

## “EDUCATING THE CANADIAN PUBLIC”

8 DECEMBER 2016 (05-2016)

The Government of Canada seems poised to procure an interim fleet of 18 Super Hornets as a stopgap measure to fill a perceived capability gap. Much is still unknown about this decision – not least the question of how much this procurement will cost, whether the US will choose to sell this aircraft, and what impact this could have on Canada’s participation in the Joint Strike Fighter program.

Ce qui est peut-être plus surprenant encore, cette décision – et le changement de la politique du Gouvernement du Canada vis-à-vis ses engagements envers le NORAD et l’OTAN qui ont généré cet écart de capacité – se sont trouvés complètement déconnectés de la *Revue de la politique de défense* elle-même.

Unfortunately, despite coming to office along “sunny ways,” the government under Justin Trudeau is finding a global security



(L-R): Judges - Andrew Rasiulis, BGen Dr. James Cox (Ret’d), and LGen Richard Evraire (Ret’d); Eric Morse, RCMI; Dr. Mike Hennessy, Associate Vice-Principal, Research, RMCC; Student Winners - Stefano Burzo, Thomas Hughes, Kiernan McClelland, and Lindsay Coombs; Tony Battista, CEO, CDA and CDA Institute. (Image credit: Robert Legere.)

environment more dark than sunny – one increasingly marked by financial anxiety, social upheaval (extremism, nationalism, protectionism, etc.), the resurgence of Russia and the continuing rise of China, not to mention the challenge of dealing with a new transactional (*Trumpactional*) president in the United States.

Le rôle de la CAD et de son Institut qui est d’informer les Canadiens et les Canadiennes sur les questions de sécurité et de défense n’a jamais été aussi indispensable. Selon ce

mandat, l’Institut de la CAD est heureuse du grand succès qu’elle a obtenu lors de la tenue récente de deux événements.

Our 19th Graduate Student Symposium, which took place in Kingston on 13-14 October 2016, was another great success. At the reception, we announced the creation of a new award, in partnership with Vanguard Magazine: ‘The Captain Nichola Goddard Game Changer Award,’ named in honour of Captain Nichola Goddard, who was the first Canadian woman to be killed in combat



(L-R): Honorary Colonel Frederick Mannix, Vimy Award Winner 2012; General Raymond Henault (Ret'd), Vimy Award Winner 2007; General Paul Manson (Ret'd), Vimy Award Winner 2003; The Right Honourable Beverley McLachlin, Chief Justice of Canada; Dr. James Boutilier, Vimy Award Winner 2016; Major-General Daniel Gosselin (Ret'd), Chair of the Board, CDA Institute; General Jonathan Vance, Chief of the Defence Staff; Major-General David Fraser (Ret'd), Vimy Award Winner 2006; Brigadier-General W. Don Macnamara (Ret'd), Vimy Award Winner 2013. (Image credit: Lauren Larmour.)

in Afghanistan in May 2006. We were delighted that her father, Dr. Tim Goddard, provided a keynote address at this event.

Nous offrons nos sincères félicitations aux lauréats de notre Symposium : Thomas Hughes de l'Université Queen's; Kiernan McClellan de l'Université de Calgary; et Stefano Burzo de l'Université de la Colombie-Britannique ainsi que Lindsay Coombs de l'Université Queen's – ancienne analyste à l'Institut de la CAD – détentrice du prix *Colonel Peter Hunter du Royal Canadian Military Institute*.

The 26th Vimy Award Gala Dinner was also a great success, bringing more than 500 people together at the Canadian War

Museum on 4 November 2016 to honour Dr. James Boutilier, the 2016 Vimy Award recipient. Dr. Boutilier provided a riveting acceptance speech that explored some of the most pressing strategic challenges facing the West in the Asia-Pacific, which we subsequently published in the recently released edition of ON TRACK.

Our research output has continued apace, with a CDA Institute Analysis by Drs. Christian Leuprecht and H. Christian Breede soon to be out as well as the release of the aforementioned ON TRACK issue, which featured articles from notable experts, including two articles by individuals affiliated with the Australian Strategic Policy Institute. We are also pleased to announce Dr. André

Levesque will be joining us our newest Research Fellow.

Lastly, the CDA and CDA Institute 2017 Ottawa Conference on Security and Defence on 16-17 February 2017 is shaping up to be another excellent event, with speakers from across Canada and abroad. Of special note, this will be the first Ottawa Conference that will be held at the Shaw Centre. Registration is now open on our website at <http://cdainstitute.ca/component/civcrm/?task=civcrm/event/register&reset=1&id=27>.

In addition, on to some sadder news, I would like to inform you about the passing of Lieutenant-General Charles Belzile, who



(L-R): General Jonathan Vance, Chief of the Defence Staff; Major-General Daniel Gosselin (Ret'd), Chair of the Board, CDA Institute; The Right Honourable Beverley McLachlin, Chief Justice of Canada; Dr. James Boutillier, Vimy Award Winner 2016; Vice-Admiral Denis Rouleau, Chair, CDA. (Image credit: Lauren Larmour.)

was the recipient of the 1999 Vimy Award. May God grant Charlie eternal peace, and our thoughts are with his family.

It is also with mixed emotions that I inform you our Research Manager and Senior Editor, Dr. David McDonough, will be leaving our organization by the end of this month – as he has taken on a new deputy editor position at the Macdonald-Laurier Institute for Public Policy. Dave has been with us for two years, and during that time has masterfully improved our research capacity and output – from the diversity and quality of articles in our policy magazine ON TRACK, to the number of papers released as part of our Vimy Paper and CDA Institute Analysis series, to drafting and editing the Security and Defence Briefing and the launching of our well-contributed and well-read Blog on our website.

can honestly say that I am fortunate to have had the privilege to work alongside Dave! During these past two years, he has been both a close colleague of mine and a great friend, always willing to listen, providing me honest and well-reasoned advice. He will be sorely missed (and a challenge to replace). I also know that while he will be broadening his experience beyond security and defence, he has made it clear to me that he has enjoyed his experience with us and will continue supporting the excellent program of the CDA and the CDA Institute and contribute to our intellectual output to the extent possible.

On behalf of our staff, CDA Institute BOD, CA and Fellows, CDA RMA and AMA, volunteers, donors and corporate sponsors, and our wide public and government readership – both at home and abroad - I wish

to offer Dave our thanks, appreciation and congratulations. I wish him well with his new endeavours at MLI and look forward to our continued collaboration.

I would also like to ask for your patience during the transition process – as our own research, analysis and publication (RAP) output will likely temporarily slow down until the staffing situation stabilizes following his departure.

Let me also take this opportunity to wish one and all the Best of the Holiday Season/

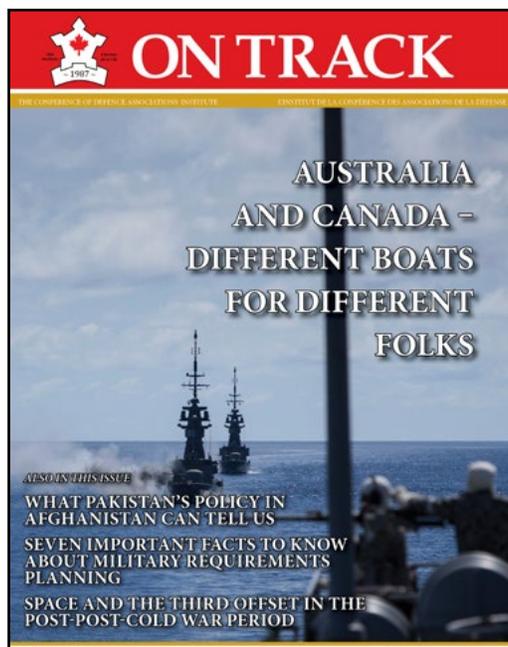
*Avec mes meilleurs vœux.*

Tony Battista

# ON TRACK - WINTER 2016/17

This issue begins with an article by Tony Battista and Dr. David McDonough on the need for an increase in the defence budget. The next article is by Vice-Admiral Drew Robertson (Ret'd) on the future direction of Canadian defence policy. This is followed by a piece on the history of RMC-Saint Jean by Oksana Drozdova.

The conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan is the subject of the next article by Michael Lambert. Another long-standing rivalry, between India and Pakistan, is examined by John Mitton, while Alexandra Dufour explores Yemen's often turbulent history.



To shed light on the future of the Chemical Weapons Convention, we have an article by Dr. Jez Littlewood. We have also published

the acceptance speech of Dr. James Boutillier, recipient of the CDA Institute 2016 Vimy Award. The rise of China is explored more fully by Adam MacDonald.

Chuck Davies then looks at Canada's military requirements, followed by a comparison of Canadian and Australian navies by Dr. Andrew Davies and Chris Cowan. The issue concludes with Dr. Malcolm Davis looking at how Canada could benefit from emerging defence technologies. ■

*ON TRACK* is available at: [http://www.cdainstitute.ca/images/on\\_track/On\\_Track\\_Winter\\_2017/On\\_Track\\_21.2.pdf](http://www.cdainstitute.ca/images/on_track/On_Track_Winter_2017/On_Track_21.2.pdf).

## NEW RESEARCH FELLOW - ANDRÉ LEVESQUE

*The CDA Institute welcomes Dr. André Levesque as its most recent Research Fellow, alongside a growing list of notable Fellows, including Dr. Andrea Charron, Dr. Howard Coombs, Dr. Michael Cessford, Richard Shimooka, Dr. Craig Leslie Mantle, Col Chuck Davies (Ret'd), BGen James Cox (Ret'd), and Dr. Elliot Tepper.*

Dr. André M. Levesque is a senior executive and leading expert in history, heritage, commemoration and recognition. He was a member of the Canadian Armed Forces Army Reserves for 35 years and retired

in 2008 at the rank of lieutenant-colonel. While working with the Department of National Defence's Directorate of History and Heritage, he had the unique privilege of planning and implementing the repatriation of Canada's Unknown Soldier and was invited to create Canada's own National Military Cemetery. André Levesque holds a Bachelor and a Master of Arts in Geography from Carleton University. In 2013, he completed a Ph.D. in History from the National University of Ireland, University College Cork. He has received numerous honours and recognition in-

cluding the Head of the Public Service Award, admitted in the Canadian Who's Who, and was

elected as a Fellow Royal Society of Arts in the United Kingdom. André Levesque returned to Ottawa in 2016 and he is currently a visiting scholar with the Royal Military College of Canada. ■



# CANADA'S FIGHTER REPLACEMENT: WHAT WILL THE FIELD LOOK LIKE IN FIVE YEARS?

SELECTED POST FROM OUR BLOG: THE FORUM

*CDA Institute Research Fellow **Chuck Davies** provides an overview of the potential fighter aircraft candidates in five years, when the government says it will select a permanent replacement for the CF-18s. This article was first published on the [CDA Institute Blog: The Forum](#) on 24 November 2016.*

With the government's decision to acquire 18 Boeing Super Hornets as a gap-filler, and take up to five years to competitively select a permanent fighter replacement, it is useful to briefly look ahead to that eventual decision point to consider how the options will appear then. Leaving aside the politics of the question, which of course will continue to trump everything, will the delay be worth it in terms of clarifying the technical, operational and industrial merits of the respective contenders for a replacement aircraft that will serve for perhaps forty years (i.e., to roughly 2065 or later)?

Assuming that the government will not decide to aim substantially lower in terms of fighter aircraft capability – say by selecting an armed trainer – or consider a Russian or Chinese aircraft, and given that there are currently no new advanced fighter aircraft known to be in development in the West, the list of potential candidates five

years from now will not likely be much different from today. We'll look at those in turn.

**Boeing Super Hornet.** The Super Hornet design will be at least 25 years old in 2021 and the aircraft will likely be approaching the last half of its US active service life. For Canada, this means that from perhaps 2045, even if aircraft performance can stay relevant (a major area of uncertainty), Super Hornet supportability and interoperability with our NORAD partner may become a serious issue. Secondly, whether new-build aircraft will even be available in 2021 is uncertain, since recent sales to Kuwait and now Canada will likely only extend production through 2019 unless Boeing is able to obtain additional new orders or further slow production. A Canadian order in 2021 may therefore require restarting manufacturing – if that is possible. Finally, in terms of potential industrial benefits, total Super Hornet production will top out at approximately 635 aircraft based on current orders, and the vast majority of these have already been delivered. Industrial offsets would therefore have to come from Boeing's other programs, which may or may not include the kinds of leading edge technology development seen in advanced fighter programs.

**Dassault Rafale.** The Rafale is a contemporary of the Super Hornet and will also be at least 25 years old in 2021. Current plans are for France to operate the aircraft until at least 2040, but that would not even be the mid-point of the service life of the CF-18 replacement. The naval version of the Rafale has successfully operated from a US aircraft carrier, demonstrating some level of interoperability, however whether this is adequate for the NORAD mission and can be sustained in later life is uncertain. Later-life supportability will certainly be problematic. Known current orders and options amount to around 300 aircraft, of which well over half will have been delivered by 2021, although it is likely to still be in production then. Meaningful industrial offsets will likely have to come from Dassault's other programs, which are not known to currently include a follow-on fighter development program.

**Eurofighter Typhoon.** The Typhoon is a contemporary of the Super Hornet and Rafale and will be at mid-life in 2021. The same later-life supportability and interoperability concerns will apply to it. Over 480 of the approximately 600 Typhoons so far ordered have been delivered, however it is likely to still be in late stage production in 2021. A particular challenge when it comes to industrial offsets is the fact the



(Photo courtesy of Petty Officer 1st Class David Mercil, U.S. Navy.)

Eurofighter is a multinational consortium established for this specific program, and there is a delicate balance in the member nations' work sharing arrangements within it. Negotiating Canadian industrial offsets will be complex.

### **Lockheed-Martin F-35 Lightning II.**

If the history of past complex aircraft programs is any guide, by 2021 the F-35 program will very likely be hitting its stride, production costs will be contained, and most of the residual technical issues will have been dealt with. The US plans to operate the aircraft until 2070, so support and interoperability will not be an issue at

any time in its service life if Canada buys it. Production is expected to exceed 3,000 aircraft and run beyond 2035 or 2040, and as a member of the development consortium Canada already has preferential access to development, production and support contracts. It would lose this access if it does not buy the aircraft.

**Saab JAS 39 Gripen.** The Gripen is another contemporary of the Super Hornet, Rafale, and Typhoon that will be at or slightly beyond mid-life in 2021. Similar later-life supportability and interoperability concerns will therefore apply to it. Approximately 250 have been produced to

date and, apart from aircraft to be license-built in Brazil, continuation of production through 2021 is uncertain. Saab has a number of development initiatives for improvements to the Gripen but is not known to be considering a follow-on new fighter program, so industrial offsets will likely have to come from the company's other programs.

This very simple review does not, of course, provide a complete picture of the fighter competition playing field five years from now. However, it does offer insights into two key trends. First, by 2021 four of the five contenders will be approaching or

past the half-way point of their planned operational lives, and five years closer to obsolescence. This has major implications for any country considering their purchase, including the fact that keeping a fighter capability based on any of these four aircraft relevant and viable through to 2065 or beyond will be very difficult. More likely, the aircraft will have to be replaced much earlier. Conversely, by 2021 most of the fog, misinformation, and uncertainty around the F-35 program will have cleared and the aircraft will be just at the start of a service life planned to extend to 2070.

Secondly, in terms of opportunities for industrial benefits, Canada can undoubtedly extract its traditional dollar-for-dollar return out of the purchase of any of the five aircraft in 2021. However, the F-35 program will still offer far greater opportunity for Canadian industry than any of the others, both in terms of quality and quantity. Qualitatively, the aircraft incorporates significantly more numerous and more highly advanced technologies than any of the older candidates. Quantitatively, the program will deliver five or ten times the number of aircraft than any of the others. Also, by 2021, production of the F-35 will still be in early stages whereas all four of the others will be at or near the end.

This means that offsets for the purchase of them will have to come from other, often smaller, programs that are unlikely to match the F-35's technology exploitation opportunities.

These two trends, especially the first, will only worsen with time in terms of the viability of the four older contenders. Given this, one wonders what an open, fair, and transparent competition among the five aircraft in 2021 will look like. ■

*Colonel Charles Davies (Ret'd) is a CDA Institute Research Fellow and a former Logistics officer who served for four years as the strategic planning director for the Material Group of the Department of National Defence and three years as the senior director responsible for material acquisition and support policy in the department.*

# ROUNDTABLE SUMMARY – NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENCE

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SELECTED POST FROM OUR BLOG: THE FORUM

*The following is a summary of a recent CDA Institute Roundtable held in Ottawa on 13 September 2016 discussing defence and security concerns for Canada. This summary reflects Analyst [Geoff Tasker's](#) perception and analysis of the discussion. The CDA Institute thanks our Strategic Sponsors Lockheed Martin Canada, KPMG, and General Dynamics for their generous sponsorship of the 2016/17 Roundtable Discussion Series. This article was first published on the [CDA Institute Blog: The Forum](#) on 10 November 2016.*

Canada holds a unique position on the world stage and cannot simply model its defence policy off the strategies of allies; it must account for its own geopolitical strengths and limitations. As Canada concludes its defence policy review, opens an investigation into its Public Safety requirements, and continues to assert its place in an increasingly turbulent world, it is a perfect time to reflect on where we stand and where we need to go as a middle power on the world stage.

Due to our geopolitical location, Canada holds an unusually secure position in regards to defence. With three of our borders naturally protected by ocean and the fourth facing our superpower ally to the South, Canada currently faces no immediate military threat which requires our

direct attention. Domestically, our most pressing defence concerns are restricted to natural disasters and these threats are handled primarily by civil authorities. This lack of immediate concern gives Canada a certain degree of freedom as to how its defence budget is to be spent, making exercises such as the DPR of critical importance in identifying true requirements and capability gaps.

This is not to say, however, that Canadian defence should be a secondary concern in terms of funding. On the contrary, Canada's spot on the world stage, while protected, is still placed in a precarious position where we cannot distance ourselves from international concerns. We have the fortunate freedom to decide how we engage with global threats, but engage we must.

Since Canada only has the capability to operate militarily as part of multilateral alliances, our defence and security relies heavily on keeping these alliances secure. As such, threats to our neighbours are by extension threats to us. Great (and increasingly belligerent) powers like Russia and China, as well as rogue states like North Korea pose ongoing challenges to the United States and the threat of conflict with any of these states must remain a concern in regard to how we structure de-

fence investment. Canada alone may have little to add militarily to any such conflict, but as we will be directly affected by it at all levels; it is only appropriate we take preparatory steps in securing ourselves. As such, the current pressures being leveled against Russia are appropriate and any further action which can be put in place to dissuade Russian aggression would be within our best interests.

If Canadian defence interests are to remain a primary concern for Canadians, UN peacekeeping – or peace support operations – must be addressed and the recent announcement that Canada will soon take on a mission requires careful examination. The idea of peace support missions is appealing from a political standpoint, but from a capability perspective, it is highly undesirable. When such missions are placed alongside our ongoing commitment to Iraq and upcoming deployment to Latvia with NATO, we could well find ourselves operating at the threshold of our military capacity. This strain, while perhaps manageable, limits our future military investment and may leave us unprepared for crises which could arise at any time and demand our attention.

The other area of Canadian policy soon to be receiving a strategic review is Public

Safety and security. Preventing terrorist attacks remains a top priority for intelligence agencies, but terrorism itself remains a distant perception in the minds of the Canadian public. It is vitally important to recognize that the current problems in the Middle East which threaten our security are not the result of a religious struggle between Islam and Christianity; they are an inner struggle between opposing ideologies within Islam itself. As a result, there is little Canada or any Western nation can do to solve the conflict; we can only take steps to protect ourselves from its effects.

While an attack on Canada remains a possibility, a more likely scenario we may face is an attack on the United States originating in Canada. Since the 1990's, Canada has been used as a safe haven for multiple terrorist groups and it would be foolish to think this is not, in some capacity, still the case. An attack on Canada would of course be bad, but an attack on the US originating from Canada would be far worse, with far reaching implications which affect all levels of cooperative trade and security. Careful attention must be exercised to ensure neither of these scenarios come about.

Despite the high stakes of intelligence collection and security, a full National Security Review does not seem necessary at this time. There are however, specific aspects of Canadian intelligence which need to be addressed. Amendments to Bill

C-51, which will allow for lawful access, should be brought about as soon as possible. In terms of cyber defence, Canada is behind in terms of preparedness against a cyber-attack, but no country is fully prepared and the chances of a terrorist group utilizing such a tactic seems unlikely. Despite these and other concerns, as a whole the full structure of Canadian security is doing its job well. Opening the door to public consultation and full review would be a redundant exercise and waste valuable time and resources.

Defence is not an area which Canada can afford to relegate to the sidelines. As the new government attempts to boost the perception of Canada throughout the world, the temptation may exist to decrease military investments and activities in favor of increased foreign relations and diplomatic efforts. While this focus is commendable, it should not be forgotten that military efforts can themselves boost Canadian perception in the world. There was an idea from Prime Minister Paul Martin's government of merging Foreign Affairs with the Department of National Defence and this idea is not without its merits. Canada itself may be in a secure neighborhood, but defence considerations cannot be forgotten. As we assert ourselves back on to the world stage, they are now of even greater relevance. ■

*Geoff Tasker was an Analyst with the CDA Institute currently working towards a Master's degree at UOttawa's Graduate*

*School of Public and International Affairs (GSPIA). His research interests focus on international security and defence policy as well as conflict mediation and humanitarian intervention.*

# THE SUPER HORNET PROPOSAL – TOO MANY QUESTIONS

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SELECTED POST FROM OUR BLOG: THE FORUM

*General Paul Manson (Ret'd), a Council Advisor at the CDA Institute, wrote a piece on the Liberal plan for interim Super Hornets. This article was first published on the [CDA Institute Blog: The Forum](#) on 23 November 2016.*

The announcement by defence minister Harjit Sajjan that the Liberal government is proceeding toward the purchase of eighteen Super Hornet fighter aircraft as an “interim” measure has left many observers bewildered about where we stand in the long and tedious attempt by two governments to replace the RCAF’s old CF-18s. Although not a complete surprise (the government had been floating the Super Hornet option for several months), this latest move provides little comfort that the Liberals have a grip on the situation. Indeed, given the sparse information provided by the minister, his announcement raises numerous questions that need to be answered if Canadians are to be convinced that things are moving in the right direction.

Here are some of the questions that are being asked about the plan to buy Super Hornets.

On what basis was the plan devised? Were there substantial inputs from the military, especially the air force? Were experts consulted in such areas as strategic futures, interoperability with allied aircraft and systems, and

industrial benefits? Were the full implications of doubling the number of fighter fleets examined, for example regarding duplication of training, infrastructure and logistic support? Were Canada’s NORAD and NATO allies asked for their opinions about the plan? Is the interim buy an outcome of the cross-Canada defence policy review initiated by the new government?

Were other fighter aircraft seriously considered as possibilities for an interim fleet? Was operational effectiveness the deciding factor in selecting the Super Hornet? Did the government consider going directly to an open competition, with obvious savings in time and money?

One particularly important question needs to be answered before the government can embark on negotiations for the purchase of an interim fleet, namely “What are the full costs of an interim buy?” There are two classic elements that have to be assessed before the full implications of a purchase can be understood, namely initial acquisition cost, and the subsequent costs incurred through the entire life cycle of the fleet. Because the Super Hornet is an older aircraft in service with only a few air forces, and having a limited long term support base due to an expected early end of production, the second of these factors will likely dominate. There is serious concern that the cost of purchas-

ing and operating eighteen Super Hornets will be inordinately high, given the limited utility of such a small fleet and the aircraft’s substantial operational inferiority to fifth generation fighters like the F-35.

These and numerous other questions surrounding the Super Hornet plan will have to be answered if the government hopes to gain the understanding and support of Canadians who care about their armed forces and the security of the nation. Given the scarcity of information provided to date and the troubling uncertainty about the newly-announced proposal, it is suggested that a thorough review by an outside agency is needed, along the lines of the investigations carried out respectively by the Parliamentary Budget Officer and the Auditor General, as happened during the furor surrounding the F-35 when the Conservatives were in power. Only then would the best way ahead be evident.

Or better still, why doesn’t the government go directly to an open and transparent competition, as they promised in the election campaign? ■

*Retired general Paul Manson is a former air force commander and chief of the defence staff. He is on the Council of Advisors at the CDA Institute.*

# LA COOPÉRATION ENTRE LES SERVICES SECRETS EN EUROPE DE L'EST À L'ÉPOQUE SOVIÉTIQUE : UNE OPPORTUNITÉ POUR LA CRÉATION D'UNE "CIA À L'EUROPÉENNE" AU XXIÈME SIÈCLE ?

SELECTED POST FROM OUR BLOG: THE FORUM

*Blogueur pour l'Institut de la CAD, **Michael Lambert**, Directeur de recherche à Caucasus Initiative et doctorat en relations internationales à la Sorbonne (France) et à l'Université de Tampere (Finlande) examine la coopération entre les Services Secrets en Europe de l'Est à l'époque soviétique. Il a été publié pour la première fois le 17 octobre 2016 dans le [Blog de l'Institut de la CAD: The Forum](#).*

Le retour du terrorisme religieux en Europe interroge sur la pérennité des services de renseignements nationaux à une époque d'abolition des contrôles aux frontières au sein de l'Espace Schengen. L'avènement de l'Union européenne permettant la mobilité des individus, des biens et des services sans entraves, le terrorisme ne semble nullement constituer une exception et également pouvoir bénéficier de cet environnement favorable à l'émergence de coopérations transnationales.

Si jusqu'alors la rhétorique des États nations en proie au terrorisme est celle du retour des "frontières nationales", les gouvernements européens savent pertinemment que cette option n'est pas envisageable sur le long terme, et ce en raison des con-



(Crédit image : European Defence Agency.)

séquences économiques qu'engendrerait une telle pratique. En effet, les rapports de l'Agence d'Analyse Statistique Européenne (EUROSTAT) montrent une balance commerciale de l'ensemble des États membres qui se destine en priorité au marché européen, un retour à un système pré-Schengen serait donc difficile à supporter pour des économies durement touchées par la crise économique mondiale de 2008.

En conséquence, les puissances européennes tentent de trouver une solution pour combiner liberté de mouvement et sécurité des citoyens. Si la Grande Bretagne a fait le

choix d'un retrait pur et simple de l'Union européenne, des pays comme la France et l'Allemagne évoquent la possibilité de l'émergence d'une Armée européenne, projet du Général De Gaulle enterré en 1954 par l'Assemblée nationale française.

Ce choix, fortement critiqué par Londres, s'avère pourtant prometteur dans la mesure où il permettrait de donner naissance à de nouvelles coopérations dans le domaine industriel, permettant à l'Union européenne de supplanter militairement la Chine en tant que deuxième puissance militaire mondiale, tout en entrant en compétition

directe avec les États-Unis pour le commerce d'armes à l'international. Outre la manne financière que représente un tel projet, la mutualisation des services de renseignement permettrait à l'UE d'affirmer son expertise en combinant le savoir-faire des français du Moyen-Orient et l'Afrique, de l'espace post-soviétique de l'Allemagne et la Pologne, de l'Arctique grâce aux pays Scandinaves, et du monde lusophone avec le Portugal et l'Espagne. L'émergence d'une "CIA à l'européenne" représente donc de nombreux avantages mais peine à se concrétiser en raison d'une certaine réticence de la part de la France qui est désormais le seul membre de l'UE à disposer d'une force de frappe nucléaire, ou encore de l'Autriche, la Suède et la Finlande qui ont une politique historique de "neutralité". Une appréhension qui fait souvent abstraction d'un schéma de coopération entre plusieurs services de renseignement qui existait pourtant avant la chute de l'URSS.

En effet, pendant la période soviétique les pays du bloc de l'Est avaient pour obligation de coopérer entre eux afin de fournir des renseignements sur l'OTAN au Kremlin, et ce en pleine période de Guerre froide. La Stasi allemande, les services secrets polonais, tchécoslovaques, hongrois, roumains, ainsi que ceux des Pays-Bas disposaient d'un service de traduction dans une langue supranationale – le russe – ainsi que d'un système de partage des fichiers à une époque pré-informatique.

S'il semble difficile d'évaluer la pertinence des échanges entre les services à cette époque, la coopération entre ces pays semble avoir survécu à la fin de la Guerre froide, en atteste l'existence à ce jour du "European Network of Official Authorities in Charge of the Secret Police Files" situé à Berlin. Ce réseau constitué de sept pays, désormais tous membres de l'Union européenne, met en commun les documents allant de la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale à la chute du Communisme, un processus qui a permis de poursuivre des dignitaires nazis dont on ignorait l'existence dans les fichiers des services d'Europe de l'Ouest, ainsi que d'identifier les anciens membres des services de renseignement soviétiques qui ont pu trouver refuge dans les pays voisins au moment de la fin du système communiste, à l'image des membres de la Stasi en Pologne après 1991.

En ce sens, la coopération entre les différents "services des archives" des anciens pays d'Europe de l'Est semble constituer un succès dont pourraient s'inspirer les européens encore réticents à l'émergence de services de renseignement supranationaux autres que ceux de l'OTAN. ■

*Michael Lambert est Doctorant en Histoire des Relations internationale à Sorbonne Universités (Paris-Sorbonne, France) et en Relations internationales à l'Université de Tampere (Finlande), ses recherches portent les relations entre l'Union européenne et l'OTAN avec la Russie dans l'espace post-*

*soviétique. Après une expérience à l'IRSEM - Ministère de la Défense française et un séjour de recherche à l'Université d'Ottawa en tant que chercheur invité, il lance le projet Caucasus Initiative en avril 2016.*

# CDA INSTITUTE BLOG: THE FORUM

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## **South Asia's Nuclear Apartheid**

By Adnan Qaiser

In his testimony to the US Congress on 8 September 2016, Carnegie Endowment for Peace's Toby Dalton found the US administration's continuous support for an "unconditional and exceptional NSG membership path for India problematic."

[READ MORE](#)

## **The Malian Crisis: Thinking More Broadly about the Security Sector**

### **Agenda**

By David Law

For the UN, the Mali deployment has been politically one of its most important to date, one of its largest in terms of numbers of deployed personnel, and one of its most deadly in terms of personnel losses.

*(Reposted from SSR Resource Centre, CSG.)*

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## **The Malian Crisis: The Stumbling Stabilization Effort**

By David Law

After 2012, several different external military and civilian operations were deployed to Mali. The first major external deployment to the region was the French-led Operation Serval... *(Reposted from SSR Resource Centre, CSG.)*

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## **The Malian Crisis: A Crisis in the Making**

By David Law

In the 1990s, Mali was often put forward as a model of African democracy. It is not hard to understand why. Following an extended period of authoritarian rule after becoming independent in 1960, Mali held three elections as of 1992 in which power passed to the winner. *(Reposted from SSR Resource Centre, CSG.)*

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## **Acceptance Speech by Dr. James Boutilier – 2016 Vimy Award**

Dr. James Boutilier received the CDA Institute's 2016 Vimy Award at the Vimy Award Gala Dinner on 4 November 2016.

We are pleased to post his acceptance speech on our Blog: The Forum.

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## **STATEMENT BY SENATOR DANIEL LANG – 2016 Vimy Award Recipient Dr. James Boutilier**

Senator Daniel Lang, Chair of the Senate Standing Committee on National Security and Defence, made a statement about Dr. James Boutilier receiving the CDA Institute's 2016 Vimy Award, to be presented at the Vimy Award Gala Dinner on 4 November 2016. We are pleased to repost his statement on our Blog: The Forum.

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## **Canada's Forgotten Cold Warriors**

By Paul Manson

The federal election campaign, coupled with recent compelling reporting in The Globe and Mail about Canada's military veterans, has stimulated welcome – and much-needed – discussion about our veterans and the ways in which they are treated. *(Reposted from Globe and Mail)*

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## **Afghanistan: Reinforcing Failure in a Lost Cause**

By Adnan Qaiser

They say if you find yourself fallen into a pit, the first thing to do is stop digging. Afghanistan has long been an abyss, owing to the lack of vision and political insight from both itself and stakeholders.

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## **Kashmir Bleeds: A Proxy Battleground and Nuclear Flashpoint in South Asia**

By Adnan Qaiser

Horace said, "Brute force bereft of reason falls by its own weight." Not in Kashmir – which continues to bleed under Indian rule. The seven-decade old unfinished agenda.

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# IN THE NEWS

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CDA and CDA Institute **CEO Tony Battista** commented on the military strategy to retake Mosul with [CTV News](#).

CDA Institute Board Member **Ferry de Kerckhove** spoke to ICI Radio-Canada on [Cuba](#) and [Saudi Arabia](#), as well as CPAC on the [CF-18 replacement](#). He also published an [article on Iran](#) with “Institut de recherche stratégique de l’école militaire,” wrote an op-ed in the [Global and Mail](#) about Minister for Democratic Institutions Maryam Monsef, and was quoted in the [Toronto Sun](#) on France in the EU.

CDA Institute Research Fellow **Elliot Tep-**

**per** spoke with 1310 News as part of its “The World with Professor Elliot Tepper” program ([here](#), [here](#), and [here](#)). Research Fellow **Richard Shimooka** also commented on the CF-18 replacement in [The Hill Times](#).

CDA Institute Board Member **George Petrolekas** was quoted in [iPolitics](#) about the prospect of a Canadian military deployment to Mali.

With the election of Donald Trump, CDA Institute Council Advisor **Colin Robertson** was interviewed by numerous outlets,



including [Maclean's](#), [Global News](#), [Globe and Mail](#), and [CTV News](#). He also noted the importance of the [US Congress](#) to Canada, and was quoted in the [Globe and Mail](#) on Canadian-Mexican relations.

# MEDIA ROUNDUP

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**Sajjan defends plan to buy interim fleet of fighter jets, citing 9/11 ([Globe and Mail](#)):** Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan is invoking the 2001 terrorist attacks to justify the sole-source acquisition of 18 Super Hornet fighter jets, saying Canada cannot respond to all military emergencies with its aging CF-18s.

**Airbus chosen to build Canada's new search planes, ending 12-year procurement odyssey ([CBC News](#)):** The Liberal government has chosen the Airbus C-295 transport as Canada's next fixed-wing search-and-rescue plane, in a two-step procurement process that will cost taxpayers

\$4.7 billion over the next two decades.

**Military ponders future of Iraq mission as Daesh poised to go underground ([The Star](#)):** Canada's mission in Iraq is set to undergo another transformation after Daesh is driven from the city of Mosul, which is expected to see the extremist group turn into a more traditional insurgency.

**Canadian troops, helicopters urgently needed in war-torn Mali: top UN official ([The Canadian Press](#)):** Canada's troops and helicopters are urgently needed to protect and ferry peacekeepers at risk of ambush from Islamist militant forces as

they travel through war-torn Mali, a top United Nations official says.

**Kurdish allies anxiously await arrival of promised Canadian weapons to fight ISIS ([CBC News](#)):** Canada's Kurdish allies in northern Iraq are anxious and impatient for the Trudeau government to deliver on a promise to supply weapons to carry on the fight against Islamic State militants.

**Department of National Defence scrambles to limit damage on "secret" fighter jet report ([Ottawa Citizen](#)):** The Department of National Defence is now figuring how to dig itself out of the problems it cre-

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Dr. David S. McDonough, PhD

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ated when it pulled down from its website a study on fighter jets.

**Le renseignement financier, outil de  
lutte contre le terrorisme ([La Presse](#)**

**[Canadienne](#))** : L'agence fédérale qui a pour mandat de contrer le blanchiment d'argent et le financement d'activités terroristes a contribué à la lutte contre Daech.

**Canadian military to get guidelines on  
dealing with child soldiers ([The Star](#)):**

Canada's top soldier is issuing the first-ever guidelines for Canadian military personnel on how to deal with child soldiers in advance of deployment to Africa, the Star has learned.

**Governor General laments Canadians'**

**lack of military awareness ([The Canadian](#)**

**[Press](#)):** David Johnston worries that despite a high level of respect, most Canadians don't know enough about the Canadian military and those who serve in it.

**Le ministre Sajjan réaffirme en Afrique**

**de l'Ouest son engagement ([45e Nord](#)):** Le

ministre canadien de la Défense Harjit Sajjan a conclu sa deuxième visite en Afrique en moins de six mois en réaffirmant « l'engagement du Canada envers le multilatéralisme et l'engagement renouvelé envers les opérations de paix » pendant une visite au Mali et au Sénégal.

**Ottawa envisage une mission de paix**

**de trois ans en Afrique ([Le Devoir](#)):** Les

Casques bleus canadiens seront déployés

en Afrique au moins trois ans. Mais pour le reste, le gouvernement Trudeau n'a toujours pas décidé où ni quand il mènera la mission de paix annoncée cet été.

**Liberal government, military defend**

**letting Canadians shoot first in Iraq ([The](#)**

**[Canadian Press](#)):** The Liberal government

faced fresh accusations of misleading the public on Tuesday after the country's top soldier said Canadian troops have been allowed to fire first in Iraq.

**U.S. firm stages 'stealth takeover' of Can-  
ada's largest space tech company ([Ottawa](#)**

**[Citizen](#)):** MDA, an iconic Canadian space company, now has its operations controlled by an American corporation.

**Canadian troops could face wide range of  
heavy weapons if deployed to Mali ([Globe](#)**

**[and Mail](#)):** Canadian troops could face a terrifying arsenal of rebel-held weapons, from rockets and artillery to shoulder-fired missiles and anti-tank mines, if they are deployed as expected in a peacekeeping operation in the West African nation of Mali.