

**CHALLENGES TO GLOBAL SECURITY:
CANADA'S NATIONAL INTERESTS IN A CHANGING WORLD**

*An Address by
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General Manson, thank you for your generous introduction.

Excellencies, General Hillier, ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege for me to have this opportunity to address the Conference of Defence Associations Institute on this important occasion. I have known your organization for many years and have a deep respect for your mission and good work. Because of your contributions to the policy debates surrounding Canada's role in matters of defence and foreign policy, Canadians are better informed about the challenges facing us in a world plagued by uncertainty and insecurity. Because of your loyalty to the men and women of our armed forces, Canadians have a better appreciation of the vital role of our military in protecting our national interest and in advancing the cause of peace and justice beyond our borders. General Manson, Colonel Pellerin, thank you for your leadership.

The principal topic before the conference is Afghanistan and Canada's role in helping to defeat terrorism in this strife torn country and to build a new society that offers all of its citizenry peace, the rule of law and economic opportunity. I have been asked to offer you some thoughts on a number of security issues that transcend Afghanistan. Before doing so, allow me some observations on the debate surrounding Canada's involvement in this conflict.

First of all, and in this I speak for every one of my colleagues in the Canadian Council of Chief Executives, I salute the brave men and women who are serving in Canada's armed forces under the able leadership of General Hillier, many of them on the front lines in southern Afghanistan under the command of Lieutenant-General Gauthier who we had the privilege of hearing this morning. Their contribution is more than about bravery -- it is about idealism, about wanting to do good, about wanting to create a safer and better world even to the

point of giving up their lives. Canadians in every part of our great country honour them and will never forget their sacrifice.

Second, I stand squarely in the camp of those such as the Honourable John Manley who in the foreword to the recent report of the Independent Panel on Canada's Future Role in Afghanistan said "our presence in that distant land does matter."

It matters because in the first instance, we joined with allies to strike back at a regime that had sheltered Al Qaeda leaders who planned and directed the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001. That attack, which counted Canadians among the nearly 3000 dead, was an attack on what most of the civilized world stands for: freedom, democratic values and the rule of law. The brazen challenge of a gang of killers provoked both a NATO and United Nations response. As a respected member of both organizations, Canada did not hesitate to honour its commitments, and rightly so.

It matters because our role in Afghanistan since our troops were first deployed in February 2002 as part of the United Nations' sanctioned International Security Assistance Force is to help rebuild this failed state and to contribute to the elimination of the insurgency that seeks to restore the Taliban.

It matters because Canadian and allied soldiers are carrying out their role at the request and with the approval of Afghanistan's own elected government and with explicit sanction of the United Nations Security Council.

It matters because slowly but surely progress is being made. As the Manley Panel points out, the Afghan economy has been growing about 10 per cent annually for the past five years, and per-capita incomes have doubled. More than five million refugees have returned to Afghanistan since 2002 and some six million children are in school, a third of them girls. Roads are being built and power lines restored. In short, the evidence of real development is there to see.

It matters because the world is watching as 39 countries seek to help the Afghan people rebuild a shattered country, a formidable task that will require dozens of years of coordinated effort and the marshalling of military, financial, development and diplomatic resources on a substantial scale. If we and our allies fail in our resolve or simply walk away from the task, what does that then say about the much trumpeted ideal, "responsibility to protect," or about the capability and willpower of free nations to decisively defeat a threat to their security and ultimately to global order?

The Manley Panel, ladies and gentlemen, appropriately summed up what is at stake for Canada in the Afghanistan mission. "Canadian interests and values, and Canadian lives are now invested in Afghanistan. The sacrifices made there, by Canadians and their families, must be respected. What we do there (or stop doing) affects the Afghan people. It can affect Canadian security. It can affect Canada's reputation in the world. It can affect our influence in international affairs, particularly with respect to future international responses to the dangers and deprivations of failed and fragile states."

So what is the path ahead for Canada? Mr. Manley and his fellow panelists have offered a well reasoned plan and in so doing have presented NATO and the world with a challenge -- a challenge that arises from an inescapable truth: without significant additional fighting capability, particularly in the south, and without expanded resources to rebuild Afghan society, the International Security Assistance Force is doomed to fail and with it the hopes of the Afghan people.

In the meantime, Prime Minister Harper has pledged that the final decision on Canada's role in Afghanistan will be made by Parliamentarians. If I could wave a magic wand, what would I have them conclude? That conscience matters more than party. That helping this failed state rise from its knees is a duty we all share. That success in the end will rest on defeating the enemy with a combination of military resolve and stepped up assistance in training and

mentoring, building roads, schools, hospitals and basic infrastructure. That the men and women in the service of Canada who have given their lives to this struggle have not died in vain.

Ladies and gentlemen, as we debate Canada's role in Afghanistan and the engagement of our armed forces, development assistance personnel and diplomats in the quest to prepare Afghans for a more secure and economically viable future, a picture emerges of what is in store for Canada and the world in the decades to come.

Simply put, the peace dividend that was to follow the end of the Cold War has in fact been replaced by a new disorder, more sinister and dangerous than we could ever have imagined in the afterglow of the Soviet collapse. Powerful non-state actors have emerged in various parts of the world, many of them buttressed by well-armed irregular military or paramilitary forces. A new breed of terrorism has appeared operating within globalized electronic and financial networks and willing to employ suicide to kill as many victims as possible.

Some have tried to explain this new disorder by focusing on "root causes": on runaway globalization, on poverty and unemployment, on the growing divide in some places between rich and poor, on environmental despoliation, on corruption and failures in governance, on the clash between the modern and the traditional. Each of these indeed is a source of conflict, problems that will not quickly or in some cases ever disappear. There is good reason to believe, therefore, that the world faces even more conflict in the years to come.

Several weeks ago in Davos, Switzerland, a World Economic Forum report offered a very sobering assessment of global risks. Looking forward a full decade, it concluded that geopolitical, economic and environmental risks in most of the categories measured were trending upwards.

On the geopolitical front, the report predicted that international terrorist activity will increase with future attacks deemed "highly likely", the proliferation of

nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction will continue; and interstate and civil wars will grow in intensity.

On the environmental front, it concluded that carbon emissions are growing above trend and there are indications that feedback mechanisms, particularly increased heat absorption caused by Arctic ice melt, will accelerate the speed and scale of warming; freshwater supply and services are under threat as economic development and global warming have endangered already stressed freshwater systems worldwide.

The report's economic forecast also was bleak. It predicted that with global demand for oil expected to increase by 25 per cent by 2015, the markets will remain very tight at best and highly vulnerable to both physical and speculative shocks. It warned that the deterioration of fiscal balances in G8 countries, combined with continuing large deficits in other large countries, raises the possibility of major fiscal crises, exacerbated by the long-term challenge of ageing and equitable healthcare provision. The report went on to say that a further massive correction in housing prices is inevitable causing more instability in global markets, that the danger of a global pandemic is real, and wars triggered by the battle for resources and especially water are also possible.

I could go on but will spare you the need to hear more gloomy predictions about the near and longer-term challenges we face. The message here is clear. Canada cannot isolate itself from severely negative outcomes that may arise in the geopolitical, environmental and global economic domains.

As a country, we have joined with others in responding to the new disorder with a collection of policies that focus on diplomacy, military preparedness, development and the promotion of open commerce.

But as a collective of like-minded nations, are we doing enough? The trends I have outlined suggest that we are not. One poor, desolate country --

Afghanistan is a case in point. The strongest and richest countries in the world are engaged there but the tide is yet to be decisively turned.

This brings me to some concluding remarks which go to the heart of what the Conference of Defence Associations Institute is all about. I am referring to the effectiveness of Canada's armed forces. Professional and brave as they are, can they do what is expected of them to respond to the multiplicity of threats that Canada today must face? Can they protect, first and foremost, the territory and people of this vast country from the effects of war, terrorism, natural disaster and other forms of calamity?

The simple answer, my friends, is no. And it has been so for many years. In the past two and one half decades that my organization has studied Canada's defence needs as part of a comprehensive strategy aimed at making Canada "the best place in the world in which to live, to work, to invest and to grow," our conclusion was always the same. When it comes to defence, our armed forces are too small in size, they are underfunded and underequipped.

Does this really matter? If you are convinced that the threats I have outlined are real, you will believe as I do that it matters a great deal. Let me be more specific by way of a few examples. With one of the largest land masses and coastlines in the world, we have neither the personnel nor the equipment to exercise effective surveillance or interdiction of those who would harm us. To his credit, Prime Minister Harper has vigorously asserted long-standing Canadian claims in the Arctic. However, years of neglect puts Canada at a disadvantage in the face of rival claims from Russia, Denmark and the United States. Global warming will likely free up navigation in the Northwest Passage sooner than we expect. How will we respond to challenges when they come?

And whether we are responding to challenges near to home or far, how ready are we for the new pattern of conflicts that will increasingly confront the world -- wars not involving conventional armies but rather protracted counter insurgency

operations where the enemy deliberately mingles among civilians? Canada and its allies are gaining firsthand experience of this in Afghanistan. The United States is attempting to come to terms with this reality in the bloody conflict in Iraq. Lessons are being learned. General Petraeus refers to counter insurgency as “armed social work” requiring more brain than brawn, more patience than aggression. The model soldier should be less science-fiction Terminator and more intellectual for “the graduate level of war”, preferably a linguist, with a sense of history and anthropology.

Clearly, ladies and gentlemen, the size, the funding, the equipment and the training of our armed forces is of critical importance and these questions must rise to a much higher priority in our national consciousness and in the priority of our political leadership.

Another example is our role in North America. We share the continent with a great superpower, the modern Rome in a 21st century context. Together we share responsibilities for the protection of our homeland on the ground, on our shorelines and in the air. And yet as a country, we are far short from contributing our fair share. Many of our fellow citizens are quite content to live within a de facto protectorate. Some of them see no contradiction or hypocrisy in their anti Americanism while we sleep safely under the United States nuclear umbrella.

As a fervent Canadian nationalist, respectful of our alliance and friendship with the United States, I believe that we must do more, much more to protect “our home and native land.” This has been the view of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives since we established our first Task Force on Defence in the early 1980s. This is in part why in 2003, my Council launched our North American Security and Prosperity Initiative. Our aim was and remains to have Canada play a much more significant role in advancing the security of the North American continent while promoting trade, investment and economic cooperation for the benefit of our citizens. This is also in part why we supported

the idea of Canadians having a role in North American missile defence -- so that we would have a say in how these missile systems would be deployed over our own territory. Canada, wrongly in my view, chose to reject involvement and in so doing ceded to the United States de facto control over our airspace.

A third example is Canada's role as a contributor to global security. As Prime Minister Harper reminded us this morning, Canada's record in this regard is second to none. We proved that by punching far above our weight in two world wars, on the Korean peninsula, in the Balkans, and now in Afghanistan. Many Canadians understood then as they understand now that the preservation of peace and the deterrence of ambitious aggressors sometimes requires military action in concert with allies when diplomacy demonstrably fails.

Despite the record of experience and achievement, we are faced today with some of our fellow citizens who reject outright the offensive engagement of our military in missions abroad even when such actions are sanctioned by the United Nations and have as their aim the protection of the innocent and the restoration of peace as a first step to rebuilding shattered societies.

As I said earlier in my remarks, ladies and gentlemen, the world is an increasingly dangerous place and as the Afghanistan experience teaches us, lethal attacks that can strike at the heart of our cities can begin in far away places. Under the rules of international law and war, and whenever possible under the umbrella of the United Nations, Canada and other responsible nations have a duty to deter aggression from wherever it springs if we are serious about promoting peace and human rights.

Today, I have talked principally about the challenges facing Canada's armed forces in a world plagued by conflict and our need as Canadians to recognize the vital role that our troops both play and must play. Traditionally, my public speeches are more cheerful -- I talk about economic progress, about technological advancement, about great victories against poverty, about the virtues of growing

trade and investment, about stunning advances in countries that several decades ago were poor and hopeless. Whenever I speak with such optimism, I never forget for a moment that human progress is rooted in individual freedom, tolerance, the rule of law and good governance. I never forget how extraordinarily fortunate we are to live in this most blessed of countries. I never forget the sacrifices of more than a million of our troops who have served and those tens of thousands who gave their lives in far away places so that we might live in peace.

Ladies and gentlemen, as in the past the men and women of our armed forces continue to give their all so that we and our families may live in peace. I have no doubt that every one of you in this room today pledge them our deepest loyalty, respect, gratitude and support.