EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
11-12 June 2009
Kingston, Ontario

KCIS 2009 – At Home in the Americas, opened on 11 June 2009 with Dr. Max Manwaring of the Strategic Institute - US Army War College delivering the challenge to the conference. He addressed the importance of democracy, of having a strategy, and the necessity for horizontal coordination to exist among countries. More than just a strategic relationship between countries is needed: permanent consultation at the highest level is necessary and countries must work together. People make a difference politically in their respective countries, and it is important to start educating them. It is necessary to start at a low but practical level with respect to reforms.

The first keynote speaker, Vice Admiral A. Bruce Donaldson, Commander of Canada Command with the Canadian Forces (CF), spoke about Canada’s re-engagement in the Americas being a national priority. The 2007 Throne Speech identified the Americas as one of Canada’s foreign policy priorities and emphasized that Canada would play an active role in the region. Clearly, the CF have a role to play in advancing the government’s ‘Americas Strategy’ under its security pillar. They are ready to work with partners in the Americas to build upon existing relationships and establish new ones.

Most of the threats to the security of the Americas are non-traditional in nature and include political, economic, social, health and environmental issues. It is clear that the security of the hemisphere can not be defined in conventional military terms alone, but must be seen as multidimensional in scope. Consequently, the military defence of the hemisphere is now only a small part of the spectrum of responses to security threats. The traditional use of national military forces is unlikely to be appropriate against many of these new threats. Hemispheric multilateral cooperation on defence and security matters is gradually progressing, as is the regional confidence and security-building measures regime.

A question period followed every keynote address and panel. During these periods, the conference attendees had the opportunity to engage with the speakers. The panelists were also able to elaborate on their presentations during this time.

Panel I: The Security Environment was chaired by Carlo Dade of the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), and included presentations by Barbara P. Billauer of the Foundation for Law and Science Centers (FASC), Assistant Commissioner Mike Cabana of the Federal and International Operations from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), and Colonel (Ret) John Cope of the Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) from the National Defense University.
**Carlo Dade** stated that Canada’s involvement in the Americas has existed for some time. Many find that the Americas should be a leading priority. It is necessary to look at the realm of security to determine how Canada can become more involved. This engagement in the Americas is one that will be long-standing and supported by the Canadian government and people.

**Barbara Billauer** spoke on environmental security. Threat evaluation depends on who is doing the evaluation, and what procedures and information they are using. One must ask whether the proponents of the information have an agenda. With respect to pandemics, it is necessary to consider the secular trends. One must also assess competing security threats. She claimed that the implications of misrepresenting a microbic enemy have political consequences. She argued that we need good, reliable data.

**Assistant Commissioner Cabana** addressed collaborative approaches to safer homelands. There are three clear trends that are changing how we think about, and conduct law enforcement: the first is the increasing global nature of crime. Globalization is altering the nature and structure of criminal activity. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police needs to find innovative ways to work with other countries and governments. The second trend is the increasing sophistication of crime (for example, the use of technology). Cabana claimed that we needed to match expertise with expertise, technology with technology. We also needed to improve integration and work better with other entities. The third trend is the changing nature of criminal groups themselves: changes regarding how they are organized and what they are doing. He argued that policing today requires a new mindset, new tools, and new approaches. We need to coordinate across borders, and develop new protocols and guidelines to work together. No one organization can fix all of these problems, so therefore, we need to work together.

**Colonel (Ret) John Cope** stated that a change had taken place in this hemisphere. He claimed that we have to adjust to circumstances, and this is challenging because the world is integrating as well as fragmenting. During the past 20 years, most Latin American and Caribbean nations have embraced democratic governments and have adopted more liberal policies. However, Cope claimed, many in South America have denounced the ‘savage capitalism’ championed by the United States. These Bolivarian states have promised that the government, rather than the market, will help the poor. Increasingly, countries are rallying around regional leaders. These groups are more willing to accept responsibility for their problems and they want to improve their bargaining power with the rest of the world. The question is how to work in this environment that has changed so much for the United States. Cope claimed there needed to be less attention on resources and more attention on partnerships. More cooperation is necessary. Cope claimed that we do not work well together in this hemisphere. Fusing
intelligence, sharing information, and operational planning are all important and necessary. The United States will look to Canada because Canada is better accepted in this hemisphere than is the United States. Cope concluded that by working with Canada, and maybe through Canada, the United States (and its partners) can achieve important things within the hemisphere.

**Stephen Johnson**, the former US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Western Hemisphere Affairs, delivered the afternoon keynote address. Post-Cold War changes to the international system have affected the nature of threats facing states in the Western hemisphere, and contemporary thinking about security and defence must be accordingly adjusted.

Across Central and Latin America, a number of countries are assuming new leadership roles in security and defence; however, developing states in the region are frustrated in their capacity-building efforts by weak economies and state insecurity. Cooperation and coordination at the highest levels is necessary to meet the challenges posed by limited state capacity and the broad spectrum of threats facing the western hemisphere.

Mr. Johnson concluded that the key to facing new threats is based on developing a paradigm that better employs the abilities of the military, law enforcement and regulatory agencies. Through effective information-sharing between defence and law enforcement institutions in Canada and similarly-tasked agencies within the Western hemisphere, we can strengthen hemispheric security.

**Panel II: Building Security in the Americas** included presentations by Colonel Alex Crowther of the Strategic Studies Institute at the US Army War College, Dr. Norman Bailey of The Institute for World Politics, Captain (N) Craig Donovon of the Canadian Forces’ Maritime Staff, and Dr. Román Ortiz of the Fundación Ideas Para la Paz in Columbia. Dr. Paul Kan, Department of National Security Studies (DNSS), US Army War College, moderated the panel. The presenters in Panel II were diverse in their approach to the broadly-defined topic entrusted to them.

**Colonel Crowther** spoke of the security sector in Central America as having been overwhelmed by a confluence of factors in recent decades; he further noted that existing bilateral and international capacity-building initiatives are severely limited by the strength of transnational crime networks. Colonel Crowther argued that we must focus on addressing the underlying causes of the security situation in Central America, such as poverty and corruption; until these issues are resolved, no state will be strong enough to counter the effects of criminality in Latin America.
Dr. Bailey spoke about Iran’s influence and activities in Latin America, particularly Venezuela. His presentation underscored the extent of Iranian penetration into the Western Hemisphere, arguing that the depth and breadth of Iranian influence in Latin America is far more significant than is understood by the general public.

Captain (N) Donovan’s presentation discussed the role that Canadian sea power can play in both contributing to Caribbean security and also providing the Canadian Government with flexible foreign policy options. As a rapidly deployable, mobile, self-sustaining Navy with established relationships with bilateral and hemispheric partners, the Canadian Navy is uniquely suited for operations in the Caribbean on behalf of Canadian strategic interests.

Dr. Ortiz presented “ten rules” for addressing the rapidly changing security situation in Latin America; his recommendations ranged from the need to build comprehensive coalitions to guarantee internal peace and international stability to the need to develop coalition strategies to deal with rogue and revolutionary states.

Vigorous question periods followed the afternoon keynote address and panel; through the range of topics addressed in the question periods, conference attendees were able to engage with the expert panellists on issues of North American security and defence.

The second day of conferencing commenced with a keynote address delivered by Lieutenant-General Bouchard, Deputy Commander of NORAD. Lieutenant-General Bouchard discussed the role of NORAD in delivering aerospace warning, aerospace control and maritime control capabilities to homeland security operations.

His remarks underscored the need for seamless interoperability between all of the agencies and organizations tasked with homeland defence; rather than a whole-of-government, homeland defence demands a whole-of-society approach. Lieutenant-General Bouchard concluded that the demands placed on Canadian and American military and law enforcement agencies by issues of homeland defence can only be met through a bilateral relationship built on three central tenets: trust, respect and confidence.

Panel III: North American Security Perspectives included presentations by Lieutenant General Thomas Turner of United States Army North, Admiral Jorge Pastor Gómez of the Mexican Navy, Brigadier-General Jocelyn Lacroix of Canada Command and was chaired by Dr. Joel Sokolsky, of the Royal Military College of Canada (RMC). The panel offered a unique opportunity for conference participants to engage with expert panellists from Canada, the United States and Mexico on issues of continental security.
Admiral Pastor’s presentation was primarily concerned with issues of security and defence from a naval perspective. He outlined the activities of Mexico’s security and defence agencies, particularly those of the Mexican Navy, in areas such as drug and weapons trafficking, illegal immigration, terrorism, sabotage, natural disasters and security for strategic facilities. Mexico has adopted new strategies to meet these threats, and continues to work alongside continental partners to combat the spectrum of threats facing North America.

Lieutenant General Turner spoke about the role of NorthCom in dealing with forward regions and approaches and the homeland in support of homeland security objectives and in close cooperation and collaboration with other governments and governmental departments. He stressed the need for a whole-of-government response to contemporary security threats, as well as effective cooperation, coordination and integration mechanisms to facilitate such a response.

In a complex and changing security environment, our borders, waters and security concerns are common ground and must be met effectively through an intergovernmental, interagency, whole-of-government approach that is respectful of national sovereignties.

Brigadier-General Lacroix offered his perspective on North American security with a focus on the kind of operations the Canada Command is involved in, and the role that Canada Command plays within a whole-of-government approach to continental security. Canada Command safety, security and defence operations are conducted in an integrated fashion with domestic and international partners with a view to constructing a security infrastructure capable of meeting 21st century threats. In the face of non-traditional threats to North American security, Canada Command is better prepared to meet these threats through cooperation with those partners that are critical to our safety, security and defence mission.

The question periods during the morning session reflected the breadth of issues touched upon by the keynote speaker and the three panellists, and included questions on sovereignty and bilateralism, command relationships and national command structures, naval policy, continental security and the nature of existing cooperative mechanisms and joint command structures.

Major General Stefan Egon Gracza, Defense and Air Attaché from the Embassy of Brazil, delivered the luncheon keynote address. He started his discussion on Brazil by addressing the Estratégia Nacional de Defense document. He claimed that this is the Brazilian ‘homework’ that needed to be done, under civilian leadership. The document contains three important pillars. The first pillar involves reorganizing the Armed Services and the Defense Sector entirely. The second pillar involves rebuilding the Brazilian defense industrial park and creating partnerships with respect to new technologies. The third and final pillar involves the military
service, and the fact that it should not be a voluntary service, but it should be a mandatory one when someone becomes 18 years old. The core of the document addresses the defense of Brazilian sovereignty (sea, land and airspace).

Technological exchange and partnerships must be created between Brazil and other nations. He claimed that Brazil is seeking a relevant role in global issues. Although Brazil does not believe it has any enemies, Brazil still needs to be prepared with the appropriate capabilities in the event certain countries do become threatening. Gracza concluded that Brazil is open for strategic partnerships with other countries.

Major-General Andrew Leslie, Chief of Land Staff (CF) added his perspective to Major-General Gracza’s address. He found parallels between the problems Brazil has encountered in defending and protecting the Amazon and Canada’s struggles to protect the North. He claimed there are lessons Canada can learn from Brazil in this respect. Leslie stated that our first job is to enhance the security of Canada. We must protect physical security, and focus on this at a strategic level. After that, one can consider the markets and the exchanges of goods, as well as the effects all of this has on the country.

Panel IV: Expectations and Strategies included presentations by Dr. Thomas Costa of the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies (CHDS) at the National Defense University in Brazil, Colonel (Ret) Dr. Arturo Contreras Polgatti of the Academia Nacional de Estudios Politicos y Estratégicos (ANEPE) in Chile, Dr. Abelardo Rodríguez Sumano of the Universidad de Guadalajara in Mexico, Dr. Stephen Randall, Director of Institute for United States Policy Research at the University of Calgary, and Colonel (Ret) Dr. Richard Kilroy of the Virginia Military Institute in the US. Ambassador John Graham, of the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), chaired this panel.

Dr. Costa’s presentation focused on Brazil and how it is important for the country to continue on its path of development and leadership. Brazil has strived not to be autonomous, but to be independent. Costa claimed that Brazil has an interest in all international committees. Brazil tries to break ‘deadlocks’ (for example, regarding Kyoto) between countries, and is regarded as an ‘honest broker’ by many countries. Brazil is a regional hegemon with respect to foreign policy. Brazil is a hegemon in the sense of setting the rules, pace, and timing in certain situations. Costa stated that Brazil is a strategist and that thinking of the future when creating strategy is important. This notion of projecting yourself for the future is evident in Brazil’s training, education, and socialization of individuals, which is apparent in key sectors of Brazil, such as the military, science and technology, and business.

Dr. Contreras in Chile spoke about regional dynamics and the increasing and decreasing importance of certain regions and countries. Currently, there is not a good relationship
between the North and the South. In this context, we have to consider the alternative for the Americas: an initiative of the Bolivarian movement. This movement is anti-North American, anti-free market, and non-democratic. The friendship that exists between Caracas and Havana exemplifies the increasing culture of anti-Americanism in that region. Although there is a group of countries in Latin America that want to develop and integrate with the rest of world, like Brazil and Columbia, many of these countries show symptoms of democratic regression. The situation is critical for stability, governance, and peace in the region. The Organization of American States recently decided to re-integrate Cuba, but Cuba refused its offer. Contreras questioned whether democratic countries were in the business of changing their notion of democracy, and essentially disregarding their morals and values to accommodate undemocratic countries.

Dr. Kilroy, of the Virginia Military Institute in the USA, spoke about the possibility of a new trilateral security relationship between the United States, Canada, and Mexico. Kilroy questioned whether it is possible to have a trilateral relationship among the three countries comprising North America. Kilroy stated that the purpose of his research is to examine different levels of security cooperation. With respect to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and peacekeeping, there is an opportunity for Canada to do business with Mexico where the United States has difficulty. The United States needs to be careful not to push a particular security model on Canada and Mexico. A perimeter defense model is important, and such a model would focus on specific threats to security, like terrorism, pandemics, and drug trafficking. Furthermore, such a model would increase security cooperation between the state and local agencies. We need to build a trilateral relationship so that countries do not act unilaterally.

Dr. Stephen Randall, Director of the Institute for United States Policy Research at the University of Calgary, addressed Canada and hemispheric security. The current challenges include Canada-United States border security, counter-terrorism efforts, combating international narcotics and small arms trafficking, increasing arctic patrol capacities, combating international organized crime, increasing peace-building efforts (like in Haiti and Columbia), and ameliorating natural disaster response, energy security, and poverty alleviation. Although Canada is becoming increasingly interested in Latin America, the United States is still Canada’s most important ally and partner. However, Canada has taken some initiatives to improve its presence in Latin America and the Caribbean. The Harper government has shifted the focus of foreign aid from Africa to Latin America. Randall concluded his talk with some recommendations. He stated that Canada needed to continue to enhance cross-border collaboration with the United States. Randall argued that multilateral collaboration with the United Nations and the Organization of American States was necessary. Furthermore, Canada needed to be more aggressive in ‘flexing its diplomatic muscle’ in Latin America to defuse
regional tensions. Continued enhancement of military capacity (especially naval capacity in the Caribbean, the Arctic, and in Coastal waters) is necessary.

**Dr. Rodríguez** of the Universidad de Guadalajara in Mexico, discussed Mexico’s challenges regarding national security in a geopolitical context. Rodríguez claimed that there is a fragmentation of power in Mexico. There are three major forces with three different views of security and foreign policy: the National Action Party (PAN), the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), and the Party of Democratic Revolution (PRD). This fragmentation has made it difficult to agree on issues involving security, foreign policy, and necessary reforms. Rodríguez stated that it is important to foster social unity in order to combat organized crime. The main threats and vulnerabilities facing Mexico involve corruption. He stated that it is important to think in a more integrated way regarding national security, public security, defense of territory, and simply defense.

**Ambassador Graham**, the Chair, had just returned from Honduras, where the OAS had been held, which was a major event in his opinion, and where Cuba had been readmitted into the organization. He stated that it was about time this happened, and that this should be done with no strings attached. This occurred as a result of diplomacy and a great deal of pressure. He concluded by arguing that this was a very significant success.

Closing remarks were made by both **Professor Douglas Lovelace** of the Strategic Studies Institute at the US Army War College and **Dr. Douglas Bland** of the Defense Management Studies at Queen’s University.

Professor Lovelace argued that both the United States and Canada needed to fashion security policies within the broader context of the Americas. The security in the Western Hemisphere is a key part of the global security architecture. As far as threats are concerned, non-traditional and non-military ones are the most concerning. One of the major challenges is transnational crime and the associated corruption. The strategies that are fashioned need to account for the non-traditional and non-military challenges to security, as well as the numerous actors involved. Internal and external security cannot be separate. Furthermore, no one nation can provide security for the hemisphere. Increased cooperation is needed among governments, and within governments. Lovelace questioned whether there should be a three-way arrangement among Canada, the United States and Mexico, rather than separate bilateral arrangements.

Dr. Bland reflected on the trends and concepts that were present throughout the conference. Bland stated that when dealing with an issue or problem, the first thing one needed to do was capture the definition of the problem. If you define the problem, you define the range of solutions regarding the problem. Bland claimed there were many interesting narratives
regarding the relationship between Canada and the United States, military commands, and different issues concerning Latin America. The nature of threats that face countries in the hemisphere today is changing. A new concept of governance is needed to overcome the functional departments that are currently in existence. Bland proposed the creation of permanent committees from these operative entities, and that these committees be given temporary laws that would enable them to act quickly in their own stead.

Consistent throughout all presentations was the view that countries in this hemisphere needed to work together and cooperate with one another to address issues that affect them all. Multilateral collaboration and a sharing of information and skills were main themes at the conference. The issues that affect the hemisphere were addressed, and these include terrorism, organized crime, environmental disasters, and the effects generated as a result of globalization. The need to learn from previous mistakes and to learn from one another was stressed. There was consensus on the need for Canada to become more engaged in Latin America, and for North America to work on building a trilateral relationship instead of simply bilateral relationships. Most of the scholars agreed that Brazil is becoming a regional hegemon and also a major world power. There was also an agreement on the anti-Americanism that was spreading, specifically in South America. The Bolivarian states are becoming more hostile, and are increasing their influence in the region. The conference attendees recognized the importance of democracy and the importance of upholding and defending democratic values and rights.