

THE YEAR AHEAD: AN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE AND DEFENCE OUTLOOK FOR 2017



**CENTRE FOR SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE, AND
DEFENCE STUDIES (CSIDS)**

NORMAN PATERSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, CARLETON UNIVERSITY



**The Year Ahead:
An International Security, Intelligence and Defence Outlook for 2017**

Highlights from the Conference
December 8, 2016

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CONTENTS

About the Centre	5
The Year Ahead: An International Security, Intelligence and Defence Outlook for Canada for 2017	7
Panel I: Hotspots Around the World - Asia, the Middle East and Europe	8
Panel II: Canada and the United Nations (UN)	11
Keynote Speaker: Deputy-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ian Shugart	14
Panel III: Life After U.S. Elections	15
Panel IV: New Horizons - Big Data, Space, and the Arctic	18
Summary of Advice	21
Agenda	23
Biographies	24
Links in order of presentation in the report	29

ABOUT THE CENTRE

The Centre for Security, Intelligence and Defence Studies (CSIDS), Carleton University

Mission Statement

The objectives of CSIDS include: (a) the support and encouragement of interdisciplinary research at Carleton University in salient security, intelligence and defence issues; (b) the hosting of visiting scholars and research Fellows pursuing innovative research; (c) supporting the graduate education and training of students at the Master's and Doctoral levels; (d) the production and dissemination of policy-relevant research and analysis on current issues of relevance to security, intelligence and defence studies; (e) the conception, organization and hosting of conferences, seminars, symposia, workshops and guest lectures on topics related to the mandate of CSIDS; (f) the design and delivery of dedicated academic and professional training courses in security, intelligence and defence studies; and (g) collaboration with the public sector, private sector, civil society groups, the media and the general public in order to foster informed debate and dialogue on important policy questions on security, intelligence and defence.

The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs

For close to 50 years, NPSIA has been training Canada's best and brightest graduate students in international affairs. We have well over 2,000 alumni, many of whom have gone on to key leadership positions in the Canadian federal and provincial public service, foreign governments, the United Nations, and the private and not-for-profit sectors. NPSIA offers the most comprehensive advanced degree programs in international affairs at the Masters and Doctoral level in Canada. The NPSIA program is interdisciplinary, reflecting the philosophy that exposure to a wide range of disciplines such as political science, economics, law, sociology, public health and history is necessary to develop an understanding of our complex global environment.

The Director of CSIDS

Andrea Charron holds a Ph.D. from the Royal Military College of Canada (Department of War Studies). She obtained a Master's degree in International Relations from Webster University, Leiden, The Netherlands, a Master's of Public Administration from Dalhousie University and a Bachelor of Science (Honours) from Queen's University. Dr. Charron worked for various federal departments, including the Privy Council Office in the Security and Intelligence Secretariat and Canada's Revenue Agency. She completed her post-doctorate at NPSIA and is now Assistant Professor and Deputy-Director of the Centre for Defence and Security Studies at the University of Manitoba and Director of CSIDS at Carleton University, Canada. Her research and teaching areas include NORAD, the Arctic, foreign and defence policy, and sanctions. She serves on the Defence Advisory Board for the Department of National Defence, and has published in numerous peer-reviewed journals.

Student Organizers

NPSIA M.A. Candidates Rachel Laborce and Monica Morrison and Ph.D. Candidate Uri Marantz are the main student organizers of this event, with the assistance of over twenty undergraduate and graduate students from Carleton University as well as others. A special thank you to Jyotsna Venkatesh and Paige Kirk for the designs of the cover and advertisement, respectively.

Financial Sponsors

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- The Faculty of Public Administration, Carleton University

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And the attendees. Thank you.

THE YEAR AHEAD: AN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE AND DEFENCE OUTLOOK FOR CANADA FOR 2017

On 8 December 2016, eighteen academics, experts and practitioners from Canada, the United States (U.S.) and Mexico along with an audience of over one hundred and forty civil servants, students and members of the public were invited to Canada's War Museum to reflect on the challenges for Canada in the immediate future on four, themed panels, namely: 1) Hotspots- representing conflicts and international crises around the world that could have an impact on Canada; 2) the future of the United Nations (UN) and Canada's role within it; 3) the world after the U.S. elections in 2016; and 4) new horizons: space, the cyber-world and the Arctic. These themes represent some of the most pressing issues that will affect Canada and that require new foreign, defence and intelligence policies implicating several agencies, allies and levels of government. Discrete events, such as the U.S. elections or Brexit, as well as continuous events, such as changes in the cyber-world, tend to create extreme and reactive foreign policies since there is rarely time to unpack and reflect on the impact for Canada. This report provides a summary of the advice, cautions and unanswered questions raised during the workshop. Never has the advice of James Eayrs been more prescient; Canada's foreign, defence, security and intelligence policies must seek to find the middle way between idealism and hard-headed realism.¹

¹ In 1965, James G. Eayrs (Professor in the department of Political Economy at the University of Toronto) was asked to give the Alan B. Plaunt memorial lectures at Carleton University. His lectures were entitled "Right and Wrong in Foreign Policy".

Panel I: Hotspots Around the World - Asia, the Middle East and Europe

Panelists: Margaret Huber, Barak Barfi and Martin Geiger, moderated by Alex S. Wilner.

Sadly, there is no lack of conflicts and issues in the world that can reach Canada. From [economic vulnerability in Asia](#), to the ongoing fight against the [Islamic State in Levant \(ISIL\)/Daesh](#) in the Middle East and continuing waves of [refugees arriving in Europe](#), Canada needs to brace for continued geopolitical instability in the foreseeable future while being realistic about what role, if any, it can play. One common theme across the hotspots in questions is the extent to which inequality among peoples in areas of conflict is a constant. Canada and western allies have tended to assume the solution to these hotspots and inequalities is to make states more “western,” meaning a state that embraces liberal democracy and secularism. Clearly, however, this has not worked in the past. Indeed, the 2008 economic crash is a reminder of the vulnerability of all states regardless of political ideology or type of government and the general [trend toward states becoming less democratic](#) than more.

Asia

- The fear of miscalculation by states and corresponding over-reaction is very high especially when it comes to events in North Korea, the South China Sea and ongoing tension between Pakistan and India in Kashmir. **Canada is wise to understand all of the complexities of these crises.** For example, armed conflict on the Korean peninsula as a result of miscalculation or perceived support for Taiwan by the U.S. against

China, as well as overaggressive use of war games could create conditions for multiple security dilemmas and worrisome military escalations.

- World-wide issues including slower economic growth and potential pandemics (Zika, flu and others) are added pressures for Asian states that exacerbate and highlight inequality.
- On a positive note, the fact that China is taking a lead in climate change action is to be encouraged as is the potential of Asian youth. Canada should encourage China in both areas, especially at COP23 in Bonn Germany on 16-17 November 2017.
- Future events to watch for: Indian, Singaporean, and South Korean presidential elections, Hong Kong Chief Executive elections and Thai parliamentary elections in 2017.



Middle East

- Islamism (political Islam) is failing as witnessed by various revolts and the Arab Spring. They failed because the social contract in the Arab world, which posits that the government will take care of the people if the people give up their political freedom, is no longer tenable or tolerated. Current governments cannot abandon the social contract because they have neither the financial means nor infrastructure to replace it. Therefore, in the next 10 years there will be a steady return to an authoritarian model of government in many Middle Eastern states (the most important element for many societies in the Middle East is security).
- For example, Turkey's "coup" attempt in November 2016 portends months of backlash and a crack-down on dissidents. **Canada and NATO will need to think carefully about their relationship with Turkey in the future especially as Canada's NATO mission to Latvia begins in the spring of 2017.**
- There is a power vacuum in the Arab World that no state can fill, not even [Saudi Arabia](#). This vacuum means continual jockeying for power positions in the future that will mean continued instability. The fall of Saudi Arabia – now the most important Sunni country in the Arab world – would lead to further jihadism as well as political and economic instability.
- Political Islam is billed as a modern movement, but it is neither modern nor does it offer the people much in the way of services or infrastructure. The jihadist model is particularly problematic as it is anti-everything else. The Pan-Arab model does not respond to the needs of the people. Nevertheless, it is a model the West can work with even though it is unlikely to bring stability or prosperity to the region.
- Future events to watch for: Iranian and Lebanese general elections in 2017.

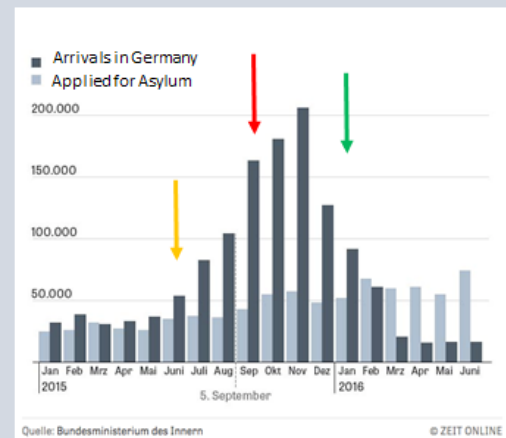


Europe, especially Germany and the Leadership of Chancellor Merkel

- The opening of Germany's borders to hundreds of thousands of refugees was first applauded and thought of as a strong signal of hope. [Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel](#) was lauded as the strongest leader of Europe.
- The tables have turned, and people are critical of Merkel, blaming her for all manner of crises associated with refugees, which has lent support to right-wing groups.
- Many European countries have not resettled any refugees, leaving most of the burden to Germany.
- In the upcoming year, 1 million refugees are expected to arrive in the European Union (EU). Turkey will remain a transit country, especially for the ongoing crisis in Syria.
- Germany has started to deport people back to Afghanistan. We may see more questionable arrangements between states.

- Germany and Canada are praised as globally significant actors for helping refugees.** The refugee crisis is a global issue and requires a global response. The rise of xenophobia and extremist movements is problematic. New solutions are needed; **Canada and Germany may encourage other states to contribute to finding sustainable solutions; and Canada may encourage other states to adapt resettlement policies and learn from Canada's longstanding tradition in refugee resettlement. It would be regrettable if Canada were to cut back on refugee resettlement. Canada is a positive example in the world of a country where people can still find a safe haven, find protection and find new livelihoods with all dignity, equality and freedom from discrimination. Perhaps Germany and Canada can raise this issue at the G20 meeting in Hamburg (7-8 July 2017) and speak on the theme of "shaping an interconnected world."**
- The G7 has had a nearly complete change in leadership in the last 2 years. The nightmare scenario for Canada is Merkel defeated in Germany and [Marine Le Pen](#) elected in France. Canada needs to consider now how it will approach both scenarios. Canada's role and commitment to functioning international relations and security likely needs to grow in light of the uncertain future of the U.S. and its withdrawal from international obligations and leadership roles. Other upcoming European elections include Dutch general elections, Serbian, Hungarian and Slovenian presidential elections, and Norwegian parliamentary elections.
- Other concerns include fallout over Brexit – will it be a soft or hard landing? And the very future of the EU. Will France consider a Frexit?

September 2015: "Merkel's Historical/Controversial Decision"



Panel II: Canada and the United Nations (UN)

Panelists: Edward Luck, Jane Boulden and Allan Rock, moderated by David Mendeloff

Much has changed at the UN. 2017 ushers in a new [Secretary-General António Guterres](#) (Portugal) chosen in a more transparent process, a new crop of [nonpermanent Security-Council members](#) elected earlier in the year to provide a more fulsome handover, and a continued focus on conflicts around the world, especially in Africa. [Canada has declared its candidacy](#) for one of the two seats on the Security Council open to Western European and Other Grouping of states for the 2021 – 2023 term, which includes candidates Ireland and Norway. Finally, Canada has indicated [its commitment to deploy up to 600 Canadian troops and 150 police officers to conflicts in Africa](#) in support of UN missions. In order to prepare for the election campaign and deployment whilst adjusting to new leadership at the UN, this panel provided the following observations:

The Future of the UN

- The UN will continue to focus on peace and security but its role as the premier institution for multilateralism is being questioned post-2011, largely due to the Security Council's inability to deal with events in Syria and North Africa. This inability of states to work collectively on common problems compounds the UN's four challenges: 1) competencies and tools; 2) compliance with international laws (especially human rights and international humanitarian law); 3) macro-strategic geopolitics, and 4) domestic and transnational politics.

- The UN's biggest challenges are competencies to deal with evolving threats (including cyber-attacks and new terrorist groups) and the tools available to the UN. While the UN has conducted several reviews of peace and security (and within the Security Council), the UN is unable to make the necessary internal changes to keep pace. For example, the UN Security Council continues to be criticized for its failure to deal with conflicts preemptively. While regional organizations are playing a greater role, both the Security Council and regional organizations are reactive in their responses.
- The second challenge for the UN is how to **ensure universal compliance with [human rights](#) and [international humanitarian law](#)** (or the law of armed conflict). Conflicts are creating more internal displacement of people and more refugees, which bring these two bodies of law in stark relief. **This is an area that needs much more attention and will need the help of**



PM Trudeau announcing Canada's candidacy in New York, March 16, 2016.

member states like Canada and Norway but also the strong voice of the Secretary-General.

- The third challenge is the current macro-strategic geopolitical situation in the world, in which the world's major powers are nowhere close to multipolarity but somewhere in between. This is very unstable and is likely to last in the foreseeable future, making the miscalculations of state behaviour mentioned in Panel 1 much more likely. Calls for a reformed Security Council, however, would not change this nebulous quasi-polar world order.
- Finally, domestic and transnational politics is echoed within the UN. We are seeing the politics of skepticism and resentment, particularly in institutions dominated by the U.S., creating a Washington vs. the-rest-of-the-world-perception. At the UN, this manifests in a UN perceived to cater to the satisfied, greater powers enforcing the status quo, and a UN that is obstructionist and counter to the concerns of the majority of weaker states. **For Canada: The UN has several grand agreements already (on [climate change](#), [the Responsibility to Protect \(R2P\)](#) and [sustainable development](#)). Focus should be on consolidating these agreements** rather than searching for new norms.

Focus on the working methods of the UN, especially the [UN Security Council](#), for which Canada has particular expertise.

UN Operations and Canada's Role

The Canadian government has made a commitment to support [UN missions in Africa](#) – where exactly has yet to be determined. All operations are extremely complex, carry a number of risks and have unique features. There remain, however, five enduring characteristics of UN-mandated peacekeeping/peacemaking missions:

- The Security Council has always been a key actor in UN operations - it never establishes a plan for peace. Rather, the Security Council supports a peace agreement or ceasefire often negotiated by regional actors. This has been a consistent feature of UN resolutions over time, allowing the Security

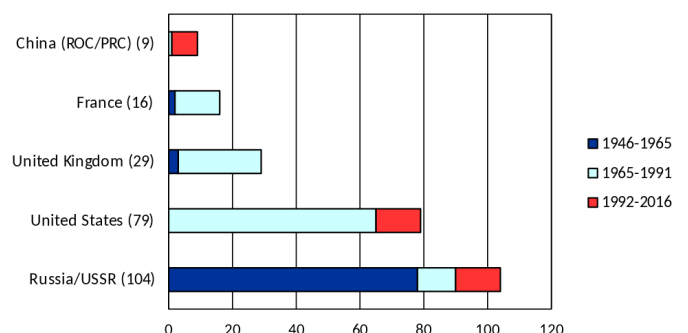
Canada's Contribution to UN Missions as of August 2016

Police:	84
Military Experts:	9
Troops:	19
Total:	112

Council to claim impartiality whether or not that is the case on the ground. **Canada, therefore, needs to have a deep understanding of what is happening in the resolutions as well as on the ground.** Who is at the negotiating table? Knowledge is power, and Canada should approach it on that basis.

- The mandate of an operation is often changed based on the situation on the ground. Over time the Security Council has become more adept at changing the mandate as events change on the ground. **Canada needs to appreciate that the mandate it signs on to now may not be the mandate that endures over time.**
- UN missions are under-resourced – both financially and of capable, well-trained troops. **This is why Canada's promised commitment of 600 troops and 150 police officers are welcomed by the UN.**

Vetoes Cast by Permanent Members



4. All missions carry a degree of risk. Some operations are riskier than others and that risk can change during the life of the conflict. Violence could erupt at any moment. **Canada needs to incorporate this fact in planning, ROE, and equipment decisions when deploying personnel.**
 5. Regional actors are a fact of UN missions. The UN-regional relationship is complicated – often the relationship is contentious and may even undermine desired goals. Regional organizations are the first responders and take on the riskiest roles and yet struggle with capacity. This burden needs to be considered – does it, for example, prolong conflicts? As well, multiple actors create multiple lines of authority. This adds significant challenges for troops on the ground. **Canada needs greater awareness of these dynamics and these politics when it commits Canadian personnel.**
- **Canada can support the UN in the following areas: peacekeeping, climate change action (through the Paris Agreement), as well as continued support to human rights and humanitarian activities, including aiding refugees.** Although it is not a UN agency, Canada is also a leader which can support [the International Criminal Court \(ICC\)](#).
 - Canada's membership in [La Francophonie](#) and [APEC](#) distinguish it from Ireland and Norway also competing for a seat on the UN Security Council for 2021-2023. However, **Canada's campaign for a seat is not an ends, but a means to advance its foreign policy goals and support the UN.**

Canada and the UN, back where we belong

- The UN is an indispensable organization because of its collective security and collective action mandates.
- The world is experiencing two major transitions: one in Washington as a result of U.S. elections and one in New York as a result of a new [Secretary-General António Guterres](#) and an ambitious agenda. While many are nervous about the new President, Donald Trump, many are optimistic about the Secretary-General's [focus on values enshrined in the UN Charter](#): peace, justice, respect, human rights, tolerance and solidarity. What is [President Trump's](#) plan vis-à-vis the UN? Will he support the UN's programme of work?
- **Canada should listen carefully to the Secretary-General's priorities and focus on niche areas** to support his agenda now and in the future, including his call [to "reconstruct relations between people and leaders."](#)



Keynote Speaker: Deputy-Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr. Ian Shugart



The global context of international affairs is unpredictable. This is highlighted by recent and dramatic changes in the world, including: [Brexit](#), surprises in elections and referendums, Russian aggression and pandemics to name a few. Given these factors, policy makers and academics alike must take note of events (they are not just news) and ask ‘why’ these events occurred. The Year Ahead in 2017 portends danger. While [coalition efforts against Daesh](#) are having a positive effect, it behaves like a squeezed balloon – Daesh is adept at changing and moving to new areas.

Recent missile tests by North Korea are worrisome, as is the widespread instability and suffering in Africa. Russia and Iran are parties to the horror in Aleppo while disputes in the South China Sea continue. And of course Mr. Trump’s unexpected win creates questions about future U.S. foreign policy. All of these events suggest challenges to the international rules-

based order of the world, the merits of supranational organizations, and the viability of future global trading relationships.

And yet positive events have nevertheless occurred:

- the Paris Agreement on climate action;
- the [signed EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic Trade Agreement](#);
- the [Colombia Peace deal](#); and
- 35,000+ Syrian refugees successfully resettled in Canada.

How might Canada respond to all of these events? The Government of Canada will continue to pursue its foreign policy agenda and will not waver. For example, Canada’s commitment to its climate change goals, respect for diversity, inclusive trade growth and support to rules-based order will continue. However, Canada’s response to events must be multifaceted. Developing resilience is important as is the need to think “holistically” about issues and listen to many voices – especially discordant views. Diplomacy will be needed as well as alliances in resolving future conflicts.

Panel III: Life After U.S. Elections

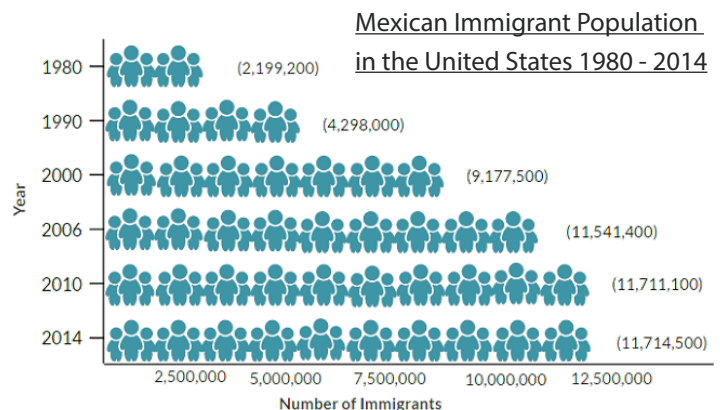
Panelists: Athanasios Hristoulas, Christopher Sands and Kim Ruchard Nossal, moderated by Stephen Saideman

U.S. President-elect Donald Trump was all but dismissed as a serious contender when he first declared his candidacy. The 18-month campaign was divisive and exhausting, culminating in elections on 8 November 2016 that delivered a surprising result. Rather than the former Secretary of State and Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton, business tycoon Trump was elected and confirmed by the [U.S. Electoral College](#) on 19 December 2016. While many in Canada were in shock, Prime Minister Trudeau congratulated Mr. Trump, stating [“Canada has no closer friend, partner, and ally than the United States. We look forward to working very closely with President-elect Trump, his administration, and with the United States Congress in the years ahead, including on issues such as trade, investment, and international peace and security...”](#) The question remains, what will life be like for Mexico, the U.S. and Canada after these elections?

The View from Mexico

- Trump’s rhetoric vis-à-vis Mexico focused on the need for a wall (forgetting that much of the border already has a physical wall, the parts that do not are desert and impassable and there exists thousands of border patrol and national guard), the expulsion of illegal Mexican migrants from the U.S. and the end of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). If Trump were to do what he said he was going to do vis-à-vis migrants, he would need to deport 15,000 migrants per day

for his 4-year Presidency, and this would be largely impossible. And indeed, there has been a net negative migration pattern now (as far as Mexicans are concerned). There has been a dramatic increase of Central Americans trying to cross into the U.S. via Mexico motivated by serious and out of control levels of violence in the region. For Mexico, NAFTA has benefitted Mexicans unevenly – the North benefits more than the South because the North has more industry whereas the South is dominated by agriculture. Therefore, many Mexicans are also calling for NAFTA to be scrapped.



- While Mexico needs the U.S. (for trade and to work on mutual security issues), there is concern that cooperation will be stymied by the new Trump administration. Trump’s fears that terrorists will align with Mexican drug lords is unrealistic.
- Mexico’s current government (President Enrique Peña Nieto, in power since 2012) has about 20% of the vote in Mexico. [A populist but left-leaning leader](#) (Andrés Manuel López Obrador) who is anti-trade and anti-U.S. commands 30% of the vote

while the centre-right, although split, also commands 30% (possible candidates include ex-President Felipe Calderón's wife, Margarita Zavala, and the current governor of Puebla, Rafael Moreno Valle). Mexican elections in 2018, therefore, portend chaos as there is no clear projected winner.

- A weak peso, corruption and the border are all problems for Mexico. The Mexican border, however, is a U.S. issue, not a Trump-specific issue. Mexico did not take the opportunity to implement fully the [Smart Border Plan](#) in 2002 like Canada did, and it stalled. This has caused problems.
- While there is considerable pressure for reform in Mexico (including education and to [improve security in Mexico](#)), corruption and scandal continue to inhibit improvement.

The View from the U.S.

- Trump is not a security hawk. He is a populist and keyed into the concerns of outsiders. He is anti-establishment, especially to those from Washington, D.C.
- Trump recycles the stories that NAFTA has hurt American workers (everyone knows someone affected by NAFTA). Therefore, Trump questions the utility of NAFTA and may borrow from Robert Dole's 1996 "pause" from trade deals. At the very least, NAFTA will be reworked in some form. [If the United States does decide to scrap NAFTA, Canada will still have access to the U.S. market through the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement \(CUSFTA\). Not only that, cooperation between Canada and the United States on border issues does not depend on NAFTA. Without NAFTA, most market access would remain.](#)
- Short Term Issues - during outgoing Vice President Biden's visit to Ottawa in early December 2016, progress was made regarding [water levels in the Great Lakes](#). The Ambassador Bridge is the current bridge between Detroit and Windsor, and progress needs to be made on the new bridge which has been dubbed the Gordie Howe International Bridge. [The Columbia River Treaty](#) is being re-

negotiated, and the issues between Canada and the United States do include dams and also the distribution of electrical power that these dams produce.

- Medium- to long-term issues for Canada: Climate change and clean power will be framed by Trump to consider how mitigation policies would hurt ordinary Americans by making things more expensive for them. For example, the 54.5 miles per gallon goal by 2025 which Canada and the U.S. pledged in Paris is not popular across the three major car companies and likely to be dropped by Trump.
- Nationalist rhetoric will make Canada-U.S. relations challenging. Trump is not isolationist and can rally support. **Therefore, the advice to Canada is to shrug but not be smug.**
- Canada may be wrapped up in Mexico/U.S. border concerns which will be problematic for Canada. **Canada needs to be vigilant to align regulations between U.S./Canada**



The View from Canada

The Trump administration will likely be marked by three idiosyncrasies:

1. The personality of the president
 - Lack of policy/governmental experience
 - But an apparent lack of desire for knowledge and learning
 - A thin-skinned approach to politics
 - A highly idiosyncratic and unprecedented communication style that depends heavily on social media and Twitter in particular.
2. The nature of domestic politics in the United States
 - Trump is the leader of a party that he seized in what in essence was a hostile takeover. There is, as a result, a huge ideological divide between the president's nativism, isolationism and mercantilism and the Republican orthodoxy in Congress, which may recreate the executive-legislative tensions so in evidence during the Obama years.
 - Trump's election marks the ascendancy of "post-truth politics" in the United States, where overt lying is normalized, fake news is regarded as real, and policymakers succumb to the "death of expertise."

3. The policy orientations of the new administration

- There is a high degree of unpredictability after 20 January 2017 that will affect both domestic and foreign policy
- Defence policy and the U.S. alliance system: Trump sees only costs and few benefits to the U.S. of the global American alliance system
- **Canada runs the risk of attracting Trump's attention as a result of our limited defence spending.**

4. Implications

- Canadians expect Trudeau to work with the U.S. President while keeping focus on the protection of Canadian national interest
- **Canada's best response to Trump lies in the 4 Ds of dodgeball: dodge, dip, duck and dive**
- **There is a 5th D: Canada must respond to Trump and his idiosyncrasies in a diplomatic way**
- In particular, **it makes sense for Canadians to resurrect the tradition of quiet diplomacy.**

Canada-U.S. Facts

The United States and Canada share the longest international border in the world.
 About 380,000 people cross between the countries every day by all modes of transport.
 U.S. defence arrangements with Canada are more extensive than with any other country.
 The Permanent Joint Board on Defense provides policy-level consultation on bilateral defense matters.
 The Beyond the Border initiative outlines a cooperative vision for perimeter security and economic competitiveness.
 U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) conducts preclearance operations at eight Canadian airports, allowing air travelers to complete customs and immigration procedures before boarding their flight to the United States.
 The United States and Canada cooperate closely to resolve and manage transboundary environmental and water issues. A principal instrument of this cooperation is the International Joint Commission, established under the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty.
 Canada is the single-largest foreign supplier of energy to the United States.

Panel IV: New Horizons - Big Data, Space, and the Arctic

Panelists: Sara McGuire, Brigadier General Blaise Frawley, and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, moderated by Stephanie Carvin

There are issues that require Canada to plan for the future now. Big data, the essential role space plays in Canadian lives, and the warming Arctic means that now is the time for Canada to consider new policy horizons.

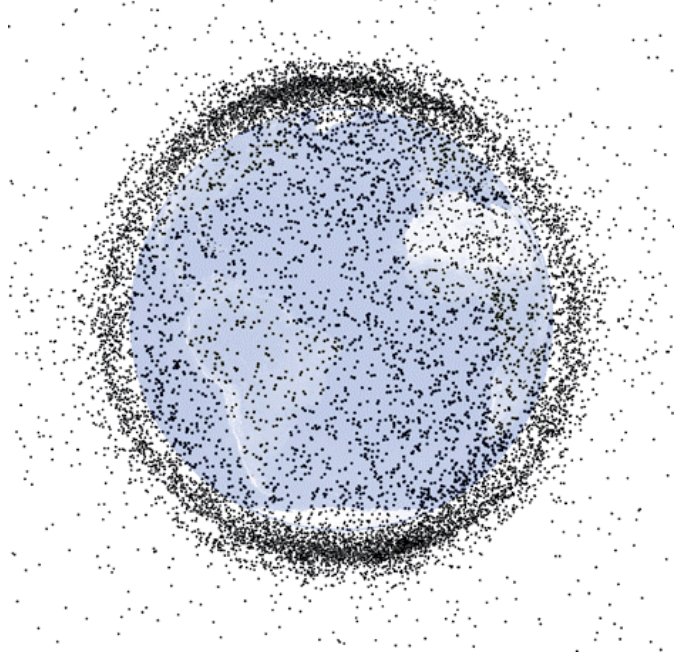
Big Data

- Big data involves the analytic assessment of large data sets. There are two components: 1) Collecting massive amounts of data (n=all), and 2) Analysing the data to generate predictions.
- The process of 'datafication' facilitates the assessment of information that was not previously quantifiable, i.e. the generation of usable information from the data sets. The 3 Vs of big data are: Volume, Velocity, and Variety.
- The ability to predict outcomes and events is the hallmark of Big Data analysis.
- Big data algorithms can be used to reveal patterns in large volumes of information. Intelligence operators and analysts must process massive and growing amounts of information.
- The ability to predict outcomes and events is the main purpose of big data. **These systems are valuable and used by various Canadian government agencies.** The assumption is that more data can predict more outcomes with great accuracy.
- **Big data is an important component of the Canadian national security enterprise.** It has changed the way that threats to the state are predicted and assessed so that those threats can be identified and interdicted before they are realized.
- Big Data algorithms can be used to reveal relevant patterns and correlations in mass of collected information.
- **There is a need to enact privacy rights in order to prevent the violation of citizens' privacy rights.**
- [The National Security Agency](#) in the U.S. employs big data analytics, collecting data from all over the world.
- Canada continues to employ big data strategies, For example, the [National Research Council](#), [FINTRAC](#) and others use big data.
- [Public Safety Canada has called for the effective implementation of big data strategies.](#)

Space

- **Canada is very reliant on space** and as it is a contested environment; collaboration and/or cooperation are key. Space capabilities are woven into the fabric of everyday life and are essential for most of our critical infrastructure.
- The Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) sees space as a fifth frontier (along with land, sea, air and cyber).

Each black dot in this image shows either a functioning satellite, an inactive satellite, or a piece of debris.. (NASA illustration courtesy [Orbital Debris Program Office](#)).



- Space is essential for military operations, both domestic and overseas. GPS timing signal, precision-guided munitions, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR), mapping and imagery, search and rescue (SAR), missile warning, and communications are all dependent on satellites in space. Therefore, **CAF must monitor space debris which could damage satellites.**
- CAF uses a space policy written in 1998. It is outdated and constraining – especially compared to the U.S. Priority is to update the policy in order to create robust space policy to protect space infrastructure and capabilities.
- Director General of Space, on behalf of the Commander of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF), oversees all military aspects relating to space, force development (including satellite ownership; adding search and rescue resources onto satellites; upgrades; usage of satellites by ownership and buying bandwidth, and working with ADM(S&T) on space research and development), force generation (e.g. training personnel), and force employment.

- Challenges in space: First, it is congested – numerous space debris and satellites in orbit must be catalogued and monitored to avoid collisions. Space situational awareness tracks space objects down to about 10cm size to avoid collisions. What counts as provocative behaviour in space? What is a space weapon versus a normal satellite? These are unknowns. Difficulty of attribution in space since it is difficult to monitor and intent is difficult to infer in space.
- **What can Canada do in space? Develop the satellites and capabilities we need to enable CAF.** Collaboration is key. For example, the [Combined Space Operations Initiatives](#) is a Memorandum of Understanding to conduct space operations with the defence departments of Australia, the United States, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand.

Arctic

- Climate change is affecting the Arctic more than anywhere else and it is getting worse. This, however, does not significantly affect sovereignty.
- The conflict narratives do not align with trend lines. There should be an analysis of deterrence and cooperation, not one or the other with respect to the Arctic.
- The broad national Arctic strategy is not expected to change significantly under the new Trudeau government; it has not altered significantly since Trudeau Senior. Harper's integrated and comprehensive approach to Arctic affairs and his pillars of Canadian Arctic strategy have been the same or similar for decades be they under Liberal or Conservative governments. The Government is likely to have heightened focus on indigenous rights and will emphasize diplomacy and cooperation, but this is not entirely new.
- [Joint Canada-US statement on Climate, Energy, and Arctic Leadership](#) – had very little in it about defence and security. Instead optimistic and premised on economics and indigenous rights.

U.S.-Canada Joint Statement on Climate, Energy, and Arctic Leadership Washington D.C. March 10, 2016



- What will Trump do in the Arctic and how will it affect Canada-US relations in the North? The environmental focus is unlikely to take hold with Trump. Likewise indigenous rights and science-based leadership will also receive limited support. Perhaps there will be the ratification of UNCLOS with Trump, and relations with Putin and Russia will change significantly.
- The Arctic game has not changed. **Military conflict is not expected.** The militarization of the Arctic by Russia is interesting. The Russians claim they are being responsive to Canadian and U.S. changes.
- Wider geopolitical changes and great power rivalry is not driven by the Arctic.
- Arctic-level analysis should be on soft security issues like economics, environmental protection, and cooperation. Competition will continue but it does not inherently portend conflict. **Canada should frame Arctic issues through a regional lens to keep it from global rivalry issues.** Canada may not agree with Russia on global issues, but can agree with them on Arctic issues.
- It is not recommended that hard security be added to the [Arctic Council's](#) mandate. Northern Chiefs of Defence meetings will likely not occur, and probably should not until other things have calmed down. NATO's Arctic role is still unclear. Whether it should be more active or restrained so as to not provoke Russian complaints is a debate to be had.
- **Defence of North America, particularly in the Arctic, is best done through the Canada-US bilateral relationship.** The future of NORAD has to be looked at, and hard security cooperation with the U.S. Perhaps trilateral initiatives with Norway, for example, is an option to consider. Denmark and Greenland could also be valuable partners for liaison, intelligence sharing, and other talks.
- There is a need to balance domestic and international security. Defence issues do not drive Arctic issues. **Defence and cooperation should be the centre of Canadian policy.** Arctic governance regimes (which include the Arctic Council, [UNCLOS](#) and other [multilateral agreements](#)) have been resilient and valuable and should be maintained and built upon.

SUMMARY OF ADVICE

In summary, Canada, despite its popularity in the [international press](#) and as a [tourist destination](#), has limited ability to change geopolitical realities. Canada needs to re-establish its relationship with the U.S. and other allies without abandoning national interests which are:

- 1) The health of the economy and society as a whole;
- 2) The defence of the state from armed aggression; and
- 3) A rules-based world order.

To achieve these interests, Canada needs to renew its attention to the art of diplomacy practised over the past 150 years. [Achieving Canada's four foreign policy priorities](#) of multilateralism, trade, U.S.-Canada relations and international peace and security remain appropriate guides by which to navigate the turbulent year that is predicted to be 2017.

PANEL 1 – HOTSPOTS AROUND THE WORLD: ASIA, THE MIDDLE EAST AND EUROPE

Canada is wise to understand all of the complexities of the crises in Asia which are ripe for miscalculations.

Canada and NATO will need to think carefully about their relationship with Turkey in the future especially as Canada's NATO mission to Latvia begins in the spring of 2017.

Canada and Germany may encourage other states to contribute to finding sustainable solutions to the refugee crisis in Europe. Canada may encourage other states to adapt resettlement policies and learn from Canada's longstanding tradition in refugee resettlement. It would be regrettable if Canada were to cut back on refugee resettlement. Canada is a positive example in the world of a country where people can still find a safe haven, find protection and find new livelihoods with all dignity, equality and freedom from discrimination. Perhaps Germany and Canada can raise this issue at the G20 meeting in Hamburg in July 2017.

PANEL 2 – CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS (UN)

Ensuring universal compliance with human rights and humanitarian law is an area that needs much more attention by the UN and will need the help of member states like Canada.

The UN has several grand agreements already (on climate change, the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and sustainable development). Canada's focus should be on consolidating these agreements rather than on finding new ones.

For Canada's planned mission(s) to Africa, it needs to have a deep understanding of what is happening in relevant UN Security Council resolutions as well as on the ground.

Canada needs to appreciate that the mission mandate it signs on to now may not be the mandate that endures over time.

All missions carry a great deal of risk or violence. Canada needs to incorporate this fact in planning, ROE, and equipment decisions when deploying personnel.

Canada needs greater awareness of the regional organization-UN dynamics and these politics when it commits Canadian personnel to UN missions.

Canada should listen carefully to the new UN Secretary-General's priorities and focus on niche areas including: peacekeeping, climate change action (through the Paris Agreement), as well as continued support to human rights and humanitarian activities, including aiding refugees.

Canada's campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council for 2021 - 2023 is not an ends, but a means to advance its foreign policy goals and support the UN.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER, DEPUTY-MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS MR. IAN SHUGART

The Government of Canada will continue to pursue its foreign policy agenda and will not waver regardless of changes to governments elsewhere. Canada's response to events must be multifaceted. Developing resilience is important as is the need to think "holistically" about issues and listen to many voices – especially discordant views. Diplomacy will be needed, as well as alliances, to resolve future conflicts.

PANEL 3 – LIFE AFTER U.S. ELECTIONS

Canada needs to shrug but not be smug about the U.S. election results and focus on aligning regulations between U.S./Canada.

Canada runs the risk of attracting Trump's attention as a result of our limited defence spending.

Canada's best response to Trump lies in the 4 Ds of dodgeball: dodge, dip, duck and dive. There is a 5th D: Canada must respond to Trump and his idiosyncrasies in a diplomatic way.

It makes sense for Canadians to resurrect the tradition of quiet diplomacy.

PANEL 4 - NEW HORIZONS: BIG DATA, SPACE, AND THE ARCTIC

Big data algorithms are valuable and used by various Canadian government agencies.

Big data is an important component of the Canadian national security enterprise.

There is a need to enact privacy rights in order to prevent the violation of citizens' privacy rights.

AGENDA

Thursday, December 8, 2016

Barney Danson Theatre, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa, Ontario



09:00 Introduction: Andrea Charron

09:15 Panel 1: Hot Spots of the World and Impact on Canada

Moderator: Alex S. Wilner

Margaret Huber: "No Lack of Hot Spots in Asia"

Barak Barfi: "Where Will the Tumultuous Middle East Be in 10 Years - Future Paradigms"

Martin Geiger: "Grappling with Merkel: Migration, Refugees, and the Question of EU Leadership"

11:00 Panel 2: The Future UN and Canada's Role

Moderator: David Mendeloff

Edward Luck: "Seeing the UN through Troubled Waters"

Jane Boulden: "Current and Future UN Missions and a Canadian Role"

Allan Rock: "Canada at the UN: Back Where We Belong"

12:30 Lunch & Keynote Address, Moderator: André Plourde

Ian Shugar, Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs: "Canada and the World"

13:30 Panel 3: The World after the U.S. Elections

Moderator: Stephen Saideman

Athanasios Hristoulas: "Mexico and the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election: Between a Rock and a Hard Place"

Christopher Sands: "He Won. Now What? Considerations for Canada-U.S. Relations"

Kim Richard Nossal: "Canada and the Trump Revolution"

15:15 Panel 4: New Horizons – Big Data, Space, and the Arctic

Moderator: Stephanie Carvin

Sara McGuire: "Big Data and the 'Minority Report' Approach to National Security"

BGen Blaise Frawley: "Canadian Armed Forces' Interests and Future in Space"

P. Whitney Lackenbauer: "Warming Arctic, Chilling International Relations? What Canada might expect in 2017"

16:45 Concluding Remarks: Andrea Charron

BIOGRAPHIES

PANEL 1: HOT SPOTS OF THE WORLD AND IMPACT ON CANADA

ALEX S. WILNER is Assistant Professor of International Affairs at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University. He teaches classes on intelligence, international affairs, and strategic foresight. Dr. Wilner's research primarily focuses on the application of deterrence theory to contemporary security issues like terrorism, violent radicalization, organized crime, cyber threats, and proliferation. His books include *Detering Rational Fanatics* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), and *Detering Terrorism: Theory and Practice* (eds., Stanford University Press, 2012), and he has published articles in *International Security*, *NYU Journal of International Law and Politics*, *Security Studies*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Comparative Strategy*, and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*.

MARGARET HUBER'S career with Foreign Affairs is truly remarkable. Her career has included serving as Ambassador to the Czech Republic and Slovakia, to Pakistan, to Jordan and to Iraq, as well as consul general positions in Milan and Osaka and postings to Washington, New York, and Brussels. As Consul General in Osaka and Milan, both major trade and industrial centres, she assisted Canadians to initiate and strengthen commercial, economic, academic and cultural ties. She worked closely with international organizations including the United Nations, the European Union, the International Olympic Committee, the Asian Development Bank and the International Committee of the Red Cross. She is a graduate of McGill University, the University of Ottawa, the Harvard Business School's Advanced Management Program and is a 2014 Fellow of Harvard's Advanced Leadership Initiative.

BARAK BARFI is a research fellow at the New America Foundation, where he specializes in Arab and Islamic Affairs, and a former visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution. His articles have appeared in the *Washington Post*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Foreign Policy*, *Daily Beast*, *The Atlantic*, and *The New Republic*, in addition to being regularly featured in *Project Syndicate*. He has also extensively published in leading foreign publications such as *The Australian*, *Der Standard*, *The Guardian*, *Die Welt*, and *El Pais*. Barak has published several monographs and encyclopedia articles on topics such as al-Qaeda, Libya, and Yemen. He has been quoted in the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *TIME*, *The Atlantic*, *Le Monde*, and *The Daily Telegraph*. He is a frequent commentator on CNN, BBC, MSNBC, and Fox News. Barak frequently testifies before Congress on issues ranging from al-Qaeda to the Syrian conflict. Before entering the think tank world, Barak worked as a correspondent for *Associated Press* and as a producer for ABC News affiliates where he reported from countries such as Iraq and Lebanon. He has lived in half a dozen Middle East countries including Libya and Yemen. Barak did his undergraduate work at the University of Michigan and his graduate studies at Columbia University.

MARTIN GEIGER joined Carleton University in 2014 as a faculty member and was appointed as Assistant Professor of "Politics of Human Migration and Mobility." He holds a PhD and a German "Diploma" in Geography (with minors in Political Science and Sociology) from the University of Bonn in Germany. He has worked for several research institutions and think tanks in the past, including the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) at University of Osnabrück, Germany, the European Migration Centre in Berlin and Florence, Italy, and three other university research centres in Spain, Romania, and Canada. His research, teaching and writings focus on migration and mobility from an interdisciplinary perspective. Primary concerns are the multitude of state and non-state actors involved in governing cross-border mobility today, the various modes and 'tools' that have been invented to 'manage' flows of people, and the real-life effects these interventions have on persons crossing borders, societies, and political systems. Dr. Geiger has written extensively on migration and border management, with a focus on Southern and Eastern Europe, and Northern Africa. He is the founding editor of *Mobility & Politics* (Palgrave Macmillan) and the former recipient of a Government of Canada's Banting Fellowship. He currently holds several other research grant participations, including a project on the role of international organizations in migration policies and a EU Horizon 2020 project on diaspora entrepreneurship. Dr. Geiger is also the recipient of a 2016 Capital Educators' Award for excellence in teaching.

PANEL 2: THE FUTURE UN AND CANADA'S ROLE

DAVID MENDELOFF is Associate Professor of International Affairs at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA) at Carleton University. He is also faculty associate of Carleton's Institute of European and Russian Studies (EURUS), and served as Director of NPSIA's Centre for Security and Defence Studies from 2006-15. His research examines the theory and practice of international and transitional justice, with a particular focus on the impact of accountability mechanisms -- international and domestic prosecutions, truth commissions, vetting -- on wartime civilian violence, war termination, peace processes, and post-war state-building, democratization, rule of law development, and human rights protections. His current research project examines the ICC's ability to act as a nonviolent coercive instrument against war crimes and atrocities in ongoing civil wars. At NPSIA, he teaches courses in international conflict analysis, post-conflict peacebuilding and state-building, and transitional justice. He holds a Ph.D. in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and a B.A. (Hons) in international relations from the Claremont Colleges (Pitzer College).

EDWARD LUCK served from 2008 to 2012 as United Nations Assistant Secretary-General and Special Advisor to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, and joined Columbia's School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) as the Arnold A. Saltzman Professor of Professional Practice in International and Public Affairs. While serving as Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Luck was instrumental in developing and implementing the doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). A leading expert on the UN Security Council, UN reform, and U.S. relations with the world body, Dr. Luck previously served as Senior Vice-President of the International Peace Institute, a New-York based policy research center, and as president and CEO of the United Nations Association of the USA. He has taught at Sciences Po in Paris and at Princeton University, in addition to directing an NYU-Princeton research center and serving as Dean at the University of San Diego. Dr. Luck is the author or editor of five books and hundreds of chapters, reports, and scholarly articles. Dr. Luck has advised numerous countries around the world, U.S. government agencies, and foundations, as well as a number of UN secretaries-general and presidents of the General Assembly. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Century Association, and the boards of several non-profit organizations. Dr. Luck received an AB from Dartmouth College. In addition to his MIA at SIPA, he earned the Certificate of the Russian Institute and a Ph.D. in Political Science from Columbia.

JANE BOULDEN is a professor at the Royal Military College of Canada. She is also a Fellow at the Queen's University Centre for International and Defence Policy. From 2004-2014 she held a Canada Research Chair in International Relations and Security Studies. From August 2000 until December 2003, prior to returning to Canada to take up the CRC, she was a MacArthur Research Fellow at the Centre for International Studies, University of Oxford. Dr. Boulden holds four degrees from Queen's University: B.A.H., M.A., and Ph.D., all in International Relations, as well as an LL.M. in International Law. She has served as a consultant to the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Department of National Defence, and to a variety of research organizations and think tanks. Much of her current work focuses on the United Nations, especially the UN Security Council and its efforts to deal with conflict. Her most recent book is, *Responding to Conflict in Africa, the United Nations and Regional Organizations*, (ed.) Palgrave Macmillan 2013.

ALLAN ROCK was called to the Ontario bar in 1973 and practised civil and administrative litigation for twenty years with a national law firm in Toronto. He was inducted as a Fellow of the American College of Trial Lawyers in 1988. He was elected by his peers as Treasurer (CEO) of the Law Society of Upper Canada in 1992. Mr. Rock was elected to Parliament in 1993 and served for ten years as a member of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's Cabinet, as Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada (1993-1997), Minister of Health (1997-2002) and Minister of Industry and Infrastructure (2002-2003). He was appointed Canada's Ambassador to the United Nations in New York in 2003, and served in that capacity until 2006. Mr. Rock was President of the University of Ottawa from July 1, 2008 until June 30, 2016. One of Canada's leading research universities, uOttawa is also the world's largest bilingual university. With 50,000 students, staff, and faculty and an annual budget over \$1 billion, uOttawa is also a major economic and academic force in Ontario and Canada. During the Winter Term in 2017 Mr. Rock will be a Visiting Scholar at Harvard Law School. He will then return to teach at the University of Ottawa's Faculty of Law.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

IAN SHUGART is the newly appointed Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs effective May 16, 2016. Prior to joining the department, from July 2010 to May 2016, Mr. Shugart was Deputy Minister of Employment and Social Development Canada and chairperson of the Canada Employment Insurance Commission. Before that, he served as Deputy Minister of the Environment, and Associate Deputy Minister of the Environment at Environment Canada where he was heavily involved in international climate change negotiations. Before joining Environment Canada, Mr. Shugart held several senior positions in the health portfolio in which he served as Senior Assistant Deputy Minister (ADM); ADM in the Health Policy Branch; visiting ADM in the Health Protection Branch; and Executive Director of the former Medical Research Council (now Canadian Institutes of Health Research). While working at Health Canada, Mr. Shugart was also actively engaged at the international level, serving as Chair of the Global Health Security Action Group and of the Health Task Force of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, and as a director on the executive board of the World Health Organization. Prior to this, Mr. Shugart served as Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet for Social Policy and Programs in the Federal-Provincial Relations Office of the Privy Council Office. He spent several years on Parliament Hill in senior advisory roles to the Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, National Health and Welfare and to the leader of the opposition. He is a graduate in political economy from Trinity College at the University of Toronto.

ANDRÉ PLOURDE was appointed as Carleton University's Dean of Public Affairs for a five-year term commencing July 1, 2011. Currently, Dr. Plourde is Associate Dean (Research) in the Faculty of Arts and Professor of Economics at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Alberta. Dr. Plourde is no stranger to Ottawa, having served as a professor in the Department of Economics at the University of Ottawa for 11 years prior to joining the University of Alberta in 1998. Dr. Plourde's administrative experience includes terms as chair of the Department of Economics at both the University of Ottawa and the University of Alberta, and Associate Dean for the MBA programs in the School of Business at the University of Alberta. Dr. Plourde has also served in the federal public service. He served as Director of Economic Studies and Policy Analysis in the Department of Finance from 1997 to 1998 and from 2003 to 2004 as Associate Assistant Deputy Minister and then Acting Assistant Deputy Minister for the Energy Sector of Natural Resources Canada (NRCan).

PANEL 3: THE WORLD AFTER U.S. ELECTIONS

STEPHEN SAIDEMAN holds the Paterson Chair in International Affairs at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA). He has written four books with the most recent being *Adapting in the Dust: Lessons Learned from Canada's War in Afghanistan*, as well as articles and chapters on nationalism, ethnic conflict, civil war, and civil-military relations. Before joining Carleton University, Dr. Saideman was Canada Research Chair in International Security and Ethnic Conflict at McGill University. Prior to that, Dr. Saideman spent 2001-2002 on the U.S. Joint Staff working in the Strategic Planning and Policy Directorate as part of a Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship. He recently received the Social Science Research Council's Abe Fellowship (co-funded by the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership) and is serving as a Visiting Fellow at the Air Staff College of Japan's Air Self-Defense Force. His research has been funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Department of National Defence, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Canadian Foundation for Innovation, the Carnegie Corporation, and the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation. He has won two awards for teaching, one for public engagement and one for mentoring other faculty. He writes online at OpenCanada.org, *Political Violence at a Glance*, *Duck of Minerva* and his own site (saideman.blogspot.com). He also tweets at [@smsaideman](https://twitter.com/smsaideman). He is currently working on the role of legislatures in civil-military relations.

ATHANASIOS HRISTOULAS was born in Montreal, Canada, and is Professor of International Relations at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México since 1996. He is also the Director of the National Security program at the same institution. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from McGill University in 1995. Before relocating to Mexico, he was the "Military and Strategic Post-Doctoral Fellow" at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA) at Carleton University. He is a member of the editorial committee of *Foreign Affairs en español*, and is a founding member of the Mexican think-tank CASEDE (Committee for the Analysis of Security and Democracy). He is a member of the prestigious National System of Researchers, Level II. He is regularly invited by the Mexican Senate, Navy, Army, and intelligence service to consult and to give talks. His principle research interests include Mexican National Security and North American Security cooperation. He has also widely published in civil-military relations in Mexico. He is presently conducting a cross-national study of 166 countries for the year 2010 which examines the linkage between democracy and reform of national security sectors.

CHRISTOPHER SANDS is Senior Research Professor and Director of the Center for Canadian Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University. He is concurrently the G. Robert Ross Distinguished Visiting Professor of Canada-U.S. Business and Economic Relations in the College of Business and Economics at Western Washington University. From 2005 until 2012, he taught in the School of Public Affairs and the School of International Service at American University. Dr. Sands worked for more than twenty-two years in Washington D.C. think tanks, starting in 1993 as Canada Project Coordinator at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Dr. Sands served as Director of the CSIS Canada Project from 1995 until 2006, leading the CSIS Congressional Study Group on Canada and chairing the CSIS Smart Border North Working Group. His research considered the impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement, the 1995 Quebec Referendum and the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on U.S.-Canadian Relations. Today, Dr. Sands is a Senior Associate at CSIS, advising the scholars of the Americas Program on North American issues. From 2007 until 2016, he was a Senior Fellow of the Hudson Institute where he directed the Hudson Initiative on North American Competitiveness. At Hudson, Dr. Sands led studies of the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America, alternative energy futures for North America, and automotive industrial policy in the wake of the 2009 U.S. and Canadian bailouts of General Motors and Chrysler. In addition to CSIS and Hudson, his work has been published by several of Washington's leading think tanks including the American Enterprise Institute, the Atlantic Council, the Brookings Institution, the Center for the Study of the Presidency, the Migration Policy Institute and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Dr. Sands is a fellow of the Border Policy Research Institute in Bellingham, Washington and serves on the advisory boards for the Macdonald Laurier Institute in Ottawa and for the Canada-United States **Law Institute**.

KIM RICHARD NOSSAL is a professor in the department of political studies and the Centre for International and Defence Policy at Queen's University. He is a former editor of International Journal and was president of the Canadian Political Science Association in 2005-2006. He served as chair of the academic selection committee of the Security and Defence Forum of the Department of National Defence from 2006 to 2012. He is the author of a number of works on Canadian foreign and defence policy. His latest book, *Charlie Foxtrot: Fixing Defence Procurement in Canada* will be published by Dundurn Press **on December 10, 2016**.

PANEL 4: NEW HORIZONS – BIG DATA, SPACE, AND THE ARCTIC

STEPHANIE CARVIN is Assistant Professor of International Relations at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. Her research interests cover international law, security, terrorism and technology. Currently, she is teaching in the areas of critical infrastructure protection, technology and warfare, and foreign policy. Stephanie holds a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics and published her thesis as *Prisoners of America's Wars: From the Early Republic to Guantanamo* (Columbia/Hurst, 2010). Her most recent book is *Science, Law, Liberalism and the American Way of Warfare: The Quest for Humanity in Conflict* (Cambridge, 2015), co-authored with Michael J. Williams. In 2009, Dr. Carvin was a Visiting Scholar at George Washington University Law School and worked as a consultant to the U.S. Department of Defense Law of War Working Group. From 2012-2015, she was an analyst with the Government of Canada focusing on **national security issues**.

SARA MCGUIRE is a lecturer in the International Relations Program at the University of Pennsylvania. Previously, she was Assistant Professor of Intelligence and National Security Studies at the University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP) and Associate Director for Teaching and Learning of the National Security Studies Institute at UTEP. She holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario and an LL.M. in International Public and Comparative Law from the University of Exeter in the U.K. Dr. McGuire completed her Master of Arts in War Studies at the Royal Military College of Canada and her Bachelor of Arts (Honours) at Queen's University, both in Kingston, Ontario. She has presented papers at a number of academic conferences. Dr. McGuire serves on various academic journal review boards, and is a member of the Bracton Law Society. Her research interests include American and Canadian foreign and defense policy, homeland security, international relations theory, and international law.

BRIGARDIER GENERAL BLAISE FRAWLEY is Director General – Space in Ottawa, ON. He joined the Canadian Armed Forces in 1985 and upon completion of training proceeded to 425 Squadron in Bagotville. BGen Frawley's flying experience includes two operational tours on 425 Squadron as well as a two-year F/A-18 exchange with the United States Marine Corps in El Toro, California. He has also completed three tours as a CF-18 instructor pilot at 410 Squadron. His deployment experience consists of flying combat missions over the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Kosovo as part of Operation Allied Force in the spring of 1999, four-months as Executive Officer of the Task Force Aviano National Command Element at Vicenza, Italy, and eleven-months as the Air Mobility Division Deputy Director, 609th Combined Air and Space Operations Centre at Al Udeid Airbase, Qatar. During his many operational and instructional flying tours, BGen Frawley has accumulated over 3000 hours on the F-18 Hornet. He is a graduate of the Fighter Weapons Instructor and the Fighter Electronic Warfare Advanced Radar courses. Additionally, he is a graduate of the Canadian Forces Command and Staff College in Toronto, and the United States Air Force 'Air War College' at Maxwell AFB, Alabama. He holds a Bachelor's of Military Arts and Sciences from the Royal Military College of Canada, and a Master's of Strategic Studies from the United States Air Force Air University.

P. WHITNEY LACKENBAUER is a Professor in the Department of History and co-director of the Centre on Foreign Policy and Federalism at St. Jerome's University in the University of Waterloo. He is also Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel of 1st Canadian Ranger Patrol Group headquartered in Yellowknife with sixty patrols spanning Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut, as well as a Fellow with the Canadian Global Affairs Institute and adjunct professor with the Frost Centre for Canadian Studies & Indigenous Studies at Trent University. He recently co-led the Emerging Arctic Security Environment project through ArcticNet and the Arctic Peoples and Security pillar of the Munk-Gordon Arctic security project. A prolific author, Dr. Lackenbauer specializes in Arctic policy, history, sovereignty, and governance issues; modern Canadian political, military, and diplomatic history; and Indigenous-state relations in Canada.

Links in order of presentation in the report

<http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/training-paid-education/priorities.page>

Panel 1

<http://www.worldbank.org/en/region/eap/publication/east-asia-pacific-economic-update>
http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/security-securite/middle_east-moyen_orient/index.aspx?lang=eng
<http://www.worldaudit.org/democracy.htm>
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sa.html>
<http://time.com/time-person-of-the-year-2015-angela-merkel/>
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/28210/MARINE_LE+PEN_home.html

Panel 2

<https://www.un.org/sg/en>
<http://www.un.org/en/sc/members/>
<http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/03/16/prime-minister-announces-canadas-bid-non-permanent-seat-united-nations-security>
<http://www.rcinet.ca/en/2016/09/25/canadas-african-peacekeeping-mission-options/>
<http://www.un.org/en/sections/what-we-do/protect-human-rights/>
<https://www.icrc.org/en/war-and-law>
http://unfccc.int/paris_agreement/items/9485.php
<http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/responsibility.shtml>
<http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/climate-change-2/>
<http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/methods/>
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/current.shtml>
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors.shtml>
<https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2016-12-12/secretary-general-designate-ant%C3%B3nio-guterres-oath-office-speech>
https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/23/us/politics/nikki-haley-donald-trump-un-ambassador.html?_r=2
<https://www.icc-cpi.int/about>
<http://www.francophonie.org/>
<http://www.apec.org/>

Keynote Speaker, Mr. Ian Shugart

<http://www.parliament.uk/eu-referendum>
http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/security-securite/middle_east-moyen_orient/index.aspx?lang=eng
<http://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/campaign-campagne/ceta-aecg/index.aspx?lang=eng>
<http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=1152779>

Panel 3

<https://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/>
<http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/11/09/statement-prime-minister-canada-result-us-presidential-election>
<http://www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/agr-acc/nafta-alena/index.aspx?lang=eng>
<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/mexican-immigrants-united-states>
<https://www.canninghouse.org/canningpaperjuly15chapter5/>
<https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/wha/rls/fs/18128.htm>
<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/five-security-priorities-for-mexico>
<https://www.cdhowe.org/intelligence-memos/christopher-sands-don%E2%80%99t-panic-canada-and-2016-us-election>
<http://www.ijc.org/en/>
<https://www.crt2014-2024review.gov/>

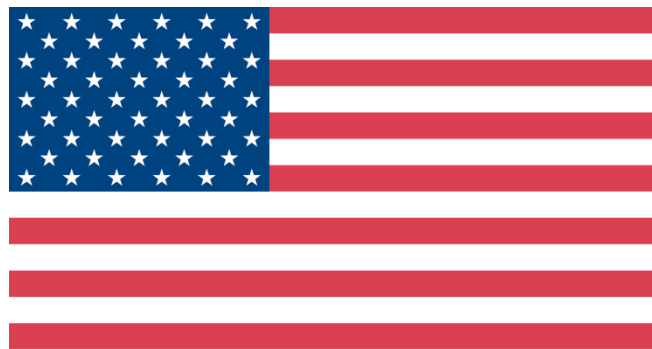
Panel 4

<https://www.nsa.gov/>
<http://www.nrc-cnrc.gc.ca/eng/>
<http://www.fintrac.gc.ca/intro-eng.asp>
<https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2015/11/12/federal-security-agencies-need-to-embrace-big-data-crunching-or-risk-failing-to-foresee-threats-warns-internal-report.html>
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And to all of our speakers and especially audience members – thank you!

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