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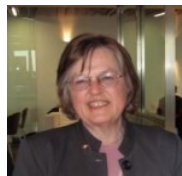


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## President's Message



The summer has flown by, and the Fall with its many activities has arrived. As I write this, we are about to leave for Brussels on our NATO Study Tour, to visit NATO Headquarters, SHAPE in Mons, and the AWACS base in Geilenkirchen, Germany. An interesting aspect of our visit to NATO HQ will be the opportunity to meet again with

Ambassador Martin Trenevski, most recently Macedonian Consul General in Toronto. He has just spent his first three weeks in Brussels as Head of his country's Mission to NATO. Elsewhere in this issue you will find an article by him describing his country's aspirations to join NATO, and the difficulties being experienced along the way.

You will find several other timely articles and reports in

this issue, including an interview with Ambassador William Crosbie conducted by Sean Palter, another example of the exceptional work done by our interns, as are the articles by Kirsty Hong, Chelsea Plante, Amina Yasin and Monika Wyrzykowska. In that context, I am delighted to welcome Jonathan Preece back. He has taken over the editorship of our *In Focus News Digest*.

# Atlantic Council School Initiative

●▷ The Atlantic Council of Canada launched its school outreach program on June 9th, 2010.—Written by William Simmons



The Atlantic Council's Secondary School Outreach Program officially launched on June 9th 2010 at Bur Oaks Secondary School in Markham. Two grade 10 History classes received a 75-minute presentation on Canada's

involvement in NATO, which follows from the Atlantic Council's aim to promote interest in and knowledge of Canada's most important military alliance. Kirsty Hong, Robert Baines, and William Simmons presented on behalf of the Atlantic Council and were extremely successful in providing the high school students with an enthusiastic and informative power point presentation that was met with a high level of interest by the students.

Alyssa Chan, the teacher of

one of the grade 10 classes stated: "This is exactly what our students needed!" The Bur Oak presentations were a very important first step for the outreach program that plans to be fully in effect for September 2010. Weekly presentations are being planned in high schools across the Greater Toronto Area and York Region. The Atlantic Council's goal is to provide high school students with the opportunity to learn more about Canada's role in NATO throughout the organization's

history, while also providing the students with informative information about the possibility of participating in non-governmental organizations like the Atlantic Council.

Essential areas of NATO that were focused on in the presentation included the creation of NATO, its activities throughout the Cold War, the

emergence of NATO's new identity following the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, as well as Canada's and NATO's involvement in Afghanistan. An important feature of the presentation is that it complements the material that is currently being taught in the classes' curriculum.

In association with the outreach program, the Atlantic

Council is organizing a teacher's workshop on Oct 13, 2010 that will provide prospective teachers interested in the Outreach Program with a preview of the presentation. The workshop is intended to be an informal event to raise general awareness with interested educators as their

participation and cooperation is essential for the program's success.

**“This is exactly what our students needed.”**

- Bur Oaks Secondary School teacher

## NATO Aids Pakistan in Relief Efforts

- ▷ The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has decided to come to the rescue of flood-hit Pakistan, providing airlift and sealift facilities as part of flood relief efforts.—Written by Monika Wyrzykowska

On Friday, August 20<sup>th</sup>, NATO announced that it would provide disaster relief to flood-stricken Pakistan, in response to a request made by the country's government. The first NATO aircraft carrying relief goods departed from Germany and arrived at the Chaklala Airbase near the capital city of Islamabad carrying goods including power generators, water pumps and tents. Pakistan is now in the third week of its worst floods in memory. Nearly a third of the country has been hit, and more than four million Pakistanis have been made homeless. Eight million people are still in urgent need of humanitarian assistance.

“Pakistan requested NATO to assist with a specific list of goods on the 7<sup>th</sup> of August, two weeks ago,” said Ambassador Maurits Jochems, NATO Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Operations, “and immediately our Disaster Response Coordination Centre went into action and coordinated in a clearing house function the donations by individual NATO nations and NATO partner nations.”

The (European-Atlantic) Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC) has indeed been acting as a clearing house for international aid for

about two weeks. However the EADRCC is a coordinating body rather than a directing one. In the case of a disaster requiring international assistance, it is up to individual NATO and partner nations to decide whether to provide assistance, based on information

“[The] Pakistan flood became the 6<sup>th</sup> purely humanitarian aid and relief mission ... approved in its 61 year history.”

received from the EADRCC. The deployment of NATO resources (in this case aircrafts) is a major step in this situation, signaling its gravity.

The EADRCC itself was created only in 1998 by the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council as one of the two basic elements of its policy on “Enhanced Practical Cooperation in the Field of International Disaster Relief”. The other element is the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Unit (EADRU) – a non-standing, multi-national force of civil and military elements, which can be deployed in the event of a major natural or man-made disaster in a member country of the *Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)*. The EADRU is comprised of national units that are under national control and will only be deployed on disaster relief missions upon request by the disaster-stricken country. Both the EADRCC and EADRU tasks



President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari (L) with NATO Deputy Secretary General Claudio Bisogniero © NATO

are performed in close co-operation with the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, which retains the primary role in the coordination of international disaster relief operations.

However with the August 20<sup>th</sup> decision, Pakistan became the 6<sup>th</sup> purely humanitarian aid and relief mission that the North Atlantic Council, NATO's supreme political body, has approved in its 61 year history. NATO's first relief operation occurred in 1992 following the break-up of the Soviet Union. NATO assisted an international relief effort by flying teams of humanitarian assistance experts and medical advisors to Russia and other Commonwealth of Independent States nations. In 1999, NATO deployed the ACE Mobile Force to Albania. This established the Albanian Force that provided humanitarian assistance to the influx of refugees from the Kosovo Conflict. In the wake of Hurricane Katrina, NATO coordinated cargo as well as national flights in the U.S., aiding the urgently needed movement of materials. In 2008, NATO warships were deployed to escort



ships carrying relief supplies to Somalia in order to protect them from pirates. The most recent deployment of aid to Pakistan is in fact the second time NATO is aiding disaster relief in that country. After a devastating earthquake struck northern Pakistan in 2005, NATO established an air bridge to Pakistan as well as other assistance. The 2005 disaster

The 2005 disaster was a catalyst for dialogue between NATO and Pakistan. In May 2007, during the first visit ever by a NATO Secretary General to Pakistan, both sides agreed to hold regular high-level political exchanges. The shared objective of bringing security and stability to Afghanistan has been the major goal of broader cooperation.

## Quran Burning halted amidst fears it could spark attacks against NATO troops

*Written by Amina Yasin*

A non-denominational church in Gainesville Florida, planned to commemorate the ninth anniversary of the September 11<sup>th</sup> atrocities with what it called “the international burn a Quran day.” Led by Rev. Terry Jones, the Dove World Outreach Center put into motion plans to burn 200 copies of Islam’s most sacred and revered book, the Holy Quran. The controversial evangelical preacher says that the intent of his “international burn a Quran day” is “to raise awareness and to warn... about the teaching and ideology of Islam,” according to a statement on the church’s website.

The proposed event garnered global attention and galvanized a multitude of high profile domestic and international figures to unequivocally condemn the Florida church and Rev. Terry Jones for religious intolerance. Barack Obama, the US president, cautioned that the planned Quran burning will only “aid al-Qaeda with its

recruitment efforts.” Former president Clinton also weighed in on the controversy, saying that the pastor’s plans were “outrageous and that it was regrettable that a pastor with a church of no more than 50 people, can make this outrageous and distrustful, disgraceful plan...”

Gen. David Patraeus the top U.S. and NATO commander in Kabul, commented on the domestic matter when he warned that the planned torching of the Quran could pose as a serious threat to NATO troops and American soldiers in Muslim countries. Caught in the middle are more than 90,000 American troops, who with NATO allies have been waging a long and difficult campaign to win the hearts and minds of the Afghan people and defeating al-Qaeda, the radical movement responsible for the September 11 attacks. NATO Secretary General Rasmussen along with Patraeus and many other military generals and world leaders fear that images of the burning of the Quran could undoubtedly endanger NATO troops and the overall effort in Afghanistan.

# Governing Global Development

●▷ G8 and G20 Experts at the Munk School of Global Affairs examine the role of the G8 in Health, Nutrition and food.—*Written by Kirsty Hong*

On June 16, 2010, the University of Toronto’s Munk School of Global Affairs hosted a three-day conference by the G8 Research Group, discussing a number of salient issues for the current G8/G20 meetings in Toronto.

The first day of the conference featured an in-depth look at the

prevalent challenges the G8 countries face vis-à-vis effective global health governance, food security, mal- and under-nutrition, child and maternal health, and chronic diseases. In her keynote speech, the Honourable Bev Oda, Minister of International Cooperation, conceded that the G8 countries have failed to live up to their promises in combating extreme poverty and strengthening global development according to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) delineated by the United Nations in September 2000. Meeting these challenges is not simply an issue of injecting greater aid dollars into new global health and development initiatives, but rather ensuring that such initiatives reap positive results—results that are palpable at the primary, local, and community levels. Ameliorating the disconnect between the eight wealthiest nations in the world and their commitment to global health governance, nutrition and food security requires a firm departure from the “development-as-usual” strategy. In order to remedy these shortcomings, G8 leaders must make meaningful commitments and fulfill them in a timely way, according to Bev Oda.

As it relates to the global health challenge, particularly in the developing world, G8 leaders, heads of states and NGOs must recognize the

various linkages between nutrition, food security, sustainable agriculture, chronic diseases, and maternal and child health. During the conference, Mark Raizenne from the Public Health Agency of Canada introduced the concept of “One Health” which provides an integrated approach to managing and becoming increasingly aware of the delicate balance between animal, ecosystem, and human health. Unsustainable agriculture and farming practices negatively impact the environment as well as deteriorate food availability and security, which in turn affect human health and contribute to chronic diseases.

Moreover, with regards to Millennium Development Goals Four and Five—reducing child and maternal deaths, Nigel Fisher, president and CEO of UNICEF Canada urged that “now is the time to invest in maternal, newborn and child health. It makes good economic and political sense.” Recognizing the inherent complexities in global health governance is the first step to better manage these challenges. As Bev Oda contends, strengthening good governance of global development requires increasing accountability and transparency among G8 countries together with developing nations. Within a domestic context as well, G8 governments must remain accountable to their publics, to ensure that the allocation and spending of national aid funds are done in a transparent manner. Only through a comprehensive approach to global health, food security, and nutrition at the local community levels can change truly be implemented.



# MACEDONIA IN NATO—NOW



●▷ The NATO solution for Macedonia has continually been blocked by Greece as a result of the Balkan nation's name choice. The dispute has its roots in antiquity. *Written by Martin Trenevski, Ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia to NATO. The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the institute or its members.*

As the next Summit of NATO in mid November this year approaches, so are the expectations and hopes of the people and the Government of the Republic of Macedonia (RoM), for an invitation to our country to join the Alliance.

As odd as it may sound, RoM has been kept in the waiting room of the Alliance as a consequence of the Bucharest Summit Declaration of April 03, 2008 (believe it or not: because of its name or rather because of the blockades from Greece, which in the meantime regretfully became the official political position of the Alliance).

But what seems to be the nature and the history of this “name issue”, which will surely take its place as a unique precedence in world anthologies of international relations?

The story goes back to 1912 and 1913 when after two Balkan Wars, Macedonia (until then one of the richest regions of the Ottoman Empire) was divided in four parts: the largest one becoming part of the then Kingdom of Greece (Aegean Macedonia), the second large part of the then Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Vardar Macedonia), the third part of the Kingdom of Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia) and the smallest one part of the newly created Kingdom of Albania.

The official policy of all four Kingdoms was: There is no Macedonia and there are no Macedonians as an ethnicity with their own language, identity and culture, and as a result of that policy, terrible atrocities and genocides against

against ethnic Macedonians commenced especially in Aegean Macedonia (Greece), Vardar Macedonia (Yugoslavia) and Pirin Macedonia (Bulgaria).

All Greek Governments consequently did their best to diminish every possible trace of Macedonian presence in the part they got after the Balkan Wars. For example some 83,000 toponyms were changed from Macedonian (a language whose existence they do not recognize) to Greek. Hundreds of thousands of Ethnic Macedonians were systematically forced to leave their homes and properties and migrate mostly to overseas countries like Canada, USA and Australia. Newcomers and migrants from Asia Minor were settled in their homes and thus the ethnic composition in that area was changed drastically.

Things have changed in the part of Macedonia occupied by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia after World War II. People's representatives from all ethnic parts of Macedonia gathered on the 2nd of August of 1944 in the historical monastery St. Prohor Pchinski for the First Assembly of ASNOM (Anti Fascist Assembly for People's Liberation of Macedonia). This was sponsored by and graced with the presence of personal representatives of the Governments of the USA (President Roosevelt), Great Britain (PM Winston Churchill) and Russia (President Stalin). At that historic meeting, the independent state of Macedonia was declared, which later remained as one of the constitutional entities of the Yugoslav Federation.

Regrettably, the policy of denials and assimilation against Macedonians remained in Communist Bulgaria and in post-war Greece. One of the darkest episodes of the Balkan history occurred during the Civil War in Greece 1946-1949 when ethnic Macedonians were killed or driven from their villages, and thousands of children were taken from their parents and sent to camps mostly in what used to be Eastern Europe.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the

“iron curtain” the people of the Republic of the Macedonia saw a historic and unique opportunity for the realization of the dreams of their ancestors for the creation of an independent state of Macedonia. A referendum for independence was organized on September 8<sup>th</sup> 1991 on which over 90% of the people voted “YES” for the Independence of their country. At the same time a Greek “offensive” to prevent such a thing from happening started on all possible levels and fronts. Namely in 1988 the Federal Government in Athens decided to change the name of the territory they got after the two Balkan Wars from Northern Greece into “Middle” and “Southern” Macedonia. This act is so unusual since historically (read Demosthenes) the Greek attitude (known in the historical science as *Interpretatio Graeca*) was: ‘There is no Macedonia and there are no Macedonians.’

RoM faced all sorts of problems and obstacles in the meantime: for example her admission as a member to the United Nations under the description former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; total blockade of its border with Greece for 18 months; and continuous blockades for RoM membership in different international organizations.

Some hopes that a truce would be reached between the two countries were raised in 1995 when the Interim Agreement was signed between Greece and RoM at the UN, sponsored by the US Government and the Secretary General of the UN. RoM made serious concessions, for example, changing the symbol on the National flag and articles of her Constitution. Greece obliged herself by this agreement (Article 11) that she would not obstruct Macedonian membership in international organizations! Regrettably Greece never respected this internationally acclaimed obligation, as shown by her denying or rather preconditioning Macedonian membership in NATO. In New York in 1995 the two countries agreed that they would discuss the differences regarding the name of the country with the assistance of a mediator on behalf of the Secretary General of the UN.



Strangely Greece managed to transform these discussions into negotiations in which they took very rigid positions and drew a “Red Line” which in practice proved to be “Take it or Leave it.”

RoM has done her best to contribute to peace internationally, especially in the troubled region of the Balkans. In the past 12 years RoM participated in 15 International Peace Missions with 2000 soldiers and officers led by NATO, the EU, and the UN. RoM was also among the first nations to support the American operation “Iraqi Freedom” and is among the leading nations with a number of troops in the ISAF mission in Afghanistan.

The current centre-right Government in RoM is firmly determined to stay in Afghanistan shoulder to shoulder with Americans and other participants within the ISAF mission as long as it takes. Strategic partnership with the USA

is of top importance for our Government and country. We will continue to support the fight against the evils of our times within our capacities in Afghanistan and elsewhere for as long as it takes. For RoM, membership in NATO is an absolute top priority! Parallel to this our Government makes continuous and serious efforts for our country to become a member of the EU which is a lengthy process.

RoM was one of the leading members of the so-called Vilnius Group and Adriatic Group and was very successful in making all the necessary reforms of the armed forces, the system of defense and society in general as specified in its Membership Action Plan with NATO. By doing that, the Republic of Macedonia has proved to be a reliable partner and loyal ally of the international community for preserving world peace and fighting global evils like terrorism, drugs, weapon, and people trafficking.

All hopes that the highest priorities for Macedonia and the Macedonians – our country to become a member of NATO – were dashed in pieces at the Bucharest Summit in 2008 when a very obvious Greek blockade towards our membership was “wrapped” into Article 20 of the Bucharest Summit Declaration

as: “An invitation to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will be extended as soon as a mutually acceptable solution to the name issue has been reached” (!?)

This position of the Alliance regrettably became official policy towards my country, although many legal experts question the legality of that conclusion! Namely the conclusion is based on Articles 5 and 10 of the North Atlantic Treaty having in mind the principles of consensus and solidarity! As for the “principle of solidarity” (Article 5), it refers very precisely to the situation of “an armed attack” (thanks God Macedonia is not at war with any of its neighbors). As for the “principle of consensus” of the NATO members with Greece, the question arises: what???

**“The official policy of all four Kingdoms was: There is no Macedonia and there are no Macedonians...as a result of that policy, terrible atrocities and genocides against ethnic Macedonians commenced.”**

Forcing a candidate country to change its constitutional name on the insistence of one member country can hardly be justified in democracies within the Alliance, especially by the broader public of the member countries. Thus, the conclusion from the Bucharest Summit Declaration can’t be sustained and justified, and it needs to be changed so that RoM will be invited into the Alliance at the upcoming NATO Summit in Lisbon. (For the record: there is no single document of the Alliance which says that the name of the country can be a problem for its accession of a candidate country to the Alliance).

Enlargement of the Alliance has been one of the top priorities of NATO in the past, as it is in the New Strategy which will be presented for adoption during the Lisbon Summit in November. We do believe that at last common sense will prevail among NATO members and RoM will be invited to join the Alliance, which is in the interest not only of the people of the Republic of Macedonia, but of the Alliance in general.

We should all do our best to preserve NATO from being Balkanized with traditional animosities and irrationalities from the region. On the contrary NATO values should prevail in the Balkans.

## SENATOR SEGAL APPOINTED TO COMMONWEALTH Group

*-Written by Sean Palter*

The Atlantic Council of Canada is pleased to announce that one of our directors, Senator Hugh Segal, has been named to the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG).



“This distinguished Group will set out decisive recommendations on how to strengthen the Commonwealth and fulfill its potential in the 21<sup>st</sup> century,” said Kamalesh Sharma, Commonwealth Secretary-General. “This Group’s work will aim to ensure that the Commonwealth remains relevant to its times and makes the best use of its networks and partnerships to do so.”

Also sitting as members of the Group are: Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, Chairperson and former prime minister of Malaysia; Patricia Francis of Jamaica; Dr. Asma Jahangir of Pakistan; Samuel Kavuma of Uganda; the Honourable Michael Kirby of Australia; Dr. Grace Machel of Mozambique; the Right Honourable Sir Malcolm Rifkind of the United Kingdom; Sir Ronald Sanders of Guyana; and Sir Ieremia Tabai of Kiribati.

Segal was appointed to the Senate in 2005 by former prime minister Paul Martin. His

distinguished political career has spanned four decades, including chief of staff to former prime minister Brian Mulroney. He served as a director of the Atlantic Council of Canada for the past 10 years.

“We are pleased and honoured that Senator Segal has been appointed to this important position,” said Julie Lindhout, President of the Atlantic Council of Canada. “I have had the privilege of working with the Senator for a number of years now and am confident that his unique perspective will enhance and strengthen the Commonwealth.” Along with Sonja Bata and the Honourable Bill Graham, Segal currently serves as the co-chair of the Canadian Naval Centennial Gala on November 6, 2010 at the Royal York.

Senator Segal is a member of the Order of Canada and holds a honorary doctorate from the Royal Military College of Canada. The EPG will present its recommendations in October, 2011 at the Commonwealth meeting in Perth, Australia.



# CANADA'S NORTH— THE RANGERS



▷ ● A Roundtable Speaker Presentation with  
Sgt. Peter Moon - Written by Monika Wyrzykowska

Following

the annual general meeting of the Atlantic Council of Canada, directors, members, and guests, were invited to an insightful presentation by Sgt. Peter Moon about the work of the Canadian Rangers in Ontario's remote and isolated communities.

Clad in their distinctive red sweatshirts and baseball caps, the Canadian Rangers are a volunteer force and a sub-component of the Canadian Forces reserves. Formally established on May 23, 1947, there are currently 4,250 Canadian Rangers serving in 169 communities across Canada, 18 of which are in Northern Ontario. Many Canadian Rangers are Aboriginal and there are a total of 23 different languages spoken.

Sgt. Peter Moon holds the distinction of being the oldest sergeant in the Canadian Forces, having joined the forces after retiring in 1999 from a long and successful career in journalism. Originally from Scotland, Sgt. Moon completed his national service with the Royal Air Force before migrating to Canada in 1957. He is now the public

affairs ranger for the 3rd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group.

The Canadian Rangers are the military's eyes and ears in the North hence their motto, "Vigilans," or "The Watchers." Their original focus on sovereignty operations and surveil-

**"Sgt. Moon holds the distinction of being the oldest sergeant in the Canadian Forces"**

lance is still a priority, however the Canadian Rangers also assist in domestic operations. Rangers perform search and rescue operations for missing hunters, trappers, fishers, and overdue travelers. They assist in evacuations in cases of forest fires, tainted water, avalanches, and flooding as well as in rescue operations from plane crashes. The Ranger patrol is often the largest organization in a community and thus the first point of aid for the local police. It is there to help on the ground, hours, or even days, before the Ontario Provincial Police can arrive on the scene.

Sgt. Moon stressed the role the Rangers play as leaders in their

communities by working with the Junior Canadian Rangers (JCR) Program. Under the Rangers' supervision, young Canadians, aged 12 to 18, are taught various skills that are transferable to their daily lives. Unlike its Army counterpart, the Canadian Cadet program, which can prove to be too much of a cultural shift for aboriginal youth, the JCR

Program is run by local communities, Rangers, and the Army. Junior Rangers are taught life and traditional skills such as tanning hide and fishing, in addition to Ranger skills. The program also gives them the opportunity to participate in an annual summer camp and meet other youth from across the province.

The important work of the Rangers rarely reaches a wider Canadian audience due to the lack of main stream media in those isolated areas, something that Sgt. Moon, as a former journalist, laments. However, despite their underrepresentation in the public eye, the Rangers program has many

positive externalities for its citizen-soldiers. Ontario Rangers are invited to the headquarters of the 3rd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group in Barrie in order to receive training from soldiers on search and rescue operations. Rangers are also trained in public speaking, instilling in them the confidence to use these skills in their community. In turn, Rangers now teach first-aid at the Borden-Barrie headquarters. Such exercises build confidence and allow the Rangers to take much pride in their role.

Sgt. Moon also drew the audience's attention to the challenges faced by Aboriginal communities. Unemployment rates of 78-85% are not uncommon in isolated, northern communities. Low literacy rates are another problem in some areas. For example, the Rangers are trying to implement a situational awareness patrol in the sub-Arctic, but there is reluctance to participate. Rather than filling out the forms and paper work that the job entails, the participants would forego three days pay. These are challenges not only for the Rangers, but for the Canadian government as a whole.

Looking forward, and prompted by an audience question, Sgt. Peter Moon stated that the Rangers' current goal is to have an OPP trained search and rescue team in every community – an initiative that already saves lives. The Rangers program is expanding, with Newfoundland, South Labrador and the Prairie Provinces all mentioned as areas of growth. Following the entertaining as well as informative presentation and a lively Q & A session, members and guests of the Atlantic Council of Canada were invited to join the speaker for a reception. We at the ACC hope that we have at least assisted Sgt. Moon in over-coming one of the Rangers' hurdles – and that is reaching a wider audience with their mission.

## CARTOON

*Mission  
Accomplished?  
US Ends Combat  
Mission to Iraq*

*Drawing By Andrew de Vos*



# THE CANADIAN NAVY COMBATS MARITIME BLINDNESS

●▷ A Roundtable Speaker Presentation with  
Cdr. Waddell - Written by Amina Yasin

On May 26, 2010 the Atlantic Council of Canada, its members, and guests were privileged to welcome Commander Steven Waddell, the Commanding Officer of HMCS Fredericton. Commander Waddell spoke about Canada's leading role in defending the freedom of the seas from the growing phenomenon of piracy in the Horn of Africa as part of its continuing commitment to international peace and security.

After joining the Canadian Navy in 1990 as a Maritime Surface and Sub-Surface Officer, Cdr Waddell was posted to HMCS Gatineau in 1992 and deployed with NATO to the Adriatic Sea in the early days of the Yugoslav civil war. Following a successful deployment he was afforded the privilege to command and assume his current position in HMCS Fredericton in January 2009. In October 2009, he deployed on Operation SAIPH, a six-month mission to the Gulf of Aden, Arabian Sea, and the Horn of Africa to conduct counter piracy operations with Standing NATO Maritime Group 1 and counter terror operations with Combined Task Force 150.

Since the second wave of the Somali civil war in the early 21st century, piracy in waters off the coast of Somalia has been a threat to international commerce and shipping. As a result, Canada has deployed ships almost three dozen times, since 1991 to the neighbourhood of the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea to carry out counter-terrorism and counter-piracy operations. Commander Steven

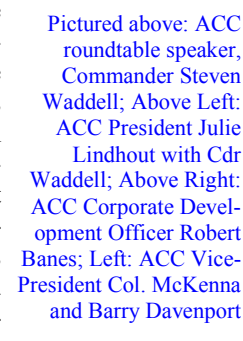
Waddell and his crew spent the last six months "on-station" with NATO's multinational maritime force off the east coast of Africa under Operation SAIPH. Here, they worked tirelessly towards preventing and deterring piracy and terrorism to

**"There is a lack of awareness among Canadians regarding the navy and the role it plays in today's security environment."**

improve the region's security and provide a safer maritime environment. As Captain of the HMCS Fredericton, Commander Waddell provided valuable insight on Canada's leading role in maritime security and discussed the gratification he received for providing security to legitimate mariners overseas as part of the multinational efforts against piracy.

The roundtable event provided ACC members and guests with a rare opportunity to interact with the ship's captain, hear his first-hand accounts and view operational images from this fascinating deployment. Commander Waddell's presentation also addressed the prevailing issue of "maritime blindness." He discussed in detail the lack of awareness among Canadians regarding the navy and the role it plays in today's security environment. The Canadian navy serves an important international purpose and has a significant local relevance. Yet, there is a particular blindness in Canada for issues related to the navy, and the army and air force tend to occupy our collective attention more.

Commander Waddell spoke about the importance of community outreach methods that work towards raising awareness among Canadians who have never seen a warship, and might not understand the significant role the navy plays in Canadian society. In a country with the largest coastline in the world it is of



Pictured above: ACC roundtable speaker, Commander Steven Waddell; Above Left: ACC President Julie Lindhout with Cdr Waddell; Above Right: ACC Corporate Development Officer Robert Banes; Left: ACC Vice-President Col. McKenna and Barry Davenport

preponderant importance that Canadians understand that we are a Maritime nation that is absolutely dependent on the oceans for our economic wellbeing. Moreover, the navy relies on a well informed Canadian public to ensure that they are well supported into the future.



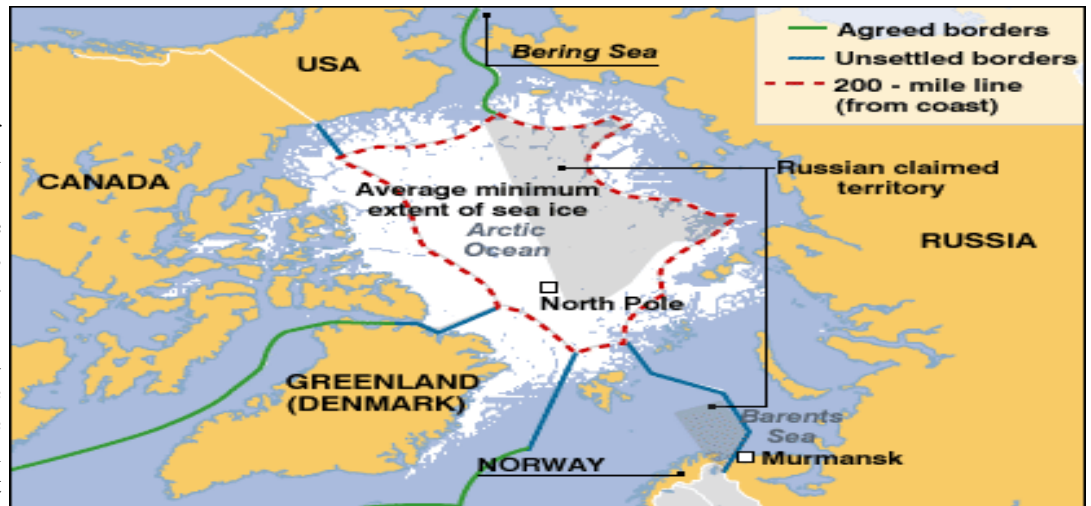
# CANADIAN ARCTIC SOVEREIGNTY HEATS UP

● ▷ Changing ice conditions have resulted in a new scramble for territory and resources among the top arctic powers. -Written by Monika Wyrzykowska,

Prime Minister Stephen Harper recently returned from his five-day long tour of Canada's Arctic region, an annual event meant to underline one of the current government's main policy tenets – Arctic sovereignty.

Harper's trip coincided with a series of military exercises in the region – Operation Nunaliut in the High Arctic, Operation Nunakput in the western Arctic, and the largest of the three, Operation Nanook, in Canada's Eastern and High Arctic. Operation Nanook began on August 6<sup>th</sup> and concluded on August 29<sup>th</sup>, involving approximately 900 troops and demonstrating an increased capacity to conduct and sustain Canadian Forces operations in the north. Among the Operation's achievements was the northern-most deployment of the Arctic Response Company Group as well as the first deployment of the Maritime Component Command in the Arctic. Conducted by Joint Task Force (North), the joint operation also featured sovereignty and presence patrols, Composite Dive Team exercises, Arctic survival training, and included the participation of ships, aircraft, and personnel from the Canadian Rangers, Army, Navy, Air, and Special Forces. The Operation ended with a whole-of-government spill response training exercise that included the remediation of a simulated petrochemical leak in the Resolute Bay area of Nunavut. "All these efforts are towards one non-negotiable priority and that is the protection and promotion of Canada's sovereignty over what is our north," said PM Harper in a speech to the troops.

Canada's sovereignty has been one of Prime Minister Harper's main policy focuses since winning the 2006 federal elections. In May



government released its "Canada First Defence Strategy", identifying six core missions, first among them being the conduct of daily domestic and continental operations, including tasks in the Arctic and operations as a part of the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD).

The Arctic has become a hot issue, so to speak, as Canada is formally involved in territorial disputes with two other Arctic claimants: the United States over the Beaufort Sea lying between the Northwest Territories, the Yukon Territory and the American state of Alaska, and Denmark over Hans Island, between Canada's Ellesmere Island and Denmark's Greenland possession on the other end of the Arctic. The status of the Northwest Passage, a sea route through the Arctic Ocean, which is becoming more accessible with the melting of the polar ice cap, is also in dispute. The United States, Canada and Denmark, three of the 12 founding members of NATO, coordinated their strategies and in this year's Operation Nanook have for the first time collectively participated in military exercises in the Arctic region.

The *scramble for the Arctic* is bound to intensify, as it reportedly contains 30 percent of the world's undiscovered natural gas and 13 percent of undiscovered oil. The effects of global warming are making access to these resources ever more possible and thus a pressing geopolitical issue. The five Arctic-shore countries

*"The scramble for the Arctic is bound to intensify, as it reportedly contains 30 percent of the world's undiscovered natural gas and 13 percent of undiscovered oil."*

– Canada, the US, Denmark, Norway, and Russia – are equally interested in extending their Arctic territories and need a consensus legitimizing the contours of their possessions. In

January 2009, NATO conducted a two-day *Seminar on Security Prospects in the High North*, hosted by the Icelandic Government, to address these emerging challenges. The serving Secretary General Mr. De Hoop Scheffer pointed to a number of contributions that NATO could make in this respect, including relief operations, search and rescue missions, as well as serving as a forum of discussion and utilizing the opportunities inherent to the NATO-Russia Council.

Indeed Russian exercises in the Arctic were highlighted during Harper's Arctic tour. Canada dispatched *CF-18 fighter jets* to allegedly ward off two Russian Tupolev Tu-95 strategic bombers that were patrolling off Canada's northern border, but never breached Canada's sovereignty. The ability to actually exercise sovereignty in the Arctic has prompted the Harper government to make investments into the next generation of Radarsat advanced sensing satellites as well as committing to replace Canada's aging fighter jets. Although Harper's Arctic tour brought much needed attention to Canada's northern border, if Canada doesn't wish to "lose it", it must "use it" – not only for military exercises or for resource extradition, but as a viable economic and cultural part of Canada.





# DANISH ATLANTIC YOUTH SEMINAR REPORT 2010

-Written by Lana Polyakov

On July 5-11, I traveled to Aalborg Air Base in Denmark to participate in the Danish Youth Atlantic Seminar (DAYS) hosted by the Danish Atlantic Treaty Association (DATA). The theme of this year's event was "Forum for Security Politics through 25 Years" the title of which gave away the year's particular highlight of DAYS, as they were celebrating their 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary!

Since 1986, over the past 25 years DAYS has introduced over 1300 young professionals from all over Europe, Russia, the Caucasus and North America to discuss controversial world issues that shape our lives today, and map the way into tomorrow. This year was no exception with 34 participants, from 23 different countries and nine staff of DATA; the seminar was well equipped with brilliant young minds, future leaders, and those who made it all possible.

After everyone's arrival, the evening of July 5<sup>th</sup> was a night to remember. The dinner was a delicious feast of traditional Danish food, which was the trend during our entire stay. To welcome the participants Mr. Troels Frøling, Secretary General of ATA and DATA opened with an introduction to the Atlantic Treaty Association (ATA), followed by an historical introduction to the seminar entitled "Breaking down Borders for 25 years" by our Master of Ceremonies, Dr. Mogens Skjøth. Dr. Skjøth is a truly remarkable man. He is a World War II veteran who fought in the Danish Resistance, an historian, an artist, a musician, and the founder of DAYS. His welcome address moved some of us to tears, and his music, songs and tales throughout the program inspired and educated us.

A Traditional Danish Folk Dance wrapped up the night—we danced

or as some may argue—stepped on each other, we laughed and hugged and broke down all discomforts; it was our first social activity of many. Other activities throughout the week included a guided tour of Aalborg old town; a visit to the Guild of King Christian the IV which during WWII was a secret meeting place of the Danish Resistance; we watched and cheered the World Cup finals; took a trip to Skagen, walked to "Grenen," the Northern-most point of Denmark and swam and picnicked at the beach; participated in dance, karaoke and singing competitions; visited a Viking burial ground of 9-11<sup>th</sup> centuries; and the most popular activity... the jump from the practice tower for parachute jumping at the air base.

DAYS was also academically stimulating with 3 full days of panel-conference style lectures, with presentations by various scholars, and experts of the political security field that were followed by discussions and debates. The first day of lectures focused on different perceptions and perspectives on security politics with two speakers from the University of Copenhagen: Dr. Henrik Ø. Breitenbauch, Senior Researcher at the Centre for Military Studies analyzed the evolution of security strategies, while Dr. Ole Wæver, professor of international relations discussed the concept of security in the world today.

On the second day of lectures the focus was future aspects of foreign policies. The Western approach to new threats and challenges was discussed by Prof. Christopher Coker from the London School of Economics and Political Science who gave a frank assessment of future potential threats and risk societies. Major-General Karsten J. Møller, Senior Analyst of the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) spoke



1. 2010 DAYS Participants. 2. Master of Ceremonies, Dr. Mogens Skjøth at the Viking burial ground. 3. ATA & DATA SecGen Mr. Troels Frøling, accepting the Certificate of Appreciation from ACC. 4. Myself, Dr. Mogens Skjøth, & former ACC intern Kyla Cham... "acting cool" :)

about the current and future tendencies in Russian foreign policy and stressed that it is important to keep in mind that (due to its size) Russia is a difficult country to govern. Lieutenant Colonel Kim Nødskov of the Royal Danish Air Force discussed the modernisation of China's military forces and its potential strategic consequences.

The third and final day of lectures was focused on new threats and challenges. Danish writer and publisher Mrs. Lene Andersen spoke about the task of understanding democracy and its core values namely the rule of law, humanism and plurality. Dr. Jørgen Staun, project researcher at DIIS discussed the 2008 South Ossetia War and Russian foreign policy in the South Caucasus and fuelled debate among Georgian participants when he stated that Russia was forced to react to an attack initiated by President Saakashvili. The second last speaker of the Seminar was Mr. Thierry Legendre, Special Advisor for the Danish Ministry of

Defence—or as most of you may better know him from his last post as the Policy Officer in the Office of the NATO Secretary General. Mr. Legendre discussed a multi-faceted approach to energy supply and security and suggested that the key to NATO's future success is to police and protect, foster partnerships, and support its members.

The last two days of DAYS were both academic and social—a Simulation Game focusing on the Crisis in the Caucasus headed up by Mr. Selim Percinel, a terrorism and conflict analyst who had created this game. This was his 6<sup>th</sup> year at DAYS. Each participant was assigned to play a role of a country or an organization; with the main task of playing the game as realistically as possible. Even though this was 'just a game,' participants took their functions quite seriously, and their roles were assigned by the organizers very cleverly—the participant from Greece for example was given the job of playing the Ambassador of Turkey to NATO.



and finally the role of NATO Secretary General was given to me, a Canadian! My keyword throughout this experience was diplomacy, and the lessons I have learned all revolved around patience.

During the farewell dinner to wrap up the seminar, I had the pleasure of awarding Secretary General Troels Frøling a Certificate of Appreciation on behalf of the Atlantic Council of Canada signed by our President Julie Lindhout and Chairman the

Hon. Bill Graham. The certificate was in recognition of the outstanding contribution in support of NATO and the goal of furthering International Peace and Security through education of future world leaders as well as congratulations on the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of DAYS awarded to our long standing partner the Danish Atlantic Treaty Association.

DAYS for me, above all, was intellectually stimulating. It was a perfect example of

fostering cooperation, understanding, and respect building beyond borders. Many new friendships were formed, and lessons learned. I would like to thank Mrs. Lindhout for giving me this opportunity; it was a truly unique and valuable experience that I will never forget.

## NATO SECURITY IN LIGHT OF KYRGYZ UNREST

● ▷ Violence in Kyrgyzstan has widely been believed to be the result of a weakening economy combined with poverty and corruption. -Written by Monika Wyrzykowska

Home to the Manas Air Base, a transit hub central to NATO efforts in Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan is on the brink of civil war. The NATO Partnership-for-Peace member country has experienced recent ethnic clashes between the majority ethnic Kyrgyz and minority Uzbeks in the south of the country, leaving between 300 to 2000 people dead. Some 400,000 people are also displaced as a result.

The violence in a country that was once called the Switzerland of Central Asia followed a bloody uprising in April of this year that toppled President Bakiyev who had just been re-elected for another five-year term of 23 July, 2009 with 76.4% of the vote.

Bakiyev's re-election was marred by allegations of ballot-stuffing, inaccuracies in voter lists and multiple voting, with the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe calling the vote "a disappointment." Bakiyev had first been elected in 2005, after the so-called Tulip revolution saw angry demonstrations successfully ousting long-serving president Askar Akaev. In power since 1990, Akaev had been the country's first elected president.

The 2005 elections were considered a new start for Kyrgyzstan, the best chance it had at democracy and at a flourishing civil society since the break up of the Soviet Union. However, the hopes of the Tulip Revolution soon wilted away: newly



elected Mr. Bakiyev dashed the country's aspirations by breaking his promise to limit presidential power and failing to curb endemic nepotism. For many Kyrgyz, it seemed as if the disliked Akaev clan was being replaced by the Bakiyev one. During his time in office, corruption increased and media freedom was curbed once again. Bakiyev was re-elected in 2009, partly because his opposition was too divided to offer a decent alternative.

A revolt in April of this year changed the political landscape once again, carrying with it possibly severe geopolitical repercussions. Kyrgyzstan is the only country to host both a Russian and an American military base. Mr. Bakiyev was skillful at managing both. Under his candidacy, the United States military installation at Manas International Airport was opened in December 2001. Supporting U.S. operations in Afghanistan, the base provided support for personnel and cargo transiting as well as aerial refueling, in addition to hosting forces from several other ISAF member states. The base stirred controversy both locally and among the regional powers, Russia and China. An incident which involved the shooting of a local civilian in 2006, as well as rumours of fuel dumping have led to strains with the local population.

Bakiyev attempted to use Manas as economic

leverage, and did so quite successfully. After being promised more than \$2 billion in aid and loans from Russia in February 2009, he quickly declared that the American base would be closed within six months. The aid money was seen as a way of outbidding the Americans, presumably in order for Russia to safeguard its former sphere of influence. After all, Russia had made no secret of its displeasure at the American presence in Kyrgyzstan. The U.S. responded in kind. It had to strike a new deal in order to secure its vital base. On 7 July 2009, a new agreement was ratified, increasing the rent of the U.S. facilities from \$17.1 million to \$60 million and it included an additional \$117 million for various direly needed infrastructure and development projects. Despite his ability to play off geopolitical rivalry for Kyrgyzstan's benefit, Bakiyev's failures to reform domestically led to his downfall. In the aftermath of the disputed 2009 elections and the revolt that followed, troops and supplies bound for Afghanistan were grounded for several days. Although operations are back to normal now, Washington is concerned the new government's warm relations with Moscow could affect its five-year lease.

The new government is decidedly pro-Russian. In fact, the interim President Roza



Otunbayeva has publically called for its neighbour to send troops into the country in order to help calm the unrest. Russian President Medvedev has so far declined but is politically supportive of the new leadership. The future of the Manas Airbase is still uncertain. Some members of the interim government have suggested that the U.S. lease should be shortened. Locals are ambivalent and even employees at the base, who earn on average \$120 above the national monthly norm, are hardly supportive of it. "If the government finds it (the base) harmful for the country, that it brings no benefit to the people, then of course they should close it", commented Zhopara, a waitress at the base canteen.

Moreover, political allegations continue. Otunbayeva's allies have accused the U.S. of turning a blind eye to allegations of corruption linked to the sale of fuel at the base, alleging that Bakiyev and his family profited unfairly from such deals.

On his June visit to Kyrgyzstan, Assistant U.S. Secretary of State Robert Blake, said Washington could review fuel contracts to make such deals more transparent. For now, Otunbayeva has stated that she will abide by all agreements covering the base and allow the transit center lease to be extended automatically for another year this summer. On June 27<sup>th</sup>, Kyrgyzstan voted to create Central Asia's first parliamentary democracy and while tensions continue to simmer in the south of the country, Otunbayeva will try to push through her electoral reforms.

The former president has said his decision in 2009 to extend the Manas lease, months after announcing the U.S. military would have to leave, unnerved the Kremlin and was a factor in his overthrow. The Manas base remains as important as ever for the U.S. and for the NATO effort in Afghanistan. About 50,000 troops traveled into or out of Afghanistan via Manas in March. Pentagon officials say

they have other options, but they would be more expensive. Other NATO supply routes have recently been fraught with danger. Just in June, militants destroyed 50 NATO supply trucks on the Pakistan border heading for Afghanistan.

Both Moscow and Washington offered prompt support for Otunbayeva's interim government immediately after it came to power. However a decision on the renewal of the Manas base will probably not be taken until after the general elections scheduled for October. With the proper reforms in place to increase transparency of the base's transactions, and with Russia's cautious approach to sending in its troops, the economic benefits of the base may outweigh the potential political liabilities of aggravating Russia. One thing is clear – the U.S. and NATO can hardly afford to lose it.

## DANGEROUS WATERS—MARITIME PIRACY

*-Written by Chelsea Plante*

According to the International Maritime Bureau's (IMB) Piracy Reporting Centre, the number of maritime piracy attacks has seen a dramatic increase in recent years. It was not until 2008, however, that piracy drew in the attention of the international community when the *Faina*, a Belize-flagged vessel transporting 33 T-72 tanks and ammunition on to Kenya, and the *Sirius Star* supertanker, carrying more than USD \$100m in oil to the United States, were hijacked by pirates operating off the coast of Somalia. By the end of the year, more than 120 pirate attacks occurred in the Gulf of Aden, acquiring more than USD \$100m – a figure that is large for a country experiencing economic ruin. By early 2009, navies had been deployed to the Gulf of Aden by more than a dozen countries, and four resolutions were passed by the United Nations condemning all acts of piracy and armed robbery against vessels off the maritime coast.

Despite the resolutions to bring the fight against them to shore, and the intense international naval presence in the re-

**“As much as 50 percent of all attacks go unreported because of ship-owners' fears of increased premiums and costly post-incident investigations...”**

gion, including the deployment of EU and NATO multilateral counter-piracy forces and naval resources from the US, UK, Denmark, the Netherlands, France, Pakistan, India, Iran, and Russia, maritime pirates carried out an unprecedented number of attacks and hijackings in 2009. In April, the killing of three Somali pirates by the US Navy during a rescue operation of a US cargo ship drastically raised the stakes. By October 2009, confrontations with pirates far surpassed levels in 2008, and their use of guns had increased by 200 percent. Since the start of 2010, more than 30 ships have been hijacked and tens of millions of dollars have been collected by pirates in ransoms. It is also believed that as much as 50

percent of all attacks go unreported because of ship-owners' fears of increased premiums and costly post-incident investigations, making losses per year a substantial understate-

ment. In addition to the direct danger that piracy puts ships in and their crew members, it also poses significant geopolitical threats, as well threats to industries, and the environment. As maritime security decreases around coastal states, it often undermines the legitimacy of local governments. Also, though the exact economic tolls are uncertain, the yearly cost of piracy is estimated to be in the billions. Lastly, in a world where 60 percent of the world's crude oil is carried by ships, it is not inconceivable that an act of piracy could lead to serious environmental damage. It is clear that curbing this problem is necessary for both global trade and security. In light of the issue, 70 experts from NATO, Partner

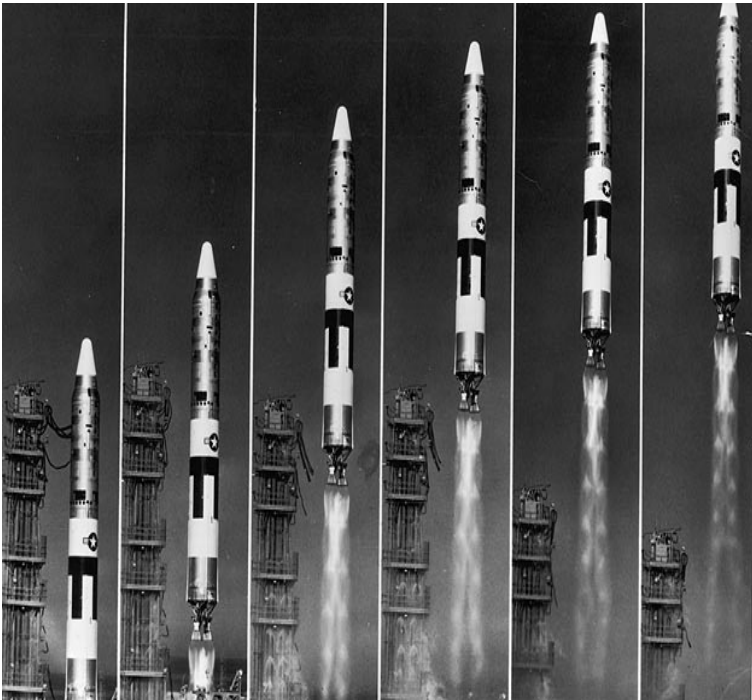
and Mediterranean Dialogue countries met at a NATO-funded Advance Study Institute in Hammamet, Tunisia (a coastal and maritime country), between September 20-25. The purpose of the meeting was to examine ways by which a collaborative, human-centric information system could increase the ability of states to predict and prevent piracy occurrences, and if unsuccessful, would enable states to quickly recognize the nature of an event for a efficient collective response. Specific achievements include a better understanding of the maritime environment's vulnerabilities, a formulated evaluation criteria, and crew security awareness and detection training support.

With maritime security and piracy issues increasingly becoming a top priority, the hope is to create a significant risk for pirates that will, in the end, deter and considerably reduce piracy.



# BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE IN THE 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY

-Written by Kirsty Hong



The new security environment in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has fostered renewed relevance for missile defense in American and NATO nuclear security strategy. In the post-Cold War context and particularly after the September 11th 2001 terrorist attacks on U.S. soil, the nature of nuclear threats has fundamentally changed. The threat of an accidental or unauthorized launch of ballistic missiles in the context of a Cold War stand-off is less formidable today than it was during the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Currently, the preponderant threat to the NATO Alliance concerns nuclear proliferation by state actors and non-state transnational terrorism. The potential acquisition of nuclear weapons by “rogue” states such as Iran can lead to greater proliferation of nuclear and other biological and chemical (NBC) weapons, a scenario which poses “an increasingly credible threat to US allies and military forces abroad.” Moreover, Iran’s prospects for acquiring nuclear weapons in the future may foment a ‘domino nuclear effect’

in the Middle East and surrounding region that could lead to aggravated geopolitical tensions and military responses via nuclear options.

Thus, Iran’s current nuclear ambitions are perceived by the West as threatening to U.S. and NATO security because any nuclear proliferation potential can increase the chances of a nuclear confrontation with the West and elsewhere.

As a result, the case for ballistic missile defense (BMD) offers new means for the U.S. and NATO to respond to a range of pre-existing and emerging nuclear threats. The most recent case for missile defense was announced by incumbent U.S. President Barack Obama on September 17, 2009- the same day he also cancelled Bush’s ‘third site’ BMD plan in Europe. Obama’s revision plan consists of a sea- and land-based missile interceptor system projected to start in 2011 at an estimated cost of \$5 billion. According to the Obama administration, Iranian long-range ballistic missiles are no longer an immediate threat, but rather the short and

medium-range ballistic missiles (such as the Shahab 3) pose a greater threat. The Obama administration has responded to the newly reassessed Iranian nuclear threat by focusing on a mobile, regional BMD capability based on the Aegis sea-based system consisting of Standard Missile 3 (SM-3) anti-ballistic missiles and sensors designed to counter short- and medium-range ballistic missiles. Continued support has been offered by Poland and the Czech Republic despite the dissolution of Bush’s original BMD plan. In addition, Romania, another NATO member, agreed in early 2010 to host American missile defense interceptors on its soil.

Obama’s ‘phased, adaptive approach’ offers significant advantages over Bush’s ‘third site’ plan. By design, Obama’s plan offers more flexibility and a greater range of options to detect and track enemy missiles. From a technological point of view, the Aegis BMD system consists of a *transportable* BMD capability that could be deployed around the world on relatively short notice during crises or as the situation may demand. Obama’s plan is also strategically flexible, allowing for greater systematic improvements and expansions to the BMD system over the long-run. Because the Aegis BMD system is a naval asset, it is highly mobile as opposed to a fixed site plan; thus, the nature of the system translates into greater area coverage in NATO-Europe. In the former Bush plan, the BMD system would have left parts of southeastern Europe unprotected. Thus, the proposed Aegis BMD system is far more comprehensive in terms of fiscal costs, technological complexity, and political commitment. As Obama stated himself, the system will provide

“stronger, smarter, and swifter defenses” eventually capable of detecting and tracking ballistic missiles of all range types. Therefore, from a technological-military viewpoint, Obama’s plan offers a better approach to strengthening ‘transatlantic strategic coupling’ between the U.S. and its NATO-European allies.

However, while the ongoing case for missile defense in Europe offers a nascent opportunity for the U.S. to respond to nuclear threats, the re-emergence of missile defense has laid grounds for renewed debate within the U.S. and NATO. The importance of a U.S.-led BMD system in NATO-Europe is not that it is a distinctly American or European issue, but precisely a *transatlantic* one. Thus, the impact of Obama’s BMD plans on ‘transatlantic strategic coupling’ (TASC) for the NATO Alliance should be assessed because BMD reflects a long history of U.S. nuclear commitment to European security. Therefore, how effective is the current U.S. BMD system for assuring TASC and reaffirming its ‘nuclear guarantee’ in NATO-Europe? Can real security guarantees be made through missile defense systems in Europe, and can Obama’s plan foment a much needed “strategic renewal” for the Alliance? In other words, while Obama’s new vision for missile defense in Europe offers greater flexibility for near- and long-term nuclear threats, a more



prominent question remains: does a phased, adaptive BMD approach in NATO-Europe automatically translate into enhanced 'transatlantic strategic coupling'?

I define 'transatlantic strategic coupling' as a multi-dimensional concept expressed through a political-ideational dimension and a military-strategic one. It relates to strengthened Alliance solidarity, unity, and coherence— one based on a shared purpose and shared threat. More importantly, the concept signifies the U.S.' abiding commitment to NATO-European security, or in other words, the 'indivisibility of Alliance security.'

In order to understand the current BMD debate in regard to Alliance security and defense, one must first recognize the inherent tension between U.S. national security interests and transatlantic ones. Yet, the problem is that 'transatlantic interests' are essentially ambiguous since European allies espouse divergent national interests and hence frame NATO issues in various ways. Moreover, the U.S. has had a history of treating NATO-European interests as secondary to its own strategic national security interests. As a result, divergent European and American security interests and approaches have led to a recent history of "strategic dissonance" within the Alliance. In order to redress this problem, the U.S. must frame its national security interests as being indivisible from NATO-European ones. I contend that the Obama administration has the opportunity and capability to forge new concrete 'transatlantic interests'; however, BMD architecture alone does not automatically translate into strengthened Alliance coherence and coupling, but entails an additional set of essential factors.

Obama's BMD system cannot by itself eliminate the underlying strategic dissonance and military-strategic deficiencies in Europe. Both the U.S. and

NATO-Europe must recognize these underlying factors that have obstructed 'strategic realignment' hitherto. The Obama administration must understand NATO-Europe's divergent approaches to security if it wants BMD architecture in Europe to be a constructive agent for strategic renewal. In addition, the phased, adaptive BMD plan still has to tackle a number of technological uncertainties at present and in the future; that without effective remedies to ensure technological feasibility, reliability, and survivability, the proposed system can undermine Alliance coherence and TASC will lack credibility.

What is more, although technology plays an essential part in enhancing TASC, Ernest J. Yanarella argues that "the technical facet of technology is only a small part of what is meant by technology in its social context... What constitutes technology... are such things as the ideational basis of past and present technological planning, the particular institutional setting and organization of technological planning, and the socio-economic context of the technological planning enterprise." Thus, given the evolution of U.S. BMD systems, the technical aspects of what has changed from Bush's to Obama's plan provide little critical analysis vis-à-vis its impact on the NATO relationship and TASC because the concept of TASC itself is first and foremost a political-ideational one, followed by technological-military backing.

Therefore, TASC is more than a technological-strategic concept; it is a *political-ideational* commitment and approach. It is not enough for military technology to provide the means for greater transatlantic strategic coupling, but that NATO-European leaders are convinced that this is a satisfactory

response. In other words, TASC must be assured politically before the military-technological effects can translate into greater cohesion for the Alliance. In comparing Obama's plan to Bush's plan, the technological differences illustrate divergent ideational and strategic bases. Thus, it is the ideational basis and strategic rationale behind Obama's revised plan that offers greater opportunity for NATO's strategic coupling.

Yet, even beyond the technological aspects and political rhetoric of strengthening TASC, the problem is not that the U.S. is prepared to deploy BMD systems in Europe but whether the U.S. commitment would remain steadfast in the event of a *de facto* nuclear strike where BMD technology would fail or be subverted. How would the U.S. respond in the NATO-European theatre? Thus, the real question is: *what is the extent of technology and a political-ideational basis in the role of guaranteeing transatlantic strategic coupling?* Assessing missile defense in Europe requires critical thinking about an Iranian short- or medium-range missile strike, but in this case BMD is only *part* of the response, not a sufficient one because BMD is only a *defensive* response. As Robert Hughes contends, "Defense...is agnostic as to motive or to accident. However the missile or missiles were released, they would look the same to the defensive systems that would have to 'kill' them. The intention of the attacker...is relevant to the offensive equation in determining the proper retaliatory response." Hence, in the event of a nuclear strike on NATO-European territory, the essential point is not whether defenses would fail or not, but how the U.S. and NATO would respond; that is to say, would the U.S. authorize an offensive or

counter-strike nuclear response, and what would be the nature of such a response?

Strengthening TASC is not simply achieved by the U.S.' willingness to make political and technological BMD commitments, or in meeting those commitments with military-strategic means. The test of TASC is in the *outcome*. The question then becomes how much of NATO-European security and defense is the U.S. willing to absorb into their own national security framework?

Whatever the answer, TASC is more than a congenial partnership of mutual political-military cooperation, but entails the 'indivisibility of Alliance security'. If the U.S. desires to strengthen TASC in NATO-Europe, it must approach any policy and implementation of that policy from this principle. As Stephen Cimbala argues, "The U.S. is not accomplishing much if it is defending itself alone;" on the contrary, the U.S. "is not in Europe just to defend Europe, but to defend North America one step removed."

Therefore, if strategic realignment is the desired future for NATO, then *both* the U.S. and NATO-Europe must do their part in addressing protracted issues of unequal burden sharing, military deficiencies, and divergent transatlantic platforms. Obama's BMD plan can provide the opportunity for confronting these issues. TASC should



also be examined from a long-term perspective, keeping in mind that Obama's phased approach will be incremental over the next decade and potential changes and revisions at any stage of BMD deployment cannot be ruled out. Thus, although European allies may accept the preliminary sketch of the BMD architecture as it presently stands, both internal and external factors may trigger negative responses from NATO members at any point over a range of possible logistical, political, and military-strategic factors that can negatively impact U.S. and Alliance security in the long-term and hence undermine TASC.

Furthermore, by the end of Obama's scheduled BMD

deployment, the defense architecture in NATO-Europe will theoretically be able to intercept all types of ballistic missiles aimed at NATO-Europe and the U.S. from the region. Accordingly, the enhancement of NATO's own security and regional protection via BMD can also equally diminish and undermine the security and protection of other regional states, most notably Russia. Thus, it is important to ask: what degree and form of security does the NATO Alliance require, and how does a U.S. BMD system in Europe enhance or reduce the threat from Iran's nuclear potential and other bellicose threats? The justification for a BMD response should not simply be based on perceptions of

Iran's intentions or capabilities at present, but on the implications and potential long-term consequences that these perceptions may bear down the road. Hence, long-term implications should be thoroughly considered because they can jeopardize transatlantic strategic coupling.

In conclusion, although Obama's new BMD plan offers greater potential for transatlantic strategic coupling at present and in comparison to Bush's former 'third site' plan, it is unlikely that BMD alone, from both a political and military perspective, can garner enough constructive force to foment a "strategic realignment". The future of BMD in the U.S. and in NATO-Europe, as

illustrated hitherto, will likely remain a volatile and contentious issue on the transatlantic agenda. Transatlantic strategic coupling must therefore not solely rely on technological or even political commitments of BMD. Instead, TASC must be strengthened holistically through a genuinely-shared sense of threat and mutual desire for the indivisibility of Alliance security through a common and unambiguous transatlantic approach.

## DISABLED AFGHAN CHILDREN TRIUMPH OVER ADVERSITY AT EXCEPTIONAL SCHOOL

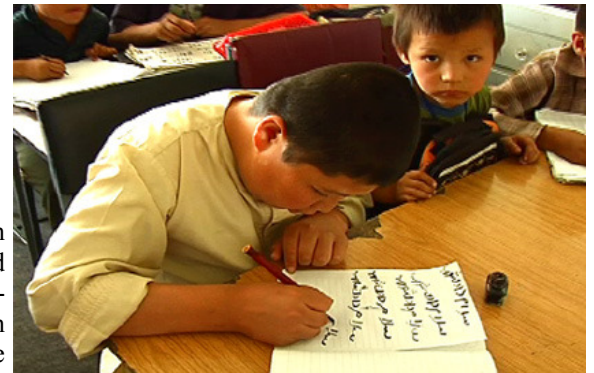
▷ With the help of the Sarahim School Afghan children have been able to triumph over their perceived disabilities, after decades of war ravaged their nation resulting in tens of thousands of children losing limbs to discarded landmines left behind by past and current occupiers. -Written by Amina Yasin

After decades of conflict in Afghanistan, the physical scars of war have become all too apparent among the thousands of victims who have lost arms and legs or both, as a result of discarded landmines and other explosive remnants of war. About 10 million such hazards contaminate nearly every Afghan province, since they were discarded in 1979 by Soviet occupiers and by others including the United States since 2001 under the US military's Operation Enduring Freedom. It has been reported that the conflict plagued nation has over one million disabled people. This is one of the highest percentages anywhere in the world. According to a report by Handicap International - a non-governmental organization supporting people with disability - Afghan children comprise of at least 200,000 of those affected and living with permanent disabilities (physical, sensory and/or mental impairment).

Yet, facilities and official help

for such people are extremely limited in what is one of the world's poorest and most violent nations. Moreover, services for the disabled in Afghanistan have further been exacerbated by the appalling conditions in most Afghan hospitals, which tend to amputate limbs damaged by mine explosions rather than save them. As a result services for the disabled in Afghanistan have primarily focused on the provision of orthopaedic aids, causing amputees to become the most visible manifestation of disability in the country.

The Afghan government's formal service program grants disabled Afghans with benefits of 400 Afghanis a month - about \$8 Canadian. The downside, however, is that accessing the benefit requires that they go to an office and a great many are immensely isolated and immobile. Unfortunately, the great majority of Afghans with disabilities have to live with whatever resources they find in themselves and their families, or through the assistance



of charities.

The disabled in Afghanistan have contributions to make but they need more support to help them integrate into society. Hope in the face of despair comes in the form of Nazifa and Frydoon Shairzay and their team at the Sarahim Center of Special Education in Afghanistan. Recognizing the human dignity of individuals with special needs, the Sarahim School for Exceptional Children in Kabul provides those children who have sustained

some form of physical and/or mental disability with quality educational programs, basic medical care, physical therapy and trades training. All of which enables them to become self-sufficient and productive members of their society. Since its inception the school mandate has been to assure that Afghan children with disabilities develop mentally, physically, emotionally, and vocationally through the provision of an appropriate individualized education in the least



restrictive environment.

After 25 years of exile Nazifa and Frydoon Shairzay started the Sarahim Center of Special Education in 2005 with three students. They were shocked at the state of their country after years of war and devastated by the number of children they found begging or left to the hardships of street life after sustaining crippling injuries from landmines, lack of sufficient nutrition, and medical care. Troubled by what they encountered the two Afghan women formed a plan to provide a center for disabled children, and with the assistance of internal and external donors, the Sarahim center was founded. Initially a small home located in Kabul, the Sarahim center has since relocated to a 10 bedroom house converted into classrooms. Today the center serves over 70 children with many more on the waiting list.

The Sarahim Center of Special

Education has a special connection to the Atlantic Council of Canada.

**“Because of what they’re taught at the school the children feel empowered to become masters of their own destiny and contribute to the betterment of their community...”**

Since 2007, the Atlantic Council introduced an annual award that recognizes a Canadian who has made a significant contribution to international peace and security, and to furthering the values the founding members set forth in the North Atlantic Treaty: “to safeguard the freedom, common heritage, and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law.” Each year the award for *Exceptional Contribution to International Peace and Security* brings together influential Canadian leaders to honour individuals who have made distinctive contributions to the strengthening of the transatlantic relationship

Past Atlantic Council award

recipients include, Captain (Retired) Trevor Greene, General (Retired) Rick Hillier, Major-General David Fraser, and former UN Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary General to Afghanistan and former Canadian Ambassador to Afghanistan, Christopher Alexander. The award consists of a citation and a financial contribution made in the name of the recipient to the Sarahim School for Children in Kabul, Afghanistan.

Understanding the important contributions that the disabled can make to Afghan society, the Atlantic Council of Canada has made it its mission to continue to

financially contribute and promote the work of the Afghan Sarahim School for Exceptional Children through its annual awards in Canada. Because of what they’re taught at the school the children “feel empowered to become masters of their own destiny and contribute to the betterment of their community,” by eventually leading independent and productive adulthoods.

The Atlantic Council of Canada honours the Sarahim School in Kabul for nurturing a climate of acceptance and respect for Afghan children with disabilities.

## ATLANTIC COUNCIL INTERVIEW WITH AMBASSADOR TO AFGHANISTAN, WILLIAM CROSBIE

• ▷ Strategic Policy and Research Analyst Sean Palter, of the Atlantic Council of Canada, corresponded with Ambassador William Crosbie for an enlightening one-on-one interview. -Written by Sean Palter

On June 15, 2009, William Crosbie was given one of the most difficult jobs in the country; he was named as Canada’s Ambassador to Afghanistan. He is now the fifth head of mission in Afghanistan since Canada formally reestablished ties with the nation following the ouster of the Taliban.

Working for the government in one capacity or another since 1987, Crosbie is no stranger to Ottawa and life in the foreign service. It is such a rich history that has prepared him for this monumental task.

Crosbie graduated from Memorial University in 1978 with a degree in political science and history, after which he earned a law degree from Dalhousie. Before his appointment, he served as the assistant deputy minister for the new Consular Services and Emergency Management Branch.



Pictured above: Ambassador to Afghanistan, William Crosbie

**Q** What does the job of Canada’s Ambassador in Afghanistan entail?

“As Canada’s ambassador to Afghanistan, I see my role as two-fold. The first is to lead our Canadian team. Today we have about 120 civilian officials deployed in Kabul and Kandahar, including personnel from Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, the Canadian International Development Agency, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Canada Border Services Agency, and the Correctional Service of Canada. That is in addition to the approximately 2,850 Canadian Forces personnel stationed here. A key part of my job is working closely with our military colleagues to ensure that we are coordinated in order to achieve our objectives.

Secondly, it’s to inform Canada’s approach in this country. There is no shortage of Afghan men and



women who are bravely trying to rebuild their country, with the support of my team. It is important for us to learn from them how best Canada can support their efforts. When I speak to Afghan audiences, I start with two messages. The first is that we are here as guests of the Afghan government and people and the second is that we are here to support all Afghans who are trying to build a future for their country.

**Q** What has been the progress that you've witnessed since being there?

“ The most important element of progress is capacity building, and that is occurring. The Afghan National Security Forces have proven much more capable to prevent attacks, to resist them when they happen and to recover from their impact. Government ministries have demonstrated an improved capacity to develop programs, identify priorities and to deliver basic services. The recent Kabul International Conference is an example. More Afghans have been willing to present themselves as candidates for election to Parliament. Parliament has begun to play a larger role in national political life. Provincial councils have attracted men and women who want to represent their fellow citizens with pride. Afghan civil society is developing. Our investment in people - through projects to educate, train, deliver health care, finance livelihoods, foster local governance, promote women's rights - are giving hundreds of thousands of Afghans the opportunity to change their lives.

**Q** What has been the major challenges security wise?

“ Taliban strikes are indiscriminate - attacking both civilians and military. They employ tactics such as roadside bombs, vehicle bombs and suicide bombs, all of which have a detrimental impact on Afghans and the international

- including ourselves. Incidents in both Kandahar and Kabul clearly illustrate how difficult and dangerous the work is. But Canada's goals in Afghanistan are realistic. Canada will continue working with the Afghan people and their security forces; striving to improve the local security situation and helping to set the conditions for increased development.

**Q** What are some of the goals that you would like to see accomplished within the next year?

“ One goal is to continue to help build capacity within the Government of Afghanistan so that it can operate independently from international assistance and provide its citizens with the services they need. We are doing this through our six priorities and three signature projects - spanning the areas of development, security and governance - to which we have committed ourselves. I have had the opportunity to meet many Afghan representatives of government and civil society since my arrival and I am confident that these priorities and projects enjoy wide support from our Afghan partners. Another goal is to help all Afghans from every walk of life - Parliamentarians, civil society, women taking up leadership roles, parents and children - to be better equipped, better educated, better trained and healthier in order to create better futures for themselves.

**Q** How can Canadians and NATO gain the confidence of the Afghan people?

“ Canada is recognized and respected for our contributions and our leadership. Afghan partners and NATO allies have expressed great appreciation and gratitude for the sacrifices Canada continues to make in Afghanistan. What remains key is that Afghans not only have confidence in themselves to build their own future but also confidence

in their own government to deliver basic services and provide them with security. This is why Canada is working with the Government of Afghanistan, with Parliamentarians and with Afghan civil society - to help build greater institutional capacity to provide services.

Building confidence in Afghans is essential. There are signs of growing confidence in their willingness to participate in governance (at the district and local level and at the provincial and national level), to plan for their future and to invest in their future. This is a society shattered by decades of war, intimidated by violence and deeply suspicious of its own ability to heal. The legacy of conflict driven by ethnic, political, religious and tribal differences lies just below the surface. Afghans need our help and the support of their neighbours to address this burden.

Polling has shown consistent support among two thirds of Afghans for the presence of foreign forces in Afghanistan to train their own forces and to provide security.

**Q** Working in Afghanistan must be extremely difficult due to the security challenges and the cultural differences. At the same time, I cannot imagine any other country where you can do as much good as you can there. How do you balance these two realities?

“ I have to keep reminding myself how far Afghanistan has come since 2001 and how far it has to go. It is a country with a very young population - about 70% under 25 years of age, 44% under 14 years. More than 70% live in rural communities. Only 12% of women and girls are literate and for males the figure is 20%. And yet there are now more than 6 million girls and boys in school and Parliament and Provincial

Councils now include women. As leaders of civil society organizations, women are speaking out on health care and human rights issues and helping to create jobs. The brave men and women I have met are inspiring. Despite the security challenges, I am convinced that with the support of Canada and its allies, Afghanistan can transform itself into a peaceful and prosperous country.

We have learned lessons from our time here - as have our allies. I am convinced that those lessons are paying off as a result of an increase in the level of resources and the way they are being used more effectively, such as in the area of police training. When you're training students who are illiterate, weak from poor nutrition and lacking in social skills, training techniques need to be adapted. It is impressive to see how Afghan police are now getting, for the first time, training that is really tailored to their needs. A policeman doesn't need to know how to read a novel, but through literacy training at his police station, he is learning how to read a license plate for reporting purposes. It's a process and it takes time.

**Q** From the moment you wake up to the moment you go to sleep, what does a typical day for you entail?

“ I spend a lot of time meeting Afghans. Of course these are often Cabinet Ministers, Parliamentarians, senior civilian and military officers and polished leaders in civil society. Many of them speak English. But I also treasure the opportunity to meet Afghans who do not move in these circles - kids





in small homemade schools, elders from villages who sit cross-legged on the dining room chair, women from across the country who are members of local councils for the first time, young Afghan journalists who ask me difficult questions on local TV shows. I also work closely with allies from over 45 countries - from giants like

the US to tiny Luxembourg, Macedonia and Singapore. One constant is being witness to the remarkable work that Canadians are doing—those who are part of the Canadian government's civilian and military team, but also Canadians who are here with the UN, NGOs Afghan organizations and businesses. Many are

Afghan-Canadians who have had no connection with the country before coming here. This leaves me very proud and it's what I take home with me at the end of each day.

## FEATURE

# ATLANTIC COUNCIL INTERNS “NEW INTERNS”



**Aleks Dhefto** is a current undergraduate student at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. He is completing his B.A. (Honours) in Political Studies with a Minor in French Studies. His areas of interest are comparative politics and international relations. Aleks was born in Tirana, Albania and has split his life between Toronto, Kingston and Tirana. He speaks English, French, Italian and Albanian. He will be our intern in Albania and will help with administrative duties for the ATA annual assembly. He has been part of multiple Model UN's and NATO's through Queen's, including ones hosted at Carleton University, Harvard University, McGill University and Queen's University. Last year he was the chair for the Queen's University Model NATO. Through his time with the ACC and ATA, he hopes to gain a better understanding of how NGOs help NATO's mission, and perhaps have fun along the way too.



**Chelsea Plante** recently completed a Master's degree in International Public Policy at the Balsillie School of International Affairs at the Wilfred Laurier University Campus. She specialized in Global Governance and Environment. Throughout the past year, Chelsea worked as a desk-based researcher for the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). While at CIGI, she corresponded with Afghan field researchers to collaborate on a quarterly publication, the *Security Sector Reform Monitor: Afghanistan*. In addition to this, she tracked developments and recent trends in ongoing security sector reform processes in Afghanistan and wrote/edited a number of country profiles for the *Security Sector Reform Resource Centre* webpage. She also had the opportunity to attend an interdisciplinary conference with Paul Heinbecker where she met with experts from the foreign policy community in Ottawa and was able to discuss policy-relevant issues. Chelsea also holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from McGill University, with a major in International Development Studies and a minor in International Relations. While at McGill she was a member of the International Relations Student Association of McGill (IRSAM) where she did volunteer work in the Montreal community. Chelsea hopes to acquire a better understanding of transatlantic issues during her time as an intern at the ACC. In particular, the role of NATO and its response to emerging security threats and the multi-sided demands of complex security operations.



**William Simmons** is currently entering his final year of his undergraduate program at the University of Toronto where he is completing a specialist degree in Canadian Studies as well as majoring in Political Science. William plans to continue his education in Ottawa by pursuing a Masters Degree in International Affairs. On campus, William is heavily involved with his program and is the current President of the Canadian Studies Student Union at University College. As a current member of the Toronto Scottish Regiment, William will be looking to take his commission next year and train to become an Infantry Officer with a reservist unit in Ottawa. As an intern with the Atlantic Council of Canada, William will be focusing on launching the Secondary School Outreach Program to promote Canada's involvement in NATO to high school students, and to raise general awareness of the Atlantic Council of Canada.



**Jonathan Preece** graduated with a B.A. Hon. from Wilfrid Laurier University before going on to complete his M.A. at Queen's University with a focus in international relations and Canadian foreign policy. He first joined the ACC as an intern in September 2009 after first being introduced to the business of Atlantic Treaty Association through his participation in the 2008 Transatlantic Crisis Simulation held in Otzenhausen Germany. Jonathan has since returned to the ACC for a year-long contract through the Department of National Defence, Security and Defence Forum grant program. Through his work with the ACC – an organization concerned with the most pressing issues facing the international community – Jonathan believes he will gain valuable work experience while continuing to explore his interest in Canadian foreign affairs, international relations, and international law. In particular, Jonathan plans on focusing his ACC research on the international legal issues that have arisen as a result of the war in Afghanistan, and how such developments could affect future NATO operations. Upon completion of his tenure with the Atlantic Council of Canada, Jonathan will be attending law school at the University of Western Ontario in September 2011.



## FEATURE

# ATLANTIC COUNCIL EVENTS

## “UPCOMING EVENTS”



The Hon. Bill Graham, PC., QC., Chairman  
and the Board of Directors of

**THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF CANADA**

and the Toronto Branch of the

**NAVAL OFFICERS' ASSOCIATION OF CANADA**

cordially invite you to the

*Naval Centennial Gala*

1910-2010

At the Fairmont Royal York Hotel

On

*Saturday, November 6<sup>th</sup>, 2010*



For More Information Please Contact:

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info@atlantic-council.ca  
[www.atlantic-council.ca](http://www.atlantic-council.ca)

### *The Atlantic Council of Canada*

#### Teachers Workshop

When: Wednesday, Oct 13, 2010  
6:00

Where: 165 University Avenue  
4th Floor Conference Room

Contact: William Simmons at 416-979-1875 or by email at  
[williamarthur.simmons@utoronto.ca](mailto:williamarthur.simmons@utoronto.ca)

### *The Atlantic Council of Canada*

invites you to the

#### *2010 Ottawa Fall Conference*

On

#### *Cyber Warfare*

held at

*The Lester B. Pearson Building at  
DFAIT*

On

*Wednesday, November 17th, 2010*

Contact: Lana Polyakov at 416-979-1875 or by email at  
[Lana.polyakov@atlantic-council.ca](mailto:Lana.polyakov@atlantic-council.ca)

