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MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

More comings and goings! In July we said good-bye to Jerome Boutillier, and wished him well as he returned to his university in France to complete his studies. Our summer interns, Brandon Deuville and Hassan Hameed came and went after enlivening our office with their presence. Brandon, who is originally from Nova Scotia, returned to Carleton University, where he hopes to complete his Master's studies this academic year. He is also coordinating Carleton's Annual NATO Simulation at the end of January 2009. A major job! Hassan, a graduate of Queen's University travelled to the Netherlands to spend a semester at the University of Groningen. In September, Sean Billings' internship came to an end, and in October, Luisa Sargsyan left us to take a position with the Government of Ontario. After 16 months with us, Luisa will be greatly missed, but her new initiative, *In Focus*, will continue.

All of them made significant contributions to the work of the Atlantic Council. It would be impossible for the ACC to carry on the high level of activities it does, without the work of these dedicated and resourceful young people. They help to organize events, write and edit proceedings, newsletters, and articles, and every one pitches in doing what is necessary to make sure the office runs smoothly. You will see much evidence of their work in this Newsletter. Thank you all for your efforts.

The new interns you will meet in this Newsletter, have already shown that they are continuing in this mode. We have had such a high level of activity this fall, that we are saving some of the reports for the next Newsletter which we hope to have out in January.

NATO's 60th Anniversary

January marks the start of a very special year. On April 4, it will be 60 years since the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington in 1949. We are planning several events during 2009 to celebrate NATO's birth and its achievements over the course of these 60 years.

A highlight will be our Tribute Dinner on April 8, 2009. General (Ret'd) Rick Hillier will be the recipient of our 2009 Award for Exceptional Contribution to International Peace and Security. Mark the date in your calendar now and plan to attend. Check page for other upcoming events. We urge you to be part of our year-long celebration. Renew your membership if you have not already done so, give a gift of membership to a friend or relative, or become a first time member.

Make a donation to help us in our programs. We are placing a special emphasis on programs for youth this year. We are looking for funds to sponsor a young Canadian with the right language skills to go to Kiev for six months to assist the Atlantic Council of Ukraine to host the Assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association in the fall of 2009. You will read more about this in our next Newsletter.

We are also planning a NATO 60th Anniversary Essay Contest for secondary and post-secondary students, and we want to continue to be able to provide as many opportunities as possible for young Canadians to attend the various national and international conferences offered by other members of the Atlantic Treaty Association. The reports in this Newsletter will give you an indication how important these experiences are for young Canadians.

Please call me at the office, to find out more about our programs and sponsorship opportunities, or e-mail julie.lindhout@atlantic-council.ca.

ACC UPDATE: WELCOMING NEW STAFF

Brian Dickson attended York University in Global Politics. He was the co-founder of the York Model NATO Organization which won Outstanding Delegation in its first year of operation at the Carleton Model NATO Conference. Thanks to his contribution this organization went on to grow by 400% and establish a four-person executive body in its second year. He was twice re-elected Vice President of the Undergraduate Political Science Council and was a two-year Delegate on the York Model United Nations where he attended conferences in Boston, Chicago, Montreal and Ottawa. He was also appointed Commissioner to the Vice President of Education and was once elected as Councilor representing McLaughlin College in the York Federation of Students whereby he had the opportunity to represent York's student body at the annual general meetings of the Ontario Federation of Students and the Canadian Federation of Students. Outside of York Brian has been involved with Developments in Literacy since 2003, www.dil.org, a Pakistani aid organization that raises funds for school children in rural Pakistan. He has also been a running instructor and continually strives to get his parents to eat healthier food – a challenge which boggles his mind on a regular basis. Brian joins the ACC as Executive Assistant to the President. He can be reached at bscottickson@gmail.com.



Darya Klepchikova holds a Master of Letters degree from St Andrews University (UK) in Cultural Identity Studies and a Master of Arts degree from the University of Bergamo (Italy) in Comparative Studies, Media, Communication and Cultural Imprinting as part of a joint Master Mundus degree "Crossways in European Humanities" with Distinction. In 2006, she graduated from McGill University with First Class Joint Honours in Sociology and Italian Studies, and became the recipient of the Erasmus Mundus Scholarship from the European Commission. In 2004-2005, she received McConnell Award and Greenblatt Scholarship based on the highest yearly GPA and recommendation of the Faculty. In 2005, she received the *Certificat d'Excellence en Français* from McGill University for particular success in the acquisition of French. Darya joined the Atlantic Council of Canada in October of this year as a volunteer intern in the capacity of research analyst, becoming editor of the Transatlantic News Digest "In Focus" and writing reports for the ACC Newsletters.

She also contributed to the preparation and organization of the ACC fall conference in Ottawa, as well as roundtables and other events. On November 8-13, Darya participated in the 54th General Assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association in Berlin as a YATA delegate. Her professional interests include Modern Languages, International Diplomacy, East-European Studies, Conflict Resolution and Cultural Identity Studies. Having a passion for languages, Darya is fluent in English, Russian, French, Italian and Ukrainian, with a basic knowledge of German. She can be reached at darya.klepchikova@atlantic-council.ca.

Viacheslav Kudryavtsev holds a Master's Degree in Public Administration from the University of Pittsburgh (USA), with the major in Public and Non-Profit Management (2005). In 2005 – 2007 he acted as a Program Coordinator for the Open World Alumni Outreach Program, an exchange program funded by the Open World Leadership Centre of the Library of US congress in Washington, DC. In 2007 – 2008 he acted as a Campaign/PR Officer at the Moscow Resource Centre of Amnesty International, a worldwide human rights movement. Here at the ACC Viacheslav will contribute to the research on Canadian Diasporas and their contribution to the peace building in their homeland countries, and how the Canadian Government can support and enhance peace building in countries of conflict utilizing the resources of the Canadian Diasporas. Viacheslav is fluent in English and Russian. He can be reached at v.kudr@atlantic-council.ca.



Dallas Weaver is a fourth year International Studies student at Glendon Campus - York University. She is Interning at the Atlantic Council of Canada national office as part of her Specialized Honours program. Upon graduation this spring, Dallas plans to pursue her Masters degree in International Affairs. She is currently conducting background research on the upcoming NATO Economic Forum.

ROUNDTABLE WITH PROF. ROBERT AUSTIN

September 25, 2008

By Sean Billings

On September 25, 2008 Robert Austin, PhD, a professor at the University of Toronto's Munk Centre for International Studies at Trinity College, spoke to ACC members and colleagues on the topic of Kosovo's independence. In his presentation he also briefly compared Kosovo's case to South Osetia and Abkhazia's quest for independence from Georgia. Dr. Austin also presented an analysis of what Kosovo's independence might mean for Eurasia, NATO, and the global community as a whole.

Throughout the lecture Dr. Austin explained that Kosovo's current situation is far from where it needs to be in order to exist as a successful state within the region. He explained the history behind the long-awaited independence saying that Kosovo's independence was an event eight years in the making and was not fully achieved; that the Ahtisaari Plan makes clear that the Kosovar Republic exists as a conditionally independent state, and sets forth a ten year probationary period. He touched on some of the aspects of animosity between Kosovo's two ethnic communities - Albanians and Serbians, which reached its peak in 1999 and has yet to dissolve. The eight years prior to independence were spent as a UN protectorate, and are contributing to many of the problems that exist in this new but flawed state. Dr. Austin also mentioned that the people of Kosovo do not have any illusions as to the independence being able to solve all the problems that exist in Kosovo.



Prof. Robert Austin

Dr. Austin mentioned Russia's support for Serbia and its opposition to Kosovo's independence, but perhaps Russia was more interested in publicly opposing the US's involvement in Kosovo's independence rather than actually opposing the independence of the Kosovars as a people.

After Dr. Austin's brief but informative lecture, the floor was opened to questions that the speaker fielded on the capability of Kosovo to become a successful state. Many were interested in the corruption that is evident in the upper echelons of the Kosovar political community. Some were interested in knowing if there was a possibility of unification between Albania and Kosovo. Dr. Austin's reply was negative as he explained that the Ahtisaari Plan restricts the conditional Kosovar Republic from uniting with anyone. There were questions on the KLA as a political party, as well as a question concerning the importance of religion in the region. After Dr. Austin responded to the questions he and the guests in attendance were treated to a reception while continuing their discussions in a less formal setting.

The ACC and its members would like to thank Dr. Austin for taking time out of his busy schedule to present an interesting and compelling lecture, and look forward to hearing from him in the future.

ACC CORPORATE RECEPTION

October 9, 2008

By Darya Klepchikova



The Hon. Bill Graham, ACC Chairman

On the evening of October 9th the ACC hosted its 2008 Corporate Reception for Partners and Sponsors. Special events such as the Corporate Reception is the ACC's way to show appreciation to all those whose generous donations make it possible for us to continue to promote knowledge and understanding in Canada of NATO and Canada's role within it.

Attendees enjoyed a warm and friendly atmosphere, engaging and interesting conversation, along with good food and wine. The Hon. Bill Graham, P.C., Q.C., Chairman of the ACC, talked about the importance of NATO's presence in Afghanistan and in particular, Canada's contribution to the Afghan mission.

Mr. Graham emphasized the success of the ACC in promoting awareness amongst Canadians on the issues of NATO and Canada's involvement in its military operations in particular, as well as furthering Canadian and International peace and security.

His speech was followed by an awards presentation. Certificates of appreciation went to Mr. James Baillie, ACC member, who has been a consistent and strong supporter of the ACC by making a donation on a yearly basis; Dr. Frederic L.R. Jackman of the Jackman Foundation, ACC Immediate Past Chairman, who has been a generous sponsor since 2003; and Grey Horse Corpora-



Mr. Paul G. Smith

tion represented by ACC Director, Mr. Paul G. Smith, EVP and CFO, whose contribution included an internship sponsorship in 2006, as well as sponsorship of the ACC Golf Tournaments.

ACC President Mrs. Julie Lindhout extended her thanks and gratitude on behalf of the ACC to those supporting the organization with their generous contributions, including E-L Financial for providing the venue for the reception. She highlighted upcoming ACC events, such as the roundtables with Dr. Lee Windsor and Mr. Frédéric Labarre, the upcoming trip to Kyiv in November (to promote closer Ukraine-NATO cooperation and to assist with the planning of the ATA General Assembly in 2009) and the yearly fall and spring conferences, to name a few. In addition, she introduced new members of the ACC staff in its national office, Brian Dickson, the new TCHC intern and Darya Klepchikova, a volunteer intern.



Mr. James Baillie



Dr. Frederic L.R. Jackman

A friendly discussion and a lively conversation concluded the evening.

ROUNDTABLE WITH LEE WINDSOR

October 28, 2008

By Brian Dickson



Mr. Lee Windsor

On October 28th Lee Windsor, author of the new book “Canada in Kandahar” spoke at an ACC, Wiley Publishing, Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society joint event at the Royal Canadian Military Institute. The discussion centered on the Canadian Forces in Afghanistan; what they are *actually* doing, how the Canadian government is presenting this mission and the Canadian news media’s lackluster coverage.

Background

For hundreds of years Afghanistan has been a transit point between Asian traders and what is now Iran and Eastern Europe. Tribes collected goods in exchange for safe passage across their territories and eventually roads were built to help facilitate this burgeoning trade.

The Soviet invasion in 1979 devastated the economy as their military strategy included destroying the roads used by international traders in an effort to weaken Afghans’ ability to fund their resistance of the occupation.

When the Soviets finally withdrew in 1989 a power vacuum developed and a brutal civil war erupted. The Taliban emerged and were initially accepted as they were able to quell the violence.

Led by Mullah Omar, they made “sweeping decrees to govern Islamic life”; however they did not provide municipal services or facilitate rebuilding efforts. Thus Afghan civilians struggled to survive without roads, without hospitals and without irrigation.

The attacks on the World Trade Centre and the following mobilization of NATO (under Article Five) and the UN (under Article Seven) required Canada to engage in this conflict. In collaboration with the Karzai / Afghan government, the UN and the NATO International Security Assistance Force Canada brought funding for roads, hospitals and irrigation projects.

Our main objectives, through the Canadian “whole of government” approach, focuses on rebuilding the economy, strengthening the central government while working with local Shura-Councils.

The Challenges of Coverage

According to Windsor, the Canadian news media is seriously under-reporting the development work Canada is accomplishing. A very specific example is the work of Canadian Forces Military Police and Royal Canadian Mounted Police in building the Afghan police forces (ANP) with an adequate level of training. The objective is to counter the ANP’s notoriety for corruption and to raise force levels to more adequate levels. What makes this initiative even more salient is that in many parts of the country the police forces are the only contact Afghans have with the current central government and therefore have become de-facto public relations officers of the administration. Unfortunately, this initiative is barely mentioned in the Canadian news-media.

Or take the initiative that Canada is undertaking with the UN and the Afghan government through its National Solidarity Program (NSP). The program helps foster community councils through financial empowerment. These councils are offered funds for local development of their choosing; the one caveat is that they must reach consensus on funding directives. The program is turning out to be a very successful method of conflict resolution, as councils are filled with previous rivals, and is a robust

counter-weight to the Taliban and the Warlords because it gives citizens a form of self-determinism never before granted. But again this program is hardly mentioned in the Canadian news-media.

Concluding Remarks

The discussion concluded with a question on how the Department of National Defence (DND) could counter the current news coverage; coverage that focuses on dead Canadian soldiers, Suicide Bombers and Afghan corruption. It was recommended that because the mission is essentially about rebuilding and development the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) should be the agencies leading the information charge. But for this to work CIDA needs to balance between staying out of the spotlight in their aid work (which is CIDA's current policy) while being able to highlight their objectives back home.

An alternative option was recommended to bring light on rebuilding efforts. It was recommended that Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan be allowed to converse with media to shed light on rebuilding and development efforts in which they take part. Our soldiers are an essential part of the mission and hold a unique position and therefore could work as effective Public Relations Officers.

This was the concluding event for Lee Windsor's book tour. He can be reached at lwindsor@unb.ca and his book can be ordered through Amazon at <http://www.amazon.ca/Kandahar-Tour-Turning-Canadas-Mission/dp/0470157615>



YOUTH ATLANTICIST MEETING "PARTNERS ACROSS THE GLOBE 2008" Budapest, Hungary, October 8-12, 2008

The Atlantic Council of Canada sent one representative to Budapest: Jesse Chisholm-Beatson who is a student from the University of Toronto. Mr. Beatson had a wonderful time and would like to share his experience with us. The event was an official side event of the Informal Meeting of the NATO Ministers of Defense.

Adventures in Transatlanticism: Notes from a Canadian in Budapest

By Jesse Beatson



Would you be interested in going to Budapest? This question from the president of Canada's NATO organization, the Atlantic Council, took me by surprise. I had just finished talking to her about setting up a small NATO club at Trinity College, and here I was being asked to represent Canada at a conference overseas. Things at NATO certainly move quickly. It was time to prepare; time to dig deep.

The library was my next stop, with books on NATO, Hungary, and Canadian politics to be checked out in my name. I would be an expert of international affairs, a master practitioner of the art of diplomacy by the time I stepped off the plane in Hungary. However, things were going to be a little more "ad hoc" than expected.

I'm in Budapest now and am about to meet my contact at the airport. Prepared for the best but expecting the worst, I quickly recalled to my mind everything I knew about his city - the car ride could be a while. Let's see... *It's history is distinctive in many ways, but one characteristic feature is that for many years it was ruled by foreign powers. Yes! Starting in the 16th century, the Ottoman Turks ruled for about 150 years. Then Hungary became a part of the Hapsburg Empire and as a result developed a more "European" identity. Budapest in particular was molded in the image of Vienna, then the main hub of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During the last half of the 1800s, Budapest economy was flourishing and its many cafes and opera houses were always full. Budapest governed a large piece of Eastern Europe when the Hapsburgs signed a treaty making this city a partner in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. And a fun fact to throw in...Apparently one of the grandest parties in the history of Eastern Europe was thrown in 1896 for Hungary's 1,000th birthday. In fact, Hungary's parliament was built for this occasion. Its elegant neo-Gothic design and riverside location were inspired by its counterpart in London - Westminster. There, just like Lonely Planet... With the end of World War I, the Hapsburgs were gone and Hungary, while much smaller, was momentarily independent. Several decades followed which placed Hungarians under the rule of Nazis and then Communists. Finally a lasting freedom was won after the fall of the USSR in 1989, and since then the city has blossomed.*



That should do it, I thought to myself. But when I finally met him, the exam I prepared for never came. In fact, he was very friendly and asked me questions about myself and about Canada. I told him about hockey, John A. MacDonald, poutine, the "two

solitudes", and multi-culturalism. I learned from him that Budapest is itself a "cultural mosaic" made up of early Magyar settlers who mixed with Germans, Slavs, and Turkish settlers. I called it a "cultural goulash" and he seemed to like that.

The next day I met with the other youth ambassadors from many of the NATO countries and observer nations. We spent the day at the Marriott, where the real professionals conducted their business. Over the course of the day we heard many interesting talks and lectures from prominent diplomats, military officials, and ambassadors. America's Ambassador to NATO told us about the piracy in Somalia and the step-up of counter narcotics efforts in Afghanistan. The next day I read what we had heard from him in the New York Times. Small world!

When the Hungarian military general spoke, I learned Hungary had joined one of the most exclusive Western clubs, NATO, in 1999, on the 50th anniversary of NATO's founding. Apparently politicians were pretty near unanimous on this decision, while some of the public was less sure, though public support has grown considerably since. A medieval historian compared the accession of Hungary to NATO with Poland's conversion to Christianity nearly a thousand years ago and a diplomat invoked Gary Cooper's long, heroic stand against evil and injustice as a metaphor for Hungarian emancipation: "For the people of Hungary, high noon came in March 1999".



In addition to meeting with these officials, an important component of the trip was the NATO simulation all youth ambassadors participated in. Throughout the simulation, our focus was on the ISAF mission in Afghanistan, but we also learned more generally about the structure and purpose of NATO and the many considerations, capabilities, and constraints that shape its policies in determining matters of collective defence. I found it an exciting opportunity to bring to life what I imagined the many high-ranking public figures had been doing for the last couple days. Miraculously, I started remembering some my old IR and political science lectures and so was able to participate quite actively. For this, I give much credit to my Hungarian counterpart who was with me every step of the way, helping me with the preparations for many of my speaking notes. I completely agree with one of the delegates when she said: "Working toward a consensus within one's own delegation, as well as on one's committee, was an invaluable experience in balancing influence and cooperation."

gation, as well as on one's committee, was an invaluable experience in balancing influence and cooperation."

After many hours packed into a couple days, our deliberations resulted in a written document or "communiqué" that we had all contributed to which outlined the main challenges for NATO in Afghanistan as we saw them, and also presented some of our proposed solutions. While there was considerable disagreement on specific points throughout the process of crafting this final product, it was clear that there existed a broad and universal will amongst delegates to find general consensus, coordinate efforts, and make the most of our time together. Though our report was not going to be read the next morning in the New York Times, we took it no less seriously. That is because for us, it was no mere simulation, but an expression of the possibility for great transatlantic cooperation in international relations.

With concerted efforts to overcome and transcend national differences for the greater good of the alliance, our nations' delegates come together over shared fundamental values. Thank you to the Atlantic Council of Canada for according me this rare opportunity to represent Canada in Budapest, for to be a part of that experience however brief or "simulated" in which classroom lectures and theoretical and idealistic ideas about NATO found concrete expression was truly something valuable - something not soon to be forgotten.

ROUNDTABLE WITH FREDERIC LABARRE

November 5, 2008

By Brian Dickson

Georgia declared independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 and became a democratic state four years ago following the Rose Revolution that resulted in the election of Mikheil Saakashvili as President. On August 8, 2008 (888) Russian troops entered South Ossetia and Abkhazia following an escalation in conflict between Georgian troops and South Ossetian and Abkhazian separatists. Russia's recent actions and presence in South Ossetia and Abkhazia have been interpreted differently by various experts and led many to ask is the Bear back?

On November 5, 2008 The Atlantic Council of Canada (ACC) hosted its fifth Roundtable Lecture Series event of 2008, at Torys LLP, with guest speaker Frederic Labarre from the Baltic Defense College entitled: "Russian Capabilities: Is the Bear Really Back? The meaning of "888": Reflections and Analysis on a Short Sharp Shock. Reflecting on the Russia / Georgia Conflict."

During the discussion it was suggested that the political aggression is hardly one-sided for a variety of reasons. First, the US has



Mr. Frederic Labarre

provided, through the National Endowment for Democracy, funding to free-market, pro-US campaigns in Georgia; funding that would be deemed illegal in many Western Countries. Second, US policy objectives still focus on encircling Russia with US friendly (and financially and militarily supported) allies. This includes granting full NATO membership to Eastern European states which border Russia. To the Russians, the Bucharest Summit, which proclaimed a guarantee of member acceptance to Ukraine and Georgia, was evidence of further western military encroachments into its space.

Third, Russian minorities in Eastern European states have not always received equal treatment as citizens thus Russian state policies of protection (such as handing out Russian passports to Russian minorities) may be necessary on a case by case basis. Fourth, the western intervention in Kosovo created a precedence for Russia to intervene in Georgia under humanitarian conditions. If Kosovo can be helped by NATO to separate from Serbia then why can't Russia help South Ossetia separate from Georgia? Finally, some Eastern European acts have been interpreted as aggressive by Russia such as the Estonian authorities relocation, in 2007, of a Soviet monument to the Soviet soldiers who had ostensibly "liberated" Estonia from fascism (despite stern internal objections), from a highly visible location in central Tallinn to a Soviet cemetery out of public sight. Another act seen as aggressive was Ukraine's decision to make Ukrainian its official language despite having a large number of citizens who only speak Russian.

Looking diplomatically at the Russian/Georgian conflict, did Georgia exhaust all other options before its military response? 20 minutes before Georgia began its bombardment in South Ossetia, the US State department pleaded with Georgian President Saakashvili not to attack the separatists. Perhaps a better tactic for Georgia would have been to air their grievances in the UN Security Council under scrutiny of the media before resorting to military conflict. This tactic would have shown adroit statecraft and international pressure could have had an impact on Russia's ability to maintain a presence in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. But by ignoring the recommendation of the US, the power most able to provide pressure as well as financial and military assistance, Georgia effectively isolated itself from the West. In effect it has also made NATO membership for themselves and Ukraine impossible at least for the foreseeable future.

It was further raised that states engaged with NATO, while maintaining certain rights, like the right to Article five protection, have certain responsibilities such as the responsibility to coordinate objectives with NATO (improving relations with Russia) and to reduce the danger of war between two blocs (such as Georgia vis-à-vis South Ossetia and Russia). It was raised that the decision to guarantee membership to states who have hostile policies towards Russia, who share a border with Russia and who would be incapable of assisting other alliance members in the event of an Article five breach should be revisited.

In concluding remarks it was said that "for the validity of the balance of power theory, answering what these forces bring as value-added to the Alliance poses a dilemma. While the output for the countries is disproportionate, the value to the Alliance is overrated. The latest rhetoric coming from the Baltic States and Georgia, and the "I-told-you-sos" about Russia do not represent the sort of behavior that preserves a stable balance of power between NATO and Russia."

This successful event concluded with group discussions over wine and hors d'oeuvres courtesy of Torys LLP, who also generously donated the use of their boardroom.

ACC ANNUAL FALL CONFERENCE

November 4, 2008

Report by Darya Klepchkova

The Atlantic Council of Canada (ACC) held its Annual Fall Conference in Ottawa on November 4, 2008. The theme of the conference was "**Georgia: Russia's Challenge to NATO.**" It brought together prominent political leaders, Canadian and foreign scholars and professors, military officials, representatives of international organizations and foreign embassies. In addition, the conference was attended by several groups of high school students and a group of Master's students from Carlton University, demonstrating the increased awareness on the part of young Canadians of the importance of transatlantic relations, as well as their desire to be more involved.

The conference was opened by ACC Chairman, the **Honorable Bill Graham**. He shared with the audience a few personal reflections on relations between NATO and Russia. Most of the Russian leaders believe that NATO's expansion must be directed against something; moreover, they are convinced it is against Russia. NATO's assertions that the purpose of its expansion is to provide security to those countries that feel insecure (e.g. Baltic States), and is not directed against anybody do not reassure Russia. Their fears are further exacerbated by ballistic missile defense plans in Eastern Europe. Despite all the controversies, Mr. Graham does not think that "the con-



The Hon. Bill Graham

sequences of what we have seen in the Caucasus will lead to renewal of the Cold War.” He believes that Russia is currently rebuilding its forces not for the East-West confrontation, but to counter more effectively terrorist threats from failed states. Neither Russia nor the West wants to invest money necessary for a new Cold War arms race, but rather, to fight common enemies. According to Mr. Graham, the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) is very important for enabling communication, but the only effective cooperation initiative taking place at the moment is in the Arctic where Americans, Russians and Canadians do collaborate.



The Hon. Hugh D. Segal

In his keynote address, the **Honorable Hugh D. Segal** made a brief excursion into the history of NATO. In particular, he focused on its relationship with the former USSR, emphasizing the differences between the USSR policies and those of its successor state, Russia. Analyzing the Georgia-Russia conflict last August, Mr. Segal pointed out that even if Russia's reaction was excessive by today's politically correct aspirational standards, its actions were still “restrained in comparison to old time Soviet standards.” By engaging in military conflict with Georgia, Russia made a geopolitical point about its own border regions and its own ethnic family. Despite its somewhat disproportionate response, it is “unhealthy” to curtail NATO's positive engagement with Russia. It is important to “look at Europe in the context of peaceful spheres of influence as opposed to only the old NATO and Warsaw Pact divisions, which have largely receded.” Mr. Segal believes that just as the U.S. has a large sphere of influence in the Americas, Europe and Asia, “a country of Russia's size, history, population, resources and military history has a legitimate right to a peaceful sphere of influence to its east and west, north and south.” That is why NATO would be wise to adopt a different strategy, recognizing Russia's right to have its own sphere of influence without evoking the old Russian fears by surrounding the country with well-armed NATO members, something that he perceives as an outdated NATO stance. Canada, too, should introduce new dimensions into its relationship with Russia by broadening their business, scientific, cultural and strategic cooperation. According to Mr. Segal, “overstating the significance of the Georgia event is a mistake.”, and Russia's positive engagement should remain a priority on NATO's agenda, since it is the best way to reduce the risk of NATO's and Canada's possible involvement in military conflict in Europe.

The first panel was entitled “**Is the Bear Really Back?**” with a focus on Russia's military capabilities and strategic intentions. **Professor Piotr Dutkiewicz**, Former Director of the Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies of Carlton University, opened the panel with his expert analysis of Russia's strategic foreign policy goals. He argued that despite Russia's desire to implement its policies in opposition to the West, it is constrained in its freedom and for some time in the future, its policies will remain “West-oriented.” Russia wants to be “rich and powerful”, like any other big nation. Russians would like to be treated the same way they believe China is treated by the West, that is, without too much criticism for some deficiencies on human rights and democracy and meddling in their internal affairs. Russia wants Western recognition of their spheres of influence and an opportunity to “have a real voice” in regard to key decisions affecting global politics. Unfortunately, the institutions created for this purpose, such as the NATO-Russia

Council, didn't prove to be a success. Russian leaders would also like more transparency and less double standards of which they accused the West repeatedly over the Russia-Georgia conflict. The unsettling thing is that Russia has not been further apart from the West in the last 20 years, mainly for two reasons: firstly, the West is not ready to address those issues positively because of the Cold War era stereotypes, and secondly, Russia no longer seeks to address the West – it wants to address the world. In conclusion, Prof. Dutkiewicz talked about possible solutions to the current situation that would include efforts on both sides. Russia, on its part, should prove “its own positive utility in international relations”, as well as “do a much better job in explaining what she wants from the West.” The West, on the other hand, should also re-evaluate its approach to relationship with Russia and “listen more carefully to what Russians are telling us”, not necessarily agreeing to it, but trying to negotiate to find a solution acceptable to both parties.



Left to right: Prof. Piotr Dutkiewicz, Mr. Frederic Labarre, Dr. Bernd Goetze and Mrs. Julie Lindhout



Prof. Piotr Dutkiewicz

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Mr. Frédéric Labarre, Head of the Department of Political and Strategic Studies from Baltic Defence College, continued the vigorous discussion on Russian military capabilities in relation to the onset of the August War, as well as its impact on several new NATO members and the broader implications of these events for the Alliance. His ideas were based on the theories of international relations, namely, normative constructivism for Canada and NATO, as opposed to “realist balance of power considera-



Prof. Dutkiewicz (left), Mr. Labarre (right)

tions” for Russia. He started with a detailed account of military forces involved in the Georgia-Russia conflict last August on both sides. Mr. Labarre explained that the Russian 58th Army’s serviceable MRD remained on alert because of the information provided by earlier intelligence reports. The date and time of the operation (coinciding with the opening of the Beijing Olympic Games) does not necessarily mean that things were orchestrated by the Russians; in fact, “with the benefit of additional information, the same advantages can support Georgian aims.” Mr. Labarre proceeded with the analysis of hypothetical goals behind Georgia’s artillery barrage on the evening of August, 7, suggesting two possible motives. The first supposition is that “Mr. Saakashvili wanted to produce a fait accompli, remove an irritant and seize South Ossetia.” Another possibility is that irrespective of the outcome, the political burden would be removed that he set upon himself by claiming that Georgia would never abandon Abkhazia and South Ossetia to separatists. At the same time, blame could be put entirely on Russian shoulders. Mr. Labarre continued by suggesting that “if this is true, we need to rethink who may be courting NATO for membership.” He then talked about the Baltic States and Georgia in terms of the Balance of Power, emphasizing that even taken together, they are non-essential actors. As such, it does not really matter to whose sphere of influence they belong, NATO’s or Russia’s, since the outcome for smaller nations is the same: “between the hammer and the anvil.” On the contrary, Russia and Ukraine, with their abundant natural resources, vast nuclear arsenals, and more than 200 million inhabitants, are much more crucial for the Alliance. Mr. Labarre criticized some policies of the most recent NATO members, namely, the Baltic States, calling them “disturbingly un-NATO like” after their admittance. In relation to that, he argued that they should also be contributors of security, not only consumers. For Canadian strategic interests in the Arctic, Russia is undoubtedly more important than Georgia or all the Baltic States together. That is why it is crucial not to allow “NATO-Russia relations to deteriorate any further.” As for Georgia, it disqualified itself for the Alliance membership by heightening the tensions between Russia and NATO members at its border, instead of reducing them.

The second panel concentrated on how the Georgia-Russia conflict was perceived by other countries, namely, the United States, Russia’s neighbor Turkey, and continental European countries.



Left to right: Mr. Giovanni di Girolamo, Amb. Rafet Akgünay and Amb. Robert Hunter

Ambassador Robert Hunter, President of the Atlantic Treaty Association, former U.S. Ambassador to NATO, Senior Advisor at RAND Corporation presented the U.S. view on the situation in Georgia in August, 2008. Russians, on their part, made a terrible miscalculation: Russia needs the outside world, and by getting involved in the military confrontation with Georgia, they shook foreign investors’ faith in Russian stability, thus undermining Russian economy. So what needs to be done by NATO is to “reinforce Georgia, indicate that they are part of the West, continue develop their economy”, but the chimera of their joining NATO in any foreseeable future should be abandoned. As to Russia, positive developments in the fields of arms control, Middle East and Central Asia should be continued, but Russians have to decide between 19th century vision of the world (“just leave us alone”) or 21st century vision. In any case, Canadian wisdom in international affairs is always “welcome and needed.”

In regards to the Russia-NATO relationship, mistakes have been made on both sides, with the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) suspension being a “big missed opportunity”. One of the mistakes was not reaching out to Russia enough economically and not admitting it to WTO. Other missteps on the U.S. part include going too far with the missile defense plan in Eastern Europe and not listening to what the Russians were saying, which he called “violation of the spirit”. Most importantly, the strategic commitment made in Bucharest in April 2008 (“Georgia and Ukraine will become members of NATO”) “was worth zero”, and NATO let Georgia down since not a single NATO country was prepared to go and fight for Georgia. He further explained that NATO enlargement was “fundamentally about Article 5”: as opposed to PfP and EU, “NATO membership is about countries willing to defend other countries.”

Ambassador Rafet Akgünay from the Embassy of Turkey in Ottawa addressed how Russia’s neighbor Turkey responded to the August 2008 military confrontation. He claimed that no party really benefited from the recent crisis, but there were many losers. His focus was not on determining which side was guilty; instead, he emphasized the failure of the international community to effectively use the existing mechanism to prevent the Russia-Georgia conflict. The important point was made that “frozen conflicts do not remain frozen”, in fact, it would be more accurate to call them “simmering.” For Turkey, the latest developments in the Caucasus were very alarming since they obviously changed the fragile regional balance, threatening peace and security. That is why Turkey at the very onset has been trying to facilitate the situation by following the extensive diplomacy path. Together with other NATO allies, Turkey stands for preservation of the territorial integrity of Georgia and finding a suitable settlement to this dispute. Turkey is a staunch supporter of NATO initiatives such as the NATO-Georgia Commission, as well as of Georgia’s

NATO aspirations. On its part, Turkey took some steps to help stabilize the situation too: it came up with the proposal for Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform (CSCP). According to Mr. Akgünay, Turkey found the existing mechanisms of dealing with a complicated situation in the Caucasus inefficient and proposed a new approach in August 2008. CSCP will initially consist of 5 countries that are directly affected by these regional conflicts, that is, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Russian Federation and Turkey, but it will remain open to other interested countries and organizations. The purpose of this Platform is to help strengthen regional peace, stability and security, encourage regional political dialogue and enhance economic cooperation, with the ultimate goal being to end tensions and develop good-neighborly relations in the region. Turkey envisions CSCP as a forum for open discussions, not as an institution, and certainly not as a competitor to the existing conflict resolution mechanisms. So far, Turkey's initiative received positive feedback from all the parties involved except for Georgia which is still hesitant. Mr. Akgünay also mentioned an important development: a historical visit of Turkish President Gül to Armenia in September 2008. Turkey is hopeful that this visit will mark the beginning of normalization of the Turkish-Armenian relations, which, in its turn, "would contribute to regional peace and prosperity."



Amb. Rafet Akgünay (left) and Amb. Robert Hunter (right)



Mr. Giovanni di Girolamo

Mr. Giovanni di Girolamo, Head of Political and Public Affairs Section of the Delegation of the European Commission to Canada, delivered the next speech focusing on the European perception of the recent Georgia-Russia conflict. He provided us with a brief overview of the steps taken during and after the crisis by the European Union (EU), and the European Commission in particular. He mentioned the importance of the diplomatic effort by several European countries, especially France, in having made it possible to go from war to ceasefire and eventually to begin a political process. It was a success of the EU security and defence policy as "European countries came together and managed to deploy human resources required." After the initial efforts, EU countries continued with the process of starting talks in Geneva that was certainly "a complicated endeavor" but very important as a form of dialogue. Mr. Girolamo also talked about strong political and financial support shown to Georgia by the EU, by means of which they tried to send an important message that they still believe in

Georgia and the possibility of its successful transition to a stable democratic state. Since Georgia is in what he called a "European neighborhood", it is in the interests of the EU to encourage and support there a "process of strengthening democracy and integration with Europe in all areas except accession." Cooperation with Russia, of course, is very important to Europe since it is a huge and powerful neighbor with vast natural resources. That is why some European countries with stronger economic ties with Russia were "a bit more cautious in their reaction" to the August 2008 conflict. It is clear, however, that the Russia-Georgia war was a step back in a very promising process of Russia-EU cooperation. Mr. Girolamo concluded by saying that "the challenge for us (EU) is to try to be consistent" and "find a peaceful and lasting and equitable solution to the conflict."

The last panel of the day was moderated by ACC President, **Mrs. Julie Lindhout**, and the conversation turned to the issues of concern to all of us: what are the implications of the Georgia-Russia war for Canada?

Ms. Elizabeth Sneyd opened the forum by sharing with us her expertise on the issues of the Canadian Arctic and the Circumpolar World. In answer to the question "Is the bear really back?" she suggested that "as far as the Arctic is concerned, the Russian Bear has never really left, although like all bears, it's been in hibernation for a while." Possessing the largest portion of the "Arctic Circle pie", Russian north is also much more densely populated than other Arctic areas, with Murmansk being the largest community with a population of approximately 325,100 people. Consequently, the Eurasian Arctic is characterized by a much higher level of development and industrialization compared to the North American Arctic. Ms. Sneyd emphasized that Canada and the other Arctic nations "share a relationship that is both cooperative and competitive, depending on the issue", so she started by examining four circumpolar organizations focusing on cooperation. The Arctic Council, the Conference of Parliamentarians of the Arctic Region, the Northern Forum, and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference all deal with circumpolar affairs, each having a somewhat different approach and operating at different levels. Another important collaborative initiative of particular interest to Canadians is the Arctic Bridge – "a shipping route that would link Murmansk with Churchill, Manitoba, currently the only Canadian port linked to Arctic waters." But it is still in the stage of negotiations, since its implementation would require presence of the Russian icebreakers in Canadian waters, which, in its turn, would call for increased Canadian



Ms. Elizabeth Sneyd

monitoring presence. Despite all these positive collaborative initiatives, things seem “as warm and fuzzy as a teddy bear” only on the surface. Starting from 2006, “the Great Bear began to revisit its old haunts”, by first resuming long-range bomber patrols, followed by the Russian navy patrols in the Arctic in 2007. Also in 2007, Russia endeavored to “scientifically prove that the Lomonosov Ridge was a geological extension from the Russian mainland.” Following Russia’s renewed interest and increased activity in the Arctic, other countries sharing claims to the North joined the race. Expeditions were launched to the North by Denmark, Sweden and the U.S., each of them trying to solidify their respective claims to the seabed. Canada, too, “has entered into this type of science for the sake of politics and economics.” In other words, Ms. Sneyd argued that Russia is not the only one operating in the North, and its scientific expeditions only differ in scale from those conducted by Canada or the U.S. We also have to bear in mind the differences in Russia’s approach compared to the Cold War period: their willingness to collaborate with the other Arctic nations is unprecedented. That is why Canada, together with other circumpolar nations, needs “to avoid using Cold War-era terminology to place Russia into context”; the current situation is more complex: “it’s a case of us versus them sometimes and in concert with them at other times.”



LGen.(Ret'd) Michel Maisonneuve

Lieutenant-General (Retired) Michel Maisonneuve, Academic Director of the Royal Military College Saint-Jean, was next to take the floor with his very insightful speech on Canadian military capabilities.

Despite numerous faults that NATO has been continuously accused of, especially after the end of Cold War, its utility and accomplishments should not be overlooked. The Alliance must continue its traditional role of deterrence and retain its capability to intervene. Without NATO, Transatlantic dialogue would not be institutionalized, regularized, comprehensive or necessarily coherent. Regular roundtable meetings, unprecedented outreach opportunities, NATO-Russia Council, accomplishments in tactical realm are among many things that make the Alliance’s presence on the international arena indispensable, leading to the conclusion that “if there was no NATO, we would end up creating it.”

Gen. Maisonneuve argues that in terms of future capabilities, especially in light of Russia’s recent incursion into Georgia, NATO’s “first and main effort must remain at the diplomatic level.” Some examples of its successful diplomatic activities would be Partnership for Peace (PfP) programme, regular institutionalized forum with Russia, as well as the ongoing dialogue with the EU. Other areas that the Alliance needs to focus on in the future include improved decision-making, the pursuance of the Comprehensive Approach in its operations, and re-energizing its involvement with newest NATO members “to ensure they meet their obligations as full members.” As for Canadian military capabilities, need for improvement in order to deal with current and future challenges was emphasized. The important question was raised about the future of Canadian Forces after the end of their involvement in Afghanistan, because all our efforts have been concentrated on this mission almost exclusively. The Russia-Georgia war gave us an impetus to re-examine our needs and capacities, emphasizing the demand for improving our general-purpose combat capabilities (“against the Bear”), while still retaining our counter-insurgency techniques developed through operational engagement in Afghanistan. Gen. Maisonneuve suggests that Canada should examine new initiatives such as “hybrid warfare”, Standing Contingency Task Force (SCTF), cyber-defence, as well as improvement in personnel related issues including education and training.

After the discussion forum, **Colonel (Retired) Brian MacDonald**, Past-President of the ACC, addressed the audience with a very concise and eloquent summation of the issues discussed. In particular, he mentioned that in regard to the Russia-West present relationship vs. the Cold War era one, “reality is change”. “Yes, the bear is back, but it’s a different bear because the context is different”, and according to Col. MacDonald, “we don’t know exactly what the nature of this new bear is.” Emphasizing the variety of different views and ideas expressed by the distinguished speakers, and interesting discussions following each panel, he called the conference “fascinating”.



Col. (Ret'd) Brian MacDonald



Mrs. Julie Lindhout, ACC President

Mrs. Julie Lindhout concluded the conference with extending her thanks to all those who made possible organizing this conference that proved to be such an amazing debate forum. As Colonel MacDonald metaphorically put it, “we’ve been given a rich menu of intellectual ideas.” The questions raised by our prominent speakers were of utmost importance to not only international relations experts and diplomats but to all Canadians, and all participants had a chance to engage in stimulating discussions with the experts. It is precisely the kind of exposure of NATO-related international security issues and Canadian role in international context that the ACC deems necessary for promoting awareness and understanding among Canadians.

YOUTH ENERGY CONFERENCE “ENERGY FOR ALL – A CHALLENGE FOR ALL”

The Hague, the Netherlands, November 26-27, 2008

The Atlantic Council of Canada sent one representative to the Hague: Hassan Hameed, BA Graduate from Queen’s University. This conference followed the 54th General Assembly in Berlin. It was organized by our Dutch colleagues together with Shell and ATA/YATA.

Report By Hassan Hameed

The 2008 ATA conference, ‘Energy For All – A Change for All,’ was a rather critical one as it brought to surface many crucial questions and realities that the new generation will have to deal with regarding the issues of energy, and somewhat more importantly, oil. All expert speakers were clear to point out that the Western European continent has very little of its own reserves of natural gas and oil and is getting heavily reliant upon its neighbours towards the East. Mr. Steven Everts, advisor to Javier Solana, explained that this reality is somewhat disturbing and raised many practical and geopolitical questions about the tilting balance of today’s world power structure. To further build upon this topic of energy security, U.S. Diplomat, Mr. Benjamin Canavan, directly highlighted the fact that the largest gas and oil companies by market turnover are now, unfortunately, state-owned. National Oil Companies (NOCs) such as Gazprom in Russia and others all over Eastern Europe, Africa and China are becoming increasingly more prominent and they have a really uneven track record when it comes to transparency, corporate responsibility, environmental protection, sustainable development and other vital issues relating to governance. In addition, some of these NOCs are not motivated by profit and, as a result, are ideologically driven which could turn out to be a major fault line in the years and decades to come.

Mr. Chris Donnelly, from the Royal Military Academy in the United Kingdom, on the other hand took a rather more ideological stance towards dealing with the issues of energy security and reliability. He adamantly argued that the world is changing rapidly and the old warfronts are being redrawn. His argument was contingent upon the fact that the new generation of leaders will have to fight battles not on conventional battlegrounds but by ensuring that commodities such as oil, gas, fuels, etc. are all available to their economies. Realistically speaking, though one may not realize it at this time, humanity stands at a nexus, a cross roads—as of today. Drastic steps have to be taken towards ensuring not only our future energy needs but the very survival of our shared planet.



The second part of the conference was broken down into three seminars – each with a small number of participants. The one recurring theme behind all the workshops was that everyone personally believed that energy issues and climate change are of fundamental importance; however, we all tend to put them on the backburner as they do not seem to directly affect us in a manner that would change out immediate lifestyles. This very attitude of thinking has to change if concrete and lasting steps towards sustaining our environment are to be taken. All in all, speaking candidly, it is rather evident that humanity has indeed taken its toll on the environment. The earth’s resources have been very heavily exploited in every possible capacity and it is possible that unless something concrete is undertaken on a global level, we just may be heading towards a ‘Malthusian catastrophe.’ However, such hard reality is to be a wake-up call to all governments, leaders, and individuals alike; that a crisis can be averted if a multifaceted approach is adopted towards energy challenges. The picture is indeed

grim for the planet and its inhabitants but any future environmental crisis can be averted.

Dean Gooderham Acheson, Secretary of State from President Truman once famously said, “the future comes one day at a time.” Let us hope that we all, as a species, can alter our attitudes in the days that come one by one.

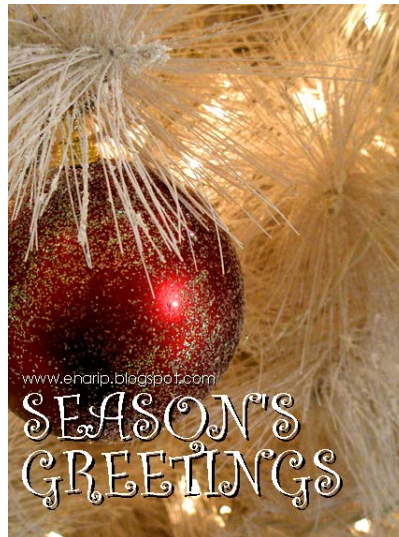
UPCOMING EVENTS:

January 15, 2009 – Roundtable with LGen. J.J.C. (Charlie) Bouchard, CMM, CD, Deputy Commander , North American aerospace Defense Command (NORAD), at the RCMI, 426 University Avenue, Toronto, 6:15 – 8:30 p.m.

April 8, 2009 – Tribute Dinner with Gen. (Ret'd) Rick Hillier, recipient of the ACC's 3rd Annual Award for Exceptional Contribution to International Peace and Security, and celebrating **NATO 60th Anniversary**, 6:30 p.m. Seeley Hall, Trinity College, University of Toronto.

June 9, 2009 - mark your calendars now for our **Annual Golf Tournament** at Glen Eagle Golf Club in Bolton.

*Season's Greetings and Best Wishes for the New Year
from the ACC staff!*



**Please note that our office will be closed
from 4:30 p.m. December 23, 2008 till 9:00 a.m. January 5, 2009**

