



NEWSLETTER January 2012

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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE



As we begin the year 2012 much has happened in our world, as some of the articles in this issue of the *Atlantic Council Newsletter* discuss. At this time last year, no one would have foreseen that the suicide of one Tunisian street vendor would have the fallout it has had in this past year. Jason Wiseman, gives a good summary of the current situation in his article on the "Arab Winter," while Nabila Qureshi looks at water security as an element that may have an impact on developments in the region.

laboration in 2012, with additional universities and organizations outside Toronto.

Please get out your calendars and make a note of these major events already planned for 2012: **January 10** - a Roundtable on Food Security in Toronto; **March 28** - a conference on "Canada and the New Middle East" presented jointly with the Advocates for Civil Liberties, in Toronto; **April 26** - our Annual Tribute Dinner at Trinity College where we will be presenting our long-time director, Dr. Ignat Kaneff, with the ACC's St. Laurent Award; and **May 30** - the Spring Conference focusing on Maritime Security at to be held at Trinity College.

Information on the 2012 NATO Study Tour towards the end of September or beginning of October will be made available as soon as NATO approves the dates for the tour.

SPECIAL THANKS TO OUR PATRON SPONSORS



The ACC has been trying to forge closer links with Canadian parliamentarians. Ryon Neal interviewed three members of the NATO Parliamentary Association (NPA) of Canada, who attended the recent meeting of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly in Bucharest, Romania. They give us some very important and interesting insights. We hope to collaborate with the NPA on an event in Ottawa in June.

Our educational outreach has grown, as you will note from Joelle Ferreira's report on a school visit in Oakville. More such visits are lined up for 2012. These are stimulating sessions both for the ACC presenters and for the students, as they get a better understanding of the complex world of international security and diplomacy, and its importance to Canada as a trading nation.

We have strengthened our partnerships this past year. Working closely with Carleton, McGill, and Ottawa universities, the ACC was able to present Roundtables at all three institutions. Cooperating with the Canadian International Council gave us a very informative and well attended Roundtable with Commander Craig Skjerpen, also reported in this issue. We look forward to further col-

This is a time of change of interns in the office. We said good-bye last week to Tom Aagaard. We wish him well in his new job. We will miss his expertise on the more technical aspects of military operations, his technological skills and his ready wit. Some of our other interns are currently finalizing other arrangements and may leave us before long. This year, we expect to welcome several new interns, two of whom are introduced in this issue.

I wish all of you the very best in 2012.

The Atlantic Council Welcomes its New Interns

Rodnie Allison is a recent graduate from the Master of Public Administration program at Dalhousie University (April 2011). During his time in Nova Scotia, Rodnie was captivated by Halifax's contemporary and historical contributions to the Canadian security, foreign policy and immigration spheres. This enthusiasm permeated through many aspects of his academic, professional and community service life.



While interning at the Atlantic Canadian Opportunities Agency Rodnie was tasked with exploring the economic and industrial regional benefits of the National Ship Building Strategy. His interest in defence policy was further solidified at both the 2010 and 2011 Halifax International Security Forums where he volunteered with the communications team.

Rodnie's scholarly interests include international trade, supranationalism, and defence policy as it relates to procurement. He has written several reports on topics including, but not limited to, the Canadian Forces procurement of the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, Canadian participation in counter proliferation via the Global Partnership Program, and lastly the risks of EU dependency on Russian natural gas. Rodnie looks forward to taking full advantage of the Atlantic Council of Canada's resources to contribute to, and expand on, his knowledge of India/NATO relations.

Pavle Levkovic joins the Atlantic Council having finished his MA in Linguistics at the University of Toronto, where he also completed a BA in Political Science at Trinity College. On the political side, his research interests are Canadian and European federalism, and the recent history of the Balkan region.



As a Primary Reservist in the Canadian Forces for over 8 years, Pavle is also interested in the future of Canada's security and defence. In 2005, he had the opportunity to live in France for a few months, and recently traveled throughout Western Europe. As a result, Pavle speaks French in addition to English, as well as his native Serbian/Croatian. At the ACC, his goal is to improve his knowledge of Canada's role in NATO in preparation for a future career in the public sector.

Maritime Security Spring 2012 Conference

The Atlantic Council of Canada is excited to announce that our Spring 2012 Conference will examine the interconnected and ever-changing dimensions of Canadian and global maritime security. Topics of discussion will include: The future of the Royal Canadian Navy and Coastguard; Disruptions of the global commons: Piracy and maritime terrorism; Arctic sovereignty and security; US-Canadian maritime security cooperation

The conference will bring together expertise and insights from the academic, military, public, and private sectors, creating an informed maritime security dialogue that is desperately needed in central Canada.

**When: May 30, 2012
8:30am — 3:30pm**

**Where: George Ignatieff Theatre, 15
Devonshire Place, Toronto**

Further details to follow, please contact james.bridger@atlantic-council.ca for further information.

Canada in Libya: A Toronto Roundtable

By: Tim Lynch

The Atlantic Council of Canada joined with the Canadian International Council in sponsoring the Toronto December Roundtable session. Commander Craig Skjerpen provided an account of his experience overseeing command of HMCS *Charlottetown* during the Libyan mission. His honest and direct style of delivery, supported by a dramatic PowerPoint presentation, had all present on the edge of their seats as he outlined his duties and those of his crew. *Charlottetown* received and returned hostile fire while on this mission making it the first Canadian warship to engage in battle conditions since the Korean War. He described this coincidence as “something of interest to historians. We were just doing our job.”

Commander Skjerpen recalled receiving a phone call on a Saturday afternoon in March inquiring about *Charlottetown* being available to sail on a mission. The ship left Halifax for Libya on the following Wednesday. *Charlottetown's* crew of nearly 250 members had little more than 24 hours to tell their families that they would not be coming home for possibly six months. The crew used emails and satellite phones to stay connected with their families after the emotional departure.

Upon arrival in the Mediterranean theatre, the Canadian warship was tasked with monitoring the vessels in the area and to becoming acquainted with the flow of traffic. The type of military role was still being considered, as this period was part of the change from UN Security Resolutions 1970 and 1973. The American-led coalition that started the enforcement of the no-fly zone first, *Operation Odyssey Dawn*, was transferred to the NATO led mission *Operation Unified Protection*, under the leadership of a Canadian, Lt. Gen. Charles Bouchard.

Commander Skjerpen outlined how the city of Misrata was in a state of protracted siege. The port became the lifeline for food and medical supplies to over 500,000 citizens. Over 10,000 migrant workers were trapped in the city and had to be evacuated.

While on night patrol across the coast from Misrata, *Charlottetown* received information that fast moving small craft were close by. Commander Skjerpen ordered that navigation lights be turned off so that the ship was then manoeuvring in darkness, but in electronic unison with other coalition vessels.

A coalition frigate gave a verbal warning and then fired flares. Two fast moving rigid-hull inflatable boats (RHIBs), similar to those used against USS *Cole*, were observed moving towards the port. In the glow of the flare, one headed back to the nearest shore, while the other went along the coast. *Charlottetown* set chase. As the RHIB rendezvoused with support ashore there was an exchange of fire between *Charlottetown* and the shore defences. Commander Skjer-



pen decided to stop firing since their attack had been successfully stopped. Further firing would give away the ship's position.

Discussion following his presentation was largely about the “rules of engagement (ROE)” in place during the mission. Commander Skjerpen explained that he was operating under Canadian and NATO ROE, as well as UN Security Resolutions 1970 and 1973. Many present were surprised to learn that he consulted continuously with a lawyer who served alongside him on such occasions. He stressed that the lawyers give advice and the Commander makes the final decision—and is held responsible.

Returning home to Halifax after six months away, the dockside reception was all about reuniting families; including a father seeing his baby for the first time. The whole Halifax community was on dockside to greet *Charlottetown* including local Canadian Libyans thanking the crew for assisting and protecting their compatriots.

The above commentary is an abridged version of an article on the Round Table discussion that will be published in an upcoming issue of Frontline Defence. It was written by Tim Lynch, a Toronto based freelance journalist who writes about maritime security, send comments to tim@infolyнк.ca



A Canadian in Albania

By: Simon Miles

For a period of five weeks during October and November, I was given the opportunity to work in Albania, assisting the Atlantic Council of Albania in staging the 57th General Assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association (ATA). Albania was to me, and to most, a relatively unknown place. During the Cold War, it was governed by a hyper-repressive communist regime which shut the country off entirely from the outside world (including the Soviet Union) and aligned itself with Maoist China until that relationship soured and Albania entered a state of almost complete isolation. Indeed, the regime of Enver Hoxha and its successors interpreted Marx with an assiduity not even Marx himself could muster.

This does not sound like the

preamble to a very positive reflection in over a month abroad; but in fact just the opposite is the case. I am first and foremost enormously grateful to CIBC for making my time in Albania financially possible, and to Julie Lindhout, the President of the Atlantic Council of Canada, for giving me this tremendous opportunity. At the end of five weeks, I look back with great fondness on my time in Albania. While certainly not a country without its quirks, Albania is rich in natural beauty, home to a people whose sense of hospitality and warmth is second to none, and dynamic and exciting in a way fully-developed nations such as Canada simply cannot be.

While in Albania, I was seconded to the Atlantic Council of Albania, working in their offices and alongside Executive Secretary Kristaq Birbo to organize the 57th General Assembly. My duties covered three key areas: participant registration, venue coordination, and logistics. Tirana welcomed roughly 180 delegates to both the ATA and Youth ATA conferences, and ensuring that all had their desired ho-

tel accommodation arranged, transport to and from the airport, and all the other minutiae which go into planning a conference of this magnitude was no mean feat. One key factor which made the execution of the conference possible was without a doubt the strong enthusiasm within Albania for NATO, the ATA, and making a positive impression on visitors from abroad who, like me, would mostly be arriving with minimal knowledge of their country. This manifested itself in countless ways: from the strong support shown by the Albanian government to the good-will shown by everyone I encountered in Tirana towards a foreigner with minimal command of their language. Whereas we in Canada take NATO membership and all that it affords us for granted, in Albania there is a genuine enthusiasm for participation in this and other international organizations. Within government and civil society there are still many who remember when international engagement was prohibited, and for whom participating in a community of nations such as NATO is all the more fulfilling, and vital for the future of Albania. Indeed, Prime Minister Sali Berisha said as much while addressing the assembled delegates on the final day of the conference: extolling the Alliance's virtues and characterizing Albania's accession in 2009 as one of the most important moments in the country's long and fascinating history.

Working with Kristaq and, during the home stretch, Aleks Dhefto also of the Atlantic Council of Canada, I

believe that a strong conference was organized. Of course logistical difficulties presented themselves, but I am proud of our team's ability to respond to them and resolve them quickly and satisfactorily. That said, most obstacles to the smooth running of the conference would probably have been considerably more imposing were it not for the aforementioned popular desire in Albania to create a positive impression on visitors, and their general enthusiasm for NATO. Countless doors were opened because of this, and the already hospitable Albanian people were all the more so after learning that you were involved in an Atlanticist project.



Simon (left), and the organizational staff and hosts of the 57th General Assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association

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Four Albanian youth joined our staff and their enthusiasm for NATO and for their country were as appreciated as they were infectious. The youth of Albania are well-educated (especially in the English language) and diligent, and were a tremendous resource in mounting the conference.

Fortunately for me, I was able to see more of Albania than just Tirana. With Kristaq, I was able to visit two cities outside the capital. First, we visited the city of Krujë, a mountain town which was the site of Albania's national hero

Skanderbeg's last stand against the Ottomans.

Second was a trip to the seaside town of Durrës which is both a beautiful riviera-style city and Albania's main port.

The highlight of my trips further afield was, however, the southern city of Sarandë with Kristaq and his wife. Sarandë is in the extreme south of Albania, less than an hour from the Greek border, and reached by a six-hour drive on one of the most spectacular stretches

of road I have ever seen: rugged mountain on one side and the Ionian Sea on the other.



The Canadian delegation to the ATA General Assembly at the Albanian seaside town of Durrës.

The overall theme of the conference was "Tackling New Security Challenges With Partners" and focused on five main topics: the future of Afghanistan, the NATO-EU Strategic Dialogue, cyber threats, and partnerships in the Mediterranean and Middle East. A final panel on the future of Atlanticism tied these questions of security to the work of local chapters of the Atlantic Treaty Association throughout the world. Though I was busy throughout the conference, when I was able to sit in on the panels I was fascinated by the assembled experts' discourses on the conference's theme. Indeed, my sole regret from my time

in Albania is that I was not able to attend as much of the conference proper as I would have liked, needing instead to devote my attention to important issues on the periphery of the conference.

In conclusion, my five weeks in Albania were nothing short of fascinating. Tirana is a rapidly-growing city, very much in the middle of its transition from the past to the future. Where Toronto is placid, restrained, and at times timid, Tirana is gritty, exiting, growing, and brash. While I am always happy to be coming home after a long period abroad, Albania was one of a select few

countries I was already planning my return to during the flight home.

Canada in the Middle East Conference

The Atlantic Council of Canada's upcoming 'Canada in the Middle East Conference' will highlight, analyze, and debate Canada's foreign policy and strategic outlook regarding one of the most volatile parts of the world.

The conference will draw from a range of Canadian and Middle Eastern policy makers, business personnel and security officials. Topics of focus will include: Canada and the Arab Spring; Canada and the Middle East Peace Process; Canadian Security, Economic, and Energy Interests in the Region; The Future of Canadian-Israeli Relations; Canada and Middle Eastern Development

**When: March 28, 2012
2:00pm — 10:00pm**

**Where: Hyatt Regency, 370 King Street
West, Toronto**

Please contact jason.wiseman@atlantic-council for registration and further information

Final Report – 57th General Assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association

Rapporteur: Julie Lindhout, Vice-President, ATA, President, Atlantic Council of Canada



Mr. President, your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

The theme of this ATA Assembly Program was “Tackling new Security challenges with Partners”, and that theme was both demonstrated and discussed.

It was, undoubtedly, a challenge for a small organization like the Atlantic Council of Albania to put on a major assembly for a large number

of national and international participants. However, in partnership with ATA Secretary General, Troels Frøling and his staff, and two Canadian interns, President, Dr. Arian Starova, and Executive Secretary, Kristaq Birbo, and their volunteer staff rose to the challenge magnificently and presented a very rich program which has given us much food for thought.

From Dr. Starova’s opening remarks right through to the closing speech by the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Dr. Sali Berisha, we were reminded of the intense security challenges that face us in our North Atlantic world, from physical and cyber threats, suppression of human rights and freedoms, through natural disasters, to financial and economic challenges. For any country to face these challenges alone would be impossible, but in partnership with others who share our values and/or our interests, the tasks may become more manageable.

This is something that is well understood by the members, partners and observers of one of the world’s most successful alliances who are represented at this gathering.

One of the most difficult challenges that we face is the constantly changing security environment of the past decades, which means that NATO must continually adjust how it does business and with whom.

Who would have foreseen in the mid 1980s the fall of the Berlin Wall and the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union, followed, after the first euphoria, by serious difficulties in some of the former Yugoslav and other states that have required the assistance of NATO to resolve.

...Surviving is different from building a future and that NATO has helped different countries to move from simply surviving to building a future.

That involvement first started people talking about “out-of-area” operations. But who would have foreseen how far “out of area” NATO would be going after 9/11 and continuing with counter piracy operations and disaster relief.

Even the so-called “Arab Spring” was a total surprise, and the way it played out in Libya required a significant intervention by NATO, which likely prevented a much greater loss of life than has occurred to this point. We are now at a stage where these challenges are piling on top of one another, with few of them actually reaching a final resolution in the near future.

There are several key messages that were presented again and again during the course of the Assembly. Perhaps the most obvious one is that while there is so much still to be done about the challenges already identified, no one knows what might be around the corner.

There is still much to be done to continue democratic and economic development in some of the new NATO member countries and in the Partner countries. Afghanistan must not be abandoned, Iraq needs to be strengthened, the Arab Spring is only the beginning of change in the countries affected, and it is not all clear if and how NATO can help in what needs to be done.

We repeatedly heard the admonition that peace cannot be achieved militarily, even though we must have effective military capability to create the conditions that will support the next steps for lasting peace. It requires a political process to transition from military activities to development activities and the building of a civil society. The key element of such a civil society is good governance. People must be able to have trust and confidence that their government will provide economic and social security and support the rule of law. That will give them the hope to build a future. This transition is in itself a huge challenge.

Overlay all this with the threats and uncertainty of cyber attacks, and a serious financial crisis, and the situation becomes very discouraging.

However, several people also pointed out that these challenges present new opportunities to do things differently.

There is a better understanding among the existing and potential partners that there needs to be more collaboration and less competition.

We heard such terms as “smart defence” and “pooling and sharing”. There is a recognition that this needs to happen, but how it is to happen still needs to be worked out in most instances.

We were told that NATO needs to develop stronger partnerships with the EU, UN, and AU; and a stronger working relationship with Russia and with moderate Arab countries, to name only a few of the necessary initiatives. Included in this, is the need to develop more strategies for civil/military cooperation and more consideration of regional issues in addition to focused country approaches.

Finally, this morning we looked at how the ATA and other NGOs can help to promote the values of Atlanticism and we were left with the following messages:

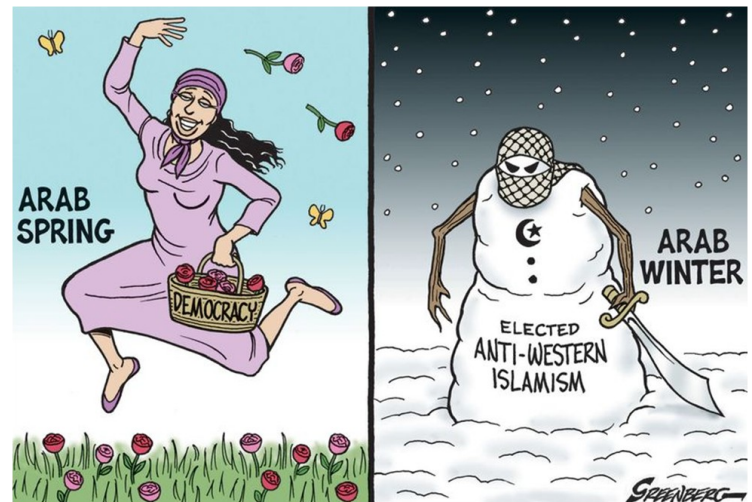
- NATO’s ability to survive has been the result of its ability to adapt.
- Not all democracies are liberal democracies, and it behooves the liberal democracies to be more vocal about the values of liberal democracy.
- As a Canadian, I was both flattered and amused by the recommendation to be more Canadian. We are not used to promoting ourselves. We just act.
- We need to develop a strong master text about our Atlantic beliefs which recognizes that Atlanticism is broader than NATO.
- In spite of disappointments and fears, support for NATO is high, although support for specific NATO missions may not be high enough.
- There is a role for the ATA members to make our publics feel that they have a stake in promoting Atlantic values and explaining how NATO operations fit into both these values and into NATO’s core purpose of collaborative defence.
- We need to analyze carefully our own publics to determine where the information and attitudinal gaps are in order to plan an effective communication strategy.

It was a pleasure to have Prime Minister Berisha address us. He has never hesitated to express his support for NATO and for the ATA. I remember that he traveled all the way to Canada in 2007 to address the ATA Assembly in Ottawa. Founding and long-term members may take NATO for granted, and so it is important for us to hear what NATO means to new and aspirant members.

In closing, I would like to remind us of Prime Minister Berisha’s statement that surviving is different from building a future and that NATO has helped different countries to move from simply surviving to building a future. That is significant! It should inspire us to go home and work harder than ever on our mandates to inform our publics about NATO and the transatlantic values that bind us together.

The Arab Winter Is Here, What Now?

By: Jason Wiseman



Undoubtedly one of the most far-reaching developments in the modern history of the Middle East, the world remains captivated with awe and concern over what will happen next now that the Arab Spring has been underway for a full year. Several questions loom heavily over state officials regarding what will occur in the near and long-term future: which regimes will survive and which will perish? How will the transition from old to new unfold? Will democratic elections bring greater stability or stimulate further unrest? Who stands to gain the most from widespread regime change and what can be done (if anything) to ensure that change doesn’t undermine calls for more representative democracy and greater respect for human rights?

In order to gain insight into these important questions, an analysis of the Arab Spring and its current trajectory indicates that the Arab Spring may be heading for a violent and unstable winter.

The Backdrop of Arab Revolution

Any analysis requires cautious optimism, especially since democratization in the Middle East has been such a disastrous failure in the past. Whether it was in Algeria, Lebanon or the Gaza Strip, democratic elections have had devastating consequences for the region, resulting each time in militant Islamist groups taking power, leading to civil war and in some cases, state failure.

With each state having heavily centralized dictatorial systems, core institutions such as the security services, treasury department and government bureaucracies, are not programmed for a smooth transition to democracy. Democratic practices have never been ingrained in these institutions, creating an authoritarian style bureaucracy

that is stubbornly resistant to change. This ensures that any government coming to power must do so with the blessing of the security apparatus. In addition, the political culture in the Arab world has never been a democratic one. As a region often characterized by its authoritarianism, the political culture is one of rigid centralization, male dominance and resistance to far-reaching transformation.



Egyptian protestors clash with police

The uprisings of the Arab Spring have by no means been unified or synonymous. Each country's movement has arisen under different circumstances and is seeking different types of reforms. The one shared message is that the peoples of the Arab world want change and are willing to fight for it. It is also crucial to note what has been largely absent throughout the protests: calls for breaking ties with the US or war with Israel have been low, al-Qaeda and other transnational jihadist networks have largely kept their heads down and mouths shut, nobody is talking about greater alignment with China or Russia and few people are expressing love for an Iranian style revolution. These movements have been almost entirely about domestic issues: political reform, economic opportunity, increased development and greater representation. For the first time in recent memory, Arab leaders have been unable to deflect public anger or simply buy off opposition. The Arab world is changing, and we all must adapt and respond accordingly.

The last few months have shown that Islamist groups have a major advantage in this transitional stage and will reap the most benefits as regimes try to reform. This is based on several factors. First, political Islam is comprised of very familiar ideas and is considered a highly respectable and passionately embraced ideology. Second, Islamism deals with things that are relevant and rooted in the lives of common citizens, such as corruption, societal welfare and moral order. Third, Islamist groups are willing to use violence while some of their adversaries are not. Fourth, having operated either in the open or underground for decades, they are the best organized and funded opposition parties and have spent years building their support base.

Tunisia and Egypt Continue to Set the Tone

As the starting points of the Arab Spring, Tunisia and Egypt are the best measures of what will likely unfold as the character and demands of these popular uprisings continue to evolve.

With Tunisia's Islamist party, the Ennahada Movement gaining 90 seats (41%) in the recent election, it is now the majority party in power and will have a major say in Tunisia's political future. As the current government is divided between Islamists, secularists and the military, the struggle to consolidate power is now in full swing. With many members of the caretaker government tainted by their strong ties to the former Ben Ali regime, Ennahada has

been able to reap the most benefits, forming in-roads with other opposition parties, while soliciting support from abroad. The interim government is now drafting a new constitution that will establish the rules and procedures for the 2013 election—a decision that will set the course of Tunisia's future.

With elections underway in Egypt, initial results have given two Islamist parties a clear majority in parliament, placing the country's military rulers in a precarious position. The Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) gained 46% of the seats so far while the more radical Salafist al-Nour Party gained 21% of the seats. As such, the military rulers are struggling to maintain control and keep a lid on public unrest.

The Tunisian and Egyptian cases will undoubtedly be repeated across the region in several respects. First, as the best organized, funded and most popular opposition groups, Islamists will sweep at the polls as the first free and fair elections take place. Second, the military will stubbornly hold on to all meaningful positions of power and attempt to fill whatever void it can in order to maintain its "final say" over government affairs. Third, Islamists will quickly form coalitions with whom-ever they can to strengthen their support base. This will allow them to implant trusted party members in key institutions, establish cooptation in political postings and capitalize on the



Ennahada supporters celebrating electoral victory in Tunisia

growth of popular discontent. Fourth, as new constitutions are drafted with a broader consensus, new electoral practices will be created and legislative openings established

to enhance the influence of Islamist parties and implement Shaaria law.

Monarchies Make First Move

One common denominator throughout the Arab Spring has been the pre-emptive measures taken by various Arab monarchs to avoid being overthrown. By offering early elections and cosmetic political reforms, monarchs have been more successful in weakening the opposition's support base and preventing violent demonstrations from picking up speed.

In a calculated move to pre-empt further protests, Morocco's King Mohammed VI

called for parliamentary elections which resulted in the Islamist opposition party, the Justice and Development Party (PJD), winning 107 seats in the 395-seat Parliament while the long time ruling Istiqlal party came in distant second with only 60 seats. PJD party leader Abdelillah Benkirane has been appointed Prime Minister and is now entrusted with forming a new government. With electoral and constitutional modifications on the way to give the next parliament and prime minister more powers, a similar battle for influence will play out between the secular and Islamists parties, something King Mohammed VI will oversee very closely.

In Jordan, King Abdullah II has found his regime in an increasingly precarious situation. On 15 July a near intifada erupted in Amman that demanded that the Islamic Action Front (the Jordanian wing of the Muslim Brotherhood) takeover the government and impose Shaaria law. However, like Morocco, they did not demand the removal of the King but rather the transition to a constitutional monarchy that would remove his political power but keep him as a figure-head. When Jordanian security forces failed to crush the protests, the Mus-

lim Brotherhood increased its pressure and has been protesting more vigorously each day.

Caught in a conundrum of trying to



Jordanian protesters hold a giant national flag, as they march during a protest demanding the resignation of the prime minister and his government over price increases and inflation.

maintain their minority Hashemite rule without angering their majority Palestinian and Bedouin populations, the options available to King Abdullah II shrink each day. With the richest business sectors of the country now managed by Palestinians, the King is struggling to find a way to cede minor political power without insulting this important business community. In addition, the large Bedouin population has become increasingly religious and marginalized, driving them into the arms of the Muslim Brotherhood, thus increasing the pressure on the King. This has created three major challenges that Jordan is struggling to cope with. First, the increasingly Islamist Bedouin population, that commands significant cultural and historical influence, is now rejecting the authority of the King. Second, the successful Palestinian business classes are demanding greater political power due to their demographics and economic importance. Third, with regime change sweeping the region and the Syrian crisis bleeding over into Jordan, the monarchy views a

Saudi Arabia continues to be a major player in stemming the tide of regime change while preventing their Iranian adversaries from picking up any strategic gains amidst the fallout.

Muslim Brotherhood takeover in Syria or Egypt as the doomsday scenario for their decade's long rule.

Similar pre-emptive measures were taken in Saudi Arabia, which have revolved around placating the Islamist opposition while keeping a tight lid on the Shiite unrest that has been boiling over in their oil rich eastern province of Qatif. Fearing the growing role of Iranian meddling, the ruling Al-Saud monarchy has used its vast oil riches and stranglehold on domestic politics to weaken and buy off any opposition. Setting the tone for their fellow Gulf monarchs, Saudi Arabia finds itself balancing demands for stricter adherence to Shaaria law against any calls for increased liberalization.

With a delicate approach to civil unrest beyond its borders, Saudi Arabia has shown itself to be a forceful player in Arab politics as it seeks to weather the storm of sweeping regime changes. Having publicly voiced its discontent with the Obama Administration, Saudi Arabia is working closely with its fellow Gulf Monarchies to undermine any opposition movements in the region that threaten their interests. By supplying fellow Arab dictators with financial, operational and logistical support, Saudi Arabia continues to be a major player in stemming the tide of regime change while preventing their Iranian adversaries from picking up any strategic gains amidst the fallout.

Coming Off the Ropes?

With each Arab state facing major domestic unrest, the two countries embroiled in the most uncertain power struggle are Syria and Libya. With Libya reeling from recent NATO intervention and struggling to get back on its feet, the National Transitional

Council (NTC) is fractured and facing massive Islamist infiltration. As full control over Libya remains elusive,

small arms proliferation and terrorist infiltration have increased. Whether

the NTC can really gain control over the deteriorating situation in Libya is far from certain as local leaders continue to oppose the changing nature of Libya's political trajectory.

As the Arab Winter begins, answers for greater stability or increased security remain elusive.

With Syria on the path to a full scale civil war, it finds itself surrounded by enemies and hostile forces.

The Assad regime is relying heavily on Iranian patronage and Russian support to avoid crumbling amidst the ongoing protests, international sanctions and military counter-raids by the Free Syrian Army (FSA). Syria's troubles have major implications for stability in Lebanon, terrorism in Israel and Turkey, the relocation of Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad leadership, Kurdish security and Iranian influence in the wider region. Since the Assad regime refuses to step down or initiate major reforms while the opposition has begun counter-attacks against the military, civil war is inevitable and may engulf the country and wider region.

What Happens Next

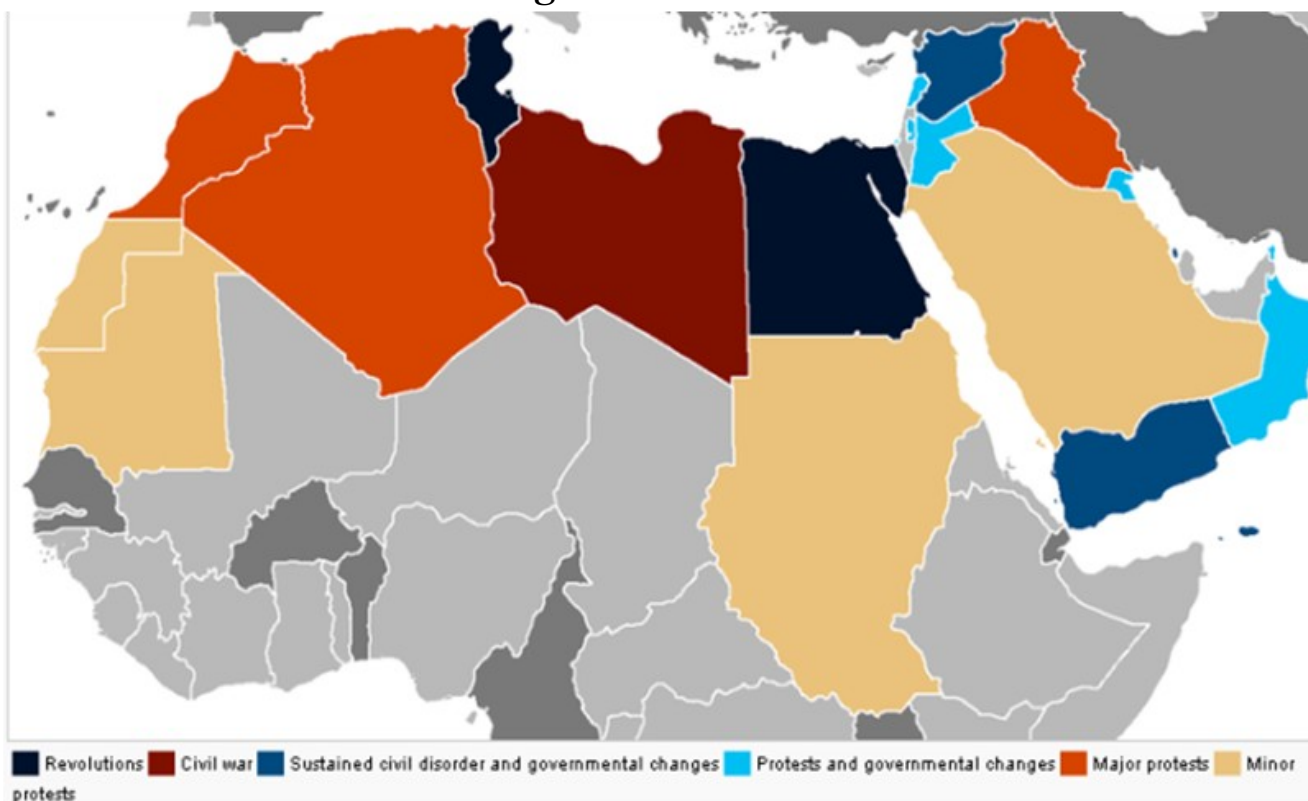
These results of the Arab Spring are certain: sweeping Islamist victories in multiple elections; volatile power struggles between Islamist and military parties; economic peril; realignment of regional power structures and increased potential for the outbreak of civil wars.

In the year 2000, only Iran and Sudan were under Islamist rule, 12 years later there are now 8 or 9 countries in the region living under Islamist rule or heading in that direction. The military and ruling families in each country will continue to manoeuvre to safeguard their positions without conceding to popular demands. Despite the close affiliation that many Arab states have with either Russia or the US in terms of foreign or military aid, these relationships will not secure the future political orientation of any incoming regimes.

As inner power struggles will be ongoing for the foreseeable future, trends likely to appear over the next two to five years include: replacing key ministers in religious affairs, positioning preferred Imams in key mosques; change of curriculum in schools and textbooks; and the clamping down on minority and women's rights. Such a transitional period will not only cause many to relocate, but will also invite Saudi and Iranian competition for influence, increasing Sunni-Shi'ite tension in each country.

With a bleak future on the horizon it is critical that change be implemented at a steady pace to avoid economic catastrophe and widespread violence. A committed effort on the part of the international community is necessary to ensure that the region doesn't descend into chaos. As the Arab Winter begins, answers for greater stability or increased security remain elusive. With far reaching changes underway, it is going to be a violent and unstable new year for 2012.

A Sea of Change: The Arab World in 2011



ACC Gala Dinner: “Developing Canada’s Future Leaders”

On 5 November 2011, the Atlantic Council held a gala dinner to mark the launch of a fundraising campaign for our internship and educational programs entitled, “Developing Canada’s Future Leaders”. The Gala celebrated the ACC’s internship and educational outreach programs, focussing on the perspectives of present and former interns who have been positively impacted by their experience at the Atlantic Council. It also highlighted the outstanding quality of the ACC Internship Program and the need to support these young people.

The internship program is crucial for the ACC. These well educated and enthusiastic young people bring tremendous knowledge and enable the ACC to develop and maintain the high level of activity it has reached in recent years. In return the interns acquire practical skills and get their writing published, which will help them realize their career ambitions.





Educational Outreach Reflection

By: Joelle Ferreira

On 25 November, James Bridger and I had the opportunity to spend the day at Iroquois Public High School, in Oakville. We made presentations to various classes between grades 10-12 about the history and current and future challenges of NATO. The chance to interact with high school students offered us valuable insight into how issues of global security are currently being integrated in the educational curriculum.

Our audience was comprised of students between grades 10-12 from both the academic and applied strands, who were in a range of classes including History, Civics, World Studies and Challenge and Change. Combining students from a diverse range of classes added an interesting dimension to the presentation, as students had different perspectives based on what they had previously learned or heard through various sources.

The presentation began with a powerpoint, briefly discussing the events which led up to the formation of NATO: covering World War II, the Yalta Conference and Article X. We then discussed NATO's more recent operations in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Libya. One of the key themes conveyed throughout the presentation was the role of common values such as the rule of law, democracy and liberty. These values not only appealed to Eastern European countries who joined NATO after the Cold War, but have also played a role in expanding cooperative efforts with non-NATO countries, thereby promoting greater global security.

To conclude the presentation, we discussed the future

prospects and challenges that NATO might face in the future. We presented Somali piracy, and NATO operations to combat it, as an example of the non-traditional security threats the Alliance faces in a globalized world. To facilitate this idea, James was able to show a NATO DVD about the tactics used to prevent pirates from expanding across the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden.

The last part of our presentation consisted of a counter-piracy simulation where students were asked to divide themselves into five groups. A scenario was given to them about a vessel with \$40 million of cargo which had been captured by Somali pirates. Each group acted as a national stakeholder—including the crew, the ship owners, a nearby NATO warship, and the pirates themselves—and were given time to develop a response to how they would react to the scenario. After a certain amount of time, the students were given new information and expected to revise their answers accordingly.

Overall, the purpose of the simulation was for students to understand the internationalization and interconnectedness of modern security threats, and to show how difficult it is for NATO to achieve a consensus under highly pressured timelines and constraints.

Presenting to this large group of students was extremely rewarding, and it was refreshing to see students engaging in discussion and asking questions. They were extremely creative with their answers during the simulation, and responded well to the new information they were receiving. In the new year, the ACC will be extending its educational outreach to St. Thomas Aquinas Secondary School, in Oakville on 11 January.



Water-Security: A 21st Century Crisis

By: Nabila F. Qureshi



Water is life. And yet a crisis in water resources management threatens the food security, human health, and ecosystems of the world. It is estimated that by 2025, a third of the global population will be confronted by severe and chronic shortages of water. Accelerated urbanization, irrigated agriculture, industrialization, population explosions, rising standards of living, and increasing demand for access to fresh water will stress—and are already placing great stress upon—existing fragile water systems around the globe.

According to the Ministerial Declaration of The Hague on Water Security in the 21st Century, water security includes the need for stable access to safe and sufficient water for health and well-being, protection from water-related hazards, the sustainability of ecosystems, fair valuation of the resource, sharing of the resource in a cooperative and equitable manner, and good governance of water resource management.

Water scarcity is itself a formidable challenge to achieving these goals. Approximately 0.01% of the world's total water supply is both freshwater and easily accessible through lakes, rivers, and shallow groundwater. The greater challenge, however, is to over-

come poor management and inequitable distribution of water resources. When climate change, conflict, and politics are factored into the equation, the complexity of water security issues emerges, as the two case studies below will show.

Libya

The Arab Spring has provided some timely examples of how water security issues can become intertwined with and exacerbated by conflict and climate change. One of the less-publicized challenges facing Libya—and indeed, several other countries that have participated in mass uprisings in the region—is that of severe water shortages. Libya is one of the driest countries in the world, absent of permanent rivers or streams; President Muammar Gaddafi sought to address this problem in the 1980s with the construction of the Great Man-Made River, providing millions with regular access to freshwater for the first time.

The river, however, though an impressive feat of engineering, may not be sufficient or reliable enough as a source of water for Libyans and their various industries. The amount of sur-

receives, but with a rise in average temperatures over the last several decades this amount has been steadily decreasing. In 1981 the El-Majenin Lake had 23.77 million meters cubed of reserved water, but by the 1990s was only receiving around 5 million meters cubed of reserved water. The issue is exacerbated by high rates of evaporation and the rise of sea levels, causing salt water intrusions into groundwater supplies—both being an effect of overall rising temperatures in the region.

In August of 2011, the Gaddafi government—well aware of the scarcity of water in the region and how integral it is to daily life and survival—turned it into a strategic military tool. According to UN agencies, Gaddafi forces sabotaged water pumps and cut off western Libya's access to water supplies from the Great Man-Made River. The act left Tripoli's citizens, the majority of whose water supply is provided by the river, in humanitarian crisis. The National Transitional Council, meanwhile, scrambled to regain control over regions of the nation through which key water transportation pipelines had been laid. Their legitimacy as a replacement for the Gaddafi regime would, in the eyes of Libyans, be weakened if they could not provide access to a resource which citizens desperately needed.

The manipulation of access to food and water for political and military gain violates the fundamental right to water stipulated in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and is an international war crime under the Geneva Conventions. Ensuring that such rights are protected in the midst of conflicts such as the Libyan Revolution, however—where cities are torn apart by violent clashes and key infrastructure is destroyed—remains a



One Tripoli resident called ongoing water shortages "the cost of liberation."

face water in Libya varies according to the amount of precipitation the country

difficult and ongoing challenge for local institutions and aid organizations alike. International contribution of water supplies can help, but cannot be a sustainable solution.

Kashmir

Water plays a critical role in India-Pakistan relations. The Kashmir conflict and disputes over water in the region are intimately tied together: water security is essential to future sustainment of the two rapidly growing states.

Communities in both India and Pakistan heavily depend upon the Indus River, which originates in the Tibetan Plateau and has tributaries flowing through Jammu and Kashmir. For India, it is one of two main river systems supporting the dry northwest regions of the country, including the state of Punjab, which is responsible for producing 20% of India's wheat supplies.



Sowing seeds of peace or conflict?

For Pakistan, the Indus is the only river system in a country where more than 92% of the land is arid or semi-arid, and where over half the population is employed in the agricultural sector. Their dependence on the one river system is complicated by the fact that all of their rivers either pass through or originate in India. Moreover, India is the upstream riparian on all five of the major Indus tributaries that flow into Pakistan, meaning that India holds the upper hand in controlling the flow of water. Pakistan is, therefore, vulnerable to how the Indian government manages its water resources. In 1948, just after independence, India shut off the Central Bari Doab Canals during Pakistan's sowing season, leading to extensive damage to their crops. It was a blow to the nascent state's desperate attempt to assert its newfound independence, and cultivated even more distrust in relations between the two states.

For both nations, the Indus River is socially and economically vital. In 1960, India and Pakistan managed to successfully mitigate tensions with the signing of the Indus Waters Treaty, which delegated exclusive rights over particular rivers in the Indus river system to each state. Tensions re-emerged in the 1990s, when both states experienced a population explosion that put water resources under stress. India, meanwhile, undertook several irrigation projects dependent upon water systems passing through Kashmir.

Climate change has inflated the challenge of managing access to water for two states that desperately need it, and could even act as a catalyst to conflicts over water.

Decreases in rainfall, increased evaporation, and changes in climate patterns leading to floods or droughts have already, and will continue to, cause widespread damage and human suffering. The Indian and Pakistani governments, in an effort to ensure the safety and livelihoods of their own citizens first, may feel pressure to block their neighbouring country's access to shared water resources, potentially inciting conflict or inflating any that may already exist.

India has, at various times in the past, been content to connect the Kashmir conflict with water-sharing issues, but when dealing with Pakistan prefers to treat them as separate challenges. From Pakistan's perspective, the distinction between the two is harder to draw and defend; to relinquish their control over Jammu and Kashmir would be to relinquish control over a water system where India possesses the geographical advantage.

There is hope, however; analysts have often suggested that stronger agreements on water between India and Pakistan may be a more achievable goal than negotiations over Kashmir, and may even serve as a stepping stone to a more fruitful dialogue on Kashmir in the long run.

Moving Forward

In an attempt to resolve some of the challenges of water security, water managers around the world have developed a process called integrated water resources management (IWRM). Aiming to address issues of water quantity and quality, IWRM uses scientific analyses of water trends to inform decisions on how the resource can be used and allocated in a sustainable way. Trends analyzed include the needs of relevant ecosystems, patterns of water use by all stakeholders within a given region, and supply and demand of the resource.

In order to ensure the health and well-being of human populations and ecosystems in the long-term, however, the best approach would be to integrate solid scientific analyses with representative and democratic governance. Community participation and supervision of water resources can help alert governing bodies to the particular needs and abilities of local peoples and the ecosystems in which they live. Water management schemes will require cooperation between central government and local communities in order to produce effective policies, laws, regulations, and their enforcement—as well as the technical and financial resources needed to support them. Time is running short, however, and the serious implications of water insecurity are too many to risk delaying action any longer.

The 2011 Halifax International Security Forum

By: David Zolcer

Over the weekend of November 18th to 20th 2011, decision makers of political, military, media and academic backgrounds from all over the world gathered in Halifax, Nova Scotia for the third consecutive time for the Halifax International Security Forum to discuss security issues, new threats and to share new ideas.

The subject of the Arab Spring was one of the dominant topics of this year's forum, with an entire plenary session dedicated to this historical development. Among other issues discussed throughout the Forum were the cuts in military spending of many NATO members and the future of that Alliance, the rise of China, peace in the Middle East, current humanitarian crises, and also the future of American power and influence.

On the subject of the Arab Spring, Paul Salem of the Carnegie Center in Beirut said that we cannot truly speak of a single Arab Spring, as in reality there are several divergent movements. In his opinion, democratic uprisings developed along different courses in each country, making for a variance in outcome.

As for the current events in Syria, the Israeli Defense Minister, Ehud Barak, expressed his hope that next year in Halifax, participants will be discussing how Syria is currently implementing democratic reforms after the fall of the Assad regime. However, Paul Salem also mentioned that in contrast to Tunisia or Egypt, Syria faces a risk of collapse during the transition process.

All the panelists during the Arab Spring plenary agreed that the support of the international community, and especially democratic states, for the Arab revolutions is still necessary and constitutes a moral duty. They also agreed that the Arab Spring has demonstrated that people from around the world have a strong desire for freedom. Minister Mackay similarly highlighted this notion during his welcome address.

The fact that the United States, the most important member of the Alliance, is currently shifting its global strategic focus away from the Atlantic and towards the Pacific will prove to be the biggest challenge for the Atlantic Partnership.

Arguably the most important visitor to the Forum was US Senator and former Presidential candidate John McCain. Together with his colleague Senator Mark Udall they discussed the possible role of the United States in 2020. The issues discussed were chiefly the current economic and political troubles that Washington faces. The two senators agreed that the greatest danger for the current global or-

der remains the possibility that the United States may turn inwards and become isolationist. According to the two senators this threat exists both in the Republican and Democratic parties.

The topic that was mentioned most often and which was touched upon during most of the plenary sessions was the issue of spending cuts in the military budgets, especially in Europe and the implications of this for NATO. The new NATO "Smart Defense" initiative, according to which members of the Alliance would share more resources and do more common military procurement was discussed during several sessions. Phrases such as "do more with less," "do better with less," or even "do less with less," were each mentioned and discussed passionately by participants and guests alike.

The reality however, according to General Stéphane Abrial, Supreme Allied Commander Transformation of NATO, is that it is no longer possible to do more with less but only better with less. According to the minister of Defense of Slovenia, Ljubica Jelusic, "Smart Defense" will work in the end and be a successful project which will, as a result of the current fiscal crisis, bring the NATO allies closer together rather than the other way around. Others, such as former British Defense secretary, Liam Fox were cautious and critical, especially as only a handful of all NATO members are currently fulfilling the 2% of GDP military spending requirement. Mr. Fox made himself clear by stating:

"The message must go to all NATO allies: We cannot all benefit from the same insurance policy without all of us paying the same insurance premiums"

Since the subject of a possible closer cooperation between the NATO and the EU was also mentioned, Mr. Fox was severely critical of the planned Common European Security and Defense Policy of the EU, stating that it would be a useless double effort and would lead to a waste in resources since the assets in both institutions are the same.

On the other hand, most speakers were positive about the NATO operation in Libya. According to NATO Deputy Assistant Secretary General, James Appathurai, the Libyan campaign showed that NATO as an alliance is still able to transform, evolve, and adapt to new realities and developments.

It is clear that the current political environment will, most likely, not allow for increased military spending by the European NATO Allies and that the Alliance will be forced to do what is possible with fewer resources. The fact that the United States, the most important member of the Alliance, is currently shifting its global strategic focus away from the Atlantic and towards the Pacific will prove to be

the biggest challenge for the Atlantic Partnership. This, along with the economic climate, will most likely force the European members to become more engaged with NATO in order to maintain the Alliance's relevance. This is exactly why the new "SMART Defense" initiative is likely to succeed. It is the only possible way to go forward given the current fiscal strains that the governments in Europe face today.

During the closing remarks both Minister Mackay and the President of the Halifax International Security Forum, Peter Van Praagh, stressed the importance of open discussions in order for the international community, and democratic states especially, to find solutions to the problems the world currently faces.

The Halifax International Security Forum has through the three years of its existence gained an international reputation and prestige as a leading international forum. The issues discussed at the Forum are no longer just the topics of security of North America or the North Atlantic but an entire spectrum of issues concerning global politics and other global issues.

HALIFAX

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORUM



NATO's New Strategic Concept: An Alliance for the 21st Century

On November 22, the ACC hosted its annual fall conference at DFAIT in Ottawa. Entitled *NATO's New Strategic Concept: An Alliance for the 21st Century*, this year's conference brought forth a range of NATO officials, policy makers, academics and distinguished scholars to discuss and confront NATO's core priorities and the incoming challenges we face for the foreseeable future.

Promoting greater wisdom and foresight was an essential theme to many of the panelists who advocated for greater intelligence sharing and interagency cooperation. Though the problems of measuring definitive progress and safeguarding against future threats were at the forefront of each panel discussion, far reaching policy changes were discussed to prepare NATO for the future. While discussing the diverse challenges confronting the Alliance's new strategic outlook, a central theme of the conference was how to move forward amidst a time of severe economic crisis in an era of evolving security challenges. In light of these challenges, MP Chris

Alexander was clear in stating that this is a time of "renewal and change."

Many panelists discussed NATO's strategy of cooperating with non-member states to confront common security needs. By discussing the participation of states like Qatar in the Libyan operation as well as New Zea-



land and Australia's roles in Afghanistan, NATO officials explained how critical the need for robust multilateralism is in the 21st century. With their unique understanding of particular challenges and issues inside their own region, cooperating with non-member states allows a multilateral effort to run more smoothly by soliciting better information, greater cooperation and more informed strategic planning.

With ample discussion dedicated to

ongoing crises in Syria, Libya and Afghanistan, DFAIT representatives highlighted some of the evident barriers we must work against to cooperate with international forces on the ground. Challenges focused on included language barriers, number imbalance and the importance of creativity and proper communication.

Despite the logistical, bureaucratic and financial challenges facing NATO's operations, many panelists spoke of the need for growth and development in order to refine the Alliance's strategic outlook and operational strategy. Discussed in great length was the role Canada can play in post-conflict nations and how Canada's contribution to NATO has highlighted our ability to be a stabilizing force in war-torn states.

This thought provoking conference allowed a sobering and in-depth analysis of what challenges NATO will have to face in the 21st century. With multiple approaches discussed in great detail, this conference has not only provided participants with valuable information, but acted as a forum for lively debate and discussion till the very end.

The Conference was video-recorded and a DVD will be available in the new year.



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The Atlantic Council of Canada is an independent, non-profit, non-governmental organization dedicated to the idea that the transatlantic relationship between Canada and the United States, and the nations of Europe, is of critical importance to Canadians in cultural, security and economic terms. The Council's mandate is to promote a broader and deeper understanding of international peace and security issues relating to NATO.

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