



**CONFERENCE OF DEFENCE ASSOCIATIONS INSTITUTE  
21<sup>ST</sup> ANNUAL SEMINAR**

**and**

**CONFERENCE OF DEFENCE ASSOCIATIONS  
68<sup>TH</sup> ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING**

**3-4 MARCH 2005**

**REPORT**

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*After the Elections: Canada-US Security Relationships and the Role of the Canadian Forces* was the theme of the 21<sup>st</sup> Annual Seminar. The seminar was presented in collaboration with the Chair of Defence Management Studies, Queen's University, and the Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP).

**Day 1 - Panel 1**

Hugh Segal, President of the Institute for Research on Public Policy launched the first panel by calling on three experts to present their views on the **Continental Security Dimension of the Canada-US Relationship**.

Christopher Sands from the Centre for Strategic and International Studies Washington D.C. reminded all that trust is difficult to rebuild. While trust between the respective militaries is high the political level of trust is uncertain. Vacillation, indecision and moral hypocrisy by Canadian politicians is leading Washington to deduce that Canada is not worth the time.

John Noble, former ambassador, and currently Director of Research, Centre for Trade Policy and Law, Carleton University reflected on the history of Canada-US security relationships. From the 1904 Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe doctrine, through to reciprocal speeches of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister King in 1938, and onto NATO, NORAD and Ballistic Missile Defense, John Noble alerted us to the century long thrust toward continental perimeter security. In closing he contrasted PM Trudeau's support of Cruise Missile test flights over Canada to that of PM Martin's decision to not participate in Ballistic Missile Defense.

Jon Allen, Minister Political Section, Canadian Embassy, Washington, emphasized the depth and long heritage of Canada-US cooperation on defence and security issues, and that defence is at the

centre of all Canada-US relationships. He went on to warn that the USA is at war (against terrorism) and that in Washington security trumps all. He concluded with the positive caveat that North America is more secure when both nations work together, and both countries know this.

A comment during the question period best summed up the first panel. Canada is caught in the political conundrum of trying to be both a neutral country and an ally.

### **Theme Speaker**

Mr. Andrew Cohen, Associate Professor, School of Journalism, Carleton University and author of *While Canada Slept: How We Lost Our Place in the World* spoke of our nation's lack of confidence.

Unlike our fathering nations, and our USA brother who is confident, Canada, in his view, is no longer a nation sure of its destiny. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century we were a confident, outward looking nation, but in the second half our focus has been on our own social-welfare. While acknowledging that there is little to measure other than words and attitudes Mr. Cohen is hopeful. He believes that Canada is returning to the world stage.

Mr. Cohen went on to describe indicators that PM Martin is starting to lead Canada back to its rightful place in the world. The government's direction to integrate defence, diplomacy and development in international interventions, the Prime Minister's leadership in L-20, and recognition of the "Three Block War" model for peace support operations were some of the gauges cited.

An audience commentator expressed concern that the youth of Canada have little sense of history and that in the years to come this weakness could further fuel national withdrawal. While acknowledging that paucity of national memory contributes to amnesia the Internet counters this effect by making the youth more globally interested.

### **Address by the Chief of the Defence Staff**

The Chief of the Defence Staff, General Hillier framed his address with three themes: context, thrust and effects.

The context of human attributes and achievement allowed him to acknowledge those who have served, those who are serving and those Canadians who have yet to bring their talents and values to the Canadian Forces.

He reminded us that the senior leadership of the forces is operationally focused; they have been selected by the rigors of continuous deployments. Anecdotally he shared wisdom passed to him when he earlier took command of the Royal Canadian Dragoons. "Your job is to protect the unit from good ideas."

His thrust is to "fix" the Canadian Forces, especially the recruiting and training system and restoring the foundation of sustainment (spares, ammunition, realty assets, medical, etc). Then he looks forward to expanding the force and transforming the Canadian Armed Forces.

The measurable effects or outcomes would be a military able to function simultaneously and able to switch readily from combat, peace support and development during armed and humanitarian

intervention. Other outcomes included surveillance assets integration, enhanced intelligence and assured strategic lift. His preference would be to have assurance of strategic lift, but not necessarily be an owner of platforms. While operations retain their primacy and Canada is viewed primarily as a force generation base he alerted us to the need to start viewing Canada as an operational theatre.

General Hillier closed by emphasizing that the future holds more overseas deployments and that the military only provides initial security. Depth of security is measured by the quality of nation sustaining institutions.

### **Luncheon Speaker**

Dr. Thomas Barnett, a strategic thinker and author of *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the twenty-first Century* presented a compelling rationale on the nature of war in the present era.

Armed with much data well illustrated by convincing software generated slides he demonstrated that the major cause of present conflicts is the degree of “connectedness”.

The peoples of the world who live the benefits of being connected by various mediums (electricity, railroads, highways, communication, banking, etc.) are persuaded that this is better than warfare. He referred to the connected as integrated societies and called them the “Core”. Those who have little or no experience of the “connectedness” benefit find themselves in poverty and chaos. Non-integrated societies we referred to as the “Gap”.

With the benefit of various cartographic projections and histories of geographic-based conflicts Dr. Barnett persuaded many of the location and type of emerging conflicts. His deduction was that warfare is bifurcating and that future militaries need two types of force. The high-tech “Leviathan” force is necessary for immediate corrective action, and a “Systems Administrator” force is required for the long haul of bringing societies into the “Core”.

Dr. Barnett concluded that it would be difficult for the U.S. Armed Forces to bifurcate and provide both “Leviathan” and “Systems Administrator” forces. All USA services want to be high-tech. Few, if any want the long haul, society integration task.

For more details on Dr. Barnett’s thinking go to [www.thomaspmbarnett.com](http://www.thomaspmbarnett.com).

### **Keynote Speaker**

His Excellency, Paul Cellucci, U.S. Ambassador to Canada, in his last official public speaking engagement in Canada, reminded us of our nations history of shared values and continuing cooperation in many spheres. He cited recent military operations and our shared vision, all while acknowledging our different approaches to establishing freedoms and human rights for others.

In our shared quest he advocated that Canadians reinforce their strengths in communication and information integration, enhance their special operations force (JTF 2) and restore their aerospace heritage with strategic airlift.

### **Panel 2**

President CDAI, Brigadier-General Don Macnamara (Ret'd) introduced the afternoon panel: **Defence, Diplomacy, and Development (3D)– Canada's Need for Global Reach.**

Lieutenant-General Mike Jeffery (Ret'd), former Chief of the Land Staff, cautioned that Canada has to yet to think things through and that hurdles lie on the course of Canada's return to the international stage.

Assuming the government honours the five-year budget increase to defence, the political will and leadership necessary to sell global interventions needs to be strong. Hard choices lie ahead for the military. Are increasing resources best spent on platforms or more soldiers? The 3D approach of defence, diplomacy, and development, while necessary has yet to be built. Bridging differences and building trust between departments is a challenge; incorporating non-governmental organizations (NGO) into a Team Canada designed for armed and humanitarian intervention is new endeavour.

In spite of the hurdles Lieutenant-General Jeffery remains persuaded that this is Canada's path and that all those able need to articulate the government's vision and help develop the plan.

Dr. Joel Sokolsky, Dean of Arts, Royal Military College of Canada explained that Canadian decisions to intervene are interest based at the moment of demand. In a globalized world a decision not to participate requires us much leadership and explanation as a decision to participate. The recent decision to not participate in ballistic missile defence was not well reasoned and illustrates strategic myopia.

Dr. John Watson, President of CARE Canada gave a riveting account of recent military-development interface failures. In Zaire assistance without military security ended in hundreds of thousands dying. On the other hand military assistance relief in Sri Lanka was, in his view, wasteful. DART produced water at \$4.00 a liter that could have been purchased locally for \$0.30. The medical cost for each tsunami victim seen by DART averaged \$862.00.

Dr Watson used the East Timor intervention as a better model, but bemoaned the fact that Canadian military trucks were so old that they impeded relief efforts. He concluded that the clear role of military forces is to establish and build indigenous security as quickly as possible.

## **Day 2 – CDA AGM**

Mr. Jason Spiegel, former Executive Director U.S. Reserve Officer Associations opened the day with a description of the challenges facing the U.S. National Guard and the Reserves. He brought to our attention the fact that 50% of USA service members deployed in the Iraqi theatre are National Guard and Reserve personnel.

The current Reserve deployment tempo and its demands on reserve units bring into question the validity of many policies. The belief that more capability through more technology and less soldiers is suspect in light of the demands of post-conflict, stabilization requirement. The Reserve community, Congress and the Secretary of Defence view the military future differently. Congress is trying to force larger establishments (in personnel) on the army while the Secretary of defence refuses manpower increases, opting for technology enhancement. Meanwhile some American communities that are home to particular Reserve units are witnessing densities of casualties similar to World War era.

Mr. Spiegel warned that the U.S. Army Reserves are victims of their own success. The Reserves are now providers of 54% of the army's general and specialist capability. The Regular force U.S.

Army cannot deploy without the U.S. Army Reserves. The Reserves have roles, training, money and missions, but can it survive such a prolonged activation?

### **Panel 3 – Canada and Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD)**

In light of the recent Canadian decision not to participate in BMD this panel, introduced by former NORAD Deputy Commander, Lieutenant-General George MacDonald (Ret'd) was most topical.

Major-General Franklin (Ret), former Deputy Director, U.S. Missile Defence Agency gave a command and technical briefing on the components of the BMD shield now, in five, and in twenty years.

A hemispherical map with place names for radars, land and sea based launchers, satellite and communication networks made BMD very real and very now. Contrary to much negative media after 20 systems tests accuracy is currently a “basket ball hoop” at 4,000 kilometers. The speed of engagement is so fast (40,000 kilometers a minute) and the accuracy so high that the impact of collision is sufficient to destroy.

When Major-General Franklin displayed a north pole projection of the globe with an over lay of known rogue ballistic trajectories and BMD intercept options one wonders how Canada could be involved in a 5 minute decision-making process when no one is present in the BMD operation center.

Any one interested in BMD should access the full presentation for present and future technical and command specifications.

Dr. James Fergusson, Director of the Centre for Defence and Security Studies, University of Manitoba conducted a cost and benefits analysis of Canada's decision not to participate in the ballistic missile defence programme. He listed 13 negative consequences for Canada, e.g. shut out of the major North American aerospace initiative and violation of the principles of bi-national decision-making.

### **Panel 4 – Defence Policy.**

Three speakers were asked to speak to the topic of the long anticipated defence policy statement.

Colonel Howard Marsh (Ret'd) attempted to convince that much of the defence policy statement has already been released. His examination of numerous speeches and statements by the Prime Minister, Ministers of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Development, plus many others persuade that the government is airing many defence themes:

- Integrated national command and intelligence
- Expeditionary force capability alone and with allies
- Arctic and coastal sovereignty
- Unified command (geographic and possibly functional, e.g. Special Forces)
- Special Forces expansion
- Army expansion
- Strategic Lift (sea and air lift)
- Continuous operations and support

Colonel Brian MacDonald (Ret'd) explained that the future of the Canadian Forces is restricted by the rate that legacy issues are addressed. Without immediate delegation of “directed acquisition” the CDS’s vision is not achievable prior to the middle of the next decade.

Dr. Jack Granatstein, a Canadian historian of note, posed and answered the question, “Why have successive governments neglected the military?” His examination deduced that deep-rooted anti-Americanism, and the Quebec native (all languages) attitude toward military spending compels politicians to neglect their military.

He warned that, to date, the Prime Minister has said nothing to counter these entrenched attitudes and that unless the Prime Minister starts campaigning for the renewal of the NORAD agreement, Canada, in 2006, is likely to lose its vital entrance to this aerospace agreement. Dr. Granatstein reminded that it is not impossible to change attitudes. PM Louis St.Laurent, a Quebec politician, convinced Canadians, especially those in Quebec that joining NATO and spending 6.5% of GDP on defence was essential shortly after conscription nearly split the country.

Dr. Granatstein advocated that CDA is well positioned to campaign for defence in Quebec.

### **Future of the Reserves**

Major-General Herb Petras, Chief of Reserves and Cadets (Canada) gave a detailed briefing on the state of the Primary Reserves. He alerted us to the many components of the Canadian reserve community, using visuals to explain establishment, personnel levels missions and roles. Most were surprised to learn that of the NATO countries Canada ranks second (24%) to the USA (50%) in the deployment of reserve personnel on operations. It was also well evident that Reserves, Rangers and Cadets play an important role in connecting Canadians.

### **Summary**

The 21<sup>st</sup> CDAI Annual Seminar and the 68<sup>th</sup> CDA AGM were very informative and very successful. At times it was hard to find a seat.

Dr. Barnett’s thesis provided a large context within which I could attempt to understand the deliberations. His “Connectedness” theme provides a spectrum. Those who are not connected are globally disfranchised. That is where most conflicts will likely originate; i.e.: in the disenfranchised regions of the world.

Those who are well connected are deeply integrated and dependent. In fact, Canada is so deeply integrated into the North American defence and security framework that it can, to a certain extent, neglect defence issues. This could explain why the Canadian Forces have been so neglected by the Government in recent years/decades. It appears that the defence of North America will become more and more the purview of one country—the USA. However, on the other hand, the USA’s reluctance to be a 3D administrator paints a Canadian defence policy future of much armed and humanitarian intervention to the globally disenfranchised.

The reader is encouraged to review the texts of the addresses that were presented at the annual seminar and the AGM, at the CDA-CDAI web-site.