



THE YEAR AHEAD

AN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE AND DEFENCE OUTLOOK FOR 2022

PREPARED BY

CENTRE FOR SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE AND DEFENCE STUDIES
(CSIDS)

CANADIAN DEFENCE AND SECURITY NETWORK
(CDSN)

NORMAN PATERSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
(NPSIA)

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2021 Year Ahead Virtual Conference
An International Security, Intelligence and Defence Outlook for 2022

**Highlights from the Conference Held on
December 3, 2021**

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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.

ABOUT

THE YEAR AHEAD: AN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE AND DEFENCE OUTLOOK FOR CANADA FOR 2021

On December 3, 2021, several academics, experts, and practitioners from Canada and the United States and Europe, along with an audience of civil servants, academics, students, and members of the public were invited to attend virtually to reflect on the challenges for Canada in the immediate future on five themed panels.

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. The five themes covered during the conference represent some of the most pressing issues that will affect Canada and that require new foreign, defence, and intelligence policies implicating several agencies, allies, and levels of government. This report summarizes what was discussed during this wide-ranging conference.

2022 YEAR AHEAD CONFERENCE
DECEMBER 3, 2021
0845 - 1600 EST
CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM



CONFERENCE WILL HAVE SIMULTANEOUS TRANSLATION IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH

8:45 - 9:00 OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE
9:00 - 10:00 AUTHORITIES IN THE GREY SPACE
10:15 - 11:30 ALLIES RESPONSES TO GREY ATTACKS
11:30 - 12:30 FIRESIDE CHAT, ORGANIZED BY WCAPS- CANADA
12:30 - 13:30 NETWORKING LUNCH
13:30 - 14:45 HOW TO CHANGE ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURES
15:00 - 16:00 NATURE-INDUCED EMERGENCY OPERATIONS AT HOME
16:00 CLOSING REMARKS

REGISTRATION IS \$75 WITH STUDENT DISCOUNTS AVAILABLE
THE EVENT WILL BE HELD IN PERSON WHILE MAINTAINING HEALTH AND SAFETY PROTOCOLS

[HTTPS://WWW.CSIDS.CA/YEAR-AHEAD](https://www.csids.ca/year-ahead)



Panel 1

Authorities in the Greyspace

MODERATOR: DR. LEAH WEST (CARLETON UNIVERSITY)

PANELISTS: DR. FRANÇOIS DELERUE (LEIDEN UNIVERSITY), DR. ASAF LUBIN (INDIANA UNIVERSITY), DR. ELIZA WATT (MIDDLESEX UNIVERSITY)

This panel discussed the difficulty in defining the threshold of punishment for those acting in the greyspace and penalizing those who engage in negative cyber actions. This panel defined actions in the greyspace as actions that fall below the threshold of war and use of force (actions causing no physical damage or injury and causing no substantial permanent loss of cyberinfrastructure functionality). Thus, these actions do not fall under international law but still cause negative consequences. Primarily, the panelists discussed the difficulty in creating international law to deter negative actions taken in cyberspace.

Although there is a growing use of cyber tools to engage in what was traditionally done in kinetic warfare and to create a secret environment where messages crossed and political interests are achieved, cyberspace also provides a safer alternative (for example, no deaths) to those actions that if taken in the physical world would have been extremely dangerous. Therefore, it is difficult to create a law that effectively contains negative actions taken in cyberspace – countries do not want to cast too wide of a net and deter states from taking part in actions that may be safer in cyberspace than the physical world. Moreover, there are challenges of accountability, multiple kinds of actors, and unintended consequences of negative actions taken in cyberspace, which makes it even more difficult to create international law.

First, it is difficult to attribute actions to certain parties in cyberspace – it is not enough for a cyberattack to be attributed to whichever state it took place, as there could be multiple individual actors (such as multi-national corporations or criminal groups) who could be involved. To penalize states using international law, one state must have committed an internationally wrongful act against another (a breach of an international legal obligation), and that act must be attributable to the state under international law. Since 2005, the UN has published reports that proving attribution in cyberspace is highly complex and difficult.

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Second, multiple actors and actions may be involved, and countries have different opinions on which actors and actions should be punishable. For example, many people thought that the use of ransomware to kidnap data and require the owner to pay the ransom a specific sum in order to access the data again would have been an easily agreed-upon issue. In the past, actions such as this were treated as actions against mankind and international laws were created to deter it; however, with ransomware, for example, Putin has admitted that some uses of ransomware should be allowed. Moreover, it is unclear how the international community would decide on how to punish non-state actors.

Third, there are usually multiple unintended consequences and spillover effects of cyber-attacks can cause disproportionate effects that may not have been intended by the perpetrator- should this be attributed back to the original perpetrator? Moreover, many of these attacks are taken in a secret environment: cyber operations involve intelligence actors and operations, these are not disclosed to the public, lots of activity not subject to transparency, and often include lots of secrecy and national security rules that are difficult to control through international law.

Furthermore, we must be cognisant that international law takes many years to form. Many countries (not including Canada), have made statements on how it interprets international law's applicability to cyberspace. There has also a high degree of convergence on many issues, and there has been no contention on main branches of international law. The international community has only been working on cybersecurity for approximately 20 years, so actually, the discussion on cybersecurity is, so far, quite successful. In addition, international law is often not precise, so it is unrealistic to expect that international law on cyberspace will be as specific as some states wish it to be.

Even so, in the future, the international community must still create a clearer definition of what actions are above and below the threshold of what is a use of force in cyberspace as cyberattacks are occurring daily. Still, we are unsure when this will occur as states may not be incentivized to define this threshold and create international law to address cyberspace.

Panel 2

Allies Responding to Grey Attacks

MODERATOR: RACHEL BABINS

PANELISTS: DR. BASTIAN GIEGERICH (INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES), DR. MARINA MIRON (KING'S COLLEGE LONDON), DR. MICHAEL J. MAZARR (RAND CORPORATION)

Allies have been impacted differently by grey attacks. For example, the United Kingdom has dealt with attempted assassinations and private companies acting on behalf of non-allied nations, while Germany has dealt with multiple cyberattacks on various organizations, including parliament.

In turn, allies have also created different strategies for preparing and responding to grey attacks. The United Kingdom has begun to focus on a national resilience framework that describes strategies for infrastructure and greyspace warfare. It establishes a new way of thinking about defence, as it tasks society as a whole with national security and includes non-military threats. Germany's strategies are underdeveloped but mostly focus on resilience by emphasizing civil preparedness and disaster response. Most allies agree that resilience is key to defence against grey attacks; however, there is not currently a full understanding of what capabilities, resources, and equipment are necessary for resilience, and what parameters should be applied. Unfortunately, the United States is not yet organized due to difficulties in inter-departmental collaboration. For example, it has not yet linked private and public industries, which is an issue as most information is owned privately or uses private resources.

Moreover, the current focus of Canada and Canadian allies is on misinformation and disinformation, as Russia and China aim to undermine the liberal democracy; however, Canada and Canadian allies should also be a focus on attacks in the diplomatic and economic areas. Russia and China have been trying to exploit the weaknesses of western adversaries across information, diplomatic and economic areas, as their militaries are not as strong as Western militaries. Thus, if Canada and Canadian allies only focus on the information portion of the "DIME" model, they will be unprepared for other actions.

Panel 2

Allies Responding to Grey Attacks

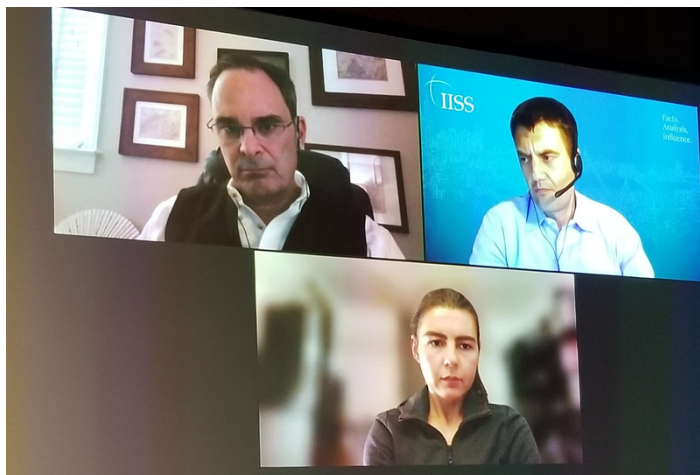
MODERATOR: RACHEL BABINS

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So how should Canada and Canadian allies react? They can deter by punishment, where they would use a proportional punishment to a grey attack; however, this is difficult and might be a breach of international law. Or, they can be deterred by denial. This would require Canada and Canadian allies to understand the political and strategic aims, the means, and the resources available to their adversaries; comply with international law; stop trading with their adversaries to weaken them economically; and, strengthen their infrastructure to increase resilience.

Canada and its allies should also focus on building normative restraints on grey attacks and reacting to grey attacks without being hypocritical in their actions. This can be done by focusing on national security and resilience, advancing territorial integrity norms (as largescale attacks to territorial integrity norms are widely viewed as illegal by the international community), and reducing inequality, bias, diversity (as these are dividing and weakening nations).

Fortunately, more and more countries are beginning to react to China and Russia. The strategic landscape is beginning to turn against China and Russia. Now is the time for Canada and its allies to create boundaries and publicly voice how they will react to grey attacks. They should be ready to calculate trade-offs and reduce their economic dependence on their adversaries.



Panel 3

Diversity Fireside Chat: WOC Advancing Peace & Security

INTRODUCTION: DR. SIHAM RAYALE (WCAPS CANADA)

MODERATOR: MS. ESRA BENGIZI (WCAPS CANADA)

PANELISTS: SENATOR MOBINA JAFFER, MR. KOFI ACHAMPONG, DR. FAISAL BHABHA, MS. AZEEZAH KANJI

National security is only as strong as the community's trust in the security network (such as CSIS) and the information the community provides to the security network. Unfortunately, there is a strong history in Canada of systemic Islamophobia; Canadian politicians do not understand the Muslim faith, which is proven in policy: the national Citizenship Act, the national Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act, the national Terrorism Act, and the Quebecois Bill 21.

Furthermore, the Canadian military and security culture after 9/11 assumed all Muslims are potential terrorists, and there was an official adoption of the narrative and institutionalization in state practice. This is especially obvious when non-Muslims perpetrate a terrorist event but are not often prosecuted as terrorists –the opposite is true for Muslims, even though white extremists have been responsible for 8-12 times the deaths Muslim people have been responsible for since 9/11.

To decrease the Islamophobia that is so prevalent in Canadian society, there needs to be a better understanding of Muslim culture and actions demonstrated through policy. Muslim community is extremely diverse, but Muslims are often seen as being all the same – the Muslim community is not a monolith.

Moreover, there must be changes in government policy and strategy to reflect the importance of Muslims in Canadian society. This could include eliminating Canada's sale of arms to regimes who massacre Muslims; repatriating Muslims who have not been charged with criminal acts; and addressing tension between Israel and Palestine.

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Canada should also eliminate the “No Fly List”, as well as stopping its biased sting and entrapment operations and mass surveillance of Muslims. These policies show that policymakers continue to have limitations with understanding islamophobia at the national policy level; even with civilian arms-length committees meant to scrutinize our national security.



In addition, leaders at the institutional level are not improving the security of Canada by continuing to struggle with acknowledging racism and democratizing power. For instance, if Canada’s power is not democratized, then Canada will not get the top people in the best positions. Furthermore, discrimination reduces the cohesion, connections, and believability of Canada. This is proven in Canada’s disempowering policing practices. When Muslim victims and witnesses are continuously treated as suspects, Muslims do not come forward in fear of being criminalized. What’s more, by pushing people to the “bottom rungs” of society and then over-policing them (by people who do not look like them, and who do not understand them), Canada is creating its own issues. The people pushed to the “bottom rungs” of society will begin to feel “othered” and may become internal threats. Thus, Canadian leaders must eliminate these practices and policies so that Canada can build a national security infrastructure that includes this community – this will strengthen Canadian unity and decrease the risk of internal threat.

Panel 4

How to Change Organizational Cultures

MODERATOR: DR. STÉFANIE VON HLATKY (QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY)

PANELISTS: DR. MEGAN MACKENZIE (SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY), DR. MAREN TOMFORDE (COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE OF THE GERMAN ARMED FORCES IN HAMBURG), DR. KAREN D. DAVIS (NATIONAL DEFENCE CANADA)

Cultural changes in the Canadian military in the past have been cyclical. Still, the current trend and momentum for change in the military culture we are witnessing is significantly different from previous episodes. The armed forces leadership denied that culture was an issue in the past. The military leadership framed any problem that emerged as a “bad apples” problem. The military leadership described the culture as distinctively positive and the most honorable aspect of the military that had to be protected. However, minorities such as women, LGBTQ+, indigenous, and racialized individuals and advocates have pointed to a toxic and problematic culture. In different iterations of cultural change, the assumption was that change had occurred after the military had implemented a few initiatives.

Now, there is a concerted effort to integrate all forms of misconduct under an umbrella this time around. There is also a shift towards acknowledging the intersection of colonization and its impact on service members and future Canadians. It is important to note that the Canadian military is a fundamentally gendered institution. Still, the broad recognition of sex, gender, race, and ethnicity and the impact of all these relationships on culture involves incorporating all these social-cultural identities or perspectives into implementing cultural change.

For cultural change to take place requires identifying the definitional clarity of culture. Culture inherently influences how we think, perceive, and interact with others; it defines how we culturally live and put things into practice. Currently, understanding culture entails the dynamics and relationships among leaders, people, institutions, mechanisms, and structures in the military. Instigating cultural change requires taking stock of what kind of culture exists within the military. This necessitates working with anthropologists to investigate the cultural norms and values within the organization. The inability to know what type of culture exists within the organization means it cannot be defined.

It is also essential to work with leaders not from a “top to bottom” or hierarchical approach in the military but rather integrate all levels of the organization to achieve sustainable and long-term cultural change. Organizational cultural change involves a collective approach after taking stock of what is relevant in an organization and the norms and values accepted by all members of the organization and the larger society.

Panel 4

How to Change Organizational Cultures

MODERATOR: DR. STÉFANIE VON HLATKY (QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY)

PANELISTS: DR. MEGAN MACKENZIE (SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY), DR. MAREN TOMFORDE (COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE OF THE GERMAN ARMED FORCES IN HAMBURG), DR. KAREN D. DAVIS (NATIONAL DEFENCE CANADA)

Cultural change is a daunting task that takes time and long-term commitments. For the military, it would need the leadership to include a diverse group of actors in the process, such as anthropological advisers, cultural management advisers, and cultural brokers who need to come from all levels of the organization. Culture is intrinsically linked with identity. Attempting to change it can sometimes be threatening and may lead service members to question their identity within the organization; thus, it is crucial to convince service members why there needs to be a cultural change.



Key strategies for Cultural Change:

1. Disempower people who have been in power in the period of cultural dysfunction. Existing leaders are often ill-equipped to tackle dysfunction when they have been at the helm of it.
2. Include negatively impacted individuals of the toxic culture in the cultural change process.
3. Capture the hearts and minds of the military,
4. Update doctrinal and military ethos to corresponds with a positive, inclusive, and diverse culture.

Panel 5

Nature-Induced Emergency Operations at Home

MODERATOR: DR. STEPHEN SAIDEMAN (CARLETON UNIVERSITY)

PANELISTS: DR. NIRUPAMA AGRAWAL (YORK UNIVERSITY), DR. C. EMDAD HAQUE (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA), DR. KAWSER AHMED (UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA)

Over the past decades, it has become the practice in developed and developing countries to deploy the military to support civilian authority in response to civilian emergencies and natural disasters. Military deployment depends on the nature of the disaster, civilian authorities' specific challenges in joint operations, and the different groups of people with different cultures working together. The government deploys the military for emergency and disaster relief for the following reasons:

First, the armed forces can respond with training and resources. Second, the military operates in a hierarchical or command structure needed to respond to disasters. Third, the armed forces' rapid deployment capability, flexibility, and leadership make them well suited to address emergency relief disasters. Finally, the measure of trust authorities and citizens have for the armed forces.

Civil-military cooperation in Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Responses (HADR) faces challenges associated with different cultures of military and humanitarian actors. The humanitarian community is a loosely organized network of actors. The increased politicization and militarization of humanitarian assistance and the overreliance on counter-insurgency strategies contribute to the challenges of HADR.

The evolving threats and emergency Management in Canada call for a reboot. Compounding threats such as extreme weather and changing climate, pandemics, and cybersecurity have exposed deep cracks in the system, as witnessed in many parts of Canada. Emergency management systems are well established but inadequate to address the evolving threat patterns. Risk identification tools may be in place in provinces but fail to prevent or mitigate damages. The setup of Response and Recovery tools and mechanisms lack capacity, equipment, and resource. There are also gaps between the ability to use early warning systems (e.g., large oceanic and atmospheric circulations) in modeling to address extreme events.

While the discourse is about risk reduction, the actions are response-based. There has been a 40% increase in weather-related missions of the CAF with deployments in response to the Yukon flooding, Western Ontario wildfires, British Columbia Flooding. The CAF is an expensive resource called for international deployments worldwide, but these missions put a strain on the forces. Building capacity via strengthening human capital, financial capital, physical capital, natural capital (protection and carbon sink), and social capital will be necessary when tackling HADR. One way to tackle HADR is to create a sister unit attached to CAF. The sister unit must train with the CAF on relevant problems while augmenting collaboration in administration, science, and data. Canada can learn from the Netherland model. They have no insurance but have a National Water Authority, free of politics, managing disaster-related challenges that incorporate local knowledge.

Finally, there is the need for new institutional arrangements that incorporate civil-military institutional arrangements with adaptive capacity as well as create federal and non-military disaster response agencies similar to the US Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) designed to address HADR.

CONCLUSIONS & SUMMARY

This Year Ahead event aimed to provide an opportunity to reflect on and learn about the challenges Canada is likely to face in 2022 through five themed panels. The first panel's discussions addressed the legal challenges in the grey zone, which our opponents hope to exploit. The lack of precision in international law on cyberspace impedes specific actions to penalize offenders or those engaged in hostile acts in the greyspace. The major takeaway from this panel was for the international community to create a more precise definition of what actions are above and below the threshold of the use of force in cyberspace as cyberattacks increase. The second panel showed that allies have different experiences and impacts from greyspace attacks. However, partners have created various strategies to counter and respond to grey attacks. Currently, there is a gap in exploring defence against grey attacks, precisely capabilities, resources, and equipment required for resilience. The key strategies for Canada and its allies include understanding the political and strategic aims, the means, and the resources available to their foes, complying with international law, and strengthening their infrastructure to increase resilience. The third panel discussed Canada's history of systemic Islamophobia and how it impedes the development of trust between the national security and Muslim communities. Canada can eradicate Islamophobia and prejudice by better understanding Muslim culture and eliminating policies such as the "no-fly list" that further marginalize Muslims. In a way, this panel highlighted how Canada had created its own vulnerabilities and generated more insecurity than security.

The first afternoon panel segued into discussions on the current trend and momentum for change in the military culture. The panel emphasized that cultural change must be collaborative and include all levels of the military and not a hierarchical approach to achieve sustainable and long-term cultural change. Cultural change must correspond with Canadian values and be an ongoing activity with no end state. The closing panel discussed civil-military cooperation in emergency operations in response to the unprecedented events in Canada. These extreme climatic events also expose the CAF to security threats, and the continuous reliance to respond to nature-triggered emergencies further strains the CAF. Emergency management systems established by the Canadian government cannot address the evolving threat patterns. Therefore, there is the need to reboot the system rooted in adaptation with a new institutional arrangement incorporating civil-military institutional arrangements with adaptive capacity.

Overall, this year's Year Ahead event provided in-depth discussions on Canada's future challenges of building a culturally diverse military with strong and positive values that respect the voices and inputs of minorities such as women, indigenous, racialized individuals, and the LGBTQ+. The conference further shed light on building resilience for emerging threats caused by cyberattacks, extreme nature-induced emergencies, and how Canada can overcome them by collaborating with like-minded countries.



2022 YEAR AHEAD CONFERENCE PROGRAM



08:45 – 09:00 **OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE**
• Dr. Stephen M. Saideman, CDSN Director

09:00 – 10:00 **AUTHORITIES IN THE GREYSPACE**
Moderator: Dr. Leah West, Carleton University
• Dr. François Delerue, Leiden University
• Dr. Asaf Lubin, Indiana University
• Dr. Eliza Watt

- Break -

10:15 – 11:30 **ALLIES RESPONDING TO GREY ATTACKS**
Moderator: Rachel Babins, Private Sector
• Dr. Bastian Giegerich, International Institute for Strategic Studies
• Dr. Marina Miron, King's College London
• Dr. Michael J. Mazarr, RAND Corporation

11:30 – 12:30 **DIVERSITY FIRESIDE CHAT: WOC ADVANCING
PEACE & SECURITY**
Introduction: Dr. Siham Rayale, Director of the WCAPS-Canada Chapter
Moderator: Ms. Esra Bengizi, Co-Director and Founder of WCAPS Canada
• Senator Mobina Jaffer
• Mr. Kofi Achampong
• Dr. Faisal Bhabha
• Ms. Azeezah Kanji

- Networking Lunch -

13:30 – 14:45 **HOW TO CHANGE ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURES**
Moderator: Dr. Stéphanie von Hlatky, Queen's University
• Dr. Megan MacKenzie, Simon Fraser University
• Dr. Maren Tomforde, Command and Staff College of the German
Armed Forces in Hamburg
• Dr. Karen D. Davis, Director General Military Personnel Research and
Analysis - National Defence Canada

- Break -

15:00 – 16:00 **NATURE-INDUCED EMERGENCY OPERATIONS AT HOME**
Moderator: Dr. Stephen M. Saideman, CDSN Director
• Dr. Nirupama Agrawal, York University
• Dr. C. Emdad Haque, University of Manitoba
• Dr. Kawser Ahmed, University of Manitoba

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 Stéfanie von Hlatky



PANEL 1

Authorities in the Greyspace

DR. LEAH WEST is an Assistant Professor of International Affairs at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. Leah practices, studies and publishes in the field of national security law. She completed her SJD Candidate at the University of Toronto Faculty of Law in 2020; her research explored the application of criminal, constitutional and international law to state conduct in cyberspace. Leah regularly lectures and engages with the media on her areas of research interest, she is the National Administrator of the Canadian National Rounds of the Phillip C Jessup International Law Moot and is Counsel with Friedman Mansour LLP.

DR. ASAF LUBIN is an Associate Professor of Law at Indiana University Maurer School of Law and a Fellow at IU's Center for Applied Cybersecurity Research (CACR). He is additionally an affiliated fellow at Yale Law School's Information Society Project, a Faculty Associate at the Berkman Klein Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University, and a visiting Scholar at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem Federmann Cyber Security Research Center. Dr. Lubin's research centers around the intersection of law and technology, particularly as it relates to the regulation of cybersecurity harms, liabilities, and insurance as well as policy design around governmental and corporate surveillance, data protection, and internet governance. His work draws on his experiences as a former intelligence analyst, Sergeant Major (Res.), with the IDF Intelligence Branch as well as his vast practical training and expertise in national security law and foreign policy. Dr. Lubin's work additionally reflects his time spent serving as a Robert L. Bernstein International Human Rights Fellow with Privacy International, a London-based non-for-profit devoted to advancing the right to privacy in the digital age and curtailing unfettered forms of governmental and corporate surveillance.

DR. ELIZA WATT's research focuses on cyber law and human rights. She is the author of a book titled, *State Sponsored Cyber Surveillance. The Right to Privacy of Communications and International Law* (Edward Elgar, 2021). She has recently written a chapter, 'The Right to Privacy and Prolonged Drone Surveillance' for a volume edited by Russell Buchan and Asaf Lubin, *The Right to Privacy and Data Protection in Armed Conflict*, a pioneering study under the auspices of NATO CCECOE (forthcoming, 2022). Dr Watt obtained the LL.B, LL.M, L.L.M and PhD degrees from King's College London and University of Westminster. She is also a non-practicing barrister called to the Bar of England And Wales at the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple, with legal consultancy experience in commercial, environmental, licencing and employment related matters.

DR. FRANÇOIS DELERUE is a Senior Researcher in Cybersecurity Governance at the Institute of Security and Global Affairs at Leiden University and Team Leader on International Law for the project EU Cyber Direct. He is also an Associate Fellow of The Hague Program for Cyber Norms. Previously, he worked as a Research Fellow in cyberdefense and international law at the Institute for Strategic Research (Insitut de Recherche Stratégique de l'École Militaire – IRSEM, Paris, France) of the French Ministry of Defense. His book titled 'Cyber Operations and International Law' was published by Cambridge University Press in February 2020.

PANEL 2

Allies Responding to Grey Attacks

RACHEL BABINS currently works in Incident Response at a major Canadian bank, where she previously held positions in threat intelligence. She is also the president of Emerging Leaders in Canadian Security (ELCS). ELCS promotes inclusivity and engagement within the Canadian security and defence space through the support of emerging leaders entering the sector; ultimately working to build a more diverse, skilled, and secure Canada. Rachel received her MA in Russian Studies (in 2019), focusing on Russian ICS-tailored malware targeting critical infrastructure in Ukraine, the US and Canada. She also did a second thesis looking at Russian disinformation targeting NATO's Enhanced Forward Presence mission in the Baltics. In the past, she worked at NATO's Operational headquarters in the Netherlands and at the Canadian government's Nuclear Energy Division, where she got to dig more deeply into security related issues. On the side, she is currently working as a deputy team lead for a cybersecurity-related project with the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence which will launch in January 2022.

DR BASTIAN GIEGERICH is the Director of Defence and Military Analysis at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), where he leads the research team that produces the IISS annual flagship publication *The Military Balance*, oversees the development of the *Military Balance+* online database, and contributes to research and consultancy work. From 2010–15 Bastian worked for the German Federal Ministry of Defence in research and policy roles, while also serving as the IISS Consulting Senior Fellow for European Security. He holds a master's degree in Political Science from the University of Potsdam and a PhD in International Relations from the London School of Economics. He is the author of several book on European security and defence matters, most recently, with Maximilian Terhalle, *"The Responsibility to Defend: Rethinking Germany's Strategic Culture"* (Routledge, 2021).

DR. MARINA MIRON is an Honorary Research Fellow in the Centre for Military Ethics at King's College London. She holds a Ph.D. from the University of New South Wales, Australian Defence Force Academy. She previously taught courses related to intelligence, counternarcotic and strategic studies at the NATO school in Oberammergau, Germany, and at the Colombian War College in Bogota. Dr. Miron is fluent in Spanish, German and Russian, near fluent in Ukrainian and can read Italian, Arabic, Hebrew and Turkish.

DR. MICHAEL J. MAZARR is a senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation. Previously he worked at the U.S. National War College, where he was professor and associate dean of academics, as president of the Henry L. Stimson Center; senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; senior defense aide on Capitol Hill; and as a special assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. His primary interests are U.S. defense policy and force structure, disinformation and information manipulation, East Asian security, nuclear weapons and deterrence, and judgment and decision making under uncertainty. Mazarr holds a Ph.D. in public policy from the University of Maryland.

PANEL 3

Diversity Fireside Chat: WOC Advancing Peace & Security

DR. SIHAM RAYALE (PhD) has over a decade of experience working on and developing policy and programming that promotes women's political and economic empowerment. Siham's research and advocacy has focused on issues relating to women, peace and security with an emphasis on security-sector and legal reform in conflict and post-conflict contexts. Siham has extensive experience working in complex humanitarian environments and leading research that promotes feminist social transformation and foreign policy. Siham is the Director of Foreign Affairs at the National Council of Canadian Muslims (NCCM) and prior to joining NCCM, she has worked in the non-profit sector and academia where she taught courses focusing on development theory and praxis. She has a master's in development from York University, an LLM from Osgoode at York University, and a PhD from SOAS. She currently serves as the Director of the WCAPS-Canada Chapter.

MS. ESRA BENGIZI is a Libyan Canadian and a Doctoral Student at the University of Toronto. She is also the co-director and founder of WCAPS Canada. Esra specializes in post-colonial and feminist studies. Her doctoral thesis is on violence, terrorism, and women's resistance to oppression in North Africa. Esra was born in Benghazi, Libya and fled to Canada in 1996 to escape the Gaddafi regime. 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.

SENATOR MOBINA JAFFER represents the province of British Columbia in the Senate of Canada, is a strong advocate for peace and inclusion, and a champion of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. Throughout her career she has been focused on bridging the gaps between policy and reality, ensuring that the realities, particularly of those who are most vulnerable, are reflected in law and policy making. Senator Jaffer is a strong believer that communities are at the heart of any successful policy initiative, and that women have the true knowledge of their communities. Senator Jaffer's global work on peace took her to the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, where she worked with women peacebuilders as well as governments to advance the peace agenda. As Canada's Special Envoy for Peace in Sudan, she succeeded in bringing Darfurian women to the peace table in 2002. A champion for human rights, diversity, and women, Senator Jaffer chaired the Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights for nearly a decade, as well as the Canadian Committee on Women, Peace, and Security for three years. Senator Jaffer is currently the Chair of the Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, and Chair of the Senate Diversity Subcommittee

PANEL 3

Diversity Fireside Chat: WOC Advancing Peace & Security

MR. KOFI ACHAMPONG is a Toronto-based lawyer, community advocate and public affairs/government relations professional. As a lawyer, Kofi's practice has focused on human rights, employment, criminal law and civil litigation with a number of client files that have highlighted the intersection of national security with the aforementioned areas of law. As a community advocate, Kofi has regularly lent his voice and consultative services to issues at the intersection of anti-Black racism and Islamophobia - including stakeholder engagement on the Ontario Human Rights Commission's report on anti-black racism in policing as well as the federal government's National Strategy on Countering Radicalization to Violence.

DR. FAISAL BHABHA is an Associate Professor at Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto, Canada. He has researched and published in the areas of constitutional law, multiculturalism, law and religion, disability rights, national security and access to justice. He teaches constitutional law, human rights, legal ethics, and appellate advocacy. Previously, he sat as Vice-chair of the Human Rights Tribunal of Ontario (2008-2011). He maintains a varied public and private law practice, appearing before administrative boards and tribunals and at all levels of court, including the Supreme Court of Canada. He advises and represents a variety of individuals and public interest organizations in matters pertaining to constitutional law and human rights. He has appeared as an expert witness before Canadian parliamentary committees and served as a member of the Equity Advisory Group of the Law Society of Ontario. He has lived and worked in the Middle East and South Africa and has lectured and taught in many countries.

AZEEZAH KANJI is a legal academic and writer. She received her Juris Doctor from University of Toronto's Faculty of Law, and Master 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.



PANEL 4

How to Change Organizational Cultures

DR. STÉFANIE VON HLATKY is the Canada Research Chair on Gender, Security and the Armed Forces, an associate professor of political studies at Queen's University and Director of the Centre for International and Defence Policy (CIDP). She is the co-host of the Canadian security and defence podcast Battle Rhythm and co-director of the Network for Strategic Analysis. She received her Ph.D. in Political Science from Université de Montréal in 2010, where she was also Executive Director for the Centre for International Peace and Security Studies. She's held positions at Georgetown University, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Dartmouth College, ETH Zurich and was a Fulbright Visiting Research Chair at the University of Southern California's Centre for Public Diplomacy. She has published in the Canadian Journal of Political Science, the Canadian Foreign Policy Journal, Contemporary Security Policy, International Politics, the Journal of Global Security Studies, International Journal, European Security, Asian Security, as well as the Journal of Transatlantic Studies. She has published a book with Oxford University Press entitled *American Allies in Times of War: The Great Asymmetry* (2013), and four edited volumes, including *The Future of US Extended Deterrence* (co-edited with Andreas Wenger) with Georgetown University Press (2015) and *Countering Violent Extremism and Terrorism: Assessing Domestic and International Strategies* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020).

DR. MEGAN MACKENZIE is a feminist scholar interested in war, security studies, post-conflict recovery and reconstruction, and military culture. Her work is broadly focused on the ways that gender matters in understanding war and insecurity and the ways that experiences of war and insecurity are shaped by gendered norms and sexism. Megan has been studying military culture and gender integration in the military for over a decade, which includes projects on military sexual violence, the integration of women into combat roles, and military suicide. She also has worked on issues related to post-conflict transitions and feminist solutions to ending war. This work includes projects on disarmament programs, amnesty provisions in peace agreements, truth and reconciliation commissions, and a series and edited book on feminist solutions to ending war. She is the author of *Beyond the Band of Brothers: the US military and the myth that women can't fight* (Cambridge University Press 2015) and co-editor, with Nicole Wegner of *Feminist Solutions for Ending War* (Pluto Press 2021).

DR. MAREN TOMFORDE received her Ph.D. in Social and Cultural Anthropology from the University of Hamburg in 2005. For her thesis, she carried out research in Thailand (1999-2002) on "cultural spatiality" among the Karen and Hmong. In 2003-2007 she worked as a Senior Research Associate at the Social Research Institute of the German Armed Forces and conducted anthropological research on German peacekeeping missions and military cultures on the Balkan and in Afghanistan. Since March 2007, she is a Senior Lecturer at the Command and Staff College of the German Armed Forces in Hamburg. Since February 2021, she has been the Department Head of the Department "Global International Relations" at the College. Apart from lecturing at the College, she carries out research on military cultures, civil-military entanglements, and diversity in the Armed Forces. In addition, since 2015, Maren Tomforde has been a Research Fellow at the Department of Anthropology at the Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia

DR. KAREN D. DAVIS is a defence scientist with the Director General Military Personnel Research and Analysis, and the Research Lead for the Chief, Professional Conduct and Culture, National Defence Canada. She holds a Master of Arts from McGill University and a PhD from the Royal Military College of Canada. Formerly as a military officer and as a civilian scientist, Karen has developed and led numerous research projects and teams investigating gender, culture, and leadership in the military. Her current responsibilities include the development of a strategic research program to support culture change, and scientific oversight of a multi-method assessment of barriers and opportunities for the deployment of Canadian military women. Karen recently led a NATO Research Task Group on the Integration of Women into Ground Combat Units.

PANEL 5

Nature-Induced Emergency Operations at Home

DR. NIRUPAMA AGRAWAL is a Professor of Disaster and Emergency Management (DEM) at York University, Canada, with over 30 years of professional experience. She has a PhD in Water Resources from Kyoto University, Japan, and a master's in Hydrology from the Indian Institute of Technology Roorkee, India. She was a researcher at the University of Newcastle, UK, before joining Western University, Canada, on a postdoctoral assignment, followed by teaching at Brandon University in Manitoba. Her research and teaching include topics such as the physical dynamics of natural hazards and disaster risk, flood risk, community engagement for risk perception and resilience building, and multi-criteria decision support systems. She has supervised and served as an examiner for over 60 graduate students; published over 60 refereed articles; and nearly 20 book chapters. Her recent textbook, "Natural Disasters and Risk Management in Canada: An Introduction," published by Springer, is among the most used publications on SpringerLink. Her other publications include an edited book on the Indian Ocean Tsunami, and a Travel Time Atlas for the Atlantic Ocean, the first of its kind early warning resource for the Atlantic Ocean. She serves on various working groups and journal editorial and advisory boards, including Natural Hazards, International Journal of Disaster Resilience in the Built Environment, Canadian Journal of Emergency Management, and Canadian Dam Association Emergency Management working group. Dr. Agrawal is also an adjunct professor at the United Nations University Institute for Water, Environment and Health in Canada.

DR. C. EMDAD HAQUE is a professor of Natural Resource and Environmental Management at the Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba, Canada. He graduated from the University of Manitoba with a Master of Arts degree in 1982 and a PhD in Environment and GeograGeography and Environment in 1988. Dr. Haque served as the Chair of the Department of Geography of Brandon University, Manitoba, during 1996-2000 and as Director of the Natural Resources Institute of the University of Manitoba from 2001 to 2011. He authored/co-authored more than 230 refereed articles and has written seven books, including Hazards in a Fickle Environment: Bangladesh (Kluwer Publishers, 1997), edited books, entitled Mitigation of Natural Hazards and Disasters (Springer, 2005) and Disaster Risk and Vulnerability: Mitigation through Mobilizing Communities and Partnerships (McGill and Queen's University Press, 2012). Dr. Haque is the recipient of the 1998 Brandon University Senate Award for Excellence in Research. He was also awarded the Visiting Research Fellowship by the Queen Elizabeth House of the University of Oxford, Oxford, England in 1996-97, and Visiting Fulbright Research Chair at the Arizona State University, USA by the Fulbright Foundation. Dr. Haque was Founding-President of the Canadian Risk and Hazards Network (CRHNet) during 2004-2008 and served as Vice-President of the International Association for Disaster Preparedness and Mitigation during 2000-2004.

DR. KAWSER AHMED received his PhD in Peace and Conflict Studies from University of Manitoba in 2017. He was an exchange officer with the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK), an observer-Peacekeeper to the United Nations Missions in Western Sahara (MINURSO), and an alumnus at the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies (NESA) in Washington DC. He is associated with the Center for Defence and Security Studies (CDSS) as a research fellow, a junior research affiliate with the Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security, and Safety (TSAS), and an associate with the Canadian Practitioners Network for Prevention of Radicalization and Extremist Violence (CPN-PREV). He leads a Winnipeg based not-for-profit organization named Conflict and Resilience Research Institute, Canada (CRRIC). His research interests are social conflict and peacebuilding, resilience, radicalism, violent extremism, and UN peacekeeping operations. He teaches at the University of Winnipeg and University of Manitoba, and he completed his Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) post-doctoral fellowship at the same institution. He lives and works in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

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