

James Milner

Department of Political Science, Carleton University

<https://carleton.ca/polisci/people/milner/>

EDUCATION

DPhil Development Studies

(2006)

St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, United Kingdom

Thesis title: *The Politics of Asylum in Africa: The cases of Kenya, Tanzania and Guinea*

Trudeau Scholar (2003 to 2006)

MPhil Development Studies

(1999)

St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, United Kingdom

Chevening Scholar (1998)

BA (Honours)

(1997)

University College, University of Toronto, Canada

Graduated with High Distinction (top 2%)

Peace and Conflict Studies (Specialist), Political Science (Major), African Studies (Minor)

University of Toronto Alumni Association Scholar (1997)

EMPLOYMENT

Associate Professor

(2008 to present)

Department of Political Science, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada

- Promoted from Assistant to Associate: July 2012

- Awarded tenure: December 2011

SSHRC Postdoctoral Fellow

(2006 to 2008)

Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto, Canada

Course Director

(2007)

International Studies Department, Glendon College, York University, Toronto, Canada

Consultant

(2003 to 2004)

Immigration Research and Statistics Service, Home Office (UK)

London, United Kingdom

- Served as external advisor for a comprehensive review and assessments of pre-departure cultural orientation in the context of resettlement programmes.

Consultant

(2003)

Resettlement Section, Department of International Protection

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Geneva, Switzerland

- Compiled a global review of refugees under UNHCR's mandate in need of resettlement and developed methodology for future estimates that continues to be used by UNHCR.

Researcher

(2001 to 2002)

European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE), London, United Kingdom

- Conducted field and archival research and analysis further to a trans-Atlantic collaborative study on standards of protection in regions of refugee origin.

Consultant (2002)

Resettlement Section, Department of International Protection
UNHCR, Geneva, Switzerland

- Revised and expanded UNHCR's Resettlement Handbook.

Resettlement Consultant (2001)

UNHCR, Branch Office, Conakry, Guinea

- Identified refugees in need of resettlement, conducted resettlement eligibility interviews and prepared resettlement dossiers for submission to resettlement countries.

Resettlement Consultant (2000)

UNHCR, Liaison Office, Yaoundé, Cameroun

- Identified refugees in need of resettlement, conducted resettlement eligibility interviews and prepared resettlement dossiers for submission to resettlement countries.

Junior Professional Consultant (1999-2000)

UNHCR, Office of the Chief of Mission, New Delhi, India

- Interviewed and counselled UNHCR-recognized refugees who faced individual protection or legal problems, assessed their claim and proposed follow-up action for the Legal Officer.

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Alexander Betts, Gil Loescher and James Milner, *UNHCR: The Politics and Practice of Refugee Protection*, second edition, Abingdon: Routledge, 2012 (equal co-author).

James Milner, *Refugees, the State and the Politics of Asylum in Africa*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Gil Loescher, Alexander Betts and James Milner, *UNHCR: The Politics and Practice of Refugee Protection into the 21st Century*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2008 (equal co-author).

Edited Books and Special Issues

Megan Bradley, James Milner and Blair Peruniak (eds.), *Refugees' Roles in Resolving Displacement and Building Peace: Beyond Beneficiaries*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019.

James Milner (ed.) "Power and Influence in the Global Refugee Regime", special issue, *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, Vol. 33, no. 1, 2017.

James Milner (ed.) "Global Refugee Policy", special issue, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 4, 2014.

Gil Loescher, James Milner, Edward Newman, and Gary Troeller (eds.) *Protracted Refugee Situations: Politics, Human Rights and Security Implications*, Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2008.

Articles (selected)

James Milner, "A History of Asylum in Kenya and Tanzania: Understanding the Drivers of Domestic Refugee Policy", *Monde(s)*, no. 15, May 2019, 69-92.

James Milner and Krystyna Wojnarowicz, "Power in the Global Refugee Regime: Understanding Expressions and Experiences of Power in Global and Local Contexts", *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, Vol. 33, no. 1, 2017, 7-17.

James Milner, "Introduction: Understanding Global Refugee Policy", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 4, 2014, 477-494.

James Milner, "Can Global Refugee Policy Leverage Durable Solutions? Lessons from Tanzania's Naturalization of Burundian Refugees", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 4, 2014, 553-573.

James Milner, "Refugees and the regional dynamics of peacebuilding" (lead article), *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 28, no. 1, 2009, 13-30.

Chapters in Edited Books (selected)

James Milner, "Refugees, Peacebuilding, and Paternalism: Lessons from Mozambique" in Megan Bradley, James Milner and Blair Peruniak (eds.), *Refugees' Roles in Resolving Displacement and Building Peace: Beyond Beneficiaries*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019.

James Milner, "Refugees, Peacebuilding, and Reconciliation: Lessons from policy, practice and research", in Megan Bradley (ed.), *Forced Migration, Reconciliation and Justice*, Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2015.

James Milner, "The implementation of 'integrated approaches' in the UN system: Lessons from Tanzania and Burundi", in Alexander Betts and Phil Orchard (eds.), *Implementation and World Politics: How international norms change practice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

James Milner, "Protracted Refugee Situations" in Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long and Nando Sigona (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Gil Loescher and James Milner, "UNHCR and the Global Governance of Migration" in Alexander Betts (ed.), *Global Governance of Migration*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

James Milner, "Refugees, peacebuilding and the regional dynamics of conflict" in Gil Loescher and Alexander Betts (eds.), *Refugees In International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Technical reports (selected)

"Canadian leadership on global refugee issues", Background note prepared for Bob Rae, Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Canada on Refugee and Humanitarian Issues, 13 May 2020.

"Including a refugee delegation at meetings of UNHCR's Executive Committee (ExCom)", Options document prepared for the Global Refugee-led Network (GRN), 15 March 2020.

"Leadership and comprehensive responses to refugee situations: Lessons from past cases", Background note prepared for the Government of Canada in the context of negotiations of the UN Global Compact on Refugees, 15 March 2018.

“Comments on Draft One of the Global Compact on Refugees and suggested language”, Paper prepared for the Government of Canada in the context of negotiations of the UN Global Compact on Refugees, 12 March 2018.

“Comments on the Zero Draft of the Global Compact on Refugees and suggested language”, Paper prepared for the Government of Canada in the context of negotiations of the UN Global Compact on Refugees, 4 February 2018.

“Highlighting the Importance of Solutions in Addressing Protracted Displacement: A Role for the Solutions Alliance in Global Policy Discussions”, Paper for the 2016 Solutions Alliance Roundtable, Brussels, February 2016.

“Understanding the international implications of Bill C-31”, Brief to the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, Parliament of Canada, further to its study of Bill C-31, *Protecting Canada’s Immigration System Act*, May 2012.

Working papers and policy briefs (selected)

Alexander Betts and James Milner [“Governance of the Global Refugee Regime”](#), World Refugee Council Research Paper No. 11, May 2019.

James Milner, [“When Norms are Not Enough: Understanding the Principle and Practice of Burden and Responsibility Sharing for Refugees”](#), Global Leadership and Cooperation for Refugees series, paper no. 2, Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), December 2016.

James Milner, [“Canada’s Global Refugee Policy: Opportunities for Leadership”](#), policy paper for the Canadian Global Affairs Institute, September 2016.

James Milner, [“Two steps forward, one step back: Understanding the shifting politics of refugee policy in Tanzania”](#), *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Paper no. 255, Geneva: UNHCR, July 2013.

James Milner, [“Refugees in the peacebuilding process”](#), *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Paper no. 224, Geneva: UNHCR, November 2011.

James Milner and Gil Loescher, [“Responding to Protracted Refugee Situations: Lessons from a decade of discussion”](#), *Forced Migration Policy Briefing*, No. 6, Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, January 2011.

Newspaper, magazine and on-line articles (selected)

Mustafa Alio, Shaza Alrihawi, James Milner, Anila Noor, Najeeba Wazefadost and Pascal Zigashane, [“By refugees, for refugees: Refugee leadership during COVID-19, and beyond”](#), COVID-19 Watch, Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law, 19 April 2020.

Amelia Kuch and James Milner, [“Naturalization in Tanzania: Lessons from the ebb and flow of the process”](#), *RefLaw.org*, March 2016.

James Milner, [“Five steps to renew Canada’s global refugee leadership”](#), *Embassy*, 28 October 2015.

OTHER SCHOLARLY OR PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY

Papers presented (selected)

James Milner, "Civil society, power and the diffuse everyday politics of the global refugee regime(s)", paper presented to the Centre for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan, 24 February 2020.

James Milner, "Civil society, forms of power and the everyday politics of the global refugee regime", paper presented to the Centre for Refugee Studies, York University, 23 January 2020.

James Milner, "Civil society and the everyday politics of the global refugee regime", paper presented to the Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, 22 October 2019.

James Milner, "Understanding the everyday politics of the global refugee regime: Collective action in a time of populism", paper presented to the Department of Political Science, Carleton University, 31 January 2019.

James Milner, "Context, power and everyday politics: Methodological reflections on the implementation of global refugee policy", paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Convention, Baltimore, 24 February 2017.

James Milner, "Understanding Global Refugee Policy: The case of naturalization in Tanzania", Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, 29 April 2015.

Leadership in Funded Research Projects

Project Director

(2018 to 2026)

Civil society and the global refugee regime: Understanding and enhancing impact through the implementation of global refugee policy

SSHRC Partnership Grant: C\$2.49 million over 7 years

Cash and in-kind contributions from partners: C\$1.1 million over 7 years

- 38-partner global collaborative research project focused on understanding and enhancing the role of civil society in the functioning of the global refugee regime
- Co-creation of knowledge with partners in Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon and Tanzania
- Provide training and support to emerging scholar and national civil society actors
- Knowledge mobilization program to include launch of McGill-Queen's University Press series on Refugee and Forced Migration Studies
- Delivered through [LERRN: Local Engagement Refugee Research Network](#)

Project Director

(2019 to 2022)

Localization of Knowledge on Refugee and Forced Migration in the Global South

IDRC Research Support Project: C\$400,000

30-month initiative to map research capacity on refugee and forced migration issues in the global South and to propose models to ensure more sustainable research ecosystems in major refugee-hosting states. Initiative includes:

- Recruitment of Research Officer, supervised by Project Director
- 12-member Advisory Committee, with representatives from each region of global South
- Phase 1 (September 2019 to January 2020): Mapping of capacities and key informant interviews with current research centres across the global South
- Phase 2 (September 2020 to March 2021): Collaborate with partners in East Africa and the Middle East to examine conditions for sustainable knowledge ecosystems in both regions

Co-Applicant**(2018-19)**

Dialogue Beyond Borders

Conference of the Canadian Association of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies (CARFMS), hosted at Carleton University, 22-25 May 2018, to examine and enhance dialogue within the research community, and between research, policy and practice on issues relating to refugees and forced migration, with video-link to Ryerson University, Toronto.

SSHRC Connections Grant: C\$24,861

Principal Investigator**(2015-16)**

Power and Influence in the Global Refugee Regime: Canada in a comparative perspective Workshop held at Carleton University, 23-25 September 2015, involving participants from the global research, policy and practitioner communities, with video-links to Oxford, Georgetown and York Universities.

SSHRC Connections Grant: C\$24,953

Principal Investigator**(2010 to 2015)**

Refugees and Peacebuilding: Understanding regional dynamics

SSHRC Standard Research Grant: C\$71,892

Co-Director**(2004 to 2012)***The PRS Project: Towards Solutions to Protracted Refugee Situations*

Refugee Studies Centre

University of Oxford, Oxford, United Kingdom

- Co-Directed an international research and policy project on protracted refugee situations.
- The objectives of *The PRS Project* were to:
 - Provide independent and critical analysis of the problem of protracted refugee situations
 - Develop a policy framework for decision-makers and advocacy organizations
 - Help integrate the resolution of chronic refugee problems into broader academic and policy discussions on development, human rights, governance, and conflict resolution
- Selection of organizations that have highlighted results of the PRS Project in their work:
 - Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), Government of Canada: http://www.international.gc.ca/humanitarian-humanitaire/refugees-refugies.aspx?menu_id=8
 - Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration, Department of State, US Government: <http://www.state.gov/g/prm/protracted/resources/157127.htm>
 - African Union: <http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Conferences/2008/nov/PA/05-11nov/Conference%2520paper.doc>
 - The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

Co-Applicant**(2008 to 2015)***A Canadian Refugee Research Network (CRRN): Globalizing Knowledge*

SSHRC Strategic Knowledge Cluster Program: 2008 to 2015

York University, Toronto, Canada

- Seven-year, \$2.1 million project intended to mobilize and sustain a Canadian and international network of researchers and research centres committed to the study of refugee and forced migration issues and to finding solutions to the plight of refugees.
- Member, Management Committee (2009 to 2012)
- Coordinator, Policy Research Network (2008 to present)
- Coordinator, Protracted Refugee Situations Research Cluster (2008 to 2011)

Other Current Professional Activities

Co-Editor (2017 to present)

Refugee and Forced Migration Studies series

McGill-Queen's University Press

Launched in 2018 at the Canadian Association of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies (CARFMS), this series will advance in-depth examination of diverse forms, dimensions and experiences of displacement. Featuring research from a range of disciplinary fields and supported by an international advisory board, the series seeks to highlight new and critical areas of enquiry within the field, especially conversations across disciplines and from the perspective of researchers in the global South.

Member (2020 to present)

Editorial Board, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*

Research Associate (2010 to present)

Refugee Studies Centre (RSC), Oxford Department of International Development (Queen Elizabeth House), University of Oxford

External Affiliate (2008 to present)

Centre for Refugee Studies (CRS), York University

Senior Fellow (2016 to present)

Global Security Program, Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)

ACADEMIC RESPONSIBILITIES

Teaching and Supervision

Undergraduate courses taught: Since 2008, I have developed and taught 12 different undergraduate courses at Carleton University, including an internship placement and experiential learning course for students in the Global Politics specialization. My undergraduate teaching ranges across all years of the Political Science program, with an emphasis on courses relating to global politics, international institutions, migration politics, and the politics of forced migration.

Graduate courses taught: Since 2014, I have taught PSCI5209: Migration and Global Politics, a foundational course for graduate students working on forced displacement issues.

Supervisions: I am currently supervising one postdoctoral fellow, five PhD students, three MA-level projects, and three undergraduate thesis projects, while serving on five PhD committees. Since 2012, I have supervised to successful completion one PhD project, 12 MA-level projects, and 23 undergraduate thesis projects, while serving on committees for nine successful PhD projects.

Examination responsibilities: I have served as the external course assessor for the Introduction to Migration and Displacement at the School of Social Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand. I have also served as the external examiner for five PhD theses (at the University of Toronto, Guelph University, McGill University, the University of Ottawa and City, University of London), seven MA-level projects, and 23 undergraduate thesis projects.

Committee Membership

Carleton University Committees

- Member, Carleton University Senate (2020 to present)
- Member, Migration and Diaspora Studies, Graduate Committee (2019-20)
- Member, Institute of African Studies, Tenure and Promotion Committee (2019)
- Member, Department of Political Science, Tenure and Promotion Committee (2013, 2014, 2019)
- Member, Global Politics Hiring Committee, Department of Political Science (2018)
- Member, Hiring Committee, Tier 1 Canada Research Chair in “Migration and Refugee Law and Politics”, Office of the Vice President (Research and International), Carleton University (2015-16)
- Joint Coordinator (2010 to 2014) and Member (2015 to present), Steering Committee on Migration and Diaspora Studies
- Member, Management Committee, Institute of African Studies (IAS) (2009-11; 2018 to present)
- Member, Canadian Politics Hiring Committee, Department of Political Science (2009)
- Member, Undergraduate Studies Committee, Department of Political Science (2008-09)

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Committees (Member)

- SSHRC Partnership Grant Stage 1 Adjudication Committee **(2019)**
- SSHRC Partnership Grant Stage 2 Adjudication Committee **(2020)**
 - This Committee involved the review of 23 applications, each c. 450 pages long, and culminated in a three-day adjudication meeting in Ottawa in March 2020.
- SSHRC Connections Grant Adjudication Committee **(2016)**

PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

Presentations and invited talks (selected)

“The Global Compact on Refugees, collective action, and the politics of the global refugee regime”, presentation at the International Metropolis Conference, Ottawa, 26 June 2019.

“The Global Compact on Refugees and Opportunities for Canada”, presentation to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), Ottawa, 29 April 2019.

“Canada and the Global Compact on Refugees”, testimony before the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, 6 November 2018.

“Opportunities for Canada to engage in African refugee situations”, presentation to the Africa Policy Network, Africa Bureau, Global Affairs Canada, Ottawa, 16 July 2018.

“Canada in the global refugee regime: Opportunities ahead”, presentation to the Global Heads of Mission meeting, Global Affairs Canada, Ottawa, 29 May 2018.

“Responsibility-sharing for refugees: Lessons from policy and practice for the Global Compact on Refugees”, webinar presentation for the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA), Geneva, 19 April 2018 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VFF9NyYYZpq&feature=youtu.be>).

“Overview of responsibility-sharing for refugees”, presentation during the Exodus Institute Symposium on Refugees and Responsibility-Sharing, Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 16 April 2018.

“Learning from Past Experiences with Comprehensive Plans”, multi-stakeholder interactive panel in preparation for the UN Summit on refugees and migrants, Global Migration Group, United Nations Headquarters, New York, 13 July 2016.

“Global refugee debates: Opportunities for Canada”, Privy Council Office, Ottawa, 2 February 2016.

“Understanding Global Refugee Policy”, Bureau for Population, Migration and Refugees, US Department of State, Washington, DC, 7 April 2015.

“Global Protection: Opportunities for CIC and its partners”, presentation to Refugee Affairs Branch, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), planning retreat, Ottawa, 3 March 2015.

“The Evolution of UNHCR’s Mandate and Practice”, testimony to the Human Rights Committee, Senate of Canada, 5 February 2015.

“Understanding Global Refugee Policy”, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 22 October 2014.

“Security Implications of Protracted Refugee Situations”, expert briefing, Canadian Security Intelligence Service, 18 June 2014.

“Engaging Global Refugee Policy”, invited address to the closing plenary, 30th Anniversary Conference, Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, 7 December 2012.

“Understanding the international implications of Bill C-31”, testimony to the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, Parliament of Canada, further to its study of Bill C-31, *Protecting Canada’s Immigration System Act*, 2 May 2012.

“Refugees and the Cross-Border dynamics of Peacebuilding”, presentation hosted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, New York, 17 October 2011.

“The history and politics of asylum in Tanzania”, presentation to representatives of the international donor community in Tanzania, Canadian High Commission, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 27 June 2011.

“Protracted Refugee Situations: Lessons from a decade of discussions”, presentation to launch the Refugee Studies Centre Policy Brief, Canadian Permanent Mission to the United Nations, Geneva, 23 June 2011.

“Refugees and peacebuilding: Understanding challenges and opportunities”, presentation to the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission and Peacebuilding Support Office, New York, 5 November 2010.

“Refugees and Peacebuilding: Burundians in Tanzania”, *Refugees and the Regional Dynamics of Peacebuilding*, International Peace Institute, New York, 4 May 2010.

Media engagement (selected)

Emily Cadloff, "How a multinational project is striving to change refugee research", *University Affairs*, 1 April 2019, <https://www.universityaffairs.ca/news/news-article/how-a-multinational-project-is-striving-to-change-refugee-research/>

Nicolas Keung, "Canadians at forefront of global study seeking solutions to refugee crisis", *Toronto Star*, 26 October 2018, <https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2018/10/26/canadians-at-forefront-of-global-study-seeking-solutions-to-refugee-crisis.html>

Interview on CTV's *Power Play*, discussing Prime Minister Trudeau's speech to the United Nations General Assembly, 20 September 2016, <http://www.ctvnews.ca/video?clipId=955586&playlistId=1.3081499&binId=1.810401&playlistPageNum=1&binPageNum=1>

Interview with Radio Canada International, "Canada could lead a world rethink of 'unfair' refugee system: group", 19 September 2016, <http://www.rcinet.ca/en/2016/09/19/canada-could-lead-world-rethink-unfair-refugee-system-group/>

Syndicated CBC radio interviews with morning shows in Calgary, Gander, Kelowna, Moncton, Ontario region, Ottawa, Quebec City, Sudbury, Victoria and Winnipeg, discussing the UN Summit on Refugees and Migrants, 19 September 2016.

Contributed to analysis of Canada's resettlement of Syrian refugees for Global News, CBC radio, CBC *The National*, CBC on-line, CTV, *Ottawa Citizen*, *Globe and Mail*, *Maclean's*, *Metro News*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Los Angeles Times*, including:

- Guest on AM1010, *Motts' Weekend*, Toronto, 28 November 2015.
- Guest on *The House* with Chris Hall, mid-week podcast, CBC on-line, http://podcast.cbc.ca/mp3/podcasts/thehouse_20151125_23783.mp3
- Guest on CBC Newsworld with Suhana Meharchand, 25 November 2015
- Quoted in Chris Hall, "Justin Trudeau's delay in resettling 25,000 Syrian refugees may be a smart political move", CBC on-line, 25 November 2015, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/justin-trudeau-syrian-refugees-canada-1.3335517>
- Quoted in Ian Macleod, "No change to refugee security screening, immigration officials say" *Ottawa Citizen*, 24 November 2015, <http://ottawacitizen.com/news/politics/no-change-to-refugee-security-screening-immigration-official-says>
- Guest on AM900 *Today with Scott Thomson*, Hamilton, 24 November 2015
- Guest on CBC Radio *All in a Day*, 23 November 2015
- Quoted in Zane Schwartz, "How UNHCR's refugee-resettlement process actually works", *Maclean's*, 18 November 2015, <http://www.macleans.ca/news/world/how-the-unhcrs-refugee-resettlement-process-actually-works/>
- Quoted in Cheryl Chan, "Trudeau's plan to bring in 25,000 refugees by year's end sparks concerns in B.C.", *The Province*, 17 November 2015, <http://www.theprovince.com/life/Trudeau+plan+bring+refugees+year+sparks+concerns/11524475/story.html>
- Quoted in Michael Pizzi, "With refugee vetting in US, ISIL infiltration risk 'overblown'", *al-Jazeera America*, 18 September 2015, <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/9/18/could-syrian-resettlement-be-isil-backdoor.html>.
- Quoted in Joseph Brean, "No country is an island: Compassion vs. cold economic calculus when dealing with the refugee crisis" *National Post*, 3 September 2015, <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/canada-cant-hide-behind-the-atlantic>