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NATO Job Vacancy: Who Will Emerge as the Next Secretary General?

Author: Elaine Kanasewich

Elaine Kanasewich holds an MA in Strategic Affairs from the Australian National University and is currently a Research Analyst at the Atlantic Council of Canada

After serving as NATO's Secretary General since 2004, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer will step down as the head of the secretariat that serves the alliance on July 31st, 2009. While it is expected that the next Secretary General of the Alliance will be announced during the NATO Summit in early April, the selection process has already been furiously underway at NATO Headquarters and across allied capitals. So how does one get chosen to be the next secretary general?

The process consists entirely of informal diplomatic discussions between member countries. Any Ally can broach their candidate and then seek support for them during meetings, informal and formal events. The candidate who is ultimately chosen is the one who garners the most support and commands the greatest consensus among the Allies.

Although there is no official requirement for the post, historically the position has gone to a former head of state or minister. This is to ensure that the secretary general, who will be charged with wrangling with heads of state and ministers over the duration of his or her four year term, is taken seriously and viewed as a counter-part. More controversial, however, is the "informal" requirement that the secretary general be European to counter-act the fact that the top military commander of NATO is always an American. This year's unofficial front-runners may challenge this tradition. But aside from rank and nationality, what qualities should a secretary general possess?

In two recent speeches delivered at the annual European security forum, de Hoop Scheffer alluded to some key tasks and challenges that will face his successor. Above all, he called for a return "to a genuine culture of dialogue among members." In this period where NATO is facing its fate in Afghanistan, he emphasized the need for solidarity, active resource pooling and engagement with all stakeholders. Ultimately, he called for the next secretary general to be able to lead this new solidarity while reordering the way NATO does business so that it becomes more effective at moving from theory to practical deliverables. So what can be concluded thus far is that the next secretary general will need to be someone who can not only win over the greatest support from the Allies simply to get the position, but can also maintain this level of support so he can bring a divided NATO back together. Who might that person be?

Although the process is discreet and only one formal contender has come forward, there have been several names floated for the position. These include: Des Browne, British Defence Minister, Solomon Passy, former Bulgarian Foreign Minister and the only candidate officially proposed by his government and John Manley, former Canadian Foreign Minister. But three official front-runners have been named by various news outlets across Europe and North America. They are Polish Foreign Minister Radek Sikorski, Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen, and Canada's own Defence Minister Peter Mackay. What makes these candidates the so-called "front-runners," and what are their chances at winning the top spot?



Radek Sikorski, who escaped Communist Poland as a youth, was educated in England and spent his early career as a journalist in Afghanistan during the Soviet invasion. After the fall of the Soviet Union, he returned to Poland where he moved up the political ranks to become defence minister, and now foreign minister. His greatest asset is his extensive knowledge of Afghanistan and his work to revitalize Poland's global standing and engagement.

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His potential weaknesses are that he is not extensively known while hailing from a former Soviet State, which makes some NATO Allies, particularly Germany and France, concerned about how this will affect NATO's relations with Russia. At the same time, he has made considerable gestures to improve Polish-Russian relations and is surprisingly well-liked in Russia, including by President Medvedev. Moreover, Poland is one of the biggest troop contributing countries in NATO while also allowing its territory to be used for America's missile defence system. Many also argue that it is time to give greater recognition to the newest Eastern European NATO members. Although Poland was one of the first of the new members to join NATO, in 1999, some wonder if it is ready to lead the organization.

Anders Fogh Rasmussen is by some standards considered the shoo-in after reports surfaced claiming he has won the support of Germany, France and Britain. He has proven his countries willingness to burden-share, having sent his forces to Afghanistan. He is greatly respected as a politician who passionately defends fundamental values and beliefs. In many aspects, this could be both his strength and weakness. For starters, there is the issue over the printing of a cartoon depicting the Prophet Mohammed as a terrorist. For many, especially Turkey, there is worry that he will appear anti-Muslim. Others applaud his handling of the controversy, arguing he stood up for a core NATO value – freedom of speech. Fogh Rasmussen also draws some controversy over his reluctance to expand the European Union. Again, this instills confidence in many NATO allies who themselves argue that NATO should slow down its expansion. Moreover, there are reports that the Danish Finance Minister, Lan Løkke Rasmussen, Fogh Rasmussen's likely successor should he go to NATO, ordered 10 new suits and shirts from a Copenhagen tailor, sparking rumors he is preparing himself for a new high profile post. Hence, with both tradition and three major NATO powers on his side, Fogh Rasmussen seems the candidate to beat.

But Peter Mackay also has a powerful ally on his side: the United States. In his first visit to NATO in early March, Vice-President Joe Biden was reported to have thrown his support behind Mackay's candidacy.

For his part, Mackay has called for credentials, not nationality to be the determining factor of a candidate.

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Many believe that a Canadian would be well placed to become secretary general, given Canada's long-standing and faithful commitment to NATO. Furthermore, as one of the nations sustaining the heaviest losses in Afghanistan and MacKay's continued call for greater burden-sharing, many feel he can do a good job convincing Allies to contribute to the mission he continually calls crucial to the fate of the Alliance. At the same time, many countries do not appreciate Canada's claim that it has sacrificed more than others in Afghanistan, and fear that Mackay at the helm would put pressure on them to increase their role in Afghanistan. Finally, tradition is still often hard to break, with America recently leaving the door open for Rasmussen's candidacy.

So in the end, the race remains an exercise in speculation rather than fact, except for those involved in the NATO conference room deliberations. Hopefully by April, as NATO celebrates its 60th Anniversary, the rest of us can toast its new leader, whoever it will be.



The Challenges of Global Energy Security in the Modern World

Author: Dallas Weaver

Dallas Weaver is a fourth year International Relations Undergrad at Glendon College, York University.



Background:

On March 17, 2009 the Atlantic Council of Canada hosted a roundtable discussion with Mr. Joe Barnes, the Bonner Means Baker Fellow at the Baker Institute for Public Policy at Rice University in Houston, Texas.

In addition to numerous institute studies, Barnes' work has also appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Houston Chronicle*, *Survival*, *Z Magazine*, *Oil and Gas Journal*, *Energy Markets*, the Newsletter of the Royal United Services Institute, the John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies Policy Forum Series and the National Interest. He is a contributor to two volumes: "Energy in the Caspian Region" (Palgrave) and "United States Tax Reform in the 21st Century" (Cambridge University Press). His work was recently published in "Natural Gas and Geopolitics from 1970 to 2040" (Cambridge University Press, 2006). Barnes is also advisor to the Baker Institute Student Forum. From 1979 to 1993, he was a career diplomat with the State Department in the United States. Barnes is a graduate of Princeton University and his chief area of interest is in international economics focusing on the geopolitics of energy.

The Roundtable:

As part of the ACC's Roundtable lecture series Joe Barnes spoke to those in attendance on the issues and challenges facing global energy security in the modern world. The engagement featured a speech by Mr. Joe Barnes, followed by a question and answer period. He delivered an interesting presentation on petroleum and changes in world supply and demand and its effect on the price of oil. His discussion was centered on the United States and its policy towards oil.

Barnes began with discussion on the United States' relationship with oil producing countries particularly Saudi Arabia and politics that surround this relationship in light of the events of September 11th. He noted that energy independence may not be as simple as one would think. He discussed the potential impact of United States energy self-sufficiency on the world oil markets suggesting that oil prices are determined by world oil demand not by individual countries. Barnes explained that past US energy policy has focused on diversifying energy supplies to keep the supply constant.

He went on to discuss what these changes have meant for the security and economy of the United States and other transatlantic countries. His presentation highlighted the importance of world oil markets in the changing economic climate and the United States' shifting relationship with other oil producing and exporting countries. He concluded his presentation with a discussion of global climate change and the steps the new United States administration is taking to combat it, the myths surrounding Carbon Tax and the potential of Carbon Trade to combat climate change.

According to Mr. Barnes if the United States were to drill offshore on its Atlantic and Pacific coasts and in the Alaska Nature Reserve of Anwar this would be considered "only a drop in the bucket" in terms of world oil production, and thus it would have little impact on the international oil market. He explained that as 75% of oil imported into the United States is used for fuel consumption, the only way to reduce the demand on oil is the invention of cars powered in a different manner.



Poppy cultivation and the Taliban resurgence: How should NATO respond?

Author: Brian Dickson

Brian Dickson is Executive Assistant to the President at the ACC



October 10, 2008: NATO heads agree that drug lords can now be targeted as part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission. February 12, 2009: NATO lawyers formally acknowledge that targeting drug lords does not violate international law (a concern that was raised by a leaked memo by Germany's senior officer overseeing Afghanistan, General Egon Ramms), if it can be ascertained through substantial evidence that a link exists between a drug lord and the Taliban.

UN estimates suggest that the Taliban now generate \$50 to \$70 million from "taxes" on poppy farmers and a further 200-400 million from drug processing and trafficking. These funds have been used to recruit and fund soldiers (the Taliban pay an average of ten times more than other industries) and to purchase munitions which have been used against Canadian and NATO troops with devastating impact.

Part of any military campaign should include stopping the flow of income to the enemy thus making it more difficult for them to sustain a military resistance. In the Afghan theatre it has been ascertained that 60% of the Taliban's income is now generated through the Heroine trade so it is imperative for the Afghan

government, Afghan National Army, Afghan National Police and NATO forces to strike at this industry and impede the Taliban resurgence.

Several policies to counter and disrupt the illicit trade have been introduced by various NATO Allies. These



- Crop Substitution
- Monetary Rewards for voluntary drug eradication
- Manual Eradication by the Afghan Army
- Precursor Chemicals Monitoring and Interdiction
- Institution building of Counter Narcotics Agents and Judicial Branches to prosecute major drug-lords
- International arrests of major known drug traffickers

While these policies have all had a certain amount of success the amount of poppy cultivation in Afghanistan has risen from 131 000 hectares in 2004 (unprecedented at the time) to 193 000 hectares in 2007. Furthermore, since the Taliban profit both directly and indirectly from the cultivation, processing and transit of

60% of the Taliban's income is now generated through the Heroine trade

the trade, the only way to effectively cutoff the Taliban's income is to go after the industry as a whole. But this is not without major potential problems and is without precedent. One US General complained openly to a

New York Times reporter in 2005 that every day armed convoys would drive past US Bases loaded with drugs, but he did not have the authorization to pursue.

State leaders who feel uneasy about attacking the drug convoys do have a valid argument that this would most likely escalate the conflict as troops would begin to be targeted more openly. Gangsters who are currently benefitting from the





lack of a state apparatus and the current NATO policy of turning a blind eye could turn to supporting Taliban operations in order to maintain the *status quo*. They may also begin funding mercenaries to attack NATO troops – especially troops from countries who politically cannot afford casualties without calls from home to bring back the troops. But the conflict is escalating in part precisely due to these policies. Not recognizing the correlation between the drug trade and Taliban profit generation only guarantees an escalation in the conflict as the economic balance of power continues to shift in the Taliban's favour.

Winning and maintaining the hearts and minds of ordinary Afghans does not only translate into a cessation of aerial bombing in civilian areas and working through Shura councils; it also means maintaining the perception of security while building a viable state apparatus that will continually take over this role. What is the impact on ordinary Afghans perceptions of NATO's efforts to build such state apparatuses when drug lords roam free and maintain a highly visible presence of fancy cars, designer clothes and diamond studded automatic weapons? Who do they think really controls the country and do they think NATO troops are colluding with them? An Op-ed article in a large Pakistani newspaper has already made such connections.

If Canada and the rest of NATO continues with their current policy of turning a blind eye to the Taliban funding related to the illicit drug trade, they may avoid enflaming the potential for violent retaliation, but they will also have to deal with an increasingly well armed and manned Taliban that will continue to disrupt the balance of power in the country. The difficulties of the middle road that has been agreed whereby NATO forces “can” act when it is found that a drug lord and the Taliban are in collusion is highly apparent:

The Taliban now generate \$50 to \$70 million from “taxes” on poppy farmers and a further \$200—\$400 million from drug processing and trafficking

who will carry out these investigations? How will they be kept from being corrupted? Will there be enough investigators to really make an impact? What will be considered enough sufficient evidence to act? Who will carry out the missions? Raids will be dangerous and the current regulations that many NATO Allies have on their troops will exempt them from being able to act, thus leaving a few Allies such as Canada, the United States, and the Afghan forces to do the lion's share of the operations.

The Strasbourg Summit will be an opportunity for the NATO alliance to hammer out a more tenable policy on handling the drug problem

Canadian troops are set to leave by December 2011. Until such time Canada (its forces and government) will have to make the tough decision of what to do; they will have to decide not what is the best option but what is the least bad option. The Strasbourg / Kehl Summit will be an opportunity for the NATO alliance to hammer out a more tenable policy on handling the drug problem; but at this point in time, it is difficult to predict what positions will be taken given the priority President Barack Obama will place on asking for greater burden sharing and additional troop contributions from Allies.

ACC Update:

You can now renew your membership easily in one minute or less by telephone. Use Visa or Mastercard and call us during office hours at 416-979-1875. Slava is standing by to take your call.



Model NATO: Challenging Young Minds



Author: George Blake

George Blake is a fourth year History student at York University

Model NATO (MNATO) is a large international multi-university simulation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization where students have the opportunity to take on the roles of international delegates and engage in diplomatic debates. Every year York University sends a team of delegates to attend a week long Conference in Ottawa at Carleton University. Students participate in a colloquium that is educational, socially beneficial, and culturally significant. This year York is sending a team of 12 delegates that will be representing four NATO or affiliated countries. We had the pleasure to represent the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany on the North Atlantic Council, Military Committee, Special Committee on Intelligence, the Senior Political Committee and the EAPC. We also represented the partner nations of Ukraine, and the Republic of Ireland on the EAPC.

Potential delegates train in a formal environment for 10 weeks, where they practice simulated NATO scenarios, treaty management, consensus building and conflict resolution. Delegates are required to conduct extensive research on all NATO and affiliated countries, with a focus on diplomatic relations, historical positioning, contemporary issues and security/defence operations. Delegates also learn valuable chamber and council conventions including the Robert's

Rules of Order and are assisted in enhancing their public speaking abilities.

Students from universities around the globe have an opportunity to participate in the NATO conference, and discuss the current world topics related to security and defence.

Model NATO is a unique and exciting opportunity that allows students to learn about the structure and purpose of a major international organization. Most importantly, it allows the young delegates to gain an analytical perspective on real world scenarios, and develop a truly global outlook on world affairs, using new knowledge about politics, economics and the military and putting them into practice in a simulated atmosphere.

Model NATO at York is a fairly young organization. This is the second year that Model NATO has been considered an official club at York University, but we joined the exciting world of international conferences six years ago under the umbrella of another political science student association. Every year we have been growing and establishing our roots and proudly representing York in international forums.

Affiliated with McLaughlin College, York's public policy college, we have a mission to engage young minds into one of the most valuable experiences of their undergraduate careers. Involvement in such a unique

simulation is something above and beyond classroom knowledge. Its practical nature allows participants to acquire irreplaceable skills related to diplomacy, politics, economics, and international relations. Most importantly, students attain a new global perspective on current world issues and major international concerns.

In addition to all this serious business, there is always a ton of fun involved. Being a part of MNATO, delegates become a part of an active student body, get to interact with exciting people at York, as well as from other North American and European universities.



This year we plan on carrying on our task in introducing students to world affairs, and educating them about the role and importance of one of the most powerful alliances in the modern world. As part of our continuing development this year, we had the pleasure of hosting our own committee as part of the 2009 York Model United Nations (Y MUN) conference held in Toronto, and hope that this is only the start of further cooperation with Y MUN and, the spark to help the York MNATO on its way to host its own conference in Toronto in the near future.



Students Have Their Say: 2009 Security and Defence Forum Student Issues Briefing.



Author: Elaine Kanasewich

On February 10-12, I traveled to our nation's capital to participate in the 2009 SDF Award Winners Defence Issues Briefing. The Security and Defence Forum (SDF) is a unique program administered by the Department of National Defence aimed at developing national competence and interest in current and future defence issues facing Canada. On top of providing special grants to fund various events and conferences, the SDF awards up to 20 scholarships to support the studies or post-graduate work of Canadian students studying in the field of defence. I was fortunate enough to be awarded one of the four SDF Internships which enables me to work at the Atlantic Council of Canada for a one year period.

It was clear from the beginning that the organizers of this year's briefing were ready to mix things up. Instead of it being a typical conference where we politely listen to the plethora of high level experts, and then ask them one or two timid questions, the briefers turned the microphone on us. By the end of the conference, it was us giving them the briefing! Although the thought was intimidating at first, I can conclude that my fellow winners and I delivered an impressive showing. The issues we discussed were new forms of terrorism and the potential for conflict with a resurgent Russia and a rising China. Overall, our conclusions were that terrorism is about spreading fear, and that it need not be sophisticated or incredibly deadly to create devastating effects. As for Russia and China, we argued that the potential for conflict was there hence requiring prudence, but that opportunities for engagement should not be overlooked. I was really grateful for the opportunity to not only listen to my fellow winners, but

to also make my own contribution. So that was our turn to shine, but I should also take a moment to mention the briefs we received from the experts themselves.

What struck me the most about all the speakers was their competence and breadth of knowledge. I was especially impressed that these were very high level officials, many of whom began their careers like us. Our morning began with a roundtable on the overview and future challenges facing the Canadian Armed Forces. Three speakers representing the army, navy and air force delivered frank and interesting presentations on the functions of their service as well as its future aims. It was especially interesting to hear about the realities of the Canadian Forces' equipment, which is getting to the point



where it is either being re-fitted or replaced. Our participation in Afghanistan is also putting great strains on equipment, particularly in the effort to keep it capable of keeping our soldiers safe. The next block was devoted to discussing Canada's Defence Strategy and operations in Afghanistan. Again, it was extremely interesting to hear from the practitioners about the realities, constraints and aims of Canada's current and future operations. They explained to us that Canada's defence strategy is preparing to deal with a whole breadth of challenges, from Arctic sovereignty to playing host to the Vancouver Olympic games. Meanwhile, the

lessons learned from Afghanistan will also fit into Canada's future structuring of its armed forces. What was largely concluded, however, was that Canada would need at least one year to regroup and rearm when it eventually does depart Afghanistan.

Finally, we listened to presentations on Canada's efforts in disarmament and the Middle-East. I was particularly interested to listen to these lectures as they discussed issues which often elude our immediate thinking, yet are persistent and potentially very dangerous. I was proud to hear that Canada plays a central role in disarmament issues, meanwhile following a Middle East Policy based on prudence and middle ground.

The main thing I took away from the conference was a better understanding and appreciation for how Canadian defence policy is thought of and made. During my time at NATO, I always heard that Canadians had an excellent reputation for their competence and professionalism. Now I can understand why. I would like to thank the Department of Defence and the SDF division for organizing such a great conference and giving me the opportunity to help in their efforts to forge an appreciation for Canadian defence issues.





Eighth Annual
Model NATO



Ottawa 2009

Author: Brandon Deuille

Between the 22nd and 25th of January, 109 upper-year undergraduate students from across the country represented the interests of 17 NATO member states and 4 Partnership for Peace states during what can only be described as a memorable event.



This year's conference marked the 8th anniversary of the annual Carleton University Model NATO exercise held at the Delta Hotel and Suites in Ottawa, and was particularly special as it coincided with the 60th anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty. This year's speakers, Major-General Mike Ward and Mr Jonathan Parish, one of the speech writers in the office of the NATO Secretary General, were excellent. Mr. Parish's assistance was invaluable and all delegates were extremely grateful to have such a distinguished individual at their disposal throughout the conference. Maj. Gen. Ward was gracious enough to take time and speak to delegates about the Canadian Forces. Even though the conference is a designed to be a multinational simulation, we are in reality Canadian students, and I am sure everyone left his presentation with greater knowledge of and more respect for the sacrifices of our Canadian Forces in Afghanistan and around the world. We hope these speakers will be able to participate again during Model NATO in the future.

The highlight for many students was the visit to their chosen country's embassy. During their visit, participants liaised with embassy staff and learnt first hand the country's NATO policies.

This year's Model NATO secre-

tariat consisted of the best graduate students studying security and defence studies at NPSIA and Carleton. They were in most cases hand picked for their positions as committee chairs and international staffers because of their expertise. The crisis simulation was constructed by the project manager and deputy project manager with the help of Dr. Philippe Lagasse, Assistant Professor of Public and International Affairs at the University of Ottawa, who was gracious enough to as-



sist us with writing the scenario and also helping run it.

The delegates were by far more prepared than during previous years and this made the academic simulation run as

it is intended. The agenda focused on the most challenging and relevant issues facing the Alliance in the 21st century, including: energy security, conflict resolution in failed and failing states, Afghanistan, NATO enlargement and NATO assistance in Iraq and Darfur. Students participated alongside their colleagues as NATO member states and countries of the Partnership for Peace in negotiating these agenda topics and participating in a realistic crisis response.

The delegation representing the Netherlands from Queen's University received the first *Dr Lee Windsor* award for most outstanding delegation.

On behalf of the 2009 Model NATO planning committee, I would like to thank Mrs. Julie Lindhout and the Atlantic Council of Canada (ACC) for all your support. The ACC's invaluable sponsorship was posted throughout the conference proceedings and online. I applied the skills and knowledge gained through a wonderful internship with the ACC last summer to this great annual conference. Through the project manager's position, I was able to give back to an event which has provided me with so much over the last four years.

*Brandon Deuille is
Project Manager for the 2009 Model NATO
Conference in Ottawa*



Upcoming ACC Events



Tribute Dinner – 9 April, 2009

Location Seeley Hall, Trinity College, University of Toronto. (6 Hoskin Ave)

Do not miss the opportunity to join us as we pay tribute to Gen. (Ret'd) Rick Hillier, Canada's former Chief of Defence Staff.

There are still a few more seats available so register by calling us during office hours at 416-979-1875 and pay by Visa or Mastercard.



ACC Annual Spring Conference - April 21, 2009

Location: The George Ignatieff Theater at the University of Toronto. (15 Devonshire Place)

What better way to celebrate NATO's 60th Anniversary than by throwing an in-depth conference looking at NATO's past, present and future!

Speakers include: David Mulroney, Deputy Minister of the Afghanistan Task Force in the Privy Council Office, Ted Whiteside, Secretary of the North Atlantic Council at NATO Headquarters and Dr. Rob Huebert from the University of Calgary

Please register today for this great event by calling us during office hours at 416-979-1875



Annual Golf Tournament, Dinner and Fundraiser

Location: Glen Eagle Golf and Country Club

This June 9th, 2009 the Atlantic Council of Canada is hosting it's fourth annual Spring golf and dinner fundraiser to support youth programs.

Registration will begin shortly.

