

- Failed UN Missions
- Stop Grumbling and Start Doing
- Coming Home to Roost
- New & Formidable Challenges Require New & Fresh Thinking

THE VOICE OF DEFENCE SINCE 1932 • LA VOIX DE LA DÉFENSE DEPUIS 1932

DEDICATION

Lieutenant-General (Retd) Robert W. Morton, CMM, CD

1937 - 2002

The profession of arms in Canada lost one of its most dedicated advocates. Along with his loving family, Robert Morton will be remembered by his brother officers and fellow colleagues as an innovative thinker and gentleman during his distinguished service in the Royal Canadian Air Force and the Canadian Forces for 37 years.

Lieutenant-général (ret) Robert W. Morton, CMM, DC

HOMMAGE

1937 - 2002

La profession militaire au Canada a perdu l'un de ses membres et défenseurs les plus dévoués. Sa famile, ses compagnons d'armes et ses collègues se souviendront longtemps de l'esprit innovateur de Robert Morton et de ses qualités de gentilhomme. Il a servi avec distinction, pendant 37 ans, dans l'Aviation royale canadienne et dans les Forces Canadiennes.

He has been a great contributor to the Conference of Defence Associations Institute over the years through his advice, encouragement, and participation in the activities of the Conference of Defence Associations as well as the Institute. We are grateful for Robert's participation in the production of the CDA study, *A NATION AT RISK: The Decline of the Canadian Forces*, that was released earlier this year. His input contributed directly to the significant impact that it has made upon the defence-minded community of Canada. We thank him, as well, for his participation in the 5th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, this past November, as moderator of one of the panels.

Throughout his association with the CDA and the Institute, he brought to these endeavours a profound respect for the profession of arms. Such was his graciousness, his respect of others, and his ability to make those with whom he came in contact aware of *their* importance to the task at hand. Robert understood and appreciated the worth of the officers and non-commissioned members of the Canadian Forces, and communicated his concerns effectively with the media.

Truth, duty, and valour. Robert Morton personified these virtues and set a standard for others to emulate. Let his memory inspire us to pursue these ideals as we strive to make our profession, and our country, better.

FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Colonel (Retd) Alain Pellerin, OMM, CD

We dedicate this edition of *ON TRACK* to the memory of a friend and colleague committed to the profession of arms, Lieutenant-General (Retd) Robert Morton, CMM, CD, who passed away earlier, this month. We are grateful for his support of the CDA and of the Institute through his participation in the production of our latest study, *A NATION AT RISK*, and as moderator of one of the panels at the 5th Graduate Student Symposium, last month. Robert's memory will be a treasure for us as we continue the work to which he has contributed so well.

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MOT DU DIRECTEUR EXÉCUTIF

Colonel (Ret) Alain Pellerin, OMM, DC

Nous dédions cette édition d'*ONTRACK* à la mémoire d'un ami et d'un collègue dévoué à la profession militaire, le lieutenant-général (retraité) Robert Morton, CMM, CD, décédé plus tôt ce mois-ci. Nous sommes reconnaissants de son appui à la CAD et à l'Institut en raison de sa participation à la production de notre dernière étude, *Une nation vulnérable*, et comme modérateur d'un des comités du 5^e symposium annuel des étudiants diplômés le mois dernier. Nous chérissons le souvenir de Robert alors que nous continuons le travail auquel il a si bien contribué.

(voir p. 3)

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The Conference of Defence Associations was honoured when the Honourable John McCallum, Minister of National Defence, presented the Vimy Award to Colonel the Honoourable John Allen Fraser at a sold out formal dinner at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Gatineau, Québec, on 15 November. The evening was extremely well attended by leaders of corporate Canada who are supportive of the aims of CDA and the CDA Institute to increase, annually, public awareness of the significant and outstanding contribution of a Canadian to the security of Canada and to the preservation of our democratic

(continued p. 4)

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

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



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

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

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L'honorable John McCallum, ministre de la Défense nationale a honoré de sa présence la Conférence des associations de la défense (CAD) en présentant le Prix Vimy au colonel l'honorable John Fraser lors d'un dîner gala, au Musée canadien des civilisations à Gatineau, au Québec, le 15 novembre dernier, ceci devant une salle comble. Cette soirée fut marquée par une très grande participation de chefs d'entreprises canadiennes qui appuient les objectifs du CAD et de l'Institut du CAD afin que, chaque année, le public prenne conscience de la contribution remarquable des Canadiens et des Canadiennes à la sécurité du Canada et à la préservation de nos valeurs démocratiques. L'appui très important de nos commanditaires d'entreprises et des associations participantes contribue à la réussite de cet événement très apprécié des participants. Nous desirons exprimer, dans ce numéro ON TRACK, nos remerciements sincères à nos commanditaires d'entreprises.

Suite à la présentation du Prix Vimy, le colonel Fraser s'adressa aux convives. Sa présentation se trouve sur le site Web à l'adresse suivante: <u>www.cda-cdai.ca.</u>

Cette année, lors de ce même dîner du Prix Vimy, eu lieu la première présentation du prix média Ross Munro à M. Stephen Thorne de la Presse canadienne par Mme Beth Munro et par Mme Ann Rudy, la fille de Ross Munro. Le prix média Ross Munro est une initiative de la CAD, de concert avec le "*Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute*". Ce prix a pour but de reconnaître annuellement un ou une journaliste canadien/canadienne qui a contribué de façon importante et remarquable à faire connaître au grand public les enjeux touchant la défense et la sécurité du Canada.

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values. The very significant support of our corporate sponsors and of the member associations contributed to a successful event that was appreciated by everyone who attended. Our formal thanks to our corporate sponsors can be read elsewhere in this issue of *ONTRACK*.

Following the presentation of the Vimy Award Colonel Fraser addressed the Dinner. The text of his remarks can be seen on the Institute's website at <u>www.cda-cdai.ca</u>.

Coincident with the Vimy Award Dinner was the inaugural presentation of the Ross Munro Media Award to Mr. Stephen Thorne of Canadian Press, by Mrs. Beth Munro and Mrs. Ann Purdy, Ross Munro's daughter. The Ross Munro Media Award was initiated by CDA in collaboration with the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute. Its purpose is to recognize, annually, one Canadian journalist who has made a significant and outstanding contribution to the understanding by the general public of Canada's defence and security issues.

With this issue of *ON TRACK* we are proud to introduce Mr. Kyle Christensen, who joins us as Project Officer, under the auspices of the DND-sponsored Security and Defence Forum Internship Programme. By the time that you are reading this Kyle will have completed his Master's thesis, *Out of the Sun and Into the Ground: An Assessment of the Decline of the Canadian Air Force.* Kyle can be reached at projectofficer@cda-cdai.ca.

I am pleased to report that the 5th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, *Security and Defence: National and International Issues*, held on 1 and 2 November, was well attended. The Symposium, held in collaboration with the Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, provided a venue at which the leading edge research of young scholars in security and defence studies was highlighted. The symposium was made possible through the generous financial support of GM Defense and the Centre for International Relations, Queen's University. Kyle Christensen provides us with an overview of some of the presentations made at the Symposium. Par l'entremise de la présente revue *ON TRACK*, nous sommes heureux de présenter M. Kyle Christensen en tant que responsable de projet, sous les auspices du *"Forum sur la Sécurité et la Défense (Programme de stages)"* parrainé par le ministère de la Défense nationale. Au moment où vous lirez ceci, Kyle aura complété sa thèse de maîtrise, *"Out of the Sun and Into the Ground: An Assessment of the Decline of the Canadian Air Force"*, vous pouvez joindre Kyle à l'adresse suivante: projectofficer@cda-cdai.ca.

J'ai le plaisir de vous donner un compte-rendu sur le 5^e symposium annuel des étudiants diplômés, "Sécurité et Défense:Enjeux nationaux et internationaux", qui a eu lieu les 1^{er} et 2 novembre. La participation était excellente. Le Symposium, de concert avec le "Centre for International Relations" de l'Université Queen's, a fourni une occasion à de jeunes étudiants diplômés de mettre l'accent sur la recherche des questions relatives à la sécurité et à la défense. C'est grâce au généreux soutien financier de "GM Defense" et du "Center for International Relations" de l'Université Queen's que le symposium ait pu avoir lieu. Kyle Christensen nous présente les grandes lignes de quelques exposés lors du Symposium.

L'Institut du CAD tiendra son 19e éminaire annuel, "La Souveraineté, la Défense et la Sécurité globale: La Défense des intérêts du Canada au 21 e siècle", jeudi le 27 février 2003, suivi de l'AGA vendredi le 28 février au Fairmont Château Laurier à Ottawa. Le ministre de la Défense nationale en fera l'ouverture. Il y a un nombre impressionnant de conférenciers, dont le docteur Thomas S. Axworthy, directeur exécutif de "Historica Canada", qui abordera le thème principal, le général Ralph E. Eberhart, commandant de NothCom et du NORAD; et le général Raymond Henault, chef d'état-major de la Défense. Pour de plus amples informations, nous vous prions de consulter l'avis du séminaire annuel et de l'AGA ailleurs dans la présente revue. J'encourage les lecteurs à participer à ce qui devrait être une séance de discussions très stimulante et enrichissante. Diffusez cette information aux personnes intéressées aux questions de la défense. Si on se fie à l'expérience passée, enregistrez-vous tôt afin de ne pas être décu.

(voir p. 5)

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The CDA Institute will present its 19th annual seminar, Sovereignty, Defence and Global Security - Defending Canada's Interests in the 21st Century, on Thursday, 27 February 2003, followed by CDA's AGM on Friday 28 February, at the Fairmont Château Laurier in Ottawa. The seminar will open with an address by the Minister of National Defence. We have a very impressive lineup of speakers, including Dr. Thomas S. Axworthy, Executive Director Historica Foundation of Canada, who will deliver the keynote address; General Ralph E. Eberhart, Commander U.S. Northern Command and Commander NORAD; and General Raymond Henault, Chief of the Defence Staff. Please refer to the notice of the Annual Seminar and AGM elsewhere in this issue for more details. I urge our readers to attend what should be a very stimulating and informative period of discussion. Circulate the information widely to our pro-defence stakeholders. If past experience is any indication, register soon to avoid disappointment.

On 2 December, past, the CDA Chairman, Richard Evraire, addressed the House of Commons Standing Committee on National Defence and Veterans Affairs. Following his intervention, the Chairman and I responded to questions that were addressed to us by members of the Committee. An extract of the Chairman's remarks are included with this issue.

Lieutenant-General (Retd) Roméo Dallaire wrote an article which appeared in a national newspaper, in which he forecasted the type of Canadian Forces the future will demand. In *Failed UN Missions*, Major-General (Retd) Lewis MacKenzie responded with his view of what kind of armed forces Canada needs.

Dr. Sean Maloney, Historian at Queen's University, has provided us with a letter he would write, if he were to write such to the Prime Minister of Canada. This is, in essence, an outline of the presentation that he will give at the CDA Institute's annual seminar. What would you write if you decide to write our Prime Minister? Would it be on defence and security for Canada?

Ms Corrie Adolph, the President of Canadians for Military Preparedness (CMP), has demonstrated publicly that she is one loyal Canadian who is concerned about the state of Canada's ability to defend herself and her citizens against threats to our freedom and well-being. She has started a precess to gather 100,000 signatures to petition to the government to address the apparent shorfalls in Canada's ability to defend itself from foreign threats. Her contribution to this issue of *ON TRACK* is an editorial, *Stop Grumbling and Start Doing*. We would do well to take Corrie's message to heart. Le 2 décembre dernier, le président de la CAD, Richard Évraire, a comparu devant le Comité permanent de la Défense nationale et des Anciens combattants. Suite à son intervention, le président et moi-même avons répondu aux questions posées par les membres du Comité. Un sommaire de la présentation du président est inclus dans le présent numéro.

Le lieutenant-général (retraité) Roméo Dallaire a écrit un article qui a paru dans un journal national dans lequel il exprime ses vues vis-à-vis les Forces canadiennes de l'avenir. Dans *"Failed UN Missions"*, le major-général (retraité) Lewis MacKenzie a exprimé son point de vue sur les besoins du Canada en matière de forces armées.

Le docteur Sean Maloney, historien au Collège militaire royal, nous a fait parvenir une ébauche de lettre à l'intention du premier ministre du Canada. C'est essentiellement un exposé de la présentation qu'il donnera au séminaire annuel de l'Institut de la CAD. Qu' auriez-vous à dire au premier ministre si vous décidiez de lui écrire? Serait-ce sur la défense et la sécurité du Canada?

Mme Corrie Adolph, la présidente de "*Canadians for Military Preparedness (CMP)*", a demontré publiquement qu'elle est une canadienne sincère, préoccupée par l'abilité des forces armées de défendre le Canada et de défendre ses citoyens contre les menaces à notre liberté et notre bien-être. Elle projète de recueillir 100 000 signatures pour présenter une pétition au gouvernement afin que ce dernier se penche sur les lacunes évidentes de la capacité du Canada de se défendre contre des menaces extérieures. Sa contribution à la présente publication *ON TRACK* est un éditorial, "*Stop Grumbling and Start Doing*". Nous ferions bien de prendre à coeur le message de Corrie.

Grâce au *"The Bowline Journal"* et au Capitaine de frégate (retraité) Fred Fowlow, nous avons le plaisir, une fois de plus, de porter à l'attention de nos lecteurs les observations de Fred sur la question des forces armées du Canada. Fred nous fournit également un tour d'horizon de quelques préoccupations importantes en suspens.

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With thanks to *The Bowline Journal* and Commander (Retd) Fred Fowlow we are pleased one more time to bring to our readers attention Fred's observations on the issue of Canada's armed services as seen from the perspective of Canadians from different backgrounds. Fred provides for us, as well, an historical overview of some of the long, outstanding defence concerns.

In the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks, defence of the North American continent has returned to the forefront of American national security policy. Domestically, the George W. Bush administration has created a cabinet-level department of homeland security. The American Unified Command Plan, first implemented in 1946, was updated with revisions that were announced in April 2002. Philippe Lagassé, MA candidate at RMC, has written in *Coming Home to Roost*, an outline of the consequences to Canada for the government's indecision on ballistic missile defence.

Rob Huebert, University of Calgary, presents for our readers the argument for funding both national health care and national defence, in his article *New & Formidable Challenges Require New & Fresh Thinking*. Rob challenges the current thinking of the government regarding the requirement to address health care and national defence and security issues.

Even though it is more than a year since the world witnessed the tragic events of 11 September 2001, the issues surrounding those events are still with us. There remains an urgency to examine the roles that Canada should expect of her armed forces. It is our hope that our readers will lend their voice to the discussion on the issues of security and national defence. The CDA institute's 19th Annual Seminar is an important platform from which these issues will be explored and, hopefully, factored into a forthcoming review of Canada's defence policy by the Government.

The Conference of Defence Associations Institute adds to the debate on issues of security and national defence and, with your continued support, we can promote the study and awareness of Canadian military affairs. Your continued financial support as members of the Institute is vital to our continued success. Please renew your membership when you are asked - and introduce a fellow Canadian to the Institute.

À la suite des attaques terroristes du 11 septembre 2001, la défense du continent Nord-Américain est replacée au premier plan de la politique de la sécurité nationale américaine. À l'intérieur du pays, l'administration de George W. Bush a créé au niveau du Cabinet, un poste de secrétaire d'état responsable de la sécurité intérieure nationale."*The American Unified Command Plan*", mis en application en 1946, a été mis à jour avec des révisions qui ont été annoncées en avril 2002. Philippe Lagassé, candidat à la mâitrise au CMR, a écrit dans "*Coming Home to Roost*" un exposé sur les conséquences pour le Canada suite à l'indécision du gouvernement concernant la défense antimissile balistique.

Rob Huebert, de l'Université de Calgary, présente à nos lecteurs un argument pour le financement de la santé nationale et de la défense nationale, dans son article intitulé "*New & Formidable Challenges Require New & Fresh Thinking*". Rob lance un défie au gouvernement en ce qui concerne le besoin d'aborder les questions relatives aux soins de la santé, à la sécurité et à la défense nationale.

Quoique plus d'un an se soit écoulé depuisles événements tragiques du 11 septembre 2001, les questions entourant ces événements sont encore réelles. Il demeure urgent d'étudier le rôle que doivent jouer les forces armées du Canada. Nous espérons que nos lecteurs vont s'exprimer lors des discussions sur les questions de la sécurité et de la défense nationale. Le 19^e séminaire annuel de l'Institut de la CAD est une tribune importante où ces questions seront explorées, et, avec un peu de chance, seront prises en compte dans la prochaine révision de la politique de la défense du Canada que se doit d'entreprendre le gouvernement.

L'Institut de la Conférence des associations de la défense apporte un atout important au débat sur les questions de la sécurité et de la défense nationale et, avec votre appui, il nous sera possible de promouvoir l'étude et la sensibilisation des affaires militaires canadiennes. Votre soutien financier continu en tant que membre de l'Institut est essentiel à notre succès. Nous vous prions de renouveler votre adhésion lorsqu'on vous le demandera et nous vous prions également de faire connaître l'Institut à vos collègues.

NORMANDY - 2004

We have learned that accommodations in Normandy, around the time of the D Day observances, are already becoming scarce.



L - R: Mr. Stephen Thorne, 2002 Ross Munro Media Award Recipient; General Raymond Henault, Chief of the Defence Staff; Colonel the Honourable John Allen Fraser, 2002 Vimy Award Recipient

SECURITY AND DEFENCE: NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

5th Graduate Student Symposium

Kyle Christensen, MA Project Officer, CDA Institute

As the newly appointed Project Officer for the CDA Institute, I had the pleasure of working on the 5th Annual Graduate Student Symposium. The students who participated in this year's symposium were outstanding and I would like to take this moment to thank them for their participation. Without the continued involvement of defence and foreign policy interested students, the symposium would not be possible.

The Symposium, sponsored by the Conference of Defence Associations Institute (CDAI) in collaboration with the Centre for International Relations at Queen's University, was held at the RCAF Officers' Mess in Ottawa, on 1&2 November 2002.

The Symposium included two days of presentations by 23 students interested in defence and security issues. Students who presented papers at this year's Symposium represent the largest turnout of students in five years CDAI has held the symposium. The great majority of these students are involved in the DND-funded Security and Defence Forum programme.

This year's symposium, titled *Security and Defence: National and International Issues*, covered a wide range of current and relevant topics.

The Keynote Address was delivered by Major-General Lewis MacKenzie (Retired). General MacKenzie talked about the use of force in the support of foreign policy and peacekeeping objectives. Through an overview of the post-World War Two era, he argued that the success of United Nations peacekeeping operations has been largely determined by the national interests of states, and the willingness of those states to back peace support operations with a credible threat to use force. And unless one is going to get dirty on the ground, unless one is bleeding, there are no big geo-political points to come your way. General MacKenzie cites Finance Minister John Manley when he says: when we go out for dinner with the international community, we cannot go to the washroom when the bill comes. However, this is exactly what Canada is doing.

A large part of the program's success is due to the high caliber of papers that has become a trademark of the Symposium; and the caliber of papers presented by graduate students this year was again no exception. Due to a generous donation by GM Defense, it was possible to award prizes to the top three papers presented at this year's Symposium. Although all of the papers presented were outstanding, first prize of \$500.00 went to Crystal Procyshen of McGill University for her paper on Islamist groups and domestic security.

Titled "Close to Home: The International Side of New Domestic Threats," Crystal examined how events such as an explosion in the Gulf of Aden, a child dying of a bullet wound in Ramalla, a tower falling, a non-descript apartment in Montreal's 'Little Tunisia,' and decision-making on Parliament Hill are inextricably connected and relate to domestic security here in Canada. What is required is that all different facets (military, political, social, economic, historical, ideological) be explored in a fashion that is less parsimonious than traditional theory-building when studying/understanding

Islamists, and how those issues relate to our domestic security concerns.

Second prize of \$250.00 went to Christopher Ankersen of the London School of Economics for his paper "Was it Good For You?" Why Armies Engage in Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC)." Christopher examined the reasons behind civilmilitary operations. He asserts that existing literature tends to look at "how" CIMIC operations are conducted, rather than "why" CIMIC operations are conducted, at least from the military's point of view. Christopher proposes that there are several reasons why CIMIC operations are conducted ranging from domestic and international reasons to force protection and information gathering reasons. However, underpinning these reasons are ideas of mutual power sharing and maximizing the benefit (military and political) from unique relationships created under CIMIC.

Third prize of \$100.00 went to Jean-Christophe Boucher of Université Laval for his paper titled "Cyberconflicts and Rules of Engagement: A Perspective for Canadian Policy Orientations." Jean-Christophe informs us that the development of the World Wide Web represents one of the most important innovations of the twentieth century, and that states must acknowledge the protection of this new domain as fundamental to a state's security as is the protection of a state's territory. In this context, Jean-Christophe looks at what actions states must, and can, take to protect this critical infrastructure. Although the protection of this infrastructure is a difficult task, in light of rules of engagement that apply to conventional conflict, rules of engagement commensurate with defence objectives in Canada can be formulated.

As I stated at the outset, the papers presented at this year's Symposium covered a wide range of topics, (see Philippe Lagassé's paper, *Coming Home to Roost*, p. 19) and were second to none. Crystal Procyshen's, Christopher Ankersen's, and Jean-Christophe Boucher's contributions reflect these observations nicely. I encourage anyone interested in defence to either present a paper, or join us at what is sure to be an excellent Symposium next year.

ON TRACK

A NATION AT RISK: THE DECLINE OF THE CANADIAN FORCES

(extract of) REMARKS BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL RICHARD J. EVRAIRE (RET'D) CHAIRMAN THE CONFERENCE OF DEFENCE ASSOCIATIONS

ΤO

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS STANDING COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL DEFNCE AND VETERANS AFFAIRS

DECEMBER 2, 2002

UNE NATION VULNÉRABLE : LE DÉCLIN DES FORCES CANADIENNES

(les extraits des) COMMENTAIRES DU LIEUTENANT-GÉNÉRAL RICHARD J. EVRAIRE (RET) PRÉSIDENT LA CONFÉRENCE DES ASSOCIATIONS DE LA DÉFENSE (CAD)

AU COMITÉ PERMANENT DE LA DÉFENCE ET DES ANCIENS COMBATTANTS

02 DECEMBRE 2002

Monsieur le président

Mesdames et messieurs, bonjour.

Il me fait plaisir de vous offrir les commentaires de la Cconférence des associations de la Défense sur un sujet qui devrait préoccuper tous les Canadiens; soit, *le Déclin des Forces Canadiennes*.

Mister Chair, this Committee is in receipt of the Conference of Defence Associations Institute (CDAI)'s latest study - A Nation At Risk: The Decline of the Canadian Forces, released on october 8, 2002.

This study is both timely and relevant in light of the speech from the Throne delivered on September 30. The government's commitment to "set out, before the end of this mandate, a long-term direction on international and defence policy that reflects our values and interests and ensures that canada's military is equipped to fulfill the demands placed upon it" is welcome, and is seen for what it is: one of a number of steps on a very long journey.

It must be realized that this promise will do nothing to solve the current short term crisis the forces are facing and for which an emergency infusion of funds of \$1.5 billion must be made

to the defence budget in order to stop further loss of operational capability, and further detrioration of existing equipment and infrastructure, and allow for adequate equiping and training of our men and women in uniform. If this short term action is not taken, the Canadian Forces will continue to dwindle below a level of operational capability already considered inadequate in terms of this government's defence policy (as stated in the 1994 defence White Paper), and cause serious risk to our nation.

It is no secret that the state of the Canadian Forces is critical. Over the past year, parliamentary and other respected agencies and organizations have confirmed that fact. You will find selected recommendations of twelve of these agencies and organizations, including this committee's recommendations of may 2002, at Annex C of our report.

Une Nation Vulnérable a été rédigée avec deux objectifs en tête : développer et appuyer, par le billet de faits additionnels, l'analyse et les résultats d'une étude similaire de la défense que nous avons publiée il y a un an et qui s'intitule *Coincé entre les deux : une évaluation de la capacité opérationnelle des Forces Canadiennes.* Pour atteindre ce premier objectif, nous présentons ce que je ne peux que décrire comme preuve irréfutable que les forces canadiennes sont en état de crise.

(continued/voir p. 10)

For that reason, I urge you to read the document in detail. I promise that you will be troubled by the information we have assembled, as it illustrates the seriousness, the immediacy and the depth of the malaise afflicting the Canadian Forces today; a malaise that can **not** be corrected solely through a commitment by the government to set out, some two years from now, a long-term direction on international and defence policy. The personnel, equipment and training shortfalls the Canadian Forces at risk.

Secondly, our study examines how, at a time of growing world instability, the pursuit of canada's national interests of prosperity, security and the promotion of canadian values are also at risk as a direct result of the fact that our armed forces have fallen into disrepair.

The CDA Institute's study– A Nation at Risk, shows that problems common to all three of Canada's armed services, as well as the Reserves and the logistics element, contribute to the crisis in Canadian defence. These problems are:

- 1. **Inadequate funding**: this is the fundamental problem, and the others flow from it;
- 2. **Demilitarization**: between one-quarter and one-third of the budget of the Department of National Defence is not available for spending on military capabilities. This point is addressed in Annex A of our study, and I will briefly address it in my concluding remarks;
- 3. A severe shortage of personnel: especially those with leadership experience and technical skills;
- 4. A severe shortage of spare parts, and other supplies;
- 5. **Equipment that is rusting-out**; and,
- 6. **Decaying infrastructure** on military bases.

DND Funding

Chairman, I cannot end my intervention without drawing your attention to an important fact regarding government- reported funding of dnd and the Canadian Forces. Repeatedly, of late, and most recently in its response to the latest scondva recommendations, the government has stated that:

"...the \$3..9 billion in new funding in budgets 1999 and 2000 and the more than \$1.2 billion in new funding in the 2001 budget means that the government will have increased defence funding by a total of \$5.1 billion beginning in 2001-2002 and extending to 2006-2007".

When the government states it has "added \$ 5.1 billion to the DND budget since 1999", what it does not say is that up to

one-quarter of the total amount has been assigned to nonoperational objectives or to cover the operations and maintenance deficit. The Auditor-General has identified the latter as \$ 1.3 billion per annum. Over the period 1999 to 2007, in which the \$ 5.1 billion is to be applied, the cumulative O & M deficit will be \$ 8.4 billion. As well, the Auditor-General has identified additional shortfalls in the DND capital account of some \$5 to \$ 6 billions.

Most importantly, over the same period, only \$ 750 million of the \$ 5.1 billion have been added to the DND budget base. This means that most of the money will either be used to pay current bills or be transferred to other government agencies or to provinces, with little left over to prevent the further decline of the Canadian Forces and prepare for the future. In other words, the \$ 5.1 billion expenditure will barely allow DND and the Canadian Forces to keep their heads above water.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Canadian Forces are in crisis, this is not an apocaliptic statement, rather it is a logical conclusion drawn from our study, *A Nation at Risk*. As a result, we face increased risk to our economic well-being, to our security and to our sovereignty. We in CDA are especially worried that the defence update, now in its final stages in DND, will result in arbitrary cuts to military capabilities and will amount to little more than an exercise aimed at constraining our armed forces to live within the existing annual budget of \$12 billion (25% of which is spent on other than direct operational readiness requirements), and increase the decline of the armed forces.

The CDA strongly believes and recommends that the ongoing defence update be used to support an emergency additional allocation of \$ 1.5 billion to the DND budget base in order to arrest the decline of the Canadian Forces and provide a stable foundation for rehabilitation. This figure is entirely consistent with recent recommendations mady by the Senate and House of Commons defence committees and the Auditor General. In this vein, we fully support the recommendation of this Committee "to increase the defence budget to between 1,5 and 1,6% over the next three years" from the currentt 1,1%.

This immediate infusion of funds is absolutely necessary to prevent the loss of critical operational capabilities. The Canadian government must then carry out a full defence policy review with parliamentary and public input, as recommended by this Committee, with a view to publishing a new White Paper in 2003 or 2004 at the latest .

When conducting this defence policy review the following key question must be asked, and answered by informed and responsible Canadians : what kind of armed forces, for what kind of Canada, in what kind of world.

FAILED UN MISSIONS

Major-General(Retd)LewisMackenzie

(*This article originally appeared in the* National Post *on 13 November* 2002)

On Remembrance Day my old friend Romeo Dallaire penned a piece in The Globe and Mail forecasting the type of Canadian Forces the future will demand. He sees our forces mastering "a whole new set of skills based in anthropology, sociology, philosophy." He cites a particularly horrifying incident where a Canadian corporal was helpless to intervene while a young girl butchered another girl and her baby with a machete. He asks if Canadian leaders are "prepared intellectually, physically, and psychologically to face restrictions on the use of force and the moral and ethical challenges that these new conflicts demand?"

Based on the well-proven principle that friends can disagree without being disagreeable, I must do just that. Frankly, once the inevitable and long overdue Defence Review commences, the Canadian public as well will have to decide, or at least express an opinion, on the matter of what type of military we want and need.

soldiers should not be trained nor expected to take on a number of additional tasks beyond their current areas of responsibility...

I sympathize with Romeo's desire to address the inequities of the planet in an attempt to make the world a better place for all mankind. However, any initiatives in that regard will continue to require a number of different, and hopefully complementary, skilled professionals. In my opinion, soldiers should not be trained nor expected to take on a number of additional tasks beyond their current areas of responsibility in the challenging area of conflict resolution.

"Social workers with guns" has been sarcastically used in the past to describe the concept of the all singing and dancing peacekeeper and while overly simplistic it does get the idea across.

The monumental failures of the United Nations missions in Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia had nothing to do with the lack of cultural sensitivity, historical knowledge or ethical education on the part of the peacekeepers. One deficiency and one deficiency only permitted the slaughter in all three mission areas — and that was the lack of adequate force, deadly if necessary, to stop the perpetrators of the crimes. The delivery of such force is the primary role of soldiers. Romeo, himself, has stated that with a force of a mere 5,000 soldiers he could have prevented the slaughter in Rwanda. The failure of the international community and the UN to heed his call virtually guaranteed the ensuing slaughter.

In Bosnia the establishment of so-called safe havens in 1993 was seen as a way of protecting a number of Bosnian Muslim enclaves from the fire of Bosnian Serb heavy weapons. I recommended 100,000 UN soldiers to do the job; the commander on the ground said he would try with 65,000; the Secretary General recommended 35,000 to the Security Council and the Security Council approved 12,500.

Six months later, fewer than 2,000 had been contributed by the international community for the task. The slaughter at Srebrenica was the result. The cause? Not enough force to stop the perpetrators.

In Somalia following the departure of the U.S.-led coalition force in 1993, the UN was incapable of controlling the situation on the ground as they had less than 20% of the soldiers and firepower the United States had brought to the mission. The UN force started to take casualties and withdrew, leaving the country no better off than it was before the intervention. The cause? Insufficient force to stop the perpetrators.

There is a predictable sequence of events in most conflict resolution missions: stop the fighting; separate the forces; intervene between the forces or establish a strong military presence in the area to maintain a pause in the fighting and finally assist the various factions with putting their country or their society back together. The first three phases are best done by soldiers. The last phase is not, nor should be, their responsibility.

The type of Canadian Forces demanded by the evolving international security situation would be light, lethal, strategically mobile and sustainable. It will be able to deploy on its own, look after itself when it gets "there" and get itself home. None of its members will have to stand by while atrocities take place at their feet because they will have the force to stop the perpetrators. The lessons of the '90s demand nothing less — or different.

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A (Considered) LETTER TO MY PRIME MINISTER

Dr. Sean M. Maloney, PhD, Historian

[I have structured the piece as a letter to the Prime Minister]

Dear Prime Minister:

It is with great reluctance that I write you. As a Canadian citizen, as an historian and a professor of war studies, as one who has advised the Privy Council Office and Department of National Defence and one who has provided public commentary on Canadian national security policy and the nature of the war in which we have been engaged since 11 September 2001, I bring considerable expertise and experience to bear. I believe that Canada is currently at a critical point in her history and our long term ability to function as an independent nation is in peril.

Without a functional relationship with the United States, Canada will become a cold, impoverished, fragmented entity. Anti-American bigotry has run rampant, to our detriment. The chaotic national policies emanating from Ottawa, particularly our unwillingness to confront and eliminate the terrorist presence embedded in Canadian society and the federal government's unwillingness to properly fund and equip the Canadian Forces, are unacceptable.

The failing hands that pass John McRae's torch in "In Flanders Fields" have passed that torch in vain. The Canadian government has essentially squandered the sacrifices of two generations of Canadians and turned its back on the critical foundations upon which Canada is constructed. It has finally succumbed to the cynicism and chaos of the so-called 'post-modern' age, an identifier and state of mind coined by a small collection of influential but sociopathic Marxist academics.

We have a tradition of countering totalitarianism, particularly in the Second World War and the Cold War, specifically when it threatens our interests. My own family members, particularly those who served in Bomber Command during the Second World War and burned out the black heart of Nazi Germany, now pilloried as 'war criminals' by federally-funded institutions, were proud to take on our enemies on behalf of Canada and her people.

Though the entire anti-totalitarian enterprise called the Cold War, which Canada participated in effectively for the first twenty-five years, is not even taught in school, and even though there are no monuments to those who were part of it, some of us will never forget the words of a West German award presented to the members of 4 Canadian Mechanized Brigade in Lahr, applauding those who were prepared to risk all "fur freiden und frieheit" (peace and freedom).

The 'freedom' component of that award is as important as the 'peace', something those who seek to anchor the Canadian identity in 'peacekeeping' deliberately obscure. We are in a fight for our identity, our economic freedom as well as our security. The antimilitary mythology implemented by the 'Baby Boom' generation during the Vietnam years in the United States and transmitted here has neutered Canada.

The exceptionalist ideology (borrowed from the Americans and modified) that Canadians are somehow morally superior and not a violent or military people, that everything is morally relative, combined with the cultural suppression of Canadian military history has convinced a generation of Canadians that there is nothing worth fighting for and that there never was. If Canada, her citizens, and her interests are no longer worth fighting for, then we deserve to cease to exist and we will fragment and be absorbed, or be ignored.

We are confronted not only with the despotism of the Hussein regime (and the threat it poses to the world we want to live in) but also with a medieval ideology equipped with modern weapons, including the agile means to manipulate our under-educated population's perceptions. And there will be more threats. Canadians will die. Would you prefer to have them die like slaughtered sheep in a crowded Bali disco?

ON TRACK

We are now confronted with something as insidious as Communism and Nazism were, yet Canada's full economic and economic potential remains caged like a starved dog locked away in a basement because the polite guests will soon be visiting. We who have attempted to alert our leaders to the dangers are cavalierly ignored and even ridiculed by elected officials, unelected officials and their obsequious lackeys in Canada's small, cozy, and tragically insulated punditocracy.

When will you and your advisors understand that you can no longer sit back in our allegedly fire-proof house, pontificate and moralize without bringing something effective to the table? Any parent can scream criticism from the benches of an arena and it's easier to do so if you have no kids on the ice.

Prime Minister, you are in the position of a parent at a hockey game. Other kids on the team get checked, speared, and dumped on the ice and you say nothing as long as its not your kid. You are even willing to scream abuse at your team's coach and the other members when they aren't doing what you think they should be doing, rather than screaming at the members of the opposing team or chanting to support your own.

You keep your kid on the bench and refuse to equip him with a stick or protective equipment. I suggest that you would be quite happy to share in the accolades and fruits of victory if your team wins, however.

Unlike a hockey parent, you can't leave the arena you are in now and go home. You may retire, but for Canada the game doesn't end. How are you going to play it?

-Sean M. Maloney,PhD Historian

Editorial

Stop Grumbling and Start Doing

Corrie Adolph

When attending National Defence conferences and military events I seem to raise eyebrows as I meander through the crowd of grey-haired veterans, stern looking military men and glad handing politicians. While speaking (articulately, I hope) about the issues, these people tend to stare at me a lot. Perhaps my 'straight to the point' speaking style has caught them off guardYor maybe I'm wearing my skirts too short.

I am the President of Canadians for Military Preparedness (CMP). Surprising for a woman in her thirties? Maybe not. One only needs to look at nature to see how aggressive and dangerous a female can be when it comes to protecting her young. And believe me, our young are threatened. September 11th was the beginning of a war that threatens not only democracy but our very way of life and that of our children's. We are at war. The threats are real.

And while our politicians bicker, and our Senators look grim and nod their heads, and the Liberal government keeps busy stonewalling, a war is being fought. A real war, where sons and daughters risk their lives - not just from the perils of war, but from the ramifications of too little training, poor equipment and over tasking. Yet, our current government continues to ignore the expert reports (some their own) which explain our military is headed for "mass extinction".

They ignore because there is no political gain to act, and Canadians share the blame, because we are complacent. Now chances are, if you are reading this, you are neither of those. However, the vast majority of Canadians are. History has shown our countrymen prefer to be protected by others. Our Colonial attitude exists still as we are satisfied to ride for free on the backs of our NATO allies.

While we grumble, the government continues to play their clever political game B winning votes by pleasing vocal special interest groups by redirecting needed funds away from defence.

The activists of the feminist, gay, and aboriginal agendas are effective because they are just that B active! They move forward, whilst the plight of the military continues. They make noise, they stage protests, and they write letters and use the tools of the courts and lobbies. But we grumble some more and remain ineffective.

(continued p. 16)

Canadians for Military Preparedness (CMP) is all about convincing Canadians that it's time they insist the government pay for our military now, *before* we pay with our sons and daughters' lives! Our goal is to make aware to all Canadians the risk to our sovereignty and security. It is time we let the truth be known about the state of our armed forces. It's beyond bar talk and backyard bitching. It's time to be activists. To that end CMP has launched a petition, calling on Canadians to sign their names, asking Parliament to increase funding for our military. The goal is 100,000 signatures - never before done in Canadian history.

The average Canadian, since the events of September 11th, has had their eyes opened to the very real possibility that we are at risk. For the first time ever, as I go to events at my children's school, or at the neighborhood pub, I hear people, men and women alike, talking about military matters. CMP hopes to inspire the Canadian civilian to realize Canada needs a strong military in order to both ensure sovereignty and to prosper as a country in today's complicated world. CMP wants to facilitate that sentiment into action, placing a strong Canadian military and national security on the common Canadian agenda.

Only then, when the people of this country, en masse, rise up and get noisy, will we effect positive change to our current military and defence policies. The petition is a start. Each day I greet the mailman at the door, for there are far too many envelopes to fit in the box. And if 100,000 signatures on our petition is not enough - we'll shoot for a million!

We must do what it takes to provide our government with the political gain they so badly desire. We are up against a political system that operates with little to no accountability, with centralized decision making, and an ineffective opposition. Nothing will change until we stop grumbling and start doing!

The defence community has always promoted a strong military, however, few groups if any, have targeted the average civilian voter who ultimately is the most likely to affect real change. It's time we stop preaching to the choir and commit to informing and motivating the civilians. Political gain. Votes. That's what the game is all about. It's time we started playing it with the same zeal as other special interest groups. We need to do what it takes to move forward our agenda.

RETHINK, REGROUP & REFINANCE THE FORCES

Commander (Retd) Fred R. Fowlow, Director Maritime Affairs The Naval Officers Association of Canada

(*Rethink, Regroup & Refinance the Forces* is reprinted with the kind permission of the Editor *The Bowline Journal*)

Anyone who follows the goings on in the House of Commons, especially when trying to make sense of statements made regarding the state of our military, will realize that the shelf life of any conclusion drawn from promises made by the Prime Minister or the Minister of National Defence, is the length of time until the next newscast.1

The Speech from the Throne is no exception as it has a uniqueness of its own, often vague and usually overloaded with great plans and promises, few of which are ever implemented. The latest presentation was no exception.

As a point of interest, the outlook for defence took up a mere 67 words, in a total of two sentences devoted to the armed forces. A feature which prompts one to believe that the PM's document reflected many aspects of the man's character, his desire for a legacy, his anti-military attitude, and his on-again, off-again confusion concerning the war on terrorism.

One justifiably expected that the September 11th attack on America would have pushed the government toward resolution of the problems confronting our armed forces, especially when the security of our country and our international reputation was at stake. Such is not the case.

Perhaps an observation made by Dr. Jack Granatstein, Chairman of the Council for Canadian Security in the 21st Century, offers an explanation for the government's complacency regarding defence issues. When asked why the government has always been miserly toward the forces, though spending freely elsewhere and ignoring the policy it set out in the 1994 Defence White Paper, Granatstein answered, "For political reasons the Liberals have decided that since they can't do anything about defence, why bother, especially since the Americans are doing it anyway. Funding the military doesn't win elections. Besides, the Prime Minister is fundamentally anti-military."² Strong language with lots of evidence to prove its accuracy.

Considering the fact the United States continues to express concern about Canada's troop strength, interoperability, liftcapability, and a host of other military issues - and there is plenty of evidence to validate the accuracy of this statement - small wonder that 80% of Canadians believe this country would have to rely on the US to defend us if we face a military

66th ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the CDA and 18TH ANNUAL SEMINAR of the CDA Institute 26 February - 1 March 2003 Fairmont Château Laurier, Ottawa ON

The annual seminar, *Sovereignty, Defence, and Global Security - Defending Canada's Interests in the 21st Century*, will be presented by the CDA Institute on Thursday, 27 February, 2003, commencing at 0900 hrs with the opening address by the Honourable John McCallum, Minister of National Defence. Dr. Thomas S. Axworthy, Executive Director Historica Foundation of Canada, will deliver the keynote address. Speakers will include General Raymond Henault, Chief of the Defence Staff; Major-General (Retd) Lewis MacKenzie; Dr. Sean Maloney; Dr. David Malone; Dr. Frank Harvey; Major-General Ed Fitch; and Mr. David Pratt, MP, Chairman SCONDVA. Luncheon speaker will be General Ralph E. Eberhart, Commander U.S. Northern Command and Commander NORAD.

<u>Registration Fees</u> (including luncheon, reception, and 1-year free membership in the Institute for non-members)

- A. Members, Associate members, \$125 CDA Institute members, Past Chairmen
 B. serving Regular and Reserve Forces \$150 personnel, DND civilians
- C. Military Attachés and civilians \$ 175
- D. Full-time students (captain/Lt (N) \$20 equivalent and below)
- 28 February, 0815-1230 hrs Addresses by: Executive Director Reserve Officers Association of the United States; Chief of Air Staff; Chief of Maritime Staff; Chief of Land Staff; Assistant Deputy Minister (H/R Mil)

Enquiries and individual registration by 1 February 2003 by tel: (613) 236 9903; fax: (613) 236 8191; e-mail: projectofficer@cda-cdai.ca 66^{ième} ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE ANNUELLE de la CAD et 19^{ième} SÉMINAIRE ANNUEL de l'Institut de la CAD 26 février - 1 mars 2003

Fairmont Château Laurier, Ottawa ON

Le Séminaire annuel de l'Institut de la Conférence des Associations de la Défense, intitulé *La Souveraineté, la défense, et la Sécurité globale - La Défense des Intérêts du Canada au 21^{ième} siècle*, aura lieu jeudi, le 27 février, 2003, à 09 h avec comme premier conférencier l'Honorable John McCallum, le Ministre de la Défense nationale.

Le Dr. Thomas S. Axworthy, Directeur exécutif de la Fondation Historica du Canada, présentera le discoursprogramme. Le Général Raymond Henault, Chef d'étatmajor de la Défense; Major-général (ret) Lewis MacKenzie; le Dr. Sean Maloney; le Dr. David Malone; le Dr. Frank Harvey; le Major-général Ed Fitch; et M David Pratt, Député, Président, CPDNAC; sont parmi les conférenciers invités. Le Général Ralph E. Eberhart, Commandant U.S. Northern Command et Commandant NORAD sera le conférencier au déjeûner.

<u>Frais d'inscription</u> (incluant le déjeûner, la réception, et l'inscription gratuite pour un an à l'Institut de la CAD pour les non-membres)

Α.	membres, membres associés, membres de l'Institut de la CAD, anciens présidents	125\$
В.	membres des Forces canadiennes, réguliers et réserves, et civils du MDN	150 \$
С.	Civils et attachés militaires	175\$
D.	étudiants à temps plein (équivalant du grade capitaines/Lt(N) ou inférieur)	20 \$
2 0 (/		

28 février, 8h 15 - 12h 30 - Présentations par:
Le Directeur général de la "Reserve Officers Association of the United States"; Chef d'état-major de la Force aérienne; Chef d'état-major des Forces maritimes; Chef d'état-major de l'Armé de terre, et Sous-ministre adjoint (R/H - Mil)

Renseignements et enregistrement avant le 1 février 2003 par tél: (613) 236 9903; télécopieur: (613) 236 8191; courrier électronique (e-mail): projectofficer@cda-cdai.ca threat.³ Another 7% refused to answer or professed not to know. We don't know where the remaining 13% stand.⁴

What Canadians do know is that for almost a decade, the combat-capability of the forces has been a target of concern for defence experts, analysts, planners, retired military, the Auditor-General, House of Commons and Senate committees on defence. Concomitantly, the PM has elected to ignore the warnings enunciated by these reputable experts. Having said this, there is slight indication that the PM is in the process of working up another diversion for Canadians by suggesting that he just might change his attitude and find the funds the military so desperately needs. Read on ... recent news reports put a new spin on the situation.

Senior military leaders publicly pointing out military shortcomings are usually looked upon as being disloyal, disruptive and suspicious. This is because our political system does not allow them to publicly voice their opinions on defence policy. Politicians know this and behave accordingly. Knowing they will not usually be publicly contradicted by senior military, our government officials are inclined deliberately - or out of ignorance - not to be up-front when it comes to explaining the state of readiness or combat-capability of our forces.

History tells us that when military effectiveness is grossly overestimated by politicians, which is what appears to be happening in Canada today, tragic decisions are made with disastrous results. The cancellation of the EH 101 helicopter contract is a prime example of an ill-advised political decision which will impact upon the navy for decades to come. The latter set the stage for further funding procrastination as the government, ignoring the obvious that future military performance hinges upon investments made today, continued its series of cuts to defence spending.

The prolonged under-funding of the military accounts for the undeniable crisis situation in the Canadian Forces. A situation which has not gone unnoticed by our allies who refer to Canadians as "defence free-loaders." In a recent press report, VAdm. Ron Buck, Chief of the Maritime Staff (CMS), has seen fit to openly express his concerns about the state of the navy. In an email he sent to military analysts, retired officers and Atlantic and Pacific politicians, the CMS warned that the capabilities and robustness of Canada's current navy are in jeopardy.5

A more recent *National Post* report reminds us that the United States' view of Canada is moving from one of "benign neglect" to emerging hostility.⁶ A scathing report prepared by the Conference of Defence Associations (CDA) tells readers the federal government is embarked on a path that will soon take the Canadian Forces to what it refers to as

"military bankruptcy,"7 or in other words, utter impotence.

Canada's military has been neglected for over a decade. One wonders had there been another more serious terrorist attack, would the story have been laid out more clearly for the Prime Minister? Or, would Canadians then discover that a panic loss of confidence would emerge throughout the country, the culmination being that a lot of unresolved defence and foreign policy issues would become too much for the public to bear? Would it then be the time when Canadians would demand, and hopefully see, positive government action? One would hope so.

As our armed forces approach the bottom of the long slide down a slippery slope toward the disarming of Canada, it is encouraging to observe that senior commanders in our armed forces are gradually acquiring the courage to speak out concerning the state of readiness of our forces. We know that in his annual report to the Minister of National Defence (MND), the Chief of the Defence Staff, when writing on the state of the armed forces said, "The status quo is unsustainable."8

The admiral's comments contained in the email mentioned previously, called upon concerned people to contribute to the update, or to the review of Canada's defence policy which the MND has recently undertaken.9 He then warned of the perils faced by the armed forces, which cannot keep functioning within the current \$12 billion defence budget, adding that without new investment, the Canadian Navy will no longer collaborate with foreign navies, but rather start depending on them.10 A reflection of the fact that as other armed forces around the world continue to modernize, experts say Canada has to follow suit or retreat into a scaled back and less relevant force.

There are several other very poignant comments embedded in the admiral's call for people to make their views heard concerning the defence crisis known to the government. Time and space do not permit their discussion here, but suffice to say that the news item reporting the admiral's email, provided a refreshing reaction related to the long overdue renewal and revitalization of not only the maritime forces, but the entire Canadian Forces - the kind of reaction one can support without hesitation.

One final comment warrants consideration. There is no doubt but that the Canadian Forces are in a far worse condition today than they were in 1987, when the flyleaf of John Hasek's book, "The Disarming of Canada," set out a series of questions which sadly retain a high degree of relevance today. The questions were: Why are Canada's national defences the laughing stock of NATO? Could we even pretend to defend ourselves if attacked by hostile forces? What would happen if we had a major internal crisis? Hasek's book comprised a shocking appraisal of Canada's national defences which, thanks to a complacent Prime Minister and a gaggle of apathetic colleagues, hasn't changed much during the intervening years.

So, while we give serious thought to Canada's paradigm of neglect, circle November 4th on your calendar, for it will mark the ninth anniversary of the government's decision to cancel the contract to purchase the EH 101 maritime helicopters.

Canadians realize that the EH 101 contract was cancelled for political reasons. The Sea King helicopters will be kept flying at considerable expense until 2015, even though the original retirement date had been set at 2005.

As a *National Post* editorial stated, long before the Speech from the Throne: "If the Prime Minister is looking for a legacy, he should ensure that before he rides off into the sunset, the Canadian military has a deal for a new helicopter."¹¹ To which VAdm. Buck added two other items to the list: the replacement of four thirty year old Tribal-class destroyers, as well as two supply ships.¹²

In the meantime, don't hold your breath while the government continues its delaying tactics and reluctantly admits that all is not well with our armed forces. The message is clear - put your pen to paper and give the PM and MND a piece of your mind.

And thanks Admiral Buck, for your up-front assessment of the situation currently facing our navy.

FOOTNOTES:

1 Stephen Clarkson, CBC Program "One on One," October 5, 2002.

2 "Give the Forces What They Need," *The Gazette*, <u>canada.com</u> news, September 16, 2002.

3 "Military Spending Gains Ground," Geoffrey Scotton, *Calgary Herald*, September 27, 2002.

4 "Give the Forces What They Need," *The Gazette*, canada.com news, September 16, 2002.

5 "Navy Chief Steps Up Pressure For More Resources," Daniel LeBlanc, globeandmail.com, September 16, 2002.

6 "Military in Peril, Report Warns," *National Post*, October 8, 2002.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 LeBlanc.

10 *Ibid*.

11 "Looking for a Legacy?", Editorial, *National Post*, August 31, 2002.

12 LeBlanc.

Commander, RCN (Retd) Fred Fowlow is Director Maritime Affairs, The Naval Officers Association of Canada, Calgary Branch. He also contributes a regular "*In My Opinion*" column to the NOAC national publication "Starshell."

(This article originally appeared in Vol 18 No. 3, Autumn 2002 edition of The Bowline Journal published by NOAC Calgary Branch.)

COMING HOME TO ROOST: Canadian Indecision on BMD and the Eclipse of Canada-U.S. Space Cooperation

Philippe Lagassé, MA (candidate)

A recurrent fear amongst defence analysts is that a lack of Canadian cooperation in ballistic missile defence (BMD) might undermine the joint Canada-U.S. North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD) and the benefits that Canada accrues from it, including privileged access to United States Space Command. Perplexingly, successive Canadian governments, including the current Liberal government of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, have routinely ignored these warnings. As a result, Canadian leaders may be willfully unprepared to address the consequences of recent changes in American defence policy that have removed Canada from BMD planning and that threaten to end Canada's privileged access to American space assets.

Throughout their tenure, the Chrétien Liberals have adopted a position of "wait-and-see" towards BMD.¹ From a military point of view, the end of the Cold War and the threat of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) proliferation favored Canadian support for BMD. Indeed, the 1994 White Paper on defence proposed a policy of consultation between Canada and the United States on BMD on account of this fact.² Opposing this assessment was the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). The stated DFAIT policy on WMD issues has been in favor of "robust multilateral non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament regime[s]."³

Evidently, American BMD initiatives that necessitated the violation or termination of the ABM treaty were in disaccord with the DFAIT commitment to arms control. Additionally, BMD continued to be linked to global instability, despite the end of the Cold War standoff.⁴ Presented with these conflicting policy priorities, the Chrétien government has abstained from declaring a definitive position on BMD. Moreover, having successfully renewed the NORAD agreement a year early in 2000 without declaring its commitment to BMD, Chrétien's policies did not seem to be jeopardizing defence cooperation between Canada and the United States.

With the election of Republican George W. Bush as President of the United States in 2000, the United States' own BMD debates were terminated. On 31 December 2001, Bush announced that the United States was withdrawing from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty. Citing improvements in Russo-American relations and the growing missile threat from "terrorists, and some of those who support them,"⁵ Bush declared that his administration is determined to deploy a National Missile Defense (NMD) system.

The Canadian response to these unfolding events has been muted. No public statement was issued by the Chrétien government after the American withdrawal from the ABM treaty, and no stance on Canadian participation in NMD has been declared. At present, therefore, it appears that the Canadian government continues to "wait-and-see."

On 27 April 2002, revisions to the American Unified Command Plan (UCP) were announced. In addition to creating a new regional command, United States Northern Command (NorthCom), the UCP review contained a command realignment: United States Space Command (SpaceCom) was merged with Strategic Command (StratCom).

Previously, Combatant Commander SpaceCom had been 'dual-hatted' with Combatant Commander NORAD. In so far as SpaceCom was, and is, to play a central role in NMD, it seemed logical to link the two commands that participated in strategic defence.

Equally logical, however, was the fusing of the two commands that focus on ballistic missiles, defensively at SpaceCom and offensively at StratCom. Thus, when Combatant Commander NorthCom and Combatant Commander NORAD were dualhatted due to their complimentary continental defence function, SpaceCom was easily reconceived as a subset of StratCom thanks to NMD. While no concrete evidence exists to suggest that decades of Canadian irresolution on BMD contributed to the severing of SpaceCom from NORAD, the lack of Canadian support for

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NMD has long been recognized in Washington. In fact, the Department of Defense (DOD) is working to deploy an effective NMD system without constructing installations on Canadian soil.⁶

Though Canadian participation in NMD is still attractive to DOD, it is no longer a prerequisite.⁷ Surely, this simplified the decision to relocate SpaceCom. Hence, an unmistakable result of the SpaceCom shuffle has been a silencing of the Canadian NMD debate by the United States; Canada is no longer needed, and will likely no longer be petitioned. The principled *Canadian* conceptual distinction between NORAD and BMD is now *American* policy.

Lamentably for DND, the SpaceCom/StratCom unification may also spell the end of joint Canada-U.S. outer space development. When Combatant Commander NORAD was dualhatted with Combatant Commander SpaceCom, Canada enjoyed a close proximity to American space technology and initiatives.

In the 1990s, in particular, Canada and the United States cooperated on the Joint Space Project (JSP), and owing to a lack of indigenous capability, the CF used American Military Satellite Communications (MILSATCOM) on overseas deployments.⁸

Arguably, the severance of SpaceCom from NORAD threatens to encourage American protectiveness of its space data and to undermine the JSP. Were this to happen, Canada might find itself deficient in key space assets, particularly those used in overseas deployments. This is doubly problematic given that Canada's depleted defence budget is incapable of financing a national space capability. Thus, the CF will remain dependent on the United States for critical space technologies, while having lost its nearness to SpaceCom.

Thus, it cannot be doubted that the Chrétien government's indecisiveness about NMD has had a detrimental impact on Canadian national security. Unless the government announces that Canada is interested in helping to defend the continent against ballistic missiles in the very near future, the United States plans to do so unilaterally and without the use of Canadian territory.

Put bluntly, Canada is being shut out. Similarly, the repositioning of SpaceCom endangers the continuance of Canadian space development and erects new obstacles to Canadian overseas deployments. Faced with such prospects, the Liberal government must approach the Bush administration to participate in NMD, and thereby preserve Canadian links to SpaceCom.

¹ James Fergusson, "Time for a decision on North American Missile Defence" *Policy Options* (April 2002), 32.

² Ibid.

³ Canada, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *US Strategic and Missile Defence Initiatives*; available at <u>http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreign_policy/usstrat-en.asp</u>, 15 October 2002.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ United States, White House, *President Discusses National Missile Defense*, 31 December 2001; available at <u>www.whitehouse.gov/news/</u>releases/2001/12/print/20011213-4.html, 16 October 2002.

⁶ Remarks of Dwight Masson, former American chairman of the PJBD, teleconference transmitted to the Royal Military College of Canada, 8 October 2002.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Andrew Godefroy, "Is the Sky Falling? Canada's Defence Space Programme at the Crossroads" *Canadian Military Journal* (Spring 2000), 54.

NEW & FORMIDABLE CHALLENGES REQUIRE NEW & FRESH THINKING

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As the 21st century begins, Canada is facing a host of new and formidable challenges to its security and core values. Many of these challenges require new and fresh thinking. However, our political leadership remains mired in dated thinking that seriously hinders its ability to respond. In fact, the argument may be made that many of our political elites prefer to adhere to an outdated ideology rather than to undertake new and challenging thinking required to respond to today's problems. It is this outdated thinking that may prove to be the most dangerous threat to Canadian security.

Since the end of the 1980s, Canadian political elites have accepted a new ideology that has as its fundamental tenet the control of the deficit. Just as Communism required a belief in the class struggle, Canadians have been asked to blindly accept that government can only take actions that ultimately reduce its spending ability and nothing more.

Any effort to expand government spending is heretical to this belief system and must be cast down by the true believers. This ideology has been accepted by both federal and provincial politicians who use this mantra as a means of avoiding difficult decisions that may require the allocation of new resources. To illustrate, when confronted with a need to respond to the problems of either health care or security, the standard chant is simply to say that government must live within its means such that no new resources may be used. In short, do nothing. Unfortunately, the adherence to this ideology means that when problems that have been ignored throughout the 1990s have reached a stage when such neglect can no longer be tolerated, any proposed solutions will immediately be portrayed as being in conflict.

The political elites will immediately state that some resources may be available for increased defence spending, but not for **new health spending and** *vice versa*. Such 'guns *versus* doctors' debate may have had some salience in the 1950s, but to suggest that it does today is a refusal to face reality or to take the energy to break out of this mental straight-jacket.

The release of the Romanow Report on the Future of Canada's Health Care System is a much-needed reexamination of the state of a core Canadian value - an effective, modern and egalitarian health system. Canadians want and expect the political leadership at both the federal and provincial levels to take the steps necessary to ensure that the Canadian health system is protected and nurtured. However, the release of this report comes at a time when Canadians are also seriously examining the state of their national security.

Since the tragic events of September 11, 2001, Canadians have become increasingly concerned about the vulnerability created by each successive government's neglect to ensure the protection of Canada in the face of the new threats of the post-Cold War era. A series of reports and studies from both government and non-governmental groups have argued that Canadian security forces - including the armed forces, police (continued p. 22) services and intelligence agencies to name a few - have been seriously underfunded this past decade.

The Romanow Report coincides with the growing call for renewed spending on defence. It is obvious that the old debate will now re-emerge as to whether limited resources should be spent on defence or health. This is unfortunate because this debate is sterile, out of date and harmful to Canadian core interests.

Most Canadians have come to the realization that one of the greatest foreign threats to Canadian security is an attack by an international terrorist group with weapons of mass destruction. The target could be Canada or the United States, but the geographic reality of North America renders the specific targeting moot. In fact, it doesn't even matter if the threat is posed by an international terrorist group or a domestic terrorist or even a group that mounts the attack for a political or economic motive. All that will matter when such an attack occurs is having a robust and prepared Canadian health and security system.

If an attack with weapons of mass destruction should occur on or near Canadian territory, the strains placed on our health services will be severe. If the system is weak or underfunded, a horrible situation will only be made that much worse.

The chemical attacks on the Tokyo Subway system demonstrated that the first-responders within the health system will be at a high level of risk. Fortunately, in that specific case, the attackers picked a cold and damp day to strike and, as a result, the sarin gas that they used did not reach its full vaporization point. This meant that the sarin did not get onto the clothes of their victims to the degree that it could have if the day was dryer and hotter. As it was, some of the medical staff that handled the initial victims did become sick as some of the sarin rubbed off on them, but none were fatally contaminated.

In the event of a biological or chemical attack in Canada, there is little doubt that the emergency services of the hospitals that treat the first victims would also fall prey to the pathogen or chemicals being used. Thus, it is very apparent that our health system needs to be heathy and in fact needs to have redundancy, that is, more health care workers than are absolutely necessary on an average day. Medical staff will need to deal with both the ill patients and the infected health care workers.

Unfortunately, Canadian ideology treats such redundancy as "fat" that needs to be trimmed. The idea of having more health care workers than is normally required is anathema to the bean-counters that masquerade as political leaders in both the federal and provincial capitals.

While it is necessary to ensure that our health services are maintained, prevention is always better than response. Thus, while the development of a strong intelligence capability would appear to be common sense, this has not been the government's response.

After the terrorist attacks in June 1985 on the Air India and Air Canada aircraft in which a large number of Canadians were killed, successive federal governments - both Conservative and Liberal - saw fit to cut back on the resources allocated to CSIS and other intelligence agencies, once again citing the preeminence of the need to control the deficit.

In the early 1990s, several public CSIS reports warned of the growing threat from fundamental Islamic groups and the danger of the use of weapons of mass destruction.

In the early 1990s, several public CSIS reports warned of the growing threat from fundamental Islamic groups and the danger of the use of weapons of mass destruction. Thus, the Canadian government has had warnings of threats, but ignored them until September 11th.

While the current government has increased funding to these agencies, and belatedly has been attempting to identify terrorist groups that need to be monitored, the current fiasco over the non-inclusion of the Hezbollah "political" arm illustrates the manner in which the government prefers to act. The "military" arm of this group had been launching terrorist attacks on Israel for a substantial period of time before September 11, 2001. The fact that the government is only now trying to decide if it should include the "political" arm shows that it refuses to deal with the problem until it absolutely has to, and not when it should.

Lastly, the government will need to improve spending on the military. It should be quite apparent that if an attack occurs on Canadian soil, the armed forces will be called upon to maintain and/or restore order. In the event of a biological attack, the military will be called upon to engage in the very necessary, but distasteful, job of maintaining quarantine around infected regions. Thus, the military will require a quick and rapid lift capacity in order to provide the necessary assistance wherever such an attack or attacks occur.

The military also requires the ability to respond to threats far from Canadian territory. This traditional Canadian response is now made much more complicated because the threat is so much more diffuse and obtuse. Now more than ever, the Canadian forces need combat capable forces that are mobile, flexible and proficient in working with allies and friends in order to be able to respond to these threats.

A robust health, intelligence and military capability is needed to be prepared for the new threats of the 21st century. Each of these sections are separate in terms of the governmental organizations. Both the federal and provincial governments have responsibility for health; intelligence is federal and under mandate of the Solicitor General; and the military is federal and under the mandate of the Department of National Defence.

These divisions mean that the funding requirements of each will be developed as competing costs in a limited resource environment. This in turn means that complementary needs are placed in competition with each other.

There is no question that action was required when the deficit and national debt reached the proportions that they did in the 1980s. However, the need to respond to the economic crises of the 1980s has resulted in a mind set that has impaired the ability of successive governments to respond to new and more dangerous threats.

Canada needs to ensure that its economic house is kept in order, but this must not be done to the exclusion of other core needs. Canadian leaders need to show that they no longer think only in terms of the 1980s.

With the threats of the 21st century comes the need to recognize that the costs of unpreparedness will be disastrous not only to the country's economy but also to its very existence. Health needs are not competitors to security needs.

Boldness in political thought is required to achieve all core Canadian needs without sacrificing one or the other. This will require new approaches. The first step is recognizing that the ideology of the deficit must be abandoned in favour of government decision-making that truly protects all Canadians.

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