



THE YEAR AHEAD

AN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE
AND DEFENCE OUTLOOK FOR 2018

CENTRE FOR SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE AND DEFENCE STUDIES (CSIDS)
NORMAN PATERSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NPSIA)
MARCH 2018

**The Year Ahead:
An International Security, Intelligence and Defence Outlook for 2018**

Highlights from the Conference Held On December 7, 2017

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ABOUT THE CENTRE

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

Mission Statement

The Centre for Security, Intelligence and Defence Studies (CSIDS) is situated within Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA). 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 50 years, the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (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 Master's and Doctoral levels in Canada, including a combined Master of Arts/Juris Doctor (MA/JD) degree with the Faculty of Law at the University of Ottawa. 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 a well-rounded understanding of our complex global environment.

The Director of NPSIA/CSIDS

In the absence of a Director for CSIDS, the Director of NPSIA, Yiagadeesen (Teddy) Samy, led the organization of this year's CSIDS conference. Samy holds a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Ottawa, an M.A. in Economics from the University of Toronto, and a B.A. (Honours) in Economics and Mathematics from York University. He is a Professor of International Affairs at NPSIA, which he joined in 2003, and has been NPSIA's Director since July 1, 2017. His main fields of expertise are in international and development economics, and his research in recent years has focused on foreign aid, fragile states, taxation, and income inequality. His textbook on African Economic Development (co-authored with Arch Ritter and Steven Langdon) will be published by Routledge in 2018. He has also published in numerous peer-reviewed journals, including *Third World Quarterly*, *International Interactions*, the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, the *Journal of International Trade and Economic Development*, and *Applied Economics*.

Student Organizers

NPSIA M.A. Candidates Rachel Laborce and Monica Morrison and Ph.D. Candidate Uri Marantz were the main student organizers of this event, with the assistance of several graduate students from NPSIA. A special thank you to Nancy Carvell and other volunteers who acted as rapporteurs, namely Katherine de Loë, Catherine Yorgoro, Eliane Goulet-Beaudry, Sarah Duncan, Matthew Ng, Nicolas Corbeil and Amanda Bergmann. Further thanks go to Jyotsna Venkatesh and Paige Kirk for the designs of the cover and advertisement, respectively.

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A special thank you to the administrative staff at NPSIA, and especially Karen Howard.

THE YEAR AHEAD: AN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE AND DEFENCE OUTLOOK FOR CANADA FOR 2018

On December 7, 2017, several academics, experts, and practitioners from Canada and the United States, along with an audience of over one hundred and forty civil servants, academics, students, and members of the public were invited to Canada's War Museum in Ottawa to reflect on the challenges for Canada in the immediate future on four themed panels: 1) hot spots around the world and their impact on Canada; 2) challenges for Canada's ongoing missions abroad; 3) managing the Canada-US relationship; and 4) new horizons: cyber-warfare and cyber-security.

As originally conceived by the former Director of CSIDS, Dr. Rob McRae, the objective of this annual conference (first held in 2015 and then in 2016) is to provide an opportunity for experts from academia and the public sector to have a conversation about international security challenges that the Canadian government and its closest allies are likely to face in the coming year. The four themes covered during the conference 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. This report summarizes what was discussed during this wide-ranging conference.

Panel I: Hot Spots Around the World and Their Impact on Canada

Chair: David Carment

Panelists: Ankit Panda, Barak Barfi, and Milana Nikolko

Asia and the Pacific

Several flashpoints abound in the Asia-Pacific, namely the Korean Peninsula and the South China Sea. For starters, the situation on the Korean Peninsula and in East Asia continues to flummox experts. Improvements in the military capabilities of the North Korean regime have surpassed the predictions and expectations of many seasoned commentators. From 1994, when North Korea detonated its first nuclear device, to January 2017, the United States' (US) designation system for tracking these developments has evolved from KN 1 to KN 14. Several new weapons systems – all the way up to KN 22 – are reportedly in development, with intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) technology among the most worrying. It is now confirmed that North Korea has credible ICBM capabilities. The first and most likely targets are South Korea and Japan, with Japan seeing many test missiles flying over and above their sovereign territory. Japan has been preparing for this eventuality since the 1990s. In addition to the 28,500 US troops stationed on the Peninsula, the US and South Korea have been working closely to coordinate potential military responses to the North.

Looking ahead, North Korea's ICBM program will undoubtedly expand in 2018 and beyond. Research and development in solid fuel for its ICBMs is the next step for this weapons program. Solid fuel increases the survivability of North Korea's rocket delivery

systems. The submarine fleet being assembled by the North Koreans can also do severe damage in any conventional conflict. While the US and South Korea clearly hold the qualitative military edge, North Korea still possesses formidable military forces. Marshalling 1.2 million conscripts and spending 25% of its gross domestic product (GDP) on defence expenditures, Pyongyang's geographic proximity to Seoul has helped deter enemy attacks since long before nuclear weapons entered the scene. Throughout 2017, North Korea has been observed liquidating their sovereign reserves to jumpstart its strategic weapons development, even delving into cryptocurrency markets to explore alternative funding mechanisms. Finally, the Kim Jong-Un regime has identified new approaches to its conventional strategy of national self-reliance. Supply chains and arms production have been reoriented for maximum domestic productivity. As a consequence, embargoes of oil or other raw materials may not impede North Korean weapons development.



The South China Sea is another area of contestation that may become more competitive in 2018. Issues regarding freedom of navigation and disputed maritime territories have so far dominated this region. President Donald J. Trump remains unpredictable as ever, but the Trump Administration has so far paid less attention to this issue than expected. The Philippines, chair of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) this past year, has appealed directly to China to resolve these issues outside the scope of The Hague. As Singapore takes over as ASEAN chair, any member-state of this consensus-based organization may raise the issue going forward. The Obama Administration's Freedom of Navigation program highlighted the issue, but President Trump has not given it the same urgency or importance.

More broadly, the US-China relationship has prospered under Trump despite continued Chinese growth in relative capabilities. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) in China has boosted its military capabilities to the point that two naval carriers were launched this past year, with the Liaoning – China's first aircraft carrier - completing its first overseas tour and China establishing its first blue-water base in Djibouti. The budding Pacific-democratic convergence of interests between Australia, India, Japan, and the US will be watched closely by China as this quadrilateral alliance is likely to facilitate joint military exercises in the region. While trade, finance, and intellectual property all remain contentious, Trump has significantly downplayed these issues from early on to smooth over any potential confrontations. Some have speculated – and Trump has tweeted – that this may be a deliberate strategy to ensure greater cooperation from China on the North Korean file. Perhaps the goal is for China to mediate the dispute as the only interlocutor the North Koreans can trust. As Trump and Kim trade barbs and routinely provoke each other with nuclear brinkmanship, effective communication may be a necessary condition to manage this decades-long conflict.



Middle East and North Africa

The Middle East and North Africa has always been a difficult region for policy-relevant predictions. One of the biggest questions is what will happen to the Islamic State (IS) militant organization now that it has for the most part lost its safe havens and bases of operation in Syria and Iraq. The transition into a guerrilla insurgency rather than a pseudo-state military is well underway, moving from urban centres to desert landscapes. As the conflict winds down, foreign fighters fleeing Iraq and Syria are either returning to their countries of origin or reinforcing the ranks of radical militants elsewhere, like Libya, Yemen, and Afghanistan. IS continue to pose a clear and present danger to the international community as the revenue they once raised through looting, taxation, and extortion may yet be redirected towards nefarious terrorist purposes. Time will tell whether IS regroupes and learns from its mistakes, as other Salafi-jihadist groups – namely al Qaeda – have done after being hunted and ousted from Afghanistan and Iraq throughout the 2000s.

Beyond the persistent threat posed by incipient insurgencies, failed states are the next pressing policy problem plaguing the Middle East and North Africa. Several fragile states continue to grapple with the destabilizing consequences of the Arab Spring uprisings from 2011. Serious questions remain about whether pivotal states – like Libya, Syria, and Yemen – can eventually rebound from these setbacks. Historically, desert terrain has made it difficult for standing armies to conquer and rule vast swathes of territory, and logistics in the twenty-first century do not make it any easier. Egypt, a state that was on

the verge of collapse in 2011, has traditionally dominated the Arab world due to its strategic location, massive population, and cultural hegemony. From Nasser to Sadat to Mubarak, Egyptian autocrats have influenced the international relations of the region. The current al-Sisi government has so far exerted far less influence on its neighbours than past regimes. Even more, Egypt is a major player in the Sunni-Shiite sectarian rift pitting the Sunni state of Saudi Arabia against the Shiite powerhouse Iran and its proxies.

The Sunni-Shiite proxy wars are one of the defining features of the modern Middle East, and the Trump presidency has heavily favoured the Sunnis. The pan-Arabism propounded by Egypt in the past has been replaced by competing sectarian identities, though these have been modified by particular nationalistic characteristics. In Saudi Arabia, Sunni Islam is influenced by the Wahhabi sect and in Iran the Islamic Republic's Khomeini-inspired Governance of the Jurist dominates. Both spread their ideologies and influence through regional proxies aligned with their sectarian identities. The Saudi intervention in Yemen – a major proxy war between the two regional powers – has strained US credibility in the region as both sides claim moral superiority while the people of Yemen suffer casualties, malnutrition, and disease. In fact, Saudi escalation in Yemen – in response to Iranian-supplied Houthi missiles – is likely to benefit the expansion of al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), which already controls several cities throughout Yemen.

Finally, the Arab-Israeli conflict has faded into the background for most regional players as other schisms come to the fore. Trump's declaration on Jerusalem in December, coming just before the winter holidays for most Western publics, sparked significant controversy in the wider Arab and Muslim worlds. While fears of a Third Intifada may have been overblown, the prospects for a Palestinian-Israeli peace deal are dismally low. Not only are the Palestinian factions split on key issues, but so are the domestic politics of several regional players. Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states are moving closer to Israel on geostrategic issues in light of the shared Iranian threat, and other pivotal states like Egypt and Turkey are consumed with their own problems, be they domestic

protests or regional conflicts. US security assistance has historically kept these regimes insulated from these problems, but Trump's relentless rhetoric about cost-saving measures and reduced US foreign aid may increase the pressures on these governments.

Russia, Ukraine, and Eastern Europe

The Russian-Ukrainian impasse has been years in the making and continues to be a sore spot for the Western world's relations with the Russian Federation. Russia continues to see eastward expansion under the European Union (EU) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as inherently threatening to its influence and destabilizing for the region. The Russian reaction to the Georgian conflict in 2008 is a poignant reminder. Russian President Vladimir Putin has since made modernization a national priority, to the point that about three-quarters of its military equipment has been modernized as of 2017. Putin's strategic use of hybrid warfare, which has worked so effectively in Ukraine and elsewhere in Eastern Europe, is likely to continue in 2018. How will the frozen conflict in Ukraine play out? Several scenarios are discernible. One is the status quo, a stalemate between East and West that neither side has an incentive to resolve. Another is rapid Russian expansion and escalation, which is unlikely but always a possibility and would need to be preceded by some sort of provocation. A third possibility is a negotiated compromise. So far, the international community has failed to arrive at a consensus solution supported by all sides. According to local experts, Russia is more interested in harmonizing relations with European countries than ever before. Symbolic steps are being taken in Crimea, and the hope is that these spillover into Ukraine.



As Putin positions himself for re-election in 2018, managing the optics of the Ukrainian conflict will be seminal for his public relations. The same could be said of Russia's ongoing intervention in Syria since Russia's timely investments in the Middle East have paid tangible dividends. In a field of peripheral candidates and virtually assured victory, conservative estimates put at least 75% of the Russian population solidly behind Putin. The types of individuals Putin surrounds himself with may determine future Russian policies. For example, the former Minister of Finance, Alexei Kudrin, would be a liberalizing force for the Russian economy, which badly needs diversification in this era of lower energy and commodity prices. In time, this liberalization may translate into other policy domains, including greater flexibility and multilateralism with Western states on regional conflicts.

In Canada, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau is ambivalent about the situation in Ukraine. As a result, Canada's commitment to Ukrainian sovereignty is ongoing even though conflict resolution remains unlikely. As Canada and the US provide arms to the opposition, a recurrent question is whether these are likely to cause or deter future conflict. Arms provision seems to perpetuate this "grey-zone" of low-level armed conflict with no end in sight. Canada continues to support civil society initiatives on top of its security commitments, even as the Russians bristle at Canadian "interference" in Ukraine's domestic politics. Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chrystia Freeland, has been adamant about Canadian support for Ukrainian territorial integrity and opposition to Russian policies in the region. Members of the Ukrainian Diaspora community no doubt factor into the Canadian government's policy positions on this issue, but the shared values of liberalism and democracy are also strong motivators of Canadian support for Ukraine versus Russia on this issue. Putin also faces domestic pressures to protect Russian ethnics in Ukraine, so it is safe to assume ethnic politics will continue to play a role in this conflict.

Panel II: Missions, Missions, and More Missions?

Chair: Philippe Lagassé

Panelists: Brigadier-General David Anderson, Monica Duffy Toft, Stephen Saideman

Managing Missions At Home and Abroad

The Canadian military is involved in at least 20 ongoing operations around the world and deploys around 2,000 service personnel at any given time. Canada's new Defence Policy – Strong, Secure, Engaged – is a paradigm-shifting policy. The objective is to “provide Canada with an agile, multi-purpose combat-ready military” that serves Canadian men and women and prepares the broader public to face the challenges of the twenty-first century. The commitment to concurrent operations is a novel addition to the policy, with a specific size and output for each mission. Small missions and commitments will not disappear, but the possibility and potential for nine major operations when Canada is only conducting three is a big change for the security situation. Humanitarian missions abroad, national defence in North America, and continued commitment to NORAD are major missions that remain constant throughout. As the connective tissue between various military missions and contingencies, logistics, medicine, and supply chains are now more important than ever.

In an era of unpredictability, Strong, Secure, Engaged is a welcome change from conventional military planning. As geopolitics around the world revert to resembling zero-sum games, Canadian interventions need to be more selective and strategic than ever before.

For example, Middle Eastern power plays can partly be explained by the remnants of the Persian, Ottoman, and Arabian empires jockeying for influence. For Canadian servicemen and women, harm reduction and force protection remain as important as ever. Development assistance to key recipients has been one lever through which Canada has exercised its influence in the past, but peacekeeping operations have also been important. Plenty of games in town – the US, NATO, United Nations (UN), etc. – mean that Canada can afford to take the time to consider where to spend its scarce resources most effectively. Places where Canada's national interests are not directly threatened may not warrant as many of these resources.

Peacekeeping and the UN

Given the number of civil wars and ongoing conflicts around the world, the demand for international peacekeeping operations and conflict interventions has never been higher. Several trends are evident.



One worrying development is that states are backsliding away from democracy and towards autocracy, or less representative forms of government. Anocracies – states with semi-representative institutions – face the most difficulty governing and are the most prone to civil war and armed conflict. Ethnic conflict, regime change, revolutionary war, and mass killings are key issues that anocracies are statistically more likely to encounter than democracies or autocracies. Anocracies are also less likely to see civil wars resolved by negotiated settlement; in fact, military victory is more likely to lead to post-conflict peace in anocracies, although compromise has generally become more common since the end of the Cold War.

As a result of this increased demand for intervention, UN peacekeepers have been deployed to dozens of countries contemporaneously undergoing conflict. Many countries support these UN peacekeeping operations, with the notable exception of many countries in the Middle East. At the same time, many of these missions are being executed by NATO – an alliance made up of Western powers – rather than the UN. Since the US has a military footprint in most countries, interventions are not always deliberate and strategic. When used effectively, as in monitoring and enforcement missions, UN peacekeepers reduce battle-related deaths and civilian casualties. The general pattern is that interventions tend to prolong civil wars, but it matters which side the intervener supports. Rebel support helps tilt the balance of power away from the government, but rebels that become too strong end up fighting conventional instead of asymmetric warfare, making them better targets for state-backed militaries. Continued instability worldwide means more missions are an inevitability, even if most civil wars never actually experience foreign intervention. The mandates of the UN are also expanding towards warfighting; the UN is moving away from principles of consent, impartiality, and non-use of force and more towards counter-insurgency operations. One possibility that it could consider would be to partner with parallel forces (such as France in Mali) instead of creating new strike and combat forces within peacekeeping operations.



Partners and Caveats

Allies often distrust each other. Going back to World War II, for example, the leader of the Free French, Charles de Gaulle, was notorious for his skepticism and pessimism regarding the fidelity of the Allied countries. The central dynamic within alliance politics is the alliance dilemma, the perceived fear of abandonment versus entanglement. States alternate between fearing abandonment in their hour of need and being entangled in unnecessary conflicts. US foreign policy in the Asia-Pacific exemplifies this dual dilemma, especially in its relations with South Korea and Japan. The same dynamic was played out during the Cold War when US soldiers were deployed to West Germany to serve as a strategic “trip wire” for incoming Soviet troops intending to steamroll through Europe. Burden-sharing approaches to force generation in NATO basically amount to begging for contributions at this point. Multilateral alliances are prone to these dilemmas since collective security regimes and military coalitions do not always have established rules or standard operating procedures.

The regimes and institutions behind these alliances and coalitions determine their battlefield success. For example, when a country provides soldiers for an upcoming or ongoing intervention, a list of guidelines and restrictions is given, which limits the operational capacities of these troops. These restrictions are necessary because of the domestic politics of coalition governments, but they end up simply transferring the costs and risks of intervention to states with less caveats or restrictions. The code of conduct for military

engagement is hammered out by the civilian government. Germany is a prime example of a country that has revisited and revised these restrictions over the course of the war in Afghanistan since 2001. Going forward, other countries should reconsider their rules of engagement if coalition operations are to work.

These days, most liberal democracies – the US, UK, Canada, and others – are overcommitted and underfunded. Many countries are still recovering from the 2008-09 financial crisis and are wary of spending more than they have to on wars of choice. For instance, one of the sticking points between Canada and the US within NORAD is the refurbishment and modernization of distant early-warning outposts circling the perimeter of the continent. Furthermore, voting patterns in the UN Security Council are returning to Cold War-era patterns, with deadlock and mutual recriminations becoming commonplace in conflicts from Ukraine to Syria to Yemen. One of the results of deadlock in the Security Council is the rise of special operations forces and private military contractors, who can act without direct orders from national governments. On the other hand, alliances and coalitions between governments depend on reputations that have been formed over time. Reassurance in international coalitions is critical, which is why the Trump factor risks destabilizing modern alliance relationships and leading to less effective military missions abroad.



Attribution: Staff Sgt. Alexander W. Riedel, U.S. Air Forces Central Command, 2017

Panel III: Managing the Canada-US Relationship

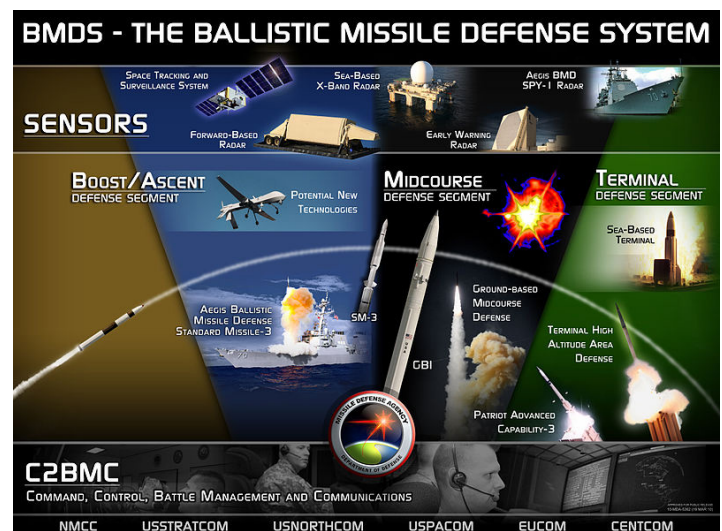
Chair: Stephen Saideman

Speakers: James Fergusson, Christopher Sands

The New Defence Relationship

In 2018, the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) will celebrate its 60-year anniversary. Canada has long been committed to working closely with the US to detect, deter, and defend threats to or attacks on North American soil. The new Canadian Defence Policy unveiled in Strong, Secure, Engaged aims to provide the Canadian Armed Forces with the capabilities it needs to meet these objectives, but some shortcomings still exist. One is the tricky issue of sovereignty. The commander of NORAD has always been from the US, and its headquarters is in the US. There are regional commands for air defence in most of the continental US, but this is not the case in Canada. Both sides have expressed discontent and frustration about ballistic missile defence (BMD) over the years. When Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker agreed to set NORAD up in 1958, the nature of the world and the threat environment was much different than it is today. Managing the battlespaces of the future means modernizing information technology, improving cruise missile detection systems, and more effectively detecting, deterring, and defending North American aerospace and maritime sectors. Since the looming missile-based threat from North Korea supplanted the Cold War era's Soviet scares, Canada needs to decide as soon as possible whether BMD is a national security priority or not.

Resource shortages are another major issue as both countries continue to pursue austerity measures. Rising costs associated with issue-areas beyond the remit of the original NORAD agreement may yet undermine bilateral security cooperation. For example, cyber-warfare and cyber-security were never included in the original cost-sharing schemes but have been added over the years. Canada benefits a great deal from the mutual defence afforded by this binational command structure, but would the resulting security cooperation stemming from this bilateral agreement be enough to structure the military and civilian responses to unforeseen contingencies, like natural disasters or otherwise? In any case, Canada can demonstrate its policy relevance and utility to the US by giving it symbolic wins since this seems to matter a great deal to Trump – holding NORAD meetings in Colorado Springs, for example – while lobbying behind closed doors for Canadian security and economic interests.





Canada can also raise its defence spending to offset US concerns about alliance burden-sharing, play a role in bridging US-European relations in the wake of “Brexit,” and lead by example through the G7 Presidency in 2018. Canada is even standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the US on North Korea, hosting a conference in January 2018 with foreign ministers from 20 countries to find a diplomatic solution to the crisis.

The Economic Consequences of the Peace with Trump

The Depression-era economist, John Maynard Keynes, addressed the economic consequences of peace after conflict. Any discussion of the economic consequences of “peace after Trump” must consider the good and the bad. For starters, Candidate Trump embodied a refreshing outsider’s approach to politics, speaking brazenly and unambiguously like few politicians before him. Paradoxically, Prime Minister Trudeau’s Liberal Party represented continuity and stability whereas Trump’s incarnation of the Republican Party foreshadowed anything but conservatism and business as usual. The campaign trail refrain to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is just one example of the chaos and confusion engineered by Trump on his unpredictable path to the White House. Perhaps the most astute response the Trudeau government has had to the Trump Administration was the cultivation of positive interpersonal relationships with what many have come to consider a mercurial president. By engaging with the state, county, and municipal levels of government, Canada gained a better working relationship with the Trump family, goodwill on all sides and at all levels, and overall positive outcomes.

The terms of any renegotiated NAFTA deal or replacement are high on the priority list. Minister of International Trade, Chrystia Freeland, has popularized the phrase “progressive trade agreement” by insisting on progressive chapters, like labour standards, gender equality, environmental protections, and Indigenous rights. While the US may claim them as “sticking points,” the real sticking points for Canadians are unconventional US proposals dealing with dispute resolution, the sunset clause, and rules of origin. Wary policymakers are considering other options if NAFTA falls through, which is why the recently signed Canada-European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) was such a big deal and why the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) remains a distinct possibility too. Trump’s America First agenda may embolden nationalist sentiments in Canada, one trend to watch out for during the next election cycles (2018 midterm elections in the US, 2019 federal elections in Canada). In the shadow of a rising American exceptionalism, Canada’s objectives may be as modest as avoiding the trauma resulting from what essentially amounts to a domestic identity crisis in the US and abrupt policy pivots. In line with Trump’s ghost-written *Art of the Deal* (1987), the madness of the method behind his NAFTA negotiating style may yet be revealed.



Panel IV: New Horizons: Cyber-Warfare and Cyber-Security

Chair: Stephanie Carvin

Speakers: Scott Jones, Stephanie MacLellan, Torey McMurdo

Cyber-Warfare

The cyber-conflict landscape and military force adaptation are overlooked aspects of modern warfare. How does cyber-warfare differ from conventional warfare? There are four major factors: 1) cyber-attacks are conducive to covert intrusions, like the US counter-IS campaign in Iraq and Syria; 2) the absence of evidence of intervention allows for plausible deniability; 3) attributing attacks to particular actors is difficult, if not impossible; 4) mass misinformation is possible through social and traditional media with little actual investment, like the alleged Russian meddling in the 2016 US election cycle. The interdisciplinary theoretical focus on cyber-deterrence has yielded meaningful policy implications, but the cyber-nuclear comparison is not as self-evident. Few states have nuclear weapons whereas pretty much any state can develop its own cyber-capabilities without needing to invest too many resources. Public-private partnerships are bound to be big determinants for the future of cyber-capabilities.

In the twenty-first century, military forces must learn to adapt to a world in which nation-states and non-state actors can quickly and easily obtain the most cutting-edge cyber-capabilities in history. Centres of cyber-excellence are likely to pop up all over the world as states and business continue to invest in this technology and expertise. Cyber-developments rep-

resent a new series of asymmetric threats, like swarms of drones with improvised explosive devices attached to them or mechanized soldiers built to blend into civilian populations and equipped with the latest artificial intelligence. In all likelihood, cyber-specialists will be as sought out in the future as linguistic or technical experts are today. What can be done? Experts point to “good cyber-hygiene” being key. Updating antivirus programs and exercising healthy skepticism when using computers are starters. Facebook now allows users to know which advertisements a given webpage has sponsored in the past. Twitter would be wise to offer users similar information about whether posted content is automated or not. All Internet users – from children to students to businesspeople to grandparents – need to be educated, prepared, and generally trained for how to avoid endangering themselves and others through their online activity.



Threats and Vulnerabilities

Today's national security vulnerabilities do not arise from lone hackers or cyber-attackers but from the sophisticated campaigns of disinformation that undermine public confidence in democratic institutions. The Internet Research Agency, also known as Russian-sponsored cyber-troll farm, has been accelerating its operational activity for years, influencing public opinion through the strategic but deceptive use of fake online accounts in target-countries to promote the Kremlin's interests at the expense of others. This agency uses social networks, discussion boards, online forums, newspapers and magazines, and video hosting sites to reach the maximum number of voters with "fake news" and propaganda in order to influence the outcomes of democratic elections. The preferred method for these hackers is to either target advertisements on these Internet platforms or release scandalous documents illegally obtained from government servers to damage the reputations of individual politicians and obliterate public confidence in the integrity of their electoral systems. There is evidence that Russian-sponsored trolls have influenced the Brexit referendum in the UK in 2016, the US election in 2016, and the French election in 2017. Western democracies are under threat from actors that cannot be deterred.

Virtually any state with the opportunity and motivation is a cyber-threat to others. Besides for Russia, many states have pointed to North Korea as a state with cyber-capabilities to be reckoned with. North Korea is accused of aiding and abetting a hacker group known as "Guardians of the Peace," which in 2014 leaked confidential information hacked from Sony Pictures and employed malicious malware to wipe Sony's computer infrastructure over the release of a US motion picture comedy depicting the assassination of the North Korean leader. North Korea has denied any involvement. In another example, the WannaCry ransomware cryptoworm of May 2017 infected 200,000 users on 300,000 computers in 150 countries and caused billions of dollars in damages over the course of a mere four days. In December 2017, the US and others formally declared that North Korea was behind the attack. In reviewing state-sponsored operations, 26 cyber incidents were identified in the first three-quarters of 2017; this compares to 28 incidents in 2016, revealing a marked increase in nefarious online activity.

Laws and Organizations

Applying international law to cyberspace is complicated and controversial. Intergovernmental working groups are meeting all the time all over the world to develop rules to govern any and all contingencies. NATO's Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence (CCDCOE) published the most comprehensive analysis of how existing international law applies to cyber operations, the 2017 Tallinn Manual 2.0 (updated from 2013). The general rule of thumb is that states are within their rights to respond to a cyber-attack with force if it inflicts harms comparable to a physical attack. Of course, most cyber-attacks fall below this threshold, so the legal application of this norm is tricky at best. Since bad actors exploit this obvious asymmetry of capabilities and legal systems, this is where cyber-deterrence falls apart.

The Communications Security Establishment (CSE) is Canada's national cryptologic agency. It is unique within Canada's security and intelligence community for employing code-makers and code-breakers so that the Government of Canada benefits from infor-



mation technology (IT) security and foreign signals intelligence (SIGINT) services. Only three percent of Canadians could name CSE when prompted. This may seem surprising at first, but the organization has preferred to go unknown for 65 years. Only recently has it adopted a more open, transparent, and communicative approach to society. CSE has several partners in the fight for cybersecurity, like Public Safety Canada, the Canadian Cyber Incident Response Centre, and the Canadian Cyber Threat Exchange, a not-for-profit organization that helps Canadian businesses and consumers detect and mitigate cyber-attacks. These types of attacks are becoming more frequent as their cost falls but the vulnerability of many users and systems rises. The Internet of Things (IoT) is especially vulnerable to hacking, data theft, and public opinion influencing.

Resiliency is key to detecting, deterring, and denying cyber-threats. On this note, it is encouraging that many of the biggest telecommunications companies are increasing the security layers of their systems without an immediate return on their investment. Bill C-59 may yet revolutionize the Canadian cyber-security landscape if it effectively removes barriers to information-sharing and facilitates defensive cyber-operations (i.e., stopping foreign cyber-threats before they reach Canadian networks). The newly appointed Intelligence Commissioner would review operations and report to a committee of parliamentarians to protect and uphold the cyber-security of Canadian citizens. The quantum computing revolution may throw a proverbial monkey wrench into these cyber-gears if it is able to break Internet encryptions like nothing that has come before it. Canadian policymakers need to be ready for this eventuality, though regulation will take years to draft, review, and legislate before that happens.



SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

International politics has entered a time of considerable uncertainty in 2018. Nevertheless, several organizing principles can help policymakers focus their attention and frame their responses. One of those organizing principles is regional hotspots around the world. In East Asia, a rogue North Korea requires deft diplomacy and subject-matter expertise to defuse a potentially explosive situation while a rising China asserts its national interests in the region, especially in the resource-rich and transit-heavy South China Sea. In the Middle East and North Africa, Salafi-jihadist insurgents continue to challenge weak and unrepresentative governments from Syria to Libya and Yemen to Afghanistan. Any interventions into ongoing civil wars must consider temporary alliances of convenience with local actors emerging from the many proxy wars unfolding in the region. In Eastern Europe, Russian influence cannot be discounted. The Ukrainian conflict is frozen and NATO deployments in former Soviet satellites are promoting a shaky deterrence. In any case, Diaspora politics should not determine Canadian foreign policy.

As policymakers confront an increasingly complex world, Canada's new defence policy gives Canadian decision-makers more resources and opportunities to manage ongoing challenges. Building on Canada's legacy as a middle power, it makes sense to leverage Canada's influence in existing alliances and institutions, like NATO and the UN, when intervening abroad. Canadian contributions to NATO coalition missions and UN peacekeeping operations are most likely to succeed when many states with similar interests join forces to achieve a common outcome. Canadian policymakers must decide on the best use of scarce resources, be it strategic partnerships with NATO in Libya or France in Mali or the US in Iraq or the UN elsewhere. Finally, the domestic politics of national governments contributing forces to international military operations cannot be ignored because of caveats. States with more caveats or restrictions on using force abroad end up transferring the costs and risks of conflict intervention to states with less caveats. International coalitions must work with national governments to avoid limitations on the rules of engagement for their militaries where it harms the likely success of the mission.

Another organizing principle is the Canada-US relationship. Besides for the mutually beneficial economic relationship, continental security has been a focal point for bilateral relations since the Cold War. Going forward, both countries need to commit sufficient resources to NORAD and other security measures as needed. Because rising costs may yet undermine bilateral security cooperation, Canada and the US must agree on mutual interests and specified roles before another recession-induced round of austerity or incoming cruise missile threat arrives. NAFTA renegotiations, while implicating Mexico as well, are testing Canadian-US goodwill and cooperation in ways that few would have expected just a few short years ago. Canada's focus has been on lobbying state, county, and municipal levels of government in the US, as well as congressional, senatorial, and industrial representatives to make the case for free trade. Free trade talks and potential agreements in other regions, as in Europe (CETA) and in Asia (TPP), should continue regardless of the outcome of NAFTA talks in case the US reneges in the end.

The cyber domain holds many lessons for Canada. Academics and cyber-security experts have outlined how different cyber-warfare is from conventional warfare. Coercion and deterrence simply do not operate similarly when states and non-state actors can attack other states anonymously. The sophisticated campaign of disinformation waged online by Russia in the lead-up to the 2016 US election is a harbinger of things to come. Western democracies already contending with voter apathy and a “fake news” epidemic must now bolster their cyber-defences to ward against inherently destabilizing foreign-directed propaganda. In addition to the subtle cyber-threats represented by online electoral interference, the more blatant threats come from state-sponsored sabotage of critical infrastructure and hacking attempts aimed at exposing sensitive government information or industry technology. Canada’s CSE is key to enhancing the resiliency needed to detect, deter, and deny cyber-threats to national security.

AGENDA

Thursday, December 7, 2017

Barney Danson Theatre, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa, Ontario

09:00 Introduction: Teddy Y. Samy

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

Chair: David Carment
Ankit Panda
Barak Barfi
Milana Nikolko

11:00 Panel 2: Missions, Missions and More Missions?

Chair: Phillipe Lagassé
BGen Dave Anderson
Monica Duffy Toft
Stephen Saideman

13:30 Panel 3: Managing the Canada-US Relationship

Chair: Stephen Saideman
Jim Fergusson
Christopher Sands

15:15 Panel 4: New Horizons: Cyber-Warfare and Cyber-Security

Chair: Stephanie Carvin
Scott Jones
Stephanie MacLellan

BIOGRAPHIES

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

DAVID CARMENT is a Professor of International Affairs at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs and has over 20 years' experience in policy relevant research on fragile states, conflict prevention, mainstreaming risk analysis and aid allocation. He led a CIDA funded initiative on mainstreaming research on failed and fragile states into policy making over the 2005-2008 period. He also served DAC-OECD's working group on fragile states. He has developed risk analysis training workshops for NGOs in Africa, Asia and Europe. He is the editor of Canadian Foreign Policy Journal.

ANKIT PANDA is an award-winning writer and an international affairs expert. He is a senior editor at The Diplomat, an online Asian affairs magazine, where he writes daily on politics, security, economics, and culture in the Asia-Pacific region, and hosts a popular podcast on Asian geopolitics. He is additionally a columnist on Asian security affairs for the South China Morning Post. He is widely quoted in the media on matters ranging from North Korea's ballistic missile and nuclear program to Chinese foreign policy, including the BBC, the New York Times, the Washington Post, and Al Jazeera. He lives in New York City and tweets at @nktpnd.

BARAK BARFI is a Research Fellow at the New America Foundation, where he specializes in Arab and Islamic Affairs. Previously, Barak was a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution. His articles have appeared in the Washington Post, International Herald Tribune, Foreign Policy, Daily Beast, the Atlantic, the New Republic and Politico, in addition to being regularly featured in Project Syndicate. He has also extensively published in leading foreign publications such as Australia's The Australian, Austria's Der Standard, England's The Guardian, Germany's Die Welt and Spain's El Pais. Barak has published several monographs and encyclopedia articles on topics such as al-Qaeda, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, Libya, Syria and Yemen. He has been quoted in every major international publication, including the New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, TIME, the Atlantic, Le Monde and the Daily Telegraph. He has appeared on ABC's World News Tonight, NBC's Today Show and CBS' This Morning Show. He is a frequent commentator on CNN, BBC, MSNBC and Fox News, appearing on such programs as Anderson Cooper 360° and Hardball with Chris Matthews. Barak often 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. Since 2011, he has visited Syria more than a dozen times, traveling in regime areas, Kurdish regions and rebel held territory. Barak did his undergraduate work at the University of Michigan and his graduate studies at Columbia University. He is fluent in Arabic and French and proficient in German.

MILANA NIKOLKO is an Adjunct Professor at the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (EURUS), Carleton University (Canada). From 2005 to 2014 Nikolko was Associate Professor of Political Science (Docent) at V. Vernadsky Taurida National University (Ukraine) and in 2008 was appointed as Visiting Professor in the Political Science Department, Valdosta State University (USA). Her main publications include the co-edited volume Post-Soviet Migration and Diasporas: From Global Perspectives to Everyday Practices (2017), "Foreign Policy and Africa's Diaspora: Slippery Slope or Opportunity Unrealized?" (2013), and the co-authored "Ukrainian National Identity: Reflection in The Mirror Of 'The Other'" (2009). Her current interests include research on Ukraine's nation-building process, mediation of grey-zone conflicts (like Ukraine), political narratives of victimization in the Ukrainian-Canadian Diaspora, migration and Diaspora groups in the post-Soviet space, and research on social capital and Diaspora networks in comparative perspective.

PANEL 2: MISSIONS, MISSIONS AND MORE MISSIONS?

PHILIPPE LAGASSÉ is Associate Professor and the Barton Chair at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. His research focuses on defence policy and military procurement, as well as civil-military relations and the role of institutions in international policymaking in the Westminster tradition. He teaches courses on defence policy and strategic studies. Between 2012-2014 he served as a member of the Independent Review Panel overseeing the evaluation of options to replace Canada's CF-18 fighter aircraft, and he is currently a member of the Independent Review Panel for Defence Acquisition within the Department of National Defence.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL DAVE ANDERSON was born in Bristol, England, and raised in Montreal. He joined the Canadian Forces in 1980 as a Guardsman in the Canadian Grenadier Guards, and in 1988 he transferred to the Regular Force. Upon completion of infantry phase training, he was posted to Second Battalion, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI) for his first of many command tours in 1 Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group (1 CMBG). He was fortunate enough to command companies in 3 PPCLI, was the Commanding Officer of 1 PPCLI from 2006-2008, and was the Commander of 1 CMBG from 2012-2014. Brigadier-General Anderson's operational experience includes deployment to Cyprus as a Duty Officer in the Joint Operations Center, Company Commander in Bosnia with the Royal Green Jackets, and Administration Company Commander in Bosnia with 3 PPCLI. He was the Chief of Staff of Task Force Afghanistan in 2005-2006 in Kabul and Kandahar, for which he was awarded the Meritorious Service Medal. He holds a Bachelor of Military Arts and Science from Royal Military College of Canada (RMC) Kingston, and a Master of Science in National Security Strategy from the National Defense University in Washington DC. Upon relinquishing command of 1 CMBG, Brigadier General Anderson will be appointed as the CF Liaison Officer to the Pentagon in Washington DC.

MONICA DUFFY TOFT is Professor of International Politics and Director of the Center for Strategic Studies at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Prior to Tufts, Toft was Professor of Government and Public Policy at Oxford University's Blavatnik School of Government for four years after having taught at Harvard's Kennedy School. She was educated at the University of Chicago (MA and PhD in political science) and UC Santa Barbara (BA in political science and Slavic languages and literature, summa cum laude). Before college, she spent four years in the US Army as a Russian linguist. Professor Toft is a Global Scholar of the Peace Research Institute in Oslo, a faculty associate of Oxford's Blavatnik School, a fellow of Oxford's Brasenose College, a research advisor to the Resolve Network, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Minorities at Risk Advisory Board, and the Political Instability Task Force. The Carnegie Foundation of New York named her a Carnegie Scholar, and most recently she was awarded a Fulbright fellowship to Norway and the World Politics Fellowship at Princeton University. Professor Toft's research areas include: international security and foreign policy; ethnic and religious violence; civil wars; and political demography. In addition to publishing numerous scholarly articles and policy pieces on global politics and international security, she is the author of three books and four edited volumes.

STEPHEN SAIDEMAN holds the Paterson Chair in International Affairs at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. He has written *The Ties That Divide: Ethnic Politics, Foreign Policy and International Conflict*; *For Kin or Country: Xenophobia, Nationalism and War* (with R. William Ayres); *NATO in Afghanistan: Fighting Together, Fighting Alone* (with David Auerswald); and *Adapting in the Dust: Lessons Learned from Canada's War in Afghanistan*, as well as articles on nationalism, ethnic conflict, civil war, and civil-military relations. He writes online at OpenCanada.org, and tweets too much at @smsaideman.

PANEL 3: MANAGING THE CANADA-US RELATIONSHIP

JAMES FERGUSSON is a Professor in the Department of Political Studies, Director of the Centre for Defence and Security Studies. He teaches a range of courses in the fields of international relations, strategic studies, Canada-US defence relations, and Canadian Foreign and Defence Policy. His recent publications include *Left of Bang: NORAD's Maritime Warning Mission*, and *NORAD in Perpetuity* with Andrea Charron, *Perceptions of Muslim Faith, Ethno-Cultural Community Based and Student Organizations in Countering Domestic Terrorism in Canada*, with Kawser Ahmed; "Ballistic Missile Defence: NATO's European Phased Adaptive Approach" *Atlantisch Perspectief*. 4: 2013; "The Right Debate: Airpower, the Future of War, Canada's Strategic Interests and the F-35 Decision." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, Winter 2012; and *Canada and Ballistic Missile Defence 1954-2009: Déjà vu all over again*, Canadian War Museum Military History Series. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010. In addition to his academic publications, Dr Fergusson has been commissioned to write several reports for the Department of National Defence and the Department of Foreign Affairs. He lectures to a wide range of military audiences, including the Canadian Forces School of Aerospace Studies. Dr. Fergusson has testified on several occasions to the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Standing Committee on National Defence, most recently on North Korea and Canadian Defence, and the Senate Standing Committee on National Security on missile defence. He recently completed a ten year appointment to the Defence Science Advisory Board, and a six year position as Honorary Colonel of the Canadian Forces School of Aerospace Studies. He is currently the Honorary Colonel of 2 Canadian Air Division.

CHRISTOPHER SANDS is a Senior Research Professor and Director of the Center for Canadian Studies at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Washington, D.C. He was a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA) during the 1999-2000 academic year.

PANEL 4: NEW HORIZONS: CYBER-WARFARE AND CYBER-SECURITY

STEPHANIE CARVIN is an Assistant Professor of International Affairs at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. Her research interests are in the area of national security, foreign policy, critical infrastructure protection, terrorism and technology. Stephanie holds a Masters and PhD from the London School of Economics and 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 Carvin was a Visiting Scholar at George Washington University Law School and worked as a consultant to the US Department of Defense Law of War Working Group at the Pentagon. From 2012-2015, she was an analyst with the government of Canada working on national security issues.

STEPHANIE MACLELLAN is a research associate at the Centre for International Governance Innovation in the Global Security and Politics program, specializing in Internet governance, cybersecurity and digital rights. She spent more than a decade in journalism, including two years as an editor on the Toronto Star's foreign desk and a year with The Slovak Spectator, an English-language weekly based in Bratislava, Slovakia. She holds a Bachelor of Journalism from Carleton University and a Master of Global Affairs from the Munk School of Global Affairs.

TORY MCMURDO is a Ph.D. student focusing on U.S. foreign policy and international security. Her interests lie at the nexus of international relations, American politics and comparative politics. Prior to pursuing a Ph.D., she worked as a strategy consultant in Silicon Valley, where she helped advise senior executives of leading global companies on investment and expansion strategies in emerging markets. Previously, she worked at Stanford University, where she researched business risks and opportunities across Asia for Stanford's Graduate School of Business. She has also held positions with the U.S. Department of State's Bureau for Near Eastern Affairs and The Walt Disney Company. As an undergraduate, she spent two years researching organizational adaptation challenges facing the U.S. Intelligence Community through UCLA's Luskin School of Public Affairs. McMurdo holds a B.A. with highest honors in political science from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), where she studied under Al Carnesale.

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