



centre for security and defence studies
norman paterson school of international affairs
carleton university

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Section One – Mission Statement

Mission Statement

The Centre for Security and Defence Studies (CSDS) at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA) seeks to increase awareness and enrich understanding of international and Canadian security, foreign and defence policy issues. The Centre's primary mission is to promote knowledge of, and innovative solutions to, Canadian and global security challenges through a program of interdisciplinary undergraduate- and graduate-level teaching and development of young scholars, research, and outreach to the academic and policy communities and general public.

Relationship between the mission statement and Centre activities

To fulfill its mandate, CSDS engages in three main activities:

1. **Education.** CSDS promotes interdisciplinary post-graduate, graduate and undergraduate education at NPSIA and other Carleton departments in the fields of conflict analysis, international conflict management and resolution, defence and security studies, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, intelligence studies, and Canadian foreign policy. CSDS provides support for security and defence-related course instruction, course design, teaching innovation, student thesis supervision, and student research and conference travel, as well as support for student-initiatives, such as Carleton's Model NATO conference.

2. **Research.** CSDS provides support for advanced interdisciplinary research and publication on security and defence-related issues by NPSIA and Carleton faculty, MA and doctoral students, and outside specialists. This includes a doctoral fellows program; visiting senior research fellows program; graduate fellows program; conference participation support for Centre Associates; support for the NPSIA Resource Centre, which affords access to specialized publications that meet the research and teaching requirements of our students and faculty; and the Working Paper Series, which provides a publishing venue for Centre Associates, students and the broader NPSIA and Carleton community.

3. **Outreach.** CSDS undertakes outreach activities targeting the Carleton University and broader Ottawa-area security and defence community, including Government of Canada departments and agencies, the Ottawa-based foreign diplomatic corps, Ottawa-area high schools and colleges, national and international professional and scholarly associations, non-governmental organizations, the general public, and the security and defence community throughout Canada and internationally. Centre activities include public lectures and seminars, academic and policy conferences, specialized workshops, publications, and interviews with electronic and print media on security and defence-related issues.

Match between current fiscal year activities and original five-year funding proposal

All major elements of the CSDS funding proposal were implemented during the past year.

CSDS implemented its **education** goals through a variety of mechanisms, as outlined in its funding proposal. The Centre supported the teaching of 33 graduate and undergraduate courses with substantive security and defence content, while CSDS faculty and research associates supervised 49 graduate and undergraduate research projects. CSDS Associates also delivered NPSIA's interdisciplinary doctoral field seminar focusing on peace and security issues.

The Centre continued its support for the very successful annual Carleton University Model NATO Conference, which attracted over one hundred university students from nine campuses across Canada and internationally, by providing core funding for the establishment of a Model NATO Fellowship. In cooperation with the Department of Political Science at Carleton, the Model NATO Fellowship supports the activities of the conference coordinator.

The active, interdisciplinary **research** program of Centre Associates, identified in the CSDS funding proposal, led to the publication of 7 books and monographs, 12 book chapters, 15 scholarly journal articles, and 6 conference papers and presentations on security and defence-related issues. Dissemination of Centre-focused as well as outside research on defence and security issues was facilitated through the continued support for the highly-acclaimed *Canada Among Nations* series and the *Paterson Review* journal. The recent establishment of Centre Working Groups has helped to focus CSDS research activities by providing a strong foundation for future innovative research projects, including a collaborative project with the Canadian Council on International Law, "Canadian Perspectives on International Humanitarian Law."

In keeping with its funding proposal, CSDS also pursued an active **outreach** program engaging a diverse audience on Canadian and international defence and security issues. CSDS organized, co-organized or sponsored 26 events that attracted more than 2,600 people from academia, government (including members of Parliament, Senators, PCO, CIDA, DFAIT, DND, and the Canadian Forces), the Ottawa-based foreign diplomatic corps, NGOs, media, members of the public, and "non-traditional" audiences such as high school students. These events included: hosting the Annual Conference of SDF Centres, entitled *Beyond Afghanistan: Canadian security and defence priorities in light of – and in spite of – the Afghan commitment*, that brought expert members of our community to Ottawa to directly engage policymakers, and each other, on areas of significant importance to the long-term security interests of Canada; more than a dozen public lectures, roundtables, and seminars held at Carleton University; four Strategic Analysis Seminar Series meetings held in downtown Ottawa, directed at foreign policy, defence, security and intelligence officials; and the 21st Annual High School World Issues conference, which brought over 400 students from Ottawa-area francophone and anglophone high schools to Carleton campus for a day of seminar presentations on international and Canadian foreign, security and defence policy issues. Centre associates also engaged the broader public through 120 media interviews and 21 OpEds in international, national, and local newspapers.

Activities planned for next year and their match with the original five-year funding proposal

The next fiscal year begins the third year of the current five-year grant cycle. In keeping with its funding proposal, the Centre will continue to pursue its core mission of teaching, research, and outreach on international and Canadian defence and security issues. The CSDS will organize at least one major international, interdisciplinary conference; 15-20 Speaker Series lectures, roundtables, workshops and seminars; and the 22nd Annual High School World Issues conference. In addition, the Centre will continue to support faculty and student research and publication, participation in domestic and international conferences, Model NATO, and innovative teaching in international security issues, including the Intelligence and National Security cluster at NPSIA.

Section Two – Performance Indicators

2.1 Resident academic research population focused on security and defence issues (i.e. core group affiliated and residing with the Centre)

	Current Total	Last Year's Total
Number of Centre faculty involved in research	15	15
Number of Centre staff involved in research	10	7
Number of graduate students involved in research	49	62

Relationship and work of research associates

The Centre's 15 Faculty Associates are full-time Carleton University faculty members drawn from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Department of Political Science, Department of History, The School of Journalism and Communication, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and the Sprott School of Business. Faculty Associates are engaged in teaching, research and student supervisions primarily, though not exclusively, in the area of Canadian and international security, defence and foreign affairs. The Centre's affiliated Research Associates include NPSIA and political science department sessional lecturers (N. Mychajlyszyn, G. Dawson, and L. Stovel), a retired Privy Council Office senior intelligence official (A. Campbell), a DND Strategic Analyst (B. Greene), a DFAIT analyst (C. McQueen), a retired CF flag officer (K. Pennie), an employee of the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre (S. Meharg), a lecturer at the Royal Military College of Canada (R.L. Heide) and a faculty member from the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Ottawa (P. Lagassé). They are all active members of the Centre, engaging in research, teaching and outreach activities on security and defence issues.

A list of current Faculty and Research Associates is included in Annex A.

2.2 Publications (authored by core group affiliated and residing with the Centre)

	Current Total	Last Year's Total
External or Academic Press (includes books, book chapters, journals, reviews, etc.)	40	52
Internal or In-House Publications	3	3

External or Academic Press

Carment, David and Bercuson, David (eds). Canada in The World: Demography, Diaspora, Domestic Politics and Canadian Foreign Policy. McGill Queen's University Press, 2007. Book.

Carment, David, Jean Francois Gagne, Stewart Prest and Yiagadeesen Samy. "Small States, Resilience and Governance." Book chapter in Lino Briguglio (ed), Small States and Governance. London: The Commonwealth Secretariat, 2008.

Carment, David. "Mediation and Protracted Conflict." Book chapter in Jacob Bercovitch and Souleima El Achkar (eds), Empirical Approaches to Mediation. Routledge, 2008.

Carment, David. "Assessing Fragility: Theory Evidence and Policy." Journal article in a special issue of Politibus, Vol. 42, (2007).

Carment, David and Dane Rowlands. "Formal Models and Conflict Intervention: Success as Research Program and Policy Relevance." Journal article in The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations, Winter 2007.

Carment, David, Souleima el-Achkar, Stewart Prest, and Yiagadeesen Samy. "The 2006 Country Indicators for Foreign Policy Failed and Fragile States Net Assessment: Opportunities and Challenges for the Canadian Government." Journal article in Journal of Canadian Foreign Policy, December 2006.

Daudelin, Jean and Daniel Schwanen. What Room for Manoeuvre? Canada Among Nations 2007. Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008. Book.

Daudelin, Jean. "Canada and the Americas: a Time for Modesty." Journal article in Behind the Headlines. Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Vol. 64, No. 3. May 2007.

Findlay, Trevor. "Looking back: The Additional Protocol." Journal article in Arms Control Today, Vol. 37, No. 9. November 2007.

Heide, Rachel Lea. "After the Emergency - Demobilization Strikes, Political Statements, and the Moral Economy in Canada's Air Forces, 1919-1946." Book chapter in The Insubordinate And The Noncompliant: Case Studies Of Canadian Mutiny And Disobedience, 1920 To Present. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007.

Heide, Rachel Lea. "Developing the Canadian Art of Coalition Warfare with a World Superpower: The Impact of the War on Terrorism on Canada's Defence Policies." Electronic conference proceeding published with the Conference of US Army Historians: The US Army and Irregular Warfare, 1773-2007. US Center for Military History. Fort McNair, DC. August 2007.

Heide, Rachel Lea, et al. "Future Security Environment 2007-2030, Part One." Special report in Chief of Force Development Project Report. Ottawa: Department of National Defence. February 2008.

Heide, Rachel Lea, et al. "Capability Domain Concept: Sustain." Special report in Chief of Force Development Project Report. Ottawa: Department Of National Defence. January 2008.

Hillmer, Norman and J.L. Granatstein. Empire to Umpire: Canada and the World into the Twenty-First Century. Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2008. Book.

Hillmer, Norman, Fen Osler Hampson and Brian W. Tomlin. Canada's International Policies: Agendas, Alternatives, and Politics. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2008. Book.

Hillmer, Norman and Adam Chapnick (eds). Canadas of the Mind: The Making and Unmaking of Canadian Nationalisms in the Twentieth Century. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007. Edited book.

Lagassé, Philippe. Review of Steven Staples, Missile Defence: Round One. Book review in International Journal (Spring 2007).

Meharg, Sarah Jane (ed). Helping Hands and Loaded Arms: Navigating the Military and Humanitarian Space. Cornwallis, NS: Canadian Peacekeeping Press, 2007. Book.

Meharg, Sarah Jane. "Measuring Post Conflict Reconstruction." Journal article in Frontline, (2007).

Meharg, Sarah Jane. "Measuring Post-Conflict Reconstruction Effectiveness." Refereed article published in the Pearson Papers. Cornwallis, NS: Canadian Peacekeeping Press, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2007).

Mendeloff, David. "'Pernicious History' as a Cause of National Misperceptions: Russia and the 1999 Kosovo War." Journal article in Cooperation and Conflict, Vol. 43, No. 1 (March 2008): 31-56.

Mendeloff, David and Fen O. Hampson. "Intervention and the Nation-Building Debate." Book chapter in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall (eds), Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World, 679-99. Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 2007.

Mendeloff, David. "Review of Tristan Anne Borer, (ed), Telling the Truths: Truth Telling and Peace Building in Post-Conflict Societies." Book review in Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 122, No. 2 (Summer 2007): 352-354.

Mychajlyszyn, Natalie. " 'We Don't Do Windows:' NATO's Relationship with the OSCE in the Post-Cold War Era." Book chapter in Adaptation of NATO: From the North Atlantic Treaty to Security in Pakistan, Bison Paper No. 11 (January 2008).

Mychajlyszyn, Natalie. "Putting Policy into Practice: Integrating Post-Conflict Operations." Book chapter in Helping Hands and Loaded Arms, Pearson Peacekeeping Centre Series. Canadian Peacekeeping Press, 2007.

Pennie, LGen (ret) Ken. "Canada First Defence Strategy." Journal article in Frontline. (Issue 1, 2008).

Penny, Christopher K. and Fen O. Hampson. "Human Security." Book chapter in T. Weiss and S. Daws (eds), The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations. Oxford University Press, 2007.

Rowlands, Dane and David Carment. "Formal Models and Conflict Intervention: Success as a Research Program and Policy Relevance." Journal article in The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (2007): 133-145.

Rowlands, Dane and David Carment. "Formal Models of Intervention: A Stocktaking and Analysis of the Implications for Policy." Journal article in Rudolf Avenhaus and I. William Zartman (eds), Diplomacy Games: Formal Models and International Negotiations. Berlin: Springer (2007).

Rowlands, Dane, Mohammed Elshafey, Ettore Contestabile, A.O. Abd el Halim. "Airport Level of Service Perceptions Before and After September 11: A Neural Network Analysis." Article in M. Guarascio, C.A. Brebbia, and F. Garzia (eds), Safety and Security Engineering II. Southampton: WIT Press (2007).

Rudner, Martin. "Intelligence Analysis and Counter-Terrorism: How Lies the Landscape?" Book chapter in Magnus Ranstorp (ed), Mapping Terrorism Research. State of the Art, Gaps and Future Direction. Cass Series on Political Violence. London: Routledge (2007).

Rudner, Martin. "Canada's Communications Security Establishment, Signals Intelligence and Counter-terrorism." Journal article in Intelligence and National Security. Vol. 22, No. 4 (August, 2007), pp. 473-490.

Rudner, Martin. "Misuse of Passports: Identity Fraud, The Propensity to Travel, and International Terrorism." Journal article in Studies in Conflict and Terrorism. Vol. 31, No. 2 (February, 2008), pp. 95-110.

Schmidt, Brian C. "The Primacy of National Security." Book chapter in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Tim Dunne (eds), Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2008): 155-169.

Schmidt, Brian C. and Tim Dunne. "Realism." Book chapter in John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owen (eds), The Globalization of World Politics, 4th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2008): 90-106.

Schmidt, Brian C. "Realist Conceptions of Power." Book chapter in Felix Berenskoetter and M.J. Williams (eds), Power in World Politics. Routledge (2007): 43-63.

Sloan, Elinor. Military Transformation and Modern Warfare. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2008. Book.

Sloan, Elinor. Refereed study, Military Transformation: Key Aspects and Canadian Approaches. Calgary, AB: Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, December 2007.

Stovel, Laura. "No bad bush to throw away a bad child: Tradition-inspired reconciliation in post-war Sierra Leone." Journal article in Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2008).

Sucharov, Mira. "Geostrategic Culture and Solidarity: The US and the EU in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." Book chapter in Jean-Marc Coicaud and Nicholas Wheeler (eds), Culture of Solidarity and Geostrategic Culture. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2008.

Internal or In-House Publications

Long, David and Franz Kernic. Manuscript introduction for book, "Transatlantic Relations and International Conflict Management," published from the Centre for European Studies 2008 Conference, 7-8 February 2008.

Penny, Christopher K. "Climate Change and the Security Council: A Preliminary Framework for Implementing Remedial Measures through Chapter VII of the UN Charter," published as a Working Paper by the Centre for International Sustainable Development Law, Montreal (2008).

St. Jean, Elizabeth. "The Changing Nature of 'International Security:' The Need for an Integrated Definition," published in the journal, Paterson Review, Vol. 8 (2007).

2.3 Participation in relevant off-campus external events

	Faculty/Associates & Number of Events	Students & Number of Events
Number of resident staff who participated in domestic conferences	21 Associates attended 70 events.	5 Students attended 8 events.
Number of resident staff who participated in international conferences	18 Associates attended 37 events.	5 Students attended 7 events.

Use of the SDF International Conference Fund

Maria Derks: 18th Annual Women in International Security Summer Symposium for Graduate Students in International Affairs "Exploring Diverse Challenges to Global Peace and Security," Washington, D.C., 7-12 June 2007; research symposium.

Joshua Kilberg: "International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation: Annual Conference," 17-18 January 2008, London UK; rapporteur for working group on radicalisation and de-radicalisation.

Martin Fischer: International Studies Association 49th Annual Convention "Bridging Multiple Divides," San Francisco, CA, 26-29 March 2008; presented paper on a panel examining international organization, "Morality vs. Legality? Toward a Norm for the Protection of Civilians: Evidence from Darfur."

Christopher K. Penny: EGMONT Royal Institute of International Relations "From Principle to Practice: Implementing the Responsibility to Protect," Brussels, Belgium, 27 April 2007; presented paper "Implementing the Responsibility to Protect," on a panel discussing the challenges of implementing the UN "Responsibility to Protect."

Elizabeth St. Jean: Inter-University Seminar of Armed Forces and Society 2007 Biennial International Conference, Chicago, IL, 26 October 2007; presented paper, "Beyond Self-Defense: Peacekeepers and the Use of Force," on a panel examining theoretical constructs and security.

Elizabeth St. Jean: Conference organized by Folke Bernadotteakademins Forskarforum: Use of Force in Peace Operations Seminar, Stockholm, Sweden, 26 April 2007; presented paper, "Beyond Self-Defence: Peacekeepers and the Use of Force in the Democratic Republic of the Congo."

Elizabeth St Jean: International Studies Association 49th Annual Convention "Bridging Multiple Divides," San Francisco, CA, 26-29 March 2008; presented paper, "Using Force for Peace: Mission des Nations Unies en République Démocratique du Congo (MONUC)," on a panel examining lessons learned for humanitarianism and peacekeeping. A second paper was presented with a panel discussing counterinsurgency strategy, "Enablers, Disablers and Drivers: Understanding Incentives and Disincentives to Use Force in the Mission des Nations Unies en République Démocratique du Congo (MONUC)."

Darryl Whitehead: International Studies Association 49th Annual Convention "Bridging Multiple Divides," San Francisco, CA, 26-29 March 2008; presented a paper, "Community Based Approaches to Post-Conflict Disarmament," on a panel discussing peace studies.

Use of the SDF National Conference Fund

Grant Dawson: 19th Association for Canadian Studies in the United States Biennial Conference, "Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Exemplar for the 21st Century," 14-18 November 2007, Toronto, ON; presented paper entitled "'Here is Hell': The Canadian Military's Experience Stabilizing Somalia in 1992-93," on a panel discussing Canadian foreign and defence policy.

Martin Fischer: 2nd Annual Canadian-German Transatlantic Crisis Simulation, organized by Queen's University, Kingston, ON, 8-12 July 2007; attended simulation briefings examining theoretical concepts and policy options for the current UN mission in Darfur.

Christopher K. Penny: International Law Conference, organized by the University of Western Ontario, "Is Our House in Order?: Canada's Implementation of International Law," 7 September 2007, London, ON; presented paper entitled "International Humanitarian Law and Canadian Courts: Challenges for the 'Campaign Against Terror.'"

Kristen Thomassen: 15th Annual York Centre for International and Security Studies Conference, Toronto, ON, 7-8 February 2008; presented a paper, "Air Power, Coercion and Dual-Use Infrastructure: A Legal and Ethical Analysis."

Claire Woodside: Challenging Canada: The 3rd Annual Dalhousie Graduate Society of Political Science Graduate Symposium, organized by Dalhousie University, Halifax, NS, 14-15 March 2008; presented a paper, "Natural Resources: Threatening Canada's Economic and Environmental Security," on a panel discussing arctic sovereignty and environmental security in Canada.

2.4 Courses with significant (at least 50%) security and defence content

Course Name and Calendar Description	Instructor	Course Enrolment
1. FYSM 1602: Selected Topics in Political Science: United Nations and Peace and Security Selected topics in politics and governance.	Schmidt	25
2. HIST 3304: Canadian-United States Relations An examination of diplomatic, economic, cultural and military relations, with particular attention to the twentieth century.	Hillmer	65
3. HIST 3306: Canadian External Relations The development of Canadian attitudes and policies toward external affairs, with emphasis on the twentieth century.	Hillmer	69
4. INAF 3000: Policy in a Global Context: The Responsibility to Protect Analysis of international policy processes relevant to governments, non-governmental organizations, international organizations and multinational corporations, drawing upon theories of international relations, Political science, law and economics. Emphasis on analytical and normative aspects of public policy processes in international relations.	Penny	29
5. INAF 5201F: Disarmament, Arms Control and Nonproliferation Theoretical and analytical underpinnings of modern arms control, including nuclear non-proliferation issues in the post Cold War era with special emphasis on the impact of political, economic, technological and social-psychological factors on international security.	Findlay	15
6. INAF 5202W: International Security after the Cold War Examination of the evolving strategic and security environment in international relations after the Cold war, both traditional and non-traditional concepts of national and international security; topics include new threats to security such as transnational crime, forced migration and international terrorism.	Findlay	23

7.	INAF 5205W: Economic Analysis of Conflict The economic dimensions of conflict and the application of economic methods to understanding conflict and conflict management.	Rowlands	28
8.	INAF 5206W: Civil-Military Relations Examines the theoretical and practical issues of civil-military relations, analysis of the multidisciplinary and multidimensional nature of the relationship between society, political authority and the military, using comparative and global frames of reference.	Mychajlyszyn	20
9.	INAF 5209: Development and Conflict A critical examination of competing interpretations of conflict in developing countries, with a focus on material conditions, institutional factors, and ideological, or identity-based framing processes. Includes an analysis of the impact of war on development, and the implications for policy.	Daudelin	18
10.	INAF 5305F: International Bargaining and Negotiation: Theory and Practice An examination of bargaining and negotiation in international economic, political and security issue areas, emphasizing case studies and theoretical analysis.	Hampson	15
11.	INAF 5405: International Organizations in International Affairs A critical analysis of the roles of the UN and other international organizations in the fields of international conflict, development, and political economy.	Penny	24
12.	INAF 5505: International Law: Theory and Practice Examines various theoretical perspectives on international law and locates the role international law plays in the international system. Topics include basis, creation and sources of international law, international dispute resolution, and international law and world order transformation.	Penny	11
13.	INAF 5506: International Law: Use of Force How legal constraints govern the use of force in international relations. Topics include legal options available to states and the international community, the use of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, peacekeeping, and humanitarian intervention.	Penny	23
14.	INAF 5605W: The Ethical Dimension of International Affairs Critical examination of the ethical dimensions of development, global conflict, and international political economy; beliefs and values, rights and obligations, individual and state morality.	Long	15
15.	INAF 5805F: The EU in International Affairs The impact of the EU on international affairs; the internal development of the EU, the evolution of integration theory, and the growth of the EU's external relations capabilities.	Long	16
16.	INAF 6100: Field Seminar in Conflict Management & Resolution Interdisciplinary and policy-oriented research on international and intrastate conflict management and resolution. Topics include Conflict management, peacekeeping, crisis decision-making, the management of terrorism, concepts of security, arms control, peacebuilding, and conflict prevention.	Hampson	1

17.	PSCI 2601: International Relations: Global Politics Introduction to theories, concepts and issues in global politics. Topics may include conflict and intervention, peace and security, international institutions, norms and ethics, human rights, gender, culture, and globalization.	Sloan	230
18.	PSCI 3107: The Causes of War Alternate theories of the causes of war. Such alternate perspectives as biological, social and comparative historical approaches, including the results of peace research activities of the past two decades, are covered.	Schmidt	60
19.	PSCI 3600: International Institutions The course outlines the historical development and the roles played by international organizations in world politics since the end of the Second World War, including the theoretical approaches.	Dawson	120
20.	PSCI 3606A: Canadian Foreign Policy The traditions, domestic influences, objectives, capabilities, and decision-making processes, and analysis of selected contemporary issues.	Dawson	45
21.	PSCI 3607B: Defence Policy in North America The evolution of Canadian and U.S. security and defence policy as it pertains to North America. Contemporary issues and development.	Sloan	60
22.	PSCI 4606: American Foreign Policy The sources, trends and conflicting interpretations of the international roles of the United States since World War II. Foreign policy machinery and processes assessed in terms of the relative importance of perceptions, ideology, self-interest, and domestic and foreign pressures.	Schmidt	25
23.	PSCI 5807: Analysis of International Organizations A graduate seminar course focusing on selected topics pertaining to international organization.	Dawson	13
24.	SOCI 4410 I: Transitional Justice It is a troubling paradox that those who conduct the most serious crimes – crimes of war, genocide and gross human rights violations – are the least likely to be held accountable for their acts. This course will examine diverse approaches to justice in societies in transition from mass violence to peace including criminal trials, truth commissions, vetting, amnesty, ‘amnesia,’ restorative justice and distributive justice. Case studies include not only Rwanda, South Africa, Sierra Leone and Uganda, but also countries that benefited from slavery and colonialism such as Britain, the United States and Canada.	Stovel	14
25.	WS HIE208: Canadian Military History Introduces students to the general themes of Canadian military history in the post-Confederation period with particular emphasis on the evolution of the Canadian military since 1867 including traditions and customs, approaches to leadership, the relationship between Canadian politics and society and the evolution of the Canadian military; the impact of changes in military arts and sciences and doctrine on operations and war fighting; and Canadian participation in joint and combined operations. (Royal Military College)	Heide	75

26.	WS R/JC/WTH 324: Warfare Theory and History Understanding of the history of warfare theory and analysing contemporary warfare theory and concepts by examining contemporary military operations, specifically western-oriented military operations utilising the work of military and civilian theorists and strategists. (Royal Military College)	Heide	90
27.	WS R/JC/OPS/322: Insurgency and Counterinsurgency Introduction of the concepts and techniques of insurgency and counter-insurgency operations. The directed reading will describe what insurgency operations are and what counter-insurgency techniques and procedures are available to governments to defeat insurgencies. (Royal Military College)	Heide	10
28.	WS R/JC/OPS/322: Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Developing an understanding of the concepts and theories of terrorism, with emphasis on the military response to terrorism and to introduce students to terrorism and counterterrorism, along with an introduction to Joint Task Force 2. (Royal Military College)	Heide	10
29.	WS R/JC/OOW 325: Operations Other than War Developing an understanding of contemporary strategy, doctrine, and concepts of conflicts other than conventional war-fighting and the ability to apply the operational planning process of such operations. (Royal Military College)	Heide	10
30.	WS R/JC/OPS 322: Domestic Operations Examining the policy and doctrine governing the CF in Domestic Operations. The directed readings will describe the policy and doctrine governing the CF in Domestic Operations and will illustrate the policy and doctrine through the use of a case study that explores Operation Assistance, CF support provided during the 1997 Manitoba flood. (Royal Military College)	Heide	10
31.	WS 509: Evolution and Theory of Peacekeeping Examining the evolution of international peacekeeping, and the theory of third party intervention as a mechanism for conflict management from an interdisciplinary perspective. (Royal Military College)	Meharg	8
32.	WS 511: Reconstruction and Stabilization Operations This course considers peacekeeping and international stabilisation operations since the 1980s, with a focus on operations mounted by the UN and regional organizations. The political, strategic and tactical dimensions of peacekeeping are considered, drawing on the academic disciplines of history, political science, and social psychology. (Royal Military College)	Meharg	21
33.	WS 584: Canadian Foreign Policy This course examines the origins, evolution, context, and intellectual content of Canadian foreign policy and diplomatic practices. (Royal Military College)	Hillmer	7

2.5 Student research activities on security and defence issues

Student Name	Type of Activity	Activity Description/Title
1. Alger, J.	MA, International Affairs (in progress)	MA research essay, "Nuclear energy and nuclear weapons nonproliferation."
2. Babcock, A.	PhD, History (in progress)	Doctoral Dissertation, "Planning and Professionalism in the RCAF."
3. Banks, M.	BA, Honours Thesis (in progress)	BA Honours Thesis, "Canadian defence procurement policy."
4. Blais, M. J.	MA, International Affairs/LLB (completed)	MA Research Essay, "The Name Game: Should Truth Commissions Name Names?"
5. Blank, T.	MA, International Affairs (completed)	MA Research Essay, "Transitional Justice: Measuring the Effectiveness of Prosecution In Latin America."
6. Burtch, A.	PhD, History (in progress)	Doctoral Dissertation, "Canadian Civil Defence in the 1950s and 1960s."
7. Butlin, B.	MA, International Affairs Thesis (in progress)	MA Thesis topic, Counterinsurgency.
8. Cust, K.	BA, Honours Thesis (completed)	BA Honours Thesis, "A Foreign Human Intelligence Agency For Canada?"
9. Denstedt, A.	Research Paper (in progress)	Research paper, "Cold War Textbooks in Ontario."
10. Doucette, N.	BA, Honours Thesis	BA Honours Thesis, "Continental security policy."
11. Dowswell, M.	MA, International Affairs/LLB Research Paper (in progress)	MA Research paper topic, Operation Iraqi Freedom.
12. El Achkar, S.	MA, International Affairs (completed)	MA Research Essay topic on resources and conflict.
13. Facchin, J.	MA, International Affairs/LLB Research Paper (in progress)	Research paper topic, "A Case for Hybrid Courts?: Evaluating the Effectiveness of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia and the Special Court for Sierra Leone."
14. Ford, H.	MA, International Affairs Research paper (in progress)	Masters Thesis, "U.S Africom: Enhancing or Protecting U.S. Interests in Africa?"
15. Ford, H.	MA, International Affairs Directed Reading Course (completed)	MA Research topic, Transatlantic Security Issues.

16. Gagne, C.	PhD, History (in progress)	Doctoral Dissertation, "Canada and Vietnam."
17. Gentles, C.	PhD, History (in progress)	Doctoral Dissertation, "Canada and the Hungarian Revolution."
18. Green, B.	MA, International Affairs/LLB Research Paper (in progress)	MA Research paper topic, Detention and Torture in Afghanistan.
19. Green, D.	PhD, Political Science (in progress)	Doctoral Dissertation, "Securitization in the Canadian Experience: Anti-Communism, 1914-1949."
20. Harrington, A.	MA, International Affairs/LLB Research Paper (in progress)	MA Research paper topic, The United Nations and Private Military Corporations.
21. Heide, R. L.	PhD, History (completed)	Doctoral Dissertation, "Organizing the RCAF, 1937-1957."
22. Jarvis, D.	PhD, 2 nd year (in progress)	Tentative dissertation title, "The Empirical and Institutionally Comparative Dynamics of Integration for the Post-9/11 Canada-U.S. Security Paradigm."
23. Kilberg, J.	PhD, International Affairs (in progress)	Doctoral Dissertation, "Why Terrorist Groups Dissolve, The Organizational Structures of Terrorist Groups."
24. Kinsella, M.	MA, International Affairs/LLB Research Paper (in progress)	MA Research paper topic, Cluster Munitions and Land Mines.
25. Lagassé, P.	PhD, Political Science (completed)	Doctoral Dissertation, "Winning the Peace: Canadian Economic and Political Security, 1943-1948."
26. Lulashnyk, T.	PhD, Political Science (in progress)	Doctoral Dissertation, "Preventing Nuclear Terrorism."
27. MacDonald, A.	BA, Political Science (in progress)	BA Honours Essay, in progress.
28. Mai, Y.	BA, Public Affairs and Policy Management Thesis (completed)	BA Thesis, "Confronting Sovereignty in the Face of Internal Displacement."
29. Michel, T.	PhD, History (in progress)	Doctoral Dissertation, "Nile Voyageurs."
30. Miller, C.	Research Paper	Research topic, Canadian Churches and the Cold War.
31. Mittleman, S.	MA, International Affairs/LLB Research Paper (in progress)	MA Research paper topic, Impact of International Court of Justice Advisory Opinions.

32. Morrell, K. G.	MA, International Affairs Thesis (completed)	MA Thesis, "Passive, not Active: The Response of Prince Edward Island to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989-1991."
33. Mossman, L.	MA, International Affairs (in progress)	MA Research Essay, Gender Equality in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone.
34. Newport, R.	PhD, History (in progress)	Doctoral Dissertation, "Canada and the Middle East, 1947-1957."
35. O'Connor, N.	PhD, Political Science (in progress)	Tentative dissertation title, "The Impact of Diversity Measures on Institutional and Individual Identity Orientations in the CF."
36. Roy, N.	PhD, Political Science (in progress)	Doctoral Dissertation, "The 'New' Foreign Policy: India's Attempt at Great Powerdom?"
37. Russomanno, L.	MA, International Affairs/LLB Research Paper (in progress)	MA Research paper topic, Security Council.
38. Sadler, C.	MA, International Affairs (in progress)	MA Research Essay, "German Foreign Policy in the EU."
39. Saric, V.	MA Research Paper (completed)	MA Research Essay, "Sources of the Shia and Sunni Contemporary Tension"
40. Stange, C.	BA, Public Affairs Thesis (in progress)	BA Thesis, "International Protection of the Internally Displaced."
41. Stevens, A.	MA, International Affairs/LLB Research Paper (completed)	MA Research paper, "Preventing and Prosecuting a Canadian Abu Ghraib: Legislating the Canadian Private Military Industry."
42. St. Jean, E.	MA, International Affairs Thesis (completed)	MA Thesis, "Enablers, Disablers and Drivers: Understanding Incentives and Disincentives to Use Force Facing United Nations Commanders."
43. St. Jean, E.	PhD, International Affairs (in progress)	Doctoral Dissertation topic, Conflict behavior of Non-state armed groups.
44. Symonds, S.	MA, International Affairs (in progress)	MA research essay, "The Chemical and Biological Weapons Conventions."
45. Swift, L.	MA, International Affairs (completed)	MA Research Essay, "Irregular Armed Groups: A theory to explain why they are used and the nature of the contract between them and States."
46. Vogt, D.	MA, International Affairs (in progress)	MA Research Essay, "Explaining Intelligence Cooperation."

47. Wall, E.	MA, International Affairs (completed)	MA Research Essay, "Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration."
48. Watson, B.	PhD, History (in progress)	Doctoral Dissertation, "Interpreting the Rise of Nazism: Case Studies in the Ontario Media 1933-39."
49. Wyjad, K.	MA, International Affairs (in progress)	MA Research Essay, "Great Powers and PMC since the Cold War: Significance for the Debate over the Threat of PMC to State Sovereignty."

2.6 Media Contact

Media Interviews (print, broadcast, radio etc.)

- Samples included in Annex B

Total	120
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Summary of the nature of the interviews

Centre Associates provided interviews and commentary to national and local-market print media, television, and radio on a wide-range of security and defence matters including the Canadian mission in Afghanistan, the defence budget, terrorism and national security, Canadian foreign policy and foreign aid, Kosovo independence, and conflicts/incidents in China, North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Israel and Palestine, and NATO. In 2007, CSDS Associates provided interviews to international, national and local print media, including The Globe and Mail, The Ottawa Citizen, Maclean's magazine, Winnipeg Free Press, Chronicle Herald, Edmonton Sun, Winnipeg Sun, Montreal Mirror, Bloomberg press, Kemptville EMC, CanWest, the Western Standard, Embassy Magazine, Canadian Press, and Vancouver Sun. On radio, CSDS Associates appeared on: CKNW, CBC Radio One, and 940 Montreal Radio. CSDS Associates were also interviewed on national and regional television news programs including CTV Newsnet, CHCH (Global), CPAC, iChannel, A-Channel, and CBC's The National.

OpEd Articles Published

- Samples included in Annex B

Total	21
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Details for each article: author, title, newspaper where published, date published

Cohen, A. "German Atonement." *Ottawa Citizen*, 18 March 2008. [OpEd]
Cohen, A. "Beyond Our Borders." *Ottawa Citizen*, 12 February 2008. [OpEd]
Cohen, A. "Memory Lapse." *Ottawa Citizen*, 22 January 2008. [OpEd]
Cohen, A. "Rebirth of a Nation." *Ottawa Citizen*, 15 January 2008. [OpEd]
Cohen, A. "Assassinations May Be Senseless, But They Are Often Effective." *Kingston Whig-Standard*, 5 January 2008. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "The Uses of Assassination." *Ottawa Citizen*, 31 December 2007. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "Don't Shake Bloody Hands." *Ottawa Citizen*, 2 October 2007. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "Even Germans Are No Longer Sans Souci About Terrorism." *Kingston Whig-Standard*, 14 September 2007. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "Feeling Vulnerable." *Ottawa Citizen*, 11 September 2007. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "Ignatieff's Apology Doesn't Explain What Went Wrong in Iraq." *Kingston Whig-Standard*, 17 August 2007. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "Professor Ignatieff Finally Sees the Light on Iraq." *Edmonton Journal*, 15 August 2007. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "Wrong Turn to Iraq" *Ottawa Citizen*, 14 August 2007. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "Dual Citizenship Takes Canada's Moderation to Extremes." *Vancouver Sun*, 30 July 2007. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "Canadians in Passport Only All About Rights, Not Responsibility." *Edmonton Journal*, 27 July 2007. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "Casual Canadians; Too Many People Hold Our Passports." *Montreal Gazette*, 25 July 2007. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "Canadian in Passport Only." *Ottawa Citizen*, 24 July 2007. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "Why the Mission in Iraq Seems Doomed to Failure." *Kingston Whig-Standard*, 15 June 2007. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "Why America Will Fail in Iraq." *Ottawa Citizen*, 12 June 2007. [OpEd]

Cohen, A. "We Must Help the Afghans – But How? With the Deaths of More Canadians, We Need to Set More Realistic Goals." *Times Colonist (Victoria)*, 10 April 2007. [OpEd]

Mendeloff, D. "The DND Funding Thing." *Globe and Mail*, 27 February 2008. [letter to the editor]

Sloan, E. "Ideological grandstanding won't help craft a better Afghanistan policy." *The Ottawa Citizen*, 18 December 2007 [OpEd]

Media Background Briefings

Total	10
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Description of the briefing topics and the media outlets receiving them

Centre background briefings and interviews were provided on a wide range of topics including Afghanistan, terrorism, intelligence, Kosovo's independence, and middle east conflicts – to television, radio and print journalists at CBC Radio, CBC TV, CTV, Global TV, CKNW radio, 940 Montreal Radio, the Ottawa Sun, Edmonton Sun, Daily Observer, EINNews monitoring service, The National Post, Globe and Mail, and Ottawa Citizen.

2.7 Outreach Strategy: How the Centre attempted to meet the outreach strategy outlined in the five-year funding proposal

The Centre's outreach strategy is four-pronged: public lectures, conferences/specialized seminars, media engagement, and parliamentary engagement. The Centre actively engaged in all four areas over the past fiscal year: In terms of **public lectures**, CSDS organized, co-organized or sponsored 15 events as part of the CSDS Speaker Series. In terms of **conferences**, CSDS organized, co-organized or sponsored 6 major conferences and 6 specialized seminars and roundtables. In terms of **media engagement**, CSDS associates engaged in 120 media interviews and backgrounders and wrote 21 op-eds. In terms of **parliamentary engagement**, CSDS associates offered testimony to senate committees and engaged members of parliament in CSDS seminars and conferences. All told, CSDS events attracted more than 2,600 people, and reached many thousands more through media engagement.

Centre sponsored events on security and defence

Total Number of Events **26**

a) All Centre sponsored events on security and defence

NOTE: All events in Table a) will also likely appear in Table b) and/or Table c) and/or Table d) below

Event	Number of Attendees	Audience Description
Major Conferences		
1. Beyond Afghanistan - Canadian security and defence priorities in light of - and in spite of - the Afghan Commitment. Annual Conference of the Security and Defence Forum Centres. 28 September, 2007.	157	International and Canadian academics and students, members of Canadian government departments and agencies (DND/CF, DFAIT, CIDA, PCO, Public Safety), Members of Parliament and parliamentary staff, NGOs, members of foreign diplomatic community; members of the public.
2. Canadian Foreign Policy 2008 New Scholars Conference. Biannual conference of scholars new to the field of Canadian security studies. Twenty-one scholars presented research on security and defence, international law, and Canadian relations. 29-30 November, 2007.	28	Canadian academics, senior doctoral students and graduate students, Royal Military College faculty.
3. Transatlantic Relations and International Conflict Management: International Conference. Hosted by the Centre for European Studies in cooperation with the Centre for Security and Defence Studies. 7-8 February, 2008.	100	International and Canadian academics and students, members of Canadian government departments and agencies (DND/CF, DFAIT, Public Safety), Members of Parliament and parliamentary staff, NGOs, members of foreign diplomatic community; members of the public.

<p>4. 21st Annual High School World Issues Conference for English and 6th for French Students. Workshops on international and security affairs for high school students. Held over two days (one day for English schools, one for French schools). Workshop presenters included senior graduate students at Carleton and U of Ottawa, representatives of NGOs and government departments and agencies, including the CF. 19-20 February, 2008.</p>	<p>400</p>	<p>Anglophone and Francophone senior high school students and teachers from the Ottawa area, DND/CF, Parliamentary Centre.</p>
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CSDS Speaker Series Public Lectures

The **CSDS Speaker Series**, brings leading security and defence-related scholars and practitioners to Carleton University 1-3 times per month throughout the year. Although targeted to students, the events are open to the public, widely advertised and are well-attended by a wide range of individuals from the Ottawa-area academic, diplomatic and policy communities. On occasion, Speaker Series events are held in cooperation with NPSIA's other major research centres (the Canadian Centre of Security and Intelligence Studies and the Canadian Centre for Treaty Compliance), as well as other Carleton units (European and Russian Studies, Political Science, and the Committee on Values and Ethics).

<p>5. Michael Petrou, Maclean's Magazine, "Darfur's Spreading Genocide," 4 April, 2007.</p>	<p>28</p>	<p>Carleton and Ottawa-area university (Ottawa U, and St. Paul) faculty, researchers, students, members of Ottawa-based foreign diplomatic corps, representatives of government departments and agencies (DND/CF, IDRC, CBSA, DFAIT, PCO); NGOs (Pearson Peacekeeping Centre (PPC)), journalists, members of the public.</p>
<p>6. Scott Gilmore, United Nations, "The Other UN Reform Agenda: Reform in the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations," 25 April, 2007.</p>	<p>41</p>	<p>Carleton and Ottawa-area university (Ottawa U. and St. Paul's) faculty, Concordia University faculty, researchers, students; members of Ottawa-based diplomatic corps; representatives of governmental departments and corporations (IDRC, CIDA); NGOs (Rideau Institute, Project Ploughshares, UN Association of Canada, PPC); community organizations and members of the public.</p>
<p>7. Ronald Crelinsten, University of Victoria, "Counterterrorism as Global Governance: Pipe Dream or Realistic Option?" 11 September, 2007.</p>	<p>54</p>	<p>Carleton and Ottawa-area university (Ottawa U.) faculty, Concordia University faculty, researchers, students; members of Ottawa-based diplomatic corps; representatives of governmental departments and corporations (IDRC, Public Safety); NGOs; community organizations and members of the public.</p>

<p>8. Matthew Kidd, UK Deputy Permanent Representative to NATO, "NATO: A British Perspective," 1 October, 2007.</p>	<p>15</p>	<p>Carleton and Ottawa-area university (Ottawa U. and St. Paul's) faculty, researchers, students; members of Ottawa-based diplomatic corps; representatives of governmental departments and corporations (CIDA); NGOs; community organizations (Assyrian Universal Alliance, Sub Sahara Centre) and members of the public.</p>
<p>9. Luis Moreno-Ocampo, Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, "In Conversation," 12 October, 2007.</p>	<p>47</p>	<p>Carleton and Ottawa-area university (Ottawa U. and St. Paul's) faculty, Concordia University faculty, researchers, students; members of Ottawa-based diplomatic corps; representatives of governmental departments and corporations (DND/CF, PCO, IDRC, CIDA); International Criminal Court, NGOs (Canadian Development Institute, Project Ploughshares, Amnesty International, PPC); community organizations and members of the public.</p>
<p>10. Peter Andreas, Brown University, "Blue Helmets and Black Markets," 24 October, 2007.</p>	<p>25</p>	<p>Carleton and Ottawa-area university (Ottawa U.) faculty, researchers, students; members of Ottawa-based diplomatic corps; representatives of governmental departments and corporations (CATSA, FINTRAC, Justice), and members of the public.</p>
<p>11. Maj. J.A. Bradley, Canadian Forces, "Leadership Challenges in a Multinational Medical Unit," 31 October, 2007.</p>	<p>7</p>	<p>Carleton university faculty, researchers, students; members of Ottawa-based diplomatic corps; and members of the public.</p>
<p>12. Eyal Zisser, Tel Aviv University, "Stability and Security in the Middle East: Israel, Syria and Lebanon – A Year After the War," 20 November, 2007.</p>	<p>24</p>	<p>Carleton, Ottawa-area university (Ottawa U.) and McGill faculty, researchers, students; members of Ottawa-based diplomatic corps; representatives of governmental departments and corporations (PCO, IDRC), journalists, and members of the public.</p>
<p>13. Karen Foss, Foreign Affairs, "Canada in Kandahar: The role of the Provincial Reconstruction Team," 10 January, 2008.</p>	<p>26</p>	<p>Carleton university faculty, researchers, students; members of Ottawa-based diplomatic corps; and members of the public.</p>
<p>14. Cmdr Stephen Virgin, HMCS Toronto, Canadian Navy, "NATO Operations, Circumnavigating Africa, and Multinational Task Groups," 23 January, 2008.</p>	<p>14</p>	<p>Carleton university faculty, researchers, students; members of Ottawa-based diplomatic corps; and members of the public.</p>
<p>15. Keith Mines, US Embassy, "Post Conflict Stabilization and Reconstruction in Afghanistan," 24 January, 2008.</p>	<p>37</p>	<p>Carleton university faculty, researchers, students; members of Ottawa-based diplomatic corps; and members of the public.</p>

16. Dr. Gregory Smolyne and Dr. Anton Minkov , Defence Research and Development Canada, “3-D Soviet Style: Lessons Learned from the Soviet Experience in Afghanistan,” 30 January, 2008.	70	Carleton and Ottawa-area university (Ottawa U.) faculty, researchers, students; members of Ottawa-based diplomatic corps; representatives of governmental departments, and members of the public.
17. Louise Frechette , Former UNSG Special Representative for Human Rights, Senior Fellow at CIGI, “Human Rights and the Responsibility to Protect: From Theory to Practice,” 28 February, 2008.	200	Carleton and Ottawa-area university (Ottawa U.) faculty, researchers, students; members of Ottawa-based diplomatic corps; representatives of governmental departments, and members of the public.
18. Cmdr. Martin Teft , HMCS Ottawa, Canadian Navy, “The Canadian Navy in the Pan-Pacific Region – Supporting DFAIT Objectives,” 28 March, 2008.	7	Carleton faculty, researchers, students; members of Ottawa-based diplomatic corps; and representatives of governmental departments.

Strategic Analysis Seminar Series

The **Strategic Analysis Seminar Series**, held in downtown Ottawa, is an invitation-only luncheon meeting that brings leading scholars and practitioners of international and Canadian security issues to provide an off-the-record, closed-door presentation and engage in discussions with members of the Canadian foreign policy, security, defence and intelligence communities and members of the foreign diplomatic corps based in Ottawa. This year’s series drew junior, mid-level and senior policy officials from a variety of federal government departments (DND, CBSA, PCO/IAS, RCMP, CISC, CFIA, PSEPC, CSPS, Transport Canada, NRCan, CSE, CIC, Justice, and DFAIT), government agencies (CIDA and ITAC), Parliamentary staff, Ottawa-area academics and students, members of the Ottawa-based foreign diplomatic community (such as Russian Embassy, Swedish Embassy, Embassy of Japan and US Embassy), former civil service executives, journalists, and representatives from the public sector.

19. Martin Rudner , Professor, Carleton University, ‘Intelligence Studies in Canada: What We’ve Done at Carleton, What We Couldn’t Do, What Remains to be Done,’ 8 May, 2007.	36	Federal government departments (DND, CBSA, PCO/IAS, RCMP, CISC, CFIA, PSEPC, CSPS, Transport Canada, NRCan, CSE, CIC, Justice, and DFAIT), government agencies (CIDA and ITAC), Parliamentary staff, Ottawa-area academics and students, members of the Ottawa-based foreign diplomatic community (such as Russian Embassy, Swedish Embassy, Embassy of Japan and US Embassy), former executive public servants, journalists, representatives from the public sector.
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<p>20. Alex Vatanka, Managing Editor of Jane's Information Group, <i>Washington Monday</i>, Iran 2008: Policy Makers' Perspectives in Teheran, 24 September, 2007.</p>	<p>36</p>	<p>Federal government departments (DND, CBSA, PCO/IAS, RCMP, CISC, CFIA, PSEPC, CSPS, Transport Canada, NRCan, CSE, CIC, Justice, and DFAIT), government agencies (CIDA and ITAC), Parliamentary staff, Ottawa-area academics and students, members of the Ottawa-based foreign diplomatic community (such as Russian Embassy, Swedish Embassy, Embassy of Japan and US Embassy), former executive public servants, journalists, representatives from the public sector.</p>
<p>21. Mel Cappe, former Clerk of the Privy Council, former High Commissioner to London, President of IRPP and Hugh Winsor, Journalist, "Intelligence and the Media," 11 October, 2007.</p>	<p>61</p>	<p>Federal government departments (DND, CBSA, PCO/IAS, RCMP, CISC, CFIA, PSEPC, CSPS, Transport Canada, NRCan, CSE, CIC, Justice, and DFAIT), government agencies (CIDA and ITAC), Parliamentary staff, Ottawa-area academics and students, members of the Ottawa-based foreign diplomatic community (such as Russian Embassy, Swedish Embassy, Embassy of Japan and US Embassy), former executive public servants, journalists, representatives from the public sector.</p>
<p>22. Anthony (Tony) Campbell, President of Campbell Intel Services Inc., former Head of IAS/PCO, "Analyzing the United States: A Canadian Perspective on Current Issues and Trends," 6 December, 2007.</p>	<p>27</p>	<p>Federal government departments (DND, CBSA, PCO/IAS, RCMP, CISC, CFIA, PSEPC, CSPS, Transport Canada, NRCan, CSE, CIC, Justice, and DFAIT), government agencies (CIDA and ITAC), Parliamentary staff, Ottawa-area academics and students, members of the Ottawa-based foreign diplomatic community (such as Russian Embassy, Swedish Embassy, Embassy of Japan and US Embassy), former executive public servants, journalists, representatives from the public sector.</p>

Special Seminars, Roundtables and Workshops		
<p>23. Roundtable: NATO and the EU in Canadian Foreign Policy. Panel members include: Prof. David Long, Carleton University, Prof. Frédéric Mérand, Université de Montréal, Prof. Charles Pentland, Queen's University, Prof. Stéphane Roussel, Université du Québec à Montréal. Carleton University. 12 Oct 2008.</p>	<p>30</p>	<p>International and Canadian academics and students, members of Canadian government departments and agencies (DND/CF, DFAIT, Public Safety), NGOs, members of foreign diplomatic community; members of the public.</p>

Sponsored Events		
24. "Re-assessing NATO's Role in Afghanistan: A European Perspective." Dr. Citha Maass, Research Fellow (Afghanistan, Pakistan) German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) & Carleton University. 31 October, 2007.	50	International and Canadian academics and students, members of Canadian government departments and agencies (DND/CF, DFAIT, Public Safety), Members of Parliament and parliamentary staff, NGOs, members of foreign diplomatic community; members of the public.
25. Studies in Political Economy 2008 Forum, "Emerging Responses: Human, National, Global [in] Security," Carleton University, 1-2 February, 2008.	60	Canadian academics and students, government, PSAC, members of the community.
26. 7th Annual Carleton Model NATO Conference, Delta Suites Hotel, Ottawa CSDS is a core funder of this major international student-organized event through the CSDS Model NATO Fellowship, which provides half the funds (the other coming from the Political Science Department at Carleton University) for the Model NATO student coordinator. 6-9 March, 2008.	114	Canadian (Anglophone and Francophone) and international University students, academics and military college faculty.

b) Interaction with Government Departments and with Canadian Forces		
Event	Number of Govt Reps	Government Departments/ Agencies in the Audience
Beyond Afghanistan - Canadian security and defence priorities in light of - and in spite of - the Afghan Commitment (event 1)	48	DND/CF, DFAIT, Public Safety, CIDA, PCO
Canadian Foreign Policy 2008 New Scholars Conference (event 2)	4	Royal Military College faculty members and graduate students
Transatlantic Relations and International Conflict Management (event 3)	6	DND/CF, DFAIT, Public Safety
21 st Annual World Issues Conference (event 4)	3	DND/CF, Parliament of Canada
Michael Petrou (event 5)	19	DND/CF, IDRC, CBSA, DFAIT, PCO
Scott Gilmore (event 6)	11	IDRC, DND/CF, DFAIT
Ronald Crelinsten (event 7)	1	Public Safety
Luis Moreno-Ocampo (event 9)	6	DFAIT, Supreme Court of Canada, PCO

Peter Andreas (event 10)	7	CATSA, Finance, Justice
Eyal Zisser (event 12)	3	PCO, IDRC
Karen Foss (event 13)	2	DFAIT, DND/CF
Cmdr. Stephen Virgin (event 14)	3	DND/CF
Keith Mines (event 15)	3	DFAIT, DND/CF
Gregory Smolynech and Antov Minkov (event 16)	15	DND/CF, DFAIT
Louise Frechette (event 17)	5	DND/CF, DFAIT
Cmdr. Martin Teft (event 18)	3	DND/CF
Martin Rudner (event 19)	20	DND/CF, CBSA, PCO, RCMP, CISC, CFIA, PSEPC, CSPS, Transport Canada, NRCan, CSE, CIC, CIDA, Justice, and DFAIT
Alex Vatanka (event 20)	20	DND/CF, CBSA, PCO, RCMP, CISC, CFIA, PSEPC, CSPS, Transport Canada, NRCan, CSE, CIC, CIDA, Justice, and DFAIT
Mel Cappe (event 21)	25	DND/CF, CBSA, PCO, RCMP, CISC, CFIA, PSEPC, CSPS, Transport Canada, NRCan, CSE, CIC, CIDA, Justice, and DFAIT
Anthony Campbell (event 22)	13	DND/CF, CBSA, PCO, RCMP, CISC, CFIA, PSEPC, CSPS, Transport Canada, NRCan, CSE, CIC, CIDA, Justice, and DFAIT
NATO and the EU in Canadian Foreign Policy (event 23)	10	DND/CF, DFAIT, Public Safety
Re-assessing NATO's Role in Afghanistan: A European Perspective (event 24)	12	DND/CF, DFAIT, Public Safety
Studies in Political Economy 2008 Forum (event 25)	5	PSAC
7 th Annual Carleton Model NATO (event 26)	1	Royal Military College faculty member
<i>Below are activities of individual Centre Associates to engage members of government and CF at events not organized by CSDS.</i>		
G. Dawson: Book launch, Winnipeg	25	DND/CF

G. Dawson: Book launch, Fredericton	7	DND/CF
G. Dawson: Book launch, Ottawa	17	DND/CF, DFAIT
G. Dawson: Book launch, Toronto	10	DND/CF
G. Dawson: Book launch, Calgary	10	DND/CF
T. Findlay: Meeting with Canadian Nuclear Stakeholders to discuss nuclear energy and nonproliferation.	20	DFAIT, Industry Canada, Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission
R. L. Heide: Presentation of Chief of Force Development's Future Security Environment document "Future Security Environment 2007-2030: Emerging Insights." 15 January 2008.	120	All DND and CF employees in Chief of Force Development were required to attend this Professional Development half day session
R. L. Heide: Presentation of Chief of Force Development's Future Security Environment document "Future Security Environment 2007-2030: Emerging Insights," presentation given by Charles Morrissey, Rachel Lea Heide, Colin Cantlie (members of Directorate of Future Security Analysis in DND's Chief of Force Development) (DND-DRDC event). 18 January 2008.	6	Civilian scientists from Defence Research and Development Canada (DRDC)
R.L. Heide: Presentation of Chief of Force Development's Future Security Environment document "Future Security Environment 2007-2030: Emerging Insights," presentation given by Charles Morrissey and Rachel Lea Heide (members of Directorate of Future Security Analysis in DND's Chief of Force Development) (DRDC event). 31 January 2008.	10	Civilian defence scientists from Defence Research and Develop Canada's Centre for Operational Research and Analysis and uniformed members of France's Department of Defence
P. Lagassé: Workshop on Canada-United States defence relations, Ottawa. 7 November 2007.	30	DND Policy Group, DFAIT-IDC, academics.
M. Rudner: Presentation at the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police – Human Rights Conference: Social Change and Policing. Victoria, B.C. 1 April 2007.	200	Canadian law enforcement officials
M. Rudner: Presentation at Natural Resources Canada, Portfolio Agencies Forum, Ottawa. 24 May 2007.	10	Natural Resources Canada and Canadian energy regulatory agencies and boards
M. Rudner: Witness to the Senate Standing Committee on National Security and Defence, hearings on the national security policy of Canada, Ottawa. 28 May 2007.	10	Canadian Senators
M. Rudner: Presentation to the Chief of the Defence Staff, Commanders Council, NDHQ, DND, Ottawa. 6 November 2007.	15	DND/CF

M. Rudner: Presentation to the Global Futures Forum, Community of Interest on the Practice and Organization of Intelligence, Quebec. 29-30 November 2007	100	PCO, CSIS, CSE, U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, U.S. Defence Intelligence Agency
M. Rudner: Presentation to CANSOFCOM commanders council, Manotik, Ontario. 4 December 2007.	15	DND/CF
M. Rudner: Witness to the Commission of Inquiry into the Investigation of the Bombing of Air India Flight 182, Ottawa. 10 December 2007	8	Inquiry staff, Department of Justice, Air India families
M. Rudner: Presentation to the Canadian Security Intelligence Service Internal Security Program, Ottawa. 30 January 2008	150	CSIS Internal security managers, officers; representatives of CSE, RCMP
M. Rudner: Presentation to the Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission, Integrated Nuclear Security Intelligence Group, Ottawa. 4 February 2008	100	Nuclear safety and security officers
M. Rudner: Presentation to Department of Justice, Training Program for Special Advocates. 21 February 2008	15	Department of Justice, Special Advocates
E. Sloan: Presentation to AFCEA Breakfast "NATO Approaches to Energy Security and Military Force Transformation."	60	Department of Industry, DND/CF
L. Stovel: Invited speaker, Ministry of Justice, Regina, Saskatchewan. Spoke on the use of 'tradition' in to promote reconciliation after mass violence.	10	Ministry of Justice, Aboriginal Branch, staff. Organized by Barbara Tomorowski, Senior Policy Analyst for the Ministry
L. Stovel: Presentation to Department of Justice, Regina, Saskatchewan.	10	Department of Justice Aboriginal branch staff

c) Interaction with Nov-Governmental Organizations

Event	Number of NGO Reps	NGOs in the Audience
Beyond Afghanistan - Canadian security and defence priorities in light of - and in spite of - the Afghan Commitment (event 1)	8	Canadian Peacekeeping Veterans Association, Atlantic Council of Canada, Conference of Defence Associations Institute
Canadian Foreign Policy 2008 New Scholars Conference. (event 2)	1	Royal Military College faculty members and graduate students
Transatlantic Relations and International Conflict Management (event 3)	5	CIC, Make Poverty History, CDAI, CDA, DFAIT
21 st Annual World Issues High School Conference (event 4)	1	Medicins Sans Frontieres
Michael Petrou (event 5)	6	PPC, Peace Support Operations Working Group, Society for International Development, International Rescue Committee
Scott Gilmore (event 6)	17	PPC, Leadmark Consulting, Rideau Institute, UN Association of Canada, Project Ploughshares, World Federalists
Ronald Crelinsten (event 7)	1	CIIA
Matthew Kidd (event 8)	6	Subsahara Centre, CPCC, CDAI, Assyrian Universal Alliance
Luis Moreno-Ocampo (event 9)	6	World Vision, World Federalist Movement, CFUW-Ottawa, Canadian Development Institute, Amnesty International
Eyal Zisser (event 12)	3	Leadmark Consulting, CJC
Karen Foss (event 13)	5	Oxfam, Peacebuilding Network, CDAI, Peace Dividend Trust
Keith Mines (event 15)	2	CIC, Canadian Peacebuilding Network
Louise Frechette (event 17)	5	Various NGOs and think tank representatives
Martin Rudner (event 19)	5	Various NGOs and think tank representatives
Alex Vatanka (event 20)	3	Various NGOs and think tank representatives

Mel Cappe (event 21)	4	Various NGOs and think tank representatives
Anthony Campbell (event 22)	13	Various NGOs and think tank representatives
NATO and the EU in Canadian Foreign Policy (event 23)	15	Various NGOs and think tank representatives
Re-assessing NATO's Role in Afghanistan: A European Perspective (event 24)	15	Various NGOs and think tank representatives
<i>Below are activities of individual Centre Associates to engage NGOs at events not organized by CSDS.</i>		
T. Findlay: Meeting with Canadian Nuclear Stakeholders to discuss nuclear energy and nonproliferation.	20	DFAIT, Industry Canada, Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission
T. Findlay: Annual DFAIT consultation with NGOs on disarmament issues.	12	NGOs, civil servants (including Department of National Defence) and academics interested in disarmament issues
P. Lagassé: Roundtable with German Parliamentary Committee of Defence.	15	NGOs, Canadian Members of Parliament, German politicians and academics
E. Sloan: Presentation at AFCEA Breakfast Series – “NATO Approaches to Energy Security and Military Force Transformation.”	12	Various NGOs

d) Efforts to speak to the general public and those beyond the regular audience of the Centre

Event	Number of Attendees	Audience Description
Canadian Foreign Policy 2008 New Scholars Conference. (event 2)	3	Royal Military College faculty members and graduate students
Transatlantic Relations and International Conflict Management (event 3)	10	Embassies of Austria, Costa Rica, Finland, Ireland, Japan, Latvia, Lebanon, Netherlands, Switzerland, NATO, Royal Military College Faculty
21 st English and 6 th French Annual High School World Issues Conference (event 4)	400	Anglophone and Francophone high school students from the Ottawa area.
Luis Moreno-Ocampo (event 9)	6	Supreme Court of Canada

Peter Andreas (event 10)	7	CATSA, Finance, Justice
NATO and the EU in Canadian Foreign Policy (event 23)	10	European Union representatives and foreign diplomats
Re-assessing NATO's Role in Afghanistan: A European Perspective (event 24)	10	European Union representatives and foreign diplomats
Studies in Political Economy 2008 Forum (event 25)	5	CUPE, members of the community
7 th Annual Carleton Model NATO Conference (event 26)	95	University students from outside of the Ottawa area.
<i>Below are activities of Centre Associates to engage members of the public and non-traditional audiences not organized by CSDS.</i>		
C. Penny: Paper Presentation, Queen's Centre for International Relations (QCIR): "Cluster Munitions and International Law."	10	QCIR academics, students
N. Hillmer: "Mackenzie King as Peacekeeper," Mackenzie King Estate, Kingsmere, Quebec, 2 May, 2007.	8	Academics/students/members of the public
N. Hillmer: "The Strategy of Politics, and the Politics of Strategy," Canadian Defence Academy, Ottawa, 12 November, 2007.	20	Visiting officials from developing countries
N. Hillmer: "A Country Made New," Royal Bank New Canadian Scholarship Inaugural Dinner, Keynote Address, Toronto, 17 November, 2007.	40	Royal Bank executives, parents and student scholarship winners
N. Hillmer: "Understanding Canada in the World," Canadian Foreign Service Institute, Ottawa, 29 November, 2007.	50	Egyptian Diplomats
C. McQueen: "Seminar on the use of force to protect civilians in armed conflict," University du Quebec a Montreal	25	Faculty and students
C. McQueen: "Seminar on the use of safety zones as a means to protect civilians in armed conflict," The Stimson Center, Washington, D.C.	50	Stimson Center Staff

Section 3 – Financial Information

3.1 Overall Centre Budget

NOTE: This figure includes **all** sources of revenue, including the SDF grant, ICF money, Special Projects money, other DND money, funds from other government departments and outside sources of funds.

Name of Awarding Organization	Amount Awarded
Security and Defence Forum Operating Grant	\$ 140,000
SDF Conference Funds	\$ 8,491.79
SDF Special Projects Funds	\$ 15,000
Total:	\$163,491.79

3.2 Research grants/awards on security and defence issues awarded to academic and research population within the Centre

Name of Granting Organization and Recipient(s)	Amount Awarded
Joshua Kilberg: CSDS Doctoral Fellow.	\$18,000
David Long: Transatlantic Relations and International Conflict Management conference received funds from Centre for European Studies, Austrian Canadian Council, Austrian Institute for European Security Policy, Austrian Ministry of Defence, Embassy of Austria, Egmont Institute (Belgium), EU Commission and Slovenia Research Foundation, 7-8 February 2008.	\$26,000
Christopher K. Penny: Research Grant, Paper Title: "Domestic Reception and Application of International Humanitarian Law: Coming Challenges for Canadian Courts in the 'Campaign against Terror.'"	\$10,000
Dane Rowlands: Natural Resources Canada on infrastructure security.	\$2,500
Martin Rudner: Courts Administration Service for CCISS International Conference on the Administration of Justice and National Security in Democracies, 10-12 June 2007.	\$200,000
Total:	\$256,500

3.3 Complete Financial Information

Type of Disbursement	Total Budget	SDF Grant Breakdown	Actual Disbursements to Date	Projected Disbursements for Remainder
a) Research				
Faculty Salaries or Top-Ups			0	
Research Associates			25,918.29	
Research Assistants			6,636.42	
Publication Costs			0	
Research-Related Travel			230.76	
Research Total:	32,050.00	42,000.00	32,935.47	
b) Hosting Conferences				
Administrative Personnel			0	
Hospitality Costs (i.e. food, beverage, entertainment, gifts)			12,725.08	
Travel Costs (accommodation and per diems)			13,398.77	
Advertising			0	
Other			14,331.08	
Hosting Conferences Total:	47,000.00	35,000.00	40,454.93	
c) Teaching				
Faculty Salaries (full time and sessionals)			0	
Teaching Assistants			0	
Course Supplies and Development			0	
Other			0	
Teaching Total:	5,222.00	3,000.00	0	
d) Student Initiatives				
Scholarship Money			0	
Student Research Grants			0	
Student Associations			0	
Other			5,245.02	
Student Initiatives Total:	12,100.00	13,000.00	5,245.02	
e) Attendance at Academic Conferences (1 st column includes ICF funds, 2 nd column should not)				
Airfare/Hotel/Per Diems			8,291.11	
Registration			1,610.44	
Other			2,549.25	
Attend Conference Total:	3,750.00	7,000.00	12,450.80	
f) Outreach Activities				
Travel			724.21	
Hospitality			5,952.37	
Advertising			0	
Other			10,513.65	

Outreach Activities Total:	17,500.00	13,500.00	17,190.23	
g) Miscellaneous				
Administration Salaries (secretarial support)			37,678.36	
University Overhead			0	
Computer/Technology Purchase			35	
Software			0	
Website Maintenance			20	
Other			1,014.10	
Resource Centre			148.83	
Miscellaneous Total:	39,612.21	26,000.00	38,896.29	
GRAND TOTAL:	157,234.21	140,000.00	147,172.74	

Annex A – Centre Associates and Fellows

A. Faculty Associates
Director
David Mendeloff , Norman Paterson School of International Affairs [On leave, 2007-08]
Deputy Director
Chris Penny , Norman Paterson School of International Affairs [Acting Director, 2007-08]
Faculty Associates
<p>Michael Armstrong, Sprott School of Business</p> <p>David Carment, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs</p> <p>Andrew Cohen, School of Journalism and Communication</p> <p>Jean Daudelin, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs</p> <p>Trevor Findlay, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs and Canadian Centre on Treaty Compliance (CCTC)</p> <p>Fen O. Hampson, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs</p> <p>G. Norman Hillmer, Department of History</p> <p>David Long, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs</p> <p>Augustine Park, Department of Sociology and Anthropology</p> <p>Christina Rojas, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs</p> <p>Dane Rowlands, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs</p> <p>Martin Rudner, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs and Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies (CCISS)</p> <p>Brian Schmidt, Department of Political Science</p> <p>Elinor Sloan, Department of Political Science</p> <p>Mira Sucharov, Department of Political Science</p>
B. Research Associates and Fellows
Research Associates
<p>Grant Dawson, Carleton University</p> <p>Brian Greene, Department of National Defence</p> <p>Philippe Lagassé, University of Ottawa</p> <p>Carol McQueen, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade</p> <p>Laura Stovel, Carleton University</p> <p>Sarah Jane Meharg, Pearson Peacekeeping Centre</p> <p>Natalie Mychajlyszyn, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs</p>
Senior Research Fellows
<p>Anthony Campbell, President, Campbell Intel Services, Inc.</p> <p>LGen (Ret'd) Ken Pennie, Carleton University</p>
Doctoral Fellow

Joshua Kilberg , Norman Paterson School of International Affairs
Pre-Doctoral Fellows
Trista Grant , University of Western Ontario Rachel Lea Heide , Carleton University and Department of National Defence
MA Fellow / Research Assistant
Kristen Thomason , Norman Paterson School of International Affairs
C. Centre Staff
Cathleen Schmidt , Centre Administrator and Conference Coordinator Vivian Cummins , Resource Centre

Annex B – Selected Op-Eds and Media Transcripts (from 2.6)

Articles Included
Selected Op-Eds written by Centre Associates
<p>Philippe Lagassé and Joel Sokolsky: "Suspenders and a Belt: Canada-United States Security Relations since September 2001," <i>Globe and Mail Online</i>, 19 June 2006.</p> <p>Elinor Sloan: "More Protection, More Information: By Embracing BMD, Canada Can Ensure Ongoing Access to Critical U.S. Data," <i>National Post</i>, 19 May 2006, p. A18.</p> <p>Norman Hillmer: "We Love Our Neighbours, We Love Them Not," <i>Calgary Herald</i>, 9 July 2006, A10.</p> <p>Andrew Cohen, "War takes a rest on the DMZ," <i>Ottawa Citizen</i>, 9 May 2006, p. A14.</p> <p>Andrew Cohen, "Agonizing decisions," <i>Ottawa Citizen</i>, 25 July 2006, p. A10.</p> <p>Andrew Cohen, "Mr. Harper's war," <i>Ottawa Citizen</i>, 15 August 2006, p. A10.</p>
Selected articles and transcripts quoting Centre Associates
<p>"Perils of peacekeeping: 1956: Harvest of Crisis," <i>The Ottawa Citizen</i>, Oct 17, 2006.</p> <p>"The myth of Canada as peacekeeper: Despite high-minded policy statements and public perception, Canada's global role," <i>The Globe And Mail</i>, Feb 28, 2007, p. A8.</p> <p>"The ballad of the blue beret," <i>The Globe And Mail</i>, Nov 11, 2006, p. F4.</p> <p>"Their pain, but our legacy: Not exactly a Canadian event?" [on Canada's response to 9/11 attacks], <i>Toronto Star</i>, Sep 10, 2006, p. D1.</p> <p>"Polls, history experts point to sea change in opinion of military," <i>The Globe and Mail</i>, Apr 11, 2006, p. A4.</p> <p>"Harper says troops from Middle East should enforce peace," <i>Winnipeg Free Press</i>, Jul 26, 2006, p. A5.</p> <p>Trevor Findlay on nuclear proliferation, <i>The Current</i>, CBC national radio, 11 October 2006.</p>

PUBLICATION: Kingston Whig-Standard (ON)
DATE: 2007.06.15
SECTION: Editorial page
PAGE: 4
COLUMN: Column
BYLINE: Andrew Cohen
WORD COUNT: 771

Why the U.S. mission in Iraq seems doomed to failure

Edward Wong, the seasoned New York Times correspondent in Baghdad, writes depressingly of the most pernicious and persistent instinct in Iraq, a misbegotten place he has come to know well over the past 3 1/2 years.

When Wong describes sahel, he puts his finger on why the United States is likely to fail there - regardless of how long it stays or how much it spends or how much blood it sheds.

Sahel means "to utterly defeat and humiliate someone by dragging his corpse through the streets." The word is unique to Iraq, Wong explains, where power has changed hands only through "extreme violence, when a leader was vanquished absolutely, and his destruction was put on display for all to see."

In other words, sahel is the desire for complete victory. It isn't enough for the aggrieved to defeat adversaries; sahel demands their subjugation and humiliation. If this is so, it would make compromise - or the creation of multiparty government - virtually impossible.

According to Wong, the Shiites and the Sunnis are not exhausted by the war. Far from it. Denied absolute power, they have become even more hungry for it. As for the killing, they're just getting started.

This means that the effort to establish democracy in Iraq is doomed to fail. It is doomed because Iraqis don't want it.

So the strategy among Iraqis of all stripes is to wait out the Americans. When they leave, as they surely will next year or the year after, Iraq's long, twilight struggle will begin. Eventually, horribly, someone will triumph.

This is what Iraqis are telling Wong. It is contrary to the central assumption in Washington, which has always been that stability would bring conciliation among Iraqi factions weary of fighting and finally ready to come and reason together.

If Washington once believed this, it isn't hard to see why. Among the many misperceptions that got the United States into this mess - that Saddam Hussein had links to al-Qaida, that he had weapons of mass destruction, that he was a threat to the West - sahel may be the hardest for Americans to understand.

After all, it is not the American way. The United States has fought many wars and won almost all of them. But while it has killed people, including innocents, it has never shown a desire for sahel. Consider the Civil War, which killed more Americans than all its other wars combined. The South inflicted unspeakable bloodshed on the North, but the North never sought revenge. At Appomattox in 1865, Ulysses S. Grant offered enormously generous terms to the rebels, who were allowed to return home with their horses and

arms. At the same time, the wise Robert E. Lee ignored appeals from unreconstructed Confederates to lead an insurgency that might have lasted for years and killed the chances of reconciliation. Good sense prevailed and a great nation emerged.

At the end of the Second World War, some in Washington argued that Germany should be turned into an agrarian society. Harry Truman resisted. Not only did the United States act with restraint and generosity as an occupier - it was the Soviets who raped and pillaged in Germany - it fed starving Germans and rebuilt their country with the Marshall Plan.

True, Truman dropped the atomic bomb on Japan. But when the war was over, the U.S. allowed the Japanese emperor to remain on the throne, and, again, was a benevolent conqueror.

While it is necessary to remember the excesses of American power - from the My Lai massacre in Vietnam to the treatment of prisoners and civilian deaths in Iraq, none of which are defensible - it is also important to contemplate the ways and means of other powers at war, such as China and Russia, and their lesser view of human life. Or the kind of peace that the world would have known had Hitler's Germany or Hirohito's Japan prevailed.

Relatively speaking, the U.S. has pursued its interests with prudence and restraint. This may come from its democracy, or its decency, and it has not prevented the U.S. from acting as a wilful and sometime ruthless superpower.

Yes, it can be a bully, and yes, it isn't always moral. But what is happening in Iraq today is alien to the American character. It may explain why the administration has so badly misread Iraq, and how hopelessly misguided its mission is there.

"Perhaps I was being naive," writes Edward Wong, as if he were speaking for the U.S. itself. "Looking back on all I have seen of this war, it now seems that the Iraqis have been driving all along for the decisive victory, the act of sahel, the day the bodies will be dragged through the streets."

- Andrew Cohen is the author of *The Unfinished Canadian: The People We Are*.

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PAGE: A12
COLUMN: Andrew Cohen
DATELINE: WASHINGTON
BYLINE: Andrew Cohen
SOURCE: Citizen Special
WORD COUNT: 766

Why America will fail in Iraq

WASHINGTON -- Edward Wong, the seasoned New York Times correspondent in Baghdad, writes depressingly of the most pernicious and persistent instinct in Iraq, a misbegotten place he has come to know well over the past 31/2 years.

When Mr. Wong describes sahel, he puts his finger on why the United States is likely to fail there -- regardless of how long it stays or how much it spends or how much blood it sheds.

Sahel means "to utterly defeat and humiliate someone by dragging his corpse through the streets." The word is unique to Iraq, Mr. Wong explains, where power has changed hands only through "extreme violence, when a leader was vanquished absolutely, and his destruction was put on display for all to see."

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Andrew Cohen is the author of *The Unfinished Canadian: The People We Are*.

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BYLINE: Andrew Cohen
SOURCE: Special to Times Colonist
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We must help the Afghans -- but how?; With the deaths of more Canadians, we need to set realistic goals

Rory Stewart does not look like the kind of guy who spent almost six months walking across Afghanistan. His twin sidelocks, his tight, quizzical expression and his long, angular fingers suggest a seminarian more than an adventurer.

In January 2002, a few weeks after the Taliban was driven from power in Afghanistan, Stewart began a walk from Herat to Kabul. He was told he was crazy; as a foreigner, with money, in winter, he would surely perish.

Over the next six months he moved from village to village, across flat plains and windswept mountains, some with three metres of snow.

He was often alone in a medieval world, dependent on the kindness of strangers.

Not only did he not die, he recorded what he did and saw in a book called *The Places in Between*. It is a dazzling chronicle in the tradition of Fitzroy MacLean, a fellow Scot who showed the same kind of daring and flair in his 1949 classic, *Eastern Approaches*.

Like the great MacLean, Stewart had been a diplomat.

After leaving the British Foreign Office, he spent 16 months walking 30 to 40 kilometres a day across Iran, Pakistan, India and Nepal. After a hiatus, he went on to Afghanistan. Why he made this epic journey, he doesn't really know.

What we do know is that Stewart knows something about Afghanistan, where he is now lives and works (he runs a charitable foundation helping restore historic Kabul) and where Canadians are fighting and dying. So when he warns us that we are going about what we're doing there the wrong way, we should listen.

Fundamentally, Stewart doesn't think we can defeat the Taliban in southern Afghanistan. We can fight them and kill them, sure, but others will follow.

Moreover, democracy, human rights , the advancement of women and other western ideas have no resonance among most Afghans and it is naive to think these can take root there. Creating a functioning

state may be impossible, at least in the near term. The world has spent billions on reconstruction in Afghanistan, but the roads are terrible and the garbage in Kabul is "a total disgrace."

The conflict, he says, is now "at a tipping point."

But Stewart isn't telling Canada to withdraw its 3,000 soldiers tomorrow. He is urging us and our NATO allies to re-examine how we are doing this (our tactics won't work), where we can be of most use (he suggests protecting the large cities), lowering expectations (abandon "utopian fantasies" of a democratic, united state without a narcotics trade).

Of course, this isn't the first time someone has questioned what Canada is doing in Afghanistan. The New Democrats have never liked this mission, nor have some Liberals, which isn't to say they're right.

Red flags have come from others, such as Gordon Smith, the former deputy minister of foreign affairs. In a recent report he and other observers conclude that "the 3-D" mix of democracy, defence and development in Afghanistan is not working and see "quite a reasonable possibility that NATO may not succeed."

But public opinion still supports the mission. While Canadians still do not know why we're there (many think the mission is "peacekeeping" or placating the United States), they believe that Canada is fighting to rebuild a shattered country that fostered international terrorism.

That perception, too, may change with the deaths of six Canadians riding in their armoured vehicle on Easter Sunday. By and large, over the past five years, Canadian casualties have come in ones and twos.

While no less tragic, such a toll has been manageable, allowing a gun-shy public to get used to the cost of this adventure.

The question is whether Canadians are ready for higher casualties. Do we have the stomach for losing six or 10 soldiers at a time?

For a people who haven't been in a shooting war since Korea, will casualties be the test of commitment?

The choice is not whether Canada should be in Afghanistan. A nation of our stature, with our history, diversity and idealism, has a duty to do its share. It is a principle of internationalism we have always embraced.

The question is how. Is spending \$110 million on deploying Leopard tanks the best way? Is chasing the Taliban in isolated villages the best way? Is a military commitment that expires in 2009 -- rather than an obligation for the next 10 or 20 years -- the best way?

As the consensus begins to crack at home, as it will, expect more of these questions that Rory Stewart pointedly raises -- and no clear answers.

Andrew Cohen teaches journalism and international affairs at Carleton University.

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Questions from Kabul

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What we do know is that Mr. Stewart knows something about Afghanistan, where he now lives and works (he runs a charitable foundation helping restore historic Kabul) and where Canadians are fighting and dying. So when he warns us that we are going about what we're doing there the wrong way, we should listen.

Fundamentally, Mr. Stewart doesn't think we can defeat the Taliban in southern Afghanistan. We can fight them and kill them, sure, but others will follow.

Moreover, democracy, human rights, the advancement of women and other western ideas have no resonance among most Afghans, and it is naive to think these can take root there. Creating a functioning state may be impossible, at least in the near term. The world has spent billions on reconstruction in Afghanistan, but the roads are terrible and the garbage in Kabul is "a total disgrace."

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While no less tragic, such a toll has been manageable, allowing a gun-shy public to get used to the cost of this adventure.

The question is whether Canadians are ready for higher casualties. Do we have the stomach for losing six or 10 soldiers at a time? For a people who haven't been in a shooting war since Korea, will casualties be the test of commitment, especially if they are largely among soldiers from Quebec, where support for the mission has always been weakest?

The choice is not whether Canada should be in Afghanistan; a nation of our stature, with our history, diversity and idealism, has a duty to do its share. It is a principle of internationalism we have always embraced.

The question is, how? Is spending \$110 million on deploying Leopard tanks the best way? Is chasing the Taliban in isolated villages the best way? Is a military commitment that expires in 2009 -- rather than an obligation for the next 10 or 20 years -- the best way?

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Andrew Cohen teaches journalism and international affairs at Carleton University.

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Elinor Sloan . A better Afghanistan policy

Elinor Sloan

Citizen Special

Tuesday, December 18, 2007

In an article that appeared last week in this newspaper, political scientist Michael Byers argued that the Independent Panel on Canada's Future Role in Afghanistan is a sham. The panel, he alleged, is made up of people who are likely to recommend an extension of Canada's military mission there, and the outcome is predetermined because all of the panel's options have some sort of a military role. Mr. Byers seems to suggest that Canada is in Afghanistan mainly to follow America's bidding.

Mr. Byers' effort to delegitimize the Manley panel does not stand up to scrutiny. For example, part of his case against John Manley, the panel's chair, is that last fall Mr. Manley wrote an article in the journal Policy Options stating that we should not abandon Afghanistan. In fact, Mr. Manley wrote the article in his capacity as a director of CARE Canada. It is based on a May 2007 trip to Afghanistan, and it focuses almost entirely on Canada's humanitarian involvement there. It concludes with observations like the need to build roads and bridges, and to restore electricity.

To any fair-minded reader, the article shows only that Mr. Manley understands the complexities of creating a sustainable society in Afghanistan and, perhaps more importantly, that he cares about what happens there. (Full disclosure: In 2005 Mr. Manley wrote a statement praising my book *Security and Defence in the Terrorist Era*.)

Mr. Manley's knowledge of Afghanistan - he served as Canada's foreign minister - was likely a big part of why he was asked to chair this panel and why he accepted. Mr. Byers suggests that Mr. Manley, a Liberal, agreed to chair a panel for the Conservative government not because he has real expertise and interest in the future of that country, but simply because he felt duty bound to answer a prime minister's call. Yet as Janice Stein, a University of Toronto academic who accompanied Mr. Manley on his trip, notes in her recent book *Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar*, Mr. Manley felt no such duty to answer former prime minister Paul Martin's call to be ambassador to the United States in 2003, despite the fact that he was from the same party and government.

Mr. Byers also implies that the ties of two other panel members - Derek Burney and Paul Tellier - to the Canadian defence industry would somehow incline them to support the mission in Afghanistan. But Canadians know there is no shortage of work for the Canadian Forces around the world. If the Afghanistan mission were to end tomorrow, there would be plenty of other spots where the military could be asked to go. Already there is considerable pressure for a military role in Sudan.

Mr. Byers invokes the Iraq Study Group as a model of an independent panel with a mandate to look at the full range of issues surrounding a policy decision. Co-chaired as it was by James Baker, secretary of state in the first George Bush's administration and a close Bush family friend, this may not be a good example.

However, the the Iraq Study Group did have the luxury, as Mr. Byers points out, of operating "on its own timetable," which ended up being about nine months. By contrast, Canada's panel has been given only three months.

The short deadline of January 31, 2008 is driven by the fact that Canada is committed to Afghanistan until February 2009. We need to give our allies in NATO about a year's notice about our plans. The United States will be affected by our decision, but so too will be Britain and the Netherlands, among others, with whom the

Canadian Forces is working in southern Afghanistan.

The idea that the Manley panel is part of some political plan to win favour with the Americans is absurd if only because the options the panel is considering are very different from the U.S. approach.

As the Washington Post recently reported, U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates wants to shift alliance strategy in Afghanistan from one of rebuilding to one of waging a "classic counterinsurgency." Of the approaches being considered by the Manley panel, Option 1 provides for the greatest future military role, but it centres on building and training the Afghan army and police. Option 2, on the other hand, focuses on development and governance in Kandahar, while option 3 talks about these same things in some other part of Afghanistan, with the military role being to protect the civilians carrying out these tasks. Option 4 is basically military withdrawal.

None of the Canadian options comes close to what the Americans envision in terms of "counterinsurgency." Canada very clearly is thinking for itself in crafting a policy for Afghanistan.

Mr. Byers was invited to discuss his own ideas with the Manley panel, but he declined. His arguments for doing so were misguided. What Canada needs is not ideological grandstanding, but constructive ideas and recommendations.

Elinor Sloan teaches international security studies at Carleton University, and is a fellow with the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute.

"The DND funding thing"

DAVID MENDELOFF

Director, Centre for Security and Defence Studies (an SDF-funded Centre of Expertise), Carleton University
The Globe and Mail [letter to the editor]

February 27, 2008, Page A22

Ottawa -- If, as Amir Attaran (When Think Tanks Produce Propaganda - Feb. 21) and John Thompson (The Sounds Of Tocking - letter, Feb. 26) assert, the Department of National Defence has amassed an army of academic propagandists, slavishly promoting government policy in exchange for modest funding from the department's Security and Defence Forum, then surely one should see evidence of this in the record. I encourage Mr. Attaran, Dr. Thompson and anyone else to examine the numerous conferences and speaking events that SDF has supported, directly or indirectly, and the published research and public statements of the hundreds of academics and students who have received some form of SDF funding. What they will find is a tremendous diversity of opinion on Canadian and international military and security affairs, most of which is critical of government policy. This is particularly true of the Afghan file. Such information is readily accessible on the websites of the nation's 12 SDF-funded Centres of Expertise.

CTV Television, Inc.

February 3, 2008 Sunday

SHOW: QUESTION PERIOD 12:00:00 ET

Interview with James Townsend and **Fen Hampson**

ANCHORS: CRAIG OLIVER AND ROBERT FIFE

LENGTH: 1700 words

GENERAL RICK HILLIER (Chief of the Defence Staff): All of the Chiefs of Defence Staff that I deal with at NATO are almost all equally frustrated to us. They recognize that the mission requires the right number of soldiers to be able to do it.

ROBERT FIFE: That was General Rick Hillier talking about the troubled Afghan mission and whether the NATO alliance can hold together. To talk about this, we're joined in Washington by James Townsend of the Atlantic Council. He's a former senior director of European and NATO policy in the U.S. Defence Department; and beside me is **Fen Hampson** who is the director of the Norman Patterson school of International Affairs. First question to you, Mr. Townsend, if I may. Can you tell me if you think the alliance is actually going to be able to hold together on Afghanistan, because there are a lot of deep divisions here?

JAMES TOWNSEND (Atlantic Council of the United States): The alliance will hold together on this, but it's a frustrating time for the alliance. It's a time of supreme test for the alliance, and we need the allies to come to the fore so that we can pass this test in Afghanistan.

FIFE: Well, let me ask you this. General Hillier has said it's not the military commanders on the ground in Afghanistan who have a problem, they all realize that they need more troops, particularly in the south of Afghanistan, where there's a lot of fighting with the Taliban, but it's the political leaders in NATO. They're simply not willing to step up to the plate. Are there any leaders aside from the Americans, the Brits, and the Canadians and the Dutch that are willing to do so?

TOWNSEND: Political will is the problem. Many allies either did not prepare their populations for the fact that the alliance has a military mission to do in Afghanistan and that they need to do their part. Others don't have the forces because this is a time of overstretch and their forces might be off doing other missions. It's a time of test for individual allies to do more than they have done in the past in terms of NATO military missions, the time it takes for NATO as well to come up with ways in which we can most effectively handle the security task that the alliance has, particularly in the south.

FIFE: Let me ask you, Mr. **Hampson**. For the first time in a long time, Canada is going to be a real player at the NATO meeting in April because we are saying if you don't put up the troops and the equipment we're out of there. What do you make of that? Is that really that significant?

FEN HAMPSON (Director, Norman Patterson School of International Affairs): Oh, it's extremely significant. Canada has, in effect, set the cat among the pigeons, at least among the NATO pigeons, by making this demand that we need another thousand troops to help us with our operations in Kandahar otherwise we're out of there. And I dare say if we pull out, the Dutch will follow in fairly short order, because they're under similar kinds of domestic political pressures, so this really is a very crucial test for the alliance. Now, mind you, this, this game is going to play out over several weeks, in fact several months, but it is a crucial test. NATO won't hang or fall on it, but certainly the mission in Afghanistan is going to.

FIFE: Okay. Mr. Townsend, who do you think is going to be able to put up the troops, because the French say they're not very willing to do so. The Germans are saying uh-uh, we don't want to do that.

TOWNSEND: The problem that many allies are facing is this overstretch problem. The Germans have forces certainly up in the north, but they're also in Lebanon. The French are going to be part of an EU mission to Chad, and there's also EU forces in Bosnia. It's showing that the alliance needs a deeper pool of forces from which to pull to do these kinds of mission. But I will say I believe there are still allies there who

can contribute more forces that are not overstretched, they're needed in the south, and this is a time for them to come and the NATO summit in Bucharest is the perfect place for these allies to come in with an important announcement so that we can show our adversaries, show the world the alliance is staying together and we're going to commit to the task at hand in Afghanistan.

FIFE: Well, Mr. **Hampson**, is it not the fact that these other countries, the Germans and the French, do not want to commit because they don't want to take the political consequences of having dead soldiers returning home in caskets.

HAMPSON: Absolutely.

FIFE: Is that not the reason?

HAMPSON: That's absolutely the case, and of course the question is where are these troops going to come from? I'd hazard a guess that there are three, really three options. One is that the Americans, who are sending 3,200 marines on a seven-month rotational mission, they might decide to precommit. That's not ideal domestically here in Canada, to have this as a Canada/U.S. mission. The troops could also come from some of the smaller NATO countries, the Baltic countries for example who have recently joined NATO. But in some ways it's not optimal to have sort of a grab bag of forces in what is a serious mission. It's not the sort of mission with combat operations that new forces would necessarily want to cut their teeth on. I would hazard a guess that it's likely to come from the Australians. Now they're not a NATO member, but they're part of the mission or the alliance in Afghanistan. They're pulling out of Iraq. Their Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, has said that he strongly supports the Afghan mission. Australia hasn't put a deadline on how long they're going to stay. And they are in the process of increasing their troop strength in the southern provinces of Arugastan, which is where they're currently deployed. They're not very happy with that deployment and they could, in fact, redeploy with our own forces in Kandahar. You know, it's still obviously a question whether Prime Minister Harper is going to place a call to Mr. Rudd. He's placing his calls across the Atlantic right now. But I would say Australia would be a good bet, and it would also be a good sell domestically here in Canada.

FIFE: Okay. Mr. Townsend, let me ask you this. It looks like Afghanistan in many ways is becoming a lost cause, a stalemate going on now with the Taliban, and they seem to be winning this war. And a lot of people in Canada are asking what are we doing there if the Afghan people can't seem to stand with the NATO forces and fight off the Taliban?

TOWNSEND: Well, we find that the Afghan people, in fact, want the international forces to stay there. That is we are not seeing the same situation in Afghanistan that we saw in Iraq where we had problems with many of the Iraqis. In Afghanistan, there is a great desire for the international forces to stay there and provide for security. But the important point here is that success in Afghanistan is, will not come from the military side. It's the civil reconstruction side.

FIFE: But you can't do that if you don't have security and there's no security and you've got a drug trade that's become rampant, which is fuelling the insurgency. It just seems to be a cycle that's not going to be, there's any hope for.

TOWNSEND: Well there is, there is hope for this. The security there today is able to provide a good platform in many parts of Afghanistan for the NGOs, for the international organizations, for the UN, for the EU to come in and work with the Karzai government in terms of trying to help the Afghan people stand on their own feet and do something also about the narco problem there. But he feel very strongly, the Atlantic Council, that the UN needs to appoint a high commissioner there to work with the Karzai government and coordinate and integrate much of the assistance that is, has been coming into Afghanistan over the past few years. This is something that is a high priority and that's, at the end of the day, will allow us to more quickly have NATO forces go home from Afghanistan once the Afghan national army can stand up, once the economic and the governance side of the Afghan government can begin to exercise control for the country and handle things like the narcotics problem. So, again, victory will come from civil reconstruction and a stronger Afghan government, and if the military side, the NATO side, does the ball work to buy them the time to be able to stand on their feet.

FIFE: Let me just ask you a quick question on this. Is it winnable? I mean you're seeing that in western countries, the populous is, they're turning against Afghanistan, and even here in Canada. I mean most

Canadians want our troops out. Is this a winnable war here?

HAMPSON: It's, I wouldn't say it's winnable in the absolute sense, but there is still a window of opportunity to try to put Afghanistan back on its feet. It's important to remember that Afghanistan, when the Taliban was overthrown, for a number of years was a relatively peaceful place. The problems that we've seen recently have really come from neglect, neglect on the part of the United States, neglect on the part of NATO allies to really put their full weight behind, as Mr. Townsend said, reconstruction efforts, to get the security situation in order, to get Afghanistan to build up its military and policing capabilities so that the government can exercise effective control over its own population and territory. That's going to take, that's going to take time, and the real challenge, I think, for Mr. Harper is to sell the mission to Canadians. The Manley report said that he hasn't done a very good job of that, and to get Canadians to understand that this isn't sort of a quick fix. There isn't a quick fix, you know. If we're really serious about it, we have to be prepared to be there for the long haul.

FIFE: All right. Well, we'll see where this goes. It may, it may be a losing proposition for both NATO and Canada if they can't get together and cooperate on providing troops as well as reconstruction aid. Thank you, gentlemen, for joining us today.

HAMPSON: Thank you.

TOWNSEND: Thank you.

FIFE: Coming up after the break, Craig will talk about what's happening on Parliament Hill with our panel of strategists.

The Globe and Mail (Canada)

January 23, 2008 Wednesday

PM asked for advice, but can he afford to follow it?

BYLINE: BRIAN LAGHI, OTTAWA BUREAU CHIEF

SECTION: NATIONAL NEWS; THE AFGHAN MISSION: ANALYSIS: THE MANLEY REPORT; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 560 words

[Stephen Harper](#) has invested heavily in John Manley. Now he'll have to live with what the former Liberal foreign minister has to say.

If the Prime Minister was expecting a *carte blanche* to remain in Afghanistan under the current configuration, Mr. Manley delivered a surprise yesterday with a report that applies more than a little bit of pressure on Mr. Harper. And because Mr. Manley was the Prime Minister's handpicked choice to lead the panel, Mr. Harper will have little alternative but to listen.

"A careful reading of the report puts the onus on the PM," said **Fen Hampson**, head of the Norman Patterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. "The PM now has to catch the ball and run it across the goal line."

Mr. Manley's report raises the stakes for Mr. Harper by saying it must be the PM who leads diplomatic efforts to get NATO to contribute 1,000 troops to Canada's effort in Kandahar.

If that fails, then Mr. Harper should remove Canada from the field. Moreover, Mr. Harper needs to show the way with a more consistent policy approach and the government must purchase more helicopters and drones for the mission.

"To put things bluntly, governments from the start of Canada's Afghan involvement have failed to communicate with Canadians with balance and candour about the reasons for Canadian involvement or about the risks, difficulties and expected results of that involvement," writes the panel.

It's a straight-talking assessment from a group that was expected by some to deliver a whitewash intended to embarrass Liberal Leader Stéphane Dion, because of the political affiliation of its author.

If the Prime Minister accepts Mr. Manley's recommendations, the PM will be obliged to begin convincing NATO members at a key meeting in Bucharest in April of the merits in belying up to the bar. Whether Mr. Harper is willing to remove Canada from Afghanistan - and risk international criticism if he can't get his way - is a game of chicken that has yet to play out.

"We hope this is not a poison pill because we believe the mission is an important one," said Mr. Manley yesterday.

But if there's a risk in the report, there's also an opportunity. Mr. Manley has probably done the Prime Minister a favour by supplying him with some weapons to make his case with NATO. Heads of state across the alliance who aren't heavily invested in Afghanistan will be reading Mr. Manley's report carefully because of what it might mean for their own troops and NATO generally.

"You could argue that the report really arms the Prime Minister," said Janice Gross Stein of the Munk Centre for International Studies at the University of Toronto. "It should be very, very clear to everybody that if there's not that commitment that Canada will not stay."

If Mr. Harper were to vigorously pursue Mr. Manley's recommendations, it could leave NATO members with a difficult choice.

A pullout by Canada would clearly be noticed by countries such as the Netherlands, which is in similar difficulties in the province of Uruzgan, and it might pull out as well. And if a threatened Canadian departure starts the dominoes falling, NATO members just might conclude that it's better to find 1,000 troops to help Canada than to allow for serious questions to be raised about what NATO is good for.

The key is just how hard Mr. Harper is willing to push.

Canadian Corporate Newswire

February 08, 2008 Friday 8:00 AM EST

Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute: Canada's Military Transformation on Hold

LENGTH: 374 words

CALGARY, ALBERTA--(Marketwire - Feb. 8, 2008) - Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute released a report today, Military Transformation: Key Aspects and Canadian Approaches.

Elinor Sloan is an Associate Professor of International Relations in the Department of Political Science at Carlton University, Ottawa. She is also the author of Military Transformation and Modern Warfare: A Reference Handbook that is being published this month (February).

This paper examines the origins and development of military transformation from the late 1970s through present day and how Canada has responded and adapted. **Sloan's** paper is the first publication to draw together the various understandings of transformation into a single framework.

This report is also one of the first publications to look at military transformation as it applies to Canada.

Sloan says "the literature on military transformation as it impacts the CF is almost non-existent - it's like the U.S. is the only case-study out there."

In this case-study, **Sloan** writes that the Canadian reaction has been shaped largely by the Defence Policy Statement. She notes that "military transformation in Canada comes down to what was in Martin's 2005 policy statement - more special operations forces, a new domestic command, and a standing task force to deploy overseas."

Sloan examines the Canadian military's progress in each area of transformation but she concludes that transformation is currently at a stand-still: "The Afghanistan mission has consumed the Canadian Forces, forcing it to put many of its original transformation goals on hold for the foreseeable future."

The complete report, Military Transformation: Key Aspects and Canadian Approaches, is available online at www.cdfai.org.

CDFAI is a "think tank" pursuing authoritative research and new ideas aimed at ensuring Canada has a respected and influential voice in the international arena.

The Canadian Press:

New national security law faces first hurdle as government tries to nix lawyers

Mar 16, 2008

TORONTO — With five suspected Muslim terrorists caught in legal limbo, a freshly minted group of special advocates tasked with testing the government's secret evidence against the men could find themselves stymied by an upcoming secret hearing that raises questions about Canada's revamped national security legislation.

Under the new law, foreigners detained as a security risk can appoint one of the advocates to gain access to the highly classified intelligence about them, although the information would remain off-limits to the accused terrorist and his lawyer.

In the cases of lawyers Paul Copeland and John Norris, the government is objecting to their acting as special advocates for three of the accused, several of whom they've represented for years, on conflict-of-interest grounds - but won't say what those grounds are, citing national safety issues.

For Copeland and Norris, who have spent years trying to come to grips with information they weren't allowed to see, the sudden turn came as both a surprise and disappointment.

"These are very important issues relating to fundamental justice and relating to how Canada manages some very important issues," Copeland said.

The chief justice of the Federal Court will now hold secret hearings later this month to decide whether the government's objections are valid, but the two lawyers will be excluded.

While special advocates cease acting directly for their clients, the legislation does state their role is to "protect the interests" of alleged terrorist when it comes to holding up the secret evidence against them to scrutiny.

Martin Rudner, an expert in Ottawa who helped train eight of the new special advocates, said the lawyers would be in a conflict by gaining access to secret information they couldn't then share with their former clients.

"If you know something, you can't unknow it the next moment," Rudner said. "Nobody anticipated this in terms of drafting the legislation to include a clause which would have either included or excluded certain lawyers."

Part of the problem, Rudner said, might be a misconception that the special advocate is supposed to act directly for the accused terrorist rather than for the court itself.

Toronto activist Matthew Behrens, who has befriended several of the alleged terrorists and their families, said the problems show the revamped law is as flawed as the one the Supreme Court of Canada threw out.

"This was basically legislation that was pushed through by fear and intimidation," Behrens said. "We're contorting ourselves into these hopeless shapes, and all it's doing is adding to the misery of those who are affected by this process."

Ahmad Jaballah, whose father Mahmoud Jaballah was one of the five men slapped anew with a national security certificate last month when the rewritten law took effect, worries the government's objections to his choice of special advocate will mean already lengthy proceedings will be prolonged even further.

"If you have a special advocate who has no prior knowledge of the cases, you're looking at four to five months alone in prep work," said Jaballah, 21, a student in Toronto who has to help ensure his father's onerous bail compliance.

"The whole idea behind (Norris) being the special advocate is that he already knows the case and the reason we want him to be on the two cases is because they are interlinked on some issues."

A TROOP SURGE FOR AFGHANISTAN?

Abstract (Summary)

In many ways, America's 26,000-strong contingent in the country is the forgotten item on the U.S. national agenda, its mission serving as an awkward reminder of the failure to capture Osama bin Laden and the seemingly endless demands of the war on terrorism. The New York Times reported this week that White House security advisers are considering expanding the authority of the Central Intelligence Agency and the military to conduct more aggressive operations in the tribal areas of Pakistan, a move that would help secure security and reconstruction operations in Afghanistan.

Full Text (1427 words)

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[Headnote]

Some say a boost in numbers could fix the mess once and for all

In Afghanistan these days, even faint hope is hard to come by. So forgive Canada's weary soldiers if one longshot candidate in the U.S. presidential race lifted their spirits a few notches. With the eyes of America-or at least its fickle mediafixed on the party primaries last week, Rudy Giuliani called for a military "surge" in Afghanistan that in proportional terms would dwarf the one recently credited with stabilizing parts of Iraq. "One of the things we should do immediately," Giuliani told an audience at a war museum in Wolfeboro, N.H., "is double the number of our troops, our American-led combat troops, in Afghanistan."

It might have gotten greater play, considering the source. While Giuliani struggled in early Republican primaries, his 20 per cent showing in national polls means he's still a contender, and the candidate with the most to gain by talking up national security. And with Afghanistan, he wasn't exactly scoring cheap political points. In many ways, America's 26,000-strong contingent in the country is the forgotten item on the U.S. national agenda, its mission serving as an awkward reminder of the failure to capture Osama bin Laden and the seemingly endless demands of the war on terrorism. Inside the Beltway, talk of renewed commitment to Afghanistan tends to meet with ridicule. "This isn't even worth discussing," said Anthony Cordesman of the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies in a typical response to Giuliani's suggestion. "I can understand why it's of interest to [Canadians]. But it's just not on the table."

At least not yet. As recently as late November, the top general in the U.S. Marine Corps was musing publicly about shipping his soldiers out of Anbar province in Iraq and directly into Afghanistan. The idea, said Commandant Gen. James Conway, would be to prevent Afghanistan from slipping into the same pattern of suicide bombings and sectarian violence that took hold in Iraq after the fall of Baghdad, and to finish Job No.1 in the war on terrorism. "The trend lines tell us that it may be time to increase the force posture in Afghanistan," he said. "If it requires additional U.S. forces, then it goes back to our suggestion that maybe we need more Marines in there with a more kinetic bent."

The Pentagon ultimately turned down Conway's offer, saying it would pose complications to the mission's current command structure (not to mention fanning a reported leadership feud between the Marine Corps and the Army, which comprises the bulk of the U.S. presence in Afghanistan). But even as he cast cold water on the prospect of a U.S.-led troop surge, Defense secretary Robert Gates acknowledged that 7,500 additional troops would go a long way in countering the growing violence hampering efforts to secure and rebuild the central Asian country. The question, Gates added ruefully, is where to find them.

The answer may come from the political sphere, where it turns out Giuliani isn't the only one trying to retrain

the spotlight on Afghanistan. Barack Obama, the Democratic contender, has repeatedly promised to pull troops out of Iraq and redeploy them in Afghanistan and Pakistan, declaring the region "the right battlefield" in the war on terrorism; John Edwards has echoed Obama's sentiments, if not the promise to transfer soldiers from Iraq. More recently, the assassination of Pakistani presidential candidate Benazir Bhutto appears to have refocused the Bush administration's attention on Taliban and alQaeda activity in the area. The New York Times reported this week that White House security advisers are considering expanding the authority of the Central Intelligence Agency and the military to conduct more aggressive operations in the tribal areas of Pakistan, a move that would help secure security and reconstruction operations in Afghanistan.

Canada's stake in the surge debate is easy to see. With 2,500 soldiers on the ground, this country provides a little more than five per cent of the 48,000 foreign troops in Afghanistan. But its disproportionately high casualty rate—77 dead, including a respected diplomat—has underscored how much more dangerous its mission is than that of other NATO allies, centred as it is in the hot zone of Kandahar province.

A big boost in the American presence would likely do the job, say officers who have served in Afghanistan. "It would fix that dynamic our guys have seen in the past two years of clearing an area in the south, then moving onto your next problem area, only having to return to places like Panjwahi and Zhari districts to get the Taliban out of there," says Mike Capstick, a retired Canadian army colonel who spent a year in Afghanistan ending in the summer of 2006. Capstick's last assignment was heading a 15-member advisory team helping the new Afghan government craft its development strategy. He agrees that rebuilding is the long-term key to eroding support for the Taliban. "But the first step in counter-insurgency is providing the population with a basic level of security," he stresses, "We're still not there in so many areas. That's the advantage you get from more troops."

Of course, any such move would transform the debate over whether to extend Canada's current mission past February 2009. This may be the paramount issue for the minority Conservative government in 2008, hanging as it does on conflicting reports of progress in Afghanistan, and the Canadian public's dwindling confidence that their troops are making a difference. A U.S. surge would instantly ease those pressures, says Elinor Sloan, a security expert at Carleton University in Ottawa. It would also give the government a difficult choice to make. Should Canada stick to its current mission, knowing it has the support of American firepower? Or should it take advantage of the surge to make a partial exit from the hot zone, and take a badly needed breather?

Sloan favours the latter option. "Even if the U.S. doesn't increase its commitment, I think Canada should draw down its forces—maybe to something like 800—and then come back with greater strength in a couple of years," she says. That would open a much-needed window for Canada to replenish its ranks with recruits, acquire new equipment and make an even stronger commitment to Afghan reconstruction, Sloan explains. "I strongly believe that Afghanistan is a place where Canada should be. Go right back to square one as to why the terrorists were able to attack on 9/11. [Afghanistan] is a security threat in my view. In some ways it's not politically correct to say any longer that there is a link between the terrorist attacks on the United States and Afghanistan. But you need to stabilize that country, and there's an important humanitarian aspect to doing that. I think it makes a difference for the Canadian Forces to be there."

Not everyone, however, sees great benefit in a massive influx of American GIs. Sean Maloney, a military historian at the Royal Military College in Kingston, Ont., who has toured extensively with Canadian troops in Kandahar (Macleans has published several of his first-hand accounts), cautions against creating a fortress-like atmosphere in the country. "This whole idea that the media is perpetuating that the country is about to collapse to the Taliban is wrong," he says. "There has been an increase in activity in a few key areas, but it's not preventing most of the development work from getting done. We're there to build capacity, and to shield their redevelopment effort. If we flood the country with soldiers, that's going to send the wrong message."

Maloney sees benefit only in a limited increase in specific types of units from the United States. One is special operations squads, whom he says represent the best weapon against Taliban insurgents using remote villages and the rugged Pakistan borderlands as cover. Another is so-called "omelets," or 'operational mentoring and liaison teams," which would help train Afghan soldiers and officers as part of a long-term stabilization effort. Still, Canadian soldiers are bound to welcome whatever support happens to come their way. With little in the way of infrastructure and social institutions, stabilizing Afghanistan is clearly a challenge to be measured in years. It's already been five since the U.S. took its eye off the land where the Sept. 11 plot was hatched, and turned its attention on Iraq. At this stage, it hardly seems unreasonable to expect a bit of backup.

Refuse claim, Serbs ask Canada

By PETER ZIMONJIC, NATIONAL BUREAU, SUN MEDIA

The Serbian government has written to Prime Minister Stephen Harper's government urging Canada not to recognize the independence of the breakaway Serbian province of Kosovo. Dusan Batakovic, Serbia's ambassador to Canada, said Serbia's position is that supporting Kosovo's independence furthers the cause of separatist movements in Canada and around the world. "We are asking Canada not to recognize (Kosovo's independence)," Batakovic said. "If you compare the demands which have been raised in the Clarity Act with the current situation in Kosovo, none of the preconditions has been fulfilled." Batakovic says there is no arrangement between the Kosovan capital of Pristina and the Serbian capital of Belgrade for the terms under which secession could take place nor has there been a referendum, both of which would have to exist for Quebec to separate.

TAKE THEIR TIME

Despite recognition of statehood from the U.S., Britain, Germany and Turkey, there are signs much of the rest of the world will take its time before deciding to back the move. "What's inhibiting countries such as Canada and Spain from ... officially recognizing a declaration is their own internal secessionist movements," says **David Mendeloff**, professor of international relations at Carleton University. "In Spain, that movement is a bit more violent than it is in Canada so they may have even more of a concern about that." Mendeloff says the more violent a secessionist movement is in a given country the less likely that country will be willing to back Kosovo. "What message does that send to French separatists in Canada if Canada were to acknowledge this?" he asked. Harper has yet to reveal which way his government will decide on the issue but Liberal Leader Stephane Dion supports the independence.