

# The Atlantic Council of Canada

## NEWSLETTER March 2010

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## President's Message

For the ACC, 2010 has started where 2009 left off—with a very high level of activity. We are working hard to keep you informed about the issues facing NATO as it develops a new Strategic Concept. We continue to look for interesting and informative articles, book reviews, and speakers who can bring special insights to share with our members across the country, via our Newsletters and our website.

We are continuing our focus on giving opportunities to younger scholars to share their research and writing. In this issue, you will find an insightful article on the political reality in Ukraine by Ukrainian university student Tetiana Branitska, and an essay by Thomas Shepherd, of Glendon College, York University.

It is a pleasure to welcome Tanah Sullivan to our office. Tanah will be sharing with Jonathan Preece the responsibility for editing the *In Focus* news digest, and you will see evidence of her writing skills in this Newsletter as well.

Finally, I draw your attention to upcoming events: our Spring Conference on April 8, focusing on the nexus between natural resources and security, and our Annual Tribute Dinner on May 18, at which we will have the privilege of honouring Captain (Retired) Trevor Greene. Planning has also started on this year's Gala which will be held on Saturday, November 6, and will especially celebrate the 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Canada's Navy. The event will be co-hosted with the Naval Officers' Association of Canada.

## New Intern at the Office

**Tanah Sullivan** has recently completed a Masters of International Politics at the University of Melbourne, Australia, specializing in Islamic studies, political theory and political affairs in Northeast Asia. She also holds a Bachelor of International Relations from Bond University, Australia, with a focus on Diplomacy and Global Governance. She studied at Université Robert Schuman in Strasbourg, France, where she completed a major in French for her undergraduate degree. She has traveled extensively throughout the world, growing up in Malaysia, Singapore, Oman and Australia. Tanah speaks Indonesian, Malay, Japanese and French and can understand Italian. Her research interests include the roles of Russia and China in the changing international political environment, security issues and challenges in the Asia-Pacific and Transatlantic relations. Through her internship with the ACC, she hopes to achieve a better understanding of the role of NATO in global affairs and its response to the evolving and increasingly complex security challenges today. She can be reached at [tanah.sullivan@atlantic-council.ca](mailto:tanah.sullivan@atlantic-council.ca).



## “ANOTHER DREAM”

### Rapporteur’s Address in Kyiv 55th ATA General Assembly

Years ago, Martin Luther King, the famous black American leader, gave his well known speech “I have a dream” and in so doing, he put a personal human face on the struggle of black Americans for freedom and equality which resonated with black and white people alike, and not just in the United States.

Something similar happened at this 55<sup>th</sup> ATA Assembly. There was an



Mrs. Lindhout, delivering the Rapporteur’s address – 09.10.2009 – GA, Kyiv

emotional quality about this event which took us well beyond abstract consideration of geopolitical issues, neutral reporting of current concerns, or intellectual speculation on future challenges.

From the opening press conference in which ATA President, Dr. Karl Lamers started with a description of the incredibly emotional atmosphere of the Orange Revolution, when he spent the night with students in their tents; when General Grechaninov, President of the Atlantic Council of Ukraine talked movingly about how the situation in his head was changing as he went from being a Soviet general to being a Ukrainian general; to the celebration of the ATA’s 55<sup>th</sup> Anniversary at the opening ceremonies, when Oleg Kokoshinsky talked about his dream of Ukraine’s one day being part of the ATA family

and hosting the Annual General Assembly in Kyiv and Dr. Burkhard Theile recollected his fear that the Berlin Wall would not come down in his lifetime, and then came that unforgettable night of November 9, 1989, when ordinary people, members of the civil society, took their sledgehammers and other tools to break down the wall that symbolized the divide between East and West.

It was that reminder that it is all about the people, the civil society that prepared our minds for the theme of this Assembly, “Security for Civil Society in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.” Security is not an abstract idea that is an end in itself. It is not a make work project for the military, as they will be the first to tell you. It is to create the circumstances that allow mothers and fathers to dream dreams for their children and to see them grow up to realize those dreams.

The opening addresses set the scene for this theme. Dr. Lamers described the mutual trust, shared values and aspirations, and strong partnerships that characterize NATO and the ATA, and will help us to deal with the challenges of today’s volatile security situation. President Yuschenko in his welcome address talked about the ATA’s role in involving the public as real participants in the evolution of their future. Kostiantin Yelisieiev, Ukraine’s Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, again emphasized the human focus when he used the image of a father and a mother to describe the security that father NATO can provide that will allow mother European Union to focus on the economic and cultural well being and prosperity of people, as he expressed the aspirations of Ukraine to take its place in the European family. Jean François

Bureau challenged us all to provide input for NATO’s new Strategic Concept. It is not to be an “esoteric dissertation”, but a document that will be meaningful to ordinary citizens.



And that is exactly the way the discussion continued this morning, when the first panel addressed the issue of crafting NATO’s new strategic concept. Sir Stewart Eldon emphasized that it is to be the most inclusive document ever. At this point, NATO is prepared to listen and to receive input from everyone, especially the civil society. While Article 5 will continue to be the fundamental basis of the Alliance, how it can best be supported will no doubt receive consideration. That brings in, once again another one of the key themes that ran through this Assembly: the theme of partnerships. Sir Stewart emphasized that partnership is the key enabler of NATO’s operations. The new NATO term for this is the “comprehensive approach.”

His Excellency, Mr. Stefan Füle continued both themes: the involvement of civil society and the need for partnerships. In the context of NATO enlargement, he described the setting of NATO standards as one of the greatest contributions to NATO’s partners, and emphasized that whatever may be NATO’s involvement with Russia under



the new Strategic Concept, it must never come at the expense of these NATO values. Ambassador Káčer described how NATO's operating in a consensual manner with the basic values of cooperation, trust and transparency, has had a trickle-down effect on the development of civil society within new partner and member countries. He emphasized that it is like a family in which everyone has to contribute to a common cause. It can never be a one-way street.

The lively discussion centred on these same themes. There were many questions on NATO's interaction with Russia, whether partnership with Russia was compatible with NATO's goals, and the answer was consistently that there is no contradiction. NATO is not against Russia, but for collective security wherever the threats arise. That means that in the NATO-Russia relationship, the focus is on common interests and common concerns and how best to address them in a way that does not diminish the NATO values.

The emotional, human element was strong again in the consideration of the "Way Ahead for Afghanistan". Tahera Qurban Ali had set the mood at the YATA opening session, and with her impassioned plea at the Council meeting for NATO countries not to withdraw their military and economic support from Afghanistan. That support gives life and hope to ordinary Afghan people. Jean-François Bureau outlined the four priorities of the international community which are led or supported by NATO: 1) protect the civilian population and build a relationship of trust; 2) help the Afghan National Security Forces to be able to take over the lead for security in their country with the

support of ISAF; 3) continue agricultural initiatives in order to reduce the poppy cultivation (a support role for ISAF to provide security); and 4) to improve stability in the region. He described a major IT initiative to connect Afghan universities with the world, and emphasized that there is a strong role for the ATA in getting out the message about why we are in Afghanistan. He ended by bringing



Dr. Karl Lamers, ATA President (centre), with members of the ATA Secretariat and the Atlantic Councils of Canada and Ukraine.

it back to the reality: International soldiers and aid workers have suffered in Afghanistan, but so have Afghan soldiers and civilians. They also want to live a life of peace and fulfillment of dreams.

Mohammad Tariq Ismati, Executive Director of the National Solidarity Program of the Afghan Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development, told us how important it is for the long-term security and development of Afghanistan that the international community provide more support to the Afghan Government to take the lead in development initiatives. Lack of transparency and accountability should not prevent cooperation with the Afghan government, if it is done in the right way. In the long run, it is much more efficient, less expensive, and far more conducive to capacity building in Afghanistan to help the Afghan government to implement programs like the National Solidarity Program that brings hope and pride directly to

Afghan villages, and teaches them a democratic approach to local decision making which has great potential for the development of true participatory democracy. The program has been designed so that there is no opportunity for corruption, and it has put over 600 million dollars directly into village bank accounts for infrastructure projects for more than 29,000 villages. It is making a practical difference in the lives of ordinary people, while at the same time teaching them about civic government, project management and accountability. It is a program that benefits greatly from ISAF support for security, but can also create its own security space to help ISAF. Time and continued support is needed to expand this program throughout the country.

Ms. Larissa Blavatska of the Canadian Embassy described Canadian efforts in Afghanistan, both the military contribution to ISAF, and the civilian contribution which is particularly tied in with capacity and infrastructure building programs such as the NSP described by Mr. Ismati.

During the discussion, Mr. Ismati pointed out that the widespread, small scale corruption is primarily a function of extreme poverty, which suggests that economic development should improve that situation considerably over time. There was a general consensus among the speakers that the future of Afghanistan is up to the Afghan people. Only they, not the foreign community can decide with whom they can negotiate and how their country can move forward, but they need time, support, and encouragement, and that the international community can provide.

In the final plenary session with Dr. Celeste Wallander, and Mr. Marcin Koziel, the theme of partnership again figured prominently, both in a general discussion about the purpose of NATO enlargement, and in the specific focus on Ukraine's potential membership.





It was made clear that this accession to membership is not an event, but a process. For Ukraine it is a process of development of NATO values and culture, and the choice for the kind of civilization Ukrainians want to live in. This is something Ukrainians must decide for themselves, as did citizens of other countries before. Dr. Wallander drew an interesting comparison between the role of NATO in transforming West Germany into a democratic state, and what is happening in Ukraine today as a result of the Annual National Programme. Ukraine should not be influenced by any other country. At the end of the day, Ukrainians, themselves, have to establish clear priorities for their national agenda, and this must involve the civil society. NATO's door is open. Ukraine's actions will determine when it will step through that door.

During the discussion, it was made clear that there is no disagreement within the NATO community about the eventual accession of Ukraine and Georgia. NATO's wish to engage Russia constructively, will not affect the discussion about Ukraine and Georgia.

It was also made clear that while the new Strategic Concept will be decided by the Member countries, Partner countries will have plenty of opportunity to provide input. This means that the ATA members in Partner countries must also play a strong role in informing their civil societies about NATO and communicate with their governments to provide input into the new Strategic Concept. As Dr. Celeste Wallander said, "Never underestimate the role of civil society in influencing policy."

The parallel panels offered an opportunity to focus in detail on three other issues. It was the consensus of all the speakers on Energy and

Financial Security, that more diversification and less dependence on one source of energy were needed to provide greater security. Here again the theme of partnership surfaced in the recommendation for a more regional rather than bilateral approach. There was also a concern that the market needs to be more regulated to create more stability.

In the session on Public Diplomacy it was posited that it is impossible to achieve a government's goals without public diplomacy support. The role of public diplomacy is to show the citizen that the government's goals are present in everyday life. A new development in public diplomacy is communication that reaches every citizen, and this means using a wider variety of strategies and media. The biggest achievement of Public Diplomacy today is that the debate on foreign policy and security issues is going on, but there are many myths, misinformation, and lack of information that make it challenging to promote a positive image of NATO. There is also a role for the private sector to support public diplomacy with resources for research and analysis. In identifying and providing accurate information to the public, public diplomacy is a tool for security. We have seen its importance in winning over the public to help NATO do its job. New polls show that more information about NATO improves sentiment towards it.

In the session on current security and political developments in Ukraine, it was pointed out that many of the countries in the region have similar security and political aspiration; however, Russia's continuing view of itself as having a sphere of influence in the region has led to conflicts both internal and external to the countries. It has had a detrimental effect on the fostering of trust within the region. Russia has offered a new security model, but the question is still

what will be the conditions of this new security architecture. It was also pointed out that it is important to have the cooperation of civil society with NATO members not just on military issues. The intention of creating better relations with Russia should not affect NATO values. The discussion came full circle with this emphasis on values and the role of the civil society.

This was an Assembly with a human face. We have all become a little more aware of each other as people with dreams, hopes, and ambitions for ourselves (for the younger among us), and for our children and grandchildren (for the older ones), and we have learned that we need to work together to realize our dreams. We have our marching orders. As our President said at the end of his opening statement, "If you can dream it, you can do it."

Mrs. Julie Lindhout  
President of the  
Atlantic Council of Canada  
General Rapporteur,  
55th ATA General Assembly



## A Report on the Youth Atlantic Treaty Association General Assembly

Kyiv, Ukraine  
October 7-10, 2009

By: Jonathan Preece

In October I traveled to Kyiv Ukraine to participate in the Youth Atlantic Treaty Association (YATA) General Assembly. Although I was familiar with YATA before my departure, I arrived in Kyiv not entirely sure what to expect from the Assembly. Needless to say, it did not take long for my positive preconceptions of YATA to be reaffirmed. The event was quick to provide stimulating debate on NATO's future, challenges to the ISAF mission, and the values that underpin transatlantic relations.

On the opening day a session titled *Atlanticism and New Media: Communication Challenges in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* was held. During this preliminary session panelists expressed diverse perspectives on the challenges facing journalists, communication experts and political leaders in communicating to the general public – especially younger generations.



Jonathan Preece and Giuseppe Belardetti  
(President of YATA)

Mrs. Sabina Castelfranco and Mrs. Antoinette Nikolova outlined various challenges to information availability and reliability while stressing the importance of impartial reporting. Other panelists, such as the ACC's own Tahera Qurban Ali, touched on themes of Atlanticism

beyond borders while emphasizing the effects that Western public opinion can have on NATO operations in Afghanistan and elsewhere. Following a long afternoon of stimulating debate, a reception was held at the European University in Kyiv. While I had gone to the YATA General Assembly assuming to hear from a series of qualified speakers, the real benefits of this annual conference became apparent to me during this evening event.

After getting a chance to meet my fellow delegates over cocktails and hors d'oeuvres I was struck by the professionalism and intellect of those in attendance. The general assembly had brought together a group of inspired and highly motivated young people representing nearly 40 countries across North America and Europe. This informal event gave me the unique opportunity to discuss world affairs with youth from a diverse range of academic backgrounds. As the night progressed, the small reception hall was filled with lively debate over the future of NATO, the role of the ATA and some of the most pressing issues facing the international community today. While it may sound like a cliché, I found the process of engaging with my fellow delegates and being exposed to a diverse range of world views to be quite rewarding. The casual environment welcomed conversation and encouraged YATA members to overcome language barriers and socialize with one another at a personal level. Towards the end of the night, awards were given to national YATA chapters in acknowledgment of their dedication to the YATA network and accomplishments over the previous year.

The YATA Council Meeting was held the following day. This event opened with a brief video conference linking those in attendance with students from Moscow's Lomosov State University and continued with the formal accession of the Belarussian YATA chapter and election of a new YATA executive board to represent the organization over the coming year. After a busy morning, a final panel discussion was held on the

challenges of communicating Atlantic values in Ukrainian civil society. Once again delegates had the opportunity to hear from notable speakers such as Col. Eberhard Von Seydilitz, Defense Attaché of the German Embassy to Ukraine, and Ambassador Boris Tarasyuk,



It was good to meet former ACC intern, Pawel Osiej, again.

Ukrainian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. Similar panels were held for the remainder of the week as YATA delegates joined the proceedings of the ATA General Assembly. However my experience with the first day of the conference was consistent with the remainder of the Assembly: while the panels were quite thought provoking and engaging, the most gratifying feature of the conference was the social interaction that took place outside formal meetings. Whether it was in the halls during coffee breaks, in the dining rooms during meals or in the pubs after hours, the YATA General Assembly highlighted the power of social networking. I left Kyiv with a real sense that organizations such as YATA play a critical role in encouraging dialogue and informed debate among youth on the challenges facing our world today and those to come in the not so distant future.



## A New Strategic Concept for NATO

### *Planning for the future of a relevant and effective security Alliance*

*By: Julie Lindhout*

#### **A New Strategic Concept for NATO**

*Planning for the future of a relevant and effective security Alliance*

The Atlantic Council of Canada held its 2009 Fall Conference in Ottawa on November 24. The conference was very well attended. It was especially good to see a large number of very attentive high school and university students there.

The **Honorable Bill Graham**, Chairman of the ACC, started off the conference with a welcome address and introduction. He discussed the continued importance of NATO and suggested that the new Strategic Concept should pay particular attention to regional issues, and how to deal with detainees. He suggested that at the outset of the mission, NATO could probably have worked out a system whereby a NATO country not involved in combat, could have taken the lead on “working with the Afghan authorities in a way that would have been satisfactory to them and ensured that international standards were respected.”

He was followed by **H.E. Jawed Ludin**, Ambassador of Afghanistan to Canada. He spoke about the important role that NATO has played and continues to play in Afghanistan, and expressed his thanks to Canada for its effort, identifying the Canadian-led Operation Medusa as one of the most critical battles in the war. He recommended that as it goes forward, NATO should focus more on a set of principles, values, or interests, rather than geography to identify itself, and that it should not stop at global security, but global good governance as its ultimate goal.

The first of the three Panels was moderated by **Dr. Brooke Smith-Windsor**, Senior Canadian Representative at the NATO Defence College in Rome. He started out by saying that while Afghanistan may not determine the existence of the Alliance, it will have a significant impact on determining its future. He identified four functions for NATO: to protect, to deter, to intervene and to prevent. He also pointed out that this is the first Strategic Concept to

be developed in an era of flag draped caskets, highlighting that the NATO members are allied in doing something, not just being an Alliance.

***“while Afghanistan may not determine the existence of the Alliance, it will have a significant impact on determining its future.”***

**Jodi Adams**, Ph.D. Candidate, University of Toronto, started her presentation by saying that from the beginning NATO has known that its defence doctrines needed to be accompanied by diplomacy, but that NATO has, in fact, neglected diplomacy in its overall strategic concept, and needs to develop a new strategic concept which puts defence and diplomacy into an equitable partnership. She also recommended that the currently much discussed third “D”, development, should not be seen as NATO’s responsibility. NATO should provide the security that will allow the UN, the European Union, the World Bank and other organizations to do the work of development, institution building and reconstruction. She gave a comprehensive overview of the issues that need to be addressed in the New Strategic Concept.

**Stéfanie von Hlatky**, SDF Postdoctoral Fellow, McGill University, focused her presentation on one of the issues identified by Jodi, and elaborated on the need for the New Strategic Concept to deal with nuclear issues. She pointed out that NATO’s current nuclear doctrine has barely changed since the end of the Cold War. She identified tackling the nuclear issue as one of NATO’s core challenges, and suggests that with the new Obama administration there is now an opportunity to re-launch discussions among NATO allies to bring its nuclear doctrine in line with broader disarmament and non-proliferation commitments.

**Shelley Whiting**, Director, Defence & Security Relations Division, DFAIT, moderated the second panel

which addressed “Partnerships with other International Organizations, and NATO expansion.” In her opening remarks, Ms. Whiting highlighted the importance to Canada of the transatlantic partnership. NATO provides Canada with an official seat at the table in transatlantic discussions.

**H.E. Ginte Damusis**, Ambassador of Lithuania to Canada, emphasized that the current global security environment is very different from the Cold War environment. She pointed out that while NATO has already transformed itself into a much more outward looking alliance engaged in civil military operations, it needs to do more in the face of significant challenges from outside and within the organization. She stated that Lithuania believes that the view of what can trigger NATO’s Article 5 collective defence commitment needs to change, as energy security, cyber attacks, terrorism, WMD proliferation, and the consequences of failed or weak states all have the potential to be Article 5 issues. Ambassador Damusis sees the development of closer cooperation between NATO and the EU as critical to the ability of NATO to respond more effectively to these challenges. Her identification of the differences between the two organizations and how they can complement each other was particularly informative.

**Dr. Niels Lachmann**, GERSI-REGIS, University of Montreal, focused his paper on the cooperation between NATO and the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) of the European Union. He identified a number of asymmetries between NATO and the ESDP which makes it difficult to establish an equal and effective partnership between the two. He suggested that the development of a stronger “European pillar” may make Canada the “odd one out” in the





North Atlantic security cooperation. Nevertheless, he believes that a close look at the NATO-ESDP relationship is a relevant aspect of the debate about a new strategic concept.

In her keynote address, **H.E. Marie Gervais-Vidricaire**, Canada's Representative on the NATO Secretary-General's Strategic Concept Panel of Experts, emphasized that the development of the New Strategic Concept is to be a very transparent and inclusive process. She described the composition and purpose of the Panel, which is an independent group, chaired by former US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, with Jeroen van der Veer, a former CEO of Shell as Vice-Chair. She described how the group will consult with NATO Member countries, but will also engage with NATO Partner countries and with Russia. Her personal view is that the New Strategic Concept will have a more comprehensive security approach that takes into account the new global environment. This will be a challenging task, given the high degree of unpredictability of new threats.

**H.E. Batu Kutelia**, Ambassador of Georgia to Canada, spoke about the future of NATO from the perspective of an aspiring member state. He reviewed some aspects of the current security environment, and identified several elements that will be critical to the New Strategic Concept: NATO Member states' commitment to "uphold, protect and promote democratic values"; reaffirming a commitment to Article 5; providing for necessary tools to tackle the new security challenges; strengthening the NATO-EU partnership; NATO enlargement; and partnership with other international actors and states (particularly Russia).

Introducing the third panel on "Article 5 and 'Out of Area' Operations", **Dr. Michael Margolian**, Director General, Policy Planning, DND, identified the benefits of Canada's membership in NATO and interests in the Alliance. He provided an insightful analysis of the paradigm shift post-9/11 that has transformed the way Article 5 should be implemented today, and must be reflected in the way NATO does business. Dr. Margolian pointed out the inseparability of political cohesion and military efficacy,

and outlined the difficulties in attaining consensus from member states each with their own security interests and priorities.

In his presentation, "Wars of Volition and Wars of Need: NATO's Force Posture and the Commitment to Battle," **Eric Jardine**, Ph.D. Candidate, Norman Patterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, referenced the uneven burden sharing that is a considerable challenge to the cohesion of NATO. He proposes that the military component of a New Strategic Concept must be grounded in the recognition that NATO's new security environment means that force deployment by itself no longer results in security, but that NATO forces must also be functional when employed. This requires a decentralization of command and control into the operational theatre, which must, at the same time recognize the consensus driven nature of the Alliance. He illustrated his points with detailed case studies comparing NATO's role in Kosovo and the ISAF mission in Afghanistan.

**General Walter Natynczyk**, Chief of the Defence Staff, Canadian Forces, presented the closing keynote address. He emphasized how important it is to develop the right vision for the world's most important alliance. He described the security environment we live in as complex, dangerous, and unpredictable, and very different from that in 1999 when the last Strategic Concept was announced. In addition, NATO has acquired new members and partners, and has deepened or developed new relationships with organizations and countries around the globe. General Natynczyk stated that the Washington Treaty is still sound. NATO has learned a lot from operations in the past two decades that will help it to formulate a New Strategic Concept that should be comprehensive in its approach while at the same time establishing the role of each contributor: the military, the police, aid and development works, international organization, etc., and maximize existing and new partnerships. NATO must be prepared for ongoing transformation to respond to changing needs, which includes looking at defence planning and simplifying the command structure. He closed by saying that

Canada has a major stake in the review of the Strategic Concept and intends to make a lasting and meaningful contribution to the process.

*"NATO must be prepared for ongoing transformation to respond to changing needs"*

In his summation, **Col. (ret'd) Brian MacDonald**, Past President of the Atlantic Council of Canada, identified a number of issues that were not raised at the conference which need to be considered in the new Strategic Concept. He noted that a geopolitical centre of gravity shift is taking place from the Atlantic to the Pacific which needs to be taken into consideration. He also referenced the need to look at the role of political or militant Islam; the rise of non-military threats such as the cutting off of energy supplies; the need for further integration of defence, diplomacy



and development activities in Afghanistan; and finally the disparity between European and American expeditionary force capability. The development of a new Strategic concept for NATO is important to Canada, because NATO has been and will continue to be a cornerstone of successful Canadian security policy.

Insightful questions from the audience added to a lively and informative discussion. CPAC recorded the conference for broadcast and the video can be accessed on their website:

<http://www.cpac.ca/forms/index.asp?s=atlantic+council+of+canada&dsp=template&act=view3&pagetype=vod&lang=e>

The proceedings will also be posted on the ACC website.



## Security by Other Means: Using Political and Economic Cooperation to meet Security Challenges

By: Tom Shepherd  
2009 Undergraduate Essay  
Contest Winner

For the last sixty years, NATO has guaranteed the security of the North Atlantic through the promise of collective self-defence. With the demise of the Soviet Union, the threat of massive military action disappeared from Europe and new threats evolved in the security void. The wars in Afghanistan and the former Yugoslavia have shown that the threat of radicalism cannot be countered through military means alone. The twenty-first century has brought to the forefront the need to support the institutions and principles which make radical ideologies less attractive. To paraphrase von Clausewitz, political and economic cooperation have become an extension of security by other means. The problem lies in distributing scarce resources to the institutions which may effectively promote the principles of the Alliance, provide security for its members from both internal and external threats, and increase the standards of living for both member and non-member states.

The most logical organization to help NATO meet its non-military objectives is the European Union. NATO must promote the expansion of the European Union eastward in order to realize the objectives of *Article Two* of the *North Atlantic Treaty*. *Article Two* states:

*“The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.”*

The new strategic document needs to articulate the two primary levels that NATO can use to support the objectives of the EU through *Article Two*: 1) Tying economic and political objectives to increased military cooperation from Partnership for Peace countries which request it, with a special focus on Eastern Europe and the Caucasus; 2) NATO needs to reaffirm commitment to its Eastern allies that it will “institutionally” support them under *Article Five*. *Article Five* is the cornerstone of the Alliance and states that an attack against one is an attack against them all, which obliges members to “such action as deemed necessary” in meeting that aggression.

Since the end of the Cold War, NATO’s eastward expansion has been followed by that of the European Union. Many of the standards that prospective NATO members must achieve in reforming their militaries in order to join the alliance go hand in hand with increasing public control of the country’s institutions. The reforms add force to the argument that NATO strengthens democracy in its prospective member states. While the human rights record and democratic credentials of many member states were highly questionable during the Cold War, when NATO expanded afterwards it served to cement the foundations of the democratic institutions which were forming in the communist bloc.

Documents such as the NATO-Ukraine Action plan focus heavily on political and economic reform as prerequisites to joining the Alliance. The reforming effects of engaging with the Alliance go beyond the formal institutional level. Through personnel exchanges and joint training operations, cooperation with the Alliance further enhances a sharing of principles between allies and partners. However, NATO can use its political and cultural leverage, “soft power”, to enhance cooperation between allies and partners. But it still lacks the economic unity to offer the standard of living increases that many prospective members crave.

NATO needs to make clear that increased political and economic benefits go hand in hand with increased

military cooperation. NATO is not, nor should be, in the business of signing trade agreements between members and prospective members, but it can initiate the reform needed for use by prospective members to gain acceptance for trade agreements with the European Union. Indeed, many new members see NATO as a stepping stone to Western support for EU membership and the economic benefits it brings. Unfortunately, there is no great trans-Atlantic free trade area to promote NATO wide economic cooperation. Nevertheless, if European security is enhanced through greater economic cooperation within the Euro-Atlantic area, it will, by extension, promote the security of North America.

Of course, the EU is not the only organization that promotes cooperation within Europe. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) brings both sides of the Atlantic Alliance together along with the former soviet republics. Without question the work of the OSCE is important, particularly with regards to human rights and the promotion of democracy; however, it lacks the political integration of the EU or NATO. As an institution, NATO has scarce political and financial resources to devote to lesser known articles of the *North Atlantic Treaty*. This makes it difficult to justify how those resources can be spent on an organization which was unable to prevent a war between two partners in the summer of 2008 (Georgia and Russia). Such a conflict would be far less likely between EU members due to the greater number of national and supranational safeguards.

NATO is primarily a military alliance built upon the principle that an attack against one is an attack against all. The legitimacy of the entire institution, as well as its ability to promote its shared principles, comes into question if NATO is unable to commit to *Article Five*. One major question that must be addressed in the new Strategic Concept is whether or not the Alliance should commit resources to train for countering possible Russian aggression in Eastern Europe. Institutionally, the Alliance needs to prepare some sort of contingency plan, despite the unlikelihood of a Russian attack.





No doubt, some members will be wary of such a venture; however, this merely



reinforces the need for public unity. By providing physical and psychological security to our Eastern European allies, they are more likely to support political and economic reform initiatives.

While the guarantee of Article Five will provide reassurance to Eastern Europe, Russia is a minimal threat to

European security and has greater potential as a partner. The primary threat to European security remains radicalism which can only be met through a combination of political, economic and military initiatives. As the most effective political and economic institution in Europe, the EU must be the organization which receives the lion's share of scarce resources. There are many other 'free institutions' which NATO regularly supports, such as the nation building in Afghanistan that has evolved into a mission resembling Article Two commitments rather than Article Five obligations. Support for political, economic and security operations outside Europe should be secondary to support for greater European cooperation. The "raison d'être" of the Alliance is European security. Article Two calls for the support of free institutions and

economic cooperation to enhance collective security. Support for the EU in the new strategic concept is the most effective way to those twin objectives.

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### The Canadian Connection

#### *A Canadian Internship with the Atlantic Council of Ukraine*

**By: Guillaume Couture, ACC Scotiabank Intern**

In 2007 the Atlantic Council of Canada (ACC) hosted the 53<sup>rd</sup> Atlantic Treaty Association General Assembly in Ottawa which brought together academics, policy makers and concerned citizens from across North America and Europe to support the North Atlantic Treaty Association (NATO) and discuss issues pertaining to international peace and stability. Following the immense success of this assembly, the ACC was asked to assist the Atlantic Council of Ukraine (ACU) to organize the 55<sup>th</sup> General Assembly (GA) in the fall of 2009. As a small organization, the ACU looked to its Canadian sister for knowledge and experience in planning and organizing large scale events of this kind.

My internship with the ACC started in July 2009 with a series of meetings in Toronto with President, Mrs. Julie Lindhout, Executive Coordinator of Programmes, Ms. Lana Polyakov and Chairman, the Hon. Bill Graham. Through these preliminary meetings, I gained an understanding of the twofold purpose of my internship program. The short-term goal was to provide organizational and logistical support to our partners at ACU in preparation for the 55<sup>th</sup> ATA General Assembly to be held

in Kyiv, Ukraine, October 7-10, 2009. The long-term goal was to help establish a strong working relationship with the ACU in order to contribute to their professional and institutional capacity building efforts. Ukraine is an emerging strategic partner of Canada and NATO in the realm of security and defence; a transitional economy and an emerging democracy that relies heavily on international support for democratic governance through the support and confidence building of civil society and accountable public institutions.

After a busy week of orientation in Toronto, I traveled to Kyiv to meet with my new colleagues; notably ACU President, Mr. Oleg Kokoshinskiy and the head of the Ukraine-NATO Civic League, Mr. Serhiy Dzherdzh. Within my first few days in Kyiv, it was evident that the ACU and its partners were dedicated to organizing a world class event. The Ukrainians, regardless of their political positions, were in agreement that hosting the 55<sup>th</sup> ATA General Assembly would be a great achievement for Ukraine, and were grateful for Canada's generous support for strengthening Ukraine in economic and political terms through domestic education and transatlantic cooperation.

The organizing committee for the 55<sup>th</sup> ATA GA included members from a variety of backgrounds with vastly different experiences who collectively displayed an impressive array of language, logistical and organizational skills. In addition to preparing the venues, contacting potential speakers, planning for transportation and tracking the registration of participants from over 40 countries, the organizing committee developed an impressive media programme to educate Ukrainians on the role of the ATA and the significance of holding the General Assembly in Kyiv. I was welcomed with open arms and entrusted with an important leadership role managing a team of Ukrainian volunteers with whom I worked during the run up to the assembly. Liaising with various government and non-governmental organizations, we organized NATO exhibits with support from the Ukrainian government, coordinated the involvement of foreign embassies in Kyiv and recruited and trained dozens of Ukrainian student volunteers for work during the assembly. →Continued on Page 16



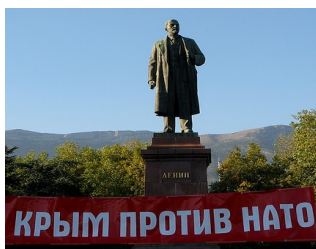
## Ukraine + Afghanistan = ?

By: Tetiana Branitska  
2009 Summer Intern from Ukraine

*Overview.* A dubious commonality exists between Ukraine and Afghanistan; for a significant period of time, the fate of both these countries rested in the hands of foreign states and governments. Both suffered from the clashes between the big states and ideologies, and served as theatres for foreign military operations. Unfortunately, these were also the circumstances under which Ukraine and Afghanistan had their first encounter.

As a part of the former Soviet Union, Ukraine was engaged in the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, which lasted from 1979 to 1989. The Ukrainian share of the total number of Soviet losses during the war was 17%. Apart from this, Ukraine is still struggling with the demographic repercussions of the war to this day, which includes over 25 hundred elderly people who were left without caregivers after their sons died in Afghanistan, nearly 700 orphaned children, and 500 widows (families without breadwinners). The Afghan war further left 3500 men disabled and over 8000 suffering from severe physical or mental injuries. The Ukrainian Association of Afghan War Veterans was created in order to protect the rights of Afghan War veterans and to ensure their opinions are expressed in the creations of Ukraine's current military policies.

The Afghan war was the last military act of Soviet Ukraine. After gaining inde-



pendence, Ukraine proclaimed itself to be a peaceful state that wished to remain on good terms with all nations. Since then, Ukrainian military officers served in a number of international missions as part of peacekeeping contingents, mostly engaged in reconstruction efforts of infrastructure and communication

grids. Ukraine has since joined the NATO-ISAF mission in

Afghanistan, and sent 10 peacekeepers (3 medical and 7 staff officers) to the province of Ghor that operate under the command of the Lithuanian contingent. The Ukrainian Ministry of Defence was considering sending 7 more de-mining experts to Ghor.

*Politics.* Ukraine is a young state and has not yet recovered from its time under Soviet authority and ideology. Former negative representations of NATO still have considerable influence over the Ukrainian public. Current educational campaigns aimed at raising NATO awareness are still weak, which is one of the reasons behind the continued negative attitude towards the government's aim to get Ukraine to join NATO. Since most of the public remains hostile to any discussions pertaining to NATO's policies (48.2% of people surveyed in 2008 stated that they consider NATO to be an aggressive military block), it is fair to observe that most politicians remain uneasy to share the negative image of the Alliance. This further explains why politicians change their attitudes towards NATO in regard to their position in the parliament.

Since the President and the government are responsible for maintaining friendly relationships with other countries, they often make pro-NATO decisions as a way of boosting Ukraine's public image in the realm of international relations. Also, there is an observable trend which shows that pro-presidential deputies are likely to support the President's decisions while the Opposition tends to be more critical. The parliament is slightly different, it is composed of various parties and fractions, which have their particular groups of voters. Often times, when deputies feel that they need to either increase or preserve their popularity, they will use NATO policy-making to do so. Consequently, their positive and negative attitudes towards NATO membership will sway, based not on what they personally believe, but largely on whatever stance will gain them more support from their constituency.

What can hence be concluded is that the Ukrainian parliament carries out

decisions which would pave the way to political success, rarely considering the pros and cons of such decisions on the Ukrainian state's best interests. However, the rule of thumb in parliamentary attitudes can be viewed as follows: pro-Western parties = pro NATO, pro-Eastern parties = against NATO. Even though pro-NATO parties and their deputies sometimes avoid the topic of NATO during press-conferences, they are still more likely to vote for pro-NATO decisions.



The President of Ukraine V. Yushchenko meeting the President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai, January 25, 2008 (source: [www.president.gov.ua](http://www.president.gov.ua))

It can be generalized that parties who largely gain their support from Ukrainians 50 years and older and who reside in the South-Eastern parts of Ukraine have a radical anti-NATO position. By contrast, pro-Western, hence pro-NATO parties, gain their support from Ukrainians between the ages of 18-49 who principally reside in the North-Western and Central regions of Ukraine. As a result, the demographic map of Ukraine has become an inseparable part of the NATO debate in Ukraine. For example, the electorate of the South-Eastern regions of Ukraine consists of up to 40% ethnic Russians and as many as 58.3% in Crimea. On the whole, it can be stated that the Ukrainian Russians residing in these key regions oppose NATO membership. This is for the most part due to old ideological images of NATO and its relations with the former Soviet Union and present day Russian anti-NATO propaganda which flows to Ukraine through Russian media channels.

There is yet another dimension to the Ukraine and Afghanistan relationship apart from those concerning politics. Ukraine has also contributed considerable humanitarian relief to Afghanistan. Through



the years, the two countries were developing relations of mutual benefits. In January 2008, the Presidents of Ukraine and Afghanistan negotiated a cooperative arrangement aimed at developing Afghan oil mines with the assistance of Ukrainian companies.

Despite Ukraine's participation in the current ISAF-mission in Afghanistan which enables it to establish global respect and economic opportunities, certain tensions nonetheless arise. The presence of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) boosts the tension in the region because its members are extremely eager to get some development agreements with Afghanistan for themselves.

The SCO views Afghanistan with particular strategic importance as its geographic position places it in the very centre of the SCO member countries. It has a common border with China and Iran, which means that if Afghanistan gets at least some cooperation with SCO, the organization will extend its borders into the Persian Gulf and strengthen its position as a global oil-gas monopolist. Also, Ukraine-Afghanistan cooperation in the economic field might be cause for concern in Russia given that these agreements would break Russia's monopoly on importing energy resources to Ukraine.

*Society.* The cooperation level stretches beyond politics and laws. The Soviet era gave significant support to the Ukrainian military personnel. This included salaries, work insurance package, free apartments, early retirement options, travel opportunities etc. In doing so, the state ensured it met its demand for military staff as people entered the military in great numbers. Being in the military was (and remains) very prestigious both financially and socially. However, after Ukraine became independent, it lost both the potential for using its military power as well as the means to support it. During the last 20 years, Ukrainian Armed Forces went through a number of staff discharges. The Ukrainian Army staff now has 4 times fewer officers than it used to. These changes were carried out as a result of a decision which envisioned the newly independent

Ukraine that was also in the midst of a serious economic downturn, as not requiring a Soviet sized army of its own. This decision intended to greatly cut down the budget expenditures for military purposes, and resulted in approximately 700,000 military personnel to be out of work.

Because of the unfavorable monetary conditions, Ukrainian military families often looked for other ways to make money in order to maintain a constant family income. Those living in rural areas engaged in agriculture, and those residing in the cities were able to find an alternative kind of service they could apply for, such as local conflicts and places of military confrontation where the demand for specialized militaries is high. But if these officers did not get a chance to apply to serve in some capacity in any of these conflict areas, either as soldiers or peacekeepers, they were then prone to look for alternative ways of finding the potential "workplace", frequently through recruitment by different agencies by entering states of their destination using tourist visas. Once in the country, they serve as soldiers for that particular country. It is difficult to state the exact number of Ukrainian soldiers and officers carrying out military missions abroad on behalf of other governments since they rarely keep their own names when doing so. Back in Ukraine, they would be considered criminals and undergo all the consequences of law violation. For this reason, they change passports (sometimes it is a regular procedure in the recruiting companies). The estimated number of Ukrainian militaries on foreign services fluctuates from several hundred to several thousand.

*The News.* On June 14, 2009, Ukraine was struck by the news that 6 Ukrainians died in Afghanistan on board a Mi-26 helicopter that was hit by a simple hand grenade. The helicopter belonged to the Moldovan company Pecotox-Air and was escorting another helicopter delivering provisions from the NATO base in Camp Bastion. Four out of the six Ukrainians were military pilots who had recently retired from the Ukrainian Military Forces. They applied as mercenaries to help the international

contingent in Afghanistan. Ukrainian laws prohibit soldiers and officers from serving in any other army other than the Ukrainian and engage in foreign military missions unless as peacekeepers sanctioned by the state. This case raises the question of Ukrainian soldiers illegally serving in a place of military operations.

*Image.* The British talk about the weather because it is in a constant state of change and is unpredictable. Ukrainians do the same, only with reference to the unstable and unexpected events in Ukrainian politics. Most Ukrainians are virtually addicted to watching, reading or listening to the news. Present day Ukrainian authorities care a lot about public opinion. This draws politicians to communicate with journalists very often in order to get their desired publicity. Every decision carried out by either President, Prime Minister, any minister, leader of a parliamentary fraction or a prominent politician, is immediately explained to the journalists and, in turn, to the public.

Consequently, the final picture of what the public will see or hear is in the



Prime-minister Yulia Tymoshenko talking to journalists (source: [www.unian.net](http://www.unian.net))

journalists' hands. The media is a kind of business which foresees material benefit for those who work in the field. Therefore, news broadcasting can be influenced by those people who actually deliver the news. Another point is that one cannot deny the strong connection between business and politics. Political decisions influence business, and businessmen try to influence these decisions so that they can get the greatest conditions for production and distribution. In April 2005 an investigation concerning Ukrainian media reported that 3% of media channels are national, 38% municipal, and 62% private. Even though this investigation is 4 years old, one can





conclude that the Ukrainian media is being influenced by different people and institutions, and that the representation of political events and decisions fluctuates among different media sources.

The depiction of Ukraine being engaged in Afghanistan basically depends on how the board of directors at a particular news agency would consider this news to be worthy of being told. In general, the public is aware that Ukraine has its troops in Afghanistan. But what they don't have clear answers to is: What is ISAF? What is its business in Afghanistan? What countries participate and how broadly are they represented in Afghanistan? How many Ukrainians have gone to Afghanistan as peacekeepers? What is the difference between peacekeepers and mercenaries? and, Who actually suffered in the crash of the helicopter – peacekeepers or mercenaries?

The general public has many questions which can be answered using information received from the media; they also reach their own conclusions depending on their knowledge and personal experiences. Despite this, the death of Ukrainians in Afghanistan 20 years after the Soviet-Afghan war is a heavy point. No matter whose grenade hit the helicopter, the public's opinion turns from neutral

(before the crash) to negative. Some people would be critical about the war in general; some would go further and blame either ISAF or the Taliban. The choice of the target of criticism is based on what people happen to hear in the news. In this case, the NATO office in Ukraine would benefit from releasing public statements in order to explain the news coming out of Afghanistan. Otherwise, NATO as an Alliance and those Ukrainians who support the idea of joining NATO may find themselves in a difficult situation where they are not being told the truth while being bombarded by public critics and mistrust.

The increase in internet use makes the public more informed than ever before. In relatively little time, different worldwide news channels can be accessed. On-line channels and magazines give the opportunity to comment on what they have just seen or read. What is unique about these discussions is that they are available to people from all over the globe. For example, after the news about the Ukrainians killed in Afghanistan hit the on-line publications, a significant online debate broke out between pro-NATO and anti-NATO supporters. Russian and Moldovan visitors of the web-page criticized Ukrainians and Ukrainian authorities for their "crazy ambition" to join NATO, even going as far as saying "...you're not even there and look what it has done to you already".

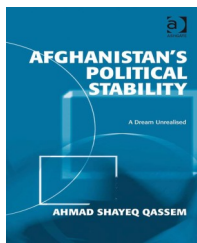
Ukrainians responded by explaining that those killed in the crash were soldiers not operating under the authority of the Ukrainian government, and hence should not be taken as an example of what Ukraine in NATO would be like. At the same time, Ukrainians also expressed their regret for the loss of those soldiers. The majority of Ukrainians explained that the presence of the mercenaries was the result of the unfavorable economic conditions facing Ukrainian military personnel rather than ISAF or NATO forcing their presence in any way.

In the end, there is no difference on the title of those who died and may die in Afghanistan, Ukrainians will have a difficult time accepting any casualty given their historic relations with that country. The Ukrainian public will be proud of those who are peacekeepers, as well as feel regret for those who die there as mercenaries. In order to provide overall approval of ISAF actions in Afghanistan (and therefore, a positive image of both ISAF and NATO), it is necessary to keep Ukrainian soldiers from engaging in international military conflicts as mercenaries. This is a problem to be solved by Ukrainian authorities in terms of state control and recruitment, with hope that the future will only become brighter.

## REVIEW OF "AFGHANISTAN'S POLITICAL STABILITY: A DREAM UNREALISED"

Ahmad Shayeq Qassem, Ashgate Publishing Limited, UK, 2009-12-17

Reviewed by: Dr. Peter O'Brien, Australian National University, Canberra.



Why is Switzerland, a small, landlocked country in the middle (more or less) of Europe (a continent second to none in the conduct of wars, civil and continental, where religious and ethnic differences of multiple kinds have been murderously exploited, and the party is not yet over), with 3 clearly distinct population groups, 4 official languages, and the largest population share of resident non nationals anywhere in Europe (and probably in the world) regarded as one of the paragons of democratic stability?

And Afghanistan, on the surface not so differently situated, considered to be "a failed State", "a basket case of ethnic conflict", "Asia's equivalent to the Congo"? Are the reasons for the contrast to be found in the topography (though both places are near the centre of the main mountain chains of their regions)? In the religious histories (though Calvin's record for religious persecution is hard to beat, anti-semitism has frequently appeared, and the recent "minaret scandal" has thrown anti-islamic prejudices into the lime-light)? In the natural resources within each country (Afghanistan is certainly richer, so maybe more tempting to

outsiders)? In the fact that Switzerland has constructed a Confederation ensuring that no centralised official power base, whether political, financial or military, can exist, while Afghanistan has frequently been tempted by the centralising urge? Or is the answer, if there is one, to be sought in the histories and behaviour of the neighbours which surround them, along with the interplay between those neighbours and the country?

Ahmad Shayeq Qassem's book, the outgrowth of a PhD thesis presented by the author (a former official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic



Republic of Afghanistan) to the Australian National University, argues strongly that Afghanistan has historically been unstable due to the last of the points mentioned above. Although the book makes virtually no reference to the political stability of other States, a surprising omission in today's world where most of us could reel off quick lists of at least a couple of dozen countries which would qualify as "unstable", and thus offers no yardstick of relative comparison, the author clearly considers that Afghanistan's record is poor. He attributes this to a succession of poisonous political cocktails where the internal and external ingredients have been mixed by barmen not lacking in fantasy yet seriously deficient in understanding what the consumption of such beverages might do to the health of the users. The story is certainly a fascinating one, if not original - most of its elements have been well told by other writers, from both within and outside the region, as the copious footnotes to the book demonstrate. Where Qassem does deviate from several others is precisely in the formulation of the title given to the story. He posits a supposed quest for political stability, and indicates that the dream is unrealised. To understand how this shapes the narrative, we need to reflect on what this approach entails.

There are two key things to understand. First, there is the concept of "political stability". The opening section of the book reviews points made in several of the standard, Western oriented, texts on geopolitics. These works mainly date from several decades ago, and mostly use examples drawn from Europe and the Americas. The "theories" elaborated in these volumes talk about several distinct, though usually intertwined, factors or components of political stability. A country's "performance" is the resultant of how its record stands in relation to five main indicators. These are: domestic political violence; longevity of governments; changes in the character of the political system; legitimacy of the political system; and the capacity for effective decision making. In essence Qassem argues that Afghanistan has a poor performance in all 5 dimensions. The prime reason for this is the country's relations with its neighbours in Central and South

Asia. It is their situations which have shaped Afghanistan's politics (and, to some extent, vice versa).

The thesis has several virtues. It places heavy emphasis on the role, over the past 90 years (since Afghanistan obtained Independence), of the relative autonomy of regional actors (with the exception of China, treated only lightly in the book). Indeed, it was in the first half of that period when the power of the British Empire was on the wane, Russia had transformed into the USSR (a place where the "nationalities question", already discussed by Lenin before the Bolsheviks seized power, loomed large in the thoughts and actions of Stalin), and the USA was



mostly concerned about Iran. For all the upheavals, this was a time when important and long existing forces in the region had some chances to show their real concerns. Those forces were by no means confined to religious matters, vitally important though these are.

Since the end of the 1939-1945 wars, the "opening of political space" to the regional actors has proceeded apace. The end of British India saw the creation of Pakistan, a huge Sunni Muslim neighbour with a large and influential Pushtun population of its own. The creation of Communist China, and the efforts of its political leaders to establish a firm ideological grip even on its Western, predominantly Muslim part, meant that, since the inception of Independent Afghanistan, the country has been bordered by countries of which none espouse the Western, liberal and (with the exception of the US) secular model of society. At end 1970s, the regime change in Iran reinforced the Shi'ite emphasis and pushed aside many, though not all, of the Western tendencies in that country. By the early part of the 1990s, the USSR no longer existed and what was previously a border of close to 2200 km length

with a single country, was divided into borders with 3 countries (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan) which, though sharing a number of characteristics, are by no means uniform. In short, over the past 6 decades "who is on the other side of the borders" has altered dramatically for Afghanistan. (The absence of a series of historical maps, tracing how the political contours of Afghanistan and its neighbours have changed over the past century is an unfortunate omission from the book). For all of the 6 States which now share some 5000km of frontiers with Afghanistan, the current political features today are vastly different from what they were one quarter of the way into the 40 year reign of King Mohammed Zahir Shah.

Today's neighbours of Afghanistan all have serious internal tensions. Indeed, in the course of 2009 the Government in each of them has used violence against some of the population – and each Government employs a strong repressive apparatus to ensure that the domain of political decision making is reserved for a small group. Yet there is also, in each country, an important sense in which a vision of the country is shared by most of the population. That is lacking in Afghanistan. Which brings us to the second matter. What, exactly, is the stuff of the "dream unrealised"? And who is supposed to have this dream?

Qassem himself is at pains, throughout the book, to reiterate two themes which in fact contain the questions just posed. The first of these is ethno-nationalism, which is one way of referring to the "Pushtun push". The political elite among the Pushtuns in Afghanistan (and those who have resided outside Afghanistan) have long been active in promoting the creation of Pushtunistan. Here is a dream, described in no uncertain terms. But it is not a dream about Afghanistan. In fact, its realisation implies that a substantial part of the territory now within the boundaries of Afghanistan would belong to a different country. It also implies that the frontier between Afghanistan and Pakistan – the Durand Line drawn by the British at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century – would have to go. Now that is something which



Pakistan is not prepared to accept. For the last many years, and thanks primarily to the opportunities presented by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan has perceived Afghanistan as a client State. Yet this client State has proved troublesome, especially during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. What Pakistan does not need, and will not tolerate, is the creation of two States, one called Pushtunistan and the other being the remainder of what is now Afghanistan. One important reason why Pakistan would be unhappy is that its own economic interests in Central Asia transit through the north of Afghanistan – and that would not belong to any Pushtunistan.

So if we leave aside the bulk of the Pushtuns, say 30% of Afghanistan's population, who is supposed to have the dream of Afghanistan's political stability? On the most optimistic interpretation, the answer would be the amalgam of Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks and some other smaller groups. It is probably correct to think that these groups could find a *modus vivendi* with each other, and would prefer to do that rather than, for example, becoming part of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan or other countries. If this were the case, what sort of political structure might accommodate the needs of these groups, be perceived by them to be legitimate, and have some prospects of sustaining itself (economically as well as politically)?

The response must surely lie with some kind of federal structure, rooted in Islam, where power is shared among the groups, and where foreign policy dispenses with any territorial claims (the irredentism identified by Qassem in regard to the Pakistan frontier is essentially linked with the Pushtunistan dream). The prospective economic viability of such an entity would not appear to be any worse than what has in fact been the situation of Afghanistan throughout the past 90 years. At no stage has the Government been remotely in the position of being able to raise domestically, revenue sufficient to undertake much in the way of socially and economically useful activities. If you interview local leaders and groups around Afghanistan, you find that

expectations as to what the Government might do to assist the struggle against poverty are practically nil. The large volumes of cash and kind from diverse foreign sources, regional and non-regional, which have entered Afghanistan have mostly been made up of military and security related things. The assistance directly related to economic and social matters *per se* has generally gone to government and government institutions. The perceived limited impact of that assistance has discredited government and been a contributing factor to political controversies (especially in the post 2001 phase).

Where does this leave us?

In the classic "Great Game" period, Afghanistan was put together as a buffer between Russia and British India. That dream, held by foreign powers, was for a long time realised. In the quarter century from the end of the 1939-1945 wars to the Soviet invasion, the political leaders of the country sought to accomplish some sort of social and economic modernisation along the lines of examples elsewhere in the then "Third World" and to that degree adopted a centralising State perspective. But this effort floundered on the twin rocks of hubris: the Pushtun version, which believed it could realise its dream of a "Pushtunistan within Afghanistan", and the Soviet version, which believed it could finally realise the Russian dream in Central Asia. By the 1990s, both dreams had become nightmares. At that stage, two different dreams had made others starry eyed. Pakistan's pan Islamic vision was burgeoning, while the Islamic State of Afghanistan was believing that it could go it alone. From the onset of the present decade, those two pictures had been shattered, though the Pakistan effort to turn dream into reality continued until very recently. Instead, yet another dream/mission, that of "Enduring Freedom", swept to centre stage. As the decade ends, that dream too has disappeared.

Back to Switzerland. It does not exist because it is a first best solution for any of the constituent groups. It exists because it is, for each of them, the *modus vivendi* which seems to give them less trouble than there would be under alternative political structures, and is also

perceived as inoffensive by the neighbours. In a time period shorter than Afghanistan's Independence it has gone from a place where there was considerable poverty to one where economies can and have flourished. This "lower common denominator" approach has happened in several other European countries where there are severe internal divisions and, on occasion, significant violence – obvious examples are Italy, Spain, Belgium. In all these European instances, nobody's dreams have been realised, the results are not wonderful, but things could have been much worse.

The peoples within Afghanistan must somehow move economic considerations more to the fore, relative to political and ideological ones. The notion that everyone can have just what they want is one which it is very hard to let go of in any place and at any time. Yet a point is usually reached where the costs, not just to others but above all to those with the dreams, rise so high that the dreams themselves have to be laid aside. The experiences of Afghanistan over the last decades have regularly turned dreams into nightmares. In the neighbouring countries, there has on the whole been a move towards more realism, even if that move has frequently happened only after much suffering. For that reason, there is some hope that Afghanistan's neighbours in Central and South Asia are, in their own ways, following paths marked by realism. If Afghanistan can move in the same direction, then greater political stability could be created.

*"The response must surely lie with some kind of federal structure, rooted in Islam, where power is shared among the groups, and where foreign policy dispenses with any territorial claims"*





**The Atlantic Council of Canada presents:  
**A Roundtable Speaker Presentation**  
**“The Effects of the American Surge in Kandahar”****

by  
**Dr. Sean Maloney**  
*Associate Professor, Department of History*  
*Royal Military College of Canada*

**By: Tanah Sullivan**

On Tuesday, February 2, 2010, the Atlantic Council of Canada, its members and guests were privileged to welcome Dr. Sean Maloney of the Royal Military College of Canada to speak about the effects of the American surge in Kandahar.

Prior to 9/11, Dr. Maloney worked extensively throughout the Middle East, studying the conflicts and the international peacekeeping efforts in the region. Since 2001, he has focused on the war against the Al-Qaeda movement, particularly in Afghanistan. He is currently the historical advisor to the Chief of the Land Staff of the Canadian Army for the war in Afghanistan. His work



has brought him to Afghanistan regularly since 2003 to observe the coalition operations in the country, making him the first

Canadian military historian to go into ground combat at the company level since WWII.



Kandahar, a region in the south of Afghanistan has long suffered as one of the two main ‘hotspots’ of the conflict. Without apt state resolution mechanisms and institutions to tackle grievances, internal conflict and disputes have intensified in the region; further exacerbating what is already a highly volatile and fragile situation. Dr. Maloney discussed the establishment of Canada’s position in the conflict and its commitments to the region, divisible by distinct time periods since 9/11.

Dr. Maloney is compiling a narrative of Canada’s involvement in Afghanistan. He spoke of how he would build a narrative that would highlight Canada’s role in and contribution to the conflict, focusing on how Canada was fundamental in the successful

attainment of several mission objectives.

With a comprehensive and practical understanding of how decades of conflict have damaged the country’s social fabric, Dr. Maloney outlined the main obstacles hindering the development process in the region. He also described the weaknesses and failures as perceived by the public of the current international approach to implementing effective and long term peace-building efforts. He addressed each of these arguments against Canada’s involvement in Afghanistan by disproving the main negative assumptions or presumed



notions underlying them. He reiterated the importance of focusing on local community perceptions and attitudes towards foreign troops as a dominant reason for Canada to remain committed to and present in the region.



→Continued from Page 9

I also worked through the NATO Information and Documentation Centre (NIDC), established in Kyiv in 1997 to educate Ukrainians on the role of NATO in the world by deconstructing decades of soviet propaganda and misinformation. The NIDC works to promote the importance of NATO to international peace and stability. It is widely acknowledged that due in part to the 2008 conflict between Russia and Georgia, Ukraine's progress towards NATO membership has been stalled. Given this change in the Ukrainian political climate, the work of the NIDC is more important than ever before. Having the opportunity to contribute to NIDC's work by assisting with the organization of the GA was hugely gratifying for me. It gave me a greater appreciation for the role of organizations such as the NIDC, ACU and ACC in educating, mobilizing and shaping civil society.

Perhaps the most rewarding facet of my internship was exposure to the diverse viewpoints of ambassadors, government officials and dedicated members of

likeminded NGOs. I developed a greater understanding of NATO, its members and those states aspiring to membership, and the way countries with vastly different interests could work together to enhance their common interest of national security. NATO is truly a democracy of nations, with individual interests and concerns, yet able to advance a cause beyond the interests of any one member. I learned that diplomacy among allies can often be a tumultuous affair, but this very discourse has allowed NATO to remain the vanguard of global security, as an adaptable, responsive alliance, able to tackle the emerging threats of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Thanks to the dedication of the organizing committee, the 55<sup>th</sup> ATA General Assembly was an enormous success. NATO representatives and ATA delegates agreed that ACU had completed a colossal task with shining colours. The special partnership between ACC and ACU played a huge role in this success. This relationship will continue to strengthen ACU to be an active and

valuable member of the ATA. ACC will continue to look at other ways to keep ACU actively involved with international activities and work to establish a network of internship exchange programs to provide a steady flow of Canadian or Ukrainian interns like myself to come to the ACC to learn and receive first-hand training from an established, successful, NGO. This will set good examples for Ukrainian institutions of accountability, public-sector capacity building, preventing future potential conflicts, and promoting democratization as a whole.

This first opportunity to work in a truly international setting has become my benchmark for the type of work I aspire to do in my life. I'd like to take this opportunity to thank everyone at the ACC, the ACU, the Ukraine-NATO Civic League, the ATA Secretariat and the NIDC for making this experience unforgettable. I would also like to thank the generosity of Scotiabank for making this internship possible.

## Recent and Upcoming ACC Events



**Spring Conference, April 8, 2010**  
**The Ignatieff Theatre, Trinity College**  
**University of Toronto**  
**Theme: Minimizing Conflict in the Race for Natural Resources**



**Board of Directors Meeting**  
**A Roundtable with Sean Maloney**  
**Held February 02, 2010 at 6:15 at the Atlantic Council of Canada**



**Tribute Dinner, May 18, 2010**  
**Strachan Hall, Trinity College**  
**University of Toronto**  
**Honouring Captain(Ret'd) Trevor Greene**

*Please look for more info on these events on our website!*

