



Centre for Security and Defence Studies
norman paterson school of international affairs
carleton university

Annual Report 2010-11

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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, 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, Ottawa-based foreign diplomats, 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, defence and foreign policy issues.

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

All major elements of the CSDS five-year grant proposal were implemented during the past year: CSDS implemented its **education** goals through a variety of mechanisms, as outlined in its grant proposal. Centre Associates taught 41 graduate and undergraduate courses with substantive security and defence content with enrolments totaling more than 1,200 students, while CSDS faculty and research associates supervised more than 100 graduate and undergraduate research projects. In addition, CSDS provided support for students to conduct field research trips and, partly with ICF and NCF conference funds, to participate in international and national academic conferences. Through its Model NATO Fellowship, the Centre continued its support for the very successful annual Carleton Model NATO Conference, which attracted 150 university students from across Canada.

The active, interdisciplinary **research** program of Centre Associates, identified in the CSDS funding proposal, led to the publication of nearly 100 books, monographs, edited volumes, book chapters, scholarly journal articles, reports and working papers. Dissemination of Centre-focused as well as outside research on defence and security issues was facilitated through the CSDS Working Paper Series as well as its support for a special issue of *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* on the regional dimensions of the Afghanistan conflict.

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 36 events that attracted more than 2,000 participants from academia, government (including DND, Parliament, PCO, DFAIT, RCMP, Public Safety, among others), Canadian Forces members, Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials, NGO representatives, media, members of the public, and "non-traditional" audiences such as high school students. These events included:

- The 24th Annual High School World Issues conference, which brought 650 students from Ottawa-area French and English high schools to Carleton for a day of seminar presentations on international and Canadian foreign, security and defence policy issues;
- An international policy workshop on the regional dimensions of the Afghanistan conflict, culminating in a special issue of *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*;
- More than 20 public lectures, roundtables, and seminars by leading scholars and practitioners, including senior CF and DND officials;
- 6 Strategic Analysis Seminar Series meetings held in downtown Ottawa, directed at foreign policy, defence, security and intelligence officials;
- The introduction of a new seminar series on Intelligence and National Security coordinated jointly with the Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies, this year featuring two Defence Scientists at DRDC-CORA.
- Two closed-door, high-level roundtable discussions with visiting officials from North Korea and Vietnam, attended by senior Canadian government officials.

Centre associates also engaged the broader public through more than 180 media interviews and background briefings, and half a dozen op-eds and commentaries.

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

As proposed in our original five-year grant application, CSDS will continue to organize the very successful CSDS Speaker Series lectures, the Strategic Analysis Seminar Series (which serves the Ottawa policy community), and the High School World Issues conference. In addition, we plan to continue our New Security Challenges Colloquium series and our Intelligence and National Security Seminar series. The Centre will also continue to support faculty and student research and publication, participation in domestic and international conferences, Model NATO, and teaching and research supervisions in international security issues.

In addition, CSDS plans to undertake two other special projects in the next fiscal year: First, in early 2012 we will bring together academic specialists, defence officials and CF and American military personnel for an international workshop on legal and political dimensions of targeting decisions, which will culminate in an edited volume. Second, as part of the Centre's collaboration on a multi-year international research project on public health, violent conflict and post-conflict statebuilding, CSDS will bring together policy officials and epidemiologists for a workshop on the methodologies for and policy implications of estimating civilian casualties in wartime.

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)

	2010-2011 Total	Last Year's Total
Number of faculty attached to the Centre involved in research:	19	18
Number of Centre staff* involved in research:	14	14
Number of research associates attached to the Centre involved in research:	13	10
Number of graduate students involved in research:	82	85

* Note: "Centre staff" includes Ph.D. and M.A. Fellows and Research Assistants. These students are not reported under "graduate students involved in research."

Relationship and work of research associates

The Centre's 19 Faculty Associates are full-time Carleton University faculty members drawn from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Departments of Political Science, History, Journalism, and Sociology and Anthropology. Faculty Associates and Senior Research Fellows are engaged in teaching, research, event planning and outreach, and/or student supervisions in the area of Canadian and international security, defence and foreign policy. The Centre's affiliated Research Associates include visiting international scholars and sessional lecturers (M. Nikolko, Z. Bahman), three faculty members at the University of Ottawa's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs (P. Lagassé, M. Desrosiers, S. Vucetic), a Defence Scientist at DRDC-CORA (B. Greene), a retired senior CF officer and current Carleton Business Professor (K. Pennie), an analyst at the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre (S. Meharg), a retired DFAIT and PCO official (K. Jensen), and two emeritus professors at Carleton (E. Tepper and M. Rudner). 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)

	2010-2011 Total	Last Year's Total
Peer-Reviewed Publications:	43	32
Other Publications:	51	25

Peer-reviewed Publications

1. **Carment, David** (with Teddy Samy). "The Millennium Goals and Fragile States: Focusing on What Really Matters," Fletcher Forum on World Affairs, Vol. 35, No. 1 (2011). [Journal Article]
2. **Carment, David** (with Milana Nikolko). "Social Capital Development in Multiethnic Crimea: Global, Regional and Local Constraints and Opportunities," Caucasian Review of International Affairs, Vol. 4, No. 4 (2010). [Journal Article]
3. **Carment, David** (with Teddy Samy and Stewart Prest). "Fragile States and Aid Effectiveness" in Naudé, W.A., Santos-Paulino, A. and McGillivray, M. eds. Fragile States: Causes, Costs, and Responses. (Oxford University Press 2011). [Book Chapter]
4. **Carment, David** (with Martin Fischer). "Towards an Understanding of Third-Party Intervention Effectiveness" in Coyne, C. ed. The Handbook on the Political Economy of War (Edward Elgar 2011). [Book Chapter]
5. **Carment, David** (with Martin Fischer). "Conflict Prevention: A Policy in Search of a Theory or a Theory in Search of a Policy?" in Cordell, K and Wolff, S. eds. The Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict (Routledge 2010). [Book Chapter]
6. **Charron, Andrea** (with Jane Boulden) eds. "UN Sanctions: New Dilemmas and Unintended Consequences," International Journal Vol. 65 (1), (Winter 2009 - 2010). [Journal Article]
7. **Charron, Andrea**. "Three Canadians and Their Contributions to United Nations Sanctions: A Tribute to Margaret Doxey, David Malone and Robert Fowler," Canadian Foreign Policy Journal, 16(3), (Winter 2011). [Journal Article]
8. **Charron, Andrea** (with Elizabeth Sneyd). « Elargir la sécurité dans l'Arctique canadien », in Frédéric Lasserre (ed) Enjeux stratégiques et politiques dans l'Arctique canadien (Laval: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2010). [Book Chapter]

9. **Charron, Andrea.** "The Arctic in Perspective," in Athanasios Hristoulas (ed) North American Security Revisited (ITAM: Mexico, 2011) (in Spanish). [Book Chapter]
10. **Daudelin, Jean.** « Le Brésil comme puissance: Portée et paradoxes », Problèmes d'Amérique latine N° 77, Été 2010: 27-45. [Journal Article]
11. **Findlay, Trevor.** Nuclear Energy and Global Governance: Ensuring Safety, Security and Non-Proliferation. London, Routledge, 2011. [Book]
12. **Hampson, Fen** (with I. William Zartman). The Global Power of Talk: Negotiating America's Interests. Boulder and London: Paradigm Books, August 2011. [Book]
13. **Hampson, Fen** (with Paul Heinbecker). As Others See Us: Canada Among Nations 2010. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010. [Book]
14. **Hampson, Fen** (with Paul Heinbecker). "Using Our Wits, Opening Our Wallets: Canadian Diplomacy in the Obama Age." In As Others See Us: Canada Among Nations 2010. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010. [Book Chapter]
15. **Hampson, Fen.** "Multilateralism and the Challenges of Global Governance." In I. William Zartman and Saadia Touval, eds. International Cooperation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2010. 60-76. [Book Chapter]
16. **Hampson, Fen** (with Chester A. Crocker, Pamela Aall). "Collective Conflict Management: A New Formula for Global Peace and Security," International Affairs, Vol. 87, No.1 (January 2011): 39-59. [Journal Article]
17. **Hampson, Fen** (with Eileen Babbitt). "Conflict Resolution: Practice Informing Theory." International Studies Review, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2011): 46-57. [Journal Article]
18. **Hampson, Fen.** "Le plus ça change, le plus c'est la même chose: John Holmes on Canada-US relations." International Journal, Vol. LXV, No. 2 (Spring 2010): 303-329. [Journal Article]
19. **Hillmer, Norman.** "O. D. Skelton and the Rise of North Americanism," in Michael D. Behiels and Reginald C. Stuart, eds. Transnationalism: Canada-United States History Into the Twenty-First Century. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010. [Book Chapter]
20. **Hillmer, Norman.** "The Canadian War Museum and the Military Identity of an Unmilitary People," Canadian Military History, XIX, 3 (Summer 2010). [Journal Article]
21. **Jardine, Eric** (with David Jardine and R. Naqvi). "A Zone of Deep Shadow: Pedagogical and Familial Reflections on 'The Clash of Civilizations'," Interchange: A Quarterly Review of Education, Vol. 41, no. 3 (Summer 2010), 1-24. [Journal Article]
22. **Jardine, Eric.** "An Insurgency's Response to the Defense of Cities," Parameters, Vol. 40, no. 3 (Autumn 2010). [Journal Article]

23. **Juneau, Thomas.** "Yemen: Prospects for State Failure – Implications and Remedies," Middle East Policy, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Fall 2010). [Journal Article]
24. **Lagassé, Philippe.** "Nils Orvik's Defence Against Help: The Descriptive Appeal of a Prescriptive Strategy," International Journal Vol. 65, No. 2. [Journal Article]
25. **Milner, James** (with Gil Loescher). "UNHCR and the Global Governance of Migration" in Alexander Betts (ed.), Global Governance of Migration, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. [Book Chapter]
26. **Milner, James.** "Refugees, peacebuilding and the regional dynamics of conflict" in Gil Loescher and Alexander Betts (eds.), Refugees In International Relations, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. [Book Chapter]
27. **Nikolko, Milana.** "Simferopol – Place on the Map of Ukraine," Sociology of the City. Donetsk: DonDU, 2010, 415-424. [Book Chapter]
28. **Park, A.S.J.** (2010). "Peacebuilding, the rule of law and the problem of culture: Assimilation, multiculturalism, deployment," Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding, Vol. 4, no. 4, 413-432. [Journal Article]
29. **Park, A.S.J.** (2010). "Child soldiers and distributive justice: Addressing the limits of law," Crime, Law and Social Change, Vol. 53, no. 4, 329-348. [Journal Article]
30. **Park, A.S.J.** (2010). "Community-based restorative transitional justice in Sierra Leone," Contemporary Justice Review, Vol. 13, no. 1, 95-119. [Journal Article]
31. **Penny, Christopher K.** "International Humanitarian Law and Canadian Courts: Challenges for the 'Campaign Against Terror'," Is Our House in Order?: Canada's Implementation of International Law, ed. C. Carmody, McGill-Queen's University Press. [Book Chapter]
32. **Penny, Christopher K.** "De-Conflicting Canada's Anti-Terrorism Legislation: *Khawaja* and the Ongoing Challenges of the 'Armed Conflict' Exclusion" in Windsor Yearbook of Access to Justice, Vol. 27, No. 2 (2009) [Published March 2011]. [Journal Article]
33. **Percival, Valerie.** "A Case Study of Health Sector Reform in Kosovo," Conflict and Health, Vol 4, No. 7 (2010). [Journal Article]
34. **Rudner, Martin.** "Hizbullah: An Organizational and Operational Profile," International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Summer, 2010): 226-246. [Journal Article]
35. **Rudner, Martin.** "Hizbullah Terrorism Finance: Fund-Raising and Money Laundering," Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, Vol. 33, Issue 8 (August, 2010): 700-715. [Journal Article]
36. **Rudner, Martin.** "The Modernization of Iran and the Development of the Persian Carpet Industry: The Neo-Classical Era in Persian Carpet History, 1925-1945," Iranian Studies, Vol. 44, Issue 1 (2011): 49-76. [Journal Article]

37. **Schmidt, Brian** (with Tim Dunne). "Realism" (Revised and Updated) in John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens eds., The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 84-99. [Book Chapter]
38. **Schmidt, Brian** (with Tim Dunne and Steven L Lamy), "Realism and Liberalism" in Steven L. Lamy, John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens eds., Introduction to Global Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 62-91. [Book Chapter]
39. **Schmidt, Brian**. "The Rockefeller Foundation Conference and the Long Road to a Theory of International Politics" in Nicolas Guilhot ed., The Invention of International Relations Theory: Realism, the Rockefeller Foundation and the 1954 Conference on Theory. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 79-96. [Book Chapter]
40. **Sucharov, Mira** [with **Thomas Juneau**]. "Narratives in Pencil: Using Graphic Novels to Teach Israeli-Palestinian Relations." International Studies Perspectives, 11, 2 (May 2010). [Journal Article]
41. **Vucetic, Srdjan**. "Bound to Follow? The Anglosphere and U.S.-led Coalitions of the Willing, 1950-2001," European Journal of International Relations, 17(1), 2011: 27-49. [Journal Article]
42. **Vucetic, Srdjan** (with B. O'Connor). "Another Mars/Venus Divide? Why Australia Said "Yes" and Canada Said "Non" to Involvement in the 2003 Iraq War," Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 64, No. 5 (November 2010): 526 – 548. [Journal Article]
43. **Vucetic, Srdjan**. "Anglobal Governance?" Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Vol. 23, No. 3 (September 2010), pp. 455–474. [Journal Article]

Other Publications

1. **Carment, David** (with Teddy Samy). "Haiti Without Tears: Getting Aid Right," Policy Options, April 2010. [Journal Article]
2. **Carment, David**. "Indicators of State Failure: Phase II" Defence Research and Development Canada (DRDC) Report. [Analysis]
3. **Carment, David**. "The New Terrorism: Understanding Yemen," CDFAI Policy Paper, March 2011. [Analysis]
4. **Carment, David** (with Teddy Samy). "The Social Underpinnings of the Current Unrest in North Africa and the Middle East," CDFAI Policy Update Paper, February 2011. [Analysis]
5. **Carment, David** (with Teddy Samy). "Broken Promises: The Fragility Gap and the Millennium Development Goals," CDFAI Policy Update Paper, October 2010. [Analysis]
6. **Charron, Andrea**. "Canada and the Arctic: 2013 and Beyond" ON TRACK (Spring 2011). [Journal Article]

7. **Daudelin, Jean.** "Moving Frontiers: Patterns of Drug Violence in the Americas," CSDS Working Paper 8 (December 2010). [Working Paper]
8. **Daudelin, Jean.** "Frontier Violence: Property Rights, Commons Management Costs and Distributional Conflicts," Social Science Research Network Working Papers, December http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1727414 [Working Paper]
9. **Daudelin, Jean.** "L'Amérique latine n'est plus l'arrière-cour des Etats-Unis," in Bertrand Badie and Dominique Vidal, eds., Le grand tournant? L'état du monde 2010 (Paris, Montréal: La découverte, Boréal), 253-260. [Book Chapter]
10. **Daudelin, Jean.** "Where have all the Yankees gone?" Canada Watch (Toronto), September. [Analysis]
11. **Daudelin, Jean.** Personal blog on Brazilian affairs and Canadian foreign policy, with regular posts on security issues (www.jaracemirim.com) [Blog]
12. **Derks, Maria.** "'Armed Violence Reduction': van lens naar programma?" in De Internationale Spectator, October 2010. [Journal Article]
13. **Derks, Maria** (with Megan Price). "The EU and Rule of Law Reform in Kosovo. An overview of the (combined) efforts of EULEX, ECLO and the EUSR." Conflict Research Unit Working Paper, Clingendael Institute, January 2011. [Working Paper]
14. **Desrosiers, Marie-Eve** (with Justin Massie). 2010. « Le néolibéralisme » in Alex Macleod and Dan O'Meara, eds. Théorie des relations internationales: Contestation et résistances. Outremont: Athéna Éditions, 2nd Edition, 153-176. (Book Chapter)
15. **Findlay, Trevor.** The Future of Nuclear Energy to 2030 and its Implications for Safety, Security and Nonproliferation, Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), Waterloo, ON, 2010. [Research Report]
16. **Findlay, Trevor** (with Justin Alger). "Strengthening global nuclear governance," Issues in Science and Technology, National Academy of Sciences, Washington DC, Fall 2010. [Journal Article]
17. **Hampson, Fen** (with Chester A. Crocker, Pamela Aall, and Simon Palamar). "International Conflict Management." Oxford Bibliographies Online. Fall 2011. Available at: <http://aboutobo.com/political-science/>
18. **Hampson, Fen** (with Taeho Bark). Report of the Canada-Korea High-Level G20 Seminar. The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs and the Graduate School of International Studies, Seoul National University, 2010. 114 pp.
19. **Hampson, Fen** (with Roland Paris). Rethinking Canada's International Priorities. Centre for International Policy, University of Ottawa and the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, 2010.

20. **Hampson, Fen.** "Economic Ambition in the South Caucasus." Diplomat and International Canada Magazine. (January-February-March 2011). [Article]
21. **Hampson, Fen.** "Turkey—Europe's New Tiger." Diplomat and International Canada Magazine. (June-July-August 2010). [Article]
22. **Hampson, Fen.** "The Perils of Summitry," Policy Options, Vol. 31, No. 6 (June 2010): 45-48. [Journal Article]
23. **Hampson, Fen.** "Dangerous Seas: The Growing Threat of Maritime Piracy and What Can Be Done About It." Diplomat and International Canada Magazine. (April-May-June 2010). [Article]
24. **Hillmer, Norman.** "The Governor-General," The Canadian Experience (17 May 2010) (www.cdnexperience.ca). [Article]
25. **Hillmer, Norman.** "The House of Commons," The Canadian Experience (25 May 2010) (www.cdnexperience.ca). [Article]
26. **Hillmer, Norman.** "The Senate," The Canadian Experience (31 May 2010) (www.cdnexperience.ca). [Article]
27. **Hillmer, Norman.** "The Canadian Constitution," The Canadian Experience (7 June 2010) (www.cdnexperience.ca). [Article]
28. **Hillmer, Norman.** "The Constitution Act, 1982," The Canadian Experience (14 June 2010) (www.cdnexperience.ca). [Article]
29. **Hillmer, Norman.** "The Charter," The Canadian Experience (21 June 2010) (www.cdnexperience.ca). [Article]
30. **Hillmer, Norman.** "A Miniature of Britain — Well, Not Quite," The Canadian Experience (24 January 2011) (www.cdnexperience.ca). [Article]
31. **Hillmer, Norman.** "Canada's British World," The Canadian Experience (31 January 2011) (www.cdnexperience.ca). [Article]
32. **Hillmer, Norman.** "Canada's World, Pearson's World," The Canadian Experience (28 February 2011) (www.cdnexperience.ca). [Article]
33. **Hillmer, Norman.** "Canada's Pragmatic World View," The Canadian Experience (7 March 2011) (www.cdnexperience.ca). [Article]
34. **Jardine, Eric.** "Wars of Volition and Wars of Need: NATO's Force Posture and the Commitment to Battle," in A New Strategic Concept for NATO (Toronto: Atlantic Council of Canada, 2010), 87-103. [Book Chapter]

35. **Jardine, Eric.** "Urban Bias in Counterinsurgency Operations: The Historical Success of Rural Insurgencies," On Track, Vol. 15, 2 (Summer 2010), 25-28. [Journal Article]
36. **Jardine, Eric.** "Counterinsurgency Warfare and Decisive Engagements: Combating the Mobility of Insurgencies through the Provision of Greater Arms," SITREP, Vol. 70, no. 2 (March-April 2010). [Journal Article]
37. **Jensen, Kurt** (with James Gould). "In Memoriam: Donald Saunders, 1943-2009," Bout de papier, Vol. 25, No. 1, Spring 2010. [Journal Article]
38. **Juneau, Thomas.** "Rethinking Realism in International Relations. Between Tradition and Innovation," in Annette Freyberg-Inan, Ewan Harrison and Patrick James, eds., Études internationales, Vol. 41, no. 3 (2010). [Book Review]
39. **Lagassé, Philippe.** "Going Coastal? Assessing the Domestic and Expeditionary Roles of the Canadian Navy," in Ann Griffiths and Eric Lerhe eds. Naval Gazing: The Canadian Navy Confronts its Future (Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 2010). [Book Chapter]
40. **Littlewood, Jeremy.** "The verification debate in the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention in 2011," Disarmament Forum 3 (2011): 15-25. [Journal Article]
41. **Littlewood, Jeremy.** "Accountability of the Canadian security and intelligence community post-9/11: still a long and winding road?" in Daniel Baldino (ed) Democratic Oversight of Intelligence Services and its Challenges (Sydney, AU., Federation Press, 2010), 83-107. [Book Chapter]
42. **MacDonald, Todd**, et. al. "Kyrgyzstan Diagnostic 2010," Country Indicators for Foreign Policy, November 2010. [Report]
43. **Milner, James** (with Gil Loescher). "Responding to Protracted Refugee Situations: Lessons from a decade of discussion," Forced Migration Policy Briefing, No. 6, Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, January 2011. [Journal Article]
44. **Milner, James.** "The Refugee in International Society: Between Sovereigns," Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 44, no. 1, 2011. [Book Review]
45. **Penny, Christopher K.**, editor, "Special Edition: Canadian Perspectives on International Humanitarian Law," Windsor Yearbook of Access to Justice, Vol. 27, No. 2. [Special Journal Edition]
46. **Percival, Valerie.** Co-Editor, Health and Foreign Policy Bulletin. <http://www.ghd-net.org/research/health-foreign-policy-bulletin>. [On-line Bulletin]
47. **Percival, Valerie.** Co-Editor, Health Diplomacy Monitor. <http://www.ghd-net.org/health-diplomacy-action/health-diplomacy-monitor>. [On-line Bulletin]

48. **Sloan, Elinor.** "Chinese Naval Intentions and Capabilities," in Anne Griffiths and Eric Lehre, eds. Naval Gazing: The Canadian Navy Contemplates its Future (Halifax, NS: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 2010): 219-228. [Book Chapter]
49. **Sloan, Elinor.** "Canada's Post-2011 Commitment to Afghanistan," CDFAI Dispatch 8, no. 3 (Fall 2010). [Analysis]
50. **Sloan, Elinor.** China's Strategic Behaviour (Calgary: Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, June 2010). [Monograph]
51. **Sucharov, Mira.** "Review of Tamar Hermann, The Israeli Peace Movement," Political Science Quarterly (Fall 2010). [Book Review]

2.3 Participation in relevant off-campus external events

	Professors/Associates & Number of Events	Students & Number of Events
Number of resident staff who participated in domestic conferences	21 Associates attended 49 Events.	13 Students attended 17 Events.
Number of resident staff who participated in international conferences	14 Associates attended 30 Events.	8 Students attended 12 Events.

Use of the SDF International Conference Fund

1. **Marie-Eve Desrosiers** [Research Associate] (with Susan Thomson): Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism, 13-15 April 2010, London School of Economics, London, UK; presented paper, "Taming the Volcano: Elite Projection of 'Benevolent Leadership in Pre- and Post-Genocide Rwanda."
2. **Thomas Juneau** [Ph.D. Student]: 2010 European Consortium of Political Research Graduate Conference, 31 August–1 September 2010, Dublin, Ireland; presented paper, "Neoclassical Realist Strategic Analysis: A Statement," on the panel, "Realism Reconsidered."
3. **David Perry** [Ph.D. Student]: 6th Annual International Graduate Student Conference in Political Science, International Relations and Public Policy, 15-17 December 2010, Jerusalem, Israel; presented paper, "Purchasing Power: Is Defence Privatization a New Form of Military Mobilization?" on the panel, "The Changing Meaning of the State-Multiple Dimensions."
4. **Julian Reid** [M.A. Student]: 2010 Academic Council on the United Nations System, 3-5 June 2010, Vienna, Austria; presented paper, "Privatizing the Peace: A framework for Contracting Peacekeeping Operations to the Private Sector," on the panel, "Perspectives on Peacekeeping."

Use of the SDF National Conference Fund

1. **Mark Agnew** [M.A. Student]: Annual Meeting of the Prairie Political Science Association, 1-2 October 2010, Winnipeg, Manitoba; presented paper, "A Canadian Foreign Intelligence Service: Dangers, Opportunities and the Way Forward," on the panel, "Canadian Defence and Security Issues."
2. **Jeff Bernstein** [M.A. Student]: Conference of Defence Associations Institute's 13th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, "Canada's Security Interests," 28-29 October 2010, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston; presented paper, "Negotiating the Insurgency: Settling Afghanistan's War and Securing 'Negative' Peace," on the panel, "Canada's Legacy in Afghanistan."

3. **Andrea Charron** [Research Associate]: International Studies Association Annual Convention, 16-19 March 2011, Montreal, Quebec; presented two papers: "Sudan Sanctions Regime II" on the panel, "The Impact and Effectiveness of UN Targeted Sanctions: A Comparative Analysis of African and Caribbean Cases," and, "UN Sanctions and Conflict," on the panel, "International Humanitarian Law and International Conflict."
4. **Eric Jardine** [PhD Student]: Conference of Defence Associations Institute's 13th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, "Canada's Security Interests," 28-29 October 2010, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston; presented paper, "Population-Centric Counter-Insurgency and the Movement of Peoples," on the panel, "Counterinsurgency and Military Strategy."
5. **Todd MacDonald** [M.A. Student]: Conference of Defence Associations Institute's 13th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, "Canada's Security Interests," 28-29 October 2010, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston; presented paper, "An Evaluation of the Causal Logic behind Population-Centric Counterinsurgency's Ability to Support State-Stability" on the panel, "Counterinsurgency and Military Strategy."
6. **Philip Martin** [M.A. Student]: Conference of Defence Associations Institute's 13th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, "Canada's Security Interests," 28-29 October 2010, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston; presented paper, "Intervening for Peace? Dilemma's of Democratic Reconstruction and Liberal Internationalism in Afghanistan," on the panel, "Canada's Legacy in Afghanistan."
7. **Philip Martin** [M.A. Student]: The Strategic Studies Student Consortium (SC3), "Strategy, Security, and Defence: Expanding the Discourse," 18-19 February 2011, Centre for Military and Strategic Studies, University of Calgary; presented paper, "Intervening for Peace? Dilemmas of Liberal Internationalism and Democratic Reconstruction in Afghanistan," on the panel, "Making a Difference or Making a Mess? Humanitarian Intervention."
8. **Philip Martin** [M.A. Student]: 6th Annual Political Science Graduate Symposium, "Security and Conflict: Evolving Theory and Practice," 10-11 March 2011, Dalhousie University, Halifax; presented paper, "Intervening for Peace? Dilemma's of Liberal Internationalism in Democratic Reconstruction in Afghanistan," on the panel, "State Fragility and Intervention."
9. **Milana Nikolko** [Research Associate]: Canadian Association of Slavists Annual Meeting, Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences, 28-30 May 2010, Concordia University, Montreal, QC; presented paper, "From Modern to Postmodern in Five Years: The Consequences of the Orange Revolution," on a panel discussing the Orange Revolution in Ukraine.
10. **Simon Palamar** [Ph.D Student]: Conference of Defence Associations Institute's 13th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, "Canada's Security Interests," 28-29 October 2010, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston; presented paper, "Why States Abandon Nuclear Weapons Programs: A Quantitative Analysis," on the panel, "Emerging Issues in International Relations."
11. **David Perry** [PhD Student]: Canadian Political Science Association Conference, 2-3 June 2010, Concordia University, Montreal, QC; presented paper, "Blackwater vs. bin Laden," on the panel, "Trends in (Counter)Terrorism: From Theory to Policy."

12. **David Perry** [PhD Student]: Annual Meeting of the Prairie Political Science Association, 1-2 October 2010, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg; presented paper, "Contracting Tail to Recruit More Teeth: Contracted Canadian Logistics and its Implication for CF Force Posture," on the panel, "Canadian Defence and Security Issues."
13. **Paul Piasko** [M.A. Student]: Conference of Defence Associations Institute's 13th Annual Graduate Student Symposium, "Canada's Security Interests," 28-29 October 2010, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston; presented paper, "Re-Defining Arctic Security," on the panel, "Asserting Canada's Arctic Sovereignty."
14. **Mark Williams** [M.A. Student]: Conference of Defence Associations Institute's 13th Annual Graduate Student Symposium "Canada's Security Interests," 28-29 October 2010, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston; presented paper, "Pour quelques arpents de neige: Conservative Military Policies in the Canadian Arctic," on a panel entitled "Asserting Canada's Arctic Sovereignty."

Domestic and International Conferences Attended (not funded by the SDF Conference Funds)

Faculty and Research Associates

1. **David Carment** [Faculty Associate]: International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, QC, 16-19 March 2011; presented paper, "Towards the Prediction of Crises of Interest: A Fragile States Approach" (with Teddy Samy), on panel, "Models for Forecasting State Failure, Conflict and Instability."
2. **Andrea Charron** [Research Associate]: Conference of Defence Association Annual conference, "Canada-US Security Interests – Ten Year after 9/11," 24-25 February 2011, Ottawa, Canada. Presented paper, "Arctic Security."
3. **Andrea Charron** [Research Associate]: "The Arctic," 12 October 2010, Ottawa, Canada, CADSI annual conference, "The Arctic".
4. **Jean Daudelin** [Faculty Associate]: "Brazil's regional security policy," 21 March 2011; Workshop on Brazil's security policy, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.
5. **Jean Daudelin** [Faculty Associate]: "Canadian Interests and Security Challenges in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean," February 18, 2011, Guadalajara, Mexico; presented at the conference on Contemporary Security Challenges in North America.
6. **Jean Daudelin** [Faculty Associate]: "Dispositifs guerriers et ancrages sociaux," 19 January 2011, Lille, France; presented at the "Transformation des guerres" workshop.
7. **Jean Daudelin** [Faculty Associate]: "Is there Life Abroad After Afghanistan? The Future of Canadian Expeditionary Operations," Annual SDF Conference, Halifax, 30 September-2 October 2010; presentation on "Latin America and Canadian Defence Policy," on the panel, "Canada in the World: Interests, Opportunities and Influence."

8. **Jean Daudelin** [Faculty Associate]: "Security in Latin America and the Caribbean: Issues, Diagnosis and International Implications," 27 April 2010, Toronto; presented to the Canadian Security Studies Programme (CSSP), Canadian Forces College.
9. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: "Next Generation Nuclear Security: Meeting the Global Challenge," 8 April 2010; Fissile Materials Working Group, Washington DC.
10. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: "The 2010 NPT Review Conference," 7 April 2010, Université Laval, Québec; presented paper, "Implications of a nuclear energy revival for nonproliferation."
11. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: 28th World Affairs Conference, Upper Canada College, Toronto, 8 February 2010; presentation on "Nuclear Nonproliferation: achievements and challenges."
12. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: Carnegie Conference on Nuclear Policy, Washington DC, 28-29 April 2010.
13. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: Conference on "Australia's Uranium Trade: The Challenges of a Contentious Export," Lowy Institute for International Policy, Sydney, Australia, 19 November 2010; presentation on "The nuclear energy revival to 2030 and its implications for global governance."
14. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: Ditchley Park Conference on nonproliferation, Ditchley Park, UK, 2-4 December 2010; participated in break-out group on nuclear energy.
15. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: Final Meeting of International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament, Vienna, Austria, 2 June 2010; presentation on "The nuclear energy revival to 2030 and its implications for global governance."
16. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: Lunchtime seminar, Centre for Security and International Studies (CSIS), Washington DC, 12 April 2010; presented paper on "The nuclear energy revival to 2030 and its implications for global governance."
17. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: Lunchtime seminar, Elliot School, George Washington University, Washington DC, 13 April 2010; presented paper on "The nuclear energy revival to 2030 and its implications for global governance."
18. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: Roundtable on nuclear energy, Lowy Institute for International Policy, Sydney, Australia, 25 May 2010; "The nuclear energy revival to 2030 and its implications for global governance."
19. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: Safeguards Symposium, IAEA, Vienna, 1-5 November 2010.
20. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: Seminar at International Atomic Energy Agency, 5 July 2010, Vienna, Italy; "The nuclear energy revival to 2030 and its implications for global governance."

21. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: Seminar on nuclear energy revival, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Canberra, Australia, 17 May 2010; presented paper on "The nuclear energy revival to 2030 and its implications for global governance."
22. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: Workshop on Chemical and Biological Weapons, Canadian Centre of Intelligence Studies, Carleton University, 15 March 2010.
23. **Trevor Findlay** [Faculty Associate]: Workshop on Strengthening and Reform of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Waterloo, ON, 21 October 2010; presentation on "Strengthening and Reform of the IAEA."
24. **Fen Hampson** [Faculty Associate]: International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, QC, 16-19 March 2011; presented two papers: "No Exit," on panel, "Liberal Peace in Statebuilding: Security, Reconstruction, Exit Strategies," and "Improvising Conflict Management: Ad Hoc Alliances for Peacebuilding," (with Pamela Aall and Chester Crocker), on panel, "Global Governance in Peace and Security."
25. **Norman Hillmer** [Faculty Associate] (with Stephen Azzi): "Evaluating Prime Ministerial Leadership: The Canadian Experience," 2 December 2010, Melbourne, Australia; paper presented on Prime Ministerial Leadership in Westminster Democracies.
26. **Philippe Lagassé** [Research Associate]: "The Future of America as a Global Power," 2-4 February 2010, Winnipeg, Manitoba; presented paper, "Canadian Defence in a post-American World" on panel about Canada-United States defence relations.
27. **Philippe Lagassé** [Research Associate]: "The Ottawa Conference on Security and Defence," 24-25 February 2010, Ottawa, Canada; panel member on Davos-style discussion of the future of the Canadian Forces.
28. **Jeremy Littlewood** [Faculty Associate]: "Chemical and Biological Weapons: Proliferation, Future Use and Development," presentation to RCMP Counter-Proliferation Workshop, Ottawa, February 22, 2011.
29. **Jeremy Littlewood** [Faculty Associate]: "Chemical and Biological Weapons: Future Use and Development," presentation to DRDC-CORA, Ottawa, December 14, 2010.
30. **Jeremy Littlewood** [Faculty Associate]: "State and non-state actor interest in CBW: What role for the Conventions in influencing potential offensive motivations and intent for CBW?" remarks for CCISS-CCTC-NPSIA Workshop on the role of the chemical and biological weapons conventions in preventing acquisition and use of chemical and biological weapons, March 15, 2011, Ottawa (Workshop supported by DRDC).
31. **Jeremy Littlewood** [Faculty Associate]: "The 2011 BTWC Review Conference' paper presented to "Prospects for the 2011 Review Conference of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention," Wilton Park Conference, UK, September 24-26, 2010.

32. **Jeremy Littlewood** [Faculty Associate]: "The Biological Weapons Regime and its Gaps," presentation to Harvard-Sussex Program Symposium on "Ensuring the suppression of chemical and biological Weapons: criminalization and beyond," University of Sussex, UK, February 11, 2011.
33. **Jeremy Littlewood** [Faculty Associate]: International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, QC, 16-19 March 2011; presented paper, "The Disarmament-Development Nexus in the NPT and the BWC," on the panel, "Nuclear Disarmament and Global Zero: Lessons from the Chemical and Biological Weapons Conventions."
34. **Jeremy Littlewood** [Faculty Associate]: "The future utility of biological weapons," paper presented at ENTRA Technology Inc-National intelligence Council workshop on CBW Utility Workshop, Washington, D.C., October 14, 2010.
35. **Jeremy Littlewood** [Faculty Associate]: Organizer and MC for workshop, "Energy Security: Planning Globally And Preparing Locally To Ensure Energy Security," April 23, 2010, Carleton University, Ottawa.
36. **Jeremy Littlewood** [Faculty Associate]: Organizer and MC for Workshop on the Report of the Commission Of Inquiry Into the Investigation of the Bombing of Air India Flight 182, July 16, 2010, Carleton University, Ottawa.
37. **Jeremy Littlewood** [Faculty Associate]: Panelist and Judge for ISROP-DFAIT Graduate Research Seminar/Essays on non-proliferation and arms control, DFAIT, February 17, 2011.
38. **Jeremy Littlewood** [Faculty Associate]: Participant at 31st Workshop of the Pugwash Study Group on the Implementation of the Chemical and Biological Weapons Conventions, "Getting Ready for the Seventh BWC Review Conference in 2011," Geneva, Switzerland, 4-5 December 2010.
39. **David Long** [Faculty Associate] (with Peter Wilson): The Pan-European International Relations Conference, Stockholm, September 2010; presented paper, "Social Cosmology and Diplomats," for the panel on English School theory, and Panel Chair, "Applying International Society to the Real World."
40. **David Long** [Faculty Associate]: Conference on "A Canada-EU Free Trade Agreement: Public Good or Private Interest?" Carleton University, 28 October, 2010; presentation on "Public Services and Procurement."
41. **David Mendeloff** [Director, CSDS]: International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, QC, 16-19 March 2011; presented paper, "Assessing the Logic of ICC Intervention in Civil Wars: Deterrence, Compellence, and Regime Change," on the panel, "Why Intervene? Reassessing Humanitarian Interventions," and chaired and served as discussant on panel, "Apologies, Memories, and Reconciliation in International Relations."
42. **David Mendeloff** [Director, CSDS]: "A Way Out of Violent Conflict? The Impact of Transitional Justice Mechanisms," Chr. Michelsen Institute Workshop, Solstrand, Norway, 4-5 June 2010; presented paper, "Transitional Justice and Violent Conflict: A Call for Conceptual and Theoretical Clarity in Assessing Impact," and served as commentator on panel, "Towards an Analytical Framework for Assessing Impact of TJ Mechanisms."

43. **David Mendeloff** [Director, CSDS]: "Is there Life Abroad After Afghanistan? The Future of Canadian Expeditionary Operations," Annual SDF Conference, Halifax, 30 September-2 October 2010; chaired panel "Implications for the Canadian Forces: Air and Land."
44. **David Mendeloff** [Director, CSDS]: "Sixty-Five Years After: World War II and its Legacies for Contemporary Europe and Russia," Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa, 11 November 2010; chaired panel, "Justice and Remembrance."
45. **David Mendeloff** [Director, CSDS]: "Sexual Violence and Conflict in Africa," Institute of African Studies, Carleton University, 5-6 May 2010; chaired panel "(Re)Presenting Rape: The Limits of the Law."
46. **Macy Messeret** [Research Associate]: Canadian International Council "Open Canada: A Global Positioning Strategy in a Networked Age," 17 November 2010, Toronto; attended monthly meeting of the CIC study group.
47. **James Milner** [Faculty Associate]: International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, QC, 16-19 March 2011; presented two papers: "Refugees and Peacebuilding: Understanding regional dynamics," and "Understanding the constraints of integrated responses to development and peacebuilding in the UN system."
48. **James Milner** [Faculty Associate]: Annual Conference, Canadian Association of African Studies, Ottawa, 5 May 2010; presented paper, "Understanding the Politics of Asylum in Africa."
49. **Milana Nilkolko** [Research Associate] and **David Carment** [Faculty Associate]: International Studies Association Annual Convention, 16-19 March 2011, Montreal, Quebec; presented paper, "Diasporas, Remittances and Social Capital," on the panel "The Way Home: Refugees, IDP, and Diaspora Social Networks."
50. **Augustine Park** [Research Associate]: Fifth Annual Peace and Conflict Studies Conference, "Mapping Local Landscapes: Community Approaches to Peace," Trudeau Centre for Peace and Conflict, University of Toronto, January 2011; presented paper, "Community-based justice in Sierra Leone."
51. **Augustine Park** [Research Associate]: "Youth, 'risk' and new media: Shifting the boundaries of children's rights discourses," Ottawa, November 2010; paper presentation at Children's Research Academic Network.
52. **Christopher Penny** [Deputy Director, CSDS]: "Northern Exposure: International Law and the Challenge of the Arctic," 2010 Annual Canadian Council on International Law Conference," 28-30 October 2010, Ottawa, ON; presented paper, "International Humanitarian Law and the Arctic" on a panel addressing international law and the emerging Arctic security environment.
53. **Valerie Percival** [Faculty Associate]: International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, QC, 16-19 March 2011; presented paper, "Beyond a Bridge to Nowhere: A Framework for the Relationship between Health Interventions and Peace."

54. **Valerie Percival** [Faculty Associate]: "Building Post-Crisis Health Systems: A Review of the Evidence," Ottawa, Canada; paper presented for Canadian Society for International Health, 2 November 2011, Canadian Society for International Health Annual Conference.
55. **Valerie Percival** [Faculty Associate]: "Discussant: Post-Conflict Health Systems Restructuring," Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, Cambridge, Mass. 4-6 March 2011.
56. **Valerie Percival** [Faculty Associate]: "Responding to Global Health Inequities in Fragile State," Ottawa, Canada; paper presented at the Canadian Society for International Health, 3 November 2011, Canadian Society for International Health Annual Conference.
57. **Valerie Percival** [Faculty Associate]: Ethnic and Gender Dimensions of Health and Conflict, Workshop Facilitator, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Conference on Health and Conflict, Stockholm, 28-29 March 2011.
58. **Cristina Rojas** [Faculty Associate]: "Security in the Americas: Policy research gaps and implications for Canada," University of Ottawa, 3 November 2010.
59. **Cristina Rojas** [Faculty Associate]: International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, QC, 16-19 March 2011; roundtable participant on panel entitled, "After the Globe, before the World: The Postcolonial Challenge;" presented paper, "The Civilizing Mission and the Governing of Populations;" discussant on the panel, "International Interconnectedness: Rethinking the Global II."
60. **Cristina Rojas** [Faculty Associate]: Latin American Studies Association, Toronto, 6-10 October 2010.
61. **Cristina Rojas** [Faculty Associate]: "Sovereignty in Latin America," Catholic University, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil, 23-24 September, 2010.
62. **Dane Rowlands** [Faculty Associate]: Defence and Security Economics Workshop 2010/Atelier en Économie de défense et sécurité 2010, 11 November 2010, Kingston; presented paper (with Josh Kilberg), "Organizational structure and the effects of targeting terrorist leadership," on panel discussing defence security and economics.
63. **Brian Schmidt** [Faculty Associate]: International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, QC, 16-19 March 2011; presented paper, "Offshore Balancing Yesterday and Today."
64. **Brian Schmidt** [Faculty Associate]: American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2-5 September 2010, Washington, DC; presented paper, "Offshore Balancing Yesterday and Today," on a panel entitled "The Grand Strategy of the Obama Administration."
65. **Elinor Sloan** [Faculty Associate]: "Assessing China's Impact on Canada-US Relations," 12 November 2010, Washington, DC, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; presented a paper on "US-China Military and Security Developments: Implications for Canada."

66. **Mira Sucharov** [Faculty Associate]: International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, QC, 16-19 March 2011; presented paper, "Imagining Ourselves Then and Now: Nostalgia and Canadian Immigration Policy."
67. **Mira Sucharov** [Faculty Associate]: "Roundtable on Teaching the Middle East," November 2010, San Diego; Middle East Studies Association.
68. **Mira Sucharov** [Faculty Associate]: "Values, Identity and Israel Advocacy," June 2010, Toronto, Ontario; paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Israel Studies.
69. **Elliott Tepper** [Senior Research Associate]: "Ageing Societies: The Dynamics of Demographic Change in Canada," 2010 International Council of Canadian Studies Biennial Conference 29-30 May 2010, Montreal; participant.
70. **Elliott Tepper** [Senior Research Associate]: "Building Bridges, Canada and Sri Lanka," Canadian Friends of Sri Lanka, 23 February 2011; Chair and organizer.
71. **Elliott Tepper** [Senior Research Associate]: International Conference of the AFEC (Association française d'études canadiennes), 10-12 June 2010, Avignon University, France; participant.
72. **Elliott Tepper** [Senior Research Associate]: Plenary panel on Afghanistan, Annual Conference of the Canadian Asian Studies Association, 27 October 2010, Ottawa; Moderator and organizer.
73. **Srdjan Vucetic** [Research Associate]: International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, QC, 16-19 March 2011; presented paper, "Philosophies of the Global Colour Line."
74. **Srdjan Vucetic** [Research Associate]: "The Chronicles of a Decline Foretold," paper presented at the panel, "America: Superpower or Superpassé," Senior Fellows' Day, GSPIA, University of Ottawa, September 17, 2010.
75. **Srdjan Vucetic** [Research Associate]: American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 6-10, 2010; presented paper, "The Search for Liberal Anglo-America: From Racial Supremacy to Multicultural Politics."
76. **Srdjan Vucetic** [Research Associate]: Oceanic International Studies Conference, Auckland, New Zealand, July 1-4, 2010; presented paper, "Why Care About The Anglosphere?"

B. Students

1. **Matthew Bernard** [M.A. Student]: "Two Nations & Three Religions in Israel and Palestine," Galilee International Conflict Management Institute, Israel, 29 December 2010–10 January 2011; study tour and conference on Jewish/Christian/Islam historical roots in Israel and current conditions.

2. **Jeffrey Bernstein** [M.A. Student]: March of Remembrance and Hope 2010, Germany and Poland, 9-17 May 2010; attended study mission on anti-Semitism, Holocaust denial, genocide and other forms of discrimination organized by the Canadian Centre for Diversity, Toronto.
3. **Jeffrey Bernstein** [M.A. Student]: Mass Atrocity Response Operations (MARO) Workshop, 8-9 December 2010, Gettysburg, PA, USA; workshop organized jointly between the Harvard Kennedy School and the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSO).
4. **Maria Derks** [Ph.D Student]: Wilton Park Conference "How can the Lisbon Treaty help the European Union Mainstream the Responsibility to Protect?" 26 – 28 July 2010, West Sussex, UK; presented paper, "The EU, R2P and SSR. Experiences, Challenges and Opportunities," on panel discussing the EU's experiences to date with security sector reform and rule of law missions.
5. **Andrew Feltham** [M.A. Student]: Reflections on Rwanda, Rwanda, 13-31 May 2010; study tour and research trip on 1994 Rwandan genocide organized by SHOUT Canada.
6. **Martin Fischer** [Ph.D. Student]: 2010 Academic Council on the United Nations System (ACUNS), Vienna, Austria, 3-5 June 2010; presented paper, "Building Capacity of Civilian and Military Personnel to Meet New Security Challenges."
7. **Martin Fischer** [Ph.D. Student]: Research project "United Nations Security Council Decision Making on the Authorization of United Nations Peace Operations to Use Military Force to Protect Civilians: the Case of Darfur," 13 June – 10 July 2010, New York; conducted interviews and consultations with representatives/former representatives of the United Nations, senior military officers and advisors.
8. **Martin Fischer** [Ph.D. Student]: "Africa Experts Workshop on Civilian Contribution to Peace Operations: Assessing Progress and Identifying Gaps," Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 29-30 June, 2010; paper presenter and panel chair discussing "Mobilizing Capacity in the Global South."
9. **Thomas Juneau** [Ph.D Student]: Middle East Studies Association 2010 Annual Meeting, San Diego, 17-20 November 2010; roundtable discussion on teaching the Middle East.
10. **Thomas Juneau** [Ph.D Student]: International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, QC, 16-19 March 2011; organizer and chair of panel, "Iran: Foreign Policy Strategic Thinking in the 21st century."
11. **Josh Kilberg** [Ph.D Student]: Defence and Security Economics Workshop 2010/Atelier en Économie de défense et sécurité 2010, 11 November 2010, Kingston; presented paper (with Dane Rowlands) entitled "Organizational structure and the effects of targeting terrorist leadership," on panel discussing defence security and economics.
12. **David Perry** [PhD Student]: International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, QC, 16-19 March 2011; presented two papers: "ISAF, Inc?" on the panel "Controlling the Corporate Warrior," and "Purchasing Power," on the panel "The Politics of Boots on the Ground: Civilians, Militaries and the Limits of Strategy."

13. **Gaëlle Rivard Piché** [Ph.D Student]: International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, QC, 16-19 March 2011; presented paper, "From Enforcement to Development: Police and Military International Support in Security Sector Reform," on the panel, "Picking up the Pieces: State-Building after Internal Conflict."
14. **Dan Rozon** [M.A. Student]: Special Operations Forces: A National Capability, 6-8 December 2010, Royal Military College of Canada; attended conference organized jointly between RMC and CANSOFCOM.

2.4 Courses taught by members of the Centre with significant security and defence content.

Course Name and Calendar Description	Instructor Enrolment	
<p>1. AFRI4000: Refugees and the Politics of Asylum in Africa Study of the history and politics of asylum in Africa, with particular reference to the cases of Kenya, Tanzania and Guinea. (Graduate/Undergraduate)</p>	Milner	25
<p>2. BPAPM 4000: International Public Policy A policy workshop focusing on the application of public affairs analysis to develop problem solving and research skills. The seminar will be policy-focused and organized by area of Specialization in the program. Students, working in small groups, will examine concrete policy problems, actual or simulated, in specific institutional contexts. (Undergraduate)</p>	Carment	18
<p>3. GPOL3000: Themes in Global Politics Examination of key actors in global politics, including states, NGOs and International Organizations, and their engagement with issues of security, development, IPE, human rights, humanitarian action and global governance. (Undergraduate)</p>	Milner	15
<p>4. HIST 3304: Canadian-American Relations An examination of diplomatic, economic, cultural and military relations, with particular attention to the twentieth century. (Undergraduate)</p>	Hillmer	65
<p>5. HIST 3306: Canada's International Policies The development of Canadian attitudes and policies toward international affairs, with emphasis on the 20th century. (Undergraduate)</p>	Hillmer	65
<p>6. HIST 4302B: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Political Culture A seminar on ideas, culture, and society in Canada, which a particular focus on issues of nationalism, internationalism, and political culture. (Undergraduate)</p>	Hillmer	16
<p>7. INAF 3000: Policy from a Global Perspective Examines 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. The emphasis is on developing an appreciation of the analytical and normative aspects of public policy processes in international relations. (Undergraduate)</p>	Cadham	20

<p>8. INAF 4101: International Engagement in Conflict Affected States This seminar investigates various forms of international engagement in fragile states – ranging from military involvement to humanitarian assistance to building governing institutions – and the challenges that accompany this engagement. (Undergraduate)</p>	Percival	19
<p>9. INAF 5100: Canada and International Affairs Canada's role in international affairs; issues of conflict and conflict resolution, international political economy, and international development. Analysis of the content and formulation of Canada's international policies. (Graduate)</p>	Carment	21
<p>10. INAF 5108: Conflict Analysis Sources of international and intrastate conflict. Students will gain practical insight and understanding of the causes of conflict by drawing on frameworks from a number of social sciences disciplines, with a focus on diagnostic and analytical skills in the decision making process. (Graduate)</p>	Mendeloff	20
<p>11. INAF 5109: Conflict Management This course examines conflict management theories and practices in both intrastate and interstate conflict to understand the various dimensions of conflict management including prevention, mitigation, containment and intervention; and analyse the efficacy of international conflict management efforts using contemporary case studies. (Graduate)</p>	Percival	21
<p>12. INAF 5200: Peacebuilding and Reconstruction: Theory and Practice Social, economic and military dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction with special attention to the role of local and international government and non-government organizations in the peacebuilding process. Evidence is drawn from recent cases. (Graduate)</p>	Mendeloff	11
<p>13. INAF 5201: Disarmament, arms control and nonproliferation Students study the theory and practice of the field in areas, ranging from nuclear weapons to small arms and light weapons, with an emphasis on multilateral treaties, monitoring and verification and compliance (Graduate)</p>	Findlay	17
<p>14. INAF 5202: International Security since the Cold War A broad survey of critical security developments since the end of the Cold War, starting with predictions about the likely future and ending with contemporary developments. Individual topics include terrorism, the United States as hegemon, rising new powers, the role of religion, multilateralism and the impact of climate change. (Graduate)</p>	Findlay	23

<p>15. INAF 5203: Mediation/Conflict Resolution Exploration of various approaches to the prevention, management and resolution of international conflict including peacekeeping, preventive diplomacy, mediation and peacebuilding, as well as less formal mechanisms for third party collaborative problem solving. (Graduate)</p>	Carment	18
<p>16. INAF 5204: Intelligence, Statecraft & International Affairs (Fall 2010) This course explores the role of intelligence in foreign and security policy. Students will consider the evolution of intelligence, the role and limits of intelligence, the intelligence cycle, accountability of intelligence agencies in democracies, and responses to the issues of weapons proliferation, terrorism, and espionage. Particular attention is given to the history, structure and functions of the intelligence communities of Canada, the US, and the UK. (Graduate)</p>	Littlewood	22
<p>17. INAF 5206: Civil-Military Relations Examines the theoretical and practical issues of civil-military relations, emphasising the multidisciplinary and multidimensional nature of the relationship between society, political authority and the military, using comparative and global frames of reference. (Graduate)</p>	Cox*	18
<p>18. INAF 5205: Economic Analysis of Conflict The economic dimensions of conflict and the application of economic methods to understanding conflict and conflict management. (Graduate)</p>	Rowlands	28
<p>19. INAF 5219: Rights, Conflict, and Development Examines the linkages between human rights and property rights, on one side, and development and conflict, on the other, for a wide range of issue area, among others land policy, resources, international conflict, and domestic violence. (Graduate)</p>	Daudelin	12
<p>20. INAF 5224: Intelligence & National Security: policies & operations This course examines the role and activities of the security and intelligence communities in light of historical experience, with a particular emphasis on Canada, the UK, and the US. Students examine the policy, legal, and ethical aspects of actual policies and operations through a series of case studies related to: espionage; terrorism; nuclear proliferation; cyber-security; and climate change; and, consider the challenges of intelligence and national security in a globalized world. (Graduate)</p>	Littlewood	24
<p>21. INAF 5244: Terrorism & International Security Contemporary international terrorism in comparative perspective, including religious and ideological motivations, sociology of recruitment and participation, evolving structures and dynamics of terror networks, financing and operations, and counter-terrorism measures. Examples are drawn from international and domestic terrorism. (Graduate)</p>	Littlewood	21

<p>22. INAF 5305: International Bargaining and Negotiation: Theory and Practice An examination of bargaining and negotiation in international economic, political, and security issue areas, using case studies and theoretical analysis. (Graduate)</p>	Hampson	24
<p>23. INAF 5409F: Humanitarian Response With reference to contemporary case studies, this course critically examines the international response to humanitarian emergencies to examine the various types of humanitarian emergencies, assess their impact on civilians, and critically examine the international response. (Graduate)</p>	Percival	17
<p>24. INAF 5409W: Theories and Practice of Security Leadership Explores both the classic and current theories of effective leadership and applies them in an Asset Protection and Security (AP&S) context. Through a combination of lectures, guest speakers, seminars and group-work, students will gain a better appreciation of the functions and attributes of leadership as distinguished from ethics, management and administration. Insights gained will be applicable in both formal and informal leadership settings in support of mission success and conflict resolution. (Graduate)</p>	Boone	35
<p>25. INAF 5419: UN Security Council: History, Development and Decision-Making Drawing on legal texts, resolutions and case studies, this course explores the history and evolution of the UN Security Council. Particular attention is paid to its decision-making processes and contributions to international peace and security and international law. Each session explores a particular tool and/or theme of the Council including: peacekeeping, sanctions, tribunals and terrorism. (Graduate)</p>	Charron	21
<p>26. INAF 5439: Post-Conflict Justice Theory and practice of “transitional justice”—truth-telling and accountability efforts—in the aftermath of war and atrocity. Examines from a multi-disciplinary perspective (political science, law, sociology, history, and psychology) how justice efforts impact on post-conflict security and political development. Engages broader debates on causes of human rights violations, ethnic conflict, genocide and mass killings; the consolidation of democracy and rule of law, and democracy promotion; and post-conflict peacebuilding, conflict management, and social and political reconciliation. (Graduate)</p>	Mendeloff	12

27. INAF 5605: 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. (Graduate)	Long	15
28. INAF 5609: Conflict and Development Explores the links between development and conflict through a review of theories and case studies. (Graduate)	Daudelin	14
29. IPIS 5101: Critical Infrastructure Protection: Issues and Strategies Examines critical infrastructure, its interdependencies, vulnerabilities, and security requirements; intentional and natural risks; policy responses to threat and vulnerability assessments; risk management approaches, prevention and protective security, emergency management and damage mitigation measures; continuity of critical operations and resilience planning. (Graduate)	Boone	26
30. 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.(Undergraduate)	Schmidt	200
31. PSCI 3607: North American Security and Defence Policy The evolution of Canadian and U.S. security and defence policy as it pertains to North America. Contemporary issues and development. (Undergraduate)	Sloan	109
32. PSCI 3702: Peace & Conflict in the Middle East This undergraduate lecture course provides an overview of Israeli-Palestinian relations and prospects for peace. (Undergraduate)	Sucharov	60
33. PSCI 4008: National Security and Intelligence in the Modern State Overview of the national security and intelligence and the different ways in which modern states deal with national security threats. (Undergraduate)	Jensen	50
34. 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. (Undergraduate)	Schmidt	25

35. PSCI 4800 Advanced IR Theory This undergraduate seminar presents an overview of IR theories and an array of contemporary foreign policy & international security issues. (Undergraduate)	Sucharov	25
36. PSCI 4801: Canadian Intelligence Community A study of the intelligence function in Canadian national decision-making. Provides an overview of the intelligence function and acquaints students with the different ways in which Canada deals with the issue in the context of national security. (Undergraduate)	Jensen	75
37. PSCI 5805: Foreign Policy Analysis This MA seminar presents an overview of IR theories and an array of contemporary foreign policy & international security issues. (Graduate)	Sucharov	15
38. PSCI 5806: Strategic Thought and International Security Studies A research seminar on the evolution of classical and contemporary strategic thought, and on current issues in international security. (Graduate)	Sloan	15
39. PSCI 6600: International relations theory An examination of the principal problems in contemporary international relations theory and research, emphasizing the state of the field and current directions in it. (Graduate)	Sloan	10
40. Sociology 4410: Crime, Criminalisation and Violent Political Conflict Examines crime and criminalisation in violent political conflict including war, apartheid, and under state-terrorist regimes. Examines commission of crime during violent political conflict (e.g., genocide, "disappearances", torture, the illicit drug and diamond trades) with special attention to the most vulnerable victims and to both powerful and weak perpetrators. The course will also take up responses to such crimes – international and domestic, official and informal, legal and political.	Park	20
41. Sociology 5805: Justice in the Ruins of War Questions how to do justice and make peace following massive atrocities. What is justice following the mass violence of war or state terrorist regimes? What is the role of law in times of social and political transformation as societies struggle towards enduring peace? How is living together possible following genocide, ethnic-cleansing, mass rape, torture, or disappearances?	Park	14
TOTAL COURSES	41	
TOTAL ENROLMENTS		1281

* NOTE: While BGen (Ret'd) Cox is not a Research Associate of the Centre, CSDS supports the delivery of his course on civil-military relations, and is therefore included in the totals.

2.5 Student research activities on security and defence issues

Student Name	Type of Activity	Activity Description/Title
1. Adamik, U.	MA research essay (in progress)	On Canada's Arctic.
2. Aikenhead, C.	MA Thesis (completed)	Managing the Horizon: The Durability of American Unipolarity.
3. Baker, J.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	"Quick Impact Projects and Assessment in Afghanistan: A Field Analysis."
4. Bapat, K.	BA Honours Essay (in progress)	On the India-Pakistan conflict over Kashmir.
5. Bernstein, J.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	Developing and implementing military capacity to respond to mass atrocities.
6. Biggs, B.	BA Honours Essay (in progress)	Peacemaking Among Rivals.
7. Bonisteel J.	MA-JD Research Essay (completed)	"ICC Indictments in On-Going Conflicts and the Politicization of the Office of the Prosecutor."
8. Butlin, B.	MA research essay (completed)	"Explaining Reduced Levels of Violence Under Colombian Counterinsurgency: Using the SWORD Model."
9. Butyniec, R.	MA Thesis (in progress)	"Identity in Uganda: Prospects for Democratic Representation, Participation and Amelioration of the Displaced and War-Affected Community."
10. Cadham, J.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	Energy, environment and security issues.
11. Cirovski, V.	BA Research Essay (completed)	"For good or naught? Assessing the influence of small powers and NGOs on successful arms control and disarmament treaty negotiations."
12. Coffie, A	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	"Hidden Resources: The value of returnee's for peacebuilding: a comparative study of Liberian returnees from Ghana and Guinea."
13. Cole, J.	MA Thesis (in progress)	Investigating the Inclusion of Ethno-depoliticization within peacebuilding policies in post-conflict Sierra Leone.
14. Copeland, L.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	Intelligence Culture.

15.	Crichlow, C.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	Girl soldiers in Sierra Leone.
16.	Cusson, G.	MA major research paper (in progress)	On the Social Impacts of the Colombian Conflict.
17.	Dafinova, M.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	On the Whole of Government Approach to Peace Operations.
18.	Dakka, I.	MA research essay (in progress)	"Turkey and Regional Security in the Middle East."
19.	DeJong, C.	MA Research Essay (Completed)	"Post 9/11 Canada-US Border Policy and the Trucking Industry."
20.	Derks, M.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	Security Sector Reform in Burundi and Kosovo.
21.	Deruga, A.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	U.S. Democracy Promotion in Poland from Wilson to Obama.
22.	Diab, S.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	"Refugee Resettlements and the Politics of Charity."
23.	Dos Santos, C.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	"How Smart is Our Border? North American Governmentality after 9/11."
24.	Ducheneau, J.	PhD thesis (in progress)	Aviation Terrorism.
25.	Dunn, H.	MA Thesis (in progress)	Grassroots justice initiatives in DRC.
26.	Edirmanasinge, N.	MA research essay (In progress)	"The Role of Non-State Actors in Norm Emergence: Taking a Closer Look at the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement."
27.	Feinberg, L.	MA Thesis (in progress)	"The UNHCR's Failure to Norm-Set and the Rise of the Norm of Protection Against Refugees."
28.	Feltham, A.	MA Research Essay (completed)	Intelligence cooperation in Afghanistan.
29.	Ferguson, M.	MA thesis (in progress)	Canadian War Memorials
30.	Fischer, M.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	"United Nations Security Council Decision-Making on the Authorization of UN Peace Operations to Use Military Force to Protect Civilians: The Case of Darfur."
31.	Ford, S.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	Communicating Terror.

32.	Francis, C.	MA research essay (in progress)	"The Normative Power of the European Union and the Protection of Minority Rights in Turkey."
33.	Fuller, R.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	Epistemic communities and changes to international aid structure.
34.	Gallant, C.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	Refugee women.
35.	Herman, K	MA-JD Research Essay (completed)	"To 'P' or not to 'P'? The history and current legal framework of R2P."
36.	Herran-Maggee, K.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	On the teaching of history in post- identity based conflicts.
37.	Heide, R.	PhD Dissertation (completed)	"The Creation of a Professional Canadian Air Force, 1916-1946."
38.	Hulme, M.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	"Negotiating Political Space: Situating Taiwan in the International Community."
39.	Jardine, E.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	On Coordination in Insurgent Movements.
40.	Joy, L.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	Russia's 'Chechenization' Policy.
41.	Juneau, T.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	Power, Perceptions, Identity and Factional Politics: A Neoclassical Realist Analysis of Iranian Foreign Policy.
42.	Kilberg, J.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	Organizational structure and terrorist activity.
43.	Kowaguchi, J.	BPAPM Honours Research Essay (in progress)	"Criticisms of Larger Nations to the Rome Statute and Implications of the Last Nine Years of Prosecutorial Discretion."
44.	Kosik, A.	MA thesis (in progress)	Identity Transformation for Lasting Peace.
45.	Kruger, N.	MA-JD Research Essay (in progress)	"Healing by Trial? Child Soldiers, International Crimes and the adversarial Criminal Process in Sierra Leone."
46.	Lalonde, A.	MA research essay (in progress)	"Canada Meets Nigeria: Decolonization, Economic Aid and Military Assistance, 1960-1966."
47.	Langlois-Bertrand, S.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	The political economy of energy security.
48.	Lantz, K.	MA-JD Research Essay (completed)	International Humanitarian Law and Terrorism.

49.	Levin, Clare	MA Thesis (completed)	"Access to Health Care in Sierra Leone: The Experience of Poor, Rural Women."
50.	Lebson, M.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	"Why Refugees Rebel: When do refugees engage in violent political conflict against their country of origin?"
51.	Leihan, J.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	U.S. 'Moral Imperative' and Obama's Foreign Policy.
52.	Littlepage, L.	MA Research Essay (complete)	Differences in compliance with UN Security Council resolutions 1373 and 1540.
53.	Loveridge, P.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	On the Effects of the Global Financial Crisis.
54.	Lum, B.	MA Research Essay (completed)	"'Connections to the Homeland' Assessing the impact of Diaspora Communities in Ethnic Conflict."
55.	Lutfy, M.	MA-JD Research Essay (completed)	"Judicial Independence and National Security: Canada's Security Certificate Scheme."
56.	Lysons, N.	MA Research Essay (completed)	Northeast Asian security.
57.	Maier, C.	PhD thesis (completed)	"Managing Discord in the Americas: Great Britain and the United States, 1886-1896."
58.	Maloney, K.	BPAPM Honours Research Essay (completed)	Humanitarian Norms.
59.	Martin, J.	BA Honours Essay (in progress)	Security Intelligence Accountability in Canada.
60.	Martin, P.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	"Power-Sharing and the Settlement of Deadly Conflict: Do Inclusive Political Institutions Work after Civil War?"
61.	Martin, M.	Undergraduate thesis (completed)	"The International Protection of Internally Displaced Persons"
62.	Masson, S.	MA Research Essay (completed)	Security and Prosperity Partnership.
63.	Matejova, M.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	"Avoiding Civil War through Partition: The Case of Czechoslovakia."
64.	Meester, D.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	"Remedial Secession: A Positive Force for Prevention and Reduction of Armed Conflict."
65.	Meister, S.	MA Thesis (completed)	"Influencing the Operations and Outcomes of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture in Sierra Leone: North-South Dynamics at Work."

66.	Michel, A.	PhD thesis (in progress)	"The Nile Voyageurs."
67.	Mohammed, J.	BPAPM Honours Research Essay (completed)	"Genocide and Canadian Foreign Policy."
68.	Mohammed, J.	MA-JD Research Essay (in progress)	"There and back again: The domestic prosecution of international crimes."
69.	Moore, C	MA Research Essay (completed)	"Crackling Mirrors: Intelligence Extraction From HUMINT Sources in the War on Terror."
70.	Mroz, M.	MA Research Essay (completed)	"Sexual Violence: The New Kalashnikov? A study of the use of sexual violence as a weapon in war."
71.	Nabarun, R.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	"Unusual State Behavior: Explaining India's Great Power Aspiration during the Cold War ."
72.	Naji, L.	BA Honours Thesis (completed)	"'National Security' Policies and Migration in the post-9/11 Era: A Response to Global Terrorism or Preceding Insecurities?"
73.	Newport, R.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	"Canada's Middle East Policies to 1947."
74.	Noy, E.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	"Aid effectiveness in post conflict states: the relief-development relationship."
75.	O'Connor, N.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	"Managing the Civil-Military Interface: Explaining Divergent National Approaches in Peace Support Operations."
76.	Oliver, J.	MA Thesis (completed)	"Promoting Reintegration and Building Peace? An Examination of Education Assistance for Former Child Soldiers in Northern Uganda."
77.	Pachon, A.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	Implementation and development of the Security Sector/System Reform agenda.
78.	Palamar, S	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	On Nuclear Weapon Proliferation and Security Costs.
79.	Pandya, A.	MA Research Essay (completed)	"US Democracy Assistance to Venezuela: Constructing neo-Gramscian Hegemony."
80.	Payeur, K.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	The Canadian Intelligence community and counter-terrorism: Assessing the value of open source intelligence.
81.	Perry, D.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	"Privatizing Power: A Resource Extractive State Model of Military Privatization."
82.	Piasko, P.	MA Research paper (in progress)	On Canada's Arctic.

83.	Piche, G.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	On Security Sector Reform in Haiti.
84.	Podvornai, A.	MA Research Essay (completed)	Linguistics, discourse and the war on terror.
85.	Popowych, D.	BA Honours Thesis (completed)	The Bush Doctrine.
86.	Ronson, A.	MA-JD Research Essay (In progress)	"Arctic Overlap: Regime Interplay between the Arctic Council and UNCLOS on Environmental Governance."
87.	Rozon, D.	BA Honours Thesis (completed)	"Military transformation and the Canadian Forces."
88.	Rutherford, L.	MA Research Essay (completed)	"Gender Mainstreaming in the UN System."
89.	Schmidt, R.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	On Girl Recruitment into Gangs in Quito, Ecuador.
90.	Sculthorpe, A.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	Conflict Prevention in Africa.
91.	Schmidt, S.	BA Honour Essay (in progress)	"The European Union and the Fear of Turkish Accession."
92.	Simonds, K.	MA Research Essay (complete)	"Captive of Circumstance: Why does Verification exist under the Chemical Weapons Convention and not under the Biological Weapons Convention."
93.	Simourd, A.	BA Honors Essay (in progress)	On homeland security and critical infrastructure protection.
94.	Soiffer, S	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	On Human Rights Protection in Turkey, Mexico, and Israel.
95.	Souksanh, T.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	Peacebuilding and its Discontents in Five UN Operations.
96.	Sproule, S.	MA Thesis (in progress)	"Canadian Economic Sanctions – When and Why are the Applied."
97.	Stein, M.	MA Research Essay (completed)	"Piracy in Somalia: Understanding the Causes and the Remedies."
98.	Swift, L.	MA Research Essay (completed)	"Paramilitaries, Death Squads and Mercenaries: Contracts between Armed Groups and Governments."
99.	Sydor-Estable, N.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	"Is China Soft-Balancing the United States? A Content Analysis of Speeches Made in Major International Organizations, 2006-10."

100. Tezel, Y.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	Turkish Foreign Policy & The Role of Ideas.
101. Toupin-Piper, R.	BA Honours Thesis (completed)	"An analysis of the prospects of Security Sector Reform: A case study of Timor-Leste."
102. Turpin, M.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	On a foreign intelligence service for Canada.
103. Van Rythoven, E.	MA Thesis (In progress)	"Security Practices, Ethics, and the Psychology of Fear."
104. Webb, K.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	"Radicalization and the Lofland and Stark Model of Conversion."
105. Willows, J.	MA Research Essay (in progress)	"A Hamitic Thing? Violence in North Kivu since 1993."
106. Waldman, C.	MA-JD Research Essay (completed)	Analysis of the intersection between national security and security of the person.
107. Woodside, C.	PhD Dissertation (in progress)	Transnational corporations operating in the extractive industries operating in zones of insecurity.
108. Wray, K.	MA Thesis (in progress)	Canada's Role in Afghanistan.
109. Zbrickaya, L.	PhD Dissertation (completed)	"Mediating political conflict in a globalized world: The case of Ukraine."

2.6 Media Contact

Media Interviews (print, broadcast, radio etc.)

Total: 183

Summary of the nature of the interviews

In 2010-11, CSDS Associates provided interviews and commentary to international, national and local print, television, and radio on a wide-range of international and Canadian security, defence and foreign policy issues, including on Canada's Arctic security, Canada's purchase of the F-35 jets, Libya and United Nations Sanctions, the suspension of private military and security company activity in Afghanistan, the commitment of military training forces to Afghanistan, Naval evacuations of Libya, the Canadian participation in the no-fly zone enforcement in Libya, tensions on the Korean peninsula, CSIS statement regarding foreign influence of parliamentarians, WikiLeaks, AECL nuclear issues, ballistic missile defence and NORAD, Canada's role in foreign intelligence, foreign spies in Canada, and the Rwandan election, among others.

CSDS Associates provided interviews to international, national and local English and French print media, including [The Global and Mail](#), [The National Post](#), [The Wall Street Journal](#), [The Canadian Press](#), [The Hill Times](#), [Winnipeg Free Press](#), [The Montreal Gazette](#), [Agence-France Presse](#), [Maclean's](#), [Postmedia News](#), [Ottawa Citizen](#), [The Vancouver Sun](#), [Embassy Magazine](#), [The Toronto Star](#), [The Toronto Sun](#), [Yahoo! Canada News](#), [The Weekly Blitz](#), [Life Week](#), [Le Devoir](#), [La Presse](#), and [Esprit de Corps Magazine](#).

CSDS Associates were also interviewed on national television news programs such as CPAC's "Primetime Politics" and "Goldhawk Live", CTV News, CBC's "The National", CBC's "Power and Politics", CBC's "The House", Business Network News, TVO's "The Agenda with Steve Paikin," and Global TV. Associates also provided commentary and interviews to national, provincial and local radio news programs, such as Radio Canada International's "The Link", CBC Radio, University of Toronto's "Take 5", News 88.9, SRC radio, 1310 AM radio and CKCU FM 93.1 radio in Ottawa.

OpEd Articles Published

Total: 16

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

1. Wayne Boone (with Abass Braimah): "Lessons in Protecting Critical Infrastructure," Embassy, 16 February 2011, p. 16.
2. David Carment (with Teddy Samy), "Fixing to Take on Failed, Failing States," Embassy, 16 February 2011.
3. David Carment, "Afghanistan and the Regional Blindspot," Embassy, 26 January 2011.
4. David Carment, "Connecting the MDGs with Fragile, Failed States," Embassy, 23 March 2011.
5. David Carment, "Troubled Yemen, the World's Next Failed State?" Calgary Herald, 30 March 2011.
6. David Carment (with Teddy Samy), "Pakistan's Problems now Ours," Embassy, 1 September 2010.
7. David Carment (with Teddy Samy), "Preventing Failed, Fragile States," Embassy, 23 March 2011.
8. Andrea Charron (with Joel Plouffe), "Arctic Jointness", Hill Times, 11 November 2010.
9. Fen Hampson (with Derek Burney): "Keep Seoul On Track: Harper can Help Fight off Protectionism and Currency Wars at the G20 Summit Next Month in Korea," National Post, 14 October 2010.
10. Philippe Lagassé: "Should the Commons vote on deploying the Forces?" Globe and Mail, 24 November 2010.
11. Philippe Lagassé (with Justin Massie): «Pourquoi le F-35 », La Presse, 4 August 2010.
12. Philippe Lagassé (with Justin Massie): "Tories and Grits are as one on defence policy," Globe and Mail, 4 August 2010.
13. Valerie Percival, "Choose Evidence over Emotion," Ottawa Citizen, 30 April 2010.
14. Mira Sucharov (with Brent Sasley), "West Bank Settler's Buy-In," The Huffington Post, 11 November 2010.
15. Mira Sucharov, "West Bank Meets Dixie," The Huffington Post, February 2011.
16. Elinor Sloan, "Up in Arms," The Economist, 2 October 2010.

Media Background Briefings

Total: 10

Description of the briefing topics and the media outlets receiving them

Centre background briefings and interviews were provided on a range of topics including Canada-US border security, the security implications of climate change, F-35 procurement, NATO air strikes against Libya, among others. The media outlets receiving the briefings included CBC, CTV, Radio-Canada, Embassy Magazine, Thomson-Reuters.

Also note that CSDS events were regularly attended by members of the media, including reporters and columnists for the Globe and Mail, Diplomat, Vanguard and Embassy magazines. Though not reported here as "background," many of our events undoubtedly provided such background material, as well as direct interview access to our speakers.

2.7 Outreach Strategy

CSDS's outreach strategy, as articulated in our five-year funding proposal, centers primarily around the organization of public lectures, conferences and workshops, making Centre Associates available for media interviews and background briefings, the writing of op-eds, and participation in events that explicitly engage the policy and defence communities. Our events are promoted on our website and, most importantly, through our actively-managed electronic mailing list, which includes nearly 800 subscribers, including faculty and students at Carleton, members of the Ottawa-based foreign policy, defence, and foreign diplomatic communities, and researchers and academics at universities in Montreal, Toronto, and Kingston.

This year CSDS introduced downloadable audio podcasts of many of our public Speaker Series events. These recordings are maintained on the CSDS website and available anytime, 24 hours a day, for free listening or downloading. This vastly broadens our ability to reach members of the security and defence policy community, especially DND officials and CF members who might be unable to attend our events in person.

Again this fiscal year, the use of our electronic contact management system has streamlined our public outreach activities and improved the targeting of our communications. Our subscriber-based contact list has continued to grow. This is especially significant because the system is a permission-based, opt-in application – subscribers must add or remove their names from the distribution list. This growth is thus a result of announcements forwarded within our community of interest. The growth in subscription levels therefore is indicative of the broad interest in the events organized by CSDS.

Centre-sponsored events

Total: **36**

Title of the Event	Number of Attendees	Audience Description	Type of Event	SDF Special Project Funding
<p>1. "NORAD: Past, Present and Future?" RCAF Officers' Mess, Ottawa. 14 April 2010 <i>Co-sponsored with the Air Force Officers' Advisory Group.</i></p>	<p>45 (26 active and retired CF; 2 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Retired and Active CF members (including CDS, former Chiefs of Air Staff, DCINs NORAD); • DND officials (DPubPol); • Carleton and Ottawa area; university students and faculty; • CSDS faculty and Associates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation by LGen J.M. Duval, Deputy Commander, NORAD. • Public Lecture 	
<p>2. "The Rule of Law and Military Justice in Africa: Partners in Accountability." Carleton University, Ottawa. 20 April 2010</p>	<p>47 (3 CF; 6 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • DND officials and CF members • Representatives of government departments and agencies (RCMP, DFAIT, CIDA); • NGOs (Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, China Research Institute of Ottawa, CIC); • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public lecture by Colonel Dominic McAlea, Deputy Judge Advocate, Canadian Forces. • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	

<p>3. “Consular and Crown Prerogatives: Thoughts from a Former Practitioner.” Naval Officers’ Mess, HMCS Bytown, HMCS Bytown, Ottawa. 22 April 2010 <i>Co-organized with Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies (CCISS).</i></p>	<p>34 (2 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • DND officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (DFAIT, RCMP, CBSA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lecture by Michael Welsh, DFAIT (retired). • Closed-door, invitation-only lecture • Part of the CSDS-CCISS Strategic Analysis Seminar Series 	
<p>4. “The State, Rent and Development: Afghanistan and the International Community.” Carleton University, Ottawa. 27 April 2010</p>	<p>27 (1 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • DND officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (PCO, CBSA); • NGOs (China Research Institute of Ottawa, CIC, Kashmiri-Canadian Council); • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Florian Kühn, Helmut Schmidt University: University of the Federal German Armed Forces, Hamburg. • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	
<p>5. Foreign and Security Policy in the East Asia and South China. Carleton University, Ottawa. 29 April 2010</p>	<p>12</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CSDS Faculty and Associates; • Vietnamese government and academic officials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roundtable discussion with delegation of Vietnamese Diplomatic Academy and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. • Closed-door, invitation-only event 	

<p>6. “Sexual Violence and Conflict in Africa.” Carleton University, Ottawa.</p> <p>5-6 May 2010</p> <p><i>CSDS was a sponsoring partner of this event organized by the Departments of Law, Sociology & Anthropology, Carleton University.</i></p>	<p>60</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canadian and international scholars, faculty, graduate students; • NGOs (Rights and Democracy Canada, Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, ACORD International); • RMC faculty; • Member of Parliament (Hon Paul Dewar); • Member of the Senate (Hon Mobina Jaffer) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conference • Public event 	
<p>7. North Korean Security Issues. Carleton University, Ottawa.</p> <p>10 May 2010</p>	<p>13 (1 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DND officials (Dir Afghanistan and Asia-Pacific Policy); • Other senior government officials (PCO, DFAIT); • CSDS faculty and Associates; • Defence Industry representative; • NGO representatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roundtable discussion with delegation of from DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including the senior official for Canada, Latin America and African affairs. • Closed-door, invitation-only event 	

<p>8. “Recent Developments on the Korean Peninsula: The View of the DPRK.” Carleton University, Ottawa.</p> <p>10 May 2010</p> <p><i>Co-organized with the Canadian Centre for Treaty Compliance and Carleton University Inter-Faculty Committee on Asian Studies.</i></p>	<p>80 (9 DND; 2 CF)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa area university faculty, researchers, graduate students; • Ottawa based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • DND officials and CF members • Representatives of government departments (DFAIT, PCO, CBSA, Citizenship and Immigration, Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission, CIDA, Public Safety); • NGOs and Defence Industry representatives; • Media; • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Director General Ho Yong Bok, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, DPRK. 	
<p>9. “Israeli-Palestinian Economic Relations.” Carleton University, Ottawa.</p> <p>13 May 2010</p>	<p>24 (2 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • DND officials; • Representatives of government department (DFAIT, CIDA, CBSA); • NGOs; • Members of the public; • Media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Ephraim Kleiman, Hebrew University. • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	

<p>10. “Regional Dimensions of the Afghanistan Conflict.” National Arts Centre, Ottawa.</p> <p>16-17 September 2010</p> <p><i>Co-organized with Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies (CCISS).</i></p>	<p>100 (3 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canadian and international scholars; • Carleton and Ottawa area university faculty, graduate students; • DND officials and CF members; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (CBSA, FINTRAC, DFAIT, RCMP); • NGOs (Peacebuild, CIGI); • Media; • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workshop for authors of special issue of <i>Canadian Foreign Policy Journal</i> • Public event 	
<p>11. “Europe’s Arctic Security Agenda.” Carleton University, Ottawa.</p> <p>23 September 2010</p>	<p>35 (3 DND; 2 CF)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • DND officials and CF members; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (DFO, RCMP, INAC); • NGOs (China Research Institute of Ottawa, Rideau Institute); • Media; • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by David Rudd, DRDC-CORA • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	

<p>12. "Adaptation of Canadian Forces Members and their Spouses to the Demands of Military Life." Carleton University, Ottawa. 27 September 2010</p>	<p>28 (2 CF/ DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • DND officials and CF members (including DD Military Family Services); • Representatives of government departments and agencies (Military Family Resource Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs); • NGO (Canadian Centre for Substance Abuse); • Media; • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Sanela Dursun, Defence Scientist (DRDC-CORA), Military Research and Analysis Centre • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	
<p>13. "The Dilemma of Refugee Claims, Policy, and Practices." Naval Officers' Mess, HMCS Bytown, Ottawa. 28 September 2010 <i>Co-organized with Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies (CCISS).</i></p>	<p>22 (4 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • DND officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (DFAIT, RCMP, PCO); • NGO (CIC) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lecture by Gerry Van Kessel, Former Director General for Refugee Policy, Citizenship and Immigration Canada • Closed-door, invitation-only lecture • Part of the CSDS-CCISS Strategic Analysis Seminar Series 	

<p>14. "Israel vs. Iran: Preparing for the Nuclear Threat." Carleton University, Ottawa. 6 October 2010</p>	<p>27 (2 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area faculty, researchers, students; • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • DND officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (CIDA, DFAIT, CBSA, HRSDC, TC, CI); • NGO (China Research Institute); • Media; • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Yaakov Katz, Senior Military and Defence Correspondent, <i>Jerusalem Post</i> • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	
<p>15. "The UN Security Council: In the Crucible of Geo-Strategic Change." Carleton University, Ottawa. 7 October 2010</p>	<p>19</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area faculty, researchers, students; • RMC Faculty; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (DFAIT, Library of Parliament); • NGOs (SNRT Forum, CIC, Friedrich Ebert Foundation); • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by David Malone, President, IDRC • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	

<p>16. "Piracy and the International Law of the Sea." Carleton University, Ottawa. 14 October 2010</p>	<p>45 (2 CF; 3 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • DND officials and CF members (including Deputy Director International and Operational Law); • Representatives of government departments and agencies (Justice, FAO); • NGO (South-North Round Table); • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Judge Helmut Turk, Vice-President, International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	
<p>17. "Among the Anonymous Dead: International Forensic Investigations in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina." Carleton University, Ottawa. 19 October 2010</p>	<p>14 (1 CF)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area faculty, researchers, students; • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (Justice); • Members of the public; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Erin Jessee, FORSC Post-Doctoral Fellow, Simon Fraser University • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	

<p>18. "The Status of Jerusalem in the Middle East Peace Process." Naval Officers' Mess, HMCS Bytown, Ottawa. 21 October 2010 <i>Co-organized with Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies (CCISS).</i></p>	<p>26</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area faculty, researchers, students; • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (DFAIT, PCO, RCMP, CBSA, Parliamentary Research Service); • NGOs (CIC, Canadian Development Institute); • Policy consultants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lecture by Ambassador Michael Molloy, former Canadian Ambassador to Jordan • Closed-door, invitation-only lecture • Part of the CSDS-CCISS Strategic Analysis Seminar Series 	
<p>19. "Canada and Ballistic Missile Defence, 1954-2009." Carleton University, Ottawa. 29 October 2010</p>	<p>28 (3 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton faculty, researchers, students; • DND officials; • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (DFAIT, CBSA); • NGOs (CIC, CCISS); • Media; • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by James Fergusson, Director, Centre for Defence and Security Studies, University of Manitoba • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	

<p>20. “China in the Arctic: Interests, Activities and Strategic Implications.” Carleton University, Ottawa.</p> <p>1 November 2010</p> <p><i>Co-organized with Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies (CCISS).</i></p>	<p>18 (3 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • DND officials; • Representatives of governmental departments (CSIS, RCMP, CBSA); • Industry representatives; • Members of the public. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Kyle D. Christensen, Defence Research and Development Canada – Centre for Operational Research and Analysis (DRDC-CORA) • Part of the Intelligence and National Security Seminar Series 	
<p>21. “Europe’s Defence Policy and the New NATO Strategic Concept: A New Atlantic Partnership for the 21st Century?” Carleton University, Ottawa.</p> <p>8 November 2010</p> <p><i>Co-organized with Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies (CCISS).</i></p>	<p>54 (4 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers and students; • DND officials; • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • Representatives of governmental departments and corporations (PCO, DFAIT); • NGOs (CIC, ADGA Group); • Media; • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Pieter De Crem, Minister of Defence, Belgium • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	

<p>22. "Al Qaeda Internet Recruitment Strategies." Naval Officers' Mess, HMCS Bytown, Ottawa</p> <p>9 November 2010</p> <p><i>Co-organized with Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies (CCISS).</i></p>	<p>45 (1 CF; 9 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area faculty, researchers, students; • DND officials and CF members; • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (RCMP, Public Safety, DFAIT, CBSA, Transport), • NGO (China Think Tank) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lecture by Dr. Nicole Morgan, Royal Military College of Canada • Closed-door, invitation-only lecture • Part of the CSDS-CCISS Strategic Analysis Seminar Series 	
<p>23. "The 5th Annual Defence and Security Economics Workshop." Royal Military College, Kingston.</p> <p>10 November 2010</p> <p><i>CSDS was a sponsoring partner of this event, organized by the Royal Military college of Canada.</i></p>	<p>34 (14 CF/ DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Researchers from the Royal Military College, Carleton (CSDS), Queen's University, University of Western Ontario, and Canfield University; • DND officials and CF members; • Foreign government officials from the Swedish Defense Research Agency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conference • Public event • Seminar 	
<p>24. "Managing Uncertainty: Lessons for Defence Planning." Carleton University, Ottawa</p> <p>15 November 2010</p> <p><i>Co-organized with Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies (CCISS).</i></p>	<p>30 (3 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • DND officials; • Representatives of governmental departments (RCMP, Public Safety) • Industry representatives (Globaltech Consultant) • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Brian Greene, DRDC-CORA, Department of National Defence • Part of the Intelligence and National Security Seminars Series 	

<p>25. “Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges Confronting Japan.” Carleton University, Ottawa. 18 November 2010</p>	<p>24 (1 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • DND officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (DFAIT, CBSA); • Business representatives (Globaltech Consultant); • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Jacob Kovalio, Department of History, Carleton University • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	
<p>26. “Resource Scarcity and International Security in the 21st Century.” Carleton University, Ottawa. 25 November 2010</p>	<p>32 (3 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area faculty, researchers, students; • DND officials; • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (DFAIT, DFO); • Foreign defence attachés; • NGO (CDA-CDAI); • Media; • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Sabrina Schulz, Research Analyst, British High Commission • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	

<p>27. "The Long-Run Labour-Market Consequences of Civil War: Evidence from the Shining Path in Peru." Carleton University, Ottawa. 24 January 2011</p>	<p>21</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (DFAIT, PCO); • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Jose Galdo, Department of Economics, Carleton University • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	
<p>28. "Dancing on the Brink: Nigeria's Current Political Crisis." Carleton University, Ottawa 1 February 2011 <i>Co-organized with Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies (CCISS).</i></p>	<p>41 (3 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • Faculty McGill University; • DND officials; • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (DFAIT, Environment Canada, RCMP, Public Safety, CBSA) • NGOs (CIC, Nigeria Canadian Association) • Media (Ottawa Citizen, Nigeria TV) • Industry representatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by John Campbell, Council on Foreign Relations • Part of the Intelligence and National Security Seminar Series 	

<p>29. "Managing Transition in Government." Naval Officers' Mess, HMCS Bytown, Ottawa</p> <p>8 February 2011</p> <p><i>Co-organized with Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies (CCISS).</i></p>	<p>44 (3 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • DND officials • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (RCMP, DFAIT, Public Safety, CBSA, PCO); • NGOs (CIC, Public Policy Forum); • Policy consultants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lecture by Derek Burney, former Head of the Harper Transition Team • Closed-door, invitation-only lecture • Part of the CSDS-CCISS Strategic Analysis Seminar Series 	
<p>30. "The Developing Arctic Security Regime: Cooperation or Conflict?" Carleton University, Ottawa.</p> <p>16 February 2011</p>	<p>61 (6 CF; 2 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students • DND officials; • CF and Coast Guard members; • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (INAC, RCMP, CBSA, DFAIT, Library of Parliament, DFO, Justice); • NGOs (CIC, Friedrich Ebert Foundation) • Media; • Industry representatives; • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Rob Huebert, Associate Director, Centre for Military and Strategic Studies, University of Calgary • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	

<p>31. 24th Annual Conference on World Issues/Conférence annuelle sur les questions mondiales. Carleton University, Ottawa. 24 February 2011</p>	<p>650 (2 CF)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anglophone and Francophone senior high school students from Ottawa-area schools; • High school teachers; • CF members; • Carleton and Ottawa-area graduate students; • Workshop presenters from NGO's (CHF, PACT) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conference • Workshops on foreign policy, security and defence issues for Ottawa area high school students 	
<p>32. "21st Century Politics: insecurity, uncertainty and novelty." Conference. Carleton University, Ottawa. 2 March 2011 <i>CSDS was sponsoring partner for this event organized by the Carleton University Graduate Political Science Society</i></p>	<p>42</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa area university faculty, graduate students • Graduate students from Carleton NPSIA, Dept. of Political Science 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conference • Public lecture by Michael C. Williams, University of Ottawa 	
<p>33. 10th Annual Carleton Model NATO Conference, Delta Suites Hotel, Ottawa. 3-6 March 2011. <i>CSDS is a core sponsor of this student-organized event (through the Model NATO Fellowship).</i></p>	<p>150 (1 DND)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 125 undergraduate students representing 11 universities from Ontario and Quebec; • Carleton graduate students; • DND official • Foreign diplomatic officials; • NGOs and industry representatives (CCISS, CDFAI-CDA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conference • Keynote lecture by Stéphane Lefebvre, DRDC-CORA 	<p>Received \$8,000 in SDF Special Projects Funds</p>

<p>34. "The Struggle Against Impunity in Kenya: Transitional Justice without the Transition—or the Justice." Carleton University, Ottawa. 10 March 2011</p>	<p>32</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (DFAIT, CIDA, IDRC); • NGOs (Sahan Relief, Rideau Institute, Aga Khan Foundation) • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Stephen Brown, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	
<p>35. "The Fourth Stage of the Arab-Israel Conflict." Carleton University, Ottawa. 21 March 2011</p>	<p>29 (2 CF)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • CF members (CEFCOM) • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (RCMP, Justice, Parliamentary Research Service); • NGOs (CIC, North-South Forum); • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by Alan Dowty, Professor Emeritus, Notre Dame University • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	

<p>36. “Cyberspace and War: 2011 through the Prism of 1911.” Carleton University, Ottawa. 22 March 2011</p>	<p>30 (4 DND; 3 CF)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carleton and Ottawa-area university faculty, researchers, students; • McGill University faculty; • DND officials and CF members • Ottawa-based foreign diplomats and embassy officials; • Representatives of government departments and agencies (Library of Parliament, CBSA, Public Safety); • Members of the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Lecture by David Betz, Department of War Studies, King’s College London • Part of the CSDS Speaker Series 	
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Section 3 – Financial Information

3.1 Overall budget for the Centre

NOTE: includes all sources of revenue, including SDF grant, ICF money, NCF 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 (2010-11)	\$140,000
SDF ICF/NCF	\$10,605
Carryover of prior-year Conference Revenues	\$3,874
Carryover of prior-year SDF Operating Grants (2006-09)	\$2,146
Carryover of prior-year SDF Operating Grants (2001-06)	\$4,119
CSDS Unencumbered Funds	\$16,470
Total:	\$177,214

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

Name of Granting Organization and Recipient(s)	Amount Awarded
David Carment: DRDC Research Grant—Indicators of State Failure Phase III	\$19,140
Andrea Charron: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Post-Doctoral Fellowship (2009/2010)	\$19,000
Trevor Findlay: Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) for a joint project on Strengthening and Reform of the International Atomic Energy Agency	\$159,157
Trevor Findlay: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) for an expert workshop on targeted sanctions to be held at Carleton on 18 March 2011	\$10,000
Eric Jardine: OGS Scholarship	\$15,000
Thomas Juneau: SSHRC Canadian Graduate Scholarship, Third Year.	\$35,000
Jeremy Littlewood: DRDC: DND (Contract W7714-4500824171) to host and	\$4,425

organize conferences on chemical and biological weapons	
Todd MacDonald: OGS Scholarship	\$15,000
James Milner: SSHRC Standard Research Grant "Refugees and Peacebuilding: Understanding regional dynamics" (2010-2013)	\$71,892
Simon Palamar: OGS Scholarship	\$15,000
Augustine Park: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS) 2010 Research Award for Junior Faculty. Awarded in April 2010 for the project "Public Memory of the Dead in Transitional Justice"	\$6,000
Augustine Park: SSHRC Standard Research Grant (2010 competition). Internal university notification received on 30 March 2011 (for 2011-2014).	\$103,746
Dave Perry: Carl Jacobsen Peace Prize	\$650
Dave Perry: SSHRC Canadian Graduate Scholarship.	\$35,000
Total:	\$509,010

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				
Research Associates			9,551.66	
Research Assistants			26,143.72	
Publication Costs				10,000.00
Research-Related Travel				
Research-Related Project Support			2,534.25	
Research Total:	50,000.00	45,000.00	38,229.63	10,000.00
b) Hosting Conferences				
Administrative Personnel				935.64
Hospitality Costs (i.e. food, beverage, entertainment, gifts)			7,309.63	
Travel Costs (accommodation and per diems)			10,043.01	
Advertising				

Other			10,006.07	3,300.00
Hosting Conferences Total:	30,000.00	26,500.00	27,358.71	4,235.64
c) Teaching				
Faculty Salaries (full time and sessionals)				
Teaching Assistants				
Course Supplies and Development			364.58	
Other				
Teaching Total:	500.00	500.00	364.58	0.00
d) Student Initiatives				
Scholarship Money			10,000.13	
Student Research Grants			7,090.96	
Student Associations			1,000.00	
Other				
Student Initiatives Total:	19,000.00	10,000.00	18,091.09	0.00
e) Attendance at Academic Conferences (1 st column includes ICF funds, 2 nd column should not)				
Airfare/Hotel/Per Diems			12,972.53	
Registration			2,492.52	
Other			7,150.95	
Attend Conference Total:	22,000.00	18,000.00	22,616.00	0.00
f) Outreach Activities				
Travel			473.49	
Hospitality			9,592.49	
Advertising				
Other			4,900.62	
Outreach Activities Total:	15,500.00	15,000.00	14,966.60	0.00
g) Miscellaneous				
Administration Salaries (secretarial support)			36,573.75	
University Overhead				
Computer/Technology Purchase			1,066.54	
Software				
Website Maintenance			1,125.91	
Other			2,638.47	

Miscellaneous Total:	41,000.00	25,000.00	41,404.67	0.00
GRAND TOTAL:	178,000.00	140,000.00	163,031.28	14,235.64

3.4 Estimated budget for the 2011-12 fiscal year

A. Research	\$40,000.00
B. Hosting Conferences	\$25,000.00
C. Teaching	\$500.00
D. Student Initiatives	\$14,000.00
E. Attendance at Academic Conferences	\$20,000.00
F. Outreach Activities	\$16,000.00
G. Miscellaneous	\$40,000.00
Total Estimated Budget:	\$155,500.00

Annex A – Centre Associates and Fellows

A. Faculty Associates
Director
David Mendeloff, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs *
Deputy Director
Chris Penny, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs * (<i>On Leave July 1, 2010-June 30, 2011</i>)
Faculty Associates
Wayne Boone, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs David Carment, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs Andrew Cohen, School of Journalism and Communication and Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (<i>On Leave until June 30, 2011</i>) Jean Daudelin, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs * Trevor Findlay, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs and Canadian Centre on Treaty Compliance (CCTC) Fen O. Hampson, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs * G. Norman Hillmer, Department of History * Jez Littlewood, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs and Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies (CCISS) * David Long, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs James Milner, Department of Political Science Augustine Park, Department of Sociology and Anthropology Val Percival, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs Christina Rojas, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs Dane Rowlands, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs Brian Schmidt, Department of Political Science Elinor Sloan, Department of Political Science Mira Sucharov, Department of Political Science
B. Research Associates and Fellows
Research Associates
Andrea Charron, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs Macy Meseret Demissie, Independent Scholar Marie-Eve Desrosiers, School of International Development and Global Studies, University of Ottawa Brian Greene, Department of National Defence Kurt Jensen, Carleton University Philippe Lagassé, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Ottawa Sarah Jane Meharg, Pearson Peacekeeping Centre

Milana Nikolko, Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, Carleton University Srdjan Vucetic, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Ottawa
Senior Research Fellows
LGen (Ret'd) Ken Pennie Martin Rudner Elliott Tepper
2010-11 Visiting Research Fellow
Zuhra Bahman, Department of War Studies, King's College London
CSDS Doctoral Research Fellow
Eric Jardine, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs
Doctoral Student Fellows
John Cadham, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs Maya Dafinova, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs Maria Derks, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs Roy Fuller, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs Thomas Juneau, Department of Political Science, Carleton University Joshua Kilberg, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs Peter Loveridge, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs Simon Palamar, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs David Perry, Department of Political Science, Carleton University Rachel Schmidt, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs
MA Fellows / Research Assistants
Dan Rozon, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, CSDS MA Fellow
Model NATO Fellow
Todd MacDonald, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, MNATO Project Manager
B. Centre Staff
Cathleen Schmidt, Centre Administrator and Conference Coordinator Edward Minnis, CSDS Webmaster

* Member of Management Committee.

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

Articles Included

Selected Op-Eds written by Centre Associates and selected articles and transcripts quoting Centre Associates

Selected Op-Eds

1. David Carment and Yiagadeeson Samy, "Preventing Failed, Fragile States," Embassy, April 21, 2010
2. Philippe Lagasse and Justin Massie, "Tories and Grits are as one on defence policy," The Globe and Mail, August 4, 2010
3. Philippe Lagassé and Justin Massie, «Pourquoi le F-35 », La Presse, 4 August 2010.
4. David Carment and Yiagadeeson Samy, "Pakistan's Problems now Ours," Embassy, 1 September 2010.
5. Andrea Charron and Joel Plouffe, "Arctic Jointness", Hill Times, 11 November 2010.
6. Philippe Lagassé: "Should the Commons vote on deploying the Forces?" Globe and Mail, 24 November 2010.
7. David Carment, "Afghanistan and the Regional Blind Spot", Embassy, January 26, 2011.
8. David Carment and Yiagadeeson Samy, "Fixing to take on Failed, failing states", Embassy, February 16, 2011.
9. Wayne Boone, "Lesson in Protecting Critical Infrastructure", Embassy, February 16, 2011.
10. David Carment, "Troubled Yemen, the World's Next Failed State?," Calgary Herald, 30 March 2011.

Selected Interviews

1. John Cadham: "Feds Defend Plans to Put AECL on Auction Block," Bryn Weese, The Toronto Sun, June 7, 2010.
2. Martin Rudner: "RCMP Warns of Homegrown Radicals," Althia Raj, The Calgary Sun, June 7, 2010.
3. Fen Hampson: "UAE Wants Visa From Canadian Visitors," Gloria Galloway, The Globe and Mail, November 9, 2010.
4. James Milner: "Kenny Accused of using UN Refugees as 'Blackmail' to Pass Reforms," Anca Gurzu and Lee Berthiaume, Embassy Magazine, January 26, 2011.
5. Elinor Sloan: "Canadian Warship en Route, JTF2 sent to Libya Defence Minister says Forces Ready to go Beyond Aid Efforts," Tobi Cohen, The Ottawa Citizen, March 2, 2011.
6. Fen Hampson: "Amnesty International Says Canada No Longer Leads on Human Rights," Campbell Clark, The Globe and Mail, March 31, 2011.
7. Elinor Sloan: "Harper Rules out Canadian 'Boots on the Ground' including Special Forces in Libya," David Pugliese, The Ottawa Citizen, March 31, 2011.

EMBASSY

April 21, 2010 - <http://embassymag.ca/page/printpage/fragile-04-21-2010>

Preventing failed, fragile states

By David Carment, Yiagadeesen Samy

As we all know, failed and fragile states have moved to the top of the policy "leaderboard" in recent years.

A number of resource-intensive initiatives have been launched to confront the various problems these states pose, and though there are "only" 30 to 40 fragile states in the world, they do attract a fair amount—some might say a disproportionate amount—of our attention in terms of our time, energy and money.

But what exactly are the problems that make these countries uniquely fragile and so difficult to fix?

First, there is the development or economic capacity problem. Populations living in fragile states are further from achieving the Millennium Development Goals than any others on the planet.

Among all developing nations, though they comprise roughly one-sixth of the world population, fragile states by various definitions account for over 30 per cent of the absolute poor, over 40 per cent of the children that do not receive a primary education, almost 50 per cent of the children that die before their 5th birthday, nearly 40 per cent of maternal deaths, over 40 per cent of those living with HIV/AIDS, and 35 per cent of those lacking safe drinking water.

Second, there is the authority problem, namely the inability to control both people and territory. Since the end of the Cold War, fragile states have overwhelmingly been the locus of much of the world's violence, both conflict-related and otherwise.

Today, however, politically motivated civil conflict is not the only source of violence and instability in fragile states; fear of criminal and drug-related violence has come to dominate these states and their neighbors, surpassing concerns regarding terrorism, civil war, and international conflict.

Finally there is the legitimacy problem. When it comes to practicing effective governance, most fragile states lack the legitimacy to be effective and responsive policy makers. To be sure, while there are still some deeply entrenched and often predatory regimes among those states we call fragile, most simply reflect a disengaged population weary of governments incapable of providing basic services and a legal system that makes contractual relationships, property rights and respect for human rights untenable.

Most fragile states simply lack the institutional architecture for consolidated and sustainable political competition that ensures elites are answerable to the people they serve.

In sum, because of economic underdevelopment, a lack of political authority and poor legitimacy, fragile states function in a "gray zone" wherein donors are both uncertain and unclear on how, where and for how long they should engage such countries.

With funds from the Canadian International Development Agency, we set out to provide answers to these questions and published the results with our co-author Stewart Prest in a book called *Security, Development and the Fragile State: Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Policy*. In it we emphasized the multi-dimensional and multifaceted nature of the "fragile state problem" and highlight the need for continuous assessment and monitoring of countries at risk in order to be able to intervene before they begin to fail or collapse completely.

We provide evidence that neglecting fragile states is extremely costly in terms of poverty and well-being, and in terms of the negative impact on neighboring countries and the international community. We also find a disconcerting upward trend in fragility over time. In particular, there is a widening gap between the most fragile states and the rest of the world.

As an example, consider the case of Somalia, where years of neglect by the international community have resulted in a collapsed state. The ensuing acts of piracy are now very costly for world trade. The emergence of terrorist cells also pose obstacles to global security.

Somalia's fragility has actually worsened over the last few years and it joins other countries such as Haiti, Zimbabwe, Yemen and the Congo among the worst performers in 2010.



In engaging with fragile states, it is obvious that Canada, other donors and international organizations have an important role to play. But the most important role for us and our allies is not on the resurrection and rehabilitation side of the equation, but on the prevention side, where long-term strategic analysis, the careful application of structural resources and diplomatic engagement are all essential.

Far too often, policy interventions take place after a state collapses. A less reactionary approach means the proper, timely and expedient targeting of resources in advance of volatile situations. Here are some findings from our existing research to support that conclusion.

First, based on our project's country rankings (see www.carleton.ca/cifp), we find that fragility tends to be very persistent. More than half of the 40 most fragile states in 1980 were still on that list in 2007. Interestingly, some of these persistently fragile countries include several of CIDA's countries of focus, such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Haiti, Pakistan and the Sudan.

Two things become clear: long-term engagement in the range of about 20 years or more is required before stability and development can become sustainable, and small gains made in some periods can be quickly wiped out, thus pointing to the need for continuous assessment and monitoring.

Second, our examination of fragility shows that a country's level of development in terms of basic per capita income is a highly significant determinant of fragility. To be sure, other factors such as political regime type and trade openness matter, hence the multifaceted nature of the problem.

But growth matters more because successful development strategies that translate into higher income levels can be extremely powerful inhibitors of fragility. The multifaceted aspect also means that policy-makers need to pay attention to the core properties of states, namely their authority, legitimacy and capacity, as described above.

Third, our research on aid allocation to fragile states shows that the most fragile states tend to be under-aided as a group when compared to other aid recipients. However, within the group of, let us say, the top 20 or top 40 most fragile states are aid darlings and aid orphans.

Some of the aid darlings are vastly over-funded with respect to their capacity to absorb these funds. In fact, it may well be that withdrawal of these funds would bring about the collapse of some states, so dependent are they on external resources to keep them propped up.

For example, with the announcement of \$10 billion in aid, Haiti is on the verge of also being over-funded, meaning that there will be a real possibility of diminishing returns on our investments.

Fourth, and related to the third point, our research on aid effectiveness in fragile states has shown that absorptive capacity and diminishing returns to aid are real possibilities. Countries with weak policy and institutional characteristics face a real challenge in effectively absorbing large amounts of aid over short periods of time. The macroeconomic impact of aid on growth declines with fragility, and this effect is especially important in low- and lower-middle income countries.

Rather than providing more aid, we would be better served by focusing our attention on providing more "effective" aid, an idea we will clarify in subsequent columns.

Fifth, when we examine the most severe cases of fragility, we find that rapid changes in authority structures in the face of chronically poor capacity scores are key drivers of instability. The independence between changes in authority and capacity indicates a need for specific instruments targeting individual weaknesses, as opposed to, say, focusing on security and hoping that development will follow.

However, for second-tier countries, where fragility is not as extreme, we find that strategic timing might work by targeting a particular area, which may then create positive feedbacks for other weak areas. More generally, interventions need to be context specific and timed properly and strategically.

The evidence we have gathered in pursuit of a more concrete and effective approach to state fragility is driven in part by a new understanding of the world in which Canada must learn how to survive. The evidence suggests we must be forward-looking and be prepared to act preventively.

If the first two decades following the end of the Cold War clearly demonstrated that robust military interventions were essential to dealing with the most egregious cases of state failure, then the next decade is surely our opportunity to move from this reactive stance to a preventive one. As we begin to better understand why and how states fail, we know that the onset of conflict and armed violence is but a late-stage symptom in a larger set of deeper underlying structural processes. And it is on those processes that we must focus our attention.

There is a pressing need for policy-makers from all countries to engage in serious discussion about the future of the most fragile states in the world and more importantly how to engage them.

Just as considerable resources are continuously invested in fixing failed and collapsed states, so too is there an ongoing belief that such policies are sufficient and appropriate. Given what we now know about fragile states and the costs associated with fixing them, this is a policy that is unsustainable.

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Tories and Grits are as one on defence policy

Philippe Lagasse and Justin Massie

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Critics were quick to jump on the Harper government when it announced a sole-source contract to buy 65 F-35 fighter jets from Lockheed Martin. Chief among their laments were the cost, the government's decision to forgo a competitive process, and the lack of clear articulation of why Canada needs these new planes.

In deflecting these criticisms, Defence Minister Peter McKay argued that the F-35 is the ideal platform for the air force and that the government acted quickly to ensure that Canadian industry reaped the most benefits from the multicountry program. It was also suggested that the F-35s are necessary to protect Canada's sovereignty, particularly in the Arctic.

While both sides have a case to make with respect to the procurement costs and industrial benefits, the sovereignty question sidesteps the larger issue behind this purchase. Although the F-35's ability to defend Canadian airspace was surely taken into account, that is not what makes this plane especially attractive to the government and the air force. The value of the F-35 is that it will permit Canada to take part in multinational air operations overseas for decades to come. Put simply, in buying these aircraft, the government will ensure that Canada can play a visible role in future allied air campaigns across the world.

In fact, if the Liberals eventually form a government, it's this aspect of the F-35 that is likely to persuade them to go through with the purchase, however grudgingly. Despite some divisions within the Liberal caucus, the party is largely united behind the idea that Canada must continue to play an active role in the world. And while the Liberals' international policy strategy emphasizes diplomacy and development over defence, once in office, they will acknowledge that the Canadian Forces offer them a useful means of playing "a role of pride and influence" in global affairs. Whether in Africa, South America, Asia or the Middle East, there will be a demand for Canadian military forces, and a Liberal government will be as eager to meet it as a Conservative one.

Behind the F-35 and other recently announced procurements, such as the joint support ships, there's another story: the endurance of a consensus between the Liberals and the Conservatives about the general direction of Canada's defence policy. The two parties will spar over acquisition costs, end dates and who supports the troops more. They also may disagree over embracing the "responsibility to protect," robust United Nations peacekeeping operations or contributing to NATO missions. But, in the end, both the Liberals and the Conservatives want to deploy Canada's military on meaningful, internationally recognized missions overseas, an objective that requires continued investment in technologically advanced, combat-capable forces.

Both parties think the military should "do good" around the globe, and their views about what this involves are closer than they may be willing to admit. To be blunt, neither party believes that the Canadian Forces should prioritize the defence of Canada or North America. Such an approach would be inconsistent with how they understand international affairs and, most important, Canadian pride and prestige.

Admittedly, this defence policy consensus may surprise some observers. The war in Afghanistan is increasingly unpopular with Canadians, suggesting that a promise to keep Canada out of future conflicts of this type would find favour with a sizable segment of the public. Negative reactions to the F-35 purchase, moreover, indicate that many Canadians are wary of spending the money required to keep the military equipped for expeditionary operations that involve the threat of force and interoperability with key allies such as the United States, Britain and France. Within the two major parties, however, the desire to earn the respect of NATO allies probably will trump these domestic considerations.

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«Pourquoi le F-35 »

Philippe Lagassé and Justin Massie

Encore une fois, la semaine dernière, des bombardiers russes se sont approchés de l'espace aérien canadien et ont été interceptés par deux chasseurs canadiens. De 12 à 18 interceptions de la sorte ont lieu chaque année depuis 2007, soit depuis que la Russie tente de se réaffirmer comme grande puissance militaire. Or, dans le contexte du choix du gouvernement fédéral de se procurer 65 F-35 à près de 16 milliards de dollars, est-ce là une preuve de la pertinence du plus important achat militaire du Canada?

Selon le ministre de la Défense, Peter MacKay, les F-35 permettront au Canada de «faire face aux défis du XXI^e siècle et d'en sortir vainqueur». Quels sont ces défis? Il faut lire entre les lignes et déterminer les avantages comparatifs du F-35 par rapport aux autres options afin de répondre à cette question, puisque le gouvernement fédéral préfère se taire à propos des principales motivations sous-tendant sa décision.

La stratégie de défense élaborée par le gouvernement conservateur en 2008, *Le Canada d'abord*, mentionne une série de menaces contre lesquelles les avions de combat ne sont pas nécessaires, que l'on pense aux catastrophes naturelles, aux conflits asymétriques tels qu'en Afghanistan, ou aux réseaux criminels et terroristes transnationaux.

Un avion de combat tel que le F-35 s'avère d'une grande utilité dans des opérations de bombardement contre des États disposant de capacités de défense sophistiquées. Cet avantage est même reconnu par les concurrents de Lockheed Martin. Le F-35 représente également le seul avion de combat disponible et capable de rivaliser avec son concurrent russe, le Su-30, dont disposent par exemple la Chine, l'Inde, le Venezuela et l'Indonésie.

Voilà donc pourquoi, dans un horizon de 2017 à 2050, le F-35 est la «seule» solution de rechange. Il permet de pouvoir rivaliser avec les avions de combat produits par la Russie et de pouvoir bombarder des États de puissance secondaire.

Cela nous amène à la question des futures missions militaires auxquelles le Canada envisage de participer. Celles-ci se divisent en trois catégories. D'abord, la défense du territoire canadien. À cet égard, le F-35 ne dispose pas d'un véritable avantage comparatif par rapport à ses concurrents. La souveraineté des eaux canadiennes dans l'Arctique n'est pas contestée par la Russie, malgré ses nombreuses interventions aériennes (elle l'est plutôt par les États-Unis), et l'intégrité du territoire canadien est assurée par l'alliance militaire avec les États-Unis. Même s'ils avaient l'intention de le faire (ce qui très douteux), ce ne sont pas 65 avions de combat canadiens qui dissuaderaient les Russes ou tout autre pays d'attaquer le Canada - la puissance américaine suffit.

Le F-35 ne possède pas non plus d'avantage comparatif évident quant au second volet de la défense du Canada, qui porte sur les engagements du pays au sein du NORAD pour la défense du continent. Sur ce plan également, un avion de combat moins furtif disposant de deux moteurs permettrait très bien au Canada de

faire sa part pour la sécurité continentale - et de répondre symboliquement à la menace russe. En effet, il est probable que les États-Unis choisissent un avion moins puissant que le F-35 pour remplir leurs propres obligations au sein du NORAD.

C'est au troisième volet - la sécurité internationale - que le F-35 se démarque. Sa furtivité et sa supériorité dans les combats air-sol permettent au Canada d'entrevoir un rôle de premier plan dans des conflits impliquant des bombardements aériens, tels que la guerre du golfe Persique et la guerre du Kosovo.

Certains militaires canadiens affirment ainsi que l'avantage comparatif du F-35 est de permettre au Canada de prendre part à des missions potentielles de combat contre des États tels que l'Iran et le Soudan.

La stratégie de défense du gouvernement conservateur semble ainsi plus claire à la lumière du choix du F-35. On y écrit souhaiter que le Canada continue d'être «un intervenant crédible sur la scène mondiale» et possède «les capacités nécessaires pour apporter une contribution sérieuse à l'ensemble de la gamme des opérations internationales».

Ce qui signifie que l'on envisage la possibilité éventuelle de participer à des opérations offensives contre des États parias et que l'on souhaite par le fait même renforcer la crédibilité militaire - toute symbolique - du Canada face à la Russie.

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Pakistan's problems now ours

By David Carment, Yiagadeesen Samy

In a prescient article forewarning what would become the most crucial issue in determining the Canadian mission's success in Afghanistan, Stewart Bell made a persuasive case in 2004 for Pakistan as "the world's most dangerous country."

Four years later, in January 2008, following the assassination of Benazir Bhutto, an *Economist* editorial argued that democracy offered the best chance for bringing stability to what the magazine called "the world's most dangerous place."

In our analysis, Pakistan belongs to a group of second-tier countries, which though not being outright failures, are particularly vulnerable in certain aspects of "stateness." Our fragility rankings (www.carleton.ca/cifp) have ranked Pakistan as one of the top 20 fragile states in the world in most years during the past two decades. Most analysts believe that the country's political and security situation has now been severely worsened by the floods.

Though the floods have not received the same media attention in the West as the Haitian earthquake or Asian tsunami, there is cause for concern—not so much because of the slow response from the international community, but because the implications of the floods run deep. Failure to assist the millions affected by flooding will mean that the Taliban and extremists will continue to win over a population in distress, especially as they fill the vacuum left by a very weak Pakistani government.

As Pakistan's inability to control internal conflict, environmental degradation and a highly unequal society increase over time, the legitimacy of the government continues to erode and challenges from within increase. This latest disaster only serves to further undermine the current regime's legitimacy, which will be buttressed by an increase in military control since the military is a key provider of humanitarian aid in Pakistan.

Indeed, aid to Pakistan has historically been used to shore up a centralized authority structure, whether it was perceived to be legitimate or not. That reinforced authority structure, a kind of bureaucratic authoritarianism, has been in place since the 1950s.

On the other hand, the risks that Pakistan poses to its neighbors have been shaped by its historic rivalry with India. Pakistan's behavior, specifically in reference to Kashmir, was, until it acquired its own nuclear weapons, formed by the need to counterbalance Indian military superiority.

Beyond Kashmir, the news does not get any better. In addition to supporting separatist movements and terrorist attacks in India, Pakistan has provided sanctuary, training and arms to other hot beds of conflict throughout Asia, including Sri Lanka, southern Thailand and, of course, to the mujahideen in Afghanistan during the war against Russian occupation.

More fundamental analyses suggest that the risks Pakistan poses to its neighbors lay in the need to externalize internal tensions through territorial expansion and conquest—what MIT Professor Myron Weiner called many years ago "The Macedonian Syndrome."

This argument is based on the assumption that the only way to hold together an ethnically fractionalized and artificial country like Pakistan is through strong-arm leadership. The key attributes are a highly centralized government, heavy investment in the military security apparatus and a very weak middle class.

In essence, Pakistan's problems are to a large extent self-created and will only worsen with the flooding. The state of Pakistan is a risk to its own peoples.

An analysis of the country's underlying risk factors using our indexing methodology shows that it faces significant performance challenges in all but a few of its core state functions. Of particular concern are its governance and human development scores, low even when compared to others in the region. It is both weak and unstable and ranks as the 3rd most fragile state in Asia. It is particularly weak in authority—ranked 4th in Asia by our measurements because of security challenges presented by various armed militant groups, despite receiving massive military aid from the United States since the 9/11 attacks.



UN Photo: Amjad Jamal

Pakistan's problems have become our problems. Canada's immediate goal should be to help its government.

Further, the government has been unable to extend control throughout the country and faces secessionist movements from tribal and militant groups. State legitimacy is also problematic as attempts to retain control of the government and army draw protests from numerous quarters. The country has had an average of over 100 bombings a year over the last several years.

Capacity is also a high-risk area. The capacity of the state to respond to the needs of the population is weak. Although growth rates in per capita terms have been mostly positive since the 1990s, at an average of nearly two per cent, poverty remains a growing problem.

According to the latest UN Human Development Report, 60 per cent of Pakistan's population lives on less than \$2 a day, and 23 per cent on less than \$1.25 a day. The country is ranked in the medium human development category, only a few notches above Angola, Madagascar and Haiti.

Pakistan faces a range of development challenges in the areas of education, health and respect for human rights, despite receiving more than US\$44 billion in foreign aid since 1960 (our calculations using World Bank data). Pakistan will most likely not meet its MDGs in primary education and gender equality or child and maternal mortality.

A recent article in the *New York Times* reported that less than two per cent of Pakistan's population pays income tax, so the country's revenue from taxes is one of the lowest in the world.

The absence of an efficient tax system means that the rich (who include the politicians that make rules about taxes) are largely untaxed, thus preventing any meaningful redistribution of income or creation of a fiscal pact where government has to be accountable to its taxpayers. Why tax and be accountable when aid, despite being volatile, keeps flowing in year after year?

Beyond immediate humanitarian assistance, Canada and its allies need to articulate a clear long-term strategy for Pakistan. As Canadians, we should have recognized this fact eight years ago when we brokered a deal with Pakistan's leaders to assist us in our war in Afghanistan.

Unfortunately, due to our inexperience and perhaps short-sightedness, we have only now come to realize the depth of the problems we face. The Manley report devoted two short references to Pakistan, a clear sign that Canadian policy makers underestimated Pakistan's importance and vulnerability.

Now Pakistan's problems have become our problems in so many different but interlinked ways. We have no long-term coherent policy for a state sliding into the abyss.

Obviously now may not be the time to discuss democratization. But in the aftermath of the earthquake in Haiti, that was precisely what the Americans put on the agenda.

Is democracy a viable alternative for bringing stability to Pakistan? Though the country has flirted with democracy since independence, there is little reason to believe it will be a panacea. An opening up through democratization would create opportunities for increased challenges from within and the possibility that fundamentalists might win elections.

No country, let alone Canada, is in a position to "fix" Pakistan. These changes must come from within. But there are good reasons for hastening and widening the integrated regional approach to stability called the Dubai Process that Canada supports. Such an approach requires a frank assessment of how Pakistan and Afghanistan (and India) are historically interlinked, how Pakistan has historically been the source of much of the instability in the region, and recognition that the current strategy on Pakistan is not working.

Most importantly, it means understanding that Pakistan's internal problems, of which the weak response to the floods are symptomatic, are fundamentally linked to core problems in governance and human development.

Canada's immediate goal should be to assist the Pakistani government. But over and above the immediate threats in the form of disease and health, there are high-risk areas where Canada should invest. This understanding begins with an effective broad-based strategic plan that can bring positive change to the world's most dangerous country.

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Canada and U.S. should jointly promote sustainable development, environmental protection in Arctic

By ANDREA CHARRON, JOËL PLOUFFE

Canada and the U.S. have a special relationship—a cliché perhaps—but true nonetheless. Nowhere is this relationship more special (at least from the Canadian perspective) than when it comes to defending North America. Canada and the U.S. defend Canada jointly. This is not new. From NORAD—the bi-national U.S.-Canadian military organization responsible for the aerospace and maritime defence of the United States and Canada to the Shiprider program, which removes the international maritime boundary as a barrier to law enforcement enabling specially-trained U.S. Coast Guard and RCMP officers to enforce U.S. and Canadian laws in the Great Lakes (primarily)—Canada's borders are defended jointly with the U.S. There are no headlines screaming "Canada's sovereignty endangered by (insert NORAD or Shiprider)." Indeed, the sovereignty and security of Canada's territory has been helped rather than violated by U.S. assistance since World War II. Why then, through a misleading political discourse, do we continue to insist that this partnership end at the tree line?

Given the vast territory that is the Canadian Arctic, the lack of infrastructure and capabilities for intervention in the North (both Canadian and American deficiencies), the common vulnerabilities brought by climate change, and the jointness of all our other security ventures, U.S. assistance should be a welcome addition rather than portrayed as a force to defend against.

No one disputes that the land territory making up the Arctic is Canadian and no one disputes the waters running through the Arctic Archipelago are Canadian. Further, no one understands this better than the US. There are some manageable disagreements as to the amount of control Canada may exert in the Northwest Passage and what exactly is the boundary at the Beaufort Sea with the U.S.

But these are all managed disputes that require the fine art of skilled bilateral negotiation. The territory is clearly ours, the resources (fish, oil, gas, diamonds etc) inside our borders and in our internationally recognized Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) are clearly ours, why then the language by successive Canadian governments that insist that we must "defend our sovereignty in the Arctic" often with accusatory fingers pointed at the Americans (or other allies)? What is to gain from such a discourse?

The right has been too right and the left has been too left

On the right hand side of the political spectrum, successive Conservative governments have insisted that the true North strong and free requires unilateral Canadian protection. The Canadian Forces is portrayed as a lead Canadian department that, armed with the right equipment, can defend against all that ails the Arctic. The problem is that the Canadian Forces—as extremely capable as they are—is not a lead agency unless one is dealing with military threats (of which there are very few if any in the North).

Climate change, poor social housing, diabetes, domestic abuse, and few job opportunities are not issues within the purview of the Forces to fix. Military exercises are billed as Canada flexing its sovereignty muscle (like the assertive Harper government discourse around *Operation Nanook* since 2007); the bi-line noting the interoperability aspect of such exercises with the U.S. is often neglected.

On the left, governments prefer to rely on rules and regulations to keep the Arctic strong and free. From the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act (AWPPA) to the decision to ratify the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) in 2003, these legal instruments have helped to protect the Arctic, but were sold to the Canadian public, especially the former, as bulwarks against U.S. intrusion in the North.

Where the right and the left do meet is turning statements about the Arctic into political capital, which is often misread by the Canadian public (starting with the media) and can be confusing for the U.S.—it is as if the jointness of the past (NORAD, the DEW line, the Alaskan highway, the joint recapture of the Alaskan Islands of Attu and Kiska during WWII) has been forgotten and the emerging jointness of today unwelcome.

The rhetoric is clearly disconnected with the developing relationship between Canada and the U.S. in the Arctic. For three consecutive years



Jake Wright, *The Hill Times*

Right here: Obama and Harper. Canada and the U.S. will need to work together at the Arctic Council, argue Charron and Plouffe.

now, both Canadian and American coast guards have been conducting joint mapping missions in the Beaufort Sea to generate and share seabed data on the continental shelf. This scientific information is required for both countries to claim authority over the potential continental seabed resources extending beyond EEZ limits in the Arctic Ocean.

On the military side, during *Operation Nanook* last August, interoperability exercises were held for the first time between Canada, Denmark and the United States in the waters of the Canadian Archipelago basically to promote cross-border preparedness and logistics for emerging security risks in the North. Even on the diplomatic level, Ottawa and Washington are engaged in discussions on how to (peacefully and respectfully) resolve their ongoing border disagreement in the shared northern waters of the Beaufort Sea, where retreating sea ice could mean greater economic activity and common security risks in the near future. These are pragmatic steps to building a stronger security relationship in the Arctic.

They are establishing precedents that acknowledge the common advantages of bilateral cooperation, like elsewhere across North America. Working together in a changing Far North is not an option: it's a reality that must be stressed and sustained on the ground and politically.

Breaking with the Rhetoric

Thankfully, the recent Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy released in August 2010 specifically highlights cooperation with the U.S. (and other Arctic states) as a priority and brings accurate nuance to Canada's collaborative approach with all of its circumpolar allies. Recognizing the U.S. as a "premier" partner for Canada in the North American Arctic is acting in full coherence with Canadian foreign policy. Adapting and coordinating this relationship for it to be efficient in a "New North" (as it was described by the 2010 foreign policy statement and the 2009 Northern Strategy) is where Ottawa should be directing all of its political efforts while leaving aside any unproductive rhetoric, as has been the case throughout the Barents Euro-Arctic region.

In a rapidly changing Arctic, where unprecedented challenges are emerging for both Canada and the U.S. (indeed the world), and where common concerns, interests and responsibilities should be guiding domestic and foreign policies, reluctance to cooperate by any actor does not equate with the needs of evolving security and governance structures for long-term stability and prosperity in the region as a whole.

In the coming years, Canada and the U.S. will have key opportunities to influence the evolution of Arctic geopolitical priorities and objectives. Starting in 2013 Canada will chair the Arctic Council followed by the U.S. in 2015 for another two years. The expectation of the other Arctic Council members (Denmark/Greenland, Iceland, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia) is that there be some coordination, continuity and mostly innovation in the agendas over the four years. The Arctic Council does not include "security" within its purview—but the tension created by Canadian rhetoric vis-à-vis any U.S. involvement in the North American Arctic could definitely sidetrack some of the important initiatives the U.S. and Canada would like to promote *jointly* through the Arctic Council—in particular issues of sustainable development and environmental protection that require attention, innovation and resources. If "Canada's Arctic sovereignty is long-standing, well-established and based on historic title," (Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy), why then suggest that jointness end North of 60?

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Should the Commons vote on deploying the Forces?

Phillippe Lagasse

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Who has the authority to deploy the Canadian Forces abroad? Only a few years ago, the answer was clear: Prime ministers and cabinets do. Under common law, the power to deploy the military resides with the Crown, the formal executive that acts on the advice of the Prime Minister and cabinet, the political executive.

One of a few "prerogative powers" that has yet to be supplanted by parliamentary statute, this discretionary authority was regularly exercised by the last two Liberal prime ministers, Jean Chretien and Paul Martin. Indeed, in some cases, they did so without debate in the House of Commons or consultation of opposition parties. Nor was there any doubt that they could use this prerogative power to send the military on a combat mission, as Mr. Chretien did in 2002 and Mr. Martin did in 2005.

When the government's right to exercise this power was challenged before the courts in *Blanco v. Chretien* (2003) and *Turp v. Chretien* (2003), moreover, judges upheld the legality of the prerogative and cabinet's right to exercise it without Commons approval. The famous line "Parliament will decide" was a long-discarded political cover, not a point of law.

Over the past five years, however, views have changed. In 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper declared that Commons approval would henceforth be sought before the government deployed the Forces.

Two votes were subsequently held to extend the mission in Afghanistan. In announcing the military's new training mission there, the Prime Minister reasserted part of his discretionary authority. Only combat missions, he declared, require the backing of the Commons, because they now need an aura of democratic legitimacy. Although Liberal Leader Michael Ignatieff initially sided with him, the opposition parties are poised to force a Commons vote on the government.

A consensus, it seems, is forming around the idea that the Commons should hold votes on military deployments, whether they involve combat or not, and whether the government believes it is necessary or not. Whatever the merits of this emerging convention, it leaves many unanswered questions.

Before this norm of Commons consultation is entrenched, an effort should be made to examine some of its potentially problematic constitutional consequences.

Would military deployment votes count as matters of confidence, for instance? Following the democratizing logic of holding these votes, a strong case can be made that they should. After all, how could the Commons continue to express confidence in a government that wants to send the military on a mission that a majority of MPs oppose?

And if such votes do not involve an expression of confidence, what purpose would they serve, besides rubber-stamping cabinet policy if a mission is approved or embarrassing the government if support is withheld?

The only plausible answer is that the votes would either give the Commons a veto on a critical aspect of executive power or transfer this power to one of Parliament's two legislative houses. This would then raise a constitutional conundrum, since Section 15 of the Constitution Act 1867 vests command of the Forces in the executive.

Next, assuming the votes are not matters of confidence, what should the commander-in-chief and chief of the defence staff do if a prime minister tries to deploy the military overseas without the support of the Commons? Michael Biehels recently argued that, in such cases, the governor-general would be obliged to countermand the prime minister.

This would be contrary to one of the central pillars of Canada's system of responsible government, namely that the Crown's representative acts on the advice of those holding the confidence of the Commons. Were the governor-general to refuse to countermand the order, furthermore, would we expect the defence chief to ignore the prime minister and follow the will of the Commons? Those who answer yes are implying that the military's ultimate loyalty is to the Commons rather than the Crown, meaning that Section 15 of the Constitution Act 1867 no longer holds.

Beyond these constitutional issues, there are a host of practical problems associated with making Commons approval mandatory before the government deploys the military. After thoroughly studying the question, in fact, the United Kingdom opted to keep this prerogative power intact owing to these practical considerations. Arguably, the prudent and truly liberal democratic course would be to evaluate and discuss the wider implications of holding these deployment votes.

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EMBASSY

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Afghanistan and the regional blindspot

By David Carment

A recent issue of *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* has taken up the challenge of explaining the impact that India, Pakistan and Iran are having on Canada's mission in Afghanistan, a topic that until recently was rarely discussed by Canadian policymakers.

Various contributors to the issue tackle the regional dimensions from a variety of perspectives. Several authors argue that so far, Pakistan has shown resilience, but economic collapse and civil war are real possibilities. Others show that India's foreign policy goals and objectives remain largely misunderstood in the West, while one author demonstrates that Iran's presence in the region is for the most part ignored by virtue of our unwillingness to properly engage the country.

For Canada and its allies understanding the regional dimensions are essential to bringing peace and stability to Afghanistan.

In particular, Pakistan's influence on Afghanistan has been all but ignored. In all aspects of policy making, from strategic analysis to public debate and intergovernmental co-operation, Canada appears to have had no significant internal evaluation of and policy on the region until it introduced a rather undersized and somewhat superficial Canada Border Services Agency-led border training program in 2008 and initiated and supported the Dubai Peace process around the same time. The Canadian government also supports the proposed development of a Pakistan-Afghanistan super highway. To be sure, a 2009 CSIS report on Pakistan indicated that Canada was at least analytically "on top of things," but the situation had unravelled long before.

Several years ago, a series of very clear warnings, including one from the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and another in the *Economist* noted that Pakistan had quickly become the world's "most dangerous country." Similarly detailed reports, commissioned by the Canadian government, tracking the historical risks Pakistan posed to itself and its neighbors, were also made available to policy makers.

There is, unfortunately, no evidence that any of this information informed the Manley Report released in 2008. In fact the Manley Report devoted just a few short sentences to Pakistan. Conversely, USAID, the FCO, the State Department, Rand and DfID were long aware of Pakistan's destabilizing influence. A conference organized in 2003 in Berlin by the Marshall Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment brought together experts from these organizations to examine the impact Pakistan was having on the region. Canadian representatives, apart from one academic, were notably absent.

So how does one explain the blindspot in Canadian policy? There are several possibilities. One is that Canada's representatives "on the ground" knew all along that Pakistan mattered but their views did not impact the policy process back in Ottawa. This could have been because parliamentarians themselves were only partially or ill-informed. A 2007 report produced by Gordon Smith of Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute did reference the effects that Pakistan was having on stability in Afghanistan, but these views also had no immediate impact on policy.

I believe the policy blindspot is actually a function of more fundamental problems. The first is that military operations were neither equipped nor mandated for a regional approach to stabilizing Afghanistan and were, as a result, slow to adapt to changing regional dynamics.

Our original mission's goals were focused on a "small footprint" support operation to the government in Kabul. In terms of a mission statement, there is no evidence to indicate that our original strategy was analytically or otherwise equipped to incorporate or adapt to changing regional influences. Nor were our policymakers prepared to explain to Canadians how and why a key ally in the Global War on Terror could in fact be working against our interests.

Second, the key Canadian party responsible for assessing the regional aspects of the conflict and working through policy options would be the Department of Foreign Affairs and as one of the three legs in the 3D approach to "rebuilding states," DFAIT played its hand only in the later stages of the game. We should not expect CIDA, for example, to have a comprehensive appreciation for regional dynamics since its operations and focus are primarily internal to Afghanistan. By the same token, the military mindset was primarily focused on winning the "war" in Afghanistan.

To be sure, DFAIT's recognition of the problem and its answer in the form of the Dubai process may well bear fruit. One must ask, however, where the broader regional diplomatic effort was from 2001-2008? Where was the strategic assessment prior to the Manley report? Where was the guiding hand? The overarching strategic analysis? The preventive foresight?

This takes me to my third and most controversial point. If one reviews how much and where Canada commits to supporting Pakistan's stability (democracy promotion, education and human rights) it becomes quickly apparent that our leverage with the country's leaders and its peoples is quite minimal. Even if one were to raise the idea that Pakistan was a dangerous influence, there is likely little that Canada could (on its own) do to influence it. What we have here through inaction is a tacit understanding of how overwhelming the prospects of fixing a complex failed state is. But that indeed is the task we now face.

David Carment is editor of the Canadian Foreign Policy Journal and a CDFAI fellow. Readers can access various risk analyses on Pakistan, Afghanistan and the region at www.carleton.ca/cifp.

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EMBASSY

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Fixing to take on failed, failing states

By David Carment, Yiagadeesen Samy

In the past two decades, failed, failing, and fragile states have grown in number and notoriety and are, for various reasons, a priority for the international development, defence and security communities.

Academics and policy-makers have spent a considerable amount of time and resources trying to understand both the causes and the consequences of fragility. They are still uncertain how to properly engage states affiliated with it.

As a result, several donor countries, including Canada, have created specific units and funding envelopes within their bureaucracies in the hope that such mainstreaming will be enough to counter the myriad challenges fragile states pose.

At the same time, international organizations such as the World Bank and the OECD have also been funding research and providing operational guidance to donors.

Overall, the resulting research and policy contributions have led to an increased emphasis on human security, state-building, democracy and governance, integrated approaches between development and security, and the "novel idea" that the international community can promote development by moving beyond the outdated conflict paradigm that was in vogue in the 1990s.

Through extensive research, we now know that fragile states are so because they are weak in legitimacy, authority and capacity, and not just because they suffer from ongoing conflict and violence. The recent upheavals in Egypt and Tunisia are testament to this fact.

Although there is limited consensus on the precise meaning of the term "fragility," there is no denying that the 30 to 40 so-called fragile states in the world represent a danger to their own populations in terms of well-being, and pose significant costs to neighbouring countries and the international community.

It is also now well-known that most of the MDGs will not be met globally by the 2015 target date because of a lack of progress in fragile states—even though net aid to the 43 fragile states identified by the International Network on Conflict and Fragility amounted to more than US\$41 billion in just 2008.

In our own work, through Carleton University's Country Indicators for Foreign Policy project, we have repeatedly argued that aid to fragile states is too volatile and poorly targeted, and that donors need to move from a reactive to a preventive change in attitude. A long-term and sustained international effort is needed if permanent progress is to be achieved in fragile contexts and situations.

To that end, it is clear there is a need for more people who are trained specifically to deal with fragile contexts at the state, regional and community levels.

For those contemplating such work, apart from the obvious benefits of acquiring language skills and cultural awareness, there are a number of things they can do to help prepare themselves.

The first and perhaps least obvious is the need to improve analytical and diagnostic skills. The second is to clearly understand the policy and institutional environment in which you are expected to work and the third requirement is to acquire practical skills such as mediation and negotiation.

So-called line departments at universities, including economics and political science, typically meet some of these theoretical and technical requirements.

But the very nature and complexity of a fragile-state environment necessitates an eclectic, if not interdisciplinary, perspective—a perspective that is offered in only a few dedicated international public policy institutions, such as the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University, Laval University and the Balsillie School in Waterloo.

By the same token, programs that typically focus on conflict and peace-building will only give a student a partial picture. Since fragility and failure are by definition a policy environment gone awry and where the issues that arise are not all related to violent conflict, there is also a need for policy analysis and prescription, and a sound knowledge of economics.

Simply put, programs that offer students a combination of elements that bridge theory and policy as well as different disciplines and policies such as conflict, development and international law offer the best chance to appreciate and understand the causes and sources of fragility, the dynamics of fragility processes, including stages, turning points and ripe moments, and the dynamics of third-party involvement, including stabilization, NGOs and the private sector.

As most students entering such programs plan on joining the work force with their newly acquired and practical skills, we believe such programs must possess practical assistance for decision-making, based on an understanding of techniques and forms of third-party engagement, including ethics and principles for effective engagement.

With their large funding envelopes, donors are in a position to do immense good, but they can also do harm if there is a failure to assess the impact of their actions. Students must possess knowledge of policy evaluation and know how to put into practice measurements of effectiveness.

Developing solid research skills are the hallmarks of such programs, but sometimes knowledge can be best imparted through simulations, case studies and co-op programs in which the students find themselves confronted with puzzles and problems that defy easy textbook answers.

Through direct engagement, students will come to appreciate the complexity of fragile-state environments, competing interests and the need for strategic flexibility and accommodation.

In sum, the future generation of practitioners and policy-makers working in fragile contexts should be exposed as much as possible to interdisciplinary knowledge, be equipped with both theoretical and applied skills, and above all, be given the opportunity to demonstrate to themselves and the organizations for which they work that they are making a real difference through the application of content and process oriented measurements of effectiveness.

David Carment is a fellow at the Calgary-based Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute and a professor of international affairs at Carleton University. Yiagadeesen Samy is an associate professor of international affairs at Carleton University and a research associate at the Ottawa-based North-South Institute. Their work on failed and fragile states can be found at www.carleton.ca/cifp.

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EMBASSY

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Lessons in protecting critical infrastructure

By Wayne Boone, Abass Braimah

As our critical infrastructure systems continue to grow in complexity, interconnectivity, and interdependence, it is becoming increasingly difficult for one particular group of experts to successfully assure their safety and security. That's why critical infrastructure protection, or CIP, is growing as a specialized field spanning several sectors of expertise.

Public Safety Canada defines national critical infrastructures as "processes, systems, facilities, technologies, networks, assets and services essential to the health, safety, security or economic well-being of Canadians and the effective functioning of government."

The nation's critical infrastructure includes energy and utilities, finance, food, transportation and government, as well as information and communication technology, health, water, safety and manufacturing. Protecting this infrastructure is of national importance because failure to do so will jeopardize the safety, security, sovereignty, prosperity and resiliency of the country.

Effective protection of our critical infrastructure requires competencies in a number of areas, including security policy and governance, operations security, physical security, information system security, emergency management, business continuity planning, infrastructure engineering design, security engineering and facility hardening.

The combined and collaborative efforts of an inter-disciplinary team of security policy analysts, infrastructure engineering specialists and risk-management practitioners are necessary to provide integrated protection for those key facilities essential to meeting our national objectives.

Recent natural, accidental and deliberate threats have demonstrated clearly this requirement for collaboration among CIP specialists, including: major snowstorms in December 2010; an eight-hour Blackberry outage in December 2009; massive explosions at a propane plant in Toronto in August 2008; the collapse of an overpass in Montreal in September 2006; Hurricane Katrina in August 2005; the July 2005 London terrorist bombings; the major power blackout in August of 2003; and the 2003 SARS outbreak.

Effective and complete information-sharing among CIP stakeholders as well as a comprehensive appreciation of the interdependencies within and among the various critical infrastructure systems are essential to the appropriate protection of critical infrastructures. Both can be achieved through training, education and experience in working collaboratively.

Currently, most critical-infrastructure operators, engineers, policy analysts and security specialists work in "silos" and fail to appreciate the cost-effectiveness of integrated, pro-active, risk-based CIP programs.

A new genre of professionals is required to be trained and educated in the specific challenges of CIP in order to meet the current and future risks to Canada's national objectives.

There is no indication that the current level of threats to critical infrastructures will decrease, and Canada will continue to rely heavily on them to support the objectives of secured health, safety and security of citizens and the effective functioning of government.

CIP practitioners, advisers and leaders require a mix of skills in order to meet the challenges ahead. They include mastering the theory of CIP; critical thinking and analysis; production of clear and factual CIP reports; presentations to senior decision-makers; collaboration with other experts in CIP; and conduct of CIP activities through supervised practicums, internships and co-operative placements. They also need to be security-cleared and trusted individuals, and should possess professional certification in the CIP specialty.

Few educational opportunities currently exist in Canada to provide these necessary skill-sets efficiently. The only integrated educational program available is the applied and inter-disciplinary Master of infrastructure protection and international security program at Carleton University.

Launched in September 2010, this program is designed for the CIP triad of infrastructure engineers, policy analysts and security practitioners to work together and share their respective skills, education and experience in the completion of individual and group assignments, including academic papers and practicum assessments of actual critical infrastructures.

The program provides a unique graduate education stream for domestic and international students with backgrounds in history, political

science, economics, engineering or natural sciences who wish to make a difference and serve the interests of their respective countries.

This program is also appropriate for current security and infrastructure protection practitioners who are interested in enhancing their expertise in the protection of critical infrastructure.

The aim of any educational program in CIP is to provide an environment for students from each of the specialties within the CIP triad to learn the theory of facility protection, and then to apply that theory in a collaborative, synergistic manner wherein all skill-sets can contribute to an effective protection program.

Because teamwork is so essential to the continued protection of Canada's national critical infrastructures in support of our national objectives, it must also be a vital part of CIP education.

Wayne Boone and Abass Braimah are assistant professors in the infrastructure protection and international security program at Carleton University. Professor Boone's areas of study are security risk management, governance and leadership, while professor Braimah focuses on infrastructure engineering, facility hardening, and blast protection. They can be reached at wayne_boone@carleton.ca or abass_braimah@carleton.ca

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Calgary Herald

Troubled Yemen, the world's next failed state?

By David Carment
March 30, 2011

Yemen is starting to give way to internal stresses that have built up over the last decade. Not only is it the Arab world's poorest nation and challenged by a looming civil war, it is home to a resurgent al-Qaida, a northern Shiite uprising and a revived southern secessionist movement. The country could easily disintegrate into three or more pieces.

Today, Yemen stands alongside Pakistan as one of the most important al-Qaida strongholds in the world. Many of that organization's most dangerous operations have originated in Yemen.

Yemen's underlying sources of conflict and instability are impossible to solve over the short run. The country is running out of oil and water. Its leader, Ali Abdullah Saleh, in power for 32 years, is proving incapable of holding the country together without extreme force.

Yemen is consistently ranked among the 10 most fragile states in the world (http://www.carleton.ca/cifp/app/ffs_ranking.php). The country suffers from an underdeveloped and haphazard rule of law, uneven and inequitable economic development dividing the north and the south, an extremely corrupt civil service and judiciary, a weak educational system and a government struggling to control excessive spending on the military.

Its leaders are heavily dependent on foreign aid to finance budget deficits and development programs. Yemen's taxation system is almost non-existent, meaning the government is accountable to no one. Its agricultural sector is under threat due to water scarcity, putting at risk more than half of the country's economically active population who work in agriculture.

Even before the country transformed into a sanctuary for extremists, Yemen was one of the poorest countries in the world. It ranks 133 out of 169 on the Human Development Index, with a per-capita gross domestic product of about \$1,000, compared to an average of about \$26,000 for the other Gulf states.

There is a plethora of small arms scattered among Yemen's diverse tribal peoples, which makes security a major challenge. Adding to these problems, Yemen has a very high population growth rate, 3.5 per cent, and an extremely large "youth bulge" of 46.4 per cent.

Nearly half of Yemen's population lives in poverty. Although many natural resources are located in the south, a reduced portion of public funds from an unsympathetic government leaves them hindered by grinding poverty.

Yemen is one of the most water-scarce regions in the world. Without corrective action, groundwater supplies in Yemen's capital, Sanaa, are expected to be exhausted very soon.

Since the 1994 civil war, Saleh has established an intricate network of patron-client relations in the north while largely ignoring the economically weaker south. Saleh's government is heavily influenced by al-Qaida Arabs: jihadists who fought for him in the 1994 civil war after their return from Afghanistan. Today, supporters of Osama bin Laden are thought to be in positions of influence in the military and the government.

Saleh also faces rebellion in the north, from a band of very capable Shiite rebels in the Sa'ada region on the border with Saudi Arabia.

There is some urgency to the situation both for the people of Yemen and the West. The country has become the centre of al-Qaida operations for attacks on the United States, including the 2000 bombing of the USS Cole in Aden, the failed targeting of CIA agents in 2010 and attacks on the U.S. Embassy in Sanaa.

South Yemen-based al-Qaida leader Anwar al-Awlaki, an engineer with U.S.-Yemen dual citizenship, has been implicated in the November 2009 Fort Hood, Texas shootings and the attempted bombing of a U.S. aircraft in Detroit on Christmas Day 2009.

In response, the Obama administration has made a more secure and stable Yemen an administrative priority, insisting that the country improve its efforts to track down al-Qaida operatives in the south. The collusion between Saleh's military and al-Qaida is seen as a major impediment to progress.

When she visited the country last year, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton stated her government wanted a broader security relationship with Yemen beyond fighting extremists, by tackling the sources of Yemen's fragility, such as poverty and corruption. It may be too late for that.

If Yemen continues on its current trajectory it will become a failed state in the next several months. Yemen's implosion would have a significant impact on Saudi Arabia, itself feeling the direct effects of upheaval on its border with Yemen. Failure would also give al-Qaida unprecedented operational space in the south.

Even when Saleh steps down, there is little reason to believe "democracy" will take root in Yemen. Most of the country's major institutions are controlled by the president and his family and are largely dysfunctional. The crux of the issue is that Yemen, like much of the Middle East, has an authoritarian leader clinging to control well past his due date, and there are no viable alternatives for keeping the country together.

David Carment is principal investigator of the Country Indicators for Foreign Policy project at Carleton University in Ottawa, CDFAI Fellow and editor of the Canadian Foreign Policy Journal.

Feds defend plans to put AECL on auction block

BRYN WEESE, PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

OTTAWA - Selling all or part of the country's publicly-owned nuclear agency is the only way to save it, says embattled Natural Resources Minister Christian Paradis.

He appeared Wednesday before the Senate's finance committee, which is furiously studying a massive 900-page budget bill that includes giving the government carte blanche to restructure Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. any way it sees fit without any public consultation.

Paradis - who is under investigation by Parliament's ethics czar for a potential conflict in dealings with disgraced former MP Rahim Jaffer - argued AECL and particularly the CANDU reactor division is too small to compete globally and needs a huge injection of cash to get it on a more competitive footing.

CANDU hasn't sold a new reactor in over 10 years.

"A sound restructuring has clear practical benefits. It is aimed at putting the company on a stronger financial footing and reducing taxpayers'

financial exposure," Paradis said.

The government will continue to be the nuclear safety watchdog in Canada, he added.

"It will provide more opportunities for partnership and for acquiring global scale, and it will put the company and the industry in a better position to compete." But critics of the government's plan argue the only potential buyers - with whom the government is already in talks - would be other government-owned firms from other countries, such as France's Areva, which is 78% publicly owned.

"It's losing all the knowledge, and losing the company to a foreign entity,"

said Liberal Senator Celine Hervieux-Payette. "The foreign entities are foreign-owned by governments, so it's another government buying what Canadians and Canadian tax dollars have built over 50 years.

"This, for me, would be a tragedy."

Others, including [Carleton University research fellow John Cadham](#), argued Wednesday at committee that by privatizing AECL, the government is in effect allowing others - in this case foreign governments - to formulate part of Canada's domestic energy policy.

"Privatization is code for, 'We don't have the foggiest idea what to do, so let's dodge the hard decisions, grab some cash now, and let future generations deal with the consequences,'" Cadham said.

The Senate is expected to vote on the budget bill next week. Other parts of the massive bill include scrapping Canada Post's monopoly on overseas mail and changing the federal Environmental Assessment Act, changes that critics have argued were buried in the budget to avoid public scrutiny.

Paradis himself deflected questions Wednesday about why the sale of AECL was included in the bill, saying only Parliament has had time to debate it.

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RCMP warns of homegrown radicals

ALTHIA RAJ, PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

OTTAWA - Community groups expressed some surprise Wednesday after the RCMP warned a growing number of Canadians are becoming radicalized, taking up violent jihad and posing terror threats inside and outside the country's borders.

The Canadian Somali Congress' Ahmed Hussen said he is aware of seven individuals from Toronto who have disappeared to join Al-Shabaab, the Al-Qaida-linked group known for its violent attacks in Somalia.

If more Somali-Canadian men involved, Hussen said, it only confirms the community's concerns regarding Al-Shabaab and that "it is a bigger problem than we even realized." Still, Hussen said, the Somali community has known about the growing radicalization trend which they "have been observing in the last couple of years." RCMP Assistant Commissioner Gilles Michaud told QMI Agency Tuesday the Mounties are concerned by increasing numbers of Canadians who are becoming radicalized and taking up the Islamist cause through violence.

"What we are seeing is that threat is growing from inside and is going elsewhere," said Michaud, who is in charge of National Security Criminal Investigations. "It's like we are exporters of terrorism to a certain extent." The Pakistani Canadian Cultural Association's Tanvir Chaudhry said in Vancouver there are "no such problems." The Association held numerous meetings with its Pakistani-Canadian youth and believes that they have a "better understanding of the religion itself - that this is not something tolerated in Islam," Chaudhry said.

Canada's security agencies are actively working with immigrant communities to identify potential threats and encouraging members to speak openly to officials.

The Canadian Security Intelligence Service is also trying to understand how homegrown terrorists are bred.

"We do work with various communities in Canada via outreach and liaison programs to better understand how some youth are becoming radicalized," said CSIS spokeswoman Isabelle Scott.

Former CSIS chief of strategic planning, David Harris, said attacks like Al-Shabaab's bombings in Uganda, which killed 76 people Sunday, can draw supporters to the cause.

"We've got ample evidence to suggest that blood and guts can be an effective recruiting tool," he said.

Martin Rudner, emeritus professor at Carleton University and the founding director of the school's Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies, said it is not known why people decide to take up jihad, but the mechanisms that influence the choice are known.

One powerful source is American-born cleric Anwar al-Awlaki, who is believed to have influenced the Christmas Day underwear bomber, said Rudner.

Al-Awlaki is in Yemen "propagandizing in excellent English on the web and mobilizing people in western English-speaking country for the jihad," he said.

Khaled Mouammar, the Canadian Arab Federation's national president, believes if the west wants to rid itself of "fanatics," it must stop "invading and occupying countries and stealing their resources," otherwise, he said, we end up with angry young people trying fight back.

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The Globe and Mail
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UAE Wants Visa from Canadian Visitors

GLORIA GALLOWAY

LENGTH: 646 words

Move seen as latest slap in ongoing dispute over landing rights at Canadian airports
The United Arab Emirates will soon require visas from Canadian visitors – a move that appears to be the latest salvo in a dispute between Canada and the wealthy union of Persian Gulf sheikdoms.

GOOGLE EARTH Canadian troops were forced to pull out of Camp Mirage in Dubai last week in retaliation for the federal government's refusal to allow UAE carriers to land more often at Canadian airports.

A notice posted Monday on the website of the UAE embassy in Ottawa says: "Effective January 02, 2011 Canadian passport holders will need a visa."

Canadians and travellers from 30 other countries, including the United States, Australia, France and Japan, may currently enter the UAE with nothing more than a passport.

The UAE embassy could not confirm on Monday whether Canadians had been singled out for the new visa requirement. But Canada has been engaged with the UAE in a dispute over landing rights at Canadian airports that recently cost this country its secret military supply base in Dubai.

Canadian troops were forced to pull out of Camp Mirage last week in retaliation for the federal government's refusal to allow UAE carriers Emirates and Etihad Airways to land more often at Canadian airports.

"The Conservative government's incompetence has turned minor problems in Canada-UAE relations into a crisis," said Paul Dewar, foreign affairs critic for the NDP.

"This is an unprecedented step that will have a major impact on travel and business between Canada and the UAE. Last week, it cost our military \$300-million to scramble out of our base in the UAE – now this. The government has to be held accountable for its failure to maintain what used to be a strong relationship between Canada and UAE."

Jacques Labrie, a spokesman for Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon, refused to say whether the visas were retaliatory or the timing simply coincided with the dispute around the planes. He said the UAE made a decision in 2009 to pursue visa reciprocity with many countries, including Canada, that did not offer UAE citizens visa-free access. The UAE government is now implementing its 2009 decision, Mr. Labrie said.

But Fen Hampson, director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University in Ottawa, said the fight between the two countries has gotten out of hand. "This is unwarranted escalation of a lowgrade trade dispute," Dr. Hampson said.

The UAE is trying to make Dubai a global hub and is using the state-owned carriers to take on the competition, he said. Likewise, he said, Air Canada, which opposed granting more landing slots to the UAE planes, enjoys various forms of indirect subsidies.

"This is a battle of national champions in that our government is defending the interests of Air Canada and the UAE is trying to take on Air Canada in what are potentially very lucrative routes to its part of the world," Dr. Hampson said.

But the UAE may have shot itself in the foot if the visa requirement deters Canadian visitors, he said, because whenever a country engages in retaliatory actions it should ask if it will hurt its own interests more than those of its opponent.

"Dubai is suffering as a tourist destination," Dr. Hampson said. "The economy is not doing well there. A lot of investment is leaving. So it's a place that's on the ropes. And, if you have differences with Canada on this issue, you should keep negotiating. You don't resort to linkage tactics of the kind that they did with the airbase."

The Canadian government had been using the base for free for nine years. But leaving is complicated: There are huge logistical issues, including moving equipment, and the military will have to factor in fuel costs for the longer routes between Afghanistan and the alternative bases in Germany and Cyprus.

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Kenney accused of using UN refugees as 'blackmail' to pass reforms

Anca Gurzu and Lee Berthiaume

LENGTH: 1303 words

On Monday, Immigration Minister Jason Kenney swept into the Catholic Immigration Centre in Ottawa, trailed by television cameras and journalists. By the time he left, the minister had announced the government's intention to help resettle to Canada 2,500 more UN-selected refugees living in camps, bringing the yearly number for that group to 14,500. It was a feel-good story widely reported by many news outlets.

However, buried in a press release distributed at the event was a warning: the increase in UN refugees will only come into effect once Parliament passes the government's proposed refugee reforms.

"We have been clear that Parliament enacting balanced reforms to our asylum system," Mr. Kenney said in the statement, "will be met by more government help for refugees living in desperate circumstances around the world and in urgent need of resettlement."

Twenty-four hours later, Mr. Kenney faced the cameras again, this time to introduce sweeping proposals to change Canada's in-land refugee system in an effort to speed up decision-making and weed out unfounded asylum claims. As expected, the proposed legislation includes several controversial proposals, including the creation of a safe countries list and initial hearings conducted by public servants.

The decision to make the changes to UN-refugee intakes conditional upon adoption of the government's proposed reforms has experts and refugee advocates up in arms, arguing the government is placing one group of refugees against another and creating a pre-condition for something Canada should pursue independently.

"He is using blackmail," said Janet Dench, executive director at the Canadian Council for Refugees. "What the minister is saying is 'I'm not going to let these people in unless you pass my legislation.' It's disturbing the way the minister has presented this."

Ms. Dench said the linkage between the two announcements is obvious, but completely unnecessary. "Refugees, whether here or abroad, are in need of protection. We can't help everybody, but we need to respond as best as we can, and should not present some as more deserving than others."

Linking UN-refugee settlements with the proposed legislative reforms to the country's domestic asylum system may also impact Canada's reputation abroad, said [James Milner](#), a refugee expert and political science professor at Carleton University.

"My strong concern is that Canada will pursue reforms of its domestic asylum process and use the UN-refugee settlements as a trade-off to domestic reform," Mr. Milner said. "What Canada does internationally with refugee resettlement is laudable, but that must be seen as a distinct program from the domestic asylum system."

Canada has been a leader on the international stage in trying to find a solution to the more than 10 million UN-designated refugees living in camps and urban slums around the world, Mr. Milner said. He pointed to the government's efforts to encourage more countries to sign the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, and—among others—help Burundi refugees who have been living in exile in Tanzania for years.

As a signatory to the 1951 Convention, Canada has an international obligation to address all refugee claims filed by individuals at its borders and inside the country. **However, Canada's efforts to resettle UN-designated refugees, "is discretionary," Mr. Milner said.**

The head of the UN agency that deals with refugees echoed that point in an interview with *Embassy* last week, before Mr. Kenney unveiled his proposed reforms.

"Countries [must] abide by international law in granting protection to those that seek their protection in their territory," said UN High Commissioner for Refugees Antonio Guterres. "This is independent of the dimension of the resettlement process.

"So the two things are important and the two things work together. They are not alternatives."

'Polemical nonsense'

Refugee advocates, government officials and opposition parties have long recognized Canada's refugee system is in need of some reforms, though there has always been vociferous debate over what changes need to be brought in.

The government's proposals plan to fast-track the decision-making process for refugee claimants, and to quickly remove out of the country those whose claims were rejected.

Liberal Immigration critic Maurizio Bevilaqua said the proposed legislation is a good starting point, pointing especially at the new appeal body that refugee claimants will have access to.

However, he also said there should not be a trade-off between in-land refugees and those designated by the UN for resettlement. He felt the minister chose the order of his announcements carefully.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the minister used this announcement [on the increase of UN-selected refugees] as a precursor to the major announcement," Mr. Bevilaqua said. "There is no reason why there should be a trade-off between the two. They should be independent."

Abraham Abraham, the representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Canada, refused to believe that the government was using UN refugees or the agency as a political pawn to push through its proposals.

"Making a commitment to the [UN Refugee Agency] to increase resettlement is something that clearly the minister has mentioned to [the UN] High Commissioner [for Refugees]," Mr. Abraham said, referring to Mr. Guterres's visit last week. "So we see resettlement as something that has to move forward, simply of the fact that Canada has taken on the responsibility to be part of the burden-sharing. Resettlement is a burden-sharing thing."

Mr. Abraham said the UN has been pushing Canada and other countries to increase their resettlement numbers—and will continue to do so in the future. "Canada has told us on quite a few occasions that they will uphold the humanitarian commitment. They have said it very, very honestly."

Former Immigration Refugee Board chair Peter Showler said the government has always preferred overseas refugees over in-land refugees.

"They have preserved a notion that if you arrive in Canada, you are not a real refugee because you have the means to get here," Mr. Showler said. "But if they get here, it doesn't mean their claims are unfounded."

However, Mr. Showler described critics' claims that the minister is using blackmail to pass the reform legislation as "polemical nonsense."

"If they make the in-land system more effective, then they will be able to devote more resources to refugees from abroad," he said. "It is possible that if the government proposals are properly implemented, we can have a better system in place."

The minister has made a legitimate attempt to make the system both fast and fair, Mr. Showler said, but the implementation will show how feasible it is.

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Canadian warship en route, JTF2 sent to Libya Defence minister says forces ready to go beyond aid efforts

TOBI COHEN, POSTMEDIA NEWS

Canada is following the lead of its allies and stepping up its military presence around violence-plagued Libya.

HMCS Charlottetown will depart Halifax today on a weeklong journey to the region to assist with the evacuation of Canadian civilians, Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced Tuesday in the House of Commons.

"The men and women of our naval forces, the men and women of all of our armed forces, have been called upon time and time again to make a difference in difficult situations," he said during question period. "We are once again pleased that they are answering the call."

The navy frigate and its crew of 240 officers and seamen will join two C-130 Hercules aircraft that are already in the area and are capable of landing on shorter, unpaved terrain. Canada also has one C-17 in nearby Malta along with 22 military police officers, medics and reconnaissance personnel.

Defence Minister Peter MacKay said the ship carries a Sea King helicopter and is prepared to go beyond simply removing the remaining 100 to 200 Canadians still stuck in Libya.

"The intention here is obviously to provide ... for the continued support of all efforts to remove Canadians ... from Libya as well as support, if need be, certain humanitarian efforts," he said.

"As we've seen in Haiti, this is a very versatile platform. To have this type of capability in the region, we feel will further empower our efforts to evacuate Canadians and to prepare for other inevitabilities, whether it's the enforcement of sanctions (or) to work with the international community."

Postmedia News has confirmed that JTF2, Canada's elite special forces unit, has been sent to the region. MacKay would not comment on JTF2's movements, but did note that some Canadian troops are embedded within the operations centre with British and other allied forces. JTF2's role in the region might be limited to protecting Canadian transport aircraft or assisting in a French-led plan to deliver aid to parts of Libya now controlled by forces opposed to Gadhafi. A group of 22 military personnel arrived in Malta Monday. The team includes military police, medical staff and a 13-member Operational Liaison and Reconnaissance Team.

"An OLRT is a group of (Canadian Forces) experts deployed in the initial stages of a mission to assess the situation, liaise with allies and other agencies and establish lines of communication," said Lieut. Len Hickey of the Canadian navy. "If necessary, a joint task force headquarters and other capabilities follows on to facilitate the evacuation ... from the emergency area to a safe haven."

On Tuesday, one of the Hercules planes en route to pick up stranded Canadians in Libya was ordered to turn back to its base in nearby Malta shortly after taking off.

MacKay said there was not enough room on the tarmac at the airport in Tripoli to accommodate the aircraft. It was expected to try again later.

Besides increasing its military presence in the region over the last few days, Canada has also imposed a number of sanctions against Libyan despot Col. Moammar Gadhafi and his regime, including a travel ban and a freeze on Libyan assets. The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade confirmed Tuesday that Canadian banks have frozen \$2.3 billion in Libyan assets.

Other countries have taken similar actions as debate over the possible imposition of a no-fly zone and a blockade around Libya continues.

Reuters reported that the United States has frozen \$30 billion in Libyan assets and was moving ships and planes into the region, including two amphibious assault ships that can accommodate 2,000 marines.

Meanwhile, Italy announced it would deploy a humanitarian mission to neighbouring Tunisia to provide food and medical aid to an estimated 10,000 people who fled the violence in Libya.

Observers, however, suggest Canada's contribution to any military response by the international community will be comparatively small.

"The reality is we're still heavily committed in Afghanistan," University of Calgary defence policy expert Robert Huebert said. "I couldn't see Canada having a real capability of immediately stepping in, say if a peace enforcement ... UN action was actually taken."

He said he doesn't foresee a real need for a naval blockade around Libya, noting the country is best cut off by air and land. He suggested, however, that Canadian CF-18s could easily be deployed to the region to assist with a no-fly zone.

Retired Maj.-Gen. Lewis MacKenzie said deploying CF-18s would be "logistically possible," but "extremely difficult and somewhat time-consuming."

He foresees a more humanitarian role for Canada's troops, although even that could be difficult since Canada doesn't have a lot of assets already in the area.

Elinor Sloan, an international relations professor at Carleton University, said the situation in Libya is not unlike the one in Kosovo in 1999. Should the international community fight back against Gadhafi's regime, Canada could play a role similar to the one it played in Kosovo.

"Kosovo was a humanitarian circumstance. It was the Serbian government acting against the Albanian minority and we deployed CF-18s there," she said. "The entire allied operation was precision air power striking resources of the Serbian government with the goal of getting (then-president Slobodan) Milosevic to change his behaviour."

"In this case, we'd be striking Libyan government assets with the goal of getting Gadhafi to change his behaviour."

Special forces operatives now in the process of leaving Afghanistan could easily be redeployed to Libya as part of a "clandestine" mission aimed at locating targets for air strikes, she added.

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Amnesty International Says Canada No Longer Leads on Human Rights

Campbell Clark

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Canada has lost its standing as a world leader in pressing for human rights, in part by taking a one-sided view on Middle East rights issues, Amnesty International says.

That judgment, according to Amnesty's global secretary-general Salil Shetty, is the cumulative effect of several moves in recent years, including a reluctance to sign new UN rights declarations, avoiding accountability for the treatment of detainees in Afghanistan, and a failure to stand up for the rights of Canadians accused abroad, such as Omar Khadr, the Canadian detained in Guantanamo Bay.

- Omar Khadr to seek clemency in hopes of early release from Gitmo

The report marks a shift: Groups like Amnesty, which once viewed Canada as a paragon of their rights agenda, pushing initiatives like an international criminal court and protections for child soldiers, now see it as lacklustre.

"Globally, Canada's reputation as a reliable human-rights champion has dropped precipitously," Amnesty concluded.

Among other things, Canada's shift in the Middle East has included "unflinching refusal" to raise concerns about Israel's rights records, and the government has stifled or defunded agencies that "promote the rights of Palestinians," it said.

And Mr. Shetty said that shift led Canada to "dither" in supporting Egypt's pro-democracy movement, out of concern that the departure of Hosni Mubarak could lead to a government less friendly to Israel. "I think it certainly blurred their thinking," he said.

The Conservatives have taken the position that there has been excessive criticism at the UN and elsewhere of the rights record of Israel, a democracy surrounded by repressive neighbours. But Mr. Shetty said Canada has lost the reputation for evenhandedness because it refuses to take Israel to task.

"Nobody's saying that therefore we should not be critical of Iran or other places as the Canadian government is," he said. "Amnesty is very critical of the human-rights record of Saudi Arabia, of Iran, of all the people who are very vocally against Israel. But we should call a spade a spade."

Although Amnesty insists it doesn't take partisan sides, most of the steps criticized in the report came under Stephen Harper's Conservative government – with the notable exception of the long-standing criticism of

Canada's failure to shrink the gap in standard of living between aboriginal Canadians and most citizens. The Conservative campaign did not comment.

Fen Hampson, a foreign policy analyst at Carleton University, said Canada's approach on human rights has shifted. While the Liberal government in the 1990s pushed a "humanitarian" concept of human rights, like the international criminal court and human security, the Tories consciously dropped that agenda and focused on criticizing autocratic regimes like Iran.

Canada's shift on the Middle East has changed the country's reputation and affected its failed campaign for the UN Security Council last year. **But Mr. Harper would argue that's a principled stand, "and they're prepared to take their licks," Mr. Hampson said.** Amnesty is exaggerating Canada's global loss of reputation, he said, but at least until the Libya mission it wasn't seen in recent years as a leader on human security issues.

In any event, reports like Amnesty's on developed democracies shape opinions more at home than abroad. "Does the world pay attention to this?" he said. "Not really."

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Harper Rules Out Canadian “Boots on the Ground” Including Special Forces in Libya

David Pugliese

Stephen Harper has put the brakes to any suggestion that Canada has or will have “boots on the ground” in Libya.

That means both conventional forces and special operations forces, according to the Conservatives.

Even though the U.S. is reportedly deploying CIA teams to help the Libyan rebels, Harper ruled out such activities for Canada.

“Our position has been very clear,” Harper said in response to a reporter's question on the campaign trail.

“We're not putting boots on the ground but we are working very closely with our allies to enforce United Nations resolutions and to try to see the departure of Mr. Gadhafi from power.

“We have all been clear that he has lost legitimacy and he needs to go for the benefit and for the welfare of the people of Libya.”

Some news media reports originally suggested that JTF2 would or could slip into Libya, first to help get Canadians out and when that mission was finished to then help direct CF-18s to hit their targets or do other covert missions such as gathering intelligence.

Elinor Sloan, an international relations professor at Carleton University and a former DND policy official, special forces operatives now in the process of leaving Afghanistan could easily be redeployed to Libya as part of a “clandestine” mission aimed at locating targets for air strikes.

But one former Canadian Forces aviator I talked to pointed out that a “team on the ground” was not necessarily needed to laser mark targets so CF-18 dropped PGMs could hit them. He noted that the CF-18s have been upgraded with the Sniper advanced targeting pod and Canada has taken delivery of both the Raytheon Paveway 2 GPS precision-guided munitions (delivery underway, with final delivery of all munitions within a few months) as well as Paveway 1.

With the Sniper pod the CF-18 can laser the target on its own. “Boots on the ground not required for delivery of either PW 1 or 2,” he noted.

SOF would be of use to do assessment of bomb damage as well as to act as advisors to the “rebel” force.

But that isn't in the cards, at least according to Mr. Harper.

But I also talked to one politician who didn't put any credence into what Harper has said and suggested that the covert nature of SOF operations could mean that such activities could proceed without the Canadian public knowing anything about such missions.

That's certainly true but the risk to Harper – particularly during an election – if he was caught in a lie about boots on the ground would be tremendous.

CANSOFCOM, of course, does not discuss its operations.

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