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ON TRACK



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Wise advice before U.S. Defence
goes over the Fiscal Cliff



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COVER PHOTO: Captain Samy-Laël Poulin-Pierre of Les Voltigeurs de Québec directs a patrol in the sectors of CFB Valcartier during the training of Primary Training Audience 4. Photo: Corporal Isabelle Provost, 35 Canadian Brigade Group. © 2012 DND-MDN Canada / PHOTO DE LA PAGE COUVERTURE: Le capitaine Samy-Laël Poulin-Pierre des Voltigeurs de Québec dirige une patrouille dans les secteurs de la BFC Valcartier pendant l'entraînement du 4e groupe cible principal de l'instruction. Photo : Caporal Isabelle Provost, 35e Groupe brigade du Canada. © 2012 DND-MDN Canada

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FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MOT DU DIRECTEUR EXÉCUTIF

Colonel (Ret'd) Alain M. Pellerin



At the CDA Institute we are working hard to find policy solutions to the many defence and security challenges that Canada faces. We believe that effective defence and security policies must be based on rigorous and objective research and reasoned policy options. By sharing the results of our research and our recommendations with policymakers, politicians, academics and the public, we promote change in the policies of our federal government for the betterment of our country.

ON TRACK, the Institute's journal, provides a medium of informed and non-partisan debate on defence and security matters. This Winter edition features articles of current interest in the areas of Afghanistan, the 15th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, care of ill and injured soldiers, Wall of Remembrance, the Canadian Officers' Training Corps revisited, Canada - U.S. relations, the world of diplomacy, and five book reviews.

I am pleased to report that the 15th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, presented by the CDA Institute, in collaboration with the Royal Military College of Canada (RMCC) was an unqualified success. The Symposium was made possible with the outstanding financial assistance of Bombardier Aerospace, and the continuing financial support of the Hon. Hugh Segal and the Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute. The symposium featured three keynote speakers: Paul Chapin, Major-General (Ret'd) Lew MacKenzie, and the Hon. Hugh Segal. The presenters showed once again, this year, the high-caliber of research being pursued by students that is worthy of all of our attention. Paul Hillier, the CDA Institute's research coordinator, provides us with a report on the proceedings of the 15th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, with the theme of *Canada's Security Interests*, that was held at the Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston, for two days last October.

The Hon. Peter MacKay, Minister of National Defence, writes, in *Our Government's Care of Ill and Injured Men and Women in Uniform*, that when members of the Canadian Forces return from their difficult tasks they need to know that they can access the care they need, and that the care of ill and injured personnel is his central priority.

Louis A. Delvoie provides us with an overview of the Federal government's foreign policy in the area of the Middle East, in *Flawed Diplomacy*. He observes that Canadian policy has not gone unnoticed in the Arab world and in the Muslim world more generally. Monsieur Delvoie is a Fellow at the Centre for International and Defence Policy, Queen's University.

À l'Institut de la CAD, nous travaillons dur pour trouver des solutions en matière de politiques aux nombreux défis auxquels est confronté le Canada en matière de défense et de sécurité. Nous croyons que des politiques de défense et de sécurité efficaces doivent être fondées sur une recherche rigoureuse et objective et sur des options de politiques raisonnées. En partageant les résultats de notre recherche et nos recommandations avec les décideurs politiques, les politiciens, les universitaires et le public, nous faisons la promotion du changement dans les politiques de notre gouvernement fédéral pour l'amélioration de notre pays.

ON TRACK, la revue de l'Institut, offre un médium de débat informé et non partisan sur les questions de défense et de sécurité. Ce numéro d'hiver présente des articles d'intérêt actuel dans les domaines comme l'Afghanistan, le 15^e Symposium des étudiants diplômés, les soins aux soldats malades ou blessés, le Mur du souvenir, un réexamen du Corps-école des officiers canadiens, les relations canado-étatsuniennes, le monde de la diplomatie, une question de chars, auxquels s'ajoutent cinq comptes rendus de lecture.

Il me fait plaisir de rapporter que le 15^e Symposium annuel des étudiants diplômés, présenté par l'Institut de la CAD en collaboration avec le Collège militaire royal du Canada (CMRC) a été un franc succès. La tenue du symposium a été rendu possible grâce à l'aide financière exceptionnelle de Bombardier Aerospace, et à l'appui financier continu de l'hon. Hugh Segal et Donna Segal et de l'Institut Canadien de la Défense et des Affaires Étrangères. Le symposium mettait en vedette trois conférenciers de marque : Paul Chapin, le major-général (ret.) Lew MacKenzie et l'honorable Hugh Segal. Les présentateurs ont montré encore cette année le haut calibre de recherche poursuivi par les étudiants, qui est digne de notre attention. Paul Hillier, le coordonnateur de la recherche de l'Institut de la CAD, nous offre un rapport sur les actes du 15^e Symposium annuel des étudiants diplômés, sous le thème *les Intérêts du Canada en matière de sécurité*, qui s'est tenu pendant deux jours en octobre dernier au Collège militaire royal du Canada de Kingston.

L'honorable Peter MacKay, ministre de la Défense nationale, écrit, dans *Our Government's Care of Ill and Injured Men and Women in Uniform*, que quand des membres des Forces canadiennes rentrent de leurs mission difficiles, ils ont besoin de savoir qu'ils peuvent avoir accès aux soins qui leur sont nécessaires, et que le soin des militaires malades et blessés est sa priorité centrale.

Dans *Flawed Diplomacy*, Louis A. Delvoie nous donne un aperçu de la politique étrangère du gouvernement en ce qui a trait au Moyen-Orient. Il fait remarquer que la politique



Recipients of the Vimy Award with the Rt. Hon. Beverley McLaughlin, Chief Justice of Canada. L-R: Vice-Admiral (Ret'd) Larry Murray, (1998); General (Ret'd) John de Chastelain, (1992); General (Ret'd) Rick Hillier, (2008); General (Ret'd) Raymond R. Henault, (2007); Honourary Colonel Frederick Mannix, (2012); the Rt. Hon. Beverley McLaughlin; Major-General Jonathan Vance, (2011); Major-General (Ret'd) Lew MacKenzie, (1993); Lieutenant-General (Ret'd) Charles H. Belzile, (1999); General (Ret'd) Paul D. Manson, (2003); and Master Warrant Officer William MacDonald, (2009).

Photo by: Lieutenant-Colonel (Ret'd) Gord Metcalfe

Les récipiendaires de la Distinction honorifique Vimy avec la très hon. Beverley McLaughlin, le juge en chef du Canada. G-D: le Vice-amiral (ret) Larry Murray, (1998); le Général (ret) John de Chastelain, (1992); le Général (ret) Rick Hillier, (2008); le Général (ret) Raymond R. Henault, (2007); le Colonel honoraire Frederick Mannix, (2012); la très hon. Beverley McLaughlin; le Major-général Jonathan Vance, (2011); le Major-général (ret) Lew MacKenzie, (1993); le Lieutenant-général (ret) Charles H. Belzile, (1999); le Général (ret) Paul D. Manson, (2003); et l'Adjudant-maître William MacDonald, (2009).

Photo par: le Lieutenant-colonel (ret) Gord Metcalfe

In his article, *Les Interventions Humanitaires Sont-Elles Encore Possible?*, Ferry de Kerckhove argued that the Responsibility to Protect — R2P — has become increasingly difficult to implement in its ultimate form, i.e. military action, when the crisis at hand has a civilizational dimension. Afghanistan, Libya and Syria are cases in point.

As a gift to the Royal Military College of Canada in 2009, the RMC Class of 1963 created and donated a Wall of Honour to recognize Ex-Cadets and others with College numbers. In *Wall of Honour Ceremony, 2012*, Captain (Ret'd) Peter Forsberg, the Institute's Public Affairs Officer, reports that Lieutenant-General (Ret'd) Richard J. Evraire, Chairman Conference of Defence Associations, was honoured by the RMC Class of 1963 by having his name inscribed on a bronze plaque which was placed on the Wall of Honour.

The Canadian National Leadership Program (CNLP) is a project looking at establishing a leadership training program on Canadian campuses modeled on the university-based military officer training programs which used to exist in Canada. Lieutenant-General (Ret'd) Michel Maisonneuve outlines the objective of the program, in *The Canadian National Leadership Program: COTC Revisited*. He is a Member of the CDA Institute's Board of Directors.

canadienne n'est pas passée inaperçue dans le monde arabe et, plus généralement, dans le monde musulman. M. Delvoie est Fellow du Centre for International and Defense Policy de l'Université Queen's.

Dans son article, *Les Interventions Humanitaires Sont-Elles Encore Possible?*, Ferry de Kerckhove affirme que la responsabilité de protéger – R2P – est devenue de plus en plus difficile à appliquer dans sa forme ultime, c'est-à-dire dans l'action militaire, quand la crise en cours a une dimension de civilisation. L'Afghanistan, la Libye et la Syrie sont de bons exemples.

En guise de cadeau au Collège Militaire Royal du Canada (CMRC) en 2009, la promotion de 1963 a créé et donné au CMRC un Mur d'honneur pour reconnaître les anciens élèves-officiers et autres personnes détenant un numéro de collège. Dans *Mur d'honneur, 2012*, le capitaine (ret.) Peter Forsberg, l'officier des affaires publiques de l'Institut, rapporte que le lieutenant-général (ret.) Richard J. Evraire, président de la Conférence des associations de la défense, a été honoré par la classe de 1963 du CMR en inscrivant son nom sur une plaque de bronze qui a été affixée au Mur d'honneur.

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Honourary Captain (N) Colin Robertson writes, in *Wise Advice before U.S. Defense goes over the Fiscal Cliff*, that the U.S. Forces face relative austerity and that former Defense Secretary Robert Gates and current Secretary Leon Panetta have called on the Allies to step up to the plate. Honourary Captain (N) Robertson believes that Canada will be expected to do its part. He is a Member of the CDA Institute's Board of Directors.

Renée Filiatrault writes, in *Social Media and Influence in Conflict*, that the merits of 'embracing the chaos' of the new media and using it for outreach is increasingly obvious. Renée was a senior public diplomacy officer with Task Force Kandahar.

We are pleased to include book reviews in this edition of *ON TRACK*. The Honourary Colonels of the Governor General's Foot Guards and the Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa are each

reviewing the regimental histories of each others' units: Major-General (Ret'd) John Adams reviews *Capital Soldiers*, a history of the Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa, written by Dr. Ken Reynolds. Honourary Colonel Paul Hindo co-reviews with Lieutenant-Colonel (Ret'd) Dan Mackay a history of the Governor General's Foot Guards, *Steady the Buttons Two by Two*, a work co-authored by Dr. Steve Harris, R.M. Foster, Tim Richter, et al.

Meghan Spilka O'Keefe provides us with her review of *The Tale of Two Nazanins*, co-authored by Nazanin Afshin-Jam and Susan McClelland. The story's opening setting establishes the three themes of gender relations, beauty, and sisterhood. Jordan Fraser writes our fifth review, that of *Manhunt*, by Peter L. Bergen. This is a story of the hunt for Osama Bin Laden from 9/11 to Abbottabad.

The CDA Institute was honoured on November 9 when the Rt. Hon. Beverley McLachlin, Chief Justice of Canada, presented the Vimy Award on behalf of the CDA Institute to Honourary Colonel Frederick Philip Mannix before a record number of guests at a reception and formal dinner at the Canadian War Museum. The evening, under the presidency of General (Ret'd) Raymond R. Henault, was dignified by the presence of the Rt. Hon. Beverley McLaughlin, and Mr. Frank McARDle; Vice-Admiral Bruce Donaldson, Vice-Chief of the Defence Staff, and Mrs. Gina Donaldson; Honourary Colonel Mannix and Mrs. Li-Anne Mannix; previous recipients of the Vimy Award and of the Ross Munro media Award; Officer Cadets of the Royal Military College of Canada and Collège militaire royal de Saint-Jean; members of the Canadian Forces; and many other distinguished guests.

The Vimy Award gala was filled with colour and ceremony, generously provided by the Regimental Band of the Governor General's Foot Guards, the Regimental Pipes of



L-R: General (Ret'd) Raymond R. Henault, President CDA Institute; Honourary Colonel Frederick Mannix, recipient of the Vimy Award for 2012; the Rt. Hon. Beverley McLaughlin, Chief Justice of Canada / G-D: le Général (ret) Raymond R. Henault, le Président de l'Institut de la CAD; le Colonel honoraire Frederick Mannix; la très hon. Beverley McLaughlin
Photo par: le Lieutenant-colonel (ret) Gord Metcalfe

Le Programme canadien de leadership est un projet qui cherche à établir un programme de formation au leadership sur les campus universitaires canadiens à l'image des programmes d'entraînement d'officiers militaires à l'université qui existaient jadis au Canada. Le lieutenant-général Michel Maisonneuve décrit les objectifs du programme dans *The Canadian National Leadership Program: COTC Revisited*. Il est membre du conseil d'administration de l'Institut de la CAD.

Le capitaine honoraire (M) Colin Robertson écrit, dans *Wise Advice before U.S. Defense goes over the Fiscal Cliff*, que les forces armées des États-Unis font face à une relative austérité et que l'ancien secrétaire à la défense Robert Gates et l'actuel Leon Panetta ont fait appel aux alliés pour qu'ils fassent leur part. Le capitaine honoraire (M)

Robertson croit qu'on s'attendra à ce que le Canada fasse sa part. Il est membre du conseil d'administration de l'Institut de la CAD.

Dans *Social Media and Influence in Conflict*, Renée Filiatrault écrit que les mérites que trouvent les médias à « embrasser le chaos » et à l'utiliser à des fins de proximité sont de plus en plus évidents. Renée fut officier supérieur de diplomatie publique avec la Force opérationnelle Kandahar

Nous avons le plaisir d'inclure quatre comptes rendus de lecture dans ce numéro de *ON TRACK*. Le colonel honoraire de la Garde à pied du gouverneur général et celui des Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa passent chacun en revue l'histoire régimentaire de leurs unités réciproques : Le major-général (ret.) John Adams a lu *Capital Soldiers*, une histoire des Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa, due à la plume de M. Ken Reynolds. Le colonel honoraire Paul Hindo examine avec le lieutenant-colonel (ret.) Dan Mackay une histoire de la Garde à pied du gouverneur général, *Steady the Buttons Two by Two*, une œuvre dont les co-auteurs sont MM. Steve Harris, R.M. Foster, Tim Richter, et d'autres.

Meghan Spilka O'Keefe nous fait un compte rendu de *The Tale of Two Nazanins*, des co-auteurs Nazanin Afshin-Jam et Susan McClelland. *The Taliban Don't Wave* est le récit à brûle-pourpoint de la guerre au sol en Afghanistan, du capitaine (ret.) Robert Semrau. Arnav Manchanda en fait le compte rendu. Meghan Spilka O'Keefe nous présente sa lecture de *The Tale of Two Nazanins*, dont les co-auteurs sont Nazanin Afshin-Jam et Susan McClelland. Le cadre de l'ouverture de l'histoire établit les trois thèmes de relations entre les sexes, de la beauté et de la sororité. Jordan Fraser écrit notre cinquième compte rendu, de *Manhunt*, de Peter L. Bergen. C'est une histoire de la chasse à Osama Ben Laden, de 9/11 à Abbottabad.

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the Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa, and the Canadian Forces String Ensemble and Jazz Combo from the Central Band of the Canadian Forces.

The valuable support of our corporate sponsors and CDA members contributed to a very significant event that was appreciated by everyone who attended. Our public thanks to our corporate sponsors appears elsewhere in this issue of *ON TRACK*.

Included with the Vimy Award Dinner was the presentation of the Ross Munro Media Award to Mr. Adam Day, of Legion Magazine, by Brigadier-General (Ret'd) Bob Millar, President of the Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute (CDFAI). The Award was initiated by the CDA in collaboration with the CDFAI, to recognize annually one Canadian journalist who has made a significant and outstanding contribution to the general public's understanding of Canada's defence and security issues.

Looking forward to events, the CDA Institute and CDA will present their annual seminar, *The 2013 Ottawa Conference on Defence and Security*, on Thursday and Friday, 21 and 22 February, 2013, at the Fairmont Château Laurier Hotel in Ottawa. This annual conference is Canada's most important platform from which defence and security issues are explored.

Speakers will include Confirmed high-profile speakers will include General Tom Lawson, Chief of the Defence Staff; Admiral Samuel J. Locklear III, Commander U.S. Pacific Command; Dr. Ian Brodie, former Chief of Staff to the Prime Minister; Major-General (Ret'd) John Adams, former chief CSEC; Mel Cappe, former Clerk of the Privy Council; General Keith Alexander, Commander U.S. Cyber Command; and the French chief of defence, Admiral Edouard Guillaud. The notice of the 2013 Ottawa Conference on Defence and Security appears elsewhere in this publication. The Conference agenda and registration are available at <http://cda-cdai.ca/cdai/defence-seminars/conference2013>.

In addition to producing *ON TRACK*, the CDA Institute continues to be involved in a number of initiatives in promoting the cause of the Canadian Forces, such as the Annual Graduate Student Symposium, the Vimy Award, the Ottawa Conference on Defence and Security, and numerous round table discussions. For those of you who enjoy the Institute's weekly news summary we are pleased, now, to present the summary in conjunction with the newly launched CDA Institute Blog

L'Institut de la CAD a été honoré, le 9 novembre, de la présence de la très honorable Beverley McLachlin, juge en chef du Canada, qui a remis, au nom de l'Institut, le Prix Vimy au colonel honoraire Frederick Philip Mannix devant un nombre record d'invités lors d'une réception et d'un dîner formel au Musée canadien de la guerre. Sous la présidence du général (ret.) Raymond R. Henault, la soirée a été rehaussée par la présence de la très honorable Beverley McLaughlin et de M. Frank McArdle, du vice-amiral Bruce Donaldson, vice-chef de l'état-major de la Défense, et Mme Gina Donaldson, du colonel honoraire Mannix et Mme Li-Anne Mannix, de récipiendaires passés du Prix Vimy et du Prix de journalisme Ross Munro, d'élèves-officiers du Collège militaire royal du Canada et du Collège militaire royal de Saint-Jean, de membres des Forces armées et de nombreux autres invités de marque.

Le gala du Prix Vimy a été rempli de couleur et de cérémonie, généreusement offertes par la musique du Governor General's Foot Guards, les Regimental Pipes des Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa, ainsi que par l'ensemble à cordes et le jazz combo des Forces canadiennes de la Musique centrale des Forces canadiennes.

L'appui précieux de nos entreprises commanditaires et des membres de la CAD a contribué à un événement très important qui fut apprécié de toutes les personnes présentes. Nos remerciements publics adressés à nos entreprises commanditaires apparaissent ailleurs dans ce numéro de *ON TRACK*.

Dans le cadre du dîner du prix Vimy eut lieu la présentation du prix Ross Munro Media Award à M. Adam Day, journaliste de la Revue Légion. Le prix a été présenté par le Brigadier-Général (Retraité) Bob Millar, président de l'Institut Canadien de la Défense et des Affaires Étrangères (ICDAE). Le prix a été créé par la Conférence des associations de la défense, de concert avec l'ICDAE. Il a pour objectif de reconnaître chaque année un journaliste canadien qui a fait une contribution significative et exceptionnelle à la compréhension par le grand public des enjeux que doit affronter le Canada en matière de défense et de sécurité.

Pour ce qui est des activités à venir, l'Institut de la CAD et la CAD vont présenter leur séminaire annuel, la *Conférence*

d'Ottawa 2013 sur la défense et la sécurité, le jeudi 21 et le vendredi 22 février 2013, à l'hôtel Fairmont Château Laurier d'Ottawa. Cette conférence annuelle est la plateforme la plus importante du Canada à partir de laquelle sont explorées les questions de défense et de sécurité.



L-R: Brigadier-General (Ret'd) Robert (Bob) Millar, President Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, co-sponsor of the Ross Munro Media Award; Adam Day, recipient of the Ross Munro Media Award for 2012; the Rt. Hon. Beverley McLaughlin, Chief Justice of Canada; and Lieutenant-General (Ret'd) Richard J. Evraire, Chairman Conference of Defence Associations, co-sponsor of the Ross Munro Media Award / G-D: le Brigadier-général (ret) Robert (Bob) Millar, Président l'Institut Canadien de la Défense et des Affaires Étrangères, co-commanditaire du prix média Ross Munro; Adam Day, récipiendaire du prix média Ross Munro 2012; la très hon. Beverley McLaughlin, le juge en chef du Canada; et le Lieutenant-général (ret) Richard J. Evraire, Président de la Conférence des Associations de la défense, co-commanditaire du prix média Ross Munro

Photo by / par Lieutenant-Colonel (Ret'd) Gord Metcalfe

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which profiles media reviews as well as policy and issues briefs written by various writers.

In closing, I wish to thank our benefactors, for their financial support for the work of the CDA Institute, without whom we would be hard-pressed to fulfil our mandate.

If you are not already a donor to the CDA Institute, I would ask you to become one and recruit a friend. If you join at the Supporter level with a donation of \$75 or higher, you will receive the following benefits for 12 months:

- A charitable donation tax receipt;
- Four issues of the CDA Institute's quarterly magazine, *ON TRACK*;
- Advance copies of all other CDA Institute publications, such as the Vimy Papers; and,
- A discount registration rate at our annual conference.

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Les conférenciers de haut profil qui ont confirmé leur présence sont le général Tom Lawson, chef de l'état-major de la Défense, l'amiral Samuel J. Locklear III, Commander U.S. Pacific Command, M. Ian Brodie, ancien chef de cabinet du premier ministre, le major-général (ret.) John Adams, ancien chef du CSTC, Mel Cappe, ancien greffier du Conseil privé, le général Keith Alexander, Commander U.S. Cyber Command, et le chef de la Défense de la France, l'amiral Édouard Guillaud. L'avis de convocation de la Conférence d'Ottawa 2013 sur la défense et la sécurité apparaît ailleurs dans cette publication. L'ordre du jour et l'inscription sont disponibles à l'adresse <http://cda-cdai.ca/cdai/defence-seminars/conference2013>.

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En terminant je veux remercier nos bienfaiteurs pour l'appui financier qu'ils accordent au travail de l'Institut. Sans eux, l'Institut aurait beaucoup de difficulté à s'acquitter de son mandat.

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The generosity of our donors enables the CDA Institute to carry on its essential work on behalf of those who require our important research. These papers, which include the recently published Vimy Paper 5, *The Strategic Outlook for Canada*, the CDA Institute analysis, *Leading from behind is still leading: Canada and the international intervention in Libya*, and *Canada Whole of Government Operations Kandahar September 2010 to July 2011*, are circulated in the public domain, and provide factual information to Canadians about the realities and importance of defence and security issues. This means that the public has access to information prepared by the men and women who are in the forefront of defence policy and practice in Canada.

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La générosité de nos donateurs permet à l'Institut de la CAD de poursuivre son travail essentiel au nom de ceux qui ont besoin de notre importante recherche. Ces communications, qui comprennent le Cahier Vimy n° 5, *Les perspectives stratégiques du Canada*, récemment publié, l'analyse de l'Institut de la CAD, *Mener depuis l'arrière, c'est encore mener : Le Canada et l'intervention internationale en Libye*, et *Les opérations pangouvernementales du Canada à Kandahar, septembre 2010 à juillet 2011*, sont diffusées dans le domaine public et elles dispensent aux Canadiens des renseignements factuels concernant les réalités et l'importance des questions de défense et de sécurité. Cela veut dire que le public a accès à des renseignements préparés par les hommes et les femmes qui sont à l'avant-garde des politiques et des pratiques de défense au Canada.



In addition to the annual Ottawa Conference on Defence and Security, the Graduate Student Symposium, and the Vimy Award gala the CDA Institute hosts monthly round table discussions with subject experts on a wide variety of defence and security topics. General (Ret'd) Raymond R. Henault thanks Lieutenant-General Stuart Beare, Commander Canadian Joint Operations Command, for his participation, following one of the round table discussions.

Photo by Lieutenant-Colonel (Ret'd) Gord Metcalfe

En plus de la Conférence annuelle d'Ottawa sur la défense et la sécurité, du Symposium des étudiants diplômés et du gala du prix Vimy, l'Institut de la CAD est l'hôte de tables rondes mensuelles avec des experts en la matière sur une large gamme de sujets touchant la défense et la sécurité. Le général (ret) Raymon R. Henault remercie le lieutenant-général Stuart Beare, commandant du Commandement des opérations interarmées du Canada, pour sa participation, suite à une des discussions en table ronde.

Photo du lieutenant-colonel (ret) Gord Metcalfe

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Whole-of-Government Experience in Kandahar - Lessons Identified

Dr. Howard G. Coombs

Afghanistan provided an opportunity for the Canadian government to utilize the inter-departmental approach to interventions in war-torn countries. Today known as 'whole of government' this integration was not without challenges.

"Whole of government – don't you mean 'hole' of government?"

- Canadian Forces officer Kandahar 2011

Canada's Afghanistan mission provided the initial trial of the amalgamation of defence, diplomacy and development – 3D approach - that had been created as the expression of Canadian foreign policy in conflicted regions about 2003.¹ This concept evolved into the ideas represented by the more all-inclusive expression 'whole-of-government' and in essence remained primarily concerned with integrating all instruments of policy, regardless of department or agency, in order to produce a desired effect linked to national strategy. This evolution was not, as indicated in the quotation above, trouble free.

As Canada's last combat mission wound to a close in 2011 it was apparent to many that while much had been accomplished it was necessary to capture the valuable knowledge gained, at times, ever so painfully.

In February 2011 a whole of government workshop was conducted at Kandahar Airfield in an attempt to delineate the mechanics or procedures of this inter-governmental approach. The contributors included members of all departments involved with the Canadian military mission. Those elements of Canada's Joint Task Force Afghanistan located in the volatile Kandahar region of southern Afghanistan were known as Task Force Kandahar (TFK). The over 30 participants in this workshop included representatives from the Canadian military mission, the Kandahar Provincial Reconstruction Team (KPRT) and District Stabilization Teams (DSTs).²

In 2010-2011 the KPRT had become a combined Canadian – American effort and was a mission that included sixty-two Canadian civilians. This group worked closely with the Office of the Provincial Governor, the Provincial Ministries, and the Provincial Council in order to support the implementation of Afghan priority-determined projects throughout the province. The Canadian staff of this organization was comprised of diplomats, aid workers, corrections officers, and civilian police who shared the

mission of reconnecting Kandaharis with an effective, representative government.

In support of these efforts the KPRT worked closely with both Canadian Forces, as well as American civilian and military partners. However, the greatest effects achieved in Kandahar were in conjunction with the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (GIROA) in the form of the Governor, Tooryali Wesa, and his administration.

As part of this effort, District Stabilization Teams (DSTs) comprised of small groups of American and Canadian governmental advisors, with military assistance, worked closely with their Afghan counterparts in the district line ministries and district governors to increase local capacity.

The measurable growth of district governance over time was in no small part due to the efforts of these teams of dedicated professionals. Finally, TFK attempted to set the security conditions by which Afghan government could connect with Afghans through the sustainable policies and programs delivered by the Afghan leadership and civil service who were, in the main, assisted by the KPRT and DSTs.

As a result of these years of hard and dangerous efforts a number of subject areas were seen to have primacy for consideration at the whole-of-government workshop. These were interdepartmental civilian-military cooperation, the evolution of a bi-national KPRT, strategic communications, contracting and the rule of law. Given the nature of these subjects there was much captured in the discourse established amongst the discussants worth sustaining and improving upon.

Interdepartmental Civilian-Military Cooperation

The need to have expertise across the domains of security, governance, reconstruction and development was paramount. Without balanced civilian expertise and support a host nation is unable to extend its influence into the communities. Two areas cited in 2011 as lacking key Canadian civilian expertise in the agrarian and conflict-ridden environment of Kandahar were agriculture and justice. Furthermore, the requirement to integrate with other government departments and particularly the Canadian military prior to the deployment was brought forward.

Understanding other departmental cultures and modes of operation would have reduced friction between

Dr. Howard Gordon Coombs retired from active duty with the Canadian Forces in 2003. He is currently an Assistant Professor of the Royal Military College of Canada. He is also a part-time reserve officer who commands 33 Canadian Brigade Group, headquartered in Ottawa. Dr. Coombs deployed with Joint Task Force Afghanistan from September 2010 to July 2011 as a civilian advisor to the Task Force Commander.

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different organizations, as well as improved communications and effectiveness. This latter point contextualized all lessons that arose between departments.³

Evolution of a Bi-National KPRT

The KPRT had evolved over time to be a bi-national, civil-military construct which combined American and Canadian civilians and military. This structure and cooperative approach was effective in the Kandahar region, particularly as responsibilities were handed over in 2011. The KPRT reached across the province to the districts and assisted greatly in the handover of structures, programming and operations. It represented a culmination of years of interdepartmental work when compared with the first KPRT implemented in 2005 - at a time when all were uncertain of how it should function.

Strategic Communications

The need for the civilian agencies of the Canadian government to be able to communicate to the media was emphasized time and time again over the years. While Defence has great latitude in dealing with the media, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the Canadian International Development Agency do not. DFAIT and CIDA approvals for media contact are centralized at the highest levels.

This control had a negative impact in informing the Canadian public of inter-departmental activities and achievements. Resultantly, the absence of a comprehensive strategic communications approach that linked the whole-of-government outcomes taking place in Afghanistan with governmental objectives created a deleterious effect. The public was uncertain regarding Canada's involvement in that country and, more importantly, as time passed question its value.

Contracting

There was and is a need to standardize contracting procedures across the Canadian whole-of-government effort. While the methods of the Canadian Forces and the Department of National Defence are flexible and were deemed to represent 'best practices' those of other departments were seen as, at times, problematic and cumbersome. Money acted as a force multiplier and using it in an agile, effective and transparent manner assisted with the creation of security, governance and reconstruction.

Rule of Law

While Canadian expertise was recognized in the area of rule of law a more comprehensive and detailed program

(Endnotes)

that would reach to the districts and their people would have been more efficacious.

If there was one area that never did get the attention that it deserved it was the need to build capacity and support the rule of law through all Afghan legal and security institutions. In the absence of a reliable and consistent judiciary and policing apparatus the Afghan population were forced to utilize various means to try to address their legal concerns, even taking advantage of traditional Islamic religious and cultural processes imbued in the *sharia* codes administered by the Taliban.

In the final analysis, the concept of whole-of-government is too important to take lightly. The words of the former Commander of the Canadian Army, Lieutenant-General Andrew Leslie, and his co-authors published in a 2008 *Canadian Military Journal* article are more relevant in the current and future security environment than ever:

In today's security environment, successful military operations are unlikely to be achieved through the use of military power alone. In a world where conflict often involves myriad ethnic, religious, ideological, and material drivers, an ability to bring to bear all instruments of national and coalition power and influence upon a problem in a timely, coordinated fashion (i.e., diplomatic, economic, military and informational) is increasingly essential to achieving effective results.⁴

Given these words and that the ultimate goal of military activities should be an enduring and lasting peace one can see that such conditions can only be set through the regeneration of post-conflict regions by multi-national and national whole-of-government type efforts. The sad fact of the matter is that from a Canadian perspective these lessons, like those articulated in Kandahar, are not yet learned. That would imply that corrective actions have yet to take place to ensure that future whole-of-government activities are well informed and do not repeat sub-optimal procedures from the past.

The observations contained in this material are, as the title suggests, lessons identified. The discourse established by the whole-of-government team in Kandahar encapsulates key processes that require rationalization and improvement, as well as those that should continue in their current forms. Until we systemically implement within professional knowledge and practice the understanding obtained through years of hard and dangerous service by military and civilians, some of whom paid the ultimate price, we will as so aptly pointed out by philosopher George Santayana continue to repeat the past.⁵

This is too important. We cannot forget.

1 Janet Gross Stein and Eugene Lang, *The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2007; reprint 2008), 107-08.

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2 See the report jointly signed by the Commander Task Force Kandahar and the Representative of Canada in Kandahar entitled “Kandahar Lessons Learned Workshop, Task Force Kandahar, Kandahar Provincial Reconstruction Team, 24 February 2011) enclosed under the covering letter Canada, Department of National Defence, Headquarters Joint Task Force Afghanistan, Task Force Kandahar, “3350-1 (JLLO) Report on Kandahar Whole of Government Lessons Learned Workshop” (02 June 2011). Much of the information in this article has been extracted from this document, discussions with colleagues and personal experiences. I especially thank the Task Force Kandahar Developmental Advisor, Ms. Anne Lavender, and the TFK Joint Lessons Learned Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Kimberley Unterganschnigg, for debating and elucidating their perspectives with me throughout the period of our deployment. I would also like to provide my gratitude to the TFK Political Advisor, Mr. Colin Lake, for his informed thoughts on a cross-section of issues pertaining to his work.

3 For a wide-ranging, discussion of interdepartmental issues see also Chapter 15 “The Three *Ds* In Afghanistan,” in Stein and Lang, *The Unexpected War*, 259-83. Although slightly dated the observations remain relevant.

4 Lieutenant-General Andrew Leslie, Mr. Peter Gizewski, and Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Rostek, “Developing a Comprehensive Approach to Canadian Forces Operations,” *Canadian Military Journal* 9, No. 1 (Spring 2008): 11.

5 The full quote is “Progress, far from consisting in change, depends on retentiveness. When change is absolute there remains no being to improve and no direction is set for possible improvement: and when experience is not retained, as among savages, infancy is perpetual. Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.” From *The Life of Reason*, Vol. I, *Reason in Common Sense* cited in *Wikipedia*, “George Santayana” available at http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/George_Santayana, accessed 13 October 2012. ©

Report on proceedings

The 15th Graduate Student Symposium

Paul Hillier

Readers familiar with the CDA Institute’s initiatives will know that each year, right around this time, they can pick up their copy of *ON TRACK* to read a report on the proceedings of the Institute’s Graduate Students’ Symposium.

On the 25th and 26th of October the CDA Institute (in partnership with the Royal Military College of Canada (RMCC)) drew together 30 graduate students from across the country, members of the Kingston, Ottawa and surrounding areas’ defence community, more than 100 Officers Cadets from RMCC, as well as academic, industry and government leaders, for the 2012 edition of the Symposium.

We are very grateful to the sponsors who helped to make the event possible. Joining us as a major contributor this year was Bombardier. We were very pleased to have Bombardier Aerospace’s Vice-President Government Relations Brigadier-General (Ret’d) David Jurkowski join us for the Symposium.

We are also extremely grateful for the ongoing financial support provided by the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute and Senator Hugh Segal.

The three keynote speakers, The Hon. Hugh Segal, Senator, Chair of the Special Senate Committee on Anti-Terrorism; Major-General (Ret’d) Lewis MacKenzie, former Senior UN Commander in Yugoslavia; and, Mr. Paul Chapin, Member of the Board of Directors, CDA Institute, all touched on

very different aspects of Canada’s Security Interests.

Tying back to the CDA Institute’s “2012 Strategic Outlook for Canada”, as well as foreshadowing the second Strategic Outlook (to be released at the Ottawa Conference on Defence and Security in February 2013), Paul Chapin gave a 360-degree analysis of potential conflict areas and Canada’s place in the world.

Senator Segal spoke to the Canadian commitment in Afghanistan, and to the wider Canadian foreign policy challenges that have been met by “feisty and passionate foreign ministers and courageous Prime Ministers.”

As the evening keynote speaker after a dinner in the Cadet Mess in Yeo Hall, Major-General (Ret’d) Lew MacKenzie’s address captured, with wisdom and humour, the brand of leadership and the types of leaders Canada will need in the coming years.

As is our yearly tradition, we are very pleased to recognize the top students, whose presentations demonstrated a calibre of analysis and research that was deserving of special felicitation. We are grateful to Lieutenant-général (ret) Richard Evraire, Chairman of the CDA, and his fellow judges (joining him this year were RMCC professors Dr. Roch Legault and Dr. Daniel Lagacé-Roy) for their efforts in identifying the following presenters:

First place was awarded to Geoff Keelan of the University of Waterloo for his presentation “A Historical Perspective of Cyber Warfare: Information Wars.”

Paul Hillier is the Research Co-ordinator with the CDA Institute.

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Second place was awarded to Meaghan Williams of Queen's University for her presentation "Hell on Heels: The Growing Phenomenon of Female Suicide Terror."

Third place was awarded to Bill McAuley of the University of Calgary for his presentation "Canada's Tactical Fixation? Rethinking the IED Phenomenon."

Fourth place was awarded to Kenneth Martin of Concordia University for his presentation "Rebels without a Cause: A Revision of Non-State Armed Groups' Relation to the State."

Fifth Place was awarded to Jean-François Bélanger of McGill University for his presentation "Canada and Missile Defense: Myths and Subtle Yes."

In addition to the cash prizes (of \$1,000, \$500, \$250, \$100 and \$100 respectively), this year we launched a new initiative that will see the top three students awarded \$2,000 honorariums and the opportunity to develop their presentations into a CDA Institute publication.

The three topics could hardly address more varied security interests: information warfare and dominance, gender and the role of female suicide terror, and tactical and strategic threats IEDs present in counterinsurgency operations. However,

through all of them consistent themes emerge. In all three cases, the authors ask readers to widen their definition of security, reconsidering and questioning traditional understandings of defence issues, and ultimately presenting tangible policy recommendations to government. The published versions of the presentations will be distributed early in the new year by the CDA Institute.

Another element unique to this year was the close affiliation between our Symposium and the International Society of Military Sciences' 2012 Annual Conference, which was hosted at RMCC for the two days prior to our conference. Canada was fortunate to host that international event, which drew speakers from a wide variety of countries and backgrounds, while the many delegates who attended and presented at both events were fortunate to have a week-long platform for discussion about some of the most pressing security issues of the contemporary era.

This year was another truly successful Symposium, and I am tremendously grateful to all those who provided invaluable assistance. I encourage all of you to keep watch for the upcoming CDA Institute publication that will feature the above-mentioned winning presentations. ©

Our Government's Care of Ill and Injured Men and Women in Uniform

The Hon. Peter G. MacKay

The Hon. Peter MacKay outlines the measures he has taken to augment mental health care and associated preventive programs in the Canadian Forces.

The men and women who serve this country do so with courage and honour. They are often called upon to fight in Canada's name for freedom, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. They are honoured internationally for their professionalism. Not only do they protect Canada and Canadian interests - they make our nation proud. When members of the Canadian Forces return from the difficult tasks they are asked to do, they need to know that they can access the care they need. Following the end of the combat mission in Afghanistan, and a return of our sailors and air personnel deployed on Operation MOBILE, we know that certain soldiers, sailors and air personnel are either ill or injured because of their work abroad. We also know that a Canadian Forces (CF) member need not deploy to suffer

operational stresses. This is why I have made the care of ill and injured personnel my central priority.

Since 2006, we have added \$100 million to the military health budget and, in September 2012, I reallocated an additional commitment of \$11.4 million to augment mental health care and associated preventive programs in the CF. This new commitment brings our annual mental health budget to \$50 million. Compared to our NATO allies, the CF already has the highest ratio of mental health workers to soldiers, and our team-based approach to mental health care is considered a model among its counterparts in the civilian sector. We know the necessary resources are in place to provide assistance when needed. We now need those personnel suffering from mental health issues to come forward so that they can be treated and, when they do, we need professional mental health care providers to care for them. Key to achieving the first element is overcoming the

The Hon. Peter G. MacKay is the Minister of National Defence and the Member of Parliament for Central Nova.

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perceived stigma attached to mental health problems. This can be achieved only through education and through the active involvement of senior leaders within the military.

More than 50,000 CF members have received mental health training and education through the Road to Mental Readiness program ...

In this regard, we are doing very well. We have fostered a culture of understanding of mental health issues among CF members and leaders, which has led to stigma levels that are significantly less than those of our major allies. More than 50,000 CF members have received mental health training and education through the Road to Mental Readiness program delivered to all levels of leadership. Thousands of others have received education and skills training through the Strengthening the Forces health promotion program, which targets factors that contribute to mental health problems, such as stress and anger management, addictions, family violence, and suicide intervention. In response to the growing awareness across the CF that mental health injuries

are as challenging as physical injuries, the military health care system has responded with an enhanced capability to care for those coming forward for treatment.

Today, mental health care is provided through 38 primary care clinics and detachments, and 26 dedicated mental health clinics across Canada. There are also seven Operational Trauma and Stress Support Centres, which serve as centres of excellence for the assessment, treatment, education, and research for Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and other operational stress injuries.

An aggressive plan is being developed to improve our systems and to recruit and retain more high quality mental health care providers across Canada. This includes hiring additional psychiatrists, psychologists, mental health nurses, social workers, addictions counselors and case managers, as well as the enhancement of existing support programs. Our government is ensuring that personnel have the resources necessary to make our military mental health care program the best in NATO. This is my number one priority and I know the entire defence team is committed to improving an already excellent system. ©

Flawed Diplomacy: The Harper Government and the Middle East

Louis A. Delvoie

Most diplomatic practitioners would agree with the thesis that the principal purpose of Canadian foreign policy and diplomacy is to promote and defend the national interests of Canada. Above all else, that means ensuring the security and prosperity of Canada and Canadians. Unfortunately, in the course of its relations with the countries of the Middle East, the administration of Prime Minister Stephen Harper has adopted positions that are in fact detrimental to Canada's national interests on several fronts.

The Arab-Israeli Conflict

For over fifty years the Canadian government's policy on the Arab-Israeli conflict was distinguished by two features. The first was strong support for Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized borders. The second was a commitment to "balance and objectivity" in dealing with individual episodes or events in the conflict. That the Harper administration has totally abandoned the second aspect of that policy became very evident during Israel's military operations in Lebanon in 2006 and in Gaza in 2009.

The Harper administration has adopted a position of complete and unqualified support for Israel, regardless of events or circumstances. In so doing, it has often parted

company with its major western allies, including the United States. For example, during its time in office, the Harper administration has been virtually alone amongst Western governments in not calling for a halt to the expansion of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. Moreover, at the 2011 G-8 Summit Prime Minister Harper is reported to have blocked consensus on a declaration calling for a two state solution based on the pre-1967 borders. Such a bias in Canadian policy has certainly not gone unnoticed in the Arab world, and in the Muslim world more generally.

Turkey

In 2004, the House of Commons unwisely adopted a resolution decrying the deaths of hundreds of thousands

Louis A. Delvoie is a Fellow at the Centre for International and Defence Policy at Queen's University.

of Armenians in 1915 as an act of genocide on the part of the Ottoman Empire. At the time, Prime Minister Paul Martin wisely kept his distance from the initiative, participating in neither the debate nor the vote on the resolution. Not so for Prime Minister Harper, who, in April 2006, issued a statement endorsing the resolution and once again referred to the events of 1915 as genocide, despite warnings against such action from the Turkish government through diplomatic channels.

Successive Turkish governments have insisted that there was no genocide in 1915, and that it is up to historians, not foreign politicians, to interpret that episode in Ottoman history. In response to Prime Minister Harper's statement, the Turkish government temporarily withdrew its ambassador from Canada and instituted what turned out to be a three-year freeze in high level contacts between the two governments. That occurred precisely when Turkey was emerging as a dynamic economy on the world stage, and as a significant actor in Middle Eastern and Central Asian affairs. The timing could not have been more disadvantageous for Canada.

Iran

By any standard, the Iranian regime is thoroughly distasteful. Its brutal repression of political dissent, its scant respect for human rights, its misogyny and its frequently vitriolic rhetoric all make Iran a poster boy for autocratic regimes. Moreover, Iran's suspect nuclear programme and its prevarications in dealing with the concerns to which the program has given rise, have only added to the country's bad image in the western world—and deservedly so.

Since the Iranian Revolution of 1979, Canada has enjoyed what can at best be described as a choppy relationship with Iran. The Iranian government was not pleased with Canada's role in spiriting six American diplomats out of Iran in 1980. Since then, Canada has on numerous occasions upbraided Iran for its human rights record, and for its treatment of Iranian-Canadians caught up in the country's judicial and prison system.

Nevertheless, the Canadian government made a serious mistake when it formally broke diplomatic relations with Iran earlier this year. The Harper administration took such action partially on the grounds that there existed a credible threat to the safety of Canadian personnel serving in Tehran. If that were the case, Canada should simply have withdrawn the personnel from Tehran until such time as the threat ceased to exist. There was no need to expel all Iranian diplomats from Ottawa and sever all official diplomatic relations with Iran.

The existence of diplomatic relations is an essential tool in providing protection to Canadians in Iran, and in confronting Iran's nuclear ambitions (whatever those may be). The absence of diplomatic relations between Canada and Iran is thus a handicap on Canada's foreign policy.

Consequences and Conclusions

In its approach to the Middle East, the Harper administration should take on board at least four realities, and change its policy accordingly. The first of those realities is that two of Canada's principal contemporary international security concerns (nuclear weapons proliferation and international terrorism) are largely rooted in predominantly Muslim countries. In dealing with those challenges, it is to Canada's advantage to have the most positive and productive relationships possible with the governments of the countries concerned.

Second, member states of the Arab League control 22 votes in the UN General Assembly and other international organizations. More broadly, the member states of the Organization of the Islamic Conference command 53 votes. Those are powerful voting blocs, which can be key to achieving Canadian policy objectives. In that regard, Canada's humiliating defeat at the hands of Portugal in its bid for a UN Security Council seat in 2010 comes to mind.

Third, it is important to remember that a significant portion of the world's oil resources (and the attendant pipelines and shipping routes) are controlled by Arab and Muslim countries. As an importer of oil, and as an exporter of oil and gas technologies and services, Canada should never be indifferent to that fact.

Lastly, the Muslim world is home to hundreds of millions of potential customers for Canadian goods and services. In fact, *The Economist* singled out the following countries as being amongst the emerging economies in the years ahead: Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Indonesia. That is something which the Harper government should bear in mind, as it seeks to diversify Canada's international economic relations in the face of a potential decline in the size of the US market for Canadian exports.

In short, adherence to a narrow ideology and pandering to special interests groups may be good politics, but it is bad foreign policy and bad diplomacy. The Harper government should start cultivating strong relations with the governments and peoples of Arab and Muslim countries, rather than alienating them through Canada's current foreign policies. ©

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Les interventions humanitaires sont-elles encore possible ?

M. Ferry de Kerckhove

Dans son article sur les interventions humanitaires, Ferry de Kerckhove soutient que la Responsabilité de Protéger - la R2P - est devenue de plus en plus difficile à mettre en œuvre dès lors qu'elle fait appel à une action militaire si la crise a une dimension civilisationnelle. L'Afghanistan, la Libye et la Syrie en sont des exemples patents. En effet, les solutions aux problèmes sociaux, humanitaires, politiques, sectaires, religieux, ethniques et socio-économiques dans n'importe quelle région devront émerger de la région elle-même.

Le concept

Inspiré par le concept Mitterrandiste du "droit d'ingérence humanitaire", l'Occident, après l'invasion du Koweït, est intervenu dans plusieurs crises humanitaires, dont la tragédie du Kosovo. C'est ainsi qu'un « proto-code » est né, celui de la Responsabilité de Protéger - la R2P. Mais à l'aune des crises plus récentes, comme le Darfour, l'Afghanistan, l'Irak, la Libye ou la Syrie, le concept de la R2P, tantôt évoqué, tantôt nié, tantôt débouté, reste d'application limitée. Après tout, eût-il été applicable, on aurait pu assister à une intervention armée au Darfour. Il est donc essentiel de replacer le concept de l'intervention dans un contexte plus large.

Les interventions étrangères ont des origines aussi anciennes que l'élimination de l'Homme de Neandertal par l'Homme de Cro-Magnon. Mais l'Afghanistan nous a appris qu'en termes de moyens, il y a peu de différence entre une intervention armée dans un pays au nom d'une perception du Bien Commun - Irak, Kosovo - et une intervention militaire pour conquérir un pays ou subjuguer une population. Les conceptualistes de la R2P ont toujours insisté sur les multiples étapes précédant toute intervention armée mais les dirigeants politiques, généralement pris de cours, ont eu tendance à ignorer ces étapes pour se concentrer sur la question fondamentale : « y aller ou non » - Libye ou Syrie.

Les interventions étrangères sont fortement tributaires des puissances respectives des cibles éventuelles et des intervenants potentiels, sans compter les garanties que ces derniers se sont assurées, comme le droit de veto au Conseil de Sécurité des Nations Unies (CSNU). Le Sénateur Roméo Dallaire en sait quelque chose, tout comme le Conseil national syrien de nos jours. Certes, les « coalitions de bonne volonté » permettent d'obvier à un refus du CSNU de sanctionner une opération de maintien de la paix ou toute autre mesure au titre du chapitre VII de la Charte des Nations Unies mais le risque est que la moralité et la légitimité revendiquées n'en estompent pas l'illégalité!

Le droit d'intervention

John Stuart Mills donne un énoncé apparemment clair de l'illégitimité de toute agression tout en justifiant une intervention : « la seule raison qui justifie le recours à la force contre n'importe quel membre de la communauté des nations civilisées, contre son gré, serait pour éviter que du tort soit causé à d'autres ». Mais n'est-ce pas prodigieusement insuffisant au regard de l'invasion de l'Irak par George Bush junior ? En effet, il n'existe aucune certitude quant à la légitimité du recours à la force, surtout si « l'inspiration divine » alléguée est fondée sur de faux rapports.

Tous les arguments mis de l'avant par l'administration Bush pour justifier l'intervention préventive contre l'Irak étaient faux, de l'ampleur de la menace, à la lecture des intentions de Saddam Hussein de recourir à des armes de destruction massive qu'il ne possédait pas, en passant par la prétention d'avoir épuisé toutes les autres possibilités de règlement, y compris aux Nations Unies.

R2P vivante ou moribonde ?

Les conséquences de la guerre en Irak pour la R2P ont été néfastes alors qu'aux Nations Unies, on la dénonçait comme une atteinte à la souveraineté nationale au nom d'une norme non enchâssée dans le droit international ni même coutumier. Pourtant, l'Irak n'était pas un cas de R2P. Mais avec le double engagement en Afghanistan et en Irak - deux coalitions de bonne volonté au départ - il n'y a plus d'enthousiasme de nos jours pour des interventions nouvelles, fussent-elles essentielles. Le ressentiment envers les États-Unis et plus généralement envers l'Occident et les vetos russes et chinois presque systématiques vont faire que la Libye risque de ne rester qu'une aberration.

Mais l'Irak a eu un impact sur les opérations en Libye : la communauté internationale, avec son hypocrisie coutumière, bien que convaincue que le véritable succès de l'Opération Unified Protector ne serait jugé qu'à l'aune du départ de Kadhafi, avait proclamé qu'un changement de régime ne faisait pas partie des objectifs de la mission. La vraie différence entre l'Irak et la Libye était la sanction du CSNU - peut-être pour la dernière fois¹.

Ferry de Kerckhove est Chercheur invité, Université d'Ottawa, et membre du Conseil d'administration de l'Institut de la Conférence des associations de la défense.

ON TRACK

The Ottawa Conference on Defence and Security, 21-22 February 2013

**Fairmont Château Laurier Hotel
Ottawa**

Registration (both days) - 0715 hrs

Day 1 - 21 February 2013

Keynote Speaker - The Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper,
Prime Minister of Canada (invited)

Luncheon Speaker - Admiral Samuel J. Locklear III,
Commander Pacific Command

Panels - Does Canada need a National Security
Strategy?
- Canada and Emerging Markets: Economic
and Security Challenges and Opportunities
- Cyber Security
- Canadian Forces and the Public Service:
Managing Canada's Defence Policy

Reception

Day 2 - 22 February 2013

Keynote Speakers - The Hon. Peter G. KacKay,
Minister of National Defence (invited)
- General Tom Lawson, Chief of the Defence
Staff
- Amiral Édouard Guillaud, French Chief of
Defence
- Lieutenant-General Benny Gantz, Israeli
Chief of General Staff (invited)

Luncheon Speaker - Admiral William McRaven,
Commander U.S. Special Operations
Command

Panels - Governance and Accountability in the Acqui-
sition and Management of Defence Materiel
- Latin America from a Defence and Security
Perspective

Mess Dinner

Enquiries and registration online by 18 February, [http://
cda-cdai.ca/cdai/defence-seminars/conference2013](http://cda-cdai.ca/cdai/defence-seminars/conference2013)

La conférence d'Ottawa sur la Sécurité et la défense, les 21-22 février 2013

**Fairmont Château Laurier Hotel
Ottawa**

Inscription (les deux journées) - 7 h 15

Jour 1 - 21 février 2013

Conférencier d'honneur - le très hon Stephen Harper,
Premier ministre du Canada (invité)

Conférencier invité au déjeuner - Amiral Samuel J. Locklear III,
commandant U.S. Pacific Command

Panels - Le Canada doit avoir une stratégie de sécurité
nationale?
- Le Canada et les marchés émergents: défis
économiques et de sécurité et opportunités
- Cyber sécurité
- Forces canadiennes et la Fonction publique: le
gestion politique de défense du Canada

Réception

Jour 2 - 22 février 2013

Conférenciers d'honneurs - L'hon Peter G. MacKay,
ministre de la Défense nationale (invité)
- Général Tom Lawson, Chef d'état-major de la
défense
- Amiral Édouard Guillaud, Chef d'état-major des
armées (France)
- Lieutenant-général Benny Gantz Chef d'état-
major de la défense (Israël) (invité)

Conférencier au déjeuner - Admiral William McRaven,
commandant, U.S. Special Operations
Command

Panels - Gouvernance et responsabilité dans l'acquisition
et la gestion de matériel de défense
- Amérique latine à partir d'un point de vue de
la défense et de la sécurité

Diner régimentaire

**Renseignements et enregistrement, avant le 18 février,
à notre website:** [http://
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Une articulation adéquate de la doctrine de la R2P est donc essentielle. Elle a été entérinée dans les articles 138 et 139 de la Résolution du Sommet des Nations Unies de 2005, confirmée par la résolution 1674 du CSNU du 28 avril 2006 sur la Protection des civils dans les conflits armés, et reprise par l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies dans sa toute première résolution sur la R2P le 14 septembre 2009. Cela dit, au mieux, la R2P n'a qu'une valeur prescriptive coutumière. Elle n'établit pas de nouvelles obligations juridiques internationales, comme le fait la Convention sur le Génocide. La R2P fournit toutefois le cadre de toute discussion sur la relation entre souveraineté et intervention.

Interventions et l'Islam

Le débat sur l'application de la R2P rappelle que les institutions multilatérales créées en vue de faire prévaloir une forme de sagesse collective sur les décisions d'intervenir ou de ne pas intervenir sont imparfaites et déchirées par les conflits entre idéologies nationales à une époque où la nature comme les défis de l'action internationale sont en profonde mutation. Nous sommes convaincus que les mécanismes et modèles existants, onusiens et autres – Francophonie, Commonwealth, Organisation pour l'Unité Africaine – sont applicables aux nouvelles formes de conflits. Nous nous refusons de prendre conscience de l'importance des nouvelles réalités, à commencer par l'exacerbation sociétale et civilisationnelle du fondamentalisme. Nous faisons face aujourd'hui à des extrémismes religieux sans frontières.

Bob Fowler a évoqué sa « conversion » à la notion du « choc des civilisations » au cours de son calvaire dans le Nord du Mali. La question qui se pose de nos jours est de savoir combien sont happés par le « trou noir » de l'extrémisme des identités religieuses. Refuser d'admettre qu'il y a un effet « Huntington » en jeu dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, fût-ce seulement à la marge, est une grave erreur.

Les interventions militaires, comme l'incapacité d'intervenir par des modalités d'influence différentes, ont un impact considérable sur l'expansion ou la contraction de ces marges.

Quand le champ de bataille est civilisationnel et non plus simplement ethnique, territorial ou socio-économique, nos reflexes westphaliens, pavloviens traditionnels, sont inopérants. Les armes conventionnelles sont de faible utilité contre des fanatiques. Les zélotes qui ont manifesté leur anti-américanisme à Benghazi, au Caire ou à Sanaa ne visent pas spécifiquement des forces militaires, des entités commerciales, des institutions ou même un système socio-économique comme le capitalisme. Ils sont engagés dans une guerre totale, une Jihad contre « l'autre », celui de Jean-Paul Sartre de « L'Enfer c'est les autres ».

C'est ce à quoi on fait face. Satan est américain. Comme l'écrit avec ironie Raheel Raza de l'organisation Muslims Facing Tomorrow, « Après tout, les Américains sont responsables de tous les maux qui frappent le monde musulman, y compris les catastrophes naturelles, le meurtre des Shiites et d'autres minorités par la foule islamiste, le printemps arabe, l'oppression des femmes, les meurtres pour l'honneur, et maintenant ce film! »

Ces Jihadistes fondent les 24 heures de chaque jour de leur existence sur des interprétations archaïques du Coran, souvent parsemées d'extraits obscurantistes de Hadiths véritables ou façonnées sur mesure, au service des intérêts politiques d'une autre époque. L'ignorance et le rejet de la modernité, animés par une passion pour une application rigide de la Sharia, font que des fondamentalistes se tournent sans hésiter contre leurs propres frères musulmans, accusés de ne pas vivre selon LE LIVRE et de tomber sous l'influence des voix pluralistes de l'Occident. Il n'y a rien d'étonnant, dès lors, à ce qu'un groupe de fanatiques du Sinaï aient accusé le Président Morsi d'Égypte d'être un non-croyant! Faute de pénétration d'une culture séculière, les progrès de la science n'ont pas réussi à contrer une interprétation axée sur la foi que font ces fondamentalistes de simples réalités quotidiennes.

Dès lors, des interventions jugées légitimes et indispensables dans certains pays, pour la plupart musulmans, pour favoriser ou établir l'état de droit, la démocratie, le respect des droits de la personne, des institutions stables et une société civile vibrante, se transforment souvent en conflits religieux ou quasi-religieux, sans progrès notables quant aux objectifs inspirés par une idéologie séculière.

Quelques cas illustratifs

Le cas de l'Irak est une forme hybride d'intervention dans la mesure où elle n'avait pas de caractère humanitaire au départ. Son caractère illégitime *ab initio* – illégal disait Kofi Annan – a suscité des insurrections multiples dont certaines ont eu une profonde inspiration religieuse comme l'appel à l'établissement de la loi islamique du Shiite Moqtada al-Sadr. Le régime qui a suivi l'élimination de Saddam Hussein n'inspire guère confiance en termes de stabilité ou de fibre démocratique et sur le plan économique, l'Irak a encore un long chemin à parcourir. Il est certain que la religion jouera un rôle croissant dans la définition ultime des institutions et de l'organisation sociale du pays. Et nous aurons à apprendre à traiter avec ces sociétés en mutation.

D'ailleurs, le facteur religieux joue aussi un rôle en Syrie, pays en attente d'intervention, puisque la minorité alaouite s'accroche au pouvoir face aux mouvances sunnite et chiite, en toile de fond du printemps arabe. Quelle que puisse être une intervention occidentale, elle aura à composer en position de faiblesse avec ces éléments religieux!

Pour ce qui est de l'Afghanistan, les conclusions que l'on dégage de l'intervention occidentale ne peuvent être très optimistes. D'aucuns conviendront avec George Petrolekas que si la première phase, de 2001-2002 a été un succès réel, fondé sur des objectifs précis, la seconde, de 2003 à 2006 a été un échec patent dans la mesure où les engagements pris n'ont tout simplement pas été remplis.

La balkanisation de la mission, la « distraction iraquienne » et l'absence de cohérence stratégique ont permis aux insurgés de remplir le vide et de remporter la troisième phase, de 2006 à 2011, qui a mené à l'exode progressif des troupes de la coalition. Ce qui est extraordinaire, c'est que l'insurrection talibane est fondée sur une vision terriblement draconienne de l'Islam que la majorité des Afghans récuse. Mais c'est un cas où la marge évoquée plus haut est à la fois

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plus large et surtout plus puissante. À moins de changements profonds suscités par les Afghans eux-mêmes, ni le legs de près de 15 ans d'intervention étrangère ni la formation de policiers et de soldats ne pourront renverser le retour à l'équation dominante qui précéda le 11 septembre 2011. En outre, exsangue, l'Afghanistan n'a plus de Shah Ahmed Massoud !

Mais la question la plus fondamentale demeure : est-ce que l'Occident devrait intervenir dans des conflits ou insurrections où la religion joue un rôle primordial? On ne peut oublier que le monde musulman tout entier, Sunnites et Chiites confondus, s'unit dès que des croyances semblent subir des attaques! Dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, la guerre n'est plus la continuation de la politique par d'autres moyens. Les guerres conventionnelles ont cédé le pas aux conflits internes, civils, ethniques et religieux et la dissuasion ne joue plus le rôle qu'elle avait pendant la guerre froide. En fait, de nos jours, l'échec de la dissuasion rend les armes nucléaires plus dangereuses et alimente la tentation proliférante. Le silence d'Israël sur sa capacité nucléaire n'a aucun impact sur les efforts iraniens. Et d'aucuns conviennent qu'une attaque israélienne sur les installations nucléaires iraniennes serait catastrophique.

S'agissant d'Israël, un débat intéressant perdure. Il y a d'une part ceux qui soutiennent que la conclusion d'un accord définitif entre Israéliens et Palestiniens et l'établissement d'un état palestinien vivant en paix aux côtés d'Israël apporterait une accalmie majeure dans la région et que le terrorisme déclinerait rapidement dans le monde. Il y a d'autre part ceux qui arguent que dans l'état actuel des choses, avec la tourmente du printemps arabe et la recrudescence d'un islamisme dominateur, un accord n'apporterait pas la

paix dans la région mais risquerait d'ajouter à l'instabilité en y modifiant les allégeances et rapports de force.

Il est certain que la colonisation israélienne et l'injustice faite aux Palestiniens à qui la communauté internationale a promis un État dès 1948 servent d'exutoire aux islamistes et minent fortement l'influence éventuelle des forces modérées accusées de trahir la seule cause qui unisse les Arabes. Beaucoup de sang a coulé au Moyen-Orient du fait de ce conflit et quels que soient les gagnants du débat, mieux vaut pour tous de convenir de mettre en œuvre un accord dont tous les tenants et aboutissants sont connus et que seule empêche l'absence de volonté politique, surtout de la part de la puissance occupante. Pendant trop longtemps le dialogue s'est effectué par nations ou interlocuteurs extérieurs interposés. Jamais une solution durable n'émergera de la sorte.

En effet, les solutions aux problèmes sociaux, humanitaires, politiques, sectaires, religieux, ethniques et socio-économiques dans n'importe quelle région devront émerger de la région elle-même. Et, d'un spasme à l'autre, elles ne suivront aucune logique préalable et les solutions ne nous plairont que très rarement. À preuve, l'Afghanistan se renferme lentement mais sûrement dans son tribalisme d'antan, les Talibans étendant leur contrôle sur des espaces de plus en plus vastes et Kaboul ne conservant que des apparences de contrôle.

Il est triste que l'allégeance aveugle et fanatique aux prescriptions antiques du Deutéronome ou à d'autres interprétations répulsives des autres religions révélées puisse aujourd'hui servir de mode de conduite. Certes, notre sécurité dépend de notre défense contre les extrémismes, mais les interventions armées ne sont pas le meilleur moyen.

(Endnotes)

1 S'agissant de la Libye, il est intéressant de constater qu'alors que le Président Obama et le Premier ministre Cameron ont tous deux évoqué dès le début « la responsabilité d'agir », il a fallu attendre le Halifax International Security Forum de novembre 2011 pour entendre le ministre de la Défense du Canada, Peter MacKay mettre l'accent sur le caractère R2P de l'intervention. ©

Wall of Honour Ceremony, 2012

Captain (Ret'd) Peter Forsberg

On 29 September 2012, 4377 Lieutenant-General (Ret'd) Richard Evraire, Chairman, Conference of Defence Associations, was honoured by the Royal Military College Class of 1963 by having his name inscribed on a bronze plaque which was placed on the Wall of Honour, located on the grounds of the Royal Military College of Canada (RMCC), in Kingston.

As a gift to the College in 2009, the RMC Class of 1963 created and donated to RMCC a Wall of Honour, located behind the Commandant's residence on the College campus, to recognize Ex-Cadets of the Royal Military Colleges (RMCC, RRCM and RMC Saint-Jean), and others with College

Cérémonie du Mur d'honneur, 2012

Capitaine (ret) Peter Forsberg

Le 29 septembre 2012, le 4377 Lieutenant-général (ret) Richard Evraire, président de la Conférence des associations de la défense, a été honoré par la classe de 1963 du Collège militaire royal par l'inscription de son nom sur une plaque de bronze qui a été apposée au Mur d'honneur situé sur les terrains du Collège militaire royal du Canada (CMRC), à Kingston.

En guise de cadeau au Collège en 2009, la promotion de 1963 a créé et donné au CMRC un Mur d'honneur, situé derrière la résidence du commandant, sur le campus du Collège, pour reconnaître les anciens élèves-officiers des Collèges militaires royaux (CMR du Canada, Collège militaire



Honoree Lieutenant-General (Ret'd) Richard J. Evraire (second from the right) and Mrs. Thérèse Evraire

Le récipiendaire, le lieutenant-général (ret) Richard J. Evraire (deuxième à droite), et Mme Thérèse Evraire.

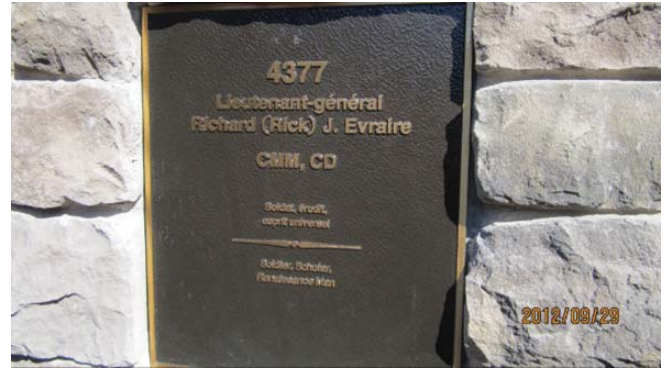
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Wall of Honour / Mur d'honneur

numbers, for outstanding achievements and contributions to Canada and the world. It is intended that those so recognized inspire prospective recruits, current RMCC students, RMCC graduates, RMCC staff and all Canadians to be the best they can be through training and by letting the College's motto - Truth.Duty.Valour - guide their lives.

In addition to Lieutenant-General Evraire,, three other Ex-Cadets were honoured, this year. They were: 1921 RCMP Commissioner George Brinton McClellan Jr, 2357 Brigadier-General William Denis Whitaker, and 2510 Brigadier-General Edward Alfred Charles "Ned" Amy. Citations for the honourees are to be found on the RMC of Canada web site. Click on College Visits and go to the bottom right side of the page that appears. ©



4377 Lieutenant-général Richard (Rick) J. Evraire, CMM, CD "Soldier, Scholar, Renaissance Man" "Soldat, érudit, esprit universel"

de Royal Roads, CMR de Saint-Jean) et autres personnes détenant un numéro de collège, pour leurs réalisations et contributions exceptionnelles envers le Canada ou le monde. L'objectif du Mur d'honneur est que les personnes reconnues inspireront les futures recrues, les étudiants actuels au CMRC, les diplômés du CMRC, le personnel du CMRC et tous les Canadiens à donner le meilleur d'eux-mêmes par leur formation et à adopter la devise du Collège, «Vérité, Devoir, Vaillance», comme guide de vie.

En plus du Lieutenant-général Evraire, trois autres anciens élèves-officiers furent honorés cette année. Il s'agit : du 1921 Commissaire de la GRC George Brinton McClellan Jr, du 2357 Brigadier-général William Denis Whitaker et du 2510 Brigadier-général Edward Alfred Charles «Ned» Amy. On trouvera les citations des récipiendaires de cet honneur sur le site Web du CMR du Canada. Cliquez sur Visitez le CMR et, du côté inférieur droit de la page, vous verrez « le Mur d'honneur ».©

The Canadian National Leadership Program: COTC Revisited

Lieutenant-General (Ret'd) J.O. Michel Maisonneuve

"This generation more than any other seems to have been raised in such a way that they rely on other people for direction, guidance and almost constant feedback, which managers find very frustrating." Followers, Not Leaders (Atlantic Monthly – Feb 2010)
- Ron Alsop Former Editor; *Wall Street Journal*

A recent initiative aims to contribute to the resolution of the leadership issue identified above. The Canadian National Leadership Program (CNLP) is a project looking at establishing a leadership training program on Canadian campuses modelled on the university-based military officer training programs which used to exist in Canada and continue to thrive in other countries. Such a program would fulfill a longstanding desire on the part of Canadian universities and colleges to offer students structured training in personal and organizational leadership skills applicable to any profession they pursue. It is thought that if the program can be managed and delivered by the Canadian Forces (CF), it would thereby also help the CF to connect better to Canadian youth and communities.

A tradition of leadership training on Canadian campuses thrived for more than 50 years in the form of the Canadian Officer Training Corps (COTC - Army), University Naval Training Division (UNTD - Navy) and University Reserve Training Program (URTP - Air Force). The current initiative originated with the Breakout Educational Network, a registered charitable educational organization established in 1994 for the purpose of conducting research and producing materials to educate Canadians on matters of public policy.

This university-based leadership training program—still employed with great success in the United States, Britain and Australia—uses a military officer development model that was a proven success in Canada, until it was terminated in 1968. No other type of program offers an equally high range, depth and quality of hands-on leadership training.

The CNLP would be sponsored and funded by the federal government, supported by departments and agencies with a stake in its objectives, delivered by the CF, and formatted to reinforce universities' own leadership development courses. The program would be national in scope with universities from every region of the country participating.

In essence, the program would be an extra-curricular activity or club, with universities providing such oversight as would be warranted and making available the same kind of facilities open to any other approved extracurricular activity on campus, such as halls and gyms. Universities would be free to add any curricular options they wished, or to incorporate the CF-delivered elements into a larger leadership

development program of their own design. Students would receive a stipend to attend training during the academic year and the summer.

The program would have both mandatory and discretionary dimensions. Students would enrol in the program for a minimum of two years, with training taking place during the academic year (likely one evening per week and one weekend per month) and during the summer (up to twelve weeks each summer). Students could also choose to maintain involvement with the program until graduation.

During the initial two years, students would learn skills such as teamwork, communications, problem-solving, small-task leadership and basic field-craft (first aid, hygiene, survival, weapons handling and evacuation skills). During the third and fourth years, students would shift into "leadership in action" mode, leading and supervising new recruits, and in some cases pursuing officer selection in the Regular or Reserve forces.

A number of Canadian universities have expressed an interest in helping to launch the program. At the forefront is the University of Alberta, which has agreed to provide a test environment, and to commit to a pilot project. In addition, the presidents of both the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada and the Ontario Council of Universities have endorsed the initiative. His Excellency the Governor General has indicated he would be willing to take an active part in advancing the project, and several members of the Cabinet, Members of Parliament and Senators have personally endorsed the initiative. Recently, the University of Sherbrooke was approached to conduct a pilot program in French.

The program is intended to benefit Canadian society at large, building the sense of citizenship and generating the leadership cadres that will allow Canada to be a dynamic and assertive player on the world stage in the century to come. Furthermore, all those involved would garner their own personal benefits. Canadian students would benefit from the remarkable extra-curricular training they would receive, acquiring personal and organizational leadership skills that would stand them in good stead during their entire lives, in any profession they chose to pursue.

No Canadian university or college currently has a structured leadership program with the learning requirements and quantifiable goals of the officer-cadet syllabus envisaged for the CNLP. The program would help the CF reach a broader range of students than just those traditionally interested

in security and defence affairs, preparing civilians to work better alongside the CF at home and in whole-of-government operations abroad, and generating a pool of advocates for defence and the military among the future leaders of the nation.

The corporate sector has also touted the advantages for business of military-style leadership training.

Evidently, such a program would not be to everyone's taste. Some might be concerned about its overtly military character, others about the propriety of allowing military-style training on Canadian campuses, and still others about the cost. It is noteworthy, however, that the universities showing an interest in the program do not share those concerns and the corporate sector agrees. Both sectors are appreciative of

the benefits that would accrue to any profession if students are given the opportunity to acquire such "military" skills as planning and management, teamwork, problem-solving, decision-making, and mental and physical toughness.

In summary, the CNLP goes to the heart of the need to develop the leadership skills of university students. It does so in a serious and practical manner, following a model which has already demonstrated its effectiveness in Canada, as well as in other countries, and that enjoys the active support of Canadian universities.

For a minimal cost, the CNLP could add much to the development of leaders across our country and to the connection of all Canadians with their military. For more information on the CNLP, visit the website sevenyearproject.com. ©

Wise Advice before US Defense goes over the Fiscal Cliff

Honourary Captain (N) Colin Robertson

The re-election of a second term Obama Administration coupled with the fiscal challenges - currently characterized by the recent discussions around the 'fiscal cliff' - mean that the U.S. Forces face relative austerity. While the overall budget may not shrink it will certainly not grow at the same rate as it has since 9/11. This will mean hard choices within the Department of Defense as they face new challenges around cybersecurity and continue the pivot towards Asia, while trying to maintain current Force readiness. Both former Defense Secretary Robert Gates and current Secretary Leon Panetta have called on the Allies to step up to the plate. Canada will be expected to do its part.

The reelection of US President Barack Obama to a second term and his determination to deal with US economic challenges—currently characterized by the ongoing discussions around the “fiscal cliff”—mean that the US military faces a degree of austerity.

After a decade of expansion and active combat in foreign wars, re-examination of American national security policy and capacity is sensible. Common sense should prevail. Regardless, more will be expected from the rest of the Alliance.

Sequestration and already scheduled cuts mean the Pentagon will receive not just a trim but a haircut. While outgoing Defence Secretary Leon Panetta has warned of a “meat-axe” approach that would jeopardize national security, the devil will be in the detail.

Some perspective is also necessary: during the past decade, the base defense budget nearly doubled from \$297 billion in 2001 to more than \$520 billion. It was projected to rise to \$700 billion by 2020.

Pentagon spending has a significant number of congressional protectors, especially with the bases and jobs that depend on research and hardware—aircraft and ships

making up the largest contributions—that are built in nearly every corner of the country. But there is acknowledgement even among defense advocates that they will need to do their part.

A group of wise persons—the Coalition for Fiscal and National Security, chaired by former Joint Chiefs Chairman Admiral (ret) Mike Mullen—has intervened with sensible advice that should be read by all the Allies.

Spanning eight administrations, this impressive Coalition includes former defence secretaries Robert Gates, Harold Brown and Frank Carlucci; Paul Volcker, the former chairman of the Federal Reserve; former Secretaries of State Madeleine Albright, James Baker, Henry Kissinger and George Shultz; former Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill; former senators Sam Nunn and Jack Warner; former House Armed Services chair Ike Skelton; and former National Security Advisors Sam Berger and Zbigniew Brzezinski.

They argue that the national debt is “the single greatest threat to our national security” and that the crisis “has revealed a perhaps equally dangerous political one: Our inability to grapple with pressing fiscal challenges represents nothing less than a crisis in our democratic order.”

The U.S. accounts for 48 percent of the world's military spending. While the overall budget may not shrink, it will certainly not grow at the same rate as it has since 9/11. This will mean hard choices within the Department of Defense as it faces new challenges around cyber security and continues the pivot towards Asia, while trying to maintain

A former diplomat, Colin Robertson is a board member of CDA Institute and Honorary Captain (RCN) attached to the Strategic Communications Directorate. He is a senior strategic advisor with McKenna, Long and Aldridge LLP.

current force readiness.

Intelligent pruning is possible, however, and the Coalition observes that “advances in technological capabilities and the changing nature of threats make it possible, if properly done, to spend less on a more intelligent, efficient and contemporary defense strategy that maintains our military superiority and national security.”

In the belief that an ounce of diplomacy is worth a pound of shock and awe, the Coalition recommends spending more on the State Department to enhance the “non-defense dimensions of our national security” and “diplomatic assets.”

In her confirmation testimony Secretary of State Hillary Clinton elaborated on this approach. She defined ‘smart power’ as using all the tools at America’s disposal (diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal and cultural), “picking the right tool or combination of tools for each situation” arguing that “with smart power, diplomacy will be the vanguard of our foreign policy.”

The Americans will figure it out because, as Winston Churchill observed, you can always count on them to do the right thing, “after they have exhausted all the other possibilities.” The Coalition concluded that the new compact requires not “Herculean efforts, but a fusing of common sense, fairness, and pragmatism. It summons the truest form of patriotism—putting our country first.”

This will mean a higher expectation for the Alliance, as evidenced by recent calls from both Gates and Panetta.

Afghanistan and Libya illustrated the limits of the Alliance: despite relative unanimity around the mission, their commitment varied when it came to operations in the field. Some countries placed limits on their positions or caveats on the use of their forces. In Libya, eight allies bore the burden of the strike mission.

In the decade following 9/11, European defense spending declined by nearly 15 percent. Only five of the 28 allies now spend the agreed target level of 2 percent of GDP on defence (for 2011 Canada stood at 1.4 percent).

In his farewell speech to the NATO Council, Gates warned of a ‘two-tiered’ alliance between those “willing and able to pay the price and bear the burdens of alliance commitments, and those who enjoy the benefits of NATO membership ... but don’t want to share the risks and the costs.” Gates observed that “despite more than 2 million troops in uniform—not counting the US military—NATO has struggled, at times desperately, to sustain a deployment of 25,000 to 40,000 troops, not just in boots on the ground, but in crucial support assets.”

Canada will be expected to do its part. We should do so, not because the United States is asking us to, but because of our longstanding commitment to collective security. More importantly, the national interest requires us to invest in our own security and not rely on others to do it for us. ©

Social Media and Influence in Conflict

Renée Filiatrault

“All wars have been fought by the latest technology available in any culture.” (Canadian communications philosopher Marshall McLuhan, 1964)

This past fall, a terrorist attack in Benghazi, Libya took the lives of the US ambassador to Libya and three other Americans. The ensuing response from the Obama administration has been described by some as a colossal intelligence failure. Specifically, that an orchestrated attack by terrorists had been predictable but unanticipated, and that the administration appeared unwilling to label the terrorist attack as such, has inspired suspicion. As a congressional investigation continues into the matter, this much we already know.

Renée Filiatrault has served as Senior Public Diplomacy Officer in Afghanistan with Task Force Kandahar. She is a regular commenter on foreign and defence matters and has been a contributing writer for Policy Options Magazine and the Ottawa Citizen. Renée is an associate with Tactix Public Affairs.

However, much of the confusion surrounding the events in Benghazi could actually be attributed to the opposite side of the information spectrum from intelligence: the media environment. Initial reports suggested that the protests were a response to a trailer for an anti-Islam film on YouTube. Subsequent events have discredited such claims.

Accurate open source analysis and situational awareness, already so prominent in the military and intelligence communities, has never been more required than now. In the world of diplomacy, knowing what does and does not matter in the public domain is increasingly seen as a matter of life or death. Furthermore, the merits of “embracing the chaos” of new media, and using it for outreach, are increasingly common.

Most recently, the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) tweeted footage of the drone strike that killed Hamas leader Ahmed Jabari. This was part of a social media strategy by the IDF

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to coincide with kinetic activity that included not only video footage from drones, but also direct messages to Hamas to not “show their faces above ground,” as well as photos on social media sites indicating point of origin of rocket attacks. The distribution of these media, previously the purview of those involved in military operations, has gone mainstream.

While the tools of media communications have evolved, in many ways “embracing the chaos” is nothing new. Over 40 years ago, Canadian communications philosopher Marshall McLuhan prophetically described media content as a “juicy piece of meat carried by the burglar to distract the watchdog of the mind.” For 14 months as senior public diplomacy officer with Task Force Kandahar (TFK), I watched as this theory was battle-tested in a setting where the Taliban committed almost daily violent, asymmetrical attacks on high profile targets, while publicizing their actions and views to both traditional and digital news networks.

It proved challenging to communicate the intent of the TFK mission, while insurgents executed attacks and multiplied their effects in an instant with local and international media. Liaising communications between TFK, the PRT, Canada’s Embassy in Kabul, and the Canadian government became a busy intersection between strategic public diplomacy, public affairs, and information operations – all conducted in the face of an increasingly connected insurgency. The resulting experience taught some valuable lessons.

For example, commentary from commanders in the southern regions of Afghanistan was typically more optimistic, with an eye to fighting the good fight. Contrastingly, heads of mission in Kabul (who were often tasked with negotiating for more support) typically had more dire predictions. Canadian commentary at home, across all domestic party lines, was scant to say the least. Naturally, media regularly called out the inconsistencies.

The most valuable lessons however, were not the pitfalls of relativism, nor especially political, but strategic and tactical. I watched daily as insurgents attempted to degrade the resolve of their own people, and that of the international community, on the information battlefield.

In an increasingly connected and shrinking world of instant communication, field-based analysis, speed and coordination are crucial to success in the face of instability and insurgency. Through our efforts in Afghanistan, Canada learned first-

hand a painful lesson about the power of the message – a lesson that should not be forgotten in the civilian world. Attack as the primary tool, multiplied in a targeted way using radio, television, the internet, and text, continues to be the non-kinetic tool of choice for extremists around the world. For their part, Canada’s leading international partners are not willing to cede any space on the information battleground.

For the past three years, the US State Department and the British Foreign Office have become masters of new media by harnessing the full benefit of digital platforms, including the use of Twitter, Facebook and other social networking websites. US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is by the far the leader, well known as the champion of “21st century statecraft.” Heads of mission are amplifying their negotiating

power with allies and foes alike by using every channel necessary, including social media, to both disseminate and maintain information superiority. They are also exploring the role new media could play in almost every domain of diplomacy, including at the multilateral level and in areas such as the verification of non-proliferation treaties.

Similarly, the United Kingdom has been steadily placing diplomacy on a digital footing by exploring innovative approaches to even the most sensitive issues, including “crowd sourcing” human rights reporting online, providing crisis and consular information across digital platforms, and responding to citizen and journalist questions in real time. In other words, our partners have already institutionalized strategic public diplomacy, and are using their digital voice to respond to violence and extremism, as well as to leverage their influence abroad.

As a middle power with a proud history as the honest broker, Canada and our ambassadors are ideally placed to use digital media to leverage our international influence. Indeed, the world would be better for it. Case in point: the attack on 14 year old Malala Yousufzai by the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). The attack, which took place this past autumn, was typical of many attacks on high profile civilian soft targets. As a symbol of women’s education, Malala became a likely target for the Pakistani Taliban. Predictably, death threats followed and soon after she was shot in the head. Less typical however, was how Malala’s attempted murder went viral and galvanized opinion against the Taliban.

In the case of Malala’s murder, courting the media backfired on the Taliban

Demonstrations and peaceful prayers in her honour, coupled with renewed calls for military action in North Waziristan and demands for the killing or capture of Maulana Fazlullah (the so-called “Radio Mullah” - who used the medium to conduct a campaign of fear) ensued. In the case of Malala’s murder, courting the media backfired on the Taliban (incidentally, the TTP’s immediate response was to begin issuing threats to journalists covering the story).

What is the difference between the attack on Malala and similar violence that is a daily occurrence in Pakistan and Afghanistan? At least part of the answer lies in what makes Malala herself different. She broke the silos of local and international media by publically using her voice.

When she began writing a blog for the BBC, about life under threat from the Taliban, she was putting a name and voice to her experience that – once lost – led to global outrage. Countless videos of Malala, and her writing, have reached the international community.

Malala’s case shows how quickly asymmetric advantage can be lost in the face of a defiant victim and a proportional response from her government (at the time of writing it remains to be seen whether Pakistan will engage in military action in North Waziristan), with the international community and social networking sites like Twitter and Facebook bringing all the stakeholders together.

Ultimately, the ability to respond proportionally and strategically, in real time, is crucial to countering

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fundamentalism and militancy. Notably, “proportional” can sometimes mean no response at all. Yet, as Hillary Clinton’s senior advisor on innovation Alec Ross is often quoted as saying, “we’re willing to make mistakes of commission rather than omission.” The risks of commission on digital media are obvious. Undisciplined commentary arising out of the Libya crisis is an example. Tempering that risk involves the same principles that apply to traditional diplomacy. Respect for international laws of armed conflict will remain paramount, as will the old adage, “if you don’t know what you are talking about, don’t.” Most importantly, the most influential messages are consistently those that simply communicate the facts.

Shortly after arriving in the Afghan theatre, I heard the term “spin drift” as it relates to long range ballistics. The effect of a bullet’s spin once it meets the air causes a drag effect on the bullet’s trajectory. However, it can be calibrated for when targeting. Coincidentally, at the time I first heard the

term, I was trying to get a simple statement of condemnation issued for a Taliban attack. The statement was “calibrated” so many times, in the face of all the potential risks (both real and imagined), that it said very little of substance in the end. The reality of new media is such that it is almost impossible to account for risk entirely. There will always be spin drift and no way to account for it. Typically, by the time you try to do so, the target has moved out of your sights and the story has moved on.

Accurate knowledge of events on the ground, coupled with delegated authority to those who can speak on Canada’s behalf, is needed for digital media to be nimble and for it to act in Canada’s best interests at home and abroad, particularly in areas of instability and insecurity. In the face of an increasingly chaotic communications environment, governments have a choice: To pull the trigger or not. ©

BOOK REVIEW



STEADY THE BUTTONS TWO BY TWO The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards

Reviewed by Honourary Colonel Paul Hindo and
Lieutenant-Colonel (Ret'd) Daniel Mackay

Foster, Robert M. et al. Steady the Buttons Two by Two: The Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards. The Governor General's Foot Guards, Ottawa, 1997. \$89.98, ISBN 0-9683792-0-6.

Steady the Buttons Two by Two, a Regimental History of the Governor General's Foot Guards was published in 1997 to commemorate the 125th anniversary of the Regiment. It was preceded by two short histories in 1936 and 1947 and one substantive volume produced in 1948 which focused primarily on the Regiment's role in the Second World War. This latest history constitutes a much needed update of the Regiment's activities post Second World War. It is a hard bound volume of 354 pages which are beautifully printed in a large format on high quality paper with many colour plates.

The driving force behind this latest edition was Captain now Lieutenant-Colonel Rob Foster. Lieutenant-Colonel Foster notes in his preface that the History Committee which was formed in 1992 to undertake this project underwent a

number of personnel changes including three Chairmen, before the history was actually printed in 1999.

Under the leadership of the last Chair, Lieutenant-Colonel Foster, the history became a collaborative effort of some eight contributors who volunteered countless hours of their time and effort to see this project through. Indeed it is important to note that with one notable exception the authors were not professional historians. The one exception was Dr. Steve Harris, the Chief Historian of the Canadian Forces and Acting Director of the Directorate of History and Heritage. An accomplished professional military historian, he wrote Chapter Eight which followed the exploits of 21 Canadian Armoured Regiment (GGFG) during the Second World War. His brilliant writing style brings to life the story of the Regiment at war and serves as a model of how to write a military history.

The book is divided into ten chapters and traces the Regiment's history from its early days as the Civil Service Rifle Corps to the deployment of members of the Regiment to assist in domestic operations during the ice storm in

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eastern Ontario in 1998. The chapters are followed by eight appendices which provide a wealth of information covering a wide range of subjects of special importance to the Regiment. This includes lists of Honorary appointments, Lieutenant-Colonels Commanding, Regimental Sergeants-Major, Battle honours, Regimental Marches, types of Regimental insignia and important social events to mention only a few.

Of particular note is Appendix H which features pictures of all the Regiment's Colours reproduced in colour. All in all these appendices provide a complete, detailed and authoritative reference document of the Regiment's leadership, customs and traditions. The appendices are in turn followed by a short Reference list by time period.

As noted earlier the writing of this history was a collaborative one featuring the work of many enthusiastic volunteers. As a result the writing style of the book varies from chapter to chapter. On first read and keeping in mind that this is not an academic history (there are no footnotes for example) one's initial reaction would be a wish that the Regiment should have employed a professional editor to prepare and/or rearrange or modify the manuscript for publication.

On further review one realises that this would not be possible as the chapters differ so completely from one to the other in both style and content that this would present the editor with an almost insurmountable task. Indeed it is Dr Harris' chapter on the regiment in the Second World War that the reader can see firsthand Dr Harris skilfully begins his chapter with an account of how the Regiment reacted to the outbreak of war and describes their great disappointment that they were not the first to be called out on active duty.

He proceeds to take us through the early war years of training in Britain and then plunging into the Normandy battles, liberating the Channel Ports and into Holland. Harris describes all these events in graphic detail successfully

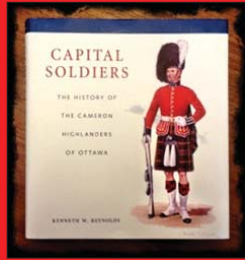
blending the views and reports from the men on the ground along with those of the Allied and political leaders in a gripping manner.

The final two chapters take the reader through the post war years to the present. In so doing the authors have adopted a novel approach by linking the successive terms of their Lieutenant-Colonels Commanding with key Regimental events. This allows for a brief biography of each Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding followed by a resume of important Regimental activities which occurred during their respective periods of command ranging from various exercises to ceremonial occasions such as presentation of Colours.

The Regimental history features many photographs both in black and white and in colour which illustrate the dress and activities of the Regiment in peace and war. The coloured plates which illustrate the various orders of dress of the Regiment from the Civil Service Rifle Corps to the combat dress worn in 1997 were unfortunately of such poor quality that in the reviewer's opinion they served as an unwanted distraction and should not have been included in the book. Insofar as the maps were concerned they might have been better placed in their related chapters rather than in the colour centre section. I did however find the inclusion of a map of Ottawa circa 1890s a useful addition.

Steady the Buttons Two by Two represents years of planning and preparation with more than its fair share of challenges. It is a suitable tribute to all those who served past and present in one of Canada's proudest regiments on the occasion of their 125th Anniversary. It is our sincere hope that as the Regiment approaches its 150th Anniversary they will undertake to produce a new history which will not only recognize their glorious past but record the deeds of the Regiment since 1997 including the service of members of the Regiment in Afghanistan and peace keeping missions around the world. ©

BOOK REVIEW



Capital Soldiers: The History of The Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa

Reviewed by Major-General (Ret'd) John Adams

Reynolds, Ken. Capital Soldiers: the History of the Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa. The Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa, October, 2011. 196 pp. \$49.95

Dr. Ken Reynolds has produced a remarkable chronicle of a proud and rich regiment that, in one form or another, in war and in peace, has answered this nation's call for service for over 150 years.

The author traces the regiment's early roots in the context of the province of Canada's provision of its own troops to defend itself, in accordance with the 1855 Militia Act, at a time when the Imperial regular forces were withdrawn from Canada to fight in the Crimea. Those early years of personal survival in tough circumstances, in combination with a commitment to nation above self, set the tone for a regiment that would not be defeated no matter the challenge.

From the very beginning of the regiment's existence, its heart was in Ottawa, where it remains today. That is a thread that Dr. Reynolds weaves into the fabric of his narrative, as he traces the history of the Cameron Highlanders and the proud unit's actions, from ceremonial duties, to support to the civil authority, to peacekeeping, peacemaking, and two world wars.

Dr. Reynolds captures the trials and tribulations of the citizen-soldier attempting to balance the demands of family, day job, self, and selfless part-time service to country. That commitment was often honoured in the face of limited, sometimes begrudging, governmental support, until such time as the nation is in perceived peril and the pressure to meet unrealistic demands is often heaped upon the unit. The author goes some way to capturing what it is that drives such devotion by highlighting the regimental spirit that pushes a group of soldiers beyond where individuals are normally expected to tread.

The strength of *Capital Soldiers* is Dr. Reynolds' descriptions of the regiment's extraordinary valour in the two world wars. The training regimen, as well as the way it dovetails into the demands of the operations, is captured in detail. Through painstaking research, the author portrays the

intricacies of planning and training for numerous operations. With similar attention to detail, he describes the unfolding of the operations with great accuracy. In so doing, the author highlights the importance of training, in combination with good luck and the beguiling courage and panache of Capital soldiers. The drawings, maps and detailed descriptions are as close to being there as is possible on the written page. They irrevocably drive home the horrors of war and the spirit and selfless drive which are essential to victory: "By the end of the day the unit's losses were high – 27 officers and men killed, 11 missing in action, and numerous others wounded. When this series of battles was over, 24 members of the Ottawa battalion were decorated for bravery, a list that included two Military Crosses, four Distinguished Conduct Medals, 17 Military Medals, and one French Médaille d'Honneur avec Glaive (en Argent)."

The author skilfully weaves some of the regimental characters into his handling of the history. These colourful anecdotes do much to bring the unit down to earth and make its story appeal to readers who may not be initiated into the military community. The regiment that plays and laughs hard is often the regiment that fights hard. That certainly is true of the Camerons.

Post-war years demand an extra special effort of all regiments. It was no different for the Camerons. In such circumstance, funding often dries up, as reconstruction and recovery from war demand funding at the expense of the military. But that special spirit, referred to earlier, compensated: "the officers turned over their pay to the regiment, while the men shared part of their pay so other men could also be paid." The regiment's post-war focus turned to recruiting and core training at the individual level. In this, the Camerons benefited by being a stone's throw from the Connaught rifle ranges and the Petawawa Training Area. A significant commitment to public duties, in the form of support of state visits and service to the Governor-General and Rideau Hall, provided a further outlet for the soldiers.

Years of significance and transition are well chosen and highlighted by the author, who describes Canada's Centennial Year as one that imposed a heavy ceremonial load on the Camerons. That particular year was marked by many nationally significant occasions. Ottawa's regiment was not excluded from the celebrations, as the Camerons were presented with the unit's second stand of Queen's

Major-General (Ret'd) John Adams retired from the Canadian Forces in 1995. In 2005 he was named the Associate Deputy Minister of National Defence and assumed responsibility for the Communications Security Establishment where he remained until he was named the Skelton-Clark Fellow at Queen's University on 1 Feb 2012. Major-General (Ret'd) is a Member of the Board of Directors of the CDA Institute

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and Regimental Colours (reflecting the Battle Honours won during the South African War and the First and Second World Wars) by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth. The Camerons still parade these colours.

The author links the Camerons' rich history to its more recent accomplishments by describing how that special regimental spirit again came to the fore as, for two years in a row (1988 and 1989), the Camerons were the best militia infantry regiment in Canada. Subsequently, in August 1995, Master Corporal Stephen Baker won the Reserve Force component of the Canadian Forces Small Arms Competition, becoming, in the process, the first Cameron Highlander to be awarded the Queen's Medal for Champion Shot, as the top marksman in the militia.

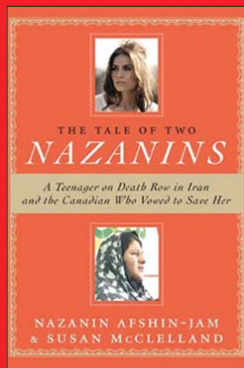
On 6 June 1998, the Cameron Highlanders were officially proclaimed as Ottawa's Regiment. It was a fitting

honour to the city's regiment, which has demonstrated service above reproach.

The mettle of the regiment was once again put to the test as its first 150 years of service drew to a close, when its soldiers were deployed into combat for the first time since 1945, in Afghanistan. True to its motto, the regiment continues to "Advance."

Finally, the appendices to this magnificently produced regimental history warrant special mention. Among other things, they highlight the Regimental Roll of Honour and its Battle Honours. The appendices are a fitting tribute to a regiment that has paid a very high price indeed for its devotion to Queen and Country over some 150 years.
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BOOK REVIEW



The Tale of Two Nazanins: A Teenager on Death Row in Iran and the Canadian Who Vowed to Save Her

Reviewed by Meghan Spilka O'Keefe

Nazanin Afshin-Jam and Susan McClelland. *The Tale of Two Nazanins: A Teenager on Death Row in Iran and the Canadian Who Vowed to Save Her*. HarperCollins Publishers Ltd; First Edition (May 22 2012). 272 pp. ISBN-10: 1554689724

Sadly, if Canadians know Nazanin Afshin-Jam they likely only know her as defence minister Peter MacKay's wife. Yet Afshin-Jam is so much more than someone's wife: she is a human rights activist who has defied censorship and countless death threats in her relentless efforts to take on the Iranian penal code and champion its female victims.

*Writing alongside Susan McClelland, Nazanin Afshin-Jam details her shift from beauty queen to activist in *The Tale of Two Nazanins: A Teenager on Death Row in Iran and the Canadian Who Vowed to Save Her*.*

The Tale of Two Nazanins begins in Afshin-Jam's sister's Vancouver condominium as she attempts to tackle the unrelenting tide of emails received since being named first runner-up in the 2003 Miss World beauty pageant. There is a faint frustration in Nazanini's narrative as she scoffs at uncomfortable emails from men who admire her beauty, and

sighs at all those who want help she is unable to provide. A discouraged Nazanin continues to check emails when she receives a note about a teenager in Iran who, after defending herself during a violent sexual assault, is on death row. The teenager's name is Nazanin Fatehi.

This opening setting is fitting as it establishes the three most significant themes in the book: gender relations, beauty, and sisterhood.

The story transitions from the Vancouver condo to a nonlinear and disjointed narrative of Afshin-Jam and Fatehi's vastly different upbringings and circumstance.

The reader becomes acquainted with Afshin-Jam as she descends on Hong Kong for the 2003 Miss World competition; here, Afshin-Jam exposes her humanity and

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naiveté as she attempts to engage Miss Israel and Miss Lebanon as friends. This episode sets the tone of how limited Afshin-Jam's knowledge was of the nuances of nationalism and religious-based conflicts.

The reader is then uprooted from this extravagance and decadence to the scarcity and insecurity of Iran from the eyes of a young Fatehi's. Fatehi, despite her personal efforts to read and attend school, is raised to be a deferential and pious woman in a country where a female life is legally worth half the life of a male.

The two stories progress until they are interwoven. Afshin-Jam's story is told with sporadic insights from her father's terrifying life in revolutionary Iran and his subsequent immigration to Canada, highlighting personal and familial perseverance. On the other hand, Fatehi's story is tragic. Descriptions of rape, abuse, and neglect are difficult to digest and evoke a sense of rage towards antiquated and unjust laws that still dictate the behavior of women in parts of the world.

Though the settings are nothing short of opposite, it becomes instantly evident that the two Nazanins share a penchant for rebelliousness and a desire to skew the gender norms of their respective upbringings; the outcomes of this character trait are vastly different. For Afshin-Jam, efforts to push the gender envelope result in professional and personal accomplishment. For Fatehi, efforts to simply not get raped land her on death row. Under Iran's archaic sharia law, defending herself results in imprisonment, and even if the rape had taken place, she could have been charged with "acts incompatible with chastity" and faced one hundred lashes.

The three most prominent themes in the book—gender relations, beauty, and sisterhood—are featured from the first page until the very last. The barbaric and unreasonable status of women in Iran is something most are familiar with, but the nuance regarding the inequality of women in the West is understated though no doubt present when Afshin-Jam recalls being belittled based on her looks during efforts to garner media attention or discuss international politics at a high level. Even today she continues to face this problem, as the Canadian media seems to have forgotten her incredible résumé and sees her as little more than the wife of the defence minister.

The disheartening narrative of how beauty impacts a woman's status is a profound and universal commentary in *The Tale of Two Nazanins*. For Afshin-Jam, a beauty queen, the issue of beauty is a frequent source of contemplation and frustration. She receives countless emails from self-

proclaimed feminists who decry her, suggesting that the contests she engages in are derogatory to women. Afshin-Jam responds by contending that she has a "duty to showcase that women can do, say and wear whatever they please." There is a compelling argument to be made here, but Afshin-Jam does not develop this any further. And so, though there are many strengths in *The Tale of Two Nazanins*, Afshin-Jam's efforts to engage in the politics of beauty contests is limited and as a result her perspective remains relatively unconvincing.

Where the theme of beauty is most profound is in the Iranian context where a young Fatehi pines to be beautiful like her mother and sister. Her mother is so beautiful as a young woman that her face is tattooed so that her beauty can remain her possession. And, Fatehi's sister whom she always envied is married off to an abusive older man who can afford someone of such beauty. Tragically, Fatehi's mother is married into a violent and loveless relationship after her first husband perishes in war and Fatehi's sister ultimately dies from head injuries after a particularly atrocious episode of spousal abuse. These scenes serve as a sad reminder of how a woman's worth is limited and intangible; and, even with a tangibly high "worth" of a bridal price, opportunities for survival are limited.

The notion of sisterhood is a reappearing theme throughout the book. Afshin-Jam frequently relies on her sister for personal strength and support, but also capitalizes on women's networks for political support. Though gender issues can be quite partisan in many states, in the Canadian context Afshin-Jam finds that Fatehi's case spans political boundaries and engages female leaders of all stripes including Belinda Stronach. In Iran, sisterhood is the only pleasure Fatehi has in life. With relations between genders prohibited, Fatehi turns to her sister, female friends, and a mentor by the name of Hana who provides her with books, food, and support during her youth.

The theme of sisterhood and female networks serves as a reminder that women in all parts of the world must continue to invest in each other. This is especially needed when lives are on the line, which is exactly what Afshin-Jam engaged in. Ultimately Afshin-Jam's campaign is measurably successful: Fatehi is released from prison. However, the two fall out of touch and in a most bittersweet and unfinished ending, the reader learns that Fatehi's current state is unknown. ©

BOOK REVIEW



MANHUNT: THE TEN-YEAR SEARCH FOR BIN LADEN FROM 9/11 TO ABBOTTABAD

Reviewed by Jordan R. Fraser

Bergen, Peter L. Manhunt: The Ten-Year Search for Bin Laden from 9/11 to Abbottabad. Doubleday Canada, May 2012, 384 pages. \$32.95 (Hardcover) 978-0-385-67677-9.

At the very beginning of *Manhunt: The Ten-Year Search for Bin Laden from 9/11 to Abbottabad*, Peter Bergen quotes Winston Churchill: “We sleep soundly in our beds because rough men stand ready in the night to visit violence on those who would do us harm.” This sets the stage for the narrative that Bergen is about to weave for us, for it was at the hands of these “rough men” that Osama bin Laden came to his demise in the top floor of his compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan.

Bergen brings strong credentials to telling the story of the hunt for bin Laden. Having personally met bin Laden in 1997 and interviewed him for CNN as he declared war on the United States, Bergen has a unique perspective on the man who was the most wanted terrorist in the world. He aptly states that bin Laden’s declaration of war “was not sufficiently heeded, and four years later came the 9/11 attacks.” Throughout *Manhunt*, Bergen gives us insights into bin Laden’s character and oddities, which gives us greater understanding about who bin Laden was, how he saw himself, the world and what motivated him to attack New York and Washington.

The overarching narrative of the book is the search, primarily by the CIA, to find bin Laden. Bergen begins the hunt by taking us through the campaign at Tora Bora in November and December 2001. Several dozen Delta Force operators, Green Berets and their Northern Alliance allies had bin Laden, and what remained of his al-Qaeda organization in Afghanistan, holed up in the mountains. He gives a critique of the US military’s operational outlook at the time, which was to not put too many “boots on the ground” in Afghanistan. Bergen believes that more “on-the-ground” efforts should have been made in the Tora Bora operation at the time to capture bin Laden, instead of engaging in high-level airstrikes. As is now well-known, bin Laden slipped between America’s fingers at Tora Bora and kept them on the hunt for him for almost a decade.

By 2005, with the trail largely gone cold, the CIA had come to the realization that there would be no magic detainee or piece of intelligence to lead them to bin Laden, considered the lynchpin of the organization. Consequently, they decided to develop a “working theory of the case” which would attempt

to try and find bin Laden via other avenues such as his various spousal and family connections and his courier network.

Part of what makes *Manhunt* such an excellent work is Bergen’s use of direct and candid quotes from numerous national security officials in Obama’s administration, and quotes from former members of the CIA’s bin Laden unit as they add to the authenticity of the book. The quotes provide depth and help the reader understand how deeply the intelligence failures relating to 9/11 and WMDs in Iraq affected the Agency. It is clear from the interviews that CIA officials were determined to not let a failure of that magnitude happen again.

In 2009, the new Obama administration narrowed the focus of the intelligence community to a goal to “destroy, dismantle and defeat al-Qaeda,” and in June of that same year, Obama ordered CIA director Leon Panetta to devise a plan to find bin Laden. By the summer of 2010, the CIA, through a Pakistani asset, had tracked a courier called “the Kuwaiti” back to Abbottabad and to the compound where bin Laden was living.

By early 2011, the CIA and Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) were actively gaming out possible courses of action against the Abbottabad compound. A thorough debate was had amongst Obama’s war cabinet, making him well aware of the risk and possible rewards of approving a military operation. When President Obama made the decision to “green-light” the raid on bin Laden’s compound, the Navy SEALs from JSOC were ready. On the moonlit night of May 1, 2011, America’s “Quiet Professionals” stormed the Abbottabad compound and killed the leader of al-Qaeda in a quiet Pakistani town, ending a ten-year search for the man behind the 9/11 attacks.

Bergen’s account of the search for bin Laden is both riveting and illuminating. He provides insight into the character of bin Laden, which adds to the gravity of the text. Bin Laden is portrayed as a human being, albeit one with deep hatred of the United States. Bergen is even-handed in his criticisms of actions and officials of both the Bush and Obama administrations and he is equal in his praise for efforts by each to find bin Laden. This is an exciting book worth reading for insight into the hunt and the methods used to find the world’s most wanted man. ©

Jordan Fraser is an MA Candidate in the War Studies Graduate Programme at the Royal Military College of Canada. He is currently employed on Parliament Hill by the Hon. Laurie Hawa, PC, CD, Member of Parliament for Edmonton Centre.

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