

The Year Ahead

An International Security, Intelligence and Defence Outlook for 2023

Centre for Security, Intelligence and Defence Studies (CSIDS)
Canadian Defence and Security Network (CDSN)
Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA)

February 2023

2023 Year Ahead Virtual Conference

An International Security, Intelligence and Defence Outlook for 2023

Highlights from the Conference Held on
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ABOUT

The Centre for Security, Intelligence and Defence Studies (CSIDS)

The Centre for Security, Intelligence and Defence Studies (CSIDS) is situated within Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA). The objectives of CSIDS include: (a) the support and encouragement of interdisciplinary research at Carleton University in salient security, intelligence and defence issues; (b) the hosting of visiting scholars and research Fellows pursuing innovative research; (c) supporting the graduate education and training of students at the Master's and Doctoral levels; (d) the production and dissemination of policy-relevant research and analysis on current issues of relevance to security, intelligence and defence studies; (e) the conception, organization and hosting of conferences, seminars, symposia, workshops and guest lectures on topics related to the mandate of CSIDS; (f) the design and delivery of dedicated academic and professional training courses in security, intelligence and defence studies; and (g) collaboration with the public sector, private sector, civil society groups, the media and the general public in order to foster informed debate and dialogue on important policy questions on security, intelligence and defence.

The Canadian Defence and Security Network (CDSN)

The CDSN is a partnership of nearly forty institutions, ranging from academic research centres to components of the Department of National Defence and Canadian Armed Forces to civil society organizations in Canada and beyond, and over a hundred members. The CDSN aims to:

- a. Create a coherent, world-class research network of defence and security experts;
- b. Advance the body of knowledge in Canadian defence and security studies;
- c. Tailor research initiatives to Canadian defence and security priorities;
- d. Improve cross-sector information and data sharing in the defence and security field;
- e. Improve the defence and security literacy of Canadians;
- f. Build the next generation of defence and security experts in academia, in government and in the private sector, with an emphasis on equity, diversity and inclusion.

Funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the CDSN organizes conferences, summer institutes, workshops, research assistantships, internships, podcasts, and a variety of other activities to build bridges between the various parts of the Canadian Defence and Security community.

The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA)

For more than 50 years, the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA) has been training Canada's best and brightest graduate students in international affairs. We have well over 2,000 alumni, many of whom have gone on to key leadership positions in the Canadian federal and provincial public services, foreign governments, the United Nations, and the private and not-for-profit sectors. NPSIA offers the most comprehensive advanced degree programs in international affairs at the Master's and Doctoral levels in Canada, including a combined Master of Arts/Juris Doctor (MA/JD) degree with the Faculty of Law at the University of Ottawa. The NPSIA program is interdisciplinary, reflecting the philosophy that exposure to a wide range of disciplines – such as political science, economics, law, sociology, public health, and history – is necessary to develop a well-rounded understanding of our complex global environment.

Financial Sponsors

This conference would not have been possible without the generous financial support from Mobilizing Insights in Defence and Security (MINDS) and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

A special thank you to the administrative staff at NPSIA and the CDSN team at Carleton.

THE YEAR AHEAD: AN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE AND DEFENCE OUTLOOK FOR CANADA FOR 2023

On December 9, 2022, academics, experts, and practitioners from Canada and the United States, along with an audience of civil servants, academics, students, and members of the public attended the Year Ahead Conference. As originally conceived by the former Director of CSIDS, Dr. Rob McRae, the objective of this annual conference (first held in 2015) is to provide an opportunity for experts from academia and the public sector to have a conversation about international security challenges that the Canadian government and its closest allies are likely to face in the coming year. Each year, we consult with our partners in and near government to identify issues on may soon be challenging Canada. The themes covered during this Year Ahead conference represent some of the most pressing issues that will affect Canada and that require new foreign, defence, and intelligence . This report summarizes the discussions at the conference.

PANEL 1

Learning from Ukraine's Successes/Russia's Aggressive Failures

Moderator: Dr. Stephanie Carvin (Carleton University)

Panelists: Dr. Sheena Grietens (University of Texas at Austin), LGEN (RETD) Mike Day (Canadian Armed Forces), Dr. Nina Tannenwald (Brown University)

This panel discussed how the international landscape, both in theory and practice, has changed since Russia waged war on Ukraine in February 2022. In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, the panel focused on China's approach to world affairs in 2022 and 2023, the implications for the Canadian military establishment, and the implications of war for nuclear deterrence in the global order.

China's Approach to World Affairs and the Russian-Ukrainian War

China's primary interests are domestic stability, regime survival, and economic growth. With these interests in mind, Beijing has proceeded to strengthen its relationship with Moscow based on a cost-benefit analysis in four key policy areas: (1) the information domain; (2) multi/bilateral diplomacy; (3) economic policy, and; (4) the military arena.

First, in the information domain, China has used rhetoric that fully supports Russia, even to the extent of amplifying Russian disinformation campaigns, and blaming the United States, the United Nations, and NATO for instigating the conflict in Ukraine. Second, in the multi- and bilateral diplomacy realm, China has taken a more reserved approach to limit the costs to its interests. For example, at the UN's Security Council, China largely abstains from votes concerning Russian affairs, while in lower profile fora, China will vote for or with Russia. Third, China has been acting out of self-interest in terms of economic policy. The government's turbulent and strict COVID-19 policies have greatly impacted domestic economic stability and performance, and in working to restore economic normalcy, China is avoiding international attention by complying with sanctions. Lastly, prior to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the military

relationship between Russia and China was on an upward trajectory. The two countries have increased joint military operations and cooperation. This cooperation has sustained the military relationship without China directly supporting the Russian war effort.

China's adoption of these policies can be attributed to one of or a combination of three factors. First, China was caught off guard by Russia's invasion of Ukraine. It is possible that President Putin was not entirely honest about his intentions with President Xi Jinping, or Beijing chose not to listen to Moscow. Second, the personalist non-democracy structure of the Chinese government hinders the dissemination of accurate information reaching the appropriate leaders, or, because China locked in its support for Russia prior to the new congress formation, the party cannot recalibrate its position on the war in Ukraine. Lastly, China views the conflict in Ukraine through the lens of its strategic competition with the United States. Heading into 2022, the strained US-Chinese relationship limited any willingness Beijing may have had to cooperate with Washington in ways that would have been perceived to be against Moscow.

Moving forward, it is unlikely China will ever participate in mediation in the Ukrainian war, and it is unlikely that China will change its approach to world affairs in 2023.

Lessons for Canadian Military Readiness

From the macro perspective, there are two truths to war: (1) war will continue so long as there is a will to fight in the morale domain, and; (2) war will continue as long as the significant material needs are met.

Neither Ukraine nor Russia will achieve a military win in this war. However, the war reinforces the overarching lesson that no conflict is identical to any previous conflict, and therefore, a country's military establishment should not transpose specifics from previous wars to preparations for the next one. Beyond the overarching lesson, there are five other lessons to be learned:

(1) Looking at lessons learned mid-conflict is dangerous.

Trying to learn lessons in the midst of conflict is dangerous because there is insufficient data, and early indicators can lead decision-makers astray.

(2) A country enters a war with the equipment already in its arsenal.

A military and its war stocks are determined by the dead hand of legacy (i.e., arsenals are equipped with what is left over from the last war), and the side that adjusts the fastest and most effectively wins the war.

(3) Capability- and threat-based planning.

Threat-based planning focuses on a specific threat, and since 9/11, the CAF has prepared to combat violent extremism that creates regional instability. However, this has left insufficiencies in planning for conventional conflict. As the world is now back in a great power competition, Canada faces the challenges of having a small military, and an insufficient budget to allow for a general combat capability. Capabilities include people, equipment, training, and supporting infrastructure and logistics—and without one, the other three are ineffective. Capability-based planning is complex, and must continue with the assumption that decision-makers will incorrectly plan for the next conflict. The CAF must identify a series of core capabilities, work on niche warfare, and rethink the role Canada wants to contribute to the world going forward.

(4) Conventional and doctrinal learning restricts adaptability.

The war in Ukraine has decidedly proven that set piece training is holy inaccurate. In particular, NATO's training does not have room for conventional agility or adaptation in real time.

Ukrainian soldiers have been able to use civilian infrastructure as a weapon in their fight against the Russian Forces.

(5) Deterrence is dead outside of the nuclear domain.

Russian President Putin correctly predicted that NATO would not get directly involved after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and any means of conventional deterrence has failed to change Putin's actions.

Implications of the Ukraine War for Nuclear Deterrence and the Global Nuclear Order

The war in Ukraine has brought the world the closest it has been since the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis to the use of nuclear weapons, whether by accident, miscalculation, or desperation. Russia's invasion of Ukraine calls attention to the need to rethink nuclear deterrence and the nuclear global order in three significant ways.

First, it is risky to rely on nuclear deterrence as a source of security. Putin has manipulated nuclear deterrence to shield his full-scale conventional invasion of Ukraine by issuing explicit threats of nuclear use to deter NATO and others from directly supporting the Ukrainian war effort. Nuclear deterrence is not altering Russia's behaviour, but it is working to prevent additional parties from entering the conflict. The fragility of nuclear deterrence is exposed. It has not deterred Russia's current behaviour, and it is easy for Putin to call NATO's bluff and further encroach to surrounding territories. As a result, this war has made it clear that conventional deterrence vs. nuclear deterrence policies need a major rethinking. The world must move beyond nuclear deterrence as a source of security, and shift its focus to conventional- and civilian-based forms of territorial defence. Ukraine has effectively proven that a state can conventionally defend itself against a nuclear power, proving the need for more robust, and military capabilities that are actually usable.

Second, security assurances from nuclear to non-nuclear states are important to the nuclear non-proliferation regime. However, the legitimacy of the Budapest Agreement (1994) was shattered after Russia invaded Ukraine, and Russia's nuclear arsenal is shielding its criminal behaviour in the war. As such, a reinforcement of the

importance of security assurances from nuclear to non-nuclear states and greater accountability for negative (i.e., non-use) security assurances are needed. Negative security assurances are simply the promise *not* to threaten to use nuclear weapons. A stronger accountability regime for nuclear states needs to be built within the United Nations with the participation of the General Assembly.

Third, the use of nuclear weapons must be framed as a war crime. Russia's conventional destruction of Ukrainian cities has been so vast and devastating, that anything beyond the conventional destruction would be a war crime, particularly if nuclear weapons were used against cities. The world is close to criminalizing the use of nuclear weapons, which erodes the legitimacy of relying on nuclear deterrence. NATO must confront the discourse of using nuclear weapons as a war crime.

PANEL 2

The Year Ahead Challenges and Opportunities

Panelists: Dr. Stephen Saideman (Carleton University), Colonel Cathy Blue (Visiting Defence Fellow), CDSN Podcast Network

In this informal, conversational-style panel, Dr. Stephen Saideman and Colonel Cathy Blue discussed the visiting defence fellow program and what the CDSN has to look forward to in 2023. Additionally, the CDSN announced the official launching of its own podcast network.

Visiting Defence Fellow

Colonel Cathy Blue serves in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and is the visiting defence fellow at Carleton University. Originally a communications and electronics engineer, Col. Blue is working alongside NPSIA and CSIDS, while participating in Carleton courses as a practitioner in the room. With support from Dr. Stephen Saideman, Blue's research focuses on civil-military relations and the role of an inspector general. Blue has enjoyed engaging with students and academics.

The visiting defence fellow program is an educational opportunity to work with and create a network with academia, and then bring those experiences to the fellow's next assigned position and role in the CAF. The visiting defence fellow program fosters connections and engagements between the academic community and those in the CAF and the Canadian defence community.

CDSN and the Year Ahead

The CDSN has a number of events to look forward to in 2023. In March, the University of Calgary is hosting the CDSN's Capstone Seminar. The Capstone Seminar celebrates the best presentations and young researchers of security and defence from around Canada, and invites them to present their work at this event. In

August, the CDSN hosts the Summer Institute, which brings together junior military career folks, emerging scholars, junior policy officers, and those in the private sector for a professional education experience and week-long networking opportunity. And the last major event of the year, will be next years' Year Ahead Conference held in December 2023.

Beyond these major events, the CDSN plans to continue the visiting defence fellow program, support the undergraduate excellence scholars, and host book workshops throughout the year.

The Launch of the CDSN Podcast Network

The Canadian Defence and Security Network announced the official launching of its podcast network. Thus far, the podcasts that fall under the CDSN podcast network are: Battle Rhythm, conseils de sécurité, Securityscape, and the forthcoming NATO Field Report.

The original podcast, Battle Rhythm, will continue to upload podcasts every other week. Battle Rhythm's francophone counterpart, Conseils de Sécurité, will alternate with Battle Rhythm .

Conseils de Sécurité is the first francophone podcast on security and defence in Canada. Similar to Battle Rhythm, Conseils de Sécurité covers a variety of topics, points of view, and expertise. While most guests are native French speakers, the podcast has also hosted anglophones that speak French. Early in the podcast's history, the hosts of Conseils de sécurité were told that their main listeners were civil servants trying to learn and improve their French.

Securityscape is hosted out by the University of Calgary's Centre for Military and Strategic Studies. Students in the Master of Strategic Studies program founded this podcast, seeking to amplify the voices of students, and highlight

student perspectives on security matters. Moving forward, Securityscape hopes to spur debates on strategic studies, while also making topics on strategic studies, defence, and security more accessible through the podcast. Securityscape releases a new episode on the third Monday of every month throughout the winter and spring.

The newest podcast to join the CDSN podcast network will be the NATO Field Report from the NATO Field School out of Simon Fraser University. This podcast is looking to document the experiential learning process undergraduate and graduate students take part in during the NATO Field School. The podcast hopes to take on a news anchor/field reporter style, with the participation of the students in the field program. The intent for the NATO Field Report will be to release episodes leading up to, during, and following the Field School Program.

In launching its own podcast network, the CDSN has flexibility to broaden the network, add new podcasts, and continue its mission to research, connect, and amplify.

PANEL 3

State of Civilian Military Relations

Moderator: Dr. Stephen Saideman (Carleton University)

Panelists: Dr. Jean-Christophe Boucher (University of Calgary), Charlotte Duval – Lantoine (Women in Defence and Security), Andrea Lane (Defense Research and Development Canada DRDC – Center for Operational Research and Analysis-CORA), Alexandra Richards (Simon Fraser University)

Public Opinion Trust in The Military

The penultimate panel addressed the public's opinion about the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF). In the CAF, many assumptions exist about the public's perception of key defense issues. The recent challenges within the CAF –procurement issues, lack of international deployments, and sexual misconduct–have strained civil-military relations. Thus, the CDSN has commenced research on perceptions of the CAF. The focus is to address specifically the civilian population's trust in military leaders and their ability to implement cultural change. Available data on public opinion about the CAF is limited, but the latest data indicate a decline in trust in the military by a majority of Canadians. This decline is happening while reports of sexual misconduct, discrimination, racism, and white supremacy are rising in the military.

Moreover, there is a knowledge gap on the impact of such scandals on the public's perception of the military. Particularly how do the different scandals impact different groups in specific ways, for example, women, men, and people of color? More importantly, there is a lack of intersectional data about this. For instance, not much is known about how women of color think about the military and what impacts the scandals will have on that specific group. In addition, there is limited data on how these scandals impact people's willingness to join the military or encourage people's support for defense spending.

However, there is some data about how social, economic, and demographic factors will influence people's perception of militaries and support for defense issues with variables such as gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, education, religiosity, political ideology, and age. One constant variable observed in emerging research is political ideology–political ideology is the strongest predictor of support for the military, and conservatives tend to be more supportive of the military. This raises the question of how scandals around equity, diversity, and inclusion in militaries influence the public's trust in the military.

The CDSN conducted an initial survey on public opinion confidence in the ability of leaders to shape policies that benefit Canada on national defense. Key findings suggested that the most trusted leaders in national defense policy were academics, followed by intelligence agencies, military officers, politicians, the defense industry, and the media which was the least trusted. This survey was administered in 2020 before the sexual misconduct scandal. The assumption is that public opinion will change, reproducing this question in the next survey experiment. The second part was about the direction of the CAF regarding the inclusion of groups–bridging the gap on inclusion and diversity of the forces and trust in the military.

This study predicts that lack of inclusion, diversity and cultural change in the forces have an adverse effect on trust in the military, military institutions, and military leaders,

affecting other defense policy issues such as willingness for increased defense spending and recruitment. The survey experiment will address five equity-seeking groups, women, racialized Canadians, First Nations, Métis, LGBTQ plus, and francophones, with emphasis on inclusion and how alleged discrimination of these groups affect trust in the military.

Partisanship, polarization, and the Canadian military

Although Canadians have limited knowledge about CAF, everyone has strong opinions about it. Discussion of the military in the public space always has a partisan component. The pandemic amplified the political polarization of the military, especially on social media. The military is considered apolitical and nonpartisan, but this is incorrect. In Canada, the politics of defense policy has always existed, but the conversation is getting worse. Over time Canadians have decreased contact with the CAF. This also implies Canadians have limited knowledge of what they do. People tend to think that what the CAF does now is what it did in World War One or World War Two and that the people serving are the same as before. Hence military service is perceived as a tradition that has not changed.

Public opinion is either one of reverence or dislike of the CAF. But the problem is that the people who are involved in national security conversations are hugely unrepresentative of Canadians in general. The current state of civil-military conversations is due to various reasons, one of which is a lack of dedicated defense media. Therefore, journalists covering defense tend to pick sides coupled with corporate sector sponsorship of defense-related public activities and military charities/adoption of CAF as a sympathetic 'cause.'

Another problem is the general decline in public trust in institutions during the pandemic. Retired military officers' voices have become amplified, especially with the decline in public trust in other institutions. Their veteran status has been why they are listened to, for example, the vaccine mandate.

However, the more issues concerning the CAF become polarizing, the harder it is to have straightforward conversations on matters concerning the military drawn along a culture war line by some parts of society. When the CAF becomes more of a partisan institution, you immediately alienate some parts of the Canadian population.

Polarization makes it challenging to distinguish between normal and legitimate and welcome political speech and extremism. Regarding gender and extremism in the military, it always seems that left-wing individuals are interested in such conversations. And the targeted audience is not necessarily inclined to listen. Thus, whenever one brings up this interaction of masculinity and extremism, and the CAF as primarily male, in an organization that has a lot of vulnerability to radicalization, it is immediately assumed the CAF is under attack or implying that men are inherently violent.

One thing that could help in the specific context of the CAF is for people on the center-left to be more open to showing support for the military but criticize the military when needed so that the institution is stronger. Soliciting sympathetic journalists and academics needs to stop. Proposals or ideas purported to benefit the CAF or benefits veterans should be evidence-based. One of the difficulties of researching the CAF is that many untested policies and traditions in the CAF, DND, and Veterans Affairs are essentially unchallenged historical leftovers. While showing care, concern, and sympathy towards members and veterans, we need to ensure that such policies are empirically sound.

Generational Perspectives on Security and Defence

A generation refers to a society-wide peer group that shares a generational identity— a set of beliefs and norms that influence how that generational cohort views the world. As generational dominance shifts, one generation becomes the largest in society; the overall societal outlook will likely shift to conform to their perspective. Generational research may provide insight into long-term ideational changes, including security and defense issues. However, generational identity is one of many social identities that may influence a person's perception of security and defense issues. The

different generations include the Greatest Generation/GI, Interwar/ Silent Generation, Baby Boomers/ Generation X, Millennials, Generation Z/ Zoomers, and Generation Alpha.

Millennials are emerging as the largest population. Key characteristics of millennials include race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc. They have a high level of education and high technology use. Research indicates that Millennials and Gen Z are more cosmopolitan than older generations. They also have formative experiences that may make them more attuned to the challenges and complexities of armed intervention abroad, with interventions in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya as part of their generational memory.

Canadian Gen Z and Millennials share several similarities, for example, democratic habits and political views. Given that Millennials and Gen Z are emerging as the dominant generation, they might impact the future of defense and security. Security and Defence perspectives of North American Millennials and Gen Z, views on the US:

- The decline in the US's perceived influence and the growing influence of the EU
- More young Canadians view the US as a threat than older age groups
- US Millennials and Gen Z are less supportive of active US leadership abroad

Views on China and Russia:

- North American Millennials and Gen Z have fewer negative views of China and Russia

- China and Russia are less threatening or adversarial

What is the possible impact of this?

This may make these younger generations more constrained in their foreign policy choices, especially when it comes to military deployments abroad, as they may not feel as detached from other countries and groups as previous generations. They have a stronger preference for cooperative or diplomatic solutions over military deployments. Although not conclusive, some public opinion research appears to support this point. Older generations have a more restrictive and traditional view of security focused on conventional and/or nuclear threats compared to Gen Z and Millennials, who may be more focused on human or climate-related security issues. The younger generations are more likely to recognize that the international system will not remain unipolar. They identify other actors other than the United States as influential global actors. Young Canadians may be less willing to rely on the United States for defense and security needs. There is an overlap between age and generation in terms of identifying generational shifts versus the impact of just being young and optimistic. Several studies from the United States also suggest that younger generations do not express the same concern for conventional state-centric and nuclear threats as older generations. The possible impact is that if these are no longer priority threats for voters and taxpayers, the security agenda might have to change to address more climate-related security threats or economic issues that impact individuals' security.

PANEL 4

Redefining National Security; Justice, Borders and Transnational Movements (WCAPS-C)

Introduction: Jillian Sunderland (University of Toronto)

Moderator: Esra Bengizi (University of Toronto)

Panelists: Dr. Nadia Abu-Zahra (University of Ottawa), Azeezah Kanji (Noor Cultural Centre), Aaron T. Francis (Balsillie School of International Affairs)

The doctrines and ideas of institutions that form Canada's foundation have been considered agents of benevolence and virtue for far too long. The land acknowledgment that we are on unceded Algonquin land reminds us of the foundations of anti-indigenous genocide and dispossession upon which this nation was built. Canada's national security practices and the transnational nature of the violence are embedded within its institution. Interestingly, society depends on national security institutions to crack down on white supremacists and right-wing extremists. While some of the violence of fringe white supremacists is being made visible, the racial power and violence of the institutions supposedly tasked with protecting us against them remain hidden and impervious. Public trust of intelligence agencies reflects the difference in perception between those who feel comfortable thinking that these institutions are there to protect them versus those who know that they are subject to profiling.

Citizens who are meant to have privacy do not, while government institutions and operations that must be open to scrutiny remain enigmas. National security legislation and policies such as the Patriot Act exemplify the inversion of this basic democratic relationship. Beginning from the colonization and surveillance of indigenous nations, they were subjected to very intrusive surveys and intelligence gathering by Indian agents later used in their dispossession. December 10 marks International Human Rights Day, a reminder of all those promises that remain unfulfilled to those whose rights are not fully recognized. At the same time, the institutions that perpetuate this dehumanization continue to persist. The transnational dimension of Canada's national security approach can be observed through its approach to the political and humanitarian crisis that Haiti is currently experiencing. Since 1804, after gaining freedom from the French colonial regime, Haiti has not

been given an opportunity to develop politically or economically in any independent sense over the last 100 years. Canada's role in Haiti leaves a lot to be desired. Canada acts as a benevolent actor in the world. But Canada usually acts according to the United States' dictates, prioritizing their interests in the Caribbean region.

One dimension of colonialism is settler colonialism—an attempt to replace one population with another, but it is only discussed in terms of appropriating land. The ideology behind these actions is what informed the theft of resources. But the ongoing idea that some people are more dangerous than others or some people need to be treated differently is rooted in settler colonialism. And it is important to recognize how deeply rooted it is, especially within institutions. Even academic organizations such as universities are involved in settler colonialism.

If Canadian society intends to change the conceptions of national security, it is crucial to examine its foundation to understand better and recognize the implications of those ideologies; how they are, in fact, implicit within today's ideologies, then it needs to change. It is not enough to say that there is anti-black racism in the public service or in national security agencies. Recognizing what inherently shapes these institutions is important to unraveling systems of oppression. In addition, global health security must be strengthened through collective action, as observed through the movements for greater climate justice and equity. The deaths from COVID-19, especially in residential care facilities, were jarring. The lives lost throughout the COVID-19 pandemic were preventable. Thus, in thinking about national security, the care of people must be of utmost concern, and transitional activists are leading the charge. Especially when Canada faces the challenge of an overwhelmed healthcare system unable to

provide adequate care for all. These issues must be at the forefront of national security.

White nationalism is the greatest security threat existing within Canada. Right-wing and white supremacist public political violence has been responsible for at least 11 times more deaths in Canada than Muslim terrorism has since 9/11. We now see indications that security agencies are indeed now considering white supremacy as a form of ideological extremism. Yet, the terms on which it is included in this category are fundamentally different from the ways in which Muslim extremists' threats have been addressed over the years. White supremacist racial violence is charged under the terrorism provision under the Canadian criminal code. But we can observe how racism continues to permeate the operations of legal and security systems. Muslims are quick to be profiled and accused of terrorism and face stiffer treatment than white supremacists who commit acts of violence and terrorism. There is a stark difference in the judicial discourse regarding Muslim terrorism, where judges

explicitly have said that the emphasis is not on rehabilitation but punishment, and that these people are fundamental threats to the nature of Canada. This raises the question if white supremacist violence is not represented as a threat to the foundations of Canada, what does that tell us about the foundations of Canada itself? The foundation of Canada is built on white supremacy.

Instead of focusing on white supremacists, the focus is on the anti-racist, anti-colonialists on the indigenous land and water defenders who are working to rectify the violence on which the Canadian state was founded. Racialized communities are heavily policed and criminalized in disproportionated numbers. Even protest movements by groups such as Black Lives Matter were excessively policed, and their leaders were monitored and perceived as agent provocateurs. Meanwhile, the real threat, mainly white supremacist nationalism, is steadily rising. Therefore, national security must be redefined.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The 2023 Year Ahead provided a platform for academics and practitioners in the security and defence sector to share and learn about past, present and future challenges and opportunities Canada and the world is likely to face in 2023 through four panels. Last year, we did not anticipate war in Europe, and it is abundantly clear that this war will shape not just European security in 2023 but also great power competition, food security, and the international economy. Likewise, the past two years of scandals will continue to shape not just how the public sees the Canadian Armed Forces but the state of the CAF itself—the recruitment crisis, the new policies Minister Anita Anand is pursuing, and the response by the CAF to the reforms. Lastly, the legacies of colonization are not going away anytime soon, and various forms of hate have been given new life and new platforms, challenging the lives of those who have been historically excluded. The government must develop better national security policies that include rather than marginalize Muslims and other vulnerable groups.

Once again, the Year Ahead sought out diverse voices to offer their views and expertise on Canada and the world. In all, the year ahead event was a success considering this was the first time in two years where the entire audience was able to join in person. Historically, this event is a great opportunity for those across the defence community—academics, policy makers, military officers, engaged citizens—to meet and exchange views not just during the panels but during the breaks. The pandemic got in the way of that, so returning to this largely in-person event was truly delightful as old ties were renewed and people made new connections. We have already started planning the next Year Ahead. If you have feedback for us or ideas on what we should focus on when we meet in December, let us know.

AGENDA

Friday, December 9, 2022

09:00 Opening Remarks:

Prof. Stephen Saideman, CDSN Director
Prof. Yiagadeesen Samy, NPSIA Director

09:15 Learning from Ukraine's Success/ Russia's Aggressive Failures

Moderator: Stephanie Carvin, Carleton University
Dr. Sheena Greitens, University of Texas at Austin
LGEN (RETD) Mike Day, Canadian Armed Forces
Dr. Nina Tannenwald, Brown University

11:00 The Year Ahead Challenges and Opportunities

Prof. Stephen Saideman, CDSN Director
Colonel Cathy Blue, Visiting Defence Fellow
CDSN Podcast Network

13:15 State of Civil Military Relations

Moderator: Prof. Stephen Saideman, CDSN Director
Dr. Jean-Christophe Boucher, University of Calgary
Charlotte Duval-Lantoine, Women in Defence and Security
Andrea Lane, DRDC-CORA
Alexandra Richards, Simon Fraser University

15:15 Redefining National Security; Justice, Borders and Transnational Movements
(WCAPS-C)

Introduction: Jillian Sunderland
Moderator: Esra Bengizi, University of Toronto
Aaron T. Francis, Balsillie School of International Affairs at the University of Waterloo
Azeezah Kanji, Noor Cultural center
Dr. Abu-Zahra, University of Ottawa

BIOGRAPHIES

OPENING REMARKS

PROF. YIAGADEESEN (TEDDY) SAMY is a Professor of international affairs and currently the Director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA). He joined NPSIA in 2003 and since then has taught graduate courses in development economics, international trade, macroeconomics, development assistance and quantitative methods.

PROF. STEPHEN SAIDEMAN holds the Paterson Chair in International Affairs at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs and is the Director of the [Canadian Defence and Security Network](#). Prof. Saideman has received fellowships from the Council on Foreign Relations and the Social Sciences Research Council. The former placed on the Bosnia desk of the Strategic Planning and Policy Directorate of US Joint Staff for a year, and the latter facilitated research in Japan. He taught previously at the University of Vermont, Texas Tech University, and at McGill University. He writes online at [Political Violence at a Glance](#), [Duck of Minerva](#) and his own site (saideman.blogspot.com). He has won awards for teaching, for mentoring other faculty, for public engagement, and for his blogging on international studies. He is currently working on the role of legislatures in civil-military relations in many democracies around the world. He tweets at [@smsaideman](#), and co-hosts the [Battle Rhythm](#) podcast with Erin Gibbs van Brunschot, Anessa Kimball, Artur Wilczynski and Linna Tam-Seto.

PANEL 1

Dr. Stephanie Carvin is an Associate Professor of International Relations at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. Her research interests are in the area of national security and international security and international law. Currently, she is teaching in the areas of critical infrastructure protection and national security.

Dr. Sheena Greitens is Associate Professor at the LBJ School of Public Affairs at UT-Austin, where she directs UT's Asia Policy Program, a joint initiative of the Clements Center for National Security and the Strauss Center for International Security & Law. She is concurrently a Jeane Kirkpatrick Visiting Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). Dr. Chestnut Greitens' research focuses on American national security, East Asia, and authoritarian politics & foreign policy. Her first book, *Dictators and their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence* (Cambridge, 2016) received multiple academic awards. Her second book, on authoritarianism and diaspora politics, is focused on North Korea and forthcoming later this year from Cambridge University Press (Elements Series in East Asia). She is currently finishing her third book manuscript, on internal security and Chinese grand strategy. From 2015-2020, she was an assistant professor of political science at the University of Missouri and co-director of the University's Institute for Korean Studies. She was also previously a non-resident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and an adjunct fellow with the Korea Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. She holds a doctorate from Harvard University; an M.Phil from Oxford University, where she studied as a Marshall Scholar; and a bachelor's degree from Stanford University.

L-Gen Day has commanded at every level and rank in a variety of units and deployments around the world. The majority of his field and command time has been as an Operator within Canada's Counter Terrorist and Special Forces unit, commanding both Joint Task Force Two (JTF 2), and Canada's Special Operations Forces Command. Mike also served in a number of Senior Staff appointments including the Canadian Armed Forces as a senior Military Officer in the Defence Policy Group and the Chief Strategic Planner for the future of the Canadian Armed Forces. Following his time with the military, Mike has supported a number of private sector boards and serves as the president for his regimental charity. He will be a familiar face to many in the defence community, serving as a frequent moderator and host of sessions offered by the country's leading defence associations.

Dr. Nina Tannenwald is Senior Lecturer in the Political Science Department and former director of the International Relations Program at Brown University's Watson Institute for International Studies. Her research focuses on the role of international institutions, norms and ideas in global security issues, efforts to control weapons of mass destruction, and human rights and the laws of war. Her book, *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-use of nuclear weapons Since 1945* was awarded the 2009 Levgold Prize for best book in international relations. Her current research projects include targeted killing, the future of the nuclear normative order, and the effectiveness of the laws of war. In 2012-2013 she served as a Franklin Fellow in the Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation in the U.S. State Department. She holds a master's degree from the Columbia School of International and Public Affairs and a Ph.D. in international relations from Cornell University.

PANEL 2

Colonel Cathy Blue was born and raised in Hopefield, Prince Edward Island and developed her love for the Royal Canadian Air Force as an Air Cadet. Enrolling in the Canadian Forces in April 1989 as a Communication and Electronic Engineer (CELE), Lieutenant-Colonel Blue attended the University of Prince Edward Island under the Regular Officer Training Program. Colonel Blue has had the honour of holding numerous command positions throughout her career as Commanding Officer 708 Communication Squadron and as Commanding Officer 8 Mission Support Squadron. She was most recently posted to newly formed Chief Professional Conduct and Culture (CPCC) as the Special Advisor to Lieutenant- General Carignan Chief, Professional Conduct and Culture. Colonel Blue holds a Bachelor of Science degree in Physics and Computer Science from the University of Prince Edward Island, is a graduate of JCSP and holds a Masters in Defence Studies from the Royal Military College of Canada.

The Canadian Defence and Security Network

The CDSN is a partnership of nearly forty institutions, ranging from academic research centres to components of the Department of National Defence and Canadian Armed Forces to civil society organizations in Canada and beyond, and over a hundred members. The CDSN aims to:

1. Create a coherent, world-class research network of defence and security experts;
2. Advance the body of knowledge in Canadian defence and security studies;
3. Tailor research initiatives to Canadian defence and security priorities;
4. Improve cross-sector information and data sharing in the defence and security field;
5. Improve the defence and security literacy of Canadians;
6. Build the next generation of defence and security experts in academia, in government and in the private sector, with an emphasis on equity, diversity and inclusion.

Funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the CDSN organizes conferences, summer institutes, workshops, research assistantships, internships, podcasts, and a variety of other activities to build bridges between the various parts of the Canadian Defence and Security community.

Battle Rhythm is hosted by Stephen Saideman, Anessa Kimball, Artur Wilczynski, Erin Gibbs and Linna Tam-Seto, and released every second Wednesday, features timely discussion on the defence and security issues of the day, as well as feature conversations with experts.

Conseils de sécurité: Présenté par Sarah-Myriam Martin-Brûlé et l'invité, et publié un mardi sur deux, Conseils de sécurité traite de questions de sécurité et de défense en français. Coproduit avec le Réseau d'analyse stratégique (RAS) et le Réseau canadien sur la défense et la sécurité.

Securityscape is a monthly podcast produced by graduate students from the Centre of Military, Security, and Strategic Studies. Each episode highlights scholars and students and the important research they are conducting relating to security.

The NATO Field School will bring you field reports via a 'special' (occasional) podcast featuring the NATO Field School staff, students, and guest speakers. Each episode will be moderated by NFS staff and students and themed to a particular topic, discussing key takeaways and unique perspectives while discussing this topic with experts and decision-makers in the field.

<https://www.sfu.ca/politics/natofieldschool.html>

PANEL 3

Dr. Jean-Christophe Boucher is an Associate Professor at the School of Public Policy and at the Department of Political Science at the University of Calgary. His current work focuses on applied machine learning to understand how the digital world shapes our society. He is currently holding grants from the Department of National Defence (DND) to study information operations; the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) to understand civil-military relations in Canada; and holds grants from Alberta Innovates, the Vaccine Confidence Fund and Merck to study vaccine hesitancy on social media to develop better communications strategies and tools to increase vaccine uptake. He holds a BA in History from the University of Ottawa, a MA in Philosophy from the Université de Montréal and a PhD in Political Science from Université Laval. He specializes in international relations, with an emphasis on foreign policy, international security, and data analytics.

Charlotte Duval-Lantoine is the Ottawa Operations Manager and a Fellow at the Réseau d'analyse stratégique. She completed a master's in military history at Queen's University, during which she started researching on the toxic culture of leadership in the Canadian Armed Forces during the 1990s and its impact on gender integration, which had started in 1989. She continues to study leadership and culture change issues in the military in her free time. She obtained her BA in History and Political Science at McGill University in 2017. During her graduate studies, Charlotte served as the Assistant to the Executive Director of Women In International Security-Canada for the fiscal year 2018-2019. She has also worked as a research assistant and translator on projects about gender mainstreaming and integration in NATO Armed Forces, and on the gendered dimension of veteran transition at Queen's University Center for International and Defence Policy (CIDP).

Andrea Lane is a strategic analyst with DRDC-CORA, Andrea's personal research focusses on the intersection of national defence, politics, and society, examining the military as an institution, civil-military relations, personnel policy, and procurement. Her dissertation project investigates the role of gender in Canadian civil-military relations. Prior to joining DRDC in 2021, Andrea taught at Canadian Forces College, Toronto, and at Dalhousie University in Halifax. Andrea's work has been published in *International Journal*, *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, and the *Canadian Naval Review*, as chapters in several books, and in popular venues such as *Policy Options*. She is the co-editor, with Brian Bow, of *Canadian Foreign Policy: Reflections on a Field in Transition*, published by UBC Press (2020).

Alexandra Richards is currently completing a PhD in Political Science at Simon Fraser University. Her primary research interests are generational theory, public opinion on security and defence issues, international relations, and strategic culture. Her research examines how different generations (Baby Boomers, Gen X, Millennials, Gen Z) view security and defence issues and asks whether generational shifts may alter how we approach security and defence issues in the future. Her research also examines the ways in which culture (generational or strategic) can constrain and shape decisionmakers' perceptions and decisions on security and defence issues. Through her work as Assistant Field School Director for the NATO Field School program from 2018-2021, she has also developed an interest in pedagogy, more specifically, how simulations, experiential learning, and field study can impact and enrich student learning.

PANEL 4

Esra Bengizi is a Doctoral Candidate at the University of Toronto. Esra is the co-director and founder of the WCAPS (Women of Colour Advancing Peace & Security) Canada Chapter. Esra specializes in post-colonial and feminist studies in the North African region. Her scholarship examines the intersection of politics, culture, and gender in Algeria as well as the modern Maghrib to explore the role of women in political movements. Her work and research is rooted in people power, systemic oppression, post-colonialism and a feminist, de-colonial approach to human rights. Esra is a researcher, lecturer and social justice activist. She works alongside several community members, institutions, governments and organizations to work on solutions related to peace and security, gender inequality, gender-based violence, systemic racism and terrorism.

Aaron T. Francis is a doctoral student at the Balsillie School of International Affairs at the University of Waterloo, researching the political economic intersections of China-US-Taiwan relations in Latin America and The Caribbean. Aaron is also an archivist, curator and the founder a Vintage Black Canada, a multidisciplinary creative initiative documenting the transnational modern history of the African Diaspora in Canada.

Azeezah Kanji is a legal academic and writer. She received her Juris Doctor from University of Toronto's Faculty of Law, and Masters of Law specializing in Islamic Law from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Azeezah's work focuses on issues relating to racism, law, and social justice. Her writing has appeared in the Al Jazeera English, Haaretz, Toronto Star, TruthOut, National Post, Ottawa Citizen, OpenDemocracy, Roar Magazine, iPolitics, Policy Options, Rabble, and various academic anthologies and journals. Azeezah also serves as Director of Programming at Noor Cultural Centre.

Jillian Sunderland is a Sociology Ph.D. student at the University of Toronto and a Joseph- Armand Bombardier Doctoral scholar. Her academic focus is on masculinities, power, and violence, but she frames these issues in relation to anti-black racism and settler colonialism in Canada. Throughout her work she typically employs document and narrative analysis to archival, media, web forums, governmental documents, and policy reports. She recently published her first academic article in the journal of Men and Masculinities; where she provides a summary and a brief commentary on this project in an interview for U of T News. She also recently published a first-person article for CBC National News. Jillian Sunderland is committed to engaging in public sociology, and my sociological insights can be found in The Medium, The Varsity, CBC Radio, and CBC Kids News.

Dr. Abu-Zahra is an Associate Professor in the School of International Development and Global Studies at the University of Ottawa, and a member of the Human Rights Research and Education Centre. She co-facilitates, with Professor Emily Regan Wills, "Community Mobilization in Crisis", a project that co-creates open educational resources with community mobilizers around the world in multiple languages and supports the use of the resources transnationally to build community mobilizations. Her research focuses on the everyday consequences and spaces for agency in situations of crisis and, most recently, on the role of higher education institutions in transforming power relations and opening spaces for healthy and accountable relations. Dr. Abu-Zahra invites members of the student and faculty community, as well as feminist organizations from the local to the transnational levels, to join in communities of practice with the theme, "Sharing Feminist Pedagogy and Mobilising Solidarity in Our Learning Environment". Dr. Abu-Zahra will also facilitate credit-bearing seminars in "Feminist Pedagogy, Community Mobilization, and Learning."

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