



SECURITY & DEFENCE BRIEFING

FROM THE DESK OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

“THE BEGINNING OF SUMMER”

25 JUNE 2015 (06-2015)

The start of summer has been far from quiet and National Security and Defence remain hot topic issues. The government's anti-terror legislation Bill C-51 was approved, but not without significant debate and concerns. Defence Minister Jason Kenney was keen to defend the government's record on defence, and recently announced the creation of an independent third-party review panel for procurement – even if such announcements did little to obfuscate the less than stellar record when it comes to defence recapitalization.

The CDA Institute has also been far from quiescent either. We are very pleased to have released the latest issue of [ON TRACK](#) last week – an issue notable for its extensive content, continuing layout improvement, number of noted contributors, and for being the first issue overseen by our Research Manager and Senior Editor Dr. David McDonough.

It is also with great pleasure that I announce the addition of two new members of the CDA Institute Fellowship Program – joining our pioneer Fellow Charles Davies. They are Dr. Craig Mantle, who was most recently historian at the Canadian War Museum and previous

to that at the Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, a directorate of the Canadian Defence Academy in Kingston, Ontario, and Dr. Howard Coombs, a retired senior military officer and now assistant professor at the RMCC. Their full bios can be found in this Briefing.

Également, le personnel de l'Institut de la CAD a contribué fortement à l'amélioration de nos opérations. Grâce à notre directrice de développement des affaires et de la gestion de programme, Denise Lemay, nous consolidons notre liste de donateurs et de commanditaires. De plus, comme vous avez pu le remarquer, [notre site web](#) est amélioré continuellement par l'addition de contenu et d'articles pertinents, grâce aux efforts de David McDonough et de notre gestionnaire des relations publiques et de l'administration, Meaghan Hobman.

Our two coop students, Lindsay Coombs and Celeste Longo, have proven to be diligent and hard-working Analysts, helping to edit Blog posts, writing event summaries, and in Celeste's case, improving the quality of the French used in our written materials. They also participated in the Ottawa DiploHack event, and [summarized their experience on our Blog](#).

I will also have much more to say in the next Briefing about the stellar work being done by a small group of volunteers in the preparation of a commemorative Book: *The Vimy Award 25 Years with a Companion History of the Conference of Defence Associations Institute*.

J'aimerais aussi féliciter, au nom de toute l'équipe, le Président de la Conférence des associations de la défense, le Lieutenant-général Richard Evraire qui a succédé le Major-général Alain Forand comme Colonel du Royal 22e Régiment le 15 juin dernier.

With its great staff, active new president, and an ongoing Governance and Strategic Planning Review, the CDA Institute continues to be the “go-to” Canadian research organization (think-tank) on security and defence. But we can't do it without your generous financial support. A donation form can be found in this Briefing and on our [website](#).

Lastly, I hope you all have a great Canada Day!

Tony Battista

ON TRACK - SUMMER 2015

This issue of ON TRACK begins with an Editorial by CDA Institute Executive Vice-President Ferry de Kerckhove, who sets the stage by providing an analysis of Canada's strategic outlook – based on his recently released and very well received CDA Institute study, [The Strategic Outlook for Canada 2015](#).

To assess Europe's response to Russia's revanchist and aggressive behaviour in Ukraine, we are pleased to have an article by Henry Boyd and Giri Rajendran, Research Associates at the IISS in the UK. Further analysis of Putin's "script of violence" is offered by the CDA Institute's own Analyst Lindsay Coombs.

La coopération antiterroriste accroît à travers l'Afrique, afin de combattre les djihadistes parmi ce continent – Eric Muller, «Junior Fellow» au «Centre for Security Governance» à Kitchener, explore ces développements importants.

The Middle East continues to be a hotbed of instability. Dr. Rod Thornton, Associate



Professor at King's College London, offers a helpful primer on the shifting political dynamics among the Kurds. Clingendael's Senior Research Fellow Erwin van Veen examines the franchising model currently being pursued by the Islamic State.

La participation du Canada dans les opérations de la coalition mondiale en Irak / Syrie est le sujet de l'article rédigé par le Dr Stephen Saideman, Président en Affaires internationales à l'Université Carleton. Dans le même ordre d'idées, Dr Peter Kasurak, offre égale-

ment un aperçu de l'interventionnisme du Canada dans la période post -guerre froide.

Many observers have long bemoaned the absence of a Canadian national security strategy to confront this strategic environment. This is the topic of the next article by Dr. Peter Layton, a Fellow at the Griffiths Asia Institute, who offers a comparative angle by looking at British and American security strategies. Dr. Andrew Davies, ASPI's Director of Research, provides another comparative approach by assessing how Canadian defence spending and recapitalization efforts measure up vis-à-vis Australia.

Our final two articles delve into issues concerning the Royal Canadian Navy. Ken Hansen, a research fellow at Dalhousie's Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, assesses the future of the naval reserve. He is joined by Tim Choi, a doctoral student at the University of Calgary, who makes the case for the AOPS.

This issue concludes with books reviews by Dr. Sean Clark and Adnan Qaiser. ■

[READ IT HERE.](#)

*Happy Canada Day from
the staff of the CDA and
CDA Institute!*

*Joyeuse Fête du Canada
de la part de la CAD et
de l'Institut de la CAD!*

NEW RESEARCH FELLOW – HOWARD COOMBS

Dr. Howard G. Coombs retired from full time service with the Canadian Forces in 2003. He is a graduate of the Canadian Forces Staff School, Canadian Land Force Command and Staff College, United States Army Command and General Staff College, and the US Army School of Advanced Military Studies, which awarded his Master's degree.

Coombs received his PhD in military history from Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario and is currently an Assistant Professor of the Royal Military College of

Canada teaching History and War Studies. He is also a member of the Canadian Army Reserve assigned on a part-time basis to the staff of the Canadian Army Doctrine and Training Command.

Coombs has a number of operational deployments to the former Yugoslavia and Afghanistan as a military officer on regular and reserve duty. In addition that he deployed with Joint Task Force Afghanistan from September 2010 to July 2011 as a civilian advisor to the Task Force Commander. ■



NEW RESEARCH FELLOW – CRAIG MANTLE

Dr. Craig Leslie Mantle received his PhD in military and strategic studies from the University of Calgary in 2013. Studying under the supervision of Dr. David Bercuson, and receiving support through the Izaak Walton Killam Memorial Scholarship, his dissertation examined leadership in the Canadian Expeditionary Force during the First World War from a multi-disciplinary perspective. Prior to his doctoral work, he studied first at the University of Toronto where he undertook a double major program in biochemistry and history, receiving his Bachelor of Science in 2000, and then at Queen's University where, in 2002, he received his Master of Arts in Canadian history.



Dr. Mantle has extensive professional experience. For a decade, between 2002 and 2013, he worked for the Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, a directorate of the Canadian Defence Academy, in Kingston, Ontario. While there, he had the opportunity to publish widely on a number of leadership-related

topics from both an historical and contemporary perspective. From 2013 to 2015, he worked at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa, Ontario as the post-1945 historian where, among other duties, he conducted more than 30 oral history interviews with veterans of recent conflicts.

His most recent book, *In Their Own Words: Canadian Stories of Valour and Bravery from Afghanistan, 2001-2007* (Kingston: CDA Press, 2013), offers the personal reflections of 23 Canadian soldiers who were recognized for their actions overseas with some of the nation's highest honours. His research interests, broadly speaking, include oral history, leadership and the experience of military service. ■

2015 VIMY AWARD

Nominations are invited for the 2015 CDA Institute Vimy Award (Silver Anniversary).

The Vimy Award was initiated in 1991 by the CDA Institute to recognize, annually, one Canadian who has made a significant and outstanding contribution to the security and defence of our nation and the preservation of our democratic values.

The previous 24 recipients of this prestigious award are: The Rt. Hon. Joe Clarke; General John de Chastelain; Major-General Lewis MacKenzie; Major-General William Howard; Major-General Roméo Dallaire; Dr.

Jack Granastein; The Rt. Hon. Brian Dickson; Vice-Admiral Larry Murray; Lieutenant-General Charles H. Belzile; The Hon. Barnett Danson; Air Commodore Leonard Birchall; Colonel, the Hon. John Fraser; General Paul Manson; Dr. David Bercuson; Mr. G. Hamilton Southam; Brigadier-General David Fraser; General Raymond R. Henault; General Rick Hillier; Warrant Officer William MacDonald; The Rt. Hon. Adrienne Clarkson; Major-General Jonathan Vance; Honorary Colonel Frederick Philip Mannix; Brigadier-General W. Don Macnamara; Honorary Colonel Blake Goldring.

Any Canadian may nominate one Canadian citizen for the award. Nominations must be in writing, be accompanied by a summary of the reasons for the nomination and include a brief biographical sketch of the nominee. Electronic submissions are preferred by email. Nominations must be received by Friday, 7 August 2015, and should be addressed to:

Vimy Award Selection Committee
Conference of Defence Associations Institute
151 Slater Street, suite 412A
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H3

Electronic files:
mhobman@cdainstitute.ca

The Vimy Award will be presented on Friday, 6 November 2015, at a special 25th Anniversary Reception and Gala Dinner held at the Canadian War Museum.

For more information, contact the CDA Institute at 613-236-9903 or at mhobman@cdainstitute.ca.



LE PRIX VIMY 2015

Nous invitons les nominations pour le Prix Vimy 2015 de L'Institut de la CAD (Anniversaire D'Argent)

Le Prix Vimy a été instituée en 1991 par l'Institut de la CAD dans le but de reconnaître, chaque année, un Canadien ou Canadienne qui s'est distingué(e) par sa contribution à la défense et à la sécurité de notre pays et à la préservation de nos valeurs démocratiques.

Les 24 récipiendaires précédents du Prix Vimy sont : la Très hon. Joe Clarke; le Général John de Chastelain; le Major-général Lewis MacKenzie; le

Major-général William Howard; le Major-général Roméo Dallaire; Dr. Jack Granatstein; le Très hon. Brian Dickson; le vice-amiral Larry Murray; le lieutenant-général Charles H. Belzile; l'Hon. Barnett Danson; le commodore d'air Leonard Birchall; le Général Paul Manson; Dr. David Bercuson; M. G. Hamilton Southam; le Brigadier-général David Fraser; le Général Raymond R. Henault; le Général Rick Hillier; l'Adjudant William MacDonald; la Très hon. Adrienne Clarkson; le Major-général Jonathan Vance; Colonel Honoraire Frederick Philip Mannix; le Brigadier-général W. Don Macnamara; Colonel Honoraire Blake Goldring.

Tout Canadien ou Canadienne peut nommer un citoyen ou citoyenne pour le Prix Vimy. Les nominations doivent nous parvenir par écrit et doivent être accompagnées d'un sommaire citant les raisons motivant votre nomination et une biographie du candidat. Les soumissions électroniques sont préférés par courriel. Les nominations doivent nous parvenir au plus tard vendredi, le 7 août 2015, et doivent être adressées au:

Comité de sélection du Prix Vimy
L'Institut de la Conférence des associations de la défense
151 rue Slater, suite 412A
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H3

Électronique:
mhobman@cdainstitute.ca

Le Prix Vimy sera présentée vendredi, le 6 novembre 2015, à une réception et diner gala à l'occasion du 25ième anniversaire du Prix Vimy qui aura lieu au Musée canadien de la guerre.

Pour de plus amples informations veuillez contacter l'Institut de la Conférence des associations de la Défense à (613) 236-9903 ou mhobman@cdainstitute.ca.

CHINA'S MODERNIZING NUCLEAR FORCE: A NEW DIRECTION OR ADJUSTMENT TO CHANGING REALITIES?

SELECTED POST FROM OUR BLOG: THE FORUM

CDA Institute Security and Defence Blogger Adam MacDonald, an independent scholar on Canadian foreign policy and Asia-Pacific security, explores China's nuclear modernization efforts and its possible implications on Sino-American relations. This post was originally published (with hyperlinks) in the [CDA Institute Blog: The Forum](#).

Since its emergence as a nuclear power in 1964, China has maintained a small and primitive arsenal, specifically vulnerable to the much larger forces possessed by their main strategic rivals: the US and the Soviet Union/Russia. The maintenance of such a force structure is not due to lack of resources or technological expertise, but a conscious decision by the Chinese leadership. Despite widespread changes in régime configurations, foreign policy priorities, and global security environments, the views of successive Chinese military and political leaders on nuclear weapons have remained relatively constant.

These views have, in turn, informed and justified the two major pillars of China's declaratory nuclear strategy: **No First Use (NFU)**, in which their arsenal would be employed in a retaliatory capacity after being attacked by nuclear weapons, and **Minimum Deterrence** that seeks to maintain the lowest

number of weapons necessary to conduct a second-strike.

Over the past two decades, however, China has embarked on a modernization project to strengthen its deterrent credibility by increasing the survivability of its nuclear forces. Within these endeavours, Beijing is not only upgrading its existing nuclear force structure but expanding it in both size and diversity. Progressing technologies such as command control and early warning systems are also becoming a priority to augment their ability to detect an incoming attack and coordinate a response amongst a more dispersed force.

What are the motivations driving this comprehensive nuclear force revitalization? Is this indicative of a distinct policy shift away from NFU or is Beijing simply reconfiguring its forces to ensure a second-strike capability in an era of ever changing military technologies and strategies? Beijing's near absence of official information on their nuclear arsenal by severely complicates such investigations.

Modernization, Expansion and Diversification

According to current estimates, China possesses approximately 240–250 nuclear

warheads along with 180 delivery vehicles, largely comprised of ballistic missiles (including submarine launched) of various ranges along with 20 or so nuclear capable aircraft (mostly the H-6 bomber). The People's Liberation Army's Second Artillery Force (PLASAF) is the military entity responsible for the maintenance and operation of China's nuclear force and reports directly to the Central Military Commission, the highest military body with the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party as its chairman.

Alongside modernizing its existing land-based missile force (including hardening their silos and camouflage), China is in the midst of constructing the next generation of missiles that are road mobile, solid fueled, longer range, and connected through robust command and control systems. The US Department of Defense predicts, furthermore, China will place a greater weight on its intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) force – around 100 by 2025 compared to 40 today – that primarily targets the continental United States. It is widely suspected, as well, Beijing possess a Multiple Independent Re-Entry Vehicle (MIRV) capability enabling them assign multiple warheads to each delivery vehicle but whether they have become



China's Jin-class SLBM submarine will be a key element of the country's modernized nuclear force. (Image courtesy of US Navy Office of Legislative Affairs via Wikimedia Commons.)

incorporated into the current force posture is unknown. While China's nuclear force is augmenting in size (and is the only one of the five recognized Nuclear Weapons States to do so), they will remain a fraction of those compared to the US and Russia, despite some investigations claiming the contrary which have been thoroughly discredited.

Another dramatic aspect of Beijing's nuclear efforts has been the creation of a fleet of Jin-class submarines, each capable of carrying 12 JL-2 Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles, with the goal of supporting continuous deterrent patrols. This is not China's first attempt to build a SSBN force, but the significant resources and technologies devoted to this program raises questions as to the underlying motivation. It is uncertain whether this arises from decreased confidence in their land-based deterrent and/or other more nuanced motivations, such as competi-

tion over resources and budgets within the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the wider sense of superpower status associated by possessing such military capabilities.

Conventional Force Challenges

What we can glean from intra-PLA writings, despite its limited documentation, seems to support the notion that China sees nuclear weapons as solely a deterrent against nuclear weapons use, in keeping with a secure second-strike capability; they are not designed for more ambitious forms of escalation dominance (in contrast to American and Russian thinking) but rather ceasing nuclear use after an exchange has occurred. Nuclear weapons, furthermore, are not intended to effectively destroy another country in accordance to assured destruction precepts but inflict unacceptable damage (a threshold the Chinese believe is low) to deter any would be aggressor. Nuclear weapons, therefore, play a

limited role designed to ensuring China's national survival from a nuclear challenge.

Conventional force technologies, however, specifically Prompt Global Strike and Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) being pursued by the US and others have become a major area of focus in Chinese military

circles. In particular, there is real concern the US could theoretical conduct a disarming first-strike against China's nuclear forces by conventional means, thereby not crossing the nuclear-threshold and ultimately challenging the utility of their NFU policy. BMD, as well, obstructs the ability to successfully conduct a second-strike, augmenting the force requirements to achieve such a capability – especially if used in conjunction with a disarming conventional Prompt Global Strike.

To date, however, China has reaffirmed NFU and minimum deterrence but recognizes that changes in military technologies are motivating them to pursue their own force structure revamp specifically in the areas of command and control, early warning systems, decoys, jamming and thermal shielding. Such developments, while not

directly contradicting current policy, create challenges to Chinese operational doctrine which threaten to place their nuclear relationship with the US on a more confrontational footing.

A Technological Arms Race Emerging

In building a larger and more dispersed force, the PLA will have to develop robust command and control technologies to ensure orders are clearly and expeditiously transmitted. This is most evident with respect to their SSBN force, which will be the first time nuclear weapons are operated beyond the PLA Second Artillery Force. If China intends to conduct deterrent patrols, mating warheads on missiles in contradiction to their current nuclear operational posture would be required. Another concern is the development of conventional variants of nuclear missile types (including the DF-21C

anti-ship ballistic missile), which complicate attempts to determine which missiles are assigned to what force structure, being deployed, and/or put on alert status.

China is not seeking nuclear parity with the US or Russia. But augmenting the survivability of their forces risks creating a new technological arms race which may have larger and underappreciated ramifications to their nuclear strategy, operational doctrine, and relations with Washington.

As the Sino-American relationship becomes the most important factor influencing global stability and prosperity, ensuring the nuclear aspect remains non-confrontational and non-escalatory is critical. Whether the US is willing to invite and China willing to accept inclusion into nuclear arms control negotiations is uncertain at this point. At a minimum, the US would need to limit cer-

tain capability developments and Beijing to loosen its decades-long tradition of nuclear opacity, both of which will be difficult to secure. Developing a common understanding of each other's nuclear plans and concerns, though, is vital in ensuring the nuclear realm is cordoned off and does not influence nor is influenced by other developments, specifically ongoing divisive issues, in their larger great-power relationship. ■

Adam P. MacDonald is an independent academic whose work focuses on Canadian foreign policy in Asia, Chinese naval developments, and the ongoing political transition in Myanmar. He can be reached at adam@macdonald@gmail.com.



CALL FOR PAPERS

CDA Institute 18th Annual Graduate Student Symposium: "Canada's Security and Defence Interests," 15–16 October 2015, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston

Abstracts of proposed presentations (200-400 words) from Masters and Doctoral students in the realm of security and defence are now being accepted. Deadlines for submission: 20 July and 08 September. The final draft of complete presentation papers (maximum 4,000 words) must be submitted by no later than 28 September 2015.

Cash prizes of \$1,000, \$500 and \$250 will be presented to the top three presenters, who will also be offered an honorarium of \$1,500 each to develop their

presentations for publication with the CDA Institute. An additional prize of \$750, the Colonel Peter Hunter Award will be presented by the Royal Canadian Military Institute (RCMI), and the winner will be given an opportunity to turn this paper into an RCMI publication.

Please send all presentation abstracts with your institutional affiliation and contact information (one page max) to mhobman@cdainstitute.ca.

ISIL'S 'KHORASAN PROVINCE': WILL IT PUSH AFGHANISTAN TOWARDS PEACE?

SELECTED POST FROM OUR BLOG: THE FORUM

CDA Institute Security and Defence Blogger Nick Glavin, a researcher at the US Naval War College, looks at the destabilizing role of ISIL in Afghanistan, which was first published (with hyperlinks) in the [CDA Institute Blog: The Forum](#).

The leadership of jihadist insurgent groups are experiencing profound challenges in today's operational environment. Intra-insurgency strife has highlighted the competition among these groups across Yemen, Libya, Iraq, and Syria. But one country, Afghanistan, faces a distinct challenge: NATO's Resolute Support mission is coming to an end in 2016 amid a resurgent Afghan Taliban insurgency, even while the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) is establishing its "Khorasan Province" in parts of modern-day Afghanistan and Pakistan.

According to a recent Pentagon report, ISIL will "likely continue to try to expand its presence in Afghanistan" in the near-term, although its "presence and influence in Afghanistan remains in the initial exploratory phase." If this is the case, intra-insurgency competition and a lighter footprint by the international



Afghan commandos training on the outskirts of Kabul in 2010. (Image courtesy of Mass Communication Specialist 2nd Class David Quillen, US Navy.)

community may increase the levels of violence. Afghanistan's deep-rooted Taliban and the central government in Kabul see a common adversary in ISIL's expansion. Whether that threat is perceived or legitimate, more favorable conditions for a negotiated peace may arise as disenfranchised Taliban militants splinter the insurgency at its seams.

Although the Afghan National Security Forces continue to suppress the Afghan Taliban's grueling spring offensive, the insurgency is exploring avenues for constructive dialogue, such as meeting with Afghan peace officials in China

and participating in informal talks with Afghan women in Norway. Meanwhile, ever since ISIL declared its so-called 'caliphate' in June 2014, Jabhat al-Nusra, the Islamic Caucasus Emirate, the Afghan Taliban, and the Pakistani Taliban have all experienced defections by their militants to ISIL which are fundamentally changing the internal power dynamics of these groups. The leadership of these established insurgent groups recognize that significant changes at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels are necessary to remain relevant on the global jihadist stage.

While ISIL doesn't have a fighting force

in Afghanistan capable of overrunning the Afghan Taliban or the central government in Kabul, the splintering of the very adversary NATO was tasked to defeat is grounds for concern. The Resolute Support mandate will soon expire, leaving only a NATO civilian-led “Enduring Partnership” mission in its place. After fourteen years of combating the Taliban insurgency, the international coalition’s retrograde position can be juxtaposed with this new transnational threat.

Insurgents are witnessing drastic changes in their battle for popular support. The Pakistani Taliban, for example, issued a nearly 60-page document highlighting ISIL leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi’s errors, while the majority of its coalition has dissolved as its splinter groups continue to pledge allegiance to ISIL. The source of these disputes revolves around the fact that two leaders are now pitted against each other: Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, ISIL’s “caliph”, and the Taliban’s Mullah Omar, who al-Qaeda declared to be the “Commander of the Faithful Believers.”

This dichotomy reflects a fluid, uncertain new chapter in transnational insurgent networks. For governments that have participated in the coalitions against irregulars in Iraq and Afghanistan, intra-insurgency strife heightens the risks of attacks on Western interests, as al-Qaeda and ISIL compete to delegitimize one another.

General John F. Campbell, commander

of US and NATO forces in Afghanistan, stated that ISIL militants have a “hard message to sell” in the region due to their conflicting ideology with the Taliban. ISIL’s presence in Afghanistan – whether established or merely just rhetoric – should not be overlooked by key stakeholders, namely NATO and its partner nations. The “Khorasan Province” is attempting to be established at a critical juncture where NATO’s non-combat mandate is drawing to an end and various insurgencies are aligning themselves with ISIL. The shockwaves created since ISIL declared its ‘caliphate’ last year are being felt worldwide; Nigeria’s Boko Haram pledged allegiance to the group, as did the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and various groups in Libya.

The threat of ISIL’s expansion into the Af-Pak region may be sowing the seeds for a negotiated settlement. Already, senior leadership in the Afghan Taliban have admitted that it would take “some kind of divine intervention for the Taliban to win this war,” instead seeking a power-sharing agreement to end the ongoing hostilities. Abdullah bin Mohammed, a prominent al-Qaeda ideologue, stated that jihadist groups currently only have two options: “continue along the path of al-Qaeda, without entering political life, or the path of [ISIL], which declared a state and started open war on everyone.” If this strategy is to be replicated across all other jihadist conflicts, ISIL will be spread thin and will not be able to effectively hold

territory. Thus, the ideologue calls for the entrance into legitimate political systems as a new strategy to gain power, influence, and to keep established insurgent groups from splintering.

The senior leadership in both Afghanistan’s central government and the Afghan Taliban should exploit this. The “Khorasan Province” is an opportunity to bring the two camps closer together in order to start the necessary dialogue that has been slowly coming together over the past several years. As dissatisfied fighters continue to switch allegiances and jeopardize the internal structure of the Taliban insurgency, the calls from insurgent strategists are not falling on deaf ears. The “Khorasan Province” may be the lynchpin necessary to bring the Taliban and the Afghan government to the negotiating table for a lasting peace. ■

Nicholas A. Glavin is an irregular warfare researcher at the United States Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. His research examines NATO’s adaptation to contemporary security challenges, the trend of foreign fighters, and the use of social media in insurgencies. He tweets in personal capacity @nickglavin. The views in this article are the author’s own and do not represent the DOD, Department of Navy, or US Naval War College.

THE MARITIME HELICOPTER PROJECT: A HAPPY ENDING, OR DISASTER IN THE MAKING?

SELECTED POST FROM OUR BLOG: THE FORUM

CDA Institute's *Meaghan Hobman* on the newest chapter of the Maritime Helicopter Project, the acceptance of CH-148 Cyclones, and the before and after. The post was first published (with hyperlinks) in the [CDA Institute Blog: The Forum](#).

On 19 June 2015, the Government of Canada announced the acceptance of six CH-148 Cyclones to be used for training at 12 Wing Shearwater. A naval variant of the civilian Sikorsky S-92, these twin-engine, shipboard, maritime helicopters are said to be one of the most capable aircraft currently on the market, with anti-submarine, anti-surface warfare, search and rescue, and utility mission capabilities. The Cyclones are also expected to be 10 percent faster than the current maritime helicopters, with 36 percent more usable cabin space and 40 percent longer range.

Perhaps more importantly, this will allow the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) to finally begin retiring the current CH-124 Sea Kings, which have seen over 50 years of service and are deteriorating to dangerous levels. As then Defence Minister Peter MacKay expressed in 2012, "they're going to

S-92 Partners	Role / Unique Equipment
Sikosky	Lead integrator; Final assembly.
AIDC, Taiwan	Flight deck
Embraer, Brazil	Front of the sponsons; Landing gear; Fuel tank integration
Gamesa, Spain	Cabin interior; Aft fuselage; Tail boom; Upper fuselage; Transmission housing.
Jingdezhen Helicopter Group / CATIC, China	Vertical tail; Horizontal stabilizer.
Mitsubishi, Japan	Main cabin.
CH-148 Partners	Role / Unique Equipment
BAE Systems	Fly-by-wire and controls system; AN/ALQ-144Av5 electronic countermeasures & chaff/ flare control system.
FLIR Systems	Star SAFIRE-III surveillance and targeting turrets.
GE Aero Engines	CT7-8C turboshaft, initially (will be upgraded).
General Dynamics Canada	Integrated Mission System; Sonobuoy Acoustic Processing System.
L-3	HELRAS sonar.
Lockheed Martin	RWR/ESM Radar warning & locating, based on MH-60R's AN/ALQ-210.
Martin Baker	Crashworthy seats
Rockwell Collins	Avionics incl. integrated cockpit; EyeHUD helmet-mounted display; Link 11 tactical datalink.
Telephonics	AN/APS-143B maritime radar.

Figure 1 (Source: Defense Industry Daily, <http://www.defenseindustrydaily.com/canadas-ch-148-cyclones-better-late-than-never-05223/>)

go right out of aviation service and into the museum in Ottawa. And that's not a joke." These aging aircraft have become extremely unreliable, with significant breakdowns and emergency landings now a common occurrence. Maintenance costs are extremely high, as it is estimated the Sea Kings require more than 30 hours of maintenance of each hour of flying. An estimated 15 Sea Kings have been lost to accidents...as well as lives of ten aircrew. This number is only likely to grow the longer these crafts are pushed to stay in the air.

So, this news should be positive. Minister of Public Works Diane Finley noted during the announcement that "last year our Govern-

ment committed to delivering the first CH-148 Cyclone maritime helicopters, and I am pleased to be here today to see them now safely in the hands of the Canadian Armed Forces. This marks an important milestone in our Maritime Helicopter Project."

This specific project goes back further, and begins with the initial call for bids made in December 2003 for 28 new maritime helicopters estimated at \$3 billion. In November 2004, Paul Martin's government announced the signing of a \$1.8 billion contract with Sikorsky International Operations Inc. for the delivery of 28 combat-capable CH-148 Cyclone helicopters, and a second \$3.2 billion contract for 20 years of in-service



An image of one of the interim CH-148 Cyclones taken in 2012. (Image courtesy of Gerry Metzler via Flickr.)

support. However, as is the experience with most Canadian military procurement projects, the Maritime Helicopter Project was plagued with delays. Originally, the first helicopter was to be delivered in 2008; however, after Sikorsky asked for schedule relief in early 2008, expectations were amended for delivery of interim helicopters in November 2010 and fully complaint aircraft in June 2012. In June 2010 the expectations were lowered further, with only 4 interim units – which had very preliminary mission software – to be delivered by the end of the November.

After years of delay and at a cost of \$5.7 billion, the first interim helicopter, the MH

806, arrived at CFB Shearwater in May of 2011, and another three were sent in June and August of 2012. However these aircraft had significant restrictions, and as such were not ‘formally’ accepted by DND. The same year, the project was deemed “the worst procurement in the history of Canada,” by Peter MacKay. All was almost lost in September 2013, when the CH-148 contract was nearly cancelled and the Canadian government confirmed it was looking at other possible options, such as August Westland’s AW101. However, in January 2014, Sikorsky agreed to pay \$88.6-million in penalties and renegotiated their contract with the Canadian government.

As Defence Industry Daily describes, “political pettiness and lack of concern turned a straightforward off-the-shelf buy into a 25+ year long odyssey of cancellations, lawsuits, rebids, and more... a project touted as an off-the-shelf buy became nothing less than the development of a new helicopter platform for the global military market, with specifications that no existing off-the-shelf machine could meet” [see figure 1].

The CAF will now continue to receive Cyclones with operational capability, and with the introduction of capabilities over time (which is known as a blocking strategy), expect fully capable Cyclones beginning in 2018. However, the announcement

today may or may not have a happy ending. Many experts and media have claimed that Ottawa has had to accept several significant concessions in order to take delivery of the Cyclones. For example, one of the mandatory requirements in the bidding process was a 30 minute dry run standard, which is the ability to fly for 30 minutes after the loss of lubrication in the main gear box. This has been considered a significant safety requirement following a deadly crash of a civilian Sikorsky S-92 helicopter in 2009, killing 17 people. During the process it was questionable whether the new aircraft met this standard, but when asked at the announcement, Defence Minister Jason Kenney said it does.

Other concessions include:

- The ability to secure the helicopter's ramp in various positions during flight;
- Crew comfort systems during extreme temperature operations;
- Unobstructed hand and foot holds for

technicians to conduct maintenance;

- The ability to self-start in very cold weather;
- Cockpit ergonomics factors; and
- A system to automatically deploy personnel life rafts in emergency situations.

David Pugliese also points out an identified risk that the engines will not deliver the power required to meet all critical performance requirements, which has been a concern throughout the process. Another significant concern is the ability, or lack thereof, to get enough pilots and aircrew trained on the new aircraft, with the limited number available.

Government sources say the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) has been involved on all such decisions, and are still confident the Cyclones can meet the necessary standards. "Make no mistake, the RCAF will neither accept nor operate aircraft that are not safe to fly," wrote Major General Foster, deputy

commander of the RCAF, in an email sent to CBC News.

According to a senior defence official, a second group of upgraded Cyclones are expected to arrive in 2018 but those still won't meet the full military capability expected by 2021. What seems to be missing from the conversation is whether the Cyclones still meet the operational needs of the RCAF and CAF today, in 2018, 2021, and in the decades to come. ■

Meaghan Hobman is currently the Administration and Public Relations Manager at the CDA Institute. She has been with the CDA/CDA Institute since September 2013 when she began as an Analyst. Meaghan completed her Master's Degree in War Studies at the Royal Canadian Military College of Canada in 2013, and specialized in studies on Military Intelligence.

EVENTS

The CDA Institute held a successful Roundtable with former Paul Heinbecker on "Saving Lives in Syria: Assad, ISIS and the Canadian Military Mission" on 2 June 2015 and with David Law on "Knocking on the Door of World War IV" on 10 June 2015. A summary of these events will be posted on the [CDA Institute Blog: The Forum](#) shortly.

These will be the last of the Roundtables

until the Fall. The CDA Institute would like to thank Lockheed Martin Canada for its generous sponsorship of these events under the 2015/16 Roundtable Discussion Series.

The **25th anniversary Vimy Award Gala Dinner** will be held at the National War Museum in Ottawa on 6 November 2015. This year's event is especially important, as it marks the silver anniversary of the Vimy

Award. **For ticket purchases please contact Denise Lemay at denise.lemay@cdainstitute.ca and 613-290-6198.**

The CDA Institute could not host events without the generosity of its numerous sponsors and donors. We are seeking sponsorship for our 2015-2016 activities. Further information can be found on [our website](#).

THE VIMY AWARD 25 YEAR ANNIVERSARY DINNER GALA

November 6, 2015

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CDA INSTITUTE BLOG: THE FORUM

Collective security comes at a cost. Canada should pay its way

By Colin Robertson

NATO defence ministers meet tomorrow in Brussels to confront continuing conflicts on their eastern and southern flanks. Complicating their deliberations is the knowledge that big chunks of their populations oppose using military force if Russia attacks a fellow NATO member. For NATO leaders, making the case for why we fight is as important as having the capacity to fight. (*Originally published in the Globe and Mail.*) [READ MORE](#)

Should the Six-Party Talks be abandoned?

By Benoit Hardy-Chartrand

Despite more than 20 years of bilateral and multilateral negotiations, the North Korean nuclear program remains one of the most pressing and intractable security threats in Northeast Asia. The North Korean régime continues its relentless pursuit of a credible nuclear and missile capability, despite its own calls for a return to the Six-Party Talks, which constitutes the only multilateral effort devoted to the denuclearization of the peninsula.

[READ MORE](#)

Cyber Attacks: Waking up to the Threat

By Meaghan Hobman

For a few hours on Wednesday June 17th, the Government of Canada went offline. The GC servers, which host federal websites, the

interparl system, and emails, went down.

The President of the Treasury Board, Tony Clement, quickly confirmed via twitter that this event was to be considered a cyber-attack.

[READ MORE](#)

The Death of Nasser Al-Wuhayshi: Implications for Al-Qaeda

By Bapineedu Bikkani

As the Saudi-led coalition struck various Houthi rebel targets throughout Yemen, even as the internationally recognized Yemeni President Mansour Hadi fled the country, one of the biggest fears for the US was that the chaos would allow Al-Qaeda's most dangerous cell, Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), to regroup and reorganize.

[READ MORE](#)

Why the Islamic State is Actually Brilliant at Social Media

By Yannick Veilleux-Lepage

In his article, Why the Islamic State Actually Stinks at Social Media, Max Abrahms, a terrorism expert and assistant professor at Northeastern University, contends that the Islamic State's (IS) social media ability is largely exaggerated by "social media alarmists," and is, in fact, counter-productive.

[READ MORE](#)

#HackingConflict: DiploHack Ottawa 2015

By Lindsay Coombs and Celeste Longo

CDA Institute Analysts Lindsay Coombs

and Celeste Longo recount their experience participating in the recent DiploHack event #HackingConflict on 27–29 May 2015.

[READ MORE](#)

Sino-Japanese Tensions in the East China Sea: What to do about the Senkaku, Diaoyu, or Diaoyutai Islands?

By Jimmy Peterson

Recent media attention has focused on China's increased military presence and island buildup in the South China Sea... These developments have led some commentators in both the United States and China to argue that a war between the two largest superpowers in the world is inevitable.

[READ MORE](#)

America's Catch-22 in Iraq

By George Petrolekas

With the Islamic State almost completing its takeover of Iraq's Anbar Province with the fall of Ramadi, the previous don't worry line out of Washington is giving way to serious questions of strategy, particularly amongst U.S. allies. It may indeed be time to review the entire strategy President Obama announced in September of 2014.

[READ MORE](#)

Commanding Art: Gertrude Kearns and Canada's Afghan mission

By Craig Mantle

CDA Institute Research Fellow Craig Mantle offers his thoughts on Toronto-based artist

Gertrude Kearns' exhibition *The Art of Command*, which was on display at the Fort York Visitor Centre in Toronto until 14 June 2015.

[READ MORE](#)

The End of Erdogan's Turkey?

By Chris Kilford

In 2002, and fed up with economic mismanagement and corruption, Turkish voters elected the untried Justice and Development Party (AK Party) into office. The Party was led by Recep Tayyip Erdogan and in the years that followed his supporters went on from victory to victory at the polls. He was, it seemed, unstoppable. That is until now...

[READ MORE](#)

Kingston Conference on International Security (KCIS): Robotics and Military Operations

By Lindsay Coombs

On 12–13 May 2015, CDA Institute Analyst Lindsay Coombs had the great pleasure of attending the Kingston Conference on International Security at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. [READ MORE](#)

How Islamic State Victories Shape the Syrian Civil War

By Omar Lamrani

In a display of considerable flexibility on the battlefield, the Islamic State managed to take rebel forces in northern Aleppo by surprise with a large-scale offensive aimed at securing more territory along the Syria-Turkey border.

After drawing down its forces in the area, the Islamic State's sudden tactical shift resulted in considerable initial gains against the rebels.

(Originally published in STRATFOR.) [READ MORE](#)

Battling Cultural Norms in Canada's Armed Forces

By Katie Domansky

A recent external report into sexual harassment and misconduct in the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) has found that serious and degrading behaviour is being tolerated up to the highest levels of command. Sexual assault, date rape, inappropriate relationships with commanding officers, and enforced silence are described as common features of daily operations. [READ MORE](#)

Worst of Both Worlds: How automated warfare is fusing American foreign policies

By Megan Spurrell

Last Wednesday a German court dismissed the case of three Yemenis whose relatives were killed in a 2012 US drone strike. The plaintiffs claimed that the German government was partly responsible for the deaths because an American military base in Ramstein, Germany was critical to the strikes. The Intercept has described the base as "the high-tech heart" of President Obama's drone program.

[READ MORE](#)

The Collapse of Yemen

By Emmanuel Seitelbach

Last winter, Canadians enjoyed the price of gasoline below one dollar for only a short period of time. One contributing factor to the rising price of a barrel of crude is the crisis in Yemen. The chaos taking place in this impoverished country opposite the Horn of Africa is shattering confidence in the oil market...

[READ MORE](#)

Supporting the Canadian Armed Forces

By Steve Daly

When one makes a cursory examination of Canada's defence budget, and the monies already earmarked for major capital acquisitions, it is easy to draw the conclusion that a major recapitalization is now under way. The \$33B set aside for new Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) and Canadian Coast Guard (CCG) ships and \$9B for a new Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) fighter aircraft are just the highlights. [READ MORE](#)

Tweeting the Narrative: Social media's impact on irregular warfare

By Nick Glavin

Insurgents have been quick to utilize modern telecommunications as weapons and platforms in the battle for legitimacy. The real-time and global attributes of social media fundamentally change how irregular warfare is conducted in the contemporary era. [READ MORE](#)

ROUNDTABLE SUMMARY – PRESERVING THE MODERN PAST ~ IN THEIR OWN WORDS: CANADIAN STORIES OF VALOUR AND BRAVERY FROM AFGHANISTAN, 2001–2007

SELECTED POST FROM OUR BLOG: THE FORUM

The following is a summary of the CDA Institute Roundtable “Preserving the Modern Past ~ In Their Own Words: Canadian Stories of Valour and Bravery from Afghanistan, 2001–2007.” in Ottawa on 19 May 2015. This summary reflects Analyst Celeste Longo’s perception of the discussion, and was first published in the CDA Institute Blog: The Forum. The CDA Institute thanks Lockheed Martin Canada for its generous sponsorship of the 2015/16 Roundtable Discussion Series.

Discussion began with a general overview of Dr. Craig Mantle’s book, titled “In Their Own Words: Canadian Stories of Valour and Bravery from Afghanistan, 2001–2007.” The book is a collection of 23 first person narratives by Canadian soldiers who have each earned a military valour or bravery decoration for their actions in Afghanistan between 2001 and 2007. Each individual had the opportunity to tell in their own words the events that led to the receipt of their decoration.

Out of 23 interviewees, 18 told stories about combat and 5 shared their experience in preventing casualties. Individuals who were involved in combat received military valour decorations, and those who prevented casualties on the battlefield, which were not

necessarily in the face of the enemy, received bravery decorations. To avoid any kind of repetition amongst stories, the book is separated into 14 chapters that combine some of the individuals who earned their decoration for their actions on the same day. The book is crafted in such a way to create a narrative that alternates back and forth between individuals, thereby allowing for different viewpoints and creating a greater sense of what exactly happened on a certain day.

The institutional purpose of the book was initially to provide a teaching tool about the values that the military expects its members to possess and carry out, such as Duty, Loyalty, Integrity and Courage. Principally, these stories illustrate positive examples where these values were externalized. Nevertheless, when reading the book, one can easily come to the realization that it provides more than a simple institutional teaching tool. Often, soldiers who are part of the lower end of the rank spectrum do not necessarily have the opportunity to speak about their own experiences. “In their Own Words” gives a voice to these soldiers as they can literally, in their own words, provide insight into the act of battle and into their own minds.

Durant le processus d’entrevue dans le cadre

du pour la création du livre, les soldats ont eu l’occasion de non seulement mettre un terme aux mémoires de leurs expériences en Afghanistan, mais ils ont également eu l’opportunité de commémorer ceux qu’ils ont perdus pendant leur service. Souvent, les médias ne fournissent pas de détail sur les derniers moments dont nos braves soldats, en particulier lorsqu’ils prennent part à des missions à l’étranger. C’est pour cette raison que, en prenant part à la création du livre, ces individus ont eu une opportunité spéciale de rendre hommage à leurs camarades de guerre.

The book’s particular methodology was also thoroughly discussed. The book is accompanied by a supporting document, titled “From Start to Finish: The Research Methodology for In Their Own Words: Canadian Stories of Valour and Bravery from Afghanistan, 2001–2007.” The second publication is a research document that describes the methodology used to operationalize primary ideas into a published volume. The process was carried out with a great deal of thoughtfulness and professionalism, including having this methodology pass two ethical reviews.

Each potential interviewee was directly contacted by letter mail in order to avoid the

chain of command, which could otherwise result in the individual feeling pressured to participate (or not) by peers, subordinates or superiors. The interview process itself was further discussed during the event. First of all, the interviews were conducted face to face, allowing for a strengthened relationship between the interviewee and the interviewers. A central goal behind the interviewers' questions was to avoid any discomfort for the interviewee. Thus, the interviewees were sent 20-25 possible questions in order for them to acquire a greater impression of what to expect. Rather than asking what went "wrong" on the day for which they received their decoration, the interviewers asked the interviewee to tell them about that day in general – thereby allowing for a more neutral/positive response.

The interviews contained four major parts; a discussion on the soldier's pre-deployment

training; a discussion on their time in Afghanistan; a discussion on their return to Canada; and a discussion on what their decoration meant to them. Some soldiers were not fully aware of the Canadian Honours System and were, to a certain extent, uncomfortable or even embarrassed in receiving such a distinction; they thought of themselves as being part of a team and felt that any other soldier would have done exactly the same in their situation.

En outre, un individu pourrait se demander pourquoi les 23 personnes interrogées n'étaient que des hommes. Il est essentiel de noter qu'aucune femme ne répondait aux critères choisis pour la création du livre, puisqu'il n'y avait aucune femme étant attribué ces types de distinctions au cours de la période choisie. Bien sûr, comme toute chose, ce livre présente de nombreuses forces, ainsi que des faiblesses. Malgré tout,

la plus grande faiblesse que ce livre présente, surtout aux yeux de la communauté francophone, est l'exclusion de l'unité francophone, les Van Doos, en Afghanistan, par le choix d'inclure seule la période entre 2001-2007. Pour conclure, certains peuvent se demander s'il y aura une suite à ce livre. Après discussion, malgré certaines ambitions, il n'y a présentement aucune intention de créer une suite. ■

Celeste Longo is presently an Analyst at the CDA institute. She attended Dawson College where she completed a Law, Society and Justice Diploma of College Studies and is currently completing her second year at the University of Ottawa in Conflict Studies and Human Rights. Her major fields of interests involve human rights, defence and conflict resolution.

A Canadian soldier on patrol during the mission in Afghanistan. (Image courtesy of Canadian Forces Combat Camera, DND.)



ROUNDTABLE SUMMARY – RUSSIA IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC: BEFORE AND AFTER UKRAINE

SELECTED POST FROM OUR BLOG: THE FORUM

The following is a summary of the CDA Institute Roundtable “Russia in the Asia-Pacific: Before and After Ukraine” held in Ottawa on 07 May 2015. These roundtable discussions are held under the Chatham House Rule. This summary reflects Analyst Lindsay Coombs’ perception of the discussion, which was first published on our [Blog: The Forum](#). The CDA Institute thanks Lockheed Martin Canada for its generous sponsorship of the 2015/16 Roundtable Discussion Series.

As events continue to unfold in Ukraine, scholars and policymakers continue to debate over Russia’s foreign policy intentions and next steps. Some maintain that, having complicated relations with Europe, Russia will inevitably turn eastward to the Asia Pacific. However, skepticism abounds concerning this potential Russian shift, including some expert opinions in Russia itself. Unfortunately, the media discussion about Russia is often simplified by either narrowing it down to the role of one man (i.e. President Putin) or uncritically extrapolating the Cold War realities on today’s international relations. One needs to first comprehend Russian national interests in order to properly analyze both their behaviours and decisions. As Winston Churchill so eloquently stated in 1939, “I cannot forecast to you the ac-

tion of Russia. It is a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma; but perhaps there is a key. That key is Russian national interest.” Moreover, it is equally important to include in this analysis the interests of the existing ruling regime. Arguably, Russian national interests revolve around a strategic narrative characterized by genuine geopolitical interests coupled with regime aspirations.

The conflation of the personal ambitions of Russia’s elites with the country’s national interests is encapsulated by the figure of President Vladimir Putin. Putin has effectively created a new iteration of a personality cult by emphasizing the notion that Russia and Putin are intrinsically linked; that you cannot have one without the other. This perception is easy to discern in statements by Russian politicians, like Deputy Chief of Staff Vyacheslav Volodin, who declared at a sports event in October 2014 that “there is no Russia today if there is no Putin... any attack on Putin is an attack on Russia.”

As a result, ethnic Russians generally prescribe to the view that Putin’s actions are appropriate and infallible. Indeed, Putin appears to have even managed to maintain positive domestic support towards many of actions since 1999. Initially he was com-

pared to previous Russian leaders, like Boris Yeltsin, as younger, healthier, and as a constructive force that would reshape the economy. Today, Putin is widely viewed as the defender of Russia.

Understandably, the theory that Putin is fundamentally linked to Russia’s continued existence is often seen as problematic, with many arguing consequently that the only effective solution to Russian expansionism is regime change. However, removing Putin will do little to address the root causes of Russian expansionism, which go beyond any individual leader.

Furthermore, Russian expansion into Eastern Europe remains a questionable proposition. Simply put, it is debatable whether Russia has any real ambition to invade Poland or the Baltic States. NATO preparations in the region, while serving to reassure allied nations, might therefore not be tactically effective. NATO involvement appears to be little more than a means for the Alliance to compensate for its previous inadequacies in dealing with Ukraine.

In contrast, Russia has made numerous declarations and displays over its expanded role in the Asia-Pacific. With two-thirds of Russian territory spread out into Asia, such talk is not all that surprising.

A good example of such a role is in the (admittedly complicated) Sino-Russian relationship. To China, Russia is perceived as a counterbalance to other global powers, but also as a potential threat. Russia, on the other hand, views China as a lucrative market open for exploitation, but also as a source of threat in the event that Russia ever becomes overly dependent. Ultimately, however, one can identify six primary drivers of Russia's interest in the Asia-Pacific: (1) maintaining territorial integrity and development of the Russian Far East; (2) the growing economic, political, and military rise of Asia; (3) reinforcement of Russia's claim as a global power; (4) China's regional interest in using Russia as a diplomatic counterbalance; (5) increased tension and problems in Europe; (6) Russia's growing strategic partnership and dependence on China.

The ongoing events in Ukraine have had an impact on Russian relations in the Asia-Pacific, though increased Russian involvement clearly predated the Ukrainian 'crisis.' Interestingly, many Asian countries have responded to sanctions against Russia with varying levels of enthusiasm. For example, Japan was reluctant to impose sanctions, in so far as they were interested in having Russia as a counterweight to China. China too has been attempting to cautiously appear neutral on these sanctions. At a broad level, many Asian countries view the sanctions as a continuance of Russian-American rivalry.

Besides further inflaming Russia's perceived historical grievances, the West's intervention in Ukraine appears to have cemented a change in Russian threat assessment – in which the U.S. global defence posture is increasingly seen as the sole threat to Russian interests in the Asia-Pacific. As Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergey Lavrov states:

“In general I see no threats from the east except one, US global missile defence, which is being created on US territory, the European continent and in Northeast Asia and just happens to hug the perimeter of Russia's borders. I repeat, I see no threat from China. On the contrary, the Russian-Chinese partnership has a strategic character and, without exaggerating, is making an important contribution to maintaining some kind of stability in international relations, counteracting further destabilisation.”

The significant deterioration of Russia's relations with the West over Ukraine is causing Russia to enhance its bilateral relations and multilateral activities in the Asia-Pacific. Moscow has already been able to achieve some tangible results in its post-Ukraine Asian policy, primarily in furthering its strategic partnership with China but also in strengthening its relations with Vietnam, India, Pakistan and Mongolia. By isolating Russia through imposed sanctions, the West is further driving her into China's grips and increasing the chances of tight Sino-Russian

collaboration against the West. While presenting its enhanced partnership with China as an effective response to Western sanctions, Moscow is at the same time concerned about its growing dependence on China and the possibility of eventually becoming its junior partner. It would be in the West's interests therefore to remain firm in Europe but flexible in Asia by not opposing Russia's attempts to diversify its Asian relations. This could lessen Moscow's dependence on China and even lead to more tensions between Moscow and Beijing given China's problems with several of its neighbors. More, rather than less, US and Canada engagement with Russia in the Asia-Pacific seems to be more practical as well.

It is important that the United States and Canada follow a carefully calibrated approach to Russia by realistically assessing different geopolitical environments and perspectives on the Ukraine crisis in Europe and in Asia. Looking at Russia's new assertiveness in Asia through one-dimensional prism can only further aggravate international relations and security. ■

Lindsay Coombs is an Analyst at CDA Institute who is currently attending the University of Ottawa where she is working towards the completion of an Honours BA in Conflict Studies and Human Rights. Her interests focus strongly on international conflict and relations, defence policy, as well as military history.



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1. Le 18^e Symposium annuel des étudiants diplômés, 15-16 Octobre, Kingston, ON
2. Le 25^e Anniversaire du Souper-Gala pour le Prix Vimy, 6 Novembre, Musée Canadien de la Guerre
3. La Conférence sur la Sécurité et la Défense 2016, CAD/CAD Institute, 18-19 Février, Château Laurier
4. Entre 10-12 séances de discussion en table ronde

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As a charitable organization we are seeking donors for Fiscal Year 2015-16. In addition to its many publications the following is a list of events the CDA Institute will host this fiscal year:

1. 18th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, October 15-16, Kingston, ON
2. 25th Anniversary of the Vimy Award Dinner Gala, 6 November, Canadian War Museum
3. CDA/CDA Institute 2016 Ottawa Conference on Security & Defence, 18-19 Feb, Chateau Laurier
4. 10-12 Rountable Discussion Series

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IN THE NEWS

Colin Robertson authored an article discussing collective security and Canadian defence spending. He also provided commentary on trade within North America in relation to the country-of-origin labelling dispute. Furthermore, he provided insight on the useful work undertaken by members of Parliament. All

articles are available on [Mr. Robertson's website](#).

George Petrolekas penned two articles arguing for a [shift in the U.S. strategy to defeat the Islamic State](#) by [expanding the coalition's air campaign](#). Additionally, he discussed [America's Catch-22 in Iraq](#).

The need to adjust Canada's strategy in Iraq was also echoed by **Jeffrey Simpson**, who authored an article outlining how the [fight against the Islamic State is a mission that has gone adrift](#).

David Collins reflects on European security and Canadian interest for the [CGAI's The Dispatch](#).

MEDIA ROUNDUP

Cyberattack deals crippling blow to Canadian government websites ([Globe and Mail](#)): A cyberattack which made federal government websites and e-mails crash has raised numerous security concerns. The Harper Government plans to invest \$58-million to improve Ottawa's cyber security and prevent further attacks. Anonymous has claimed responsibility.

Trudeau demande le congédiement de Lawson ([Le Devoir](#)): Selon Trudeau, le gouvernement devrait « immédiatement » remercier le général Tom Lawson pour son service, en raison de son commentaire face à l'attrance biologique ayant une influence sur l'inconduite sexuelle dans les Forces armées canadiennes.

Canada to station troops at NATO command centre in Poland ([Globe and Mail](#)): Stephen

Harper announced the deployment of senior Canadian officers to a NATO command center being set up in Poland as a defence against further Russian aggression. Defence Minister Jason Kenney is also considering a Canadian contribution to a rapid-reaction force being formed by the military alliance.

Omar Khadr's appeal of war crimes convictions gets help from U.S. court ruling on other Gitmo case ([National Post](#)): An American court decision in the case of an alleged al-Qaida recruiter provides further questionings over Canada's conviction of Omar Khadr.

Canada vastly expands data collection of travellers, boots spy agency budget ([Globe and Mail](#)): The federal government will start gathering biometric information on foreign travellers, aiming to intercept terrorists, fraudulent immigrants and returning jihadists.

RCMP security gaps on Parliament Hill were exacerbated by budget cuts: OPP ([Globe and Mail](#)): According to the OPP, the RCMP's "failure" to carry out their duties during "the most serious security breach on Parliament Hill in history," is a direct consequence of Harper government's 2012 budget cuts.

Amnesty wants Ottawa to reveal details of \$15-billion Saudi arms deal ([Globe and Mail](#)): Amnesty International Canada is pressing the Conservative government to "lift the veil of secrecy surrounding \$15-billion arms deal Ottawa has inked to sell vehicles" to Saudi Arabia.

Il y a assez de carabines pour des situations à hauts risques, dit la GRC ([98.5 Fm](#)): Paul Beauchesne, surintendant de la GRC à Moncton, affirme que la division a reçu au cours de la dernière année, un nombre suffisant de carabines pour l'intervention de situations à hauts risques.

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