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CANADIAN FORCES COLLEGE / COLLÈGE DES FORCES CANADIENNES

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EXERCISE NEW HORIZON

**INTEROPERABILITY DOWN and CANADA'S MENTORSHIP  
OF PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS**

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## INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the Cold War in 1989, the world has changed and contrary to expectations has become more unstable and unpredictable. Over the last 18 years, Canada has been involved in much more demanding Peace Support Operations (PSO) than before, with as much as 5000 troops deployed at any given time compared to less than 1000 on average prior to 1989 (see Fig. 1). Indeed, since 1989, the Canadian Forces (CF) have deployed troops to Somalia, Eritrea, Haiti, Rwanda, Cambodia, Bosnia, Kosovo, and now Afghanistan and could have responded to many more crisis if not for the lack of resources and personnel.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, in response to this increased operational tempo, the Canadian government has decided to augment the number of CF Regular Force personnel to 75,000.<sup>2</sup> However, even with this substantial expansion, the United Nations (U.N.) or North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) demands for Peace Support Operations (PSO) still outstrip the CF capabilities, especially in terms of personnel with foreign language abilities and cultural backgrounds, so critical to wage a successful Information Operation (IO) campaign. With visible minority personnel representing less than 2% of

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<sup>1</sup> Mapleleafweb, "Canada and peacekeeping A history of Canada's participation," available from [http://www.mapleleafweb.com/features/military/peace\\_keeping/canada.html](http://www.mapleleafweb.com/features/military/peace_keeping/canada.html); Internet; accessed 15 Apr 07; "After the end of the Cold War, there was increasing demand for U.N. peace missions. Thirty-five peace missions have been initiated since 1990. Fourteen of these are ongoing." The main shortfall remained the size of the Canadian Forces (CF), which even with the recent recruiting push could hardly make up for the personnel leaving the CF on retirement.

<sup>2</sup> Speaking Notes for the Honourable Gordon J. O'Connor, P.C., M.P. Minister of National Defence, "The Conference of Defence Associations Institute Annual General Meeting, 23 Feb 2006," [http://www.dnd.ca/site/newsroom/view\\_news\\_e.asp?id=1860](http://www.dnd.ca/site/newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=1860); Internet; accessed 12 Apr 07.

the CF,<sup>3</sup> very few Canadian soldiers/officers possess the linguistic skills or cultural background required to influence the “hearts and minds” of the local population where the CF deploys. Further, with Canada’s aging population,<sup>4</sup> the CF will encounter difficulties in recruiting the necessary young talent required to operate in the complex operating environment (COE) of future PSO.<sup>5</sup> In response to this looming resource gap facing the CF, the concept of “interoperability down” offers many benefits worth exploring further.

This paper will argue that the CF should pursue greater military collaboration and/or forge alliances with a number of selected countries, located in areas of the world where the CF might reasonably be called upon to deploy in the future. In this manner, the CF would be in a position to better leverage its expertise and strength with the local militaries to support the wider strategic aims of the U.N., the African Union (AU) or NATO. This suggested approach does not constitute a first foray for Canada, with past experience involving military assistance programs in the 1960s and the now Military Training Assistance Program (MTAP), and the ongoing NATO and North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD) Alliances. Furthermore, with today’s emphasis on 3D strategy, the time may be ripe for the CF to work more closely with the

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<sup>3</sup> Profile: Minister Advisory Board on Canadian Forces, “Report Gender Integration and Employment Equity, Chapter 2 , March 2000,” [http://www.dnd.ca/site/minister/eng/genderint/chap2\\_e.htm](http://www.dnd.ca/site/minister/eng/genderint/chap2_e.htm); Internet; accessed 12 Apr 07

<sup>4</sup> Statistic Canada, “Projected population by age group and sex according to a medium growth scenario for 2006, 2011, 2016, 2021, 2026 and 2031, at July,” <http://www40.statcan.ca/101/cst01/demo23a.htm> ; Internet; accessed 13 Apr 07; Population projections between 2006 and 2026 forecast that the proportion of Canadian over age 60 will double to more than 25% of the population by year 2026.

<sup>5</sup> Beside technical abilities, new recruits will face missions of increased complexity halfway around the world where training in non-traditional operations are paramount. Enabling Ops such as PSYOPS, CIMIC, Public Affair and Information Ops require greater expertise of foreign language and culture in order to win the hearts and minds of the local population.

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) on implementing a more long-term “whole of government” approach to nation building. Obviously, this approach will not apply to all countries and must follow an implementation framework that customizes the approach to individual countries in relation to the requirements, risks and options.

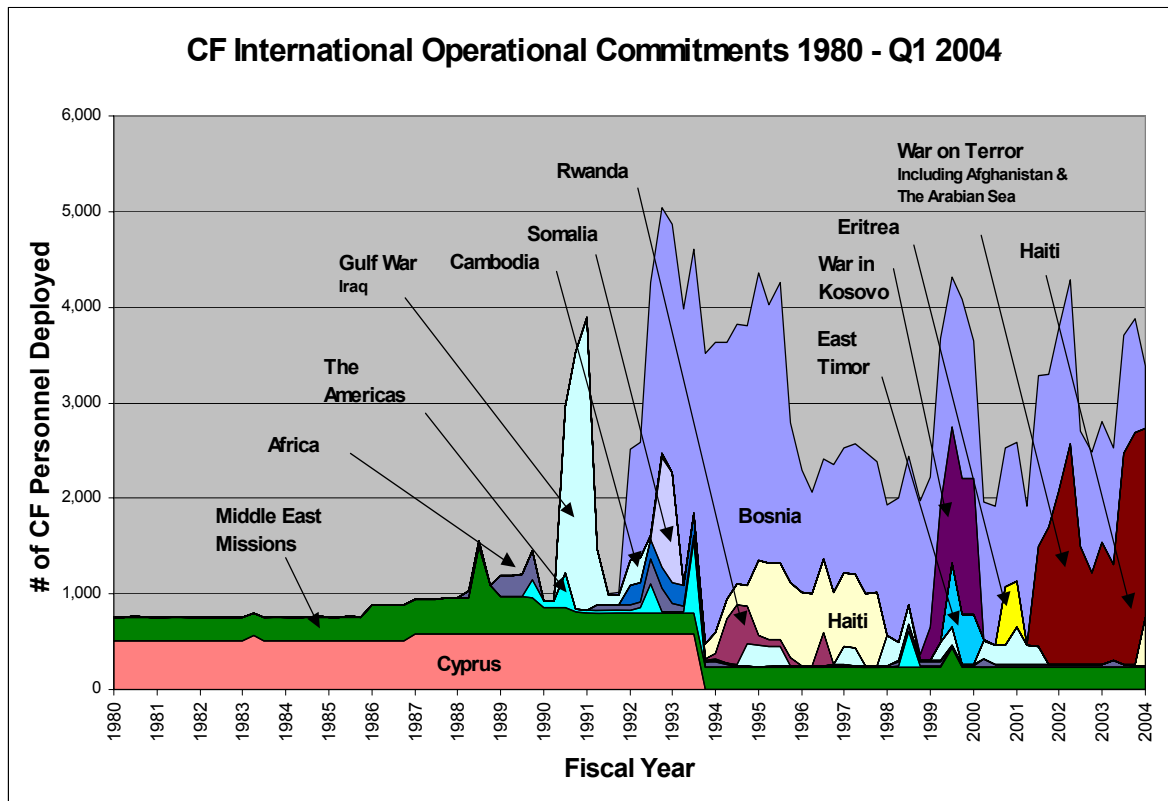


Figure 1 – CF International operational commitments 1980-2004

Source: CANOSCOM briefing on Personnel Support – 10 Jan 07

## CANADIAN NATIONAL SECURITY SITUATION

Canada enjoys one of the most stable and peaceful geo-political situations in the world. Due to its geographical location and very good rapport with the U.S., except for a brief time in early 19<sup>th</sup> Century,<sup>6</sup> Canada's relative isolation from external threats meant that wars abroad stirred very little interest in Canada. In the first 30 years of Confederation, Canada adopted a hands-off attitude toward external conflicts. Canada did not intervene unless under obligations as a colony to support England's war efforts. As a result, Canada fought reluctantly along side England and other Allies during the Boer War and the First World War

First as an English Dominion and then as an independent nation, Canada participated in a number of international conflicts over the last 110 years. This outward looking Canada started timidly in 1899, when Canada sent an expeditionary force of 8000 troops to South Africa at the request of England.<sup>7</sup> However, this participation was a mere obligation to the motherland rather than a real concern for international peace as depicted by the following quote:

It generated divided feelings in the population -- between those who favored loyalty to the British Empire, and those who felt that Canada's security was not directly threatened, and that to send troops would create a precedent for future action.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Britannica concise, "War of 1812," <http://concise.britannica.com/ebc/article-9032132/War-of-1812>; Internet; accessed on 13 Apr 07; From 1812 to 1814 several attacks were launched on Canada by U.S. forces in Niagara Falls, Montreal and Quebec City.

<sup>7</sup> Library and Archives of Canada, "South Africa War," <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/military/025002-5000-e.html> : Internet; accessed, 6 Mar 07.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

Then came the First World War, the Great War, “Canada began the war as a British colony, and was at war by declaration of the mother country.”<sup>9</sup> Once again, Canada had little choice to join Britain’s war in Europe, but this time this nation-changing event transformed Canada from a British Colony into an independent country.

<sup>10</sup> As such, Canada joined the League of Nations in demonstration of its interest for international peace. However, the weak resolve of member nations resulted into another failure for the world community,<sup>11</sup> when the League of Nations failed to stop Hitler’s expansionist plans.<sup>12</sup>

Following its second devastating failure in less than 40 years, the International Community realized the importance of intervening rapidly into regional conflicts to preempt potential escalation of conflicts into World Wars. To this end, for almost two years, the U.S. spearheaded the efforts that led to the creation of the U.N. when 50

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<sup>9</sup> Library and Archives of Canada, “First World War,” <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/military/025002-6000-e.html> ; Internet; accessed 6 Mar 07.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, During this conflict, Canada proved the world that it had the where with all to act as “an independent country confident in its ability to manage its own affairs.” As an independent nation, Canada signed on to the Versailles Treaty at the end of FIRST WORLD WAR and actively participated in the League of Nations.

<sup>11</sup> The subsequent failure of the League of Nations to stop World Wars originated from the inherited lack of true commitment for international peace by all member nations. Nations maintained a regional focus of the global peace and security and were not willing to sacrifice their soldiers to stop conflict in far-flung countries around the globe.

<sup>12</sup> Historyworld, “History of World War II,” <http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ac31> ; Internet; accessed 17 Mar 07; “In 1939 it is the deliberate result of the policy of one man, Adolf Hitler. That policy can in many respects be traced back to the after-effects of World War I. Hitler, in his vengeful and expansionist plans for Germany. “ Therefore, nations like Canada, reacted a lot quicker this time to declare war against Hitler’s Germany, when this regional conflict expanded to Poland in Sept 1939. However, this effort was in vain since the Nazi’s invasion had already engulfed the entire continent and beyond.

Nations signed on the United Nations Charter, on 26 June 1945.<sup>13</sup> Canada joined the U.N. early on and fully assumed its international responsibilities by avidly participating in most U.N. interventions from Korea to Cyprus, including the defining moment of the Suez Canal crisis. Canada participated in more than 50 peacekeeping missions in all from 1950 to this date.<sup>14</sup> In addition, during the same timeframe, Canada joined the ranks of alliances such as NATO, and NORAD.

Canada signed on as a member of both NATO and NORAD for reasons of international peace and stability over Europe and National Security respectively. As a result of the Second World War, the escalation of the great divide between the USSR and the U.S., that led to the Cold War, represented a threat to Europe and more so, the first potent threat to Canada's National Security since Confederation. As part of NATO, Canada maintained forces in Europe along side its proven allies to counter any potential Soviet offensives,<sup>15</sup> while consolidating its continental defence as part of NORAD<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup>Basic Facts About the United Nations 2000, "About the U.N./History," <http://www.un.org/aboutun/history.htm> ; Internet; accessed 17 Mar 07; "In 1945, representatives of 50 countries met in San Francisco at the United Nations Conference on International Organization to draw up the United Nations Charter." This new world body had a mandate to set the conditions for early intervention in regional conflicts in advance of worldwide escalation. In 1945, the United Nations was therefore created to accomplish this demanding mandate "to intervene in conflicts between nations and thereby avoid war."

<sup>14</sup> Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, (1999), 258.

<sup>15</sup> DND Policy Group, "Canada and NATO : The Canadian Forces and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization," <http://www.forces.gc.ca/admpol/content.asp?id={62495370-26C8-4980-99AA-7A6ABE26E6EB}&lang=1>; Internet; accessed 17 Apr 07; "Since its inception in 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has been a central pillar of Euro-Atlantic defence. During the Cold War, NATO embodied the trans-Atlantic link and was an essential instrument of deterrence that protected Western Europe from Soviet domination."

<sup>16</sup> National Defence and the Canadian Forces, "Backgrounder NORAD," [http://www.mdn.ca/site/Newsroom/view\\_news\\_e.asp?id=1922](http://www.mdn.ca/site/Newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=1922); Internet; accessed 17 Apr 07; "NORAD has served the citizens of Canada and the United States as the first line of defence against an air attack on their homelands since 1958. It has also acted as a clear deterrent to any aggressor through its space warning



These alliances served Canada well, as it allowed Canada to keep up with modern militaries in terms of equipment, doctrine and tactics and participate in alliance strategic defence of Europe and North America. In summary, NATO and NORAD enabled a small power like Canada to surpass its military and diplomatic standing. But in 1989, with the end of this bi-polar world, global instabilities intensified with greater and fiercer regional conflicts erupting in many deprived regions of the world.

With the end of the Cold War came an increased instability on a global scale, which meant more and riskier U.N. missions.<sup>17</sup> Case in point, Canada involvement in Rwanda (1990), Haiti (1993), Eritrea (2000), Somalia (1992), Bosnia (1992), Kosovo (1999),<sup>18</sup> and now in Afghanistan, succeeded at a faster rate and reached an appalling level of violence as witnessed by the large number of casualties, which for instance surpassed 800,000 killed in Rwanda alone.<sup>19</sup> As depicted by the author of the Planet of

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capabilities” such as the early warning defensive system against Russian’s strategic bombers flying over the Arctic.

<sup>17</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, “How has peacekeeping evolved,” <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q4.htm>, Internet accessed 18 Apr 07, “The end of the Cold War precipitated a dramatic shift in U.N. peacekeeping. Freed from bipolarization, the Security Council established larger and more complex U.N. peacekeeping missions, often to help implement comprehensive peace agreements between protagonists in intra-State conflicts. Furthermore, peacekeeping came to involve more and more non-military elements to ensure sustainability. The U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) was created in 1992 to support this increased demand for complex peacekeeping.”

<sup>18</sup> DND Policy Group, “Past Canadian Commitments to United Nations and other Peace Support Operations (as of December 2003),” <http://www.forces.gc.ca/admpol/content.asp?id=%7b4433D831-9230-4572-B297-CEA4F4C1DA3D%7d>, Internet: accessed 6 Apr 07

<sup>19</sup> Human Rights Council, “Genocide in Rwanda, 800,000 deaths,” [http://www.unitedhumanrights.org/Genocide/genocide\\_in\\_rwanda.htm](http://www.unitedhumanrights.org/Genocide/genocide_in_rwanda.htm), “Beginning on April 6, 1994, and for the next hundred days, up to 800,000 Tutsis were killed by Hutu militia using clubs and machetes, with as many as 10,000 killed each day.” Ethnic cleansing such as in Rwanda, intense fighting between tribal factions and terrorist groups conducting asymmetric warfare characterized this new trend toward escalation of violence experienced during the most recent conflicts.

Slums,<sup>20</sup> this general global unrest, characterized by protracted civil unrests will not subside any time soon,<sup>21</sup> and will continue to deplete Western Nations militaries that come to the rescue of victims of atrocities.

In summary, Canada, similarly to its Western Allies, has once again stretched its military resources to the limit in response to the challenges of the COE. Over the last century, Canada has successfully demonstrated great external adaptability to the changing global threat environment, through alliances and active participation in internationally sponsored PSO. During this 100 year journey, Canada has grown from its colonial past into a modern and independent nation which has distinguished itself during two World Wars and through the inception and the participation of more than 50 peacekeeping missions.<sup>22</sup> In addition to Canada's involvements on the international scene as a standing army, Canada also worked behind the scene providing developing countries with military assistance.

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<sup>20</sup> Stuart Schrader, "The Planet of Slums," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, New York, Jan/Feb 2007 Vol 40 Iss. 1, P 47; The Planet of Slums, nearly 1 billion people live in slums worldwide located mainly in developing world.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 49; Because slums are often a source of conflicts with local authorities, authoritarian regime often intervene brutally against the people residing of the slums by destroying entire shanty towns, mass murdering of its citizens while evicting others who find themselves on the growing list of internally displaced person (IDP). Either way, global instability would result from this rapid degradation of the living conditions of billion of people who one day may wage "a low-intensity world-war of unlimited duration against criminal segments of the urban poor."

<sup>22</sup> Mapleleafweb, Canada and peacekeeping A history of Canada's participation, [http://www.mapleleafweb.com/features/military/peace\\_keeping/canada.html](http://www.mapleleafweb.com/features/military/peace_keeping/canada.html), Internet accessed 15 Apr 07, "Lester B. Pearson has become an icon for Canada's international peacekeeping reputation. His innovation of a peacekeeping force for the 1956 Suez Canal crisis was a landmark move. France, Israel and the United Kingdom had been trying to stop Egypt from taking control of the Suez Canal. Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, proposed an international force under the U.N. flag be deployed to ease the conflict."

## CANADA'S PAST AND CURRENT MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

During the rapid decolonization of Africa and Asia in the 1950s, the Canadian Department of External Affairs quickly realized the ramifications that poorly trained militaries would have on the stability of these two regions. Incidentally, two main factors led External Affairs to this conclusion. First, the general state of chaos that followed the de-colonization of some countries, case in point was the “disturbances in Burma and the collapse of the Congo brought the importance of military assistance into sharp focus.”<sup>23</sup> Second, by 1953, another pressing issue was the relentless efforts by the Soviet Union to gain support among developing nations in Africa, Asia and Middle East to facilitate communism expansion.<sup>24</sup> However, while Canadian diplomats perceived the danger pointing on the horizon, the Canadian military remained generally unfazed.

In 1960, following the rapid disintegration of ex-colonies such as the Congo, Canada decided to contribute to the stability of this continent by providing military assistance in order to:

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<sup>23</sup> Greg Donaghy, “The rise and Fall of Canadian Military Assistance in the developing World, 1952-1971,” *Journal of Canadian Military History*, Spring 1995, Vol 4 No 1, 75; the Department of External Affairs appreciated the significance of military assistance for the stability of developing nations.

<sup>24</sup> Douglas J. Macdonald, "Communist Bloc Expansion in the Early Cold War: Challenging Realism, Refuting Revisionism," *International Security*, Vol. 20, no. 3 (Winter 1995), <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/macdon.htm>, Internet; accessed 18 Apr 07, “By January 1950 powers interested in Asia, such as Britain, France, Australia, and New Zealand, and some nations in Southeast Asia, such as the Philippines and Thailand, had reached the conclusion with surprising unanimity that Soviet and Chinese communist plans for expansion posed a region-wide threat.”

Constitute a direct, although modest contribution to the establishment of efficient and stable military forces in friendly countries where armed forces are often the largest single group of disciplined and trained personnel, and usually a good influence for law and order. Local armed forces, if properly trained and led, can contribute to stability and the preservation of peace.<sup>25</sup>

Unfortunately, despite Prime Minister Diefenbaker's intervention, the level of support by Department of National Defence (DND) to the Military Assistance Program remained sub par, as the program was plagued with insufficient resources, lack of dedicated funding and shared vision between DND and Department of External Affairs until July 1964.

At that juncture, a more comprehensive approach to military assistance was developed. Incidentally, the program received new funds and adopted a more integrated "whole of government approach" consistent with its objective. For instance, as "an adjunct to Canada general aid policy", the Military Assistance Program could fulfill its role as a nation building initiative under the auspices of an Interdepartmental Military Assistance Committee composed of representatives from four departments.<sup>26</sup> In 1965-66, the program grew to \$7.66M and included operations in countries such as Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria and Malaysia. Furthermore, the Committee had the authority to approve military assistance requests with limited political impact and not exceeding \$300,000. This overhaul of the Military Assistance Program meant a more coherent application of the program, which finally provided the ends, ways and means to timely respond to international requests for this type of assistance. Unfortunately, this program was short

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<sup>25</sup> N.A. Roberston, "memorandum for the Minister", 3 May 1961 and attached "Memorandum to the Cabinet", 3 May 1961, DEA file 11384-40

<sup>26</sup> Greg Donaghy, "The Rise and Fall of Canadian Military Assistance in the developing World, 1952-1971," *Journal of Canadian Military History*, Spring 1995, Vol 4 No 1, 78; The Interdepartmental Military assistance Committee would intercede to the Cabinet for military assistance projects approval and subsequently oversee the projects implementation by allocating funding and securing resource.

lived and was discarded by the Trudeau's administration in 1969. Some 22 years later, under the designation of MTAP (Military Training Assistance program), DND reinstated

MTAP based on the following guidelines: “Canada foreign and defence policy, historic bilateral relation with recipient country and country’s ability to accept assistance and develop rapidly.”<sup>31</sup> In the section after next, this assessment framework, it is argued, would prove useful in the evaluation of nations earmarked to form part of an “interoperability down” strategic concept that the CF should pursue.

In summary, since 1950, Canada has sporadically devoted some of its military resources to assist other nations’ militaries. During two time periods, 1950-60’s and from 1991 until now, both Military Assistance programs (the original one and MTAP) were part of Canada’s response to restore national/regional stability through specific military training. In the latter instance, MTAP leveraged Canada’s trademark knowledge in peacekeeping to train selected foreign militaries in the conduct of peacekeeping operations. This broadening of peacekeeping knowledge served Canada’s interest at the time.<sup>32</sup> Conspicuously, MTAP still remained Canada’s only military assistance option and as such may offer only a partial solution to the requirements set in the 2005 Defence Policy Statement (DPS) for military training to foreign Armed Forces.<sup>33</sup> The following

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Training Centre on the site of a former military base in Clementsport, Nova Scotia. The centre provides research, education and training for peacekeepers from Canada and around the world.”

<sup>31</sup> Andrew p. Rasiulis, The Military Training Assistance Program (MTAP); an instrument of military diplomacy, Autumn 2001, Canadian Military Journal, 64

<sup>32</sup>ADM Policy Group, “Directorate of the Military Training Assistance Programme (D MTAP), Background & Strategic Relevance,” <http://www.forces.gc.ca/admpol/content.asp?id={75991DE6-7D4D-4C4B-988C-0EFE4AB4EE47}> ; Internet; accessed 18 Apr 07; “MTAP has proven to be an excellent means of fulfilling the Government of Canada’s international security priorities. Without MTAP, Canada would be bereft of a key capacity-building tool, and the resulting interoperability and burden-sharing that MTAP training provides.”

<sup>33</sup> Defence Policy Statement published in 2005, [http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/reports/dps/main/05\\_e.asp#2\\_1\\_1](http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/reports/dps/main/05_e.asp#2_1_1); Internet; accessed 20 Mar 07, “The Canadian Forces will play a more active role in providing military training to foreign armed forces. Fostering the development of democratic and accountable militaries in nations emerging from conflict promotes stability, helps prevent new crises, and facilitates the withdrawal of international forces from areas of conflict.”

section depicts some interim solutions, involving several Federal departments, aimed at coordinating Canada's military involvements abroad during time of crisis.

### **The whole of government strategy to improve regional security**

With the creation of MTAP in the early 90s, the 3D + C (Diplomacy, Defence, Development and Commerce) approach in Afghanistan and the 2005 International and Defence Policy Statements (IPS and DPS), focused on the whole of government response to international crisis, the Canadian Government demonstrated resolve to adapt to today's global threat environment. MTAP represented a good solution when peacekeeping was the solution of choice to counter regional instability. However, due to its limited nature of training for peacekeeping, MTAP lacked the scope of military assistance required to deal with today's regional conflicts or "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) type missions. This new notion of R2P, just ratified by more than 170 countries during the 2005 U.N. World Summit, implies that "the International Community bears the responsibility to protect humanity against acts of genocide or similar atrocities when the country fails to protect its own people."<sup>34</sup> Although its implementation remains unclear, R2P interventions would certainly necessitate the employment of a multi-national force that would require substantial training and commitment to reach the level of interoperability and doctrine

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<sup>34</sup> Alicia L. Bannon, The Yale Law Journal, The Responsibility to Protect; The U.N. World Summit and the question of unilateralism," [http://www.yalelawjournal.org/115/5/1157\\_alicia\\_1\\_bannon.html](http://www.yalelawjournal.org/115/5/1157_alicia_1_bannon.html); Internet; accessed 23 Feb 07; "To this effect, the U.N. has recently adopted a new concept called "Responsibility to Protect" which states that the International Community Responsibility to protect: legal auth to intervene in domestic affairs of a country when Government cannot guarantee safety of its people; required fast intervention based on rapid decision making and action."

development to tackle these complex missions.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, a MTAP like program but with a broader scope of assistance, similar to the former Military Assistance Program described in the previous section, would appear more appropriate to prepare multinational forces to undertake such challenging interventions. Over time, it would enable foreign militaries to carry out the full spectrum of military functions under coalition environment, along with the humanitarian and development functions required to tackle the new challenges of modern asymmetric conflicts. However, short of time and strong of its experience in the Balkans, Canada adopted a novel approach in Afghanistan.

Incidentally, Canada implemented the 3D+C approach to restore stability in Afghanistan. Instead of focusing strictly on military intervention in Afghanistan, the



its key documents such as the Official Development Assistance (ODA),<sup>39</sup> IPS and DPS to reflect the importance of this integrated approach in response to international crisis. Also, it created a new organization under DFAIT, the START (Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force), to conduct planning, coordination and the rapid deployment of government response to international emergencies.<sup>40</sup>

As illustrated in previous sections, in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, Canada adapted well to its contemporary environment by developing novel approaches, such as alliances or Military Assistance Program, to counter global peace and security threats. Recently, by providing peacekeeping training under MTAP and implementing its whole of government approach, Canada has shown once again adaptability in its response to world events. However, these initiatives offered good but limited short-term prospects. Canada must envision a more long-term arrangement; build on alliances with select countries, as Canada did so successfully following Second World War, while leveraging this whole of government approach and MTAP into a new “interoperability down” construct.

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whereby activities targeted to specific regions, such as Darfur, are developed and implemented within the context of their impact throughout Sudan. Canada’s activities in Darfur are based on the 3D approach involving diplomatic activity, development and humanitarian aid, and support for improving the security situation through defence and civilian police involvement.”

<sup>39</sup> DFAIT website, [http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreign\\_policy/cnd-world/chap6-en.asp](http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreign_policy/cnd-world/chap6-en.asp) ; Internet; accessed 7 Feb 07; As part of Canada’s Official Development Assistance (ODA) Program its mandate “is to support sustainable development in developing countries, in order to reduce poverty and to contribute to a more secure, equitable and prosperous world.” Most of Canada’s assistance under ODA program will continue to support development of countries with the direst needs especially in Africa but also in South America and the Caribbean. In order to optimize ODA program efficiency, Canada will improve coordination between various departments at the Federal level. Also, Canada efforts will focus on a limited number of countries where the concentration of Canadian know-how and resources would make a more lasting effects on the country, including protection against genocides and other similar atrocities.

<sup>40</sup> Canadian International Policy Statement, <http://geo.international.gc.ca/cip-pic/IPS/IPS-Diplomacy6-en.asp>; Internet; accessed 20 Mar 07; “Located in Foreign Affairs, with staff drawn from Foreign Affairs and other departments whose expertise is needed to ensure coherent government responses to international crises, START (Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force ) will conduct planning and develop rapid and coordinated government responses to crises as they occur.”

### **Likely candidates suitable to the interoperability down construct**

Based on the premise that unrelenting regional feuds will continue plaguing world stability for the foreseeable future, the interoperability down concept offers long-term prospects worth exploring further. Indeed, a long-term interoperability partnership, between Canada and few strategically located countries, could greatly contribute at deterring regional conflicts through faster interventions and potent indigenous forces. During the Cold War, Canada relied on alliances, such as NATO and NORAD, to deter the USSR. However, much has changed since the end of the Cold War. Now, new regional players,<sup>41</sup> state like Iran, Serbia and non-state actors such as terrorist or insurgent groups, are vying for a piece of the action resulting from the power vacuum left behind in the wake of the dismantling of the Soviet block. The new COE has forced Canada to adapt, as it did at the end of the colonial era by introducing the Military Assistance Program, Canada must adapt to this new reality and innovate by increasing the CF “international footprint” in the search of new allies.<sup>42</sup>

The selection of regional allies must strengthen Canada’s intervention capabilities within the area of interest, be coherent with Canada’s foreign and defence policy and integral to the whole of government approach. First, as it was the case during the Cold

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<sup>41</sup> Department of National Defense, *The Future Security Environment* (Kingston: Directorate Land Strategic Concepts, 1999), 14; In their attempt to seize additional power and influence or avenge past wrong doings, these regional actors ransacked weaker opponents by any means including genocide, WMD, ethnic cleansing or terrorism. Their actions necessitated the world community intervention on several occasions to bring an end to crime being committed against humanity and restore peace.

<sup>42</sup> Defence Policy Statement published in 2005, [http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/reports/dps/main/05\\_e.asp#2\\_1\\_1](http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/reports/dps/main/05_e.asp#2_1_1); Internet; accessed 20 Mar 07: “The Canadian Forces will also consider expanding their international "footprint"-for example, through the placement of additional military personnel in allied headquarters.”

War, NATO regrouped countries that were mainly located in Europe and equipped with the proper military might to deter Warsaw Pact forces. Likewise, this new partnership should consist of countries contiguous to the regions of interest for Canada, and culturally predisposed to comprehend the human intricacies that animate regional conflicts. These two pre-conditions would expedite PSO interventions and assist in winning the “hearts and minds” of the local population.<sup>43</sup> Consequently, the military interoperability down construct would improve regional deterrence, especially important for R2P missions, since Canada’s abilities to intervene quickly and efficiently would nominally improve.<sup>44</sup> Second, as detailed in the next section, Canada’s Foreign and Defence Policy (IPS and DPS) support military cooperation with nations in Africa,<sup>45</sup> South America, where mega slums are a source of concern,<sup>46</sup> and Asia. Therefore, the countries located on these continents would be likely candidates to an interoperability down alliance, since these

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<sup>43</sup> Maj Robert J. Molinari, “Winning the Minds in “Hearts and Minds”; A Systems Approach to Information Operations as part of Counterinsurgency Warfare”, *School of Advanced Military Studies United States Army Command and General Staff College*, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, [http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/sam/winning\\_minds\\_molinari.pdf](http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/sam/winning_minds_molinari.pdf), Internet accessed 13 Apr 07, 4; “The roadmap indicates to Combatant Commanders (COCOMs) that IO cannot be done quickly or in crisis mode. It is integral to both deliberate and crisis action planning. IO is a means of channeling perceptions. These directly influence and impact military actions in COIN. It transforms perception into reality by targeting populations that are choosing to support a government or an insurgent. This winning of “hearts and minds” is the Center of Gravity (COG) in a CI conflict and is integral to campaign planning.”

<sup>44</sup> Alicia L. Bannon, “The responsibility to Protect: The U.N. World Summit and the Question of Unilateralism,” *The Yale Law Journal*, vol. 115, (2006), 1163; “Since, that “timely and decisive” actions are of the essence in those instances, the ICISS recognizes that unilateral action might be legitimate if U.N. abstains or delays its decision to intervene when “human rights issues are significantly at stake”, which represents the basic premise of this Summit agreement.”

<sup>45</sup> Defence Policy Statement published in 2005, [http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/reports/dps/main/05\\_e.asp#2\\_1\\_1](http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/reports/dps/main/05_e.asp#2_1_1); Internet; accessed 20 Mar 07, “Military Training Assistance Program to carry out a wide range of activities around the world, with emphasis on Africa and the G8's Action Plan for Expanding Global Capability for Peace Support Operations.”

<sup>46</sup> Stuart Schrader, “The Planet of Slums,” *NACLA Report on the Americas*, New York, Jan/Feb 2007 Vol 40 Iss. 1, 46; Nearly 50% or the top 30 mega slums worldwide are located in Latin Americas. These slums are a source of concern for global peace and stability since they provide excellent breeding grounds to criminal elements or para-military groups in their spread of violence to destabilize local, regional and national governments.

three continents cover where most of the present and potentially many of the future conflicts would occur. Third, in order to leverage the whole of government approach, this construct must dovetail into DFAIT,<sup>47</sup> and CIDA work plans, thus focus on countries receiving their assistance.

This three step selection process would lead to the identification of a handful of countries as prospective candidates. Among these likely candidates, a prioritization rating using the last two MTAP selection criteria listed previously; “historic bilateral relation with recipient country and country’s ability to accept assistance and develop rapidly,” could determine the best likely allies to assist Canada in tackling the COE. Ghana and Tanzania are examples of African Countries that would rank high on the list of candidates for this interoperability down strategic initiative.<sup>48</sup>

The selection of the likely candidates with whom to interoperate represents one critical aspect to this construct. As important are the mechanisms by which this interoperability scheme would operate and what type of arrangements can be set up

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<sup>47</sup> DFAIT Website, <http://geo.international.gc.ca/cip-pic/cip-pic/library/peaceoperationsinwestafrica-en.asp>; Internet; accessed 7 Feb 07; Through the Canada Fund for Africa West Africa Peace and Security initiative, the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre received additional funding to increase its support to West African nations to train and deploy security forces on peacekeeping missions. Furthermore, the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre opened documentation centres in Ghana, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Senegal and Mali in the last two years. Prospective candidates to this interoperability down construct would include African countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Senegal or Mali since they already receive funding for peace and security under MTAP.

<sup>48</sup> Chris Kilford, “The Election of Pierre Elliot Trudeau and the Cessation of Canadian Military Assistance Missions After 1969”, (Term 2 paper, Queen’s University, 2007), 9; “The missions in Ghana and Tanzania were the largest of the Canadian missions in Africa and included the Canadian Armed Forces Training Team Ghana (CAFTTG) created in 1961 when 30 officers arrived in Accra. This decision to support the Ghanaian military was a major one – Canadian military personnel were given advisory and training roles in the Ministry of Defence, the Military Academy and Hospital, Army Headquarters, the Airborne School and the main Air Force base at Takoradi.”

between alliance member nations to overcome the current and future global threat environment.

## **APPROACH TO ENABLE FUTURE MILITARY PARTNERSHIP WITH HOST NATION**

This next evolution of a combined MTAP and 3D+C approach integrated into the interoperability down construct should foster long-term partnership between Canada and its prospective alliance members. IPS and DPS provide the basic framework to push these initiatives to the next level of integration.<sup>49</sup> Hence:

The Canadian Forces will continue these activities, in cooperation with Foreign Affairs, in such regions as Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia Pacific.... Defence diplomacy can also assist in the conduct of Canadian Forces operations overseas.<sup>50</sup>

With this expansion of military and Foreign Affairs cooperation on the international scene, rather than adopting this cooperative approach only during crisis situations, a more fortuitous, preventative approach would call for a concerted development and security strategy centered on long-term inter-agency programs with beneficiary nations. Therefore, the Canadian Government would enter into a partnership

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<sup>49</sup> Defence Policy Statement published in 2005, [http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/reports/dps/main/05\\_e.asp#2\\_1\\_1](http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/reports/dps/main/05_e.asp#2_1_1); Internet; accessed 20 Mar 07; “The Canadian Forces will also consider expanding their international "footprint"-for example, through the placement of additional military personnel in allied headquarters.”

<sup>50</sup> Defence Policy Statement published in 2005, [http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/reports/dps/main/05\\_e.asp#2\\_1\\_1](http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/reports/dps/main/05_e.asp#2_1_1); Internet; accessed 20 Mar 07; “For example, the relationships Canada forged with some Middle Eastern countries after 2001 continue to help us in supporting our efforts in Afghanistan.”

agreement with prospected countries well in advance to any crisis. This way, it would enable nation building to take shape under the auspices of the Canadian Military and Developmental Assistance Programs. This pooling of government resources would yield benefits over the long-term, by increasing the stability, the security and prosperity of the nation while providing leverage for establishing a partnership.

### **Canada military involvement with host country military**

For the military, this partnership would take the form of an alliance, which Canada would sponsor by providing military training, conducting combined exercises in exchange for the host nation support and cooperation. Canada would provide enhanced military training assistance to deal with demanding missions, such as R2P interventions.<sup>51</sup> This training would go beyond the requirement of peacekeeping training, currently offered under MTAP, but more like the U.S. International Military Education and Training (IMET) and other more forceful programs.<sup>52</sup> The IMET program aimed at improving “military training in human rights, peacekeeping skills, military doctrine based on civilian control and the rule of law”.<sup>53</sup> IMET represents an affordable option to project

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<sup>51</sup> Rebecca J. Hamilton, “The Responsibility to protect: from document to doctrine, but what of implementation?,” *The Harvard Human Rights Journal*, Vol 19, (2006): 296; “There are enormous inter-operability challenges to working with any multinational force, and no military doctrine or rule of engagement have yet been established for mission whose primary purpose in civilian protection in a non-permissive environment.”

<sup>52</sup> US international Security Assistance Education and Training, <http://www.fas.org/asmp/campaigns/trainng.html>; Internet; accessed 7 Feb 07; “IMET which is the most transparent program, while using Special Forces to conduct more illicit training of special nature (COIN and irregular warfare) with black-listed countries such as Indonesia.”

<sup>53</sup> US international Security Assistance Education and Training, <http://www.fas.org/asmp/campaigns/trainng.html>; Internet; accessed 7 Feb 07; Thus, the U.S. expects to

U.S. influence abroad since it requires little military forces to impart positive changes in the host nation militaries mindsets and attitude. Further, this training could be complemented by combined units or formation headquarters exercise to hone host nation military skills in a combined environment. In return, the host country would be asked to contribute in kind to our alliance by providing military forces, logistic support and forward operating bases to CF elements deploying in response to a R2P or other U.N. authorized interventions. Based on the premise that this more proactive and concerted approach would facilitate achieving interoperability with host country,<sup>54</sup> the more efficient and effective the alliance, the more Canada could depend on it to achieve its international objectives of peace and stability.

Canada could benefit handsomely from a dependable alliance that enables efficient regional PSO interventions. For instance, operating as part of a Canadian contingent, the employment of foreign militaries trained and indoctrinated to our standards would engender economy of force. Any reduction in force employment abroad will prove very beneficial to Canada as it faces a demographic crunch,<sup>55</sup> or who might eventually suffer from lassitude in public support toward PSO. Ultimately, the CF might only have to deploy few officers in support of PSO, where the alliance member's military has a proven track record or when demands are only non-Western intervention force,

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achieve its national interest by providing training across a broad range of subjects from small units tactical training to all the way to the military's role in state politics.

<sup>54</sup> Proactive since the CF aims at achieving interoperability prior to the start of a regional conflict, while the whole of government concerted approach would leverage all of Canada's resources to assist the country on all four DIME (Diplomacy, Infrastructure, Military and Economic) pillars.

<sup>55</sup> As indicated in the introduction, Canadians will age considerably over the next 20 years that will restrict the CF's abilities to recruit new soldiers amongst an aging society.

such as the African Union (AU).<sup>56</sup> Ultimately, the end goal of this endeavor would be to reduce CF troop's involvement in regional conflicts in favor of trained Africa, Asian or South American forces. At the operational and tactical levels, combined operations would also offer definitive advantages.

In fact, the employment of a mixed force, made up of Canadians and alliance nation soldiers, would offer other substantial benefits. Considering that “the centre of gravity in COIN is the will of the people,”<sup>57</sup> using a mixed force would improve the interactions with the local population as alliance soldiers' understanding of the regional culture, language and social fabric would permeate the force at all levels. Having this shared and intimate knowledge of these three pillars of human environment,<sup>58</sup> would go a long way in winning the hearts and minds of the population when they see, hear and realize that the intervening forces understand the intricacies of their situation. In terms of CIMIC, PSYOPS, Public Affair and other Information Operations related aspects, this combined and long-term partnership would greatly enhance Canada's ability to gather

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<sup>56</sup> Some countries located in those areas of tension are less empathetic to external interventions than before as demonstrated by Sudan during the recent conflict in Darfur. They insist in solving their problems locally by allowing only military personnel from their region or continent to intervene. To deal with those impeding limitations, Western nations should work closely with selected African, Latin American and Asian nations to assist them in developing the expertise conduct PSO. Thus, they could become important allies in preempting regional conflicts or at least be able to intervene efficiently at the onset of a conflict.

<sup>57</sup> Maj Robert J. Molinari, “Winning the Minds in “Hearts and Minds”:A Systems Approach to Information Operations as part of Counterinsurgency Warfare,” *School of Advanced Military Studies United States Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas*, [http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/sam/winning\\_minds\\_molinari.pdf](http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/sam/winning_minds_molinari.pdf), Internet accessed 13 Apr 07, 41

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 42; The social subsystem is how the population is divided on ethnic, family or economic divisions. Social considerations provide the fabric that binds groups within the society together. The ideological subsystem comprises the fundamental values of the population and the future they strive to achieve. Ideology is the sum of the population's norms, values, and beliefs. Finally, the cultural subsystem includes both religious and educational considerations. The cultural subsystem is closely related to ideology, but with a greater emphasis on how future generations are fostered and developed.



HUMINT or sway the opinion of the people. As another side benefit, by treating them on an equal footing with Canada, this interoperability down construct would actualize member nation standings. Since honor and national pride represent very important national values, alliance and the accomplishments thereof constitute excellent means to foster their self-actualization as a nation. Hence, by contributing to these regional PSO, member nations would feel proud of providing something tangible to solve regional conflicts as part of their commitment to the alliance. Finally, by forging long-term alliances, the whole of government approach will allow investment in the host country's infrastructure and logistic capabilities which in turn will serve to sustain CF during operations in the region. However, as with any new concepts, there are the risks associated with interoperability down.

At the inception of the construct, risk mitigating strategies should be developed to counter the most likely risks such as regional parochialism and government instability. For instance, there are danger that unscrupulous government used this training against their own people or neighboring nations. However, under IMET, the training provided tends to mitigate some of the inherent risks associated with the Military Assistance Program. Hence, by providing training and education to high ranking officers in the fields of management, ethics, military justice, democracy and international human rights framework, it is expected that the curriculum would promote democratic values required to sustain regional stability.<sup>59</sup> To mitigate government incapacities to fulfill its obligation

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<sup>59</sup> US international Security Assistance Education and Training, <http://www.fas.org/asmp/campaigns/trainng.html> ; Internet; accessed 7 Feb 07. "Congress earmarked \$1millin of the IMET funds to train foreign civilian and military officials in four areas: managing and administering foreign military establishments and budgets, understanding democracy and civilian control of the military, improving military judicial systems, and promoting awareness and understanding of international recognized human rights. .... The IMET is based upon the premise active promotion of

toward the alliance or concerns over human rights issues, Canada could impose restrictions on the level of assistance destined to these delinquent member nations. Hence, as part of an alliance with Canada, member countries would have to follow developmental and military guidelines to maintain their membership. Having a military compliant with the rule of law and infused with the democratic fabric inherent to modern armed forces, would greatly contribute to fostering domestic security and stability required for a strong alliance.

Protracted warfare, ruthless killings, regional degradation and other multiple human tragedies epitomize the challenging enigma facing the World Community. In the past, Canada provided solutions, such as peacekeeping in response to the Suez Canal crisis, and the 3D+C innovative approach in Afghanistan. In both instances, Canada developed these solutions on short notice resulting in a number of shortcomings. Instead, a more preventative approach, such as proposed herein through interoperability, would enable Canada to intervene faster, more efficiently and more economically to conflicts erupting in those pre-selected regions of the globe. In return for Canada's military, development and economic assistance, the member nation would engage in intervening in regional PSO through the provision of forces, logistic support and operating bases for the CF. The long-term benefits of the interoperability down concept would outweigh its inherent risks, especially when considering that potentially these member nations may one day self-regulate these regional conflicts with little or no assistance from Canada.

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democratic values is thought to be one of the most effective means for achieving U.S. national security and foreign policy objectives, particularly in emerging democracies and developing countries.”

## CONCLUSIONS

As pointed out, Canada has relied on alliances to secure and defend world peace for the last century. Since the end of Second World War, Canada has taken part in NATO and NORAD for the defence of North America and Europe and its own National security. In concert with other nations, Canada played a key role as a U.N. Peacekeeper by answering repeated calls for U.N. interventions. The conduct of peacekeeping duties had greatly contributed to global security and stability throughout the Cold War era. However since the end of the Cold War, due to increase world instability, Canada has been unable to participate to all the U.N. peacekeeping missions. Indeed, even if Canada mustered the largest troop contribution over the last 27 years, see Fig. 1, Canada could not satisfy the demand for peacekeepers. It also re-equipped its forces and changed its modus operandi to adapt to the changing nature of the conflict it faced. Now Canada deploys its military along with other Government Departments (DFAIT, RCMP, CIDA and others) as part of its new approach to PSO called 3D + C approach. Though this new approach appears to bear fruit in Afghanistan, this whole of government involvement only takes place during crisis.

This paper purports a more preventative approach to 3D +C intervention with long-term development and security objectives. In this construct, Canada would seek to increase military interoperability with some select countries located in regions of the world where the CF might deploy in the future. One of Canada's areas of interest remains Africa and since Canada has historically intervened successfully in countries such as Ghana and Tanzania, they represent prime candidates to form an alliance with Canada.

Indeed, Canada could reinforce this privileged relationship by providing military assistance in conjunction with development and economic aids to foster greater interoperability with member nations. This way, the country's military would work alongside CF units in regional PSO or as part of AU forces. This mutually beneficial arrangement between Canada and the potential recipient country would enable each country to share resources and knowledge critical for combined operations. Canada would gain by not having to deploy a full complement of forces since the partner nation would contribute troops alongside Canada in response to U.N. resolutions. Since the deployment would occur in the immediate vicinity of the partner nation, its forces would assist Canadian units to deal with the human dimension of the conflict as well as the staging/logistic basing prior to force project the intervention force into theatre.

Incidentally, it would enable certain member nations to play the gratifying role of re-establishing the rule of law in their area of influence, thus ensuring regional stability. More so when these alliance nations are intervening in demanding R2P missions which require high level of proficiency only achieved through years of interoperability operations. Accordingly, the interoperability down ultimate objective should be to prepare Canada's relief in 20 years or so by member nations capable of conducting efficient PSO in their respective region.

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