle de la Conférence des associations de la défense ont été couronnés de succès, témoignant de l'intérêt accru que porte le public aux questions de sécurité et de défense nationale. Notre défi est de maintenir le niveau élevé d'intérêt professionnel porté à l'Institut et à ses travaux.

Cette année, nous avons eu l'honneur d'accueillir au déjeuner du séminaire l'amiral Edmund Giambastiani, de la marine américaine, commandant des Forces américaines conjointes et commandant suprême des Forces alliées de l'OTAN – Transformation, qui a prononcé une allocution. Ses propos étaient intéressants pour tous ceux présents, et étaient opportuns, compte tenu des préoccupations qu'éprouvent le Canada, ainsi que les États-Unis, en matière de sécurité. Nous remercions le personnel de l'Ambassade des États-Unis d'Amérique, et tout particulièrement le capitaine John K. McClain, de la marine américaine, pour avoir facilité la venue de l'amiral Giambastiani.

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luncheon guests. Admiral Giambastiani's address was of interest to everyone present, and was timely, given the current security concerns facing Canada, as well as the United States, to-day. We are grateful to the staff of the Embassy of the United States of America, in particular Captain John K. McClain, US Navy, for their assistance in making Admiral Giambastiani's presence at the luncheon possible.

Contributing to the success of the seminar was the co-sponsorship of the luncheon and the sponsorship of the reception which followed the conclusion of seminar. The seminar was made possible in part with the financial assistance of the Department of National Defence through the Security and Defence Forum. The Institute is grateful for the very generous support of DE Scott & K Tieman, of General Dynamics Canada, of General Dynamics Land Systems Canada, and of Bombardier Military Aviation Training for their co-sponsorship of the luncheon, and to General Dynamics Land Systems Canada for hosting the CDAI reception. Our public thanks to our corporate sponsors can be read elsewhere in this issue of *ON TRACK*.

The 67th AGM began with a meeting of the CDA Council on Wednesday, and carried on with the general meeting on Friday, the day following the seminar. Of particular interest were the very informative presentations by the Chiefs of the environmental staffs at National Defence Headquarters, the Assistant Deputy Minister (Human Resources - Military), and the former Executive Director of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States. As Executive Director, I congratulate the Council for its endorsement, once again, in the re-appointment of Lieutenant-général Richard Evraire (Ret) as Chairman. I am pleased, also, to report that the Board of Directors of the CDA Institute re-elected Brigadier-General Don Macnamara (Ret'd) as President.

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Ajoutant au succès du séminaire, il y avait le coparrainage du déjeuner et le parrainage de la réception qui a suivi le séminaire. Ce dernier a été rendu possible grâce à l'aide financière du ministère de la Défense nationale, par le biais du Forum sur la sécurité et la défense. L'Institut tient à exprimer sa reconnaissance aux sociétés suivantes pour leur généreux appui : DE Scott & K Tieman, General Dynamics Canada, General Dynamics Land Systems Canada et Bombardier Military Aviation Training, pour leur coparrainage du déjeuner, et remercie General Dynamics Land Systems Canada d'avoir été l'hôte de la réception de l'Institut de la CAD. Nos remerciements aux sociétés commanditaires figurent également ailleurs dans le présent numéro de *ON TRACK*.

La 67^e AGA a commencé, mercredi, par une réunion du conseil de la CAD et s'est poursuivie vendredi par l'assemblée générale, le lendemain du séminaire. Ont été particulièrement intéressants les exposés extrêmement instructifs des chefs du personnel environnemental du Quarter général de la Défense nationale, du sous-ministre adjoint (Ressources humaines – Militaires) et de l'ancien directeur exécutif de la Reserve Officers Association des États-Unis. À titre de directeur exécutif, je félicite une fois de plus le conseil d'avoir appuyé la reconduction du lieutenant-général Richard Evraire (ret.) au poste de président du conseil. Je suis également heureux de signaler que le conseil d'administration de la CAD a réélu le brigadier-général Don Macnamara (ret.) au poste de président.

Vendredi soir, le mess des officiers de l'armée a servi de décor au dîner régimentaire annuel de la CAD. Le dîner a réuni un nombre inégalé de partisans de l'Institut de la CAD, ainsi que bien des participants du séminaire annuel et de l'AGA. Le clou de la soirée a été la remise d'un bas-relief au colonel Jack

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On Friday evening the Army Officers Mess was the scene for CDA's annual mess dinner. The dinner represents one of the largest gathering in years of supporters of the CDA, as well as many who participated in the annual seminar and AGM. A highlight of the evening was the presentation of a bas-relief to Colonel Jack Clarry (Ret'd), our Honorary Counsel, in recognition of his 47 years of loyal support to the Association. The AGM concluded its business Saturday with syndicate reports on six resolutions that were forwarded to the Minister of National Defence.

CDA is examining issues in preparation for the defence policy review that the Government announced that will be taking place this year. We are pleased that the defence policy review will be conducted along side that of foreign policy. At the same time, there needs to be examined the issue of national security and what national security concerns can impact on national defence issues. Most of the articles that appear in this edition of *ON TRACK* address issues that should be examined in the a national security policy and the next defence policy reviews.

The following articles were generously provided to the Institute by the authors. Their remarks are pertinent, up front, and to the point. They are well prepared and reflect the real concerns of Canadians who have maintained a keen interest in this most important topic.

We are also pleased to include in this issue, *A Broader Security Framework...Is it needed?*, written by a long-time supporter of the Institute and former CDA Vice-Chairman, Major-General Clive Addy (Ret'd). He reviews for us options that the Federal Government could consider in its examination of the rationale for maintaining Canada's armed forces.

Another long-time contributor to *ON TRACK* is Fred Fowlow, Director Maritime Affairs, Naval Officers Association of Canada (NOAC), Calgary Branch. For this issue Fred reminds us of the ongoing requirement for the Federal Government to pay more attention to the defence concerns of Canadians, and to effectively fund the Canadian Armed Forces while the foreign affairs and defence policies reviews are being undertaken. Fred's article, *The Canadian Forces are Ready Aye Ready for Transformation and Change But is the Government?*, is reprinted here, with the kind permission of the Editor of *Starshell*, the national publication of the NOAC.

We are pleased to present for our readers, *Who is in our waters?*, an article provided by Jerrod A. Riley, National Deputy Director, The Navy League of Canada. Jerrod points out that trade with the United States is essential to the Canadian economy and, as such, the mechanisms of trade,

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Clarry (ret.), notre avocat honoraire, en reconnaissance de ses 47 ans de loyaux services à l'Association. L'AGA a terminé ses travaux samedi par des rapports d'atelier sur six résolutions qui ont été remises au ministre de la Défense nationale.

La CAD se penche sur les enjeux du moment en prévision de l'examen des politiques en matière de défense qui, selon le gouvernement, aura lieu cette année. Nous sommes heureux que cet examen ait lieu parallèlement à celui des politiques étrangères. Dans un même temps, il convient de se pencher sur la sécurité nationale et sur les préoccupations à cet égard qui auront des répercussions sur les enjeux de la défense. La plupart des articles publiés dans la présente édition de *ON TRACK* traitent des questions qu'il convient d'aborder dans l'examen des politiques en matière de sécurité et celui des politiques en matière de défense.

Les articles qui suivent ont été généreusement offerts à l'Institut par leurs auteurs. Ils contiennent des remarques franches et pertinentes. Elles sont bien formulées et témoignent des préoccupations réelles des Canadiens qui s'intéressent de près à cet important sujet.

Nous sommes heureux d'inclure dans le présent numéro *A Broader Security Framework... Is it needed ?*, rédigé par le major-général Clive Addy (ret.), un partisan de longue date de l'Institut et ancien vice-président du conseil de la CAD. Il y passe en revue les choix dont devrait tenir compte le gouvernement fédéral dans le cadre de son examen des raisons justifiant le maintien des forces armées du Canada.

Fred Fowlow, directeur des Affaires maritimes, Association des officiers de la marine du Canada, bureau de Calgary, est un autre collaborateur de longue date. Dans ce numéro, M. Fowlow nous rappelle que le gouvernement doit prêter davantage attention aux préoccupations des Canadiens en matière de défense, et doit financer efficacement les Forces

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including open borders and ports, need to be protected as a national security priority. For this to be achieved he outlines three criteria that must be met. The Navy League of Canada is a member of the CDA.

Criticisms of the legitimacy and the legality of the recent conflict in Iraq continue to be debated. Keane Grimsrud, the CDA Institute Intern and Project Officer, in *Selective Memories and Fuzzy Logic: the Popular Misconceptions of the Recent War in Iraq*, examines those criticisms and points out the issues that the critics of Gulf War II have chosen to ignore.

Beryl Wajzman has written for us, in *Canada in the World: The Restoration of Our National Pride and Purpose*, a noble call to our national consciousness to examine where Canada should fit in the world community. He addresses the question of why Canada needs to combine a vigorous advocacy of progressive and compassionate domestic policies, with an aggressive commitment to a strengthened military and a heightened involvement in democratic development and the expansion of freedom in the international order. Mr. Wajzman is the President of the Institute for Public Affairs of Montréal.

Earlier this year Colonel Howie Marsh (Ret'd), the Institute's Senior Defence Analyst, delivered an address at the 20th annual Political Studies Student's Conference, that was held at the University of Manitoba. In his address, *Kosovo Condition 1991-1999*, reprinted in *ON TRACK*, Colonel Marsh provides an examination of the Kosovo conflict and whether that conflict offers any lessons that are applicable to the premise that war is transforming.

One of the major events in the CDA Institute's calendar is the annual presentation of the Vimy Award to a Canadian who has made a significant and outstanding contribution to the defence and security of our nation and the preservation of our democratic values. Last year's programme was an outstanding success, with the large number of submissions that were received for the consideration of the Vimy Award Selection Committee, and culminating with the presentation of the Award to General Paul Manson (Ret'd) by Général Raymond Henault.

This year's presentation of the Vimy Award will take place on Friday, 19 November at a gala dinner that will be held in the Grand Hall of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Québec. To make the Award truly meaningful the Institute needs your nomination for the Award's recipient. CDA member associations, as well as individuals, are encouraged to submit nominations to the Institute. Please refer to the notice of the call for nominations which appears elsewhere in this issue.

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canadiennes pendant les examens des politiques étrangères et en matière de défense. Son article, intitulé *The Canadian Forces are Ready Aye Ready for Transformation and Change But is the Government ?*, est reproduit ici, avec la gracieuse permission du rédacteur en chef de la revue *Starshell*, le périodique national de l'Association.

Nous sommes heureux de présenter à nos lecteurs un article intitulé *Who is in our waters ?*, rédigé par Jerrod A. Riley, directeur national adjoint de la Ligue navale du Canada. L'auteur signale que le commerce avec les États-Unis est essentiel à l'économie canadienne et que, de ce fait, les mécanismes favorisant le commerce, dont les frontières ouvertes et le libre accès aux ports, doivent être protégés à titre de priorité de la sécurité nationale. Pour y parvenir, il établit trois critères à remplir. La Ligue navale du Canada est membre de la CAD.

On poursuit le débat des critiques à l'endroit de la légitimité et de la légalité du récent conflit en Iraq. Dans un article intitulé *Selective Memories and Fuzzy Logic: the Popular Misconceptions of the Recent War in Iraq*, Keane Grimsrud, stagiaire et agent de projet de l'Institut de la CAD, passe en revue ces critiques et fait ressortir les questions que les détracteurs de la Guerre du golfe II ont choisi d'ignorer.

Dans son article intitulé *Canada in the World: The Restoration of Our National Pride and Purpose*, Beryl Wajzman a lancé un noble appel à notre conscience nationale pour situer le Canada dans la collectivité mondiale. Puis, il se demande pourquoi nous avons assorti une défense vigoureuse de politiques intérieures progressives et compatissantes à une détermination poussée à renforcer l'armée, et à participer davantage au développement démocratique et à la propagation de la liberté au sein de l'ordre international. M. Wajzman est président de l'Institut des affaires publiques à Montréal.

Au début de l'année, le colonel Howie Marsh (ret.), analyste principal de défense, a prononcé une allocution devant le 20^e congrès annuel des étudiants en sciences politiques, qui avait lieu à l'Université du Manitoba. Dans son allocution, intitulée *Kosovo Condition 1991-1999*, et reprise dans *ON TRACK*, le colonel Marsh donne un compte rendu du conflit au Kosovo et se demande si l'on peut tirer de ce conflit des leçons à appliquer au principe que la guerre est en pleine transformation.

L'une des principales manifestations du calendrier de l'Institut de la CAD est la remise annuelle du prix Vimy, lequel rend hommage à un Canadien ou Canadienne qui a fait une contribution remarquable et exceptionnelle à la défense et à la

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The Ross Munro Media Award will also be presented at the Vimy Dinner. The recipient of the Award for 2003 was Mr. Garth Pritchard, a documentary filmmaker, director, and cinematographer. This prestigious award, conducted in collaboration with the Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute, will be presented to a Canadian journalist who has made a significant contribution to the understanding by the general public of Canada's defence and security issues. The notice of the call for nominations appears elsewhere in this issue.

The Conference of Defence Associations Institute is a non-profit, charitable agency dedicated to increasing public awareness of Canada's security situation and the vital role that is played by the Canadian Forces in our society. The Institute needs the financial support of the pro-defence community, as an independent **Voice of Defence**, to remain effective in the debate on issues of security and national defence. With your support, we can promote the study and awareness of Canadian military affairs. **Your continued financial support as donors to the Institute is vital** to our continued success. Please renew your annual donation when you are asked - and introduce a fellow Canadian to the Institute.



Général Raymond Henault presents the Paradis Trophy to Lieutenant Joelle Chebli, Lieutenant Geneviève Harvey, and Sous-lieutenant Diana Tremblay, at the CDA Institute's Annual Seminar

sécurité de notre nation et à la préservation de nos valeurs démocratiques. Le programme de l'an dernier a été exceptionnel, vu le nombre important de nominations soumises au comité de sélection du prix Vimy et il a culminé avec la remise du prix au général Paul Manson (ret.) par le général Raymond Henault.

Cette année, la remise du prix Vimy aura lieu le 19 novembre, à un dîner de gala qui se tiendra à la Grande Galerie du Musée canadien des civilisations à Gatineau (Québec). Pour que ce prix soit significatif, l'Institut voudrait recevoir vos nominations. Il encourage les particuliers comme les associations membres de la CAD à lui faire parvenir leurs nominations. Veuillez consulter l'avis d'appel de nominations qui est publié ailleurs dans le présent numéro.

Le Prix Média Ross Munro sera également décerné au dîner de remise du prix Vimy. En 2003, Garth Pritchard, un chef opérateur, cinéaste et réalisateur de documentaires, a été sélectionné lauréat du Prix. Ce prix prestigieux, qui est parrainé en collaboration avec le Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, est remis à un journaliste canadien qui a fait une contribution importante à la compréhension publique des enjeux de la défense et de la sécurité qui sont particuliers au Canada. L'avis d'appel de nominations est également publié dans le présent numéro.

L'Institut de la Conférence des associations de la défense est un organisme caritatif sans but lucratif qui a pour vocation de sensibiliser le public à la situation canadienne en matière de sécurité et au rôle crucial que jouent les Forces canadiennes au sein de la société. L'Institut sollicite l'appui financier de la collectivité favorable à la défense, en tant que **Voix de la défense** indépendante, pour continuer d'être efficace dans le cadre du débat sur les enjeux de sécurité et de défense nationale. Grâce à votre appui, nous sommes en mesure de promouvoir la sensibilisation aux affaires militaires canadiennes et l'étude de celles-ci. **À titre de donateurs, votre appui financier continu de l'Institut est essentiel** à la poursuite de nos activités. Nous vous demandons donc de renouveler votre don annuel lorsque vous en recevez avis et d'encourager un compatriote à y participer, lui aussi.

20th Annual CDAI Seminar 26 February 2004

Colonel Howie Marsh (Ret'd), Senior Defence Analyst, CDA Institute

Introduction

The CDA Institute, in collaboration with the Chair of Defence Management Studies, Queen's University, conducted a one-day seminar, *The Way Ahead for Canadian Foreign & Defence Policy*.

Keynote Speaker

The Honourable David Pratt, Minister of National Defence spoke of his continuing support to the Canadian Forces. He underscored that in his transition from Chairman Standing Committee on National Defence and Veterans Affairs (SCONDVA) to Minister National Defence (MND) his power to affect change has greatly increased.

Looking forward to a foreign and defence policy review Minister Pratt outlined his four criteria: capability; deployability; sustainability (but not at soldier's expense), and "use-ability" (a capability that has not been used in the last ten years is likely to be discarded). He went on to explain that a defence policy review would be set in the context of a new national security policy, that spending would reflect Canada's priorities and that any review would provide Canadians the opportunity to participate.

He emphasized that some things do not need to wait the outcome of a defence policy review. He endorsed force reductions in Bosnia, the need to rest elements of the Canadian Forces, the need to transform to a 21st century fighting force, and the necessity of NATO.

His speech then shifted to a summary of military achievements and the need for Canada to stay internationally engaged. Continentally, that engagement would include participation in National Missile Defence (NMD), and on other continents Canada should be prepared for meaningful contributions to global peace and stability.

In response to questions Minister Pratt acknowledged the need to revive skills and equipment, and further acknowledged that "getting it right" in the short-term is problematic. Without the interest of Canadians, defence's future is not certain. He challenged CDA to keep the Canadian populace interested in defence.

Theme Speaker

General Klaus Naumann, former Chairman NATO Military Committee chose the theme, *The Responsibility to Protect – Humanitarian Intervention and the Military*, to address the seminar. Starting with a review of global human suffering and a historical summary of humanitarian intervention, General Naumann led us to the challenging question of when, how and upon what authority is humanitarian intervention permitted, and if permitted, what is the nature of that intervention. Having outlined humanitarian intervention from the political perspective, he then presented the military perspective. General Naumann concluded with comments on the current world situation.

During the question period General Naumann provided further insight into the function and likely reluctance of the Security Council to shift to human rights jurisprudence as the legal foundation of armed intervention. He also expressed concern that political-level, decision-making in coalitions is not yet adequate for the tempo of modern military operations.

General Naumann's thesis revolved around the legal and moral conundrum of military force and human rights. Military force draws legal authority to intervene from their nation states and the law of armed conflict. The sovereignty of states is a prerequisite to armed intervention. Human rights law transcends boundaries. Violations of human rights, often in "failed states", lead to humanitarian intervention.

Indirectly the General alerted me to another present day reality. A foreign and defence policy review would not be complete without clarifying the jurisprudence foundation for Canadian armed intervention in humanitarian crisis, and transnational counter-terrorism.

Panel One

The moderator, General de Chastelain (Ret'd) and three panellists: Dr. Kim Nossal, Mr. Stephen Thorne, and Colonel Howie Marsh (Ret'd), spoke on *Policy and Practice – The Capabilities of the Canadian Forces*.

Dr. Nossal brought to everyone's attention that Canada's defence-capabilities history is marked by two national traits: the Canadian tendency to "tight-fistedness" when it comes to international affairs and the unwillingness of national leadership to make strategic decisions. This pattern of national behaviour permits avoidance of issues and muddling through. Dr. Nossal warned us not to anticipate generosity or to expect decisive leadership.

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Mr. Thorne shared experiences and observations related to what Canadian's think soldiers are doing and what soldiers are actually doing. The illusion that Canada's soldiers are predominantly peacekeepers, maintaining law and order while helping to rebuild ravaged societies is well engrained in the national psyche. The reality for soldiers—they are in war zones—is stifled. Canadian soldiers die for doing it the Canadian way. Mr. Thorne expressed concern that the Canadian soldier's "common touch" and wisdom needs tangible Canadian support as soldiers face more combat scenarios.

Colonel Marsh described the depleted state of the Canadian Forces personnel, equipment and operations and maintenance accounts. He deduced that Canada's military is entering a long season of dormancy. Government inaction could lead to the demise of the air force circa 2008 and either the army or navy by 2013. In order to avoid that demise major capital equipment and human resource development must start now.

Colonel Marsh went on to describe the defence capabilities that would be required in the future:

- national command and intelligence;
- national surveillance and defence;
- multi-faceted, operational maritime; and
- a unified, sustainable "expeditionary" force.

Luncheon Speaker

Admiral Giambastani, US Navy, Commander US Joint Forces and NATO Supreme Allied Commander-Transformation chose the topic, *The Way Ahead – The Armed Forces of the 21st Century* as a way to introduce the work of his Command. The admiral's account of his Command's experience underscored how far behind the Canadian Forces is on the path of transformation.

The concept of Transformation being a continuum was introduced. This continuum is marked by increased integration as service command and control becomes subordinate to joint command and control. The USA has learned that joint forces provide more power than the sum of the parts and that joint deployments vice service deployments are the new norm.

The admiral's speech made me realize that Canada has barely started joint operations, operational integration, situational awareness, and transformation writ large.

Chief of the Defence Staff (CDS)

General Henault described the administrative measures taken to sustain the Canadian Forces. He spoke of "flexible employment", distributed learning, health clinics and quality of life measures that enhance the "operational quality of life".

He then complimented service personnel on operations before introducing the major theme of his address—Transformation.

In contrast to Admiral Giambastiani who described what has been done to achieve Transformation, the CDS launched into a summary of observations and studies. The audience heard that the future security environment is more complex, that a new level of coherency, integration and joint operations are required, that forces must adapt quickly, that doctrine needs to be changed, that the CF should strive to "end-state results, and that new concepts require resources.

The CDS shifted to ISAF Kabul (Canada's 2,000 person stability force in Afghanistan) and, by illustration, demonstrated that this operation is indicative of the military future.

Returning to Canada and the homeland defence theme, the CDS spoke of the need to reinforce support to government's national emergency response capabilities. He outlined a number of CF initiatives that would enhance national security:

- Joint Task Force 2 expansion;
- Anti-terrorist research centre;
- Chemical, biological live-agent training;
- Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear Response Team (CFB Trenton); and
- Primary Reserve roles (CBRN responders).

The CDS offered his perspective on the "new way" of conducting operations, and emphasized that current operations testify to the Transformation that is already underway.

The CDS acknowledged the need for an "operational pause". An operational pause will need to be balanced with the imperative of operational demand. He recognized that financial constraints still persist and that investment in the future force needs to be better balanced with the cost of sustaining today's force structure and operations. He closed with the warning; "If we [CF] don't transform we will lose the ability to do what we do so well around the world."

During the question period the CDS responded to Canada's continuing presence in Afghanistan. Without addressing specifics the CDS emphasized that ISAF must not fail, that stability in Kabul is essential and spoke of NATO Provincial Response Teams.

Panel Two

The moderator, Lieutenant-général Roméo Dallaire (Ret) and three panellists: Dr. David Malone, Dr. Ann Fitz-Gerald, and Dr. Sean Maloney, examined *Multilateralism and the CF – UN and Coalitions Roles and Responsibilities*.

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After strong admonitions from the moderator that a strategic focus is essential to future multilateralism the first panelist spoke of future expectations by extracting lessons from the past 20 years. He brought to everyone's attention that the Permanent members of the UN Security Council tend to agree with one another and rarely disagree on global security issues.

An examination of UN missions lead to the observation that conflict is shifting from state-against-state to internal strife. Internal conflict is harder to resolve as predatory governments have no incentive to resolve internal issues and those aggrieved have little recourse other than lethal violence. This emerging conflict scenario renders traditional peacekeeping futile.

Dr Malone concluded that new instruments of conflict resolution are required. Extra capabilities, especially civilian expertise, needs to be augmented to the military capability. He then went on to offer a number of issues that need resolution:

- there are too many "trouble spots". Regional organizations (OAS, OSCE, NATO, etc) need to provide robust assistance;
- the notion that the USA is a replica of the Roman Empire is false. The Roman Empire provided benefits and security in exchange for subjection and taxation. The USA provides neither; the American taxpayer is left with the bill;
- the future offers more failing states and more terrorism;
- Canada has not done a good job of alerting its population to present realities and the relationship of Canada's well being to international peace and order; and
- there is a dearth of good policy outside the defence department.

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Dr Malone challenged CDA to cease calling for more resources for defence, but to focus on showing Canadians the link between international order, defence and national well being. CDA members should be generating an article a week.

Dr. Fitz-Gerald spoke on security sector reform by outlining the transition from peacekeeping models to peace enforcement models, to peace support operations. The model examination lead to a number of observations: that there is a critical link between security and development; and that peace support operations need to be more comprehensive and sequential.

Dr Fitz-Gerald impressed upon us that security sector reform is an all encompassing endeavour that requires internal security, external security, economic security, resource (food) security, energy security etc.

Dr. Maloney spoke to the subject, "Whither So-Called Peacekeeping". His talk described the failure of peacekeeping missions. Ten years after the end of the Cold War and after repeated failures of UN mandated peacekeeping NATO demonstrated the new way of intervention with IFOR, a robust joint military force. Traditional peacekeeping is effectively dead. Regardless of developed nations doctrinal shift to robust military intervention Canadians still believe that traditional, blue-beret, peacekeeping is the main stay of its armed force.

Dr Maloney offered that coalition forces are likely to coalesce around three multilateral organizations: the UN, NATO and ABCA. The Quadripartite group of America, Britain, Australia, and Canada is likely to be of more value to Canada as Canada establishes a forward military presence.

Seminar Summary

Dr. Douglas Bland, Queen's University and Mr. Beryl Wajzman, President of the Institute for Public Affairs of Montreal summed up a day, full of thought.

While acknowledging the death of peacekeeping with an analogy to Monty Python's dead parrot, Dr Bland reminded us that transformation occurs in the act of transforming. Events are transforming Canada's military.

The New World Order is characterized by opposing renegade order with whatever means to ensure order. How does Canada fit into this New World Order? The Cold War instrument of choice was the nuclear weapon; the New World Order instrument is the foot soldier.

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He challenged CDA to:

- help rebuild Canada's military;
- keep the military in the public mind; and
- ask why \$12 billion is not enough; where does the money go?

Mr. Wajzman gave a motivational speech on participation. He reminded us that the noble traits of service and sacrifice that fuel people to passion and poetry are implicit in the armed forces.

CDA Annual General Meeting - Friday 27 February 2004

Col Howie Marsh, (Ret'd). Senior Defence Analyst, CDA Institute

This, the second day of meeting, followed the CDAI Seminar. After the "Dawn Patrol" and early morning breakfast the President of CDA, LGen Evraire introduced the first speaker. Mr. Jason Spiegel, the former Executive Director, US Reserve Officer Association, outlined the challenges facing the US Reserve community a year after OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM.

The ongoing high level of deployments, (over 250,000 USA service personnel are currently on global deployments), is straining even the enormous USA defence budget that consumes more than \$US 1 billion a day. Capital projects are being cancelled in order to satisfy the operations budget. Mr. Spiegel bemoaned the fact that the USA is at war, but the nation is cutting taxes and the population is allowed to perceive that they are not at war. The general public is not being asked to fund what needs to be done. With only one person in 200 on active duty, the USA is skirting the lowest military involvement level in history. (Note: by comparison Canada's military involvement level is 1 in 6,000). And the Reserves are bearing the brunt of this operational stance.

Starting with the experiences of the Vietnam era, Mr. Spiegel outlined the rationale and doctrines that now wed reserve capabilities to those of the active force. This dependency will soon translate into the reality that 40% of all soldiers serving in Iraq are Reserve. From a Reserve community perspective, this is not sustainable.

Mr. Spiegel went on to describe the US Coast Guard (CG) experience post 9/11. Up until 9/11 Port Security was predominantly a CG Reserve function. This proved to be unsustainable in the medium-term, as port security crews maintained 24 hour a day, 7-day week security patrols. As a result, the CG is developing full-time port security units.

Reserves exist to deal with the unexpected and the unforeseen. The problem arises when Reserves are used for the expected and foreseen. The US military now plans to use Reserves as part of rotation schedules. (Note: The US forces no longer conduct person-for-person rotations, but rotate "units

of action"). Reserves, for the most part, want to respond to emergencies, not participate in rotations. Mr. Spiegel referred to Defence Secretary Rumsfeld's comments on the need to rebalance the Regular-Reserve ratio: "We don't want to go too far and break the Reserves".

Mr. Spiegel encouraged the Canadian military community to learn from the USA Reserves experience: There is a level of dependency that harms the Reserves; over dependency comes in rotational dependency and specialist dependency. Canadians were advised to avoid the USA Reserve Force experience.

In response to questions, Mr. Spiegel made us aware that the US military wants to reduce military infrastructure by another 25%. This reduction could eliminate military presence in some states and render the Reserve component more remote from civilians.

Chief of the Air Staff

Lieutenant-General K.R. Pennie, Chief of the Air Staff, opened his address by acknowledging that the Air Staff are late in developing future plans and publishing a forward looking strategy. This, he hoped, would be rectified by spring. Lieutenant-General Pennie then described his worldview and gave an assessment of Canada's situation.

Rapidly evolving global determinants are rendering Canada more vulnerable. The historically low Canadian investment in defence, coupled with a more demanding future security environment and other national imperatives, persuades the commander: "We have to be very aggressive at using what we have".

Airpower is a fundamental tool: It is an element of national power, but as 99% of all air command resources are spent on day-to-day activities and with little investment in new equipment, the Air Force is "fragile". Note: The Chief of Land Staff used the same descriptor last year to describe the Army.

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(definition: Fragile a. easily snapped or shattered, weak, perishable, of delicate frame or constitution)

Lieutenant-General Pennie then focused on Air Force transformation by referring to the soon-to-be-released future-looking strategy, “Strategic Vector”. He reminded us that Canada’s geography stretches over 10 million square kilometers of land and coastal waters; it is larger than all of Europe’s geography of 7 million square kilometers. Surveillance, sovereignty presence and patrolling are enormous challenges for Canada.

In addition to homeland needs, Canada has been and is likely to remain engaged in international assistance requiring air power. Years of watching air power (including airlift) being used as a national instrument of power persuades the Air Staff that Canada requires an “air expeditionary unit”. All of the foregoing capabilities require a network-enabled command and control system.

In closing Lieutenant-General Pennie referred to five elements that would mark the future of the Air Force: vision, relevance, achievability, resource constraints, and tough decisions.

Chief of the Maritime Staff

Vice Admiral R.D. Buck, Chief of the Maritime Staff, spoke of the new era that the Navy has entered, and in which it has moved beyond linear modeling to joint and integrated modeling. This is an era in which the Navy can expect more of the same (tasks), an era in which the Navy is key to national security. A major challenge for the Navy is achieving balance between the demands of international and national missions.

Vice Admiral Buck then spoke of present-day realities and experience. He reminded us of the inherent capabilities of naval platforms, of the naval capacity to package capabilities, and of legacy systems. He introduced the concept of “mass” (probably in the momentum or inertia sense) as it applies to sustainment and, in particular, to the sustainment of personnel.

Switching to the topic of transformation, Vice Admiral Buck spoke of the better coordination he enjoys, due to maritime data-fusion centres and integrated surveillance. The Navy has a history of constantly increasing surveillance range and well understands large area operations. The command and control transformation that the Navy has already experienced could be applied to pan-CF and pan-Canada security architectures.

In closing, Vice Admiral Buck called on CDA support to ensure that maritime forces continue to offer the flexibility and relevant capabilities essential to national defence.

During the question period, Vice Admiral Buck was hopeful of enhancing port security. When acknowledging the challenge of supporting a two-ocean navy with one supply ship, he mentioned that the joint support ship is a priority, after maritime helicopter replacement.

Chief of Land Staff

Major-General Marc Caron, the Acting Chief of Land Staff, gave a presentation titled, *The Face of Change: Implementing Army Transformation*. The Army is heavily engaged in operations around the world. At the time of the briefing the Army was supporting 13 different military operations with 3,600 soldiers. Despite a very heavy workload, the Army is functioning well. The system of managed readiness and the Army’s foundation of regiments and quality personnel are great assets in this time of high demand. In addition, the Army’s situation has been helped by the recent induction of 2000 new members to the militia.

Major-General Caron spoke of the elements of Army transformation that are already under way. Notably, the Canadian Manoeuvre Training Centre at CFB Wainwright, Alberta, is a fully instrumented facility that allows force-on-force training, both real and virtual. The Leopard tank direct-fire capability is to be replaced by the Stryker Mobile Gun System, and planning is under way to acquire a multi-mission-effects vehicle that incorporates medium and longer-range engagements. The Army is moving toward knowledge-based command and becoming a knowledge-based institution. In summary, the Army is “turning the [transformation] corner while facing great challenges.”

Assistant Deputy Minister (HR-Military)

Vice Admiral Gregory Jarvis, the Assistant Deputy Minister (Human Resources-Military), titled his presentation, *Surmounting Today’s Challenges while Building for tomorrow*. He outlined the external and internal demographic challenges against the backdrop of the current operational tempo that, on average, keeps a sailor at sea for 114 days a year, a soldier on deployments for 104 days and an air service person away for 81 days a year. These figures do not include the internal-to-Canada temporary duty tasks. Primary Reserve personnel, who now comprise 20% of operational rotations, ease the operational burden to an extent.

With the aid of charts, Vice Admiral Jarvis explained that with a 60,000 Regular Force establishment, the Trained Effective Strength (TES) would not exceed 54,000 qualified service

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members, given that at least 10% (6,000) of military personnel are continually on basic or advanced training or retirement leave, or on the medical holding list, etc. However, due to anticipated attrition and entry-level training capacity, the TES is unlikely to reach 54,000 this decade. The TES should gradually climb from the current 52,000 to 54,000, over the next six years.

He offered some statistical data that reflect the composition of today's Canadian Forces. The average age of a recruit is 24 years, and the average age of those serving is 34 years. With the shift to older recruits and to an athletically minded, aging work-force, application is under way to raise the Compulsory Retirement Age (CRA) from 55 to 60 years for all classifications. People are living longer and making life-long commitments later in life.

Vice Admiral Jarvis mentioned that human resource management and policies need to transform. Existing practices are not adequate; an integrated systems approach is necessary to manage all aspects of human resource development. He offered that his organization needs structural modernization, and noted that the culture of the military profession is transforming. Regardless of change, the military principle of the well being of its people remains paramount.

During the question period, both the Army commander and the ADM (HR-Mil) responded. The links to community and emergency response were acknowledged functions of the Reserves. Those being recruited today are not so much peacekeeping-focused but more aware of the full spectrum of service employment. Attracting pilots is a real problem, but Information Technology skills are abundant. A downturn in the technology sector and the economy enhances recruiting.

When responding to lessons learned from his "sabbatical" with the Conference Board of Canada, Vice Admiral Jarvis expressed his surprise at the lack of succession planning in the private sector. Unlike the military that has several subordinates vying for a senior position, the commercial sector is often obliged to "head-hunt" to fill a senior vacancy.

Who Killed the Canadian Military?

Dr. Jack Granatstein gave a summary of his recent book titled "Who Killed the Canadian Military". He started by

asking how did we get into this perilous state of a fragile military conducting operations in dangerous places. He then proceeded to question the performance of Canadian Prime Minister who might have contributed to the forty-year demise of the Canadian Forces.

Prime Minister St. Laurent was not responsible for the death of the Canadian military. In fact, his leadership and ability to explain to Canadians the necessity of military participation in Korea and NATO serve as a role model in challenging times. During his tenure, defence spending averaged 6.5% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Prime Minister John Diefenbaker's (1957-1963) tenure conjures up security/military issues related to NORAD, nuclear weapons delivery, and the Avro Arrow fighter jet. He was suspicious of the USA, and of USA President JFK in particular. During the Cuban missile crisis, he delayed putting the military on alert, infuriating the Americans in the process. PM Diefenbaker failed to understand Canada's national interests; he made the Canadian Forces political and used defence policy to "smack" the USA. PM Diefenbaker killed the military.

PM Pearson's only fault was that he did his job too well. His understanding of international affairs and responsible leadership led to the successful interposition of Canadian troops and the defusing of the Suez Crisis. He won the Noble Peace Prize, making him the model statesman and envy of politicians. He established the Pearsonian peacekeeping myth that continues, today, to hurt the military (peaceful intervention leads to the faulty deduction that there is no need to acquire arms for the military). Succeeding liberal leaders have tried to emulate Pearson by sending Canadian Forces on a myriad of "peacekeeping" missions. The Pearsonian peacekeeping myth, along with the reluctance to arm Canada's military, has dealt the military a mortal blow. PM Pearson killed the military.

Minister of Defence Paul Hellyer ranks as one of the killers of the Canadian military. The idea of unification was not a bad idea. The military should work together. However Hellyer's tactics were terrible: changing uniform and rank structures is not necessary to affect unification. MND Hellyer went too far with unification. He killed the Canadian military.

PM Pierre Trudeau viewed soldiers as unintelligent thugs. Likewise, his perception of major powers was distorted: he saw the USSR and USA as moral equivalents. His belief that

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Canada could find a new way in foreign and defence policy led to European-based Canadian military reductions in NATO. PM Trudeau killed the Canadian Military.

PM Brian Mulroney came to power with the promise to restore the Canadian Forces after the Liberal government's long neglect of the military. Every promise was broken; expectations raised by the 1987 White Paper were dashed. PM Brian Mulroney killed the Canadian Forces.

PM Jean Chrétien finished off the Canadian Forces. He did not understand Canada's interests nor did his government understand the USA response to 9/11. With no coordinated purpose or knowledge of interests, he sent Canadian troops all over the globe during his tenure, weakened the military, and failed to tell the Canadian people that he had depleted their force of last resort. PM Jean Chrétien killed the military.

But, it is the Canadian people who really killed their military. We elected our national leaders; we the people are responsible. We believe that defence spending is unnecessary. Canadians killed their military.

In concluding, Dr. Granatstein offered counsel. We need to stop anti-Americanism and be realistic. We cannot opt out of North American Defence; otherwise we lose our sovereignty. We need to defend ourselves from too much help from the Americans. The Americans in the defence of the USA will need to defend the approaches to their nation, even if those approaches go through Canada.

A military force cannot be conjured up overnight. It took decades to render the military bankrupt it will take a long time to restore it. Who can rebuild the Canadian Forces? We can!

In response to questions, Dr. Granatstein cautioned that engaging Canadians for input to a foreign and defence policy review is likely to be counter-productive. Canadians, for the most part, are ill informed on national interests, defence needs and the new world order. Sadly, Canadians believe in the "blue-beret" peacekeeping myth. The people must be educated [on defence matters].

Summary of the days

The speakers at the CDAI Seminar and the CDA Annual Meeting agree on a number of points:

:

- The world is becoming more dangerous and will require more intervention, both armed and humanitarian;
- Canada, like other multilateral organizations, is handicapped in that its military is not sufficiently robust for current and future tasks. In fact, two of the services report themselves "fragile".
- Canadians are tightfisted when asked to fund international endeavors. The national leadership neither inspires the population nor makes timely strategic decisions. Canadians have shown little enthusiasm for greatly increased defence spending.
- Our closest and largest military ally is at war, and will secure their nation regardless of Canadian sensibilities.
- Canada is entering the valley of tough decisions.

Given that the Canadian Forces are approaching an historical nadir in military capability, and that the global strategic situation does not tolerate handicapped nations or organizations, the way ahead is full of difficulties and hard decisions.

A Broader Security Framework ...Is it needed ?

Major-General Clive Addy (Ret'd), Defence Consultant, Founding Member National Security Policy Group

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