



SECURITY & DEFENCE BRIEFING

FROM THE DESK OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

“NEW GOVERNMENT AND NEW CRISES”

4 DECEMBER 2015 (10-2015)

Canada's new Liberal government was sworn in on 4 November 2015, in a remarkably open ceremony where the public was invited on the grounds of Rideau Hall to see the procession of MPs to be sworn in, led by the new Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

The CDA sent a letter congratulating the new government, and particularly the appointment of The Honourable Harjit Sajjan as the new Minister of National Defence and The Honourable Kent Hehr as the new Minister of Veterans Affairs. We also put out a Press Communiqué.

Harjit Sajjan comes to the position following a distinguished career in the Canadian Armed Forces, including a tour in Bosnia and multiple tours in Afghanistan, which will undoubtedly prove useful as he confronts the present challenges facing National Defence – from military operations abroad to defence procurement at home, together with the most important task of all, that of leading the men and women of the Defence Team. Meanwhile, Kent Hehr also carries the position of Associate Minister

for National Defence, in addition to his role at Veterans Affairs, a fact that should lead to increased coordination between National Defence and Veterans Affairs and the essential responsibility of looking after the important needs of the members of the Canadian Armed Forces ‘from cradle to grave’ as it were.

Deux semaines après la cérémonie d'assermentation de notre nouveau gouvernement, 130 individus ont été tués dans une attaque terroriste horrible à Paris, avec des centaines blessés. Ce massacre revendiqué par le groupe terroriste 'l'État Islamique', couplé avec les incidents au Liban et en Égypte, ont mis sous la loupe les questions de sécurité entourant les promesses du nouveau gouvernement pour accepter 25,000 réfugiés de la Syrie avant la fin 2015, et pour réévaluer le rôle du Canada dans l'opération contre l'État Islamique.

As part of an effort to provide greater transparency and understanding, the Prime Minister has also made public the Ministerial Mandate Letters given to each of his Cabinet Ministers, which provide an

overview on government priorities and approach, and some detailed directions given to his Ministers.

The [Minister of National Defence Mandate Letter](#) states that the Minister should work to “...end Canada's combat mission in Iraq and Syria, refocusing Canada's efforts in the region on the training of local forces and humanitarian support,,” as well as “launch an open and transparent competition to replace the CF-18,” the latter making no mention of exiting the F-35 program. It also notes that the Minister should work to “invest in strengthening the Navy” and to renew Canada's commitment to UN “peace operations.”

To the Minister of Veterans Affairs, the [Mandate Letter](#) provides additional details on how Veterans Affairs will improve its services to veterans, including re-establishing lifelong pensions and reopening recently closed Veterans Affairs service offices. It also states that the new Minister should work with the Defence Minister to “reduce complexity, overhaul service delivery, and strengthen partnerships between Veterans



Recipients of the Vimy Award with the Right Honourable Beverley McLachlin, Chief Justice of Canada, and Major-General Daniel Gosselin (Ret'd), President, CDA Institute. L-R: General Paul Manson (Ret'd), 2003; Honorary Colonel Fred Mannix, 2012; Master Warrant Officer William MacDonald (Ret'd), 2009; General Raymond Henault (Ret'd), 2007; General Jonathan Vance, 2011; The Right Honourable Beverley McLachlin; The Honourable Hugh D. Segal, 2015; Major-General Daniel Gosselin (Ret'd); Brigadier-General W. Don Macnamara (Ret'd), 2013; Brigadier-General David Fraser (Ret'd), 2006; Vice-Admiral Larry Murray (Ret'd), 1998; and Honorary Colonel Blake Goldring, 2014. Photo by Gord Metcalfe.

Affairs and National Defence.”

Also of note, VAC is now using a standardized definition of ‘Veteran’ (both in English and French) as: “Any former member of the Canadian Armed Forces who successfully underwent basic training and is honourably released (Tout ancien membre des Forces armées canadiennes qui a réussi son entraînement de base et a été libéré honorablement)”. I am also pleased to note that Minister Hehr informed all those present at the latest VAC Stakeholders’ meeting on 2 December that veteran family support is also important as he moves forward with actuating the priorities listed in his Mandate Letter.

Ces lettres fournissent de l’information essentielle pour prévoir et comprendre les décisions difficiles des nouveaux ministres,

et j’aimerais saluer le Premier Ministre pour avoir décidé de les rendre publique.

At the CDA Institute, the highlight of the month of November was undoubtedly the 25th Anniversary Vimy Award Gala Dinner that took place on 6 November 2015 at the Canadian War Museum. We were honoured to have The Right Honourable Beverley McLachlin, Chief Justice of Canada, and General Jonathan Vance, Chief of the Defence Staff, join the CDA President, Daniel Gosselin, and present the 2015 Vimy Award to the Honourable Hugh Segal. Some 550 guests were present, including business leaders, members and veterans of the Canadian Armed Forces, members of the diplomatic corps, and officer cadets from the Royal Military College. Based on the many comments from those who attended this

special event, I am pleased to say that it was unanimously considered a great success.

I also wanted to bring your attention to two limited edition items from the 25th Anniversary Vimy Award Gala Dinner. The first are commemorative coins, which were made to celebrate the Vimy Award’s silver anniversary and given out to all dinner guests. A small number of them are still available for purchase (\$15.00). The second is a special numbered commemorative book (soft cover: \$25.00), *The Vimy Award 25 Years, with a companion history of the Conference of Defence Associations Institute*, which is a must have item for anyone interested in how the award and our Institute were established. Both items would make a great gift for those who were unable to attend personally this year’s Vimy Award

Gala Dinner. [Both items are now available for purchase on our website.](#)

J'aimerais apporter votre attention à deux nouvelles analyses de l'Institut de la CAD—le premier par David McDonough, directeur des recherches et rédacteur en chef de l'Institut de la CAD, qui étudie les défis budgétaires de court et de long terme faisant face au gouvernement et l'investissement dans les forces maritimes.

La deuxième analyse est par Charles Davies, 'Fellow' de recherche à l'Institut de la CAD, qui offre des conseils aux nouveaux députés du 42e Parlement sur des enjeux de défense. Comme toujours, les opinions présentés dans ces publications sont ceux des deux auteurs, et ne reflètent pas nécessairement l'opinion d'ensemble de



L-R: General Jonathan Vance, CDS; The Right Honourable Beverley McLachlin, Chief Justice of Canada; The Honourable Hugh D. Segal, 2015 Vimy Award Winner; Major-General Daniel Gosselin (Ret'd), President, CDA Institute. Photo by Gord Metcalfe.

l'Institut de la CAD.

We are also in the midst of preparing for the CDA and CDA Institute Ottawa Conference on Security and Defence that will take place at the Chateau Laurier on February 18-19 2016. The Ottawa Conference promises to be a seminal event. A [preliminary](#)

[agenda](#) is available on our website. [Registration is now open](#), and I would urge you to sign up at your earliest convenience.

We are also pleased to welcome Colonel Dr. Mike Cessford (Ret'd) as our newest Research Fellow, who joins are slowly growing cohort of Fellows, including Richard Shimooka, Charles Davies, Craig Leslie Mantle, and Howard Coombs.

Last, but certainly not least, I wish to thank the large, and growing number of supporters, sponsors, donors, contributors, volunteers and staff of both the CDA and the CDA Institute for their outstanding past contributions and their continued support and encouragement.

To one and all, may I extend to you and yours the best of the Holiday Season!

Tony Battista



Commemorative Coin: \$15.00

Book (Soft Cover): \$25.00

Purchase at:

<https://www.cdainstitute.ca/en/donate-online?view=Contributions>

TWO NEW CDA INSTITUTE ANALYSES

The CDA Institute is pleased to release two new CDA Institute Analyses, available on our website: <http://www.cdainstitute.ca/en/>.

The [first Analysis](#), written by Research Manager and Senior Editor David McDonough, explores the short- and long-term defence challenges facing the new Liberal government, from capital shortfalls to naval recapitalization.

It also assesses the Liberal promises to fix these problems.

The [second](#), written by Research Fellow Chuck Davies, offers advice on defence issues to members of Canada's 42nd Parliament. It is the follow-on paper to a CDA Institute Analysis published in [September 2015](#), which had explored how political parties should approach defence and security policy in their

election platforms.



NEW RESEARCH FELLOW - MIKE CESSFORD

Colonel Michael Cessford joined the Canadian Forces as a Reserve infantryman in 1970 and his first operational mission was in 1975 when he served, in Egypt, with United Nations Emergency Force II.

Colonel Cessford has extensive service as an operational staff officer, serving on exchange as a G3 Plans officer with the US Army's 24th Mechanized Infantry Division; in Bosnia as the J5 plans officer within Multi-National Division (South-West); and as the first J3 of the HQ, Joint Task Force - South West Asia during Operation APOLLO.

In 2002, Colonel Cessford was posted to the National Defence Headquarters where he served in a number of key positions to include Director, Defence Analysis; Director, NATO/Afghan Policy; and Chief of

Staff to the CDS Transformation Team.

In 2007, Colonel Cessford deployed into Kandahar as the Deputy-Commander of Joint Task Force – Afghanistan (JTF-A). During this deployment, JTF-A executed a major counter-insurgency campaign while concurrently overseeing extensive enhancements to Afghan provincial governance and development activities and institutions.

On return from Afghanistan, Colonel Cessford served as the senior military advisor to the Independent Panel on Canada's Future Role in Afghanistan.

In 2008, Colonel Cessford was seconded to the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre where he oversaw significant UN training activities in East and West Africa. In 2010, Colonel

Cessford again deployed to Afghanistan where he served as the senior mentor of a multi-national team that supported the Afghan National Army Command and Staff College in Kabul.

Since his retirement in 2011, Colonel Cessford has worked in the defence and aerospace industry where he is presently a Senior Contract Manager with a major Canadian company.

Colonel Cessford holds a Bachelor's degree in History from the University of Western Ontario, a Master's Degree in History from the University of New Brunswick and a Doctorate in History from Carleton University. He has attended the Canadian Land Force Command and Staff College, Kingston and the Canadian Forces Command and Staff College, Toronto.

THE STRATEGIC IMPERATIVE: FREEDOMS THAT MATTER

VIMY AWARD ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE HUGH SEGAL

Madam Chief Justice, Chief of Defence Staff General Vance, Admiral Norman, former Senate colleagues, members of the House, fellow Flag Officers, membres du corps diplomatique, cadets of the Royal Military College, ladies and gentlemen. My joy at being here this evening with family, friends and so many with whom I have had the privilege of working for so many years on Canada's defence and strategic interests, is quite overwhelmed by my utter surprise at being not only the 2015 Vimy Laureate, but at even to begin with, having been considered for the award at all. Not all modesty is false or unjustified.

In this the twenty-fifth year of this award, the stature, leadership, and sacrifices made by my predecessors on the roll call of Vimy Laureates is truly compelling. From recipients who served at the very top of our military chain of command, with all the challenges and risks they faced and managed for our Forces and Canada, to those whose service within that chain of command has been genuine, selfless, heroic, and far-sighted, one cannot be other but in awe of even the most tenuous association with any among them. I am reminded of the words I heard some twelve years ago at Rideau Hall from Her Excellency, Adrian Clarkson, in another awards ceremony at which I was quite surprised to be present:

“think about those on whose shoulders you stand today, teachers, parents, siblings, coaches, mentors and give thanks...and think also about those, teachers or other associates, who would be utterly stunned to see you here in any way shape or form: even in celebration, humility is the beginning of genuine wisdom.”

I am deeply fortunate to have with me this evening, members of my family who have been so understanding and supportive of my political and policy endeavors, especially at those moments when adversity or setback seemed pervasive themes; moments which often outnumbered the others. I also rejoice in and deeply appreciate the presence of an extended but also deeply loved family whose toil, insight, engagement, loyalty, advice and remarkable support at Queen's, in the Senate, at the Institute for Research on Public Policy, and throughout the many ups and downs of advocacy for a strong national defence were essential in so many ways, some of which I could never adequately describe. Their constancy, friendship, and love are three further sources of my humility this evening.

Here at this wondrous War Museum that pays tribute and in curatorial terms reflects the full panoply of the service rendered Canada and the world over our history by

the men and women of our armed forces, I am reminded that we find ourselves in the historic federal constituency of Ottawa Centre, where on two separate occasions, men and women of good will, from all walks of life and from all the rich cultural and linguistic groups that shape the Canadian mosaic, went to the gymnasias, auditoriums, and church basements where the sacred act of voting takes place, to ask me in a very personal way, in 1972 and 1974, to stay out of public life. And, I remember, in 1998, the hard work of so many, some of whom are also here this evening, in my national leadership campaign for the Progressive Conservative party of Canada, which quickly turned into the “great Overland trip to Nowhere.” If not all modesty is false, so too is some humility richly earned!

But over the last many decades, there is nothing that inspired my genuine humility and respect so deeply, as my association and time spent with the men and women of the Canadian Armed Forces. At bases and military colleges, at home and abroad, in theatre in Bosnia or Afghanistan, in our Embassies and High Commissions worldwide, on ship, in a Chinook helicopter in Kandahar province, volunteering with the Navy League across Canada, a J31 flying evasively over the Hindu Kush mountains, an APC in Peshawar district, a NATO

training unit in Mazar e Sharif, or a reserves training and parade evening in any of our Naval or Militia bases nationwide, the awe-inspiring experience is always the same. These are men and women of quiet and intense competence, determination, loyalty, unbelievable courage, and both mental and physical stamina; a patriotism shaped by a deep understanding of what it means to serve, to train, to prepare, and to wear the uniform of their service and their country. That is what the “Canada” shoulder flash means; on a dark blue, light blue, green, or camouflage uniform, at NATO headquarters in Europe, a field hospital in Haiti, a *loya jirga* in rural Peshawar, or beneath the seas in places undisclosed for purposes not always in the public domain.

Lors de tous mes visites avec les forces Canadiennes, sur les vaisseaux, en sol étranger, dans le monde entier, j'ai côtoyé des femmes et des hommes qui, drapeau Canadien au bras, affirment et soutiennent sans cesse des valeurs aussi rassembleuses qu'honorables: service de leur patrie; loyauté à leurs camarades et compatriotes; fierté d'arborer l'uniforme des Forces armées canadiennes; défense et promotion de la justice, des droits humains et des principes de respect et d'humilité.

If the Vimy Award has symbolized anything, it is that spirit of service, ingenuity and can-do determination that has typified what the men and women of the Canadian Forces do when called upon to defend our core values, support our allies or come to

the defence of those worldwide for whom circumstance and, in some cases, determined and intentional cruelty have been put at serious and compelling risk. How honoured we in this room must be that our new Minister of Defence, the Honourable Harjit Sajjan, is a battle-hardened veteran with service in Bosnia and Afghanistan; a Reservist of vast experience; a Minister who understands from Day One what service truly means. I congratulate, without hesitation, our new Prime Minister on this inspired choice.

The first and most compelling duty of any government, of any affiliation, is the security, safety, and freedom of the people it serves at home. This duty of care and balance can only be provided when a modern democratic nation can deploy to fight enemies and contain threats when they exist and are real, as far away from one's own country as possible. Whatever the doctrine of 'Responsibility to Protect' may mean diplomatically, strategically, or geopolitically, it is a hollow and meaningless notion without a robust capacity to deploy; a capacity which all of us in this room should never fail to promote, defend, and support. The future world that Canada needs and must engage to help shape will not be competently affected by either sophomoric optimism, or sclerotic rigidity. Flexibility, real-time and apprehensive intelligence, cyber engagement, and defence, as well as well-trained women and men with multiple skills and the necessary platforms with

which deploy will be vital, on land, on, under, and over the seas and in the air. In this room we understand that there is no perfect end state as long as competitive and powerful nations who share different world views on human rights, the rule of law, democracy, and the embrace of diversity continue to upgrade their robust deployability.

Certainly our hosts this evening, the volunteers and loyal but small and highly professional cadre of the Conference of Defence Associations (CDA), and the CDA Institute have made the mission of promotion, discussion, research and open debate around the strategic, procurement, recruitment and organizational priorities supportive of robust Canadian and allied deployability central to their purpose and engagement for decades. That tonight's celebration advances that cause is important. That we need, now more than ever, a large critical mass of discussion, open debate, policy and operational research, from all viewpoints on the spectrum on the future exigencies of a coherent, proactive, and technologically nimble and engaged defence capacity is grindingly apparent. From the Arctic to the Middle East, from the South China Sea to Eastern Europe, complacency by a broad trading nation like Canada, utterly dependent on the free movement of goods and people across sea and air routes, through borders and regions of different and compelling conditions, is simply inexcusable.

Pour que notre pays soit en mesure d'influencer les événements mondiaux

en veillant à nos intérêts nationaux et en respectant les valeurs humaines et l'idéal de paix qui nous sont chers, nous devons investir dans la capacité d'action et dans la flexibilité de nos forces. De la Marine royale canadienne aux Forces terrestres en passant par l'Aviation royale canadienne, c'est notre capacité de déployer efficacement nos militaires qui rend possible la conduite de nos opérations de renseignement de sécurité et qui nous permet d'assumer notre responsabilité de protéger.

The better world we aspire to and for which the brave men and women who wear our uniform have fought in two World Wars, Korea, and have defended in UN, NATO and a broad coalitions of the willing – engagements from Cyprus to Kandahar, Sarajevo to Suez, the Medak Pocket to the Gulf of Arabia, to Kuwait and Kurdish Iraq, in operations classed as combat, peacekeeping, peacemaking, training or Special Forces, or humanitarian is defined by two central freedoms that we treasure for ourselves and wish devoutly for others: Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want.

Without these two freedoms there is no democracy, no sustainable economy, no liberty of the press, freedom of religion or expression with which societies hope, or opportunity can thrive.

We have just traversed an open and free election in Canada without violence or intimidation. Canadians went to the polls to make choices. After almost ten years,

one political party and leader were set aside and another political party and leader chosen to govern. All major parties that ran have representation in our House of Commons. Forty-eight hours ago a peaceful transition of power, reflective of what Canadians decided on October 19th took place. Whatever our partisan preferences or policy aspirations, we should rejoice in this peaceful transition, and not, in any way, take this for granted, now or ever. Whatever roles it has been my privilege to play: Master of Massey College, Chief of Staff to a PM, Cabinet Secretary to a Premier, constitutional advisor, Senator, Special Envoy, Think Tank head, no role has or ever will mean more than "Honourary Captain of the Royal Canadian Navy." C'est une position bénévole qui ne me confère aucune autorité, mais elle représente le plus grand des privilèges: celui de promouvoir et d'appuyer les femmes et les hommes dans l'ensemble des Forces canadiennes, régulières et de réserve. Supporting the men and women of our Forces, who take the ultimate risk in defence of us and millions worldwide, is the greatest honour of all.

The defence and promotion of the two freedoms, from fear and from want, so fundamental to all the others, is our core strategic imperative both at home and abroad. The status of those freedoms within the nation states of the world, in our own hemisphere and beyond will be the defining and underlying strategic frame that will shape the world events and geopolitical pressures we

will need to address. Every ounce of our diplomatic capacity, foreign aid investment, defensive and strategic capability should be focused on these two central and foundational freedoms.

My closing wish this evening, as I express my gratitude to all of you for your presence here tonight in support of the Conference of Defence Associations and the CDA Institute is that collectively, in this hall and across the country, we all embrace the simple imperative of a Canada that always has the capacity to deploy, the will to engage and the determination to defend those very freedoms, not only at home and with our allies, but abroad with strategic capacity, intelligence, and logistical reach for all humankind.

Thank you and God bless you all. ■

The Honourable Hugh Segal is a distinguished Canadian who has exhibited the highest standards of service to Canada. Among his many prominent responsibilities, he was Chief of Staff to the Prime Minister of Canada in the 1990s; taught at the University of Toronto Law School; and lectured on strategic studies on a pro-bono basis for over 20 years at the Canadian Forces College in Toronto. He was appointed to the Canadian Senate in August 2005, and retired in June 2014 to accept an academic appointment as Master of Massey College, Toronto. Mr. Segal was recently re-appointed Honorary Captain(N), Royal Canadian Navy.

THE 18TH ANNUAL GRADUATE STUDENT SYMPOSIUM

SYMPOSIUM SUMMARY BY ARIEL SHAPIRO

The CDA Institute's 18th Annual Graduate Student Symposium took place at the Royal Military College of Canada in Kingston on October 15-16, 2015. Seventeen graduate student presenters from across Canada, as well as U.S. and internationally, shared their research on a wide variety of subjects pertaining to Canada's security and defence interests, with 100+ in attendance.

Following the initial welcome from **Tony Battista**, Executive Director of the CDA Institute, **Brigadier-General Sean Friday**, Commandant of the Royal Military College of Canada and **Dr. Pat Heffernan**, Office of the Vice-Principal, Research and Dean of Graduate Studies, the first keynote speaker of the event took the stage with a force. **Brigadier-General Chris Ford (Ret'd)**, a professional speaker and President of "Generally Speaking" provided tips, tricks, and last minute advice to the presenters and audience with an animation and confidence not to be forgotten. With his words in mind, the symposium presentations began, and were divided over two days into six topical panels.

The first panel, "The Anti-ISIS Campaign: A New War on Terrorism?" featured the presentation by **Raphaël Leduc** (MA candidate, GSPIA, University of Ottawa),

which was awarded the symposium's top prize. He offered an economic consumer-choice perspective on phenomenon of foreign fighters traveling from places such as Canada to join the ranks of Jihadist movements. With the premise that militants were rational actors, Leduc concludes that the cost of carrying out domestic or foreign jihadist activity determines an individual's choice of where to focus their efforts. **Said Yaqub Ibrahim** (PhD candidate, Political Science, Carleton University) and **Maxime Soutière-Kucharski** (candidate doctorale, sciences politiques, l'Université du Québec à Montréal), also presented insightful papers on the emergence of Islamist extremist groups and Canada's role against ISIS, respectively.

The second panel on "Technology, Energy Security, and Nuclear Proliferation," featured **Captain Ross Franklin** (MA candidate, Applied Sciences, RMC) and **Joshua McEvoy** (PhD candidate, CMSS, University of Calgary), with papers that explored



Lieutenant-General Stephen Bowes, a keynote luncheon speaker. (Photo courtesy of 45eNord.)

the issue of petroleum. **Capt. Franklin** brought a scientific perspective to analyze how the Canadian Armed Forces could reduce their carbon footprint, while **McEvoy** explored whether a strategic petroleum reserve would be beneficial for Canada. This panel also featured **Lauren Cardinal** (MA candidate in Public Administration at Queen's University), who was awarded the third place prize of the symposium. In her paper, she opened the "black box" of the state and analyzed the role of domestic factors in Canadian-Iranian tensions on Iran's nuclear program. **Cardinal** argued

that the Canadian government's refusal to ease its hardline against Iran after the election of Hassan Rouhani, who appears to offer a less bellicose public stance on this issue, will result in Canada's marginalization in a new, "post-deal" Iran.

The participants then had the pleasure of hearing from two distinguished keynote speakers. **Dr. John Scott Cowan**, former principal of Royal Military College and Past President of the CDA Institute, began by discussing the notion of "efficiency." While a popular buzzword in civil service reform, Dr. Cowan cautioned our leaders that efficiency – the pursuit of doing more

with less – does not apply to the military, as it needs to be the force of last resort in society when "nothing else is working." The military needs redundant systems and capacities above the bare minimum.

Over lunch, **Lieutenant-General Stephen Bowes**, who recently assumed command of the Canadian Joint Operations Command, shared his insights on the Middle East, in particular the importance of understanding culture. He reflected on how he had ordered the officers under his command in Afghanistan to read about Afghan culture to such an extent "that many of them could have written a doc-

toral dissertation." Bowes stated that there is no reason for "surprise" in international security; and that if we had studied trends and developments in Syria, for example, we would not have been "surprised" by the current conflict in that country.

The third panel, "Brick by Brick: Peace-Building Past, Present and Future," featured two presentations on Latin America by **Christian Medina-Ramirez** and **George Stairs** (MA candidates, NPSIA, Carleton University). Medina-Ramirez explored why numerous peace-keeping missions and interventions failed to curb growing levels of violence in

Raphaël Leduc (MA candidate, GSPIA, University of Ottawa) giving a presentation in Panel 1: The Anti-ISIS Campaign: A New War on Terrorism? (Photo courtesy of 45eNord.)





Lieutenant-General Christine Whitecross giving a keynote address at the 18th Annual Graduate Student Symposium. (Photo courtesy of 45eNord.)

stand on sexual harassment and both are committed to bringing about massive behavioural and cultural change in the military to promote “trust, respect, honour and pride” in service members of all genders.

The second day began with the panel on “From Russia Without Love: Inside Russian Heads and NATO Thoughts.”

Ben Woodfinden

(MA candidate, political Science, Carleton University) analyzed the influence of extreme right-wing political philosopher Alexander Dugin’s notion of “Eurasianism” on Russian President Vladimir Putin. To many observers, the annexation of Crimea by Russia can be seen as a worrying early manifestation of Eurasianism. **Philippine Colson** (PhD candidate, War Studies, RMC) shared her research on the dynamics between NATO and Russia, both during the Cold War and today, concluding that the Yeltsin era cooperation between Russia and NATO was a “blip in history.” Finally, **Dominika Kurnetova** (PhD candidate, Political Science, Université de Montréal) presented her research on burden-sharing in NATO in the imme-

Central America, specifically horrific gang violence such as that perpetrated by the notorious Mara Salvatrucha gang in El Salvador. Stairs focused on Canada’s role in Latin America and opportunities for future engagement. As well, **Ksenia Polonskaya** (PhD candidate, Faculty of Law, Queen’s University) shared her research on peacekeeping and the social contract in Kosovo.

Over dinner, participants had the honour of hearing from **Lieutenant-General Christine Whitecross**, Chief of Military Personnel, Commander Military Personnel Command, and the highest ranking female general in the Canadian Armed Forces. She began by noting discrepancies in the Canadian Armed Forces for gender representation, citing that only 15

percent of current service members are female. Unfortunately, a possible cause is the fact that the current model of military service is fundamentally geared towards men when instead, the Canadian Armed Forces should be a better reflection of Canadian society; women, aboriginal people, and openly LGBTQ people are very much underrepresented. Lieutenant-General Whitecross emphasized how female officers and officers of different cultural backgrounds were essential in forging bonds with local populations and in gathering intelligence in Afghanistan. She then referred to the important and difficult issue of sexual harassment in the CAF. Alongside the Chief of the Defence Staff General Jonathan Vance, Lieutenant-General Whitecross has taken an extremely tough

diate post-war period. In the early 1950s, Canadian leaders favoured a formula in which different member states would contribute different relative amounts to collective defence, as opposed to the one-size-fits all 2 percent of GDP guideline eventually adopted.

The fifth panel entitled “#Trending: Twitter Tactics of Terrorists,” began with a presentation from **Nicholas A. Glavin** (research assistant, US Naval War College), who shared his research on social media and counterterrorism. As he noted, the United States Air Force has used Tweet locations to target terrorist centres, while groups opposed to ISIS use “hashtag hijacking,” which is when tweets with a positive message are sent attached to terrorist hashtags to thwart them from using Twitter as a recruiting tool. Looking closer to home, **Kendra Eyben** (Joint JD-MA candidate, Common Law/NPSIA, University of Ottawa/Carleton University) presented her research analyzing the role of social media in the tragic terrorist incident that occurred in Ottawa on 22 October 2014. While Twitter has tremendous potential in these kinds of situations, it can also cause confusion, such as when a false rumour was started about a second shooter at the Rideau Centre shopping mall.

The final panel on “Strategy and Weapons of the 21st Century,” featured two presentations that went on to receive symposium prizes. **Rebecca Jensen** (PhD student, University of Calgary), went on to win

the second place prize of the symposium for her presentation on the role of special forces in modern conflict, using the Iraq War as a case study. As she notes, it was the special forces that best understood the importance of dismantling insurgent networks over the course of the war.

Matthew Ritchie (MA candidate, GSPIA, University of Ottawa) presented on the role of air strikes in counterinsurgency operations, which was particularly topic given the tragic bombing of a hospital in Afghanistan by US forces. The panel concluded with **Harris Stephenson** (MA candidate, CMSS, University of Calgary), who received the Royal Canadian Military Institute award for his presentation on procurement of armoured vehicles in the Canadian Army. He concluded that military culture plays a large role in procurement decisions, and that the regimental backgrounds of senior leaders influences the procurement choices they favour.

Another feature on day two was a second presentation by **Dr. John Scott Cowan**, who provided a walking tour on the history of Currie Hall, pointing out each inscription, marking and symbol and explaining the dynamic stories which led to their placement there. A real treat for those present.

The symposium concluded with the award ceremony recognizing the four top presentations, as judged by our panel of expert judges: **Dr. Stéfanie von Hlatky** from Queen’s University, **Dr. Daniel**

Lagacé-Roy from the Royal Military College of Canada (Kingston), and **Dr. David McDonough** from the CDA Institute. The awards were presented by **Major-General Daniel Gosselin**, President of the CDA Institute.

Special thanks to the Royal Military College, Kingston for allowing us to use their facilities for the symposium, and the moderators for each of the 6 panels: **Dr. Emanuele Sica, Andrew Rasiulis, Major Hans Christian Breede, Ferry de Kerckhove, Dr. Craig Leslie Mantle, and Colonel Charles Davies.**

The CDA Institute is also very grateful for the support of our generous sponsors: the Institute’s Strategic Partners: Lockheed Martin and General Dynamics; the Department of National Defence; the Canadian Global Affairs Institute; the Centre for Military and Strategic Studies, University of Calgary; the Kingston Conference of International Security; the Royal Canadian Military Institute; Porter Airlines; and 45e Nord. ■

Ariel Shapiro recently graduated from McGill University in political science and economics and was an Analyst at the CDA Institute in Fall 2015.

CANADA'S FUTURE AIRPOWER AFTER THE F-35 JOINT STRIKE FIGHTER

SELECTED FROM OUR BLOG: THE FORUM

CDA Institute guest contributor Malcolm Davis, a post-doctoral research fellow at Bond University in Australia, looks at what Australia's plans to acquire the F-35 can tell us about Canada's decision to withdraw from the program. This piece was first published (with hyperlinks) in the [CDA Institute Blog: The Forum](#) (26 November 2015).

Canada's plan to replace their 77 increasingly aging CF-18 Hornet fighters from 2025 with the purchase of 65 Lockheed Martin F-35 Joint Strike Fighters (JSFs) has been thrown into turmoil with the election of Justin Trudeau's Liberal Party that opposes such a move. Instead the new government has announced it will purchase a cheaper aircraft through an open and transparent procurement process, with the money saved by scrapping JSF to be re-allocated to boost the Royal Canadian Navy's ability to face future challenges by acquiring new naval surface combatants and ice-capable vessels.

The operational focus of the new aircraft will be ensuring the defence of North American airspace, with the only credible and current air threat facing the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) being long-range Russian air combat aircraft. The

Russian threat is likely to become more acute as competition over Arctic resources intensifies in coming years. The new government has also announced it will be withdrawing from combat operations in the Middle East against the Islamic State, suggesting it will be less willing to consider out-of-area expeditionary combat deployments in the future. So is the decision to cancel the JSF for Canada the correct one, or is the Trudeau government making a major defence policy error as it enters office?

Comparing Canada's defence environment to Australia's is useful in this regard, as Canberra will also acquire the JSF. A total of 72 F-35A JSFs will be procured by 2023. Plans call for RAAF initial operational capability to be achieved by 2020 under project AIR 6000 Phase 2A/2B. The possibility exists of a further 25 JSFs being acquired under AIR 6000 Phase 2C (currently unapproved) to take the total Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) JSF fleet up to 100 aircraft by the late 2020s. This latter step would be considered in conjunction with any decision on the withdrawal of the 24 Boeing F/A-18F Super Hornets, and any decision would be made sometime after 2016. Debate (here, here, and here) has occurred as to whether this final batch would be

F-35B STOVL aircraft for basing on the Royal Australian Navy's (RAN) Canberra-class landing helicopter docks. But the government, along with the Defence bureaucracy, has made clear that an F-35B 'Jump Jet' is not going to be acquired for Australia.

The case for Australia acquiring the F-35A JSF is built primarily around its advantages in terms of stealth, as well as its ability to fuse data from on-board and off-board sensors to provide the pilot with a 'God's Eye' view of the battlespace. These two factors, stealth and data fusion, combine to give the F-35 a distinct combat edge over older generation fighters. To put it simply, the F-35 pilot will have superior situational awareness over other platforms that lack similar capabilities. In terms of air-to-air operations, this means that the ideal approach for the JSF is beyond-visual range engagement to make full use of stealth and data fusion. The F-35 is not a 'dog-fighter' and would be vulnerable against fourth-generation aircraft such as the Russian Su-35S Super Flanker in a close-in turning dogfight. For Australia's operational requirement, the F-35 will be critical to the defence of its airspace, with flights of four aircraft working alongside E-7 Wedgetail Airborne Early Warning and Control

(AEW&C) aircraft as a networked team. The RAAF's F-35A will undertake a variety of other roles, including strike against ground or maritime targets with precision weapons, close air support of Australian Defence Force ground forces, as well as intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) missions.

Yet there exists the possibility that the F-35's greatest advantage – its ability to generate superior situational awareness, and exploit stealth to gain a 'first look, first shot, first kill' capability – may also be its greatest vulnerability. The aircraft is designed around assumptions on stealth and data fusion that are yet to be proven. One assumption is that the stealth capabilities of the aircraft will always be effective and give it an edge. Correspondingly, another assumption about data fusion is that the F-35 will always readily access a range of on-board or off-board sensors via secure data networks to ensure superior situational awareness. Yet adversary advances in counter-stealth radar systems based on road mobile VHF radars such as the Russian 55Zh6ME and China's DWL002 VHF Radar, as well as other more innovative detection methods, are a reality today, and these asymmetric capabilities will only grow more effective in the future. As Bill Sweetman observes:

It would be reassuring to know that the stealth technology upon which the Pentagon plans to base air dominance for the

next few decades has been thoroughly, recently and aggressively Red-Teamed against multiband AESAs [Advanced Electronically Scanned Array] and passive systems. If it has, nothing has been said about it.

Developments in Electronic Warfare (EW) and Computer Network Operations (i.e., 'Cyberwarfare') also are beginning to gather pace, to an extent where future peer adversaries such as Russia and China may be well equipped to challenge, spoof, or disrupt critical C4 (Command, Control, Communications, Computers) ISR networks upon which an F-35 pilot is highly dependent. Russia in particular is investing in advanced air- and ground-based EW capabilities, with Russia's Sukhoi T-50 PAK-FA having a sophisticated EW suite that when combined with the T-50s long-range and high speed may give the F-35 some concerns – if ground-based VHF radar systems can defeat its stealth. Even more significant is the ability of systems like the PAK-FA to threaten high-value air targets like AEW&C and airborne refueling aircraft, thereby potentially defeating the F-35 indirectly. Ground-based EW systems, like Russia's Krasukha-1 jamming system, can according to Russian commentators blind the E-3 AWACS radar, leaving the F-35 pilot "deaf, dumb and blind," according to Sweetman. Passive detection systems that track a target by its emissions may also constrain the effectiveness of the F-

35, if the off-board sensors upon which it depends for situational awareness cannot transmit without revealing their location to long-range interceptors with high speed long-range missile systems or advanced double-digit surface-to-air missiles (SAMs).

In investing in the F-35, Australia is betting on adversary counter-stealth and information denial capabilities not being effective. Yet, were it to follow Canada's lead and withdraw from the F-35 JSE, it would be left with the choice of buying older aircraft – for example additional FA-18E/F Super Hornets. This does not seem a useful move given that in addition to counter-stealth and sophisticated EW, both China and Russia are pursuing their own fifth-generation fighter programs through the J-20/J-31B and T-50 PAK-FA, respectively. In the end, Australia would still be confronted with the growth of superior air combat capabilities, with more sophisticated platforms and more advanced sensor networks. Canada faces the same dilemma.

The future of air combat is going to be determined by which side wins the information battle and how quickly that success is achieved, as much as it is determined by the speed, range, and combat capability of specific platforms. If peer competitors like Russia and China can use asymmetric approaches to dimin-

(Continued on page 16.)

CANADA'S CHOICE: TO F-35 OR NOT, THAT IS THE QUESTION

SELECTED FROM OUR BLOG: THE FORUM

CDA Institute guest contributor Peter Layton, a Visiting Fellow at the Griffith Asia Institute, examines the capabilities and potential cost of the F-35 fighter aircraft. This piece was first published (with hyperlinks) in the [CDA Institute Blog: The Forum](#) (26 November 2015).

Canada's new fighter choice is nothing if not contentious. The technical troubles with the F-35 program, its high costs and long delays have all combined to imply the aircraft may no longer be the best option. There seem at least two ways of looking at this.

Firstly, the debate can be framed as a simple bottom-up replacement issue. The F-35 is the newest aircraft, therefore obviously it is the best. This has some logic to it, but its advocates sometimes overreach and, in stepping over into marketing, suggest it is something of a 'wonder jet.' As its development progresses, however, the F-35 appears more and more like a 'normal' aircraft with advantages and shortcomings.

Development of the F-35 formally began in 1996 with the award of the Concept Demonstration Contract. In this uncertain post-Cold War period, the Soviets had vanished, air superiority was challenged only by a few surface-to-air

missiles, and the operational need was for interventions in foreign climes using high-precision air-to-ground weapons. It was the age of the strike fighter: think Super Hornet, Rafale and the aptly named Joint Strike Fighter. This era is now ending.

The F-35's stress on air-to-ground is no longer seen as the wave of the future. Instead, the rise of China and the return of Russia are seen as requiring a superior air-to-air specialized fighter. Moreover, such scenarios require a much longer range than that of the F-35. For the United States, new bombers and new unmanned carrier strike systems now seem necessary. Outside of such near-peer scenarios, recent Middle East wars have caused a sharp acceleration in UAV development. For such wars of choice, the MQ-9 Reaper and its ilk now seem to offer a more pertinent air-to-ground capability than new manned fast jets. Indeed, across the two kinds of future wars, just the F-35's high fuel burn – 60 percent more than an F-16C – make it seem less suited for both air defence tasks and close air support where endurance is desirable.

The air-to-ground stress has further impact. The F-35 is not as manoeuvrable as other modern fighters, relying instead on

extensive data fusion to give outstanding situational awareness to avoid within-visual-range combat (and to maximize its stealth capabilities). But such data fusion requires considerable ground support, with a dedicated on-line laboratory in Florida necessary for optimum F-35 survivability and effectiveness. F-35 pilots will be engaging electronic blips identified by software, which non US customers being denied verification access must take on trust. For non American aviators, it seems to be a case of software Beta testing, airborne and while in combat! Unsurprisingly, a senior ex-RAF officer complains: "this slaughters [the UK's] legal stance on a clear, unambiguous and sovereign kill chain."

Beyond this, the updating of the mission data files (each twice as large as comparable F-22 files) before and after every sortie, is an inherently complex process. Is this approach making fast jets too complex for the chaos of war? Maybe not for wars of choice, where the tempo can be controlled and outcomes are less important. But against near-peer adversaries, using advanced and highly dynamic electronic and cyber warfare techniques, there might be room for concern.

Secondly, if the F-35 is 'normal,' then the debate can be framed top down by setting out the requirements and seeing which fighter option best meets it. This approach has attracted some criticism based on the F-35 being considered the lowest cost product anyway.

This seems to have been a decisive argument in Australia's decision to embrace the F-35 in June 2002 immediately before the program hit real difficulties.

In Australia's case, it quickly became apparent that the F-35 would be delayed beyond 2012 and against Air Force advice, the Defence Minister decided to buy the F-18F as a gap filler. In retrospect a great decision, but it did mean that the project to replace the F-18 and the F-111 suffered the greatest cost overrun (in absolute dollars) in Australian defence history. Fortunately for the F-35, the government was flush with mining boom revenue, and provided the extra several billion dollars as a no strings attached gift and did not take it from the F-35 acquisition project budget. This may not be an acquisition strategy all can follow.



(Image courtesy of Australian Aviation.)

The 'lesson' seems to be that, with all acquisitions, be careful about costs and schedules; product enthusiasts can often be over enthusiastic and strongly advocate rushing in. In the F-35 case, it's hard to beat the US Government Accountability Office's (GAO) observations that the project team (including industry) have regularly displayed an inadequate knowledge of the technology involved. The program is not ten years late and seriously over budget for no reason; those involved made well-intentioned promises that ultimately proved undeliverable. Contractual agreements, as opposed to promises or declarations of intent (e.g. an F-35 for US\$80m in 2019), appear a sounder basis upon which to base very large public spending decisions.

The good news is that the aircraft devel-

opment is finally making real progress, albeit with nearly 2 years and 40 percent of testing left to complete. After noting recent problems, such as the 2014 engine fire, the GAO dryly observes that: "more technical problems are likely." The new ejection seat issue might be not the last. All this means that there is no need to rush to buy the F-35. It looks like its full operational capability will not be available until early in the next decade.

There is time for a competition, indeed one could say this delay favours the F-35. Advocates point out though that a competition might cost \$70m; intuitively you would think that sharp competitive pressures could readily make such savings in a multiple tens of billions project.

Recall that 70 percent of the life-cycle cost of a military aircraft occurs after you've bought it. The operating and support phases is where the big bucks are. In the F-35s case these phases are currently unaffordable, at least for the Americans. Current estimates suggest the F-35 will be twice as expensive to operate as aircraft like the CF-18. Such high expenses could potentially crowd out spending on other equipment like ships and armoured vehicles.

A competition seems like a good investment, even if only to better understand the life-cycle costs of the F-35 to aid long-term defence budgeting. With luck, however, maybe a good deal can be cut. Without a competition it seems unlikely freebies will be offered.

Away from money, there is a strong push that the F-35's interoperability aspects

should decide the issue. Interestingly, the USAF likewise is worried about interoperability and is keen to make the F-35 interoperable with the rest of its force. In Australia, the recent Air Force Chief is eager to remake the rest of the Australian Defence Force to be fully interoperable with the new F-35.

Thinking about this at a bit higher more-strategic level, the fundamental issue is being a good member of the alliance with the US. In thinking fighters, the question might be rephrased: will buying an F-35 simply duplicate American force structure or will it bring something special? Might Canada be more influential in providing a capability that complements American fast jets, that brings something important and out of the ordinary to the fight? As an example, the new, small Australian E/A-18G Growler fleet brings an important low density/high demand

capability that might be more useful (and influential) in a coalition effort than yet another non-US F-35 unit might.

A final thought. Whichever aircraft the new fighter competition chooses, the decision taken will be [rightly] deeply debated. In deciding the next Australian submarine, the government has appointed an oversight board of eminent people tasked with ensuring the process (and the result) is fair, open and transparent. Seems like this might be a useful model as well for what promises to be a vexatious Canadian fighter competition. ■

Dr Peter Layton is a Visiting Fellow at the Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University in Queensland, Australia.

(Continued from page 13.)

ish the effectiveness of stealth and data fusion, then F-35, as well as other stealth aircraft like the F-22 and B-2A, are all in trouble and the ability of the US and its partners to wage effective air operations will decrease over time. On the other hand, if these asymmetric capabilities can be quickly defeated, then aircraft like the F-35 can really demonstrate their operational effectiveness. Therefore, to hedge

against an unwelcome outcome in this competition, both Australia and Canada must not only invest in the most effective combat aircraft available, but also capabilities that can mitigate the challenge posed by adversary asymmetric threats. They must also accept that the period of unchallenged Western air dominance is rapidly ending, and plan accordingly. ■

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MULTIPLEX WARFARE: FROM UKRAINE TO SYRIA AND NOW TO PARIS

SELECTED FROM OUR BLOG: THE FORUM

*CDA Institute guest contributor **Andrew Rasiulis**, a Fellow at the Canadian Global Affairs Institute, describes the multiplex warfare taking place in Ukraine, Syria, and beyond. This piece was first published in the [CDA Institute Blog: The Forum](#) (27 November 2015).*

Recent days of politically motivated violence in France, Syria, Turkey, Ukraine, Mali, Lebanon and Tunisia are manifestations of the contemporary phenomenon of multiplex warfare. We are witnessing warfare between a multiple range of actors, some state and others political entities, or even proto-states. This multiplex warfare is taking place between states and states, states and political entities, and political entities themselves.

If we step back and examine the big picture, what emerges is an intersection of political objectives. To untangle the web let us begin with Ukraine. As of 2014 Ukraine has been wracked by multiplex warfare. The initial politically motivated violence took place within Ukraine and between those entities which wanted greater Ukrainian integration with the West, via the EU and NATO, and those who wished to retain ties with Russia. This internal phase of civil war led to a change of régime in Kiev, which in turn

spurred an open revolt with the eastern Ukrainian Oblasts of Donetsk and Luhansk.

The other key interested player in this picture is Russia. In its perception of its national interest, Russia is opposed to Ukrainian integration with the West. Taking advantage of the emerging civil war phase within Ukraine, Russia used its own military force to advance its interests along two avenues: First, the outright annexation of Crimea through the use of force in which the Ukrainian military was out maneuvered and surrendered essentially without firing a shot. While initially under cover as ‘little green men’ wearing unmarked military uniforms, Russian special forces led an operation to seize Crimea. This phase was therefore a state versus state conflict between Ukraine and Russia, imposed on the background of the Ukrainian civil war.

The second avenue for Russia was to push into eastern Ukraine by lending military support to the Ukrainian rebels. To avoid a formal state versus state war, Russia chose to engage Ukraine via clandestine means. Russia deployed forces without marked uniforms to advise and equip the rebel forces, and at times buttress the rebels in actual combat with Ukrai-

nian forces. The Ukrainians themselves met this escalation of their civil war by deploying volunteer national guard units such as the Azov Brigade, in addition to the regular Ukrainian Army and Air Force.

The West countered Russian moves with substantive economic sanctions and by increasing their own various training and equip programs to strengthen the ability of the Ukrainian forces. Western forces, however, deliberately avoided direct military confrontation with Russia and confined their training support activities to western Ukraine, and thereby out of harm’s way. With the military conflict at a stalemate, diplomatic efforts under the Minsk 2 process involving Ukraine and Russia – and brokered by Germany and France – led to a framework agreement to create a ceasefire and potential avenues for political settlement. This situation remains tentative, marked by exchanges of gunfire and by the recent violent attacks on the electrical supply system from Ukraine proper to Crimea. The latter action was caused by Ukrainian non-state actors within the multiplex nature of the war in Ukraine.

The next link in the web of warfare is Syria. In this theatre, Western inter-



French President François Hollande arriving to deliver a speech at a special joint session of Parliament at Versailles. (Image courtesy of AFP.)

ests both conflict and align with those of Russia. This paradox is set against the background of the Syrian civil war between the Assad régime and numerous political foes, some of which themselves oppose each other politically and militarily. In this conflict, the West has been supporting select “moderate” opposition factions, whereas Russia has long backed the Assad régime. The spoiler in this mix is the presence of ISIL.

Essentially a spin off from the US invasion of Iraq and subsequent demobilization of the standing army, ISIL has managed to transform itself from a nascent

terrorist force into a substantial political entity. This political entity is anchored on parts of Iraq and Syria and forms what may be described as a proto-state of the Islamic Levant. Unlike most terrorist organizations that seek to inflict politically motivated violence against its enemies, ISIL controls and manages swaths of territory and wages an ongoing semi-conventional war against both Iraq and Syria. As demonstrated by the recent attacks in Paris and the Russian civil aircraft in Egypt, however, it is reaching out beyond its geographic sphere to inflict violence upon its Western and Russian enemies in

their home countries (or aircraft).

ISIL’s terror attacks in Paris had the effect of mobilizing the French to the point of President Hollande stating that France was at war with ISIL. Very shortly thereafter, the French bombing missions against ISIL in Syria/Iraq were dramatically increased in tempo to give effect to this declaration. In addition, the French aircraft carrier Charles De Gaulle was deployed to join combat operations. Within France itself, a state of emergency was declared allowing the police and army to take strong measures to hunt down the remaining terrorists and their accom-

plices, while at the same time securing the peace.

The Russian reaction to the bombing of their civil aircraft was similar. Russian military forces deployed in greater numbers to Syria and increased significantly their bombing missions against ISIL, as well as sustaining ongoing attacks against rebels fighting the Assad régime. Within Russia, security crackdowns took place to arrest a number of Islamic extremists thought to be sympathetic to ISIL. In both the case of France and Russia, reaction to ISIL was delivered with conventional forces bombing ISIL positions in Syria/Iraq, and police with army support searching out insurgents within their own respective national borders. A further example of multiplex warfare.

To further complicate matters, the Russian air operations against rebels in Syria have drawn it into a conflict with Turkey, a member of NATO. Recent Russian incursions over Turkish airspace during combat missions in Syria have angered the Turks. Russian airstrikes are directed, in part, against Syrian rebel groups near the Turkish border who have the sympathy of Turkey. After repeated diplomatic exchanges between Turkey and Russia on these incursions, the Turkish Air Force seized the opportunity of one such incursion to shoot down a Russian SU-24 fighter bomber. The matter has now escalated to strong diplomatic action

and deployment of Russian anti-aircraft missiles into Syria. Other actions and counter actions are pending, such as the Russian intention to impose economic sanctions.

The net effect of ISIL's actions is that through a crosscurrent of respective national interests and military actions, Russia is in a standoff with a NATO member on one hand, and on the other hand coordinating (albeit in limited fashion) conventional air strikes with NATO members such as the US and France on the other. Indeed President Hollande is visiting Russia shortly to reinforce this cooperation against ISIL.

We may draw from this description of contemporary warfare that as political objectives of states and non-state political entities are complex, the military means to achieve these objectives are equally complex. To summarize, today there are two major geographic points of conflict in which both conventional and insurgent/terrorist means are in play: Ukraine/Russia, and the Middle East, specifically Syria and Iraq. Terrorism related to the latter conflict has been evidenced recently in Paris, Beirut, Ankara, Bamako, Tunis. More is to be expected.

States and non-state actors or political entities form varied alliances and use a myriad of instruments of violence to affect their respective political objectives.

We therefore have a situation where the West is at the same time in opposition to Russian objectives in Ukraine, but shares to a limited degree objectives in Syria with regard to ISIL. Even in the latter case, however, this limited cooperation is complicated by the specific divergences in Turkish and Russian national interests with regard to the outcome of the Syrian civil war. We are therefore working through these multi-polar conflicts using the varied instruments of both conventional and unconventional forces in a system of multiplex warfare. ■

Andrew Rasiulis spent 35 years in the Department of National Defence involved the area of defence diplomacy. Upon retirement from the Civil Service, Andrew is active in the fields of international and defence relations, and is a Fellow with the Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

ROUNDTABLE SUMMARY – EUROPE, UKRAINE AND THE US ARMY

SELECTED FROM OUR BLOG: THE FORUM

*The following is a summary of the CDA Institute Roundtable “Europe, Ukraine and the US Army” in Ottawa on 25 September 2015. These roundtable discussions are held under the Chatham House Rule. This summary reflects Analyst **Bradley MacKay**’s perception of the discussion. The CDA Institute thanks our Strategic Partners Lockheed Martin Canada and General Dynamics for their generous sponsorship of the 2015/16 Roundtable Discussion Series. This piece was first published on the [CDA Institute’s Blog: The Forum](#) (2 December 2015).*

The United States’ military commitment to Europe has been scrutinized, criticized, and trivialized by many. Given Russian belligerence in Eastern Europe, many commentators, pundits and academics have pondered exactly what the American strategy towards this complex affair will be, and what exactly they can, and will do operationally. However, given the complex geopolitical nature of this standoff and domestic constraints, the US will need to rely more on allies and maximize strategic efficiency in order to strengthen its presence in Europe. Russia poses a dynamic threat, in both conventional and unconventional theatres of conflict, and the United States cannot, and will not, undertake a unilateral stance in the face of potential Russian aggression.

What exactly is this Russian threat? Russia appears to be a state invested in denying access to the Baltic region and Black Sea. A state whose officials utilize strong aggressive rhetoric when engaging with their neighbors, and opts for hybrid warfare techniques to increase its clout in the international system. Despite economic sanctions and resistance from the West, Russia has continued its revisionist ways. Conventionally, they are displaying their capacity in Syria in the face of a severe economic downturn. With oil at barely \$40/barrel and international sanctions hitting hard, many believed Russia’s dire economic sanctions would limit their willingness to engage in a spectrum of military operations, however, as recent events in Ukraine and Syria suggest, this is not the case.

Through its use of media manipulation, Russia also actively attempts to obscure public perception of the current geopolitical situation. In the digital age, controlling and regulating the information space is almost impossible. Nevertheless, Russia continues to spread its propaganda, primarily through pro-Russian television channels across continental Europe in the hope of garnering support and obscuring perceptions. As a result, it is difficult to assess Russian intentions and separate fact from fiction. The US and other allies have clear incentives to im-

pede Russia’s expanding sphere of influence. However, American strategy in Europe has changed greatly since the end of the Cold War and in the wake of increased resource constraints, the US will need to rely considerably on efficient use of resources and ensuring sufficient multilateral deterrence through alliance resolve, continued economic sanctions, and political will.

The United States, like many of its allies including Canada, has faced severe financial constraints in the past few years. In fact, US Army Europe has been reduced from 300,000 soldiers in West Germany alone during the Cold War, to approximately 30,000 from the Baltics to the Black Sea. In the face of this reduction, there is a clear need to empower forces and ensure that they are operationally prepared. This proposal is based on five crucial pillars. Firstly, the US has empowered junior leaders in the region, increasing their incentive to succeed by adding responsibilities, and, resultantly, opportunities. In addition, the United States has increased its reliance on reserve components. Most importantly, US Army Europe has begun to rely much more heavily on its allies. For instance, they have integrated allies into the executive decision making process, and they have sought their support logistically. Ultimately, the ability for the Americans to remain interoperable

with its allies and make use of their capabilities during campaigns and training exercises remains a crucial foundation to European collective security.

The importance of NATO allies needs to be underlined

in the face of

Russian aggression. The United Kingdom pledged to maintain their 2 percent GDP commitment to defence spending, while Germany has played an important role in maintaining and enforcing European Union (EU) sanctions, which to this point are the sole punitive measures taken against Russia. Yet, there must be an increase in support from all parties to properly assure at risk allies and deter any potential Russian adventurism, not least in the Baltics. For one, not all NATO allies are meeting the alliance's benchmark 2 percent GDP commitment to defence spending, and states on the eastern flank must not simply rely on the American security assurances that they will defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their borders.

Defence begins at home, and states are required to ensure their own security. When



US and Estonian forces training in Poland.(Image courtesy of the US Army Europe.)

challenged by Russian aggression, states, most specifically, those in the Baltics, must secure their cleavages or risk having these weaknesses exploited by Russia. One of the most worrisome possibilities involves Russia interference on the territory of a Baltic state in the name of protecting Russian speakers and stateless citizens, a tactic they have previously employed in Ukraine. This would test NATO's Article 5 commitment, and raise the stakes to an even greater degree. However, the potential negative consequences of the stateless citizen epidemic in the Baltics is subject to a logical and simple counter-argument. Not every Russian speaker is the same, and not every Russian speaker longs to be back in mother Russia. There is a clear desire in some of these areas to become members of NATO and the EU, and it is up to the US and their NATO allies to assure European states that they will

uphold Article 5 and act as a clear, capable deterrent.

The current impasse between Russia and the West does not necessarily imply the start of a Cold-War. Unlike in the past, Russia is a member of the larger international community, and the goal is to have them further integrated politically, diplomatically, and

economically. However,

this may imply altering expectations of success on both sides. The US cannot unilaterally defend Eastern Europe, and Russia is a capable threat. However, with continued allied support through NATO and the EU it is possible to both adequately defend our Eastern allies and deter Russia. ■

Bradley MacKay is an Analyst at the CDA Institute and a Master's Candidate at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. His research interests include collective security, the economics of defence and security policy and American foreign policy

CDA INSTITUTE BLOG: THE FORUM

Analyzing China's Rise in International Relations Theory: Theory and Policy – Part 5

By Adam MacDonald

International Relations (IR) theory is increasingly interested in understanding the causes and consequences of China's global rise. The linkage, however, between theory and practice is a matter of ongoing contestation, as policy-makers and communities judge the relevancy of various IR theoretical approaches and the degree to incorporate (or not) these insights into policy consideration. [READ MORE](#)

Russian Navy Reads the Art of War

By Vidya Sagar Reddy

The Russian Federation intends to restore prestige and territory lost with the fall of Soviet Union. The key military objectives associated with this geopolitical thrust are confronting the eastward expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) over the European continent and denying the United States free access and power projection in the global commons... *(Reposted with permission.)* [READ MORE](#)

Déjà Vu? Problems and prospects with Trudeau's Iraq plan

By Gregory Liedtke and Benjamin Zyla

Faced with security issues whose dimen-

sions overlap both the foreign and domestic arenas, newly minted Prime Minister Trudeau is in a truly unenviable position. During the recent election, he vowed to end Canada's combat mission in Iraq and Syria by withdrawing our fighter jets and...

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By Adnan Qaiser

History indeed keeps repeating itself. The 19th century's Great Game – associated with the historic Silk Road – has since been reincarnated in a new great game linked to China's Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st century Maritime Silk Road.

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e-Info Ops: Fighting terrorism with cyber ideas

By Eric Dion

In an interesting twist in the so-called “war on terror” against the Islamic State (IS), also known as Daesh, a faction of Anonymous called the GhostSec is currently carrying out a cyber campaign called #OpISIS, targeting Daesh members and supporters who spread propaganda over the internet. [READ MORE](#)

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By CDA Institute

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By CDA Institute

CDA Institute Research Manager and Senior Editor David McDonough explores some of the short- and long-term challenges currently facing the CAF and assesses Liberal promises to fix these problems. [READ MORE](#)

Paris Attacks Conform to Larger Terrorism Trends

By Alex Wilner

It's been an exceptionally good year for terrorists, militants, and insurgents the world over. Last week's massacre in Paris – and this week's subsequent deadly raid in a Parisian suburb – corroborate larger, and far deadlier, global trends. Recently published data and analysis paint a supremely grim picture. [READ MORE](#)

Analyzing China's Rise in International Relations Theory: Social Constructivism – Part 4

By Adam MacDonald

Social Constructivism asserts that the structure of international relations is not material, based on distribution of capabilities between states, but rather social in nature; international relations are socially constructed via an inter-subjective process between states producing and reproducing structures of shared knowledge over time.

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e-Instruction: Canada's new peace-training era

By Eric Dion

Canada has been aligning itself with its closest ally and friend, the United States, for over the last decade, without much reflexivity and debate. Canada's engagement in Afghanistan was indeed often presented as the quintessential case for military cooperation in exchange for economic cooperation.[READ MORE](#)

An Attack on France, an Attack on Europe, an Attack on the West

By David Law

To say it is too soon to attempt to understand what has happened in Paris – and what may still be happening as I write these lines from Montréal in the early evening of 13 November – is to state the obvious. But amidst these horrific events,

here is an attempt to set out some of the parameters. [READ MORE](#)

Pakistan's Formula for Afghan Salvation

By Adnan Qaiser

'One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter,' so says the adage. Calling the Pakistan army the "godfather" of the Taliban, eminent journalist Fareed Zakaria recently noted that no counterinsurgency can ever succeed when the rebels have a haven: "In this case, the rebels have a nuclear-armed sponsor." [READ MORE](#)

Australia's Defence Planning Challenges

By Rodger Shanahan

Australia's strategic interests have for over a decade been caught between a desire to focus on our immediate neighbourhood and the sometimes contradictory pull of perceived US alliance requirements. Traditionally the latter had been relatively easily addressed by low-risk deployments of force elements to the Middle East. [READ MORE](#)

Climate Change Doesn't Start Wars, People Do

By Dashiell Dronyk

In 2005, a UN World Summit that brought together governmental leaders from around the world agreed on a statement that broke new ground in the obligations of states and inter-state relations. As there-

before, states were to have the primary responsibility for protecting their populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity... [READ MORE](#)

The Cabbage and the Submarine: Why fears of Chinese control of the seas are overstated

By Ariel Shapiro

In 2013, Major General Zhang Zhaozhong, an outspoken senior official in the Chinese People's Liberation Army, described China's strategy in the South China Sea by referring to a cabbage. In regards to the Scarborough Shoal, a group of rocks disputed by China and the Philippines, the Chinese strategy is to inundate the area with a large fleet of military and commercial ships of all sizes... [READ MORE](#)

Analyzing China's Rise in International Relations Theory: Liberal Institutionalism – Part 3

By Adam MacDonald

Liberal Institutionalism, like many theoretical perspectives in International Relations (IR) studies, is not a single paradigm but rather a diverse collection which can be grouped into three categories – Complex Interdependence, Institutionalism, and Democratic Peace Theory. [READ MORE](#)

e-Mobilisation: From the Cold War and back

By Eric Dion

Russia's latest incursion in the Middle East, into the Syrian civil war and its insurgency, is only the latest move by President Vladimir Putin to secure Russia's Western "Arc of Influence." In recent years, Russia has been employing more and more of its "renewed" military power in... [READ MORE](#)

Change in the Winds: Assessing NATO's commitment to Eastern Europe

By Bradley MacKay

With the election of a new government in Ottawa comes an opportunity to revise and review Canada's foreign and defence policy – not least as it pertains to the country's continued and long-standing commitment to NATO. Importantly, the alliance as a whole is facing a watershed

moment which will determine its mandate and identity for the coming years. [READ MORE](#)

A Thirsty Pakistan: From Water Scarcity to Indo-Pak Water War

By Adnan Qaiser

In July 2013, The Atlantic observed that Pakistan's new big threat isn't terrorism; rather it comes from water. Citing the Asian Development Bank, which pinpointed Pakistan as "one of the most water-stressed countries in the world (36th to... [READ MORE](#)

Navies, Narratives and Canada's Submarine Fleet

By Paul Mitchell

As HMCS Chicoutimi slipped silently into the depths of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, I reflected on what many friends and family remarked when I told them of my opportunity to spend a day underwater on her: "are you crazy?" [READ MORE](#)

A Settlement for Ukraine: Syria and the New Great Game

By Andrew Rasiulis

In February 2015, the Minsk II peace process was established by a summit meeting of the leaders of Ukraine, Russia, Germany, and France. The essence of the agreed process was a broad road map to negotiate a settlement for the war in Ukraine by December 2015. [READ MORE](#)

IN THE NEWS

CDA and CDA Institute Executive Director **Tony Battista** spoke to the [Vanguard Podcast](#) about the Vimy Award Gala Dinner (audio starts at 12:09); to [CTV News](#) about Canada's changing role in Iraq and Syria under the new Liberal government; to [CBC Radio Ottawa Morning](#) about why Canada should rethink its decision to withdraw its jets from the campaign against ISIS; and again to [CTV News](#) about what Canada's role should be in the fight against ISIS.

Colin Robertson was interviewed by [KSMU Public Radio](#) in the United States about the changing Canadian foreign policy approach after the election. As well, he spoke to CTV News about the [letters sent to Canada's ambassadors and high commissioners](#) and their impact on the future of Canadian diplomacy. He was also quoted in a story in the Globe and Mail about how Prime Minister Trudeau's designation of The Honourable Stéphane Dion as foreign minister signals the importance the prime minister places on

[climate diplomacy](#).

Ferry de Kerckhove écrit un article dans [La Presse](#), « En attendant une révision en profondeur. ». De plus, encore dans La Presse, Kerckhove [propose un plan](#) pour défaire l'État Islamique qui inclut la possibilité d'inclure le Président syrien Assad dans la transition. Kerckhove donne plusieurs entrevues sur les ondes d'ICI Radio-Canada, au sujet du [Canada sur la scène internationale](#), sur comment bien accueillir les [réfugiés syriens arrivant au](#)

[Canada](#) et sur les [attentats à Paris](#).

Ferry de Kerckhove was also [quoted in an article in Radio Canada International](#) about the numerous international summits the new Prime Minister will be attending in his first month in office.

Charles Davies was quoted in an [article in Bloomberg Business](#), reminding readers that even a cheaper alternative to the F-35 jet would likely have higher hidden life-cycle maintenance costs.

On the subject of the F-35, the ongoing debate between **Richard Shimooka** and

Alan Williams continued, with Shimooka's recent article [in defence of the F-35](#) in the Ottawa Citizen. He also provides a historical analysis about the procurement of the CF-18 in the early 1980s in [Canadian Military Journal](#).

In the Globe and Mail, **George Petrolekas** outlined [options](#) available to Prime Minister Trudeau on how to fight ISIS. As well, he wrote about [veteran suicides](#), France's [response](#) to the Paris attacks, the [role of the military](#) in resettling refugees, and the recent [downing of a Russian fighter jet](#) by Turkey. Finally, in the National Post, Petrolekas [commented](#) on the possibility of

servicing in the military and holding public office.

David Fraser and George Petrolekas were both quoted by [CTV News](#) introducing the new Defence Minister, as well as in a story on the same subject in [Sikh24](#).

In the recent issue of [Canadian Military History](#) features a detailed article from **Craig Leslie Mantle** about the harrowing events of August 5th, 2010, when a Canadian Chinook helicopter received significant enemy fire in Afghanistan.

MEDIA ROUNDUP

Ex-hostage says there may be Canadian Al-Qaeda link (CBC News): Matthew Schrier was a hostage of Al-Qaeda, kidnapped by individuals between Aleppo and the Turkish border. He believes his captors may be Canadian due in large part to their distinct accents.

Canada could leave tanker, recon aircraft to assist with ISIS fight (Toronto Star): According to a senior defence department official, no decision has been made to withdrawal other components of the air task force beyond the CF-18s. This means that reconnaissance and refueling aircraft could remain in the region.

Russia and Turkey refuse to back down (Thomson Reuters): Both Russia and Turkey

continue to escalate the war of words after Turkey's downing of a Russian warplane near the Syrian border on Tuesday. Turkish President Tayyip Erodgan has called Russia's reaction to the event "emotional" and "unfitting."

Trudeau confirme le déploiement d'un plus grand nombre de soldats (Le Devoir): En passage à la conférence de l'APEC à Manille, le premier ministre canadien, Justin Trudeau, a annoncé qu'un plus grand nombre de soldats canadiens seront envoyés dans le nord de l'Irak pour former les armées locales dans la lutte contre le groupe Daesh. Cependant, M. Trudeau a réitéré sa promesse électorale de terminer les frappes aériennes canadiennes dans cette région.

Europol chief says further attacks likely after

Paris carnage (Thomson Reuters): According to Europol, Europe is likely to face new attacks from the Islamic State in the wake of the most recent attacks in Paris. Europol director Rob Wainwright spoke to the European Parliament in Brussels and compared the attacks to those of Mumbai in 2008.

Canadian Forces report on suicide omits Afghanistan (Globe and Mail): A Canadian Forces report which reviewed military suicides is surprisingly silent on the impact of the Afghanistan war. This report contrasts the military's recent acknowledgment of the impact of deployment on mental health.

CF-18s bomb Islamic State fighting position near Ramadi, CF conducts review on another

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attack ([Ottawa Citizen](#)): The Canadian Forces have confirmed two CF-18s conducted airstrikes targeting an Islamic State position near the strategic city of Ramadi. Moreover, the forces have begun a review of a previous airstrike which allegedly caused civilian casualties.

**New Veterans Affairs minister promises to
'strike a new tone' with vets ([CTV News](#)):**

Newly appointed Veterans Affairs Minister Kent Hehr has declared his desire to change the 'tone' of veterans' relationship with the federal government, and to make good on campaign promises.

**Canada should turn Hans Island into a condo,
say Arctic experts ([The Canadian Press](#)):** Arctic experts have proposed an unorthodox plan to resolve the current land dispute between Canada and Denmark. Their proposal is one based on shared control of the island, similar to that of condominium building co-management.

**Le Canada doit s'engager militairement contre
les « barbares », croit Couillard ([Le Devoir](#))**

: Philippe Couillard, le premier ministre du Québec, a déclaré que le Canada doit s'engager militairement dans une coalition internationale contre l'État-Islamique après l'horreur des attaques dans Paris.

New Veterans Affairs minister says jobs coming soon to Charlottetown ([The Guardian](#)):

Kent Hehr announced that Veterans Affairs will be hiring approximately 400 new frontline employees to work in service delivery in the Charlottetown offices. In addition, he announced a number of veterans affairs offices, which were closed under the previous Conservative govern-

ment, will begin to reopen fairly quickly.

Soins de santé pour les réservistes :

L'Ombudsman de la Défense tire (encore) la sonnette d'alarme ([45eNord](#)) : L'Ombudsman de la Défense, Gary Walbourne, sonne l'alarme sur l'absence de volonté des Forces armées canadiennes de conduire des évaluations de santé périodiques pour ses réservistes. Un tiers des réservistes n'ont pas de médecin de famille.

**NATO Looks at Stationing More Troops
Along Eastern Flank ([Wall Street Journal](#)):**

NATO members are discussing the possibility of increasing the number of troops stationed in member states bordering Russia. This is part of a new effort, a recommitment by NATO to deter Russia in the wake of aggression in Ukraine. The majority of members are in support of this proposal, with the Germans having some reservations.

**Defence Research and Development Canada
determining how security on Parliament Hill
can be improved ([Ottawa Citizen](#)):**

Defence Research and Development Canada have been steadily working on two reports aimed at improving security on Parliament Hill. The goal of these studies is to balance the security of the premises and their accessibility to the public.