

Future Defence and Security Challenges: A Canadian Perspective

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Major-General (ret'd) Cameron Ross, CMM, CD

Mrs. Ellis senior, Ms. Ellis, Dr. Bercuson, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Thank you very much for inviting me to talk to you today about a subject that I think is very important and in fact, that I think your husband would be most interested in – the fortunes of not just military but the concerns that Canada has in the future.

I am going to talk for a little while off some slides and we will have questions at the end.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am going to cover a number of subjects fairly rapidly. ([Slide: Outline of presentation](#)) I think it is important to that we have a clear understanding of where we have recently been, Canada and the globe, and where we are right now for us to be able to look into a crystal ball regarding the future and it is that crystal ball that I'll spend a fair amount of time with.

For so long we were focused as a country, as alliances, NATO and NORAD, on the Cold War, and this thing called the Berlin Wall. ([Slide: Berlin Wall](#)) When that wall fell, there were some tremendous expectations. During the Cold War, ([Slide: Operational deployments since 1980](#)) the overseas deployments were at a fairly steady state – for example, there was a battalion in Cyprus. Any peaks in deployments such as these indicated the occasional domestic deployments of the Canadian Forces, primarily the army, to deal with floods, storms, and the extraordinary events such as the Oka crisis. During that Cold war era, the supply of troops was high and demand for their use was low. Then the Wall came down. There was a cry for the so-called peace dividend. And low and behold out came this concept of 'soft power'. A fine gentleman who's at an academic institution slightly west of here has advocated that this is the way that Canada and others should go. But in reality, what has happened since that Berlin Wall fell is that the frequency of international conflict has gone up, international deployment of the forces has increased as has domestic deployment of the forces due to ice storms and the Saqueny floods and those types of activities. For example, some 6000 troops were deployed to the Rocky Mountains for the G8 Conference. All of these 'demand' events occurred as 'supply' went down.

Then September 11th, 2001, occurred. It affected all of us. It affected the US primarily but it certainly affected us and Canada reacted extremely quickly. Never, in recent history, have we seen in Canada

such an outpouring of national emotion. All three services ([Slide: Deployments](#)) became engaged very quickly and very professionally. But there was a cost then ([Slide: Guard of honour](#)) and more recently there has been an additional cost. When was the last time we saw the Governor General meet the wounded as they came off the ramp of a Hercules aircraft in Europe? When was the last time we saw the Prime Minister and Cabinet ministers on the tarmac in Trenton or at memorial services? A real outpouring of emotion and part of that is because for so long I think we had been influenced by our love of the UN and peace keeping and we had as Canadians this feeling that UN peacekeeping occurred in a relatively 'no-threat' environment. But we failed to remember these facts ([Slide: Casualty figures](#)). No other country on UN or NATO duty has suffered as many casualties as Canada. It was 108 up to a week ago but is now 110.

Peacekeeping is a rough and difficult exercise and we have to understand that we have some legacies from that Cold War. The MND recently has recently commented about some of these legacies and he's right. It's hard to change some of that doctrine and some of that equipment to face some of the new realities. What are those current realities? ([Slide: White Paper 94 roles](#)) The defence roles haven't changed: very simple defend the country, defend the continent and take care of the world when we can. But it is in fact the later that has occupied a lot of our activity. ([Slide: Current operational deployments](#)) As of 15 October we have 3700, almost 4000, men and women deployed around the world in various missions. Out of 14 missions, 8 are non-UN operations, 7 are UN operations, and one is a bit of an anomaly. 30 Canadians are deployed on the Sinai in Operation Calumet and have been there for some time, a result of the Camp David Accords. They wear an orange beret as part of the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) commanded by a Canadian, Major General Bob Meating.

While the numbers of Canadian forces deployed in each operation are small, they are extremely important. Most of the activity overseas is with NATO or some other coalition-type force. Thus, numbers mean a lot. If we were to approach this level of deployment on a business level, how would Canada compare to other states? As Canadians we can feel very proud of some 3700 troops but how does that compare to other countries?

As peacekeepers, as of the end of August 2003, Canada rated 31st out of some 83 countries wearing the blue beret. ([Slide: UN peacekeeping figures](#)) Australia is a country with a population of 22 million, and it is not a member of the G8 or of NATO. Yet it ranks 13th. Japan is also another success story and is ranked 18th. The Japanese in the early 1990s changed their constitution to join Canadians on the Golan Heights. They changed their constitution to bear arms. Thus, the student has surpassed the instructor so to speak at least in UN terms. But there is more to peacekeeping than just United Nations operations. ([Slide: NATO countries contribution to Peace Support Operations including UN, KFOR, SFOR, ISAF, Iraq](#)) NATO countries have deployed around UN missions, in KOSOVO, Bosnia, and Afghanistan and Iraq. Canada's numbers are significant when you take a look at the percentage of deployed forces compared to total strength. Of all NATO countries, all the way from Turkey to the US, Canada's 3700

contribution is significant. In percentage terms, 6.4 % of Canadian Forces is deployed overseas. The US percentage is 12.19% and the UK stands at 5.85%. Remember, too, those two countries are at war. Canada is not.

I return again to this theme of business and return on investment. Is Canada getting a good return on this investment? This would appear to be not a bad return on the investment if that is the intent of having uniforms to fight your battles or bring peace around the world and to support foreign policy. That's not bad, but there is a cost to that. If you take a look at a comparison of just G8 countries including Russia, you will see Canada ranks 6th, above Japan and Russia. Thus, some may say we are not doing badly as a G8 country ([Slide: Military contribution to PSO: G8 countries](#)). Even better than that, compared to our G8 brethren, Canada is pushing out a lot of troops overseas as a percentage of our total force. This is not a bad return on investment.

A common question though, from the Prime Minister on down, is if Canada has all this money and we have all these people, how is it that we cannot send a company of infantry here, and unarmed observers there, wherever and whenever they are needed. There is clearly a need to deal with Canadians' understanding of their military; poor reporting by the media doesn't help. It was reported on the CTV Newsnet yesterday that Canada has 20,000 Canadians deployed overseas. Where did that come from? We have 3700 personnel deployed and this information is available on the internet. This business of having a public debate means that media must do their homework especially if they are critical of those in academia and those in uniform and just out of uniform.

There are today about 61,000 on the defence payroll and of that 54,000 are trained ([Slide: People in the CF](#)). The difference, then, of about 7,000 troops are those undergoing training in places like Wainwright. That gives Canada about 25,300 bayonet carriers and trigger pullers in the army, navy and air force. I am just talking about regular force here, not the reserves. This leaves about 28,700 personnel to cover infrastructure, training systems, secondments and headquarters. This is an incredibly high percentage of combatants compared ([Slide: Combatant forces](#)) to that in any country in the world. If you break that 25,000 down into the 4 areas of Army, Navy, Air Force and the central services which provide medical, dental, and chaplain services etc, the Army comes out at 14000 and that's not bad; or is it? Four thousand for the Navy is spread over two coasts. Canada thus has an incredibly high percentage of combatants to non-combatants compared to any country in the world. ([Slide: Saddledome seating plan](#)) In the Saddledome, the future home of the Stanley Cup, there are about 17000 seats. In those 17000 seats, you can place the entire Canadian Army, the soldiers and bayonets from 1st brigade, 2nd brigade, and 5th brigade and in the spare seats; you can put some of the Navy and Air Force. That is what this country produces. Keep that in mind when you are thinking of the global security challenges facing this G8 country. There is only so much you can do with a hockey rink full of soldiers.

Some people will say aha!! They have read reports in the papers about inefficiency in NDHQ. Too many

Generals and bigwigs!! Lets look at the facts. (**Slide: number of soldiers per General Officer**). There are 70 Canadian Generals and Admirals. Let's compare this figure around the world. As a crude measure of performance, let's agree that if you have a general to a larger number of troops you are probably more efficient. It could be argued that Germany has a culture of command that has been going on for decades. Germany has the largest number of soldiers per general officer at 1643. The United States, where you have over a million in uniform and there is an economy of scale, has 1554. Sweden, which is not a member of NATO or NORAD, which are large alliances that call up Generals, has about 832 soldiers per General Officer. Canada has about 762. At the other end of the scale, the UK has about 396 and Australia has about 450, bags of Generals. When was the last time you have had a serving General Officer brief you in Calgary? I bet you can't remember because that headquarters is not fat and a lot of those Generals are overseas doing what the taxpayers pay them to do - command and take control of operations. The figures on this slide are about 8 months old; today Canada would stand third at 1 per 878.

To return to investment and business terms, the impact of operations on the Canadian Forces is very much like the Calgary City Police or Foothills Hospital. (**Slide: Impact of operations**) It operates on a shift system. Most modern militaries try to adopt a 1 to 6 ratio to take into account rotations into operations. 1 to 6 means 6 months overseas duty every three years. People are in Kabul now, then they come back, reconstitute, train and get ready to go somewhere else; similar to a treadmill. (**Slide: Army - today**) The Army today has about 6,000 that are either overseas or ready to go. Some 2,000 personnel are on operational waivers, which means that they have just come back and they have a 1 year 'green card' and won't go out overseas, ideally for a year. These are the ones that go off for forest fires, for training etc., and then there are the ones 'left out of battle'. These are soldiers that have temporary conditions, maybe a blown knee from jumping off a tank. That is today. (**Slide: Army – Sep04+**) In months from now, maybe next September, you've only got 1000 available for overseas deployment unless you want to send some of those that have just come back out again. The 'bottom line' is that once every three years, the soldier will be deployed overseas for 6 months, for the rest of his/her career. Do you want to increase that tempo? Something has got to give.

That is a little bit of the past and where we are as a country and the deployment of our forces right now. I would now like to talk about the changing dynamics. (**Slide: Changing world**) At any time over the past while, any one of the following was a prevalent international problem: weapons of mass destruction, transnational actors, non-state actors, weapons proliferation, transnational actors, peacekeeping, information security, failed states and terrorism. However, since 9/11, I think there has been a better understanding of the synergy that now exists between all of them. I'm going to touch on them briefly and how they impact on Canada. (**Slide: Changing world/political**) Under asymmetrical threats, when 9/11 happened we quickly got together with our American colleagues and went through lessons learned. My wife and I drove down to Washington, as we couldn't fly, 3 days after 9/11. I met immediately with my counterpart on the Permanent Joint Board of Defence (PJBD) and, in the following months, we and other

departments went through e the lessons learned and we found some interesting things, things we had been taking for granted.

What was of concern was the decision making process on both sides of the border. It was based on adhocery and personalities. (**Slide: Canada/US**) It was effective and it worked but it did not leave any of us with that comfort zone should a man-made or natural disaster occur in the future. We wanted to cooperate but we didn't want to be fumbling through the phone book to find the phone number of the person in charge. We wanted to have some procedures in place. The following issues were looked at: NORAD, NORTHCOM, smart border and the planning group. You know the United States has undergone some tremendous changes to the bureaucracy with the creation of their Homeland Defense Department and some Smart Border Initiatives. I was involved as the lead negotiator with respect to the Bi-national Planning Group that was critical in determining the measures that we could use to bridge the gaps particularly in maritime and land surveillance and aid to civil authorities on both sides of the border. (**Slide: PG scenarios**) These were some of the scenarios that the Planning Group is currently working on: container ship detonates nuclear devices at major ports; biological/chemical attack from offshore trawlers; terrorism on U.S. and Canadian bridges, locks and tunnels; power grids and pipelines blown-up on CANUS border; terrorists explode a dirty bomb in Windsor/Detroit; direct attacks on U.S. Congress and Canadian Parliament; homeless in multiple cities infected with smallpox; major earthquake on US/Canadian West Coast.

However, when these issues were discussed in the House of Commons there were those that said this would lead us down the long slippery slope to loss of sovereignty. I ask you, is any one of these scenarios on any slope of loss of sovereignty? The aim of this exercise was to protect Canadian and American lives. Two of these issues hit home to Albertans – power grids and pipelines. These scenarios are almost all manmade. What about the natural disaster that is going to happen at some time on the fault line that goes between Vancouver and Seattle? There are no Canadian Regular Force troops west of the Rocky Mountains any more. So Vancouver, with only 4 main access roads from the rest of Canada is fairly isolated from help from Canadian troops. Who is going to help those who are advocating a less strong military? It is going to be the State of Washington National Guard and others to the south. Also, Canadians will help Americans in other parts of the continent because there are Canadian troops that are closer to some US urban centers than US troops.

Missile defence is being discussed right now but the Americans are not debating, they are moving ahead. (**Slide: BMD quotation**) Whatever debate we have here in Canada is irrelevant. It may be relevant to us but not to the Americans. The question should not be why should the Americans be spending so much on missile defence but to Canada, what happens if we don't. What are the implications to us?

There are some interesting demographic changes that are affecting Canada and the world but particularly Canada. (**Slide: Changing world/demographics**) Our latest census tells us that the majority of immigrants are coming to Canada from Asia, primarily China. Others come from Pakistan, India, etc.

Poland at 2% is the only European country in the top ten; yet, we still tend to be Euro centric. Ottawa has a direct flight to Europe. Our Head of State is a European and lives in Europe. Where are the immigrants coming from is interesting? But where are they going is fascinating? (**Slide: Global cities**) Of the 7 top cities in the world where there are high percentages of foreign-borne citizens, 3 are Canadian. Forty-four percent of the 5 million Torontonians were born outside of Canada. The other cities in order are: Miami, Vancouver, Sydney, LA, New York, and Montreal. What does this mean? When these immigrants become more politically active, when they become more involved in Canadian society, as will their children in the following decades, what will they think of about their sons and daughters serving in Europe in peacekeeping, NATO etc.? It is a rhetorical question. We don't know the answer because we have not asked the question – something that an open, transparent defence review should do.

The US is different. (**Slide: US – its changing face**) Immigration is going down in the US. As a percentage, only 10% are foreign borne with the immigrants coming from mostly Hispanic and Latino backgrounds, Spanish speaking predominantly and Christian. There was a three star American General recently quoted in the media about his comments about his god versus somebody else's god. For three years I was a mentor for the serving Canadian General Officers. If any one of us had made those comments, I would hope he or she would have been taken on the mat. We, as a society, are more secular and more respectful of where people have come and what they can contribute. I'm, not saying this as a pejorative comment against the US, I am just highlighting that there are some significant differences between our two societies.

The economy affects us as well. (**Slide: Changing world/economy**) When we compare Canada's gross domestic product to the US, we compare most with Texas, and France compares with California. The big companies like Exxon compare with the state of Washington. We tend to be defensive when we talk about the US economy, that big dreadnought to the south that is going to overwhelm us. However, thirty-eight states (**Slide: Canada/US**) have Canada as their single largest export market and Canada absorbs a quarter of all US exports, more than Japan, Germany, the UK, Italy and China combined. One third of all energy measured in BTU and imported to the US comes from Canada and a great deal of that is from Alberta and each day 2 billion dollars and 300,000 people cross the border. Recently, Russia was quite keen that they were doing about 6 billion-dollar trade with Canada. We do that in three days across the border so this is significant. It is a two way street. Talk to the Governors of those States and they will tell you that this is an extremely important market. We're focused on this (**Slide: Canada – 'trade'**). Our friends to the south have said this (**Slide: US – 'security trumps trade'**) so how do you get around this when you are starting to project your values, your ideas of how the world should be run? It is like a Macintosh talking to a Microsoft system – it can be done but not without a look of work system.

Lastly I want to touch on technology, and particularly space recalling that we have the Ballistic Missile Defence discussions underway. (**Slide: Changing world/technology**) A Chinese gentleman just circled the earth and the Chinese have told us they want to build their own space station. Those who think that

this has not caused some concern in the Washington beltway should reconsider. It also causes some concern to us because Canada has said no weapons in space. But what is a weapon nowadays? Is it a ground based laser reflecting off a satellite back to a terrestrial target? If you look at the definition of a weapon in the dictionary commonly used by Americans compared to ours, there is a significant difference of meaning – and we are both predominantly English speaking societies. Is this a red line that is going to face us in the future as we go through these discussions or beyond? (**Slide: Similarities/differences**)

We are similar. Yet, there are some significant differences between us. The challenge for any government, particularly one that is in transition, is to identify what are the skirmishes, what are the battles, and what are the wars to be fought with this absolutely critical neighbour to the south. You want to pick those activities very, very carefully

I want now to take a look to the future and I will cover what we know now and a little bit of what is on the radar screen. (**Slide: Strategic outlook**) I'll cover these 5 areas: Afghanistan, Iraq, Bosnia, the Middle East and Africa.

Afghanistan

As you know we are there with NATO, it is not a UN operation. There are about 2000 troops there now and the commitment is for one year. The rotation from Petawawa Ontario is there now and the next rotation is in January from Valcartier. We do know that next summer it won't be 2000 but it won't be zero either because it is a NATO mission. (**Slide: Kabul map**) We are located in a city, Kabul, and there is much interest to expand outside of that city. There are some 5000 multinational troops just in one city and it is a very large country. (**Slide: ISAF organization**) The Deputy Commander Major-General Andrew Leslie, the brigade commander, and a battalion is Canadian, one of three multinational battalions. There is a French-led-led, multinational battalion, and a German-led multinational battalion. A Canadian, General Rick Hillier, will assume command of ISAF in January for 6 months. (**Slide: Afghan political schedule**) But what is of concern and we've know this for a while is that while the Canadian forces are in Afghanistan, two very significant political events will occur. First, the constitutional Loya Jirga will occur at the end of this year and most importantly, the elections which will happen next summer. It is pretty difficult to pull out when you have an election and you have so much at stake. It will be a hard decision to make at that time.

Iraq

(**Slide: US/UN**) We've said no to the United States but now we have a United Nations Security Council resolution. What does that mean for Canada and what are the implications to Canada, we that love the UN. If the UN calls upon us to deploy troops, will we say no? The Japanese will be deploying hundreds.

Bosnia

(Slide: Bosnia drawdown schedule) There is good news about Bosnia. The draw down of Canadian troops is going to occur. The last battalion will be out in April and the last reconnaissance group will be out in October for a steady state force level of about 40-50. We've been there too long.

The Middle East

(Slide: ME) The Middle East there will be a draw down on the Golan Heights and the other areas will remain a steady state.

Africa

(Slide: Africa) Lastly, in Africa there are small numbers and will remain the same.

Now, what's on the radar screen? **(Slide: UN/SHIRBRIG)** Canada has supported the Standing High Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG) for some time. Its' headquarters is in Copenhagen. Canada has the Presidency this year; we took over from the Norwegians. We will hand it off to the Austrians in Jan. A Canadian Brigadier-General, Greg Mitchell, will assume command of this brigade. Canada has had a long standing commitment of a battalion and 8 helicopters. The UN is currently looking at deploying this organization for the second time. The first time was to Ethiopia/Eriteria. This time it could be sent to the Sudan. The chances of that happening are very high. You will recall what happened at the Kananaskis G8 meeting with the African initiative. Can we say no to deploy when they call upon us to go to a United Nations mission where there is a Canadian force commander and where there is a commitment for a battalion?

NATO

(Slide: RRF) NATO is just officially announced the NATO response force because its been appreciated that there is over 1 million NATO troops in uniform but very few of them are rapidly deployable and they have very few capabilities to 'plug and play'. By that I mean, the technology to drop precision munitions, to have digital communications etc. The implications for Canada are significant. Do we have the time, do we have the staff, and are we going to say no again to something for which Canada has been pushing so hard for all of these years? I have sat at the NATO table as the Canadian representative and pushed the Canadian position about high readiness because that is what we've been advocating at the UN and NATO. Get in quickly to that fire and snuff it out before it gets out of hand. But as soon as you talk readiness, you talk money because it is not cheap for any country.

The Middle East is the mother lode. **(Slide: ME)** This is so important that we in the international community cannot get this wrong when there is a call. We can say in nice comfortable Calgary, this is not

going to happen. There is fighting going on, there are terrorist bombings going on. But there is a road map and that plan has everything from a few hundred unarmed observers all the way to a United States-led multinational force of 20,000. You may say this is overkill. After all, UNTSO and others have been there for many years.

However, if we look at the terrain, the Israeli security barrier is going up around the West Bank. (**Slide: West Bank, Gaza**) This is rough terrain. Looking at this map, you can see a brigade here, a second brigade there, a third brigade here, and a fourth brigade in Jerusalem itself, which has very hilly terrain. And that leaves a 5th brigade for the Gaza strip. This would be a very difficult challenge; those numbers are not at all unrealistic. Is Canada going to say 'no' to some request based on a UN Security Council Resolution requiring troops? Very difficult indeed!

Lastly I want to touch on some sustainability issues. (**Slide: Defence policy – future challenges**) I've talked about people and talked a little bit about some money. Canada continues to spend about 1.1 to 1.2 percent of our Gross Domestic Product on defence. Only Luxembourg in NATO spends less than us. The NATO average is about 2.2%. The Australians have just passed in their Parliament an increase in the defence budget which will be 2.0% of their GDP. Australia is not part of NATO or NORAD. (**Slide: G8 defence as % of GDP**) Canada is also at the bottom end of the G8 countries in our spending on defence.

Look at this chart. (**Slide: CF equipment – operational effectiveness compared to life expectancy**) It has been in existence for about 2 years. The detail is quite significant. If equipment is brand spanking new, it is shown here in the top left quadrant. If it is rusted out it, is over there in the bottom right. If it is top quality it is above this line; if not, it is below. If the CF were Air Canada, we would have a spanking new Airbus 330 that still smells of fresh paint, up here in the top left quadrant. Or down here like that venerable old TCA Vanguard that some of us have flown on. So ideally, we want to be above this functionality line of new equipment. It is unrealistic to assume that we can be like Singapore Airlines and have everything brand new. That's not going to happen but you do want to be above the functional line. (**Slide: Overlay of CF equipment**) If you included the Canadian Forces equipment on this chart, you end up with the following: the Hercules aircraft, the Sea King helicopter and the ILTIS jeep are far below the functionality line in the bottom right quadrant. These should be at least above the functional line. It is unrealistic to have equipment always in the top left quadrant all the time, but at least it should be functional. This is pretty difficult to do with the budget at hand. Comparatively speaking as you notice the colour coding for the equipment, the Navy is not too bad off. Their ships, albeit of varying ages, are at least functional and sought after by alliances and coalitions.

We are going to have a new government. Who that leader is going to be I don't know but Mr. Martin (**Slide: Martin quotes**) has been quoted the last weekend as saying that there will be more federal government department budget cuts and that he will always keep a firm grip on spending. In terms of the

debt to gross domestic product, Mr. Martin as a Finance Minister, brought us from having 71% of our Gross Domestic Product servicing our debt to 40%, and his target is 25%. As a tax payer and as an Albertan, I think that it is great. Except that it will cost money, at a time when the Federal surplus is declining. So how do we get that equipment that is way down below the functional line to above it? There are some things that we cannot do as a country with the budget that has been assigned. (**Slide: Army equipment**) At Wainwright right now, we have the Leopard I A5. This is the Leopard II. The Australians are looking at buying the them or the M1. However, we can't. We as a country with the current budget cannot afford it. We'll probably get the Mobile Gun System, which is not a tank but a bunker buster. It is a piece of kit that supports infantry but it is not a tank. The good thing about the MGS is that it will go on a plane and it can be deployed around the world quickly. The bad thing about them is that they will lessen our capability. The relevance aspect of this is going back to the 'plug and play' concept I mentioned earlier. How does Canada fit in with our alliances? Are we going to scale back to the point of only being able to contribute to a narrow niche? This, of a G8 country?

The same applies to the Navy. (**Slide: Navy –ships in carrier battle group**) Few people realize that the US considers an aircraft carrier to be vital ground. – Something that has profound national interest. You touch one of their carriers and you will likely elicit a significant response, limited only by your imagination. Around each of these carriers, are about four ships in the inner guard. One of them is often a Canadian frigate while the others are American. No other country is allowed to protect that vital interest other than the Canadian Navy. No other country replaces, not augments, US Navy warships. That's a tremendous vote of confidence for not just the equipment, the frigate and its computers, but especially the professionalism of the sailors. The Brits, the Germans, the Italians are not allowed in that inner cordon to replace American destroyers and frigates. That has been going on for the last 4/5 years. However, the frigates are getting old. They are extremely relevant, but they cost money to replace.

And God bless these Hercules and especially the folks that keep them flying. (**Slide: Air Force – mechanics fixing Herc**) There are 32 Canadian Hercules. At any given time only 14 are able to fly. Six are dedicated to search and rescue in Canada from coast to coast to coast. So that leaves this country, a G8 member, with global aspirations with only eight Hercules to deliver human aid, to provide supplies etc around the world.

We have focused recently on equipment but what we are especially good at involves our people. (**Slides: Soldiers in Afghanistan**) We want our Corporals, Master Corporals and Sergeants to be armed to the teeth. We want the whole country to support them in their endeavors because this is what we do better than anyone else. They are our Foreign Minister, our Prime Minister, , Governor General, representing every one of us at that particular point of time in Afghanistan. They represent our values and we would hope that they have all the support we can give because it is only then that we can look at other people, the next generation, (**Slide: children**) in the eye and say we can make your life better whether it is Afghanistan or some other part of the world. At the end of the day, hopefully, it does pay off,

and we have these war-torn generations of people saying that there is a better way because of the Canadian presence there.

I have covered these points fairly quickly and I hope it will give you a better idea of where we stand as a country in facing some of the challenges that we have in the future. I commend to you reading this book (**Slide: 'While Canada slept: How we lost our place in the world'**) because I think it gives us a particular good perspective of where we as Canadians think we are, and where the rest of the world thinks we are. And there is a huge gap. I return to the concept of relevancy and the challenges that we as a country face in the very short term of realizing our expectations with this organization that is called defence that is a significant arm of our foreign policy. Minister Graham is one of the few ministers that have publicly said that one of his best and strongest tools in his foreign policy tool-box is the military.

Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you very much.

To view the entire Power Point presentation, click [here](#).