The liberal international order that was created under the leadership of the United States in the early 1940s, and maintained in various iterations since then by a succession of administrations in Washington, is being challenged as never before. Today, we are seeing that order challenged, not only by states that clearly do not accept an American-led international order, such as China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea, but also by non-state actors such as transnational criminal organizations and global jihadist movements. The result is a hypercompetitive, multipolar environment marked by a persistent struggle for influence and position within a “gray zone” of competition that falls below the threshold of conventional war. An array of actors engages in aggressive and destabilizing activity to diminish Western influence and position by “weaponizing” non-traditional tools to skew perceptions of power, exploit political divisions, gain economic advantage, and magnify social and cultural fissures in target countries.

But the liberal international order is also being challenged from within by those who are skeptical about the benefits of that order. In the United States, Europe, and Asia there is evidence of concern about the international order. That skepticism is particularly pronounced in the United States. The legitimacy that underpinned the Western liberal approach to global politics has been increasingly under assault. Rising skepticism about the costs, both military and economic, of sustaining that order has been accompanied by the rise of nationalism and protectionism that further calls into question the sustainability of the old order.

The significant changes that have been in train since the end of the decade-long “unipolar moment” of American hegemony, following the Cold War, are the focus of this year’s Kingston Conference on International Security. KCIS 2019 will examine the causes of the challenges to the
legitimacy of the liberal international order, and why it has been so difficult to articulate a compelling narrative to support a continuation of American leadership. It will also examine how the order is changing, and what the implications of those changes will be for the future security environment faced by the United States and its allies in the Americas, in the North Atlantic, and in the Indo-Pacific region. This year’s panelists and speakers will analyze specific indicators of shifts in geopolitical power, the structural erosion of norms and institutions, and the relative resonance of competing narratives. The result will be new and innovative insights into the possible contours of a new international order.

The conference begins with a foundational discussion of security, geopolitical, economic, populist, and structural drivers of change in the contemporary international order. This will be followed by three regional panels. Each panel will provide evidence-based analysis of (a) current policy and strategy to determine official U.S. and partner state interests and objectives, (b) dissonant and hedging policies that appear to be incongruous with stated objectives, and (c) potential contours of an emerging international order. Keynote speakers will offer complementary or alternative viewpoints to the panel presentations. The final conference panel will draw from the regional panel insights to offer collective security implications that transcend the regional analysis.

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AGENDA

MONDAY, 10 JUNE 2019
Fort Frontenac Officers Mess

1730 Opening Reception

1830 WELCOME REMARKS
   Major-General Stephen Cadden
   Commander Canadian Army Doctrine and Training Command

TUESDAY, 11 JUNE 2019
Bellevue Room, 6th Floor, Holiday Inn

0700 BREAKFAST (Islandview Room)

0730 Registration

0830 WELCOME – Master of Ceremonies
   Colonel Christopher Ingels - US Army War College Visiting Defence Fellow

0835 OPENING REMARKS
   Major-General Stephen Cadden - Commander CADTC

0845 CHALLENGE TO THE CONFERENCE
   Lieutenant-General Jean-Marc Lanthier - Commander Canadian Army

0915 OPENING KEYNOTE ADDRESS: THE WORLD ORDER TODAY
   Ben Rowswell - President, Canadian International Council

1015 BREAK

1045 PANEL 1: DRIVERS OF CHANGE
   This panel looks at the hypothesis that the international order is in transition. Factors driving change, including: interstate competition, geo-political relationships, global economics, populist movement influence, and the international order's structural power institutions that enforce norms will be addressed.

   Moderated by: Lieutenant-General Stephen Bowes - Canadian Army Forces Liaison Officer with Veterans Affairs Canada

   Speakers:
   Professor William G. Braun, III - Professor of Practice,
   Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College
   Dr. Sara Bjerg Moller - Associate Professor
   School of Diplomacy and IR, Seton Hall University
   Dr. Carol Evans - Research Professor of National Security Affairs
   Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College
TUESDAY, 11 JUNE 2019
Bellevue Room, 6th Floor, Holiday Inn

1230 LUNCH

1330 KEYNOTE ADDRESS: THE EROSION OF THE U.S.-LED ORDER
   Dr. Daniel Drezner – Professor, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

1430 BREAK

PERSPECTIVES ON A CHANGING INTERNATIONAL ORDER
The following three regional panels will present evidence-based analyses of the transformation of the international order as it affects the Americas, the North Atlantic area, and the Indo-Pacific. Panelists will be asked to identify indicators of a changing international order by examining the evolution of dissonance between U.S. policies and the demonstrated behavior of the U.S. in each region. Of particular interest is the degree to which American policy has evolved in a way that casts doubt on established U.S. norms and commitments to the region. Does changing U.S. policy and behavior in the region suggest a growing reluctance on the part of the American public, a withdrawal from leadership, or a new set of international order norms? Each panel will also look at key American partners in the region. Do we see worries about the United States as a reliable security partner? Are key American allies hedging, particularly with other major powers? How resilient are the norms of the liberal international order in the region? Are they capable of being maintained within the region without American leadership? Who might take a leadership role in the region? Finally, what tentative insights might be offered about potential alternative international order futures and their security implications?

1500 PANEL 2: THE AMERICAS

Moderated by: Dr. James McKay - Associate Dean of Social Sciences and Humanities
   Royal Military College of Canada

Speakers:
   Ferry de Kerckhove - former Ambassador and Senior Fellow
   Canadian Global Affairs Institute
   Dr. Kathryn Fisher - Associate Professor
   College of International Security Affairs, National Defense University (Ft Bragg)
   Dr. Sara McGuire - Lecturer
   International Relations, University of Pennsylvania

1800 NETWORKING/CONFERENCE DINNER
Kingston 1000 Islands Cruises,
Confederation Docks (located behind hotel)
**Wednesday, 12 June**
Bellevue Room, 6th Floor, Holiday Inn

0730 **Breakfast** (Islandview Room)

0800 Registration

0830 **Panel 3: North Atlantic**

Moderated by: **Prof. Stéfanie von Hlatky** - Fellow
Centre for International and Defence Policy, Queen’s University

Speakers:
- **Dr. Marc Ozawa** - Senior Researcher
  Research Division, NATO Defense College
- **Robert Baines** - President and CEO
  NATO Association of Canada
- **Brigadier General Frédéric Pesme** - Deputy Director
  Policy & Capabilities Division, International Military Staff, NATO

1000 **Break**

1030 **Panel 4: Indo-Pacific**

Moderated by: **Prof. Kim Richard Nossal** - Director
Centre for International and Defence Policy, Queen’s University


Speakers:
- **Ali Wyne** – Policy Analyst
  RAND Corporation
- **Prof. Sumit Ganguly** - Distinguished Professor of Political Science
  Indiana University Bloomington
- **Dr. Christopher Ankersen** - Clinical Associate Professor
  NYU Center for Global Affairs

1200 **Lunch**

1300 **Keynote Address: Challenges in Meeting Changes on the Ground**

**Lieutenant-General Wayne Eyre** - UNC Deputy Commander
United Nations Command, Korea
WEDNESDAY, 12 JUNE
Bellevue Room, 6th Floor, Holiday Inn

1415   PANEL 5: COMMONALITIES AND SECURITY IMPLICATIONS
This final panel will synthesize previous panel and speaker insights, to distill overarching security implications. Panelists will discuss relevant security implications by assessing the impact of security competition, geopolitics, economics, and populist factors of change; organizational change within the institutions that facilitate or resist that change; a summary of critical U.S. dissonance and partner hedging; and an assessment of official and emerging legitimacy narratives. The discussion will establish the contours of international order transitions affecting military and policy practitioners.

Moderated by: Dr. Howard Coombs - Chair War Studies Program
Royal Military College of Canada

Speakers:
Dr. Isaiah Wilson – Director
Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College
Kerry Buck – Assistant Secretary, Treasury Board Secretariat
former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Canada to NATO
Dr. Anna Geis - Chair of International and Security Studies,
Helmut Schmidt University

1545   CLOSING REMARKS
Major General John Kem - Commandant
U.S. Army War College
ABSTRACTS

PANEL 1 – DRIVERS OF CHANGE

William G. Braun, III
Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College

This presentation will serve two functions. First, it will provide background and context to set-the-stage for the remaining panels. Second, it will offer a prioritized list of the drivers of change, which are placing pressure on the status quo international order. It will conclude with preliminary insights into the potential implications for international security.

The conference context will include background on the origins of the conference theme, and an overview of the logic and approach underpinning the conference design. The prioritized drivers of change discussion will include geo-economic, geo-political, changes regarding institutions responsible for the managing of international order, and other contributing drivers of change. The primary focus of the presentation will be the geo-political implications of a potential fundamental shift in U.S. foreign policy.

Sara Berg Moller
School of Diplomacy and IR, Seton Hall University

Any attempt to assess the “drivers of change” must first tackle the underlying question of whether the international system is in fact undergoing a transformative change. It seems to me that before we can address the central theme of this panel, we first need to ask ourselves what we mean by change. Only by being as precise as possible about what is and isn't new or different from past eras can we hope to arrive at tentative conclusions about the future of security relations among states.

As Kai Holsti has noted, change is in the eye of the beholder. If we take Holsti’s definition, then change is “something new, and that new thing is usually the antithesis of something old.”1 But what is our referent? For many commentators, it is 1945 and the post-war US-led international order. If this is our guidepost then I think what we really mean when we talk about contemporary changes to the international system are changes in the system, as opposed to changes of the system.

A change of system would require that the central features of international life had been altered in some way. There is little evidence to suggest that this is the case, however. We still live in a Hobbesian world. The principle tenets of international politics – anarchy and self-help – which guide the logic of relations among independent powers, remain unaltered. My purpose in distinguishing between these two types of change is to submit to you that there is perhaps more continuity in contemporary international security relations than meets the eye (or the occasional glance at twitter).

When we think of transformative periods in history, we typically think of 1815, 1848, 1919, 1945, and 1989. Are the developments we have witnessed in the past couple of years on par with these epochal periods? Perhaps. The evidence is strongest in the economic realm, where the United States appears intent on upending the global economic order of the last 75 years, while Great Britain seems equally determined to undo 46 years of regional economic integration.

But thus far, at least, the security realm remains largely unaffected. For all of President Trump’s bluster, the US remains committed to European security. Under the Trump administration, the budget for the European Defense Initiative (EDI) – formerly the European Reassurance Initiative (ERI) – which supports the roughly
10,000 personnel in USEUCOM has grown from 3.4 billion USD in FY 2017 to 6.5 billion USD in FY 2019. The Pentagon’s request for EDI for FY 2020 is 5.9 billion USD. The US is also preparing to boost its military presence in Poland. When it comes to transatlantic security, there are strong institutional constraints and path dependent forces at work on both sides of the Atlantic.

Likewise, for all the recent talk of a return to great power competition, I would argue that geopolitics never really went away. Taking the long view of history reveals just how unusual the years 1989-2001 (or even 1989-2014) actually were. Rather than a fundamental departure from the past what we are witnessing today may instead be a return to the normal state of international affairs. The euphoria of 1989/1991 which produced the peace dividend of the 1990s may prove ultimately to be nothing more than a “Holiday from History,” as George Will has argued. The 2001 terrorist attacks on the US appeared at first to usher in a new era and new security challenges. But the last two decades have shown that foreign terrorism, however barbarous, does not pose an existential threat to our way of life and can be managed. Indeed, if the last two decades have taught us anything it is that great powers risk hastening their decline by fighting wars of choice.

Conventional wisdom holds that changes in the international system are afoot. I was asked to speculate about the sources of these changes. But let me instead offer a modified hypothesis. What has changed is not the international system or the nature of geopolitics but rather our collective understanding and perception of the natural order of things.

After the Cold War, Western elites got swept up in the euphoria of victory. Democracy, free markets, and the rule of law had won. For over a decade, Western audiences were told by their leaders that the world was changing for the better: Russia would reform and cease to be a threat. Engaging China and enlarging the liberal international order (LIO) would produce positive returns for all.

What we are witnessing today is the publics’ anger and frustration at their leaders’ failure to deliver what all along were unrealistic promises and expectations. It was hubris that made us think that others would embrace our values and political and economic systems if only they were given the chance to do so. Just as it was reckless for us to think that economic competition, interstate violence and great power competition had disappeared from international life. History and geography are powerful forces. For all our dreaming of a Kantian or Grotian world in the 1990s and beyond, it is clear now that we never left the world of Hobbes behind.

Carol Evans
Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College

Economic drivers are paramount in reshaping the global international security landscape. Military power alone is no longer a sufficient factor in determining power and foreign policy influence. Rather, nation states are employing economic instruments (geoeconomic tools) as their primary means of projecting influence and conducting geopolitical combat in the twenty-first century. And, geopolitical competition itself is being determined by the degree to which a nation state uses these instruments effectively.

In this presentation I will address three important economic drivers affecting geopolitics. The first topic is the rapid erosion of the multilateral economic frameworks led primarily by the current U.S. Administration’s economic nationalist policies. The Administration’s withdrawal from the Trans Pacific Partnership, Paris Climate Accord, renegotiations over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and threat to withdraw from the World Trade Organization signal a strong preference for coercive, bilateral trade deals, while creating a power vacuum in the international world order. Trade wars with China, punitive tariffs on friends and allies, economic sanctions on Iran and Turkey has left the U.S. isolated, with long term allies and trading partners questioning America’s reliability and capacity for global leadership. The unintended consequences can be seen in stronger Sino-Russian relations, NATO disharmony, and countries from the Balkans to Southeast Asia being drawn into China’s economic orbit.
Unilateralism, isolation, fragmentation in the West sharply contrast with what is happening in Asia, with the movement of global GDP from West to East and the transference of global economic power to China. My second topic examines China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) -- Xi Jinping’s one trillion dollar infrastructure program involving over 80 countries. Designed to secure China’s energy, natural resources and trade routes in the maritime and overland, the BRI is enabling China’s regional hegemony in the Indo-Pacific and may displace U.S. global power pre-eminence in the near future.

My third and last topic concerning the economic drivers of international security is that critical infrastructure has now become the weapon of choice by nation states. Russia’s hybrid operations in Ukraine and cyber access of the U.S. electric grid, as well as China’s strategic penetration of U.S. and European telecommunications, transport and defense industrial base suppliers highlight our adversaries’ capabilities and intentions to use CI to prepare the battlespace and threaten U.S. and NATO military supremacy.

With the U.S. inwardly focused on the 2020 elections, and Europe fractured by Brexit, and anti-European Union movements in Italy, Germany, Poland, and Hungary, it is unclear how the U.S. and Europe can devise a coherent strategy to counter China’s ascendance. Certainly the U.S.’ belated pivot to the Indo-Pacific and promise in $113m in new initiatives for the region are steps in the right direction. However, lacking a truly geostrategic approach in concert with allies, and leveraging multilateral frameworks, the U.S. is squandering time and opportunities.

**KEYNOTE – THE EROSION OF THE U.S.-LED ORDER**

Dr. Daniel Drezner  
*Professor, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University*

For seventy years, a basic premise of U.S. grand strategy has been the creation and propagation of the liberal international order. The material and ideational foundations undergirding that order are in grave danger, however, and it is no longer possible to take it for granted. At the same time as many of the sources of American power are ebbing, many of the guardrails that have kept U.S. foreign policy on track have been worn down. This erosion predates the current political moment but current political dynamics have further exacerbated these trends. Shifts in the way that Americans debate and conduct foreign policy will make it much more difficult to right the ship in the near future. The erosion of trust in expertise, increase in political polarization, and weakening of legislative interest in grand strategy have degraded the ability of experts to proffer new ideas and critique alternatives. These trends also ensure that the lifespan of each grand strategy has been shortened, reducing the utility of their articulation in the first place. Future presidents might be more amenable to a restorationist foreign policy platform. In all likelihood, however, the classical version of American grand strategy cannot be revived.
Kathryn Fisher  
*College of International Security Affairs, National Defense University (Ft Bragg)*

There are a multitude of starting points from which we could try and better understand, analyze, and engage with “Perspectives on a Changing International Order” in the context of the Americas, and the specific question posed on “on what kind of potential alternative international order we might see in the region in the future”. From colonial histories of-and violence, to trade agreements such as NAFTA or MERCOSUR, to the relatively long-standing Organization of American States formed to strengthen democracy and human rights, the Americas comprise an incredible amount of material with which to engage debates on order and disorder in regional (hemispheric) politics. In addition to broader elements of key focus for International Relations, such as legitimacy, sovereignty, and ethics, there exist specific issue areas of primary security concern in the Americas.

One key challenge to strengthen regional stability and order, I argue, is to ensure effective and long-lasting collective partnerships as issues of insecurity, for example trafficking, non-state armed groups, climate change, and inequality, are impossible to tackle unilaterally. For the purpose of this presentation thinking about changing order in the context of the Americas I anchor discussion in historical research on ideology, material ambitions, and geostrategic calculations. In addition, I propose we consider such dynamics with a conscious eye on the relational interplays of domestic politics and foreign policy, and short and/or long-time horizons. The latter is something that International Relations scholars such as myself often underestimate, and the former is something that is too often neglected by scholars and practitioners alike. By way of conclusion I respond directly to some questions posed by the organizers of this conference before making a call for more explicit attention to normative aspects of political decision in thinking of alternative international and regional orders in future.

Dr. Sara McGuire  
*International Relations, University of Pennsylvania*

In the immediate post-9/11 period, the concept of ‘homeland security’ subsumed former conceptions of border security. The emphasis was on ensuring that ‘terrorists’ were barred from entering North America, and border security measures were oriented towards ‘security enhancement’, as it was broadly defined. Today, the issues facing countries in the Northern Triangle (Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador) have resulted in increasing northern immigration, which has forced a further re-orientation of border security policies. Aggressive rhetoric employed by the current U.S. administration has obscured the need to re-formulate border security policies in order to better respond to the influx of irregular migrants from Northern Triangle countries. While the Trump administration’s foreign policy stance regarding immigration reflects existing trends in American foreign policy, it is novel in its use of social media rhetoric that appeals to populist cleavages. Ultimately, the increase in northern immigration is an issue that is faced by all North American countries, demonstrating a breakdown in the North American asylum system. The Cartagena Agreement and the Safe Third Country Agreement are in need of review. Canada must see itself as part of the Americas in order to address the flawed asylum system.

Ferry de Kerckhove  
*Canadian Global Affairs Institute*

Does what happens in Latin America, the mostly “neglected” region in mainstream media, portend what will really materialize in the new global (dis)order?
Marc Ozawa  
Research Division, NATO Defense College (Rome)

**NATO-Russian Relations: Has the ship already sailed?**

2018 saw a rise in Russian aggressive activities in NATO member states and a more assertive and confident Russia on the world stage. The continued impasse between NATO and Russia over Ukraine, the recovering economy and deepening relations with China create more disincentives than incentives for Russia to cooperate. Although still underway, the ongoing implementation of NATO’s defense posturing on the Eastern Flank is raising the costs of any traditional military incursion within NATO’s borders. While the threat of an Article 5 moment is low, Russian destabilizing measures are likely to increase unless appropriate actors from the West, including NATO, improve at coordinating and countering in the ‘grey zone.’ This does not bode well for the state of NATO-Russian relations in the coming years. Options for NATO are also limited given the current deadlock and NATO’s role as a military, rather than political or economic, alliance. NATO can, however, continue to play a role in risk reduction through dialogue, improving strategic awareness among the member states, and facilitate coordination among the range of actors, including civil society and the private sector, needed to counter aggression in the ‘grey zone.’

Robert Baines  
NATO Association of Canada

Considering the changing dynamics of the rules-based international order in the North Atlantic area, there is a need for greater public awareness and support of the order itself if it is to thrive in the face of emerging challenges. The broad changes affecting the relationship between the United States, Canada and Europe stemming from the administration of President Donald Trump may end up serving as a much-needed stress-test for NATO and the rules-based order. In the case of NATO specifically, Mr. Trump’s public equivocation about the value of NATO has forced allies of America to consider a future with less American leadership. This forced consideration of existential questions may give enough impetus to the NATO Alliance and the other parts of the rules-based order to innovate and grow stronger. A growing impression of increased global insecurity and conflict has made citizens of the US, Canada and Europe more concerned about security issues. This concern has not, however, necessarily translated into an appreciation of the multilateral organizations which have helped to provide global peace, prosperity and security since the end of the Second World War. Recent polls and political trends suggest that most citizens enjoying the benefits of the rules-based order do not understand it. This is not surprising as the rules-based international order is not a formal system but rather a loose association of multilateral organizations creating an alphabet soup of acronyms. Despite this lack of public recognition, it is the multi-faceted nature of the current international order which provides resilience in the face of current challenges and which has created a track record of success unparalleled in history.

After several years of concerned political discussions about the future of the rules-based international order, a coalition lead by France and Germany emerged in early 2019 and will be officially launched as the Alliance of Multilateralism to provide leadership in place of the perceived absence of American interest in support of the order. The increased action and support by governments indicates a certain amount of political will to ensure the survival of the current international order. What is completely lacking is social and cultural buy-in from citizens in concert with this growing political support. This is not entirely surprising as social and cultural engagement has not been actively pursued on this level.
No organization has been charged with being a champion for the rules-based order from a public affairs perspective and even most of the multilateral institutions that make up the component parts of the rules-based order do not make overt mention of their inclusion in any such order. There is no branding, no flag, not even an agreed-upon name for the post-war rules-based international order. The order would benefit by emerging as a valuable and understandable cultural and civilizational project. Individual and multilateral government policy initiatives should be considered to support historical/cultural understanding of the rules-based international order to achieve citizen buy-in. This should be complementary to but separate from formal education. If the order is to survive coming global challenges and changes, it will almost certainly need more social and cultural presence in the lives of the individual citizens who enjoy the peace, prosperity and security it provides.

Frédéric Pesme  
*International Military Staff, NATO*  

**At 70, the fourth age of NATO.**

The fact that the Atlantic Alliance turns 70 this year seems obvious. Nevertheless, throughout its history, NATO has often been criticized and its disappearance being forecasted many times since the end of the Cold War. But the Alliance has always been able to adapt to all the upheavals of European security, and is still adapting today to remain relevant in a highly volatile and contested environment. The security architecture resulting from the Cold War is becoming increasingly challenged and a growing number of state or non-state actors emerge and contest the international order. This new situation goes along with a contestation of the military power at the high end of the spectrum, when at the lower end it is bypassed, leveled or denied, through asymmetric or hybrid tactics. In addition, the battlefield is expended to other material or immaterial domains, such as Cyber and Space.

Once again, NATO has to adapt to all these challenges. Since the Wales summit in 2014, the Alliance is undergoing a dramatic change in its posture and structure which may be its most drastic adaptation since the end of the Cold War. This might be unnoticed because the decisions made span over three summits (Wales – 2014, Warsaw – 2016 and Brussels – 2018) that are inseparable to understand today’s NATO answer to these changes in the Euro-Atlantic area. The Alliance is currently consolidating and bringing into coherence all the initiatives agreed since 2014.

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**PANEL 4 – INDO-PACIFIC**

Ali Wyne  
*RAND Corporation*

America’s relative influence in the Indo-Pacific has declined over the past decade, not only on account of China’s resurgence, but also on account of Washington’s continued immersion in the Middle East’s geopolitical convulsions and its inability to advance a geo-economic agenda that can credibly compete with or at least supplement that of Beijing. Recent years, moreover, have sown the impression among America’s longstanding partners and allies in the region that it is an unstable, even erratic, actor; they wonder whether current U.S. conduct, characterized by skepticism of international institutions and a preference for bilateral transactionalism, marks an aberration from traditional U.S. foreign policy or signifies its new course.

It would be premature to presume, though, as power transition theory might imply, that relative U.S. decline guarantees eventual Chinese dominance in the Indo-Pacific. China is bordered by a combination of politically unstable neighbors and highly capable democracies; has few, if any, genuine allies; and faces one of the
world's bleakest demographic outlooks. One could argue, moreover, that its foreign policy has overreached under Xi Jinping: China’s continued militarization of the South China Sea is compelling members of “the Quad”—Australia, India, Japan, and the United States—to intensify defense cooperation with one another; its signature economic-cum-strategic initiative, the Belt and Road, is encountering growing backlash abroad; and its technological progression is eliciting heightened scrutiny in the United States and Europe.

On balance, then, while the United States and China will likely remain the two linchpins of the Indo-Pacific, observers should be cautious not to appraise its evolution through a reductionist, “G-2” perspective; frustrated by U.S. unpredictability, apprehensive about China’s ambitions, and unwilling to resign themselves to strategic gridlock between the two, “middle” countries in the region are likely to play an important role in shaping the contours of its order.

**Prof. Sumit Ganguly**  
*Indiana University, Bloomington*

A deep ambivalence exists in New Delhi about the scope and dimensions of India's engagement with the Indo-Pacific. On the one hand, Indian foreign and security policy decision-makers have long abandoned their reflexive hostility toward the US naval presence in the Indian Ocean. On the contrary, unlike during the Cold War years, they actually, if cautiously, welcome American naval activity seeing it as both stabilizing and reassuring. Simultaneously, they remain a bit circumspect and hesitant about active collaboration with the US Navy for fear of making waves with the PLAN. Accordingly, Indian policies have been fitful and cooperation with the USN limited. However, with the largely pro-American Modi regime now safely ensconced for the next five years it is possible that India may prove to be more forthcoming in its pursuit of naval cooperation even at the possible cost of colliding with the PLAN.

**Dr. Christopher Ankersen**  
*Nyu Center for Global Affairs*

**The Future of the Indo-Pacific is Plastic**

Several features of the security environment of the Indo-Pacific are changing, as are key elements of the regional security architecture. These changes will mean that all countries in the region will face a future that is marked by less certainty and more options, but not necessarily better ones. As a result, states may combine and recombine more frequently, but less permanently. In short, security arrangements, while not completely fluid, will be fungible. Critical incidents (such as events on the Korean peninsula) as well as more gradual developments (such as ongoing Chinese expansion of the Belt and Road Initiative and the erosion of American leadership) are adding stress to the region. Some observers believe that these stressors are likely to lead to a failure of the prevailing regional security order. Others, though, believe that the current changes are temporary and once things change--in Washington, say—then things will ‘snap back’ to the status quo ante.

I argue that the changes to the Indo-Pacific region are unlikely to be either wholly catastrophic or completely reversible. The forces at play in the region will cause deformations that will have long-lasting effect. The future, then, will be plastic, not elastic.

This raises several questions for all actors involved, or who wish to be involved, in the region. In particular, we might ask how can middle powers (such as Australia and Canada) engage most effectively in the Indo-Pacific. What can they offer and what can they gain?
LGen Wayne Eyre  
United Nations Command, Korea

Formed in the first several weeks of the Korean War to command the multinational effort to defend South Korea, the United Nations Command (UNC) has undergone significant evolution over the course of the last 69 years. Despite this change, its raison d’etre is still rooted in what some call its birth document, United Nations Security Council Resolution 84, which asked member nations to put its forces under a US led unified command to restore ‘peace and security to the area’. During the war, 17 Nations deployed combat forces, and another five sent medical units, to serve under UNC.

Since the end of the Korean War, UNC has been responsible for enforcing the Armistice Agreement, and in the event that hostilities resume, to be the home for United Nations Sending State forces sent to once again defend the Republic of Korea.

With the standup of the bilateral ROK-US Combined Forces Command in 1978 as the ‘warfighting’ command, UNC somewhat atrophied over the subsequent decades, but its role, responsibilities, and authorities remained. Over the last five years, realizing its untapped potential, UNC has undergone a renaissance and has a new vitality to it, putting it in the forefront of current events on the Korean Peninsula.

The Command, with 17 nations currently as UNC Sending States, is still guided by the need to restore ‘peace and security to the area’. It does its part to reach a lasting peace by enforcing the Armistice Agreement, and in doing so gives diplomacy the space necessary to find a solution. For what was supposed to be a temporary arrangement, the Armistice Agreement has done remarkable work in maintaining stability and preventing conflict resumption for nearly 66 years.

On security, UNC stands ready to support the defence of South Korea should the need arise. It exercises its crisis and hostilities functions in conjunction with Combined Forces Command as a necessary component of military readiness, and maintains a strong relationship with Japan in order to facilitate force flow through this vital neighbour.

The last two years has seen a roller coaster of escalating and de-escalating tensions on the Korean Peninsula, with the threat of war and the promise of a lasting peace both significantly impacting the day to day business of UNC. As has been the case for much of the last 66 years, we are now in a period of uncertainty: will diplomacy prevail and a solution found to achieve peace, or will the situation return to provocations and escalating tensions?

In his keynote address, LGen Eyre will describe UNC’s activities in the context of the current situation and how it is poised to support both ‘peace and security’, and in doing so, explore the challenges of both.
The “civilian power” Europe in search of “strategic autonomy”: European Security in Turbulent Times

The current crisis of the liberal world order is quite tangible within the club of liberal democratic states that form the European Union (EU). The EU has been facing a cumulation of quite different crises during the last years, partly induced from domestic realms of member states, partly from the outside: the “Euro” crisis, the “migration crisis”, the violent conflict in the Ukraine, “Brexit”, the rise of populist parties in many member states. With regard to the European security order, a number of – quite different - challenges have resulted in a renewed debate about enhanced (EU-)European agency in security matters and about achieving “strategic autonomy”: perception of Russia as a major threat, the necessity to coordinate more coherent counter-terrorist activities, the differences with the US about fair burden sharing in NATO and about dealing with strategic challenges, the pending “Brexit”, to name but a few.

While many researchers have ascribed a foreign policy identity of a “civilian power” to the EU, the call for enhanced strategic autonomy, envisaged projects such as PESCO/ the European Army suggest that the EU is in search of a new narrative and role for itself in turbulent times. However, the gap between visionary words and concrete deeds is immense, the support for a more integrated and ‘robust’ security policy of the EU differs greatly among EU governments and populations. This presentation will discuss risks and opportunities of selected EU projects which have a potential impact on the regional security order and assess the tensions between the US administration and some European governments about burden sharing from a European perspective.
Colonel Christopher Ingels
US Army

Colonel (COL) Christopher Ingels was commissioned as an Intelligence Officer after graduating from the State University of New York, University at Albany, with a BA in Political Science. Early in his career, Chris served as the Assistant Intelligence Officer for an Infantry Battalion, an Intelligence Platoon Leader, and as an Intelligence Company Executive Officer in the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) at Fort Campbell, Kentucky. He was later assigned to the 1st Cavalry Division, Fort Hood, Texas, as an Armor Battalion Intelligence Officer, Armor Brigade Senior Intelligence Officer, and Intelligence Company Commander.

As part of the 25th Infantry Division, Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, he deployed to Iraq in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) as the Senior Intelligence Officer for the 25th Combat Aviation Brigade from 2006 to 2007. He later returned to Iraq as an Intelligence Advisor to the Iraqi Army’s 12th Division G-2 from 2008 to 2009. Upon his return from Iraq, Chris attended the Command and General Staff College and School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS) at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where he earned a Masters of Military Art and Science in Theater Operations. He next deployed to Afghanistan as the Senior Intelligence Planner, CJ3 Future Operations, for the ISAF Joint Command (JIC), in support of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) from 2012-2013.

Upon completion of his deployment, he was assigned to U.S. Army Europe at Wiesbaden, Germany, and served in the G3/5 as an Army Service Component Command Plans Officer, responsible for planning efforts in Eastern Europe and the Levant. He next served as Battalion Commander for the Albany Recruiting Battalion, U.S. Army Recruiting Command. His last assignment prior to arriving at Queen’s University was as the G-2 Operations Officer for the U.S. Army’s Forces Command, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, where he also attended the Joint and Combined Warfighting School (JCWS), Joint Forces Staff College, at Norfolk, Virginia.

Major-General Stephen M. Cadden, CD
Commander Canadian Army Doctrine and Training Centre

Major-General Stephen Cadden joined the Canadian Armed Forces in 1984, and attended the Royal Military College Saint-Jean (RMC) Saint-Jean, graduating in 1989. He served with the 8th Canadian Hussars (Princess Louise's) in Lahr, Germany, serving as both a tank and reconnaissance troop leader, and with The Royal Canadian Dragoons as a squadron commander, Commanding Officer, and Regimental Colonel. He has been employed internationally in Germany and Jamaica, and deployed operationally to Afghanistan (ISAF liaison to CJTF 76) and Haiti (Chief of Staff, MINUSTAH military component). Domestically, he has participated in Canadian Armed Forces relief efforts during the 1998 Ice Storm, the 2010 G8/G20 Summits, and a number of domestic operations in Ontario.

Major-General Cadden is qualified to command Leopard C1 and C2 main battle tanks, as well as Lynx, M113, LAV and Coyote reconnaissance vehicle. His extra-Regimental employment includes tours as the Canadian Forces Base Petawawa Base Personnel Administration Officer, squadron commander at the Royal Military College of Canada (RMC) Kingston, Chief of Staff of 4th Canadian Division, Commander Canadian Forces Base Kingston, and twice as Canadian Army HQ Staff (Director Land Strategic Plans 4 and COS Army Strategy).
has served as the Director of the Royal Canadian Armour Corps, and currently holds the position of Senior Army Armour Officer, and as Senior Serving Dragoon. Major-General Cadden was Commander 4th Canadian Division in Toronto from 2016-2018, where he oversaw 4 Div units and formations through both enhanced training and deployment cycles of the Managed Readiness Plan, military support to the 2017 INVICTUS GAMES, and a number of domestic operations. He assumed command of the Canadian Army Doctrine and Training Centre on 6 July 2018.

Major-General Cadden has earned a Bachelor of Arts in Military and Strategic Studies, a Masters of Defence Studies and a Masters of Arts degree in Military Security and Defence Policy. In 2009, he completed the National Security Programme at the Canadian Forces College in Toronto.

Lieutenant-General Jean-Marc Lanthier, CMM, MSC, MSM, CD
Commander Canadian Army

Upon graduation from the University of Ottawa, Lieutenant-General Lanthier joined the Canadian Armed Forces in 1989 as an armoured officer. His command appointments include 12e Régiment blindé du Canada, 5e Groupe-brigade mécanisé du Canada, 2e Division du Canada/Joint Task Force (East) and the Canadian Army Doctrine and Training Centre. He was also appointed Deputy Commanding General Sustainment I (US) Corps during a two-year exchange with the United States Army. Key staff appointments include Chief of Staff Headquarters 5e Groupe-brigade mécanisé, Director Land Requirements and Chief of Programme at NDHQ.

He participated in six international deployments and two domestic operations. He deployed three times with different units to the former Yugoslavia, under the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force and the NATO Stabilization Force. He commanded the first Canadian Operational Mentoring and Liaison Team in 2006/07 in the province of Kandahar. He was the Canadian Deputy Commander Joint Task Force Haiti following the earthquake that hit Haiti in January 2010. In 2011/12, he was the ISAF Joint Command Director of Afghan National Security Forces Operations, in Kabul.

He obtained his Bachelor's degree in biochemistry from the University of Ottawa and his Master's degree in Applied Science from the University of Cranfield, England. He completed the Land Force Command and Staff Course in Kingston and the Advanced Command and Staff Course at the British Joint Services Command and Staff College. He is a graduate of Harvard Kennedy School and the US Naval Post Graduate School.

His decorations include the Order of Military Merit in the rank of Commander, the Meritorious Service Cross, the Meritorious Service Medal, and the United States Legion of Merit (with oak leaf).

Lieutenant-General Lanthier was appointed Commander of the Canadian Army on July 16, 2018.
Ben Rowswell
President and Research Director, Canadian International Council

Appointed President and Research Director of the Canadian International Council on November 19, 2018, Ben has 25 years of experience as a practitioner of international relations. He earned his expertise in international security serving with the United Nations in Mogadishu, Somalia in 1993, as Canada’s first diplomatic envoy to Baghdad, Iraq, after the fall of Saddam Hussein, and as the head of the NATO Provincial Reconstruction Team in Kandahar at the height of Canada’s involvement in Afghanistan.

Ben has advised top levels of government on international strategy in the Privy Council Office during the tenures of Jean Chrétien and Stephen Harper, and at the Washington DC Center for Strategic and International Studies from 2003 to 2004.

But his abiding passion is the defence of human rights and democracy. He established the Democracy Unit of Global Affairs Canada, worked closely with human rights movements as a political officer in the Canadian Embassy to Egypt, and most recently as Canada’s Ambassador to Venezuela from 2014 to 2017.

Throughout his career, Ben has sought to engage citizens in the practice of international relations. After a fellowship at Stanford University that introduced him to the powerful role that individuals can play in global affairs, he pioneered the practice of digital diplomacy at Global Affairs Canada. This same passion led him to join Farhaan Ladhani in founding a software startup called Betterplace, which tailors opportunities for citizens to engage in civic action through a mobile app. You can follow Ben on Twitter at @benrowswell as well as @thecic, and the CIC’s blog, The Signal Board.

Dr. Daniel Drezner
Professor, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Daniel W. Drezner is professor of international politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and the author of “Spoiler Alerts” for the Washington Post. Prior to Fletcher, he taught at the University of Chicago and the University of Colorado at Boulder. He has previously held positions with Civic Education Project, the RAND Corporation and the U.S. Department of the Treasury, and received fellowships from the German Marshall Fund of the United States, Council on Foreign Relations, and Harvard University.

Drezner has written six books, including All Politics is Global and The System Worked, and edited two others, including Avoiding Trivia. He has published articles in numerous scholarly journals as well as in the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, Politico, and Foreign Affairs, and has been a contributing editor for Foreign Policy and The National Interest. He received his B.A. in political economy from Williams College and an M.A. in economics and Ph.D. in political science from Stanford University. His latest book, The Ideas Industry: How Pessimists, Partisans, and Plutocrats are Transforming the Marketplace of Ideas, was published by Oxford University Press in the spring of 2017.
**Lieutenant-General Wayne Eyre, CMM, MSC, CD**  
UNC Deputy Commander, United Nations Command, Korea

LGen Eyre grew up on a farm near Wadena, SK, and spent his high school years in Medicine Hat, AB. He joined Army Cadets at age 12 and has been in uniform ever since. LGen Eyre attended Royal Roads Military College (RRMC) Victoria and Royal Military College of Canada (RMC) Kingston. Upon commissioning in 1988 he joined Second Battalion, Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry, and has had the great privilege of spending the majority of his career in command or deputy command positions, including commanding 3rd Battalion PPCLI, 2 Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group, 3rd Canadian Division and Joint Task Force West, Deputy Commanding General – Operations for XVIII (US) Airborne Corps, and as Deputy Commander Military Personnel Command.

Operationally, LGen Eyre has commanded a rifle platoon with the United Nations Force in Cyprus; 2 PPCLI’s Reconnaissance Platoon with the UN Protection Force in Croatia (including the Medak Pocket); a rifle company in Bosnia with NATO’s Stabilization Force; the Canadian Operational Mentor and Liaison Team in Kandahar, Afghanistan advising 1-205 Afghan National Army Brigade in combat; and as the Commanding General of NATO Training Mission – Afghanistan, where he oversaw the force generation, institutional training, and professional development of the Afghan National Security Forces. Among various domestic operations, he was the military liaison to the Government of Manitoba for the 1997 floods, commanded a company fighting the 1998 BC forest fires, commanded the Task Force that secured the 2010 G8 Summit, and commanded the military response to both the 2015 Saskatchewan wildfires and the 2016 Fort McMurray evacuation.

As a staff officer, LGen Eyre has served with the Royal Winnipeg Rifles, Land Force Western Area Headquarters, in the Directorate of Defence Analysis at NDHQ, and as the J3 of Canadian Expeditionary Force Command. He is a graduate of the US Army Special Forces Qualification Course, the US Marine Corps Command and Staff College, the US Marine Corps School of Advanced Warfighting, the US Army War College, and the US Army’s Combined/Joint Force Land Component Commanders’ Course. He holds a Bachelor of Science and three Masters degrees (Military Studies, Operational Studies and Strategic Studies), and has been awarded the Meritorious Service Cross, the Commander-in-Chief Unit Commendation, the Chief of Defence Staff Commendation, and the US Legion of Merit.

**Lieutenant-General Stephen J. Bowes, CMM, MSC, MSM, CD**  
Canadian Army Forces Liaison Officer with Veterans Affairs Canada

Lieutenant-General Stephen J. (Steve) Bowes enrolled in the Canadian Forces in 1985. He served in a variety of positions and locations during his formative years, first with the 8th Canadian Hussars (Princess Louise’s), and finally with the 12e Régiment Blindé du Canada in Valcartier as a Squadron Commander. Promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel in 2000, he was employed as the G3 of Combat Training Centre (CTC) before taking command of the Armour School in 2003.

Lieutenant-General Bowes was promoted to Colonel in April 2005, and subsequently appointed the first Commander of the Kandahar Provincial Reconstruction Team. He deployed to Kandahar on Operation ARCHER in 2005 under an Operation ENDURING FREEDOM mandate. In May 2006, he was appointed Deputy Commander Standing Contingency Force in Halifax, and participated in the Integrated Tactical Effects Experiment (Sea-Land-Air). In June 2007, he assumed formation command and was appointed Commander CTC, Gagetown.
Promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General in 2009, he was appointed Deputy Chief of Staff Plans and Projects for the stand-up of the new International Security Assistance Force Joint Command (IJC) Headquarters in Kabul. He returned to Canada in 2010, assumed command of Land Force Atlantic Area and concurrently, Deputy Commander Joint Task Force Atlantic. In June 2011, he was promoted to Major-General and appointed as Commander of Canadian Army Doctrine and Training Centre. In July 2014, he assumed the responsibilities of Chief of Force Development at National Defence Headquarters in Ottawa. Lieutenant-General S.J. Bowes was promoted to his current rank in 2015 and assumed command of the Canadian Joint Operations Command in June 2015.

Lieutenant-General Bowes graduated from Acadia University in 1981 with a Bachelor of Arts in History, and in 1982 with an Honours Bachelor of Arts in Political Science. In 1985, he graduated from Queen's University in Kingston with a Master of Arts in Political Studies. He is also a graduate of the Canadian Land Forces Command and Staff Course, and the Canadian Forces College Command and Staff Course.

Lieutenant-General Bowes is a Commander of the Order of Military Merit and has been awarded the Meritorious Service Cross, the Meritorious Service Medal, the United States Bronze Star and Meritorious Service Medals, and a Commander of the Canadian Army Commendation.

He enjoys reading, long walks, and golf, where his "Foot Wedge" is by far his best club.

Professor William G. Braun III
Professor of Practice, Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College

William G. Braun III is a Professor of Practice with the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI), U.S. Army War College (USAWC). Professor “Trey” Braun’s research agenda includes national strategy and policy analysis, land forces employment, military leadership and management, and military-society relations. He last deployed as the Director, CJ-7 (Force Integration, Training, and Education Directorate), Combined Security Transition Command-Afghanistan. His 30-year U.S. Army career included multiple tactical aviation and planner assignments at Division and Corps, and multiple force management assignments on the Army staff, U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, and the U.S. Army Recruiting Command. Professor Braun holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from Alfred University and master’s degrees from the USAWC in strategic studies, the School of Advanced Military Science in military art and science, and Webster University in business.

Dr. Sara Berg Moller
Assistant Professor, School of Diplomacy and International Relations at Seton Hall University

Dr. Sara Bjerg Moller is an Assistant Professor at the School of Diplomacy and International Relations at Seton Hall University, where she directs the International Security Specialization. In 2018, she was an Eisenhower Defense Fellow at the NATO Defense College (NDC) in Rome. Moller has also held fellowships with the US Military Academy at West Point, MIT, George Washington University, and Georgetown University. Her research examines the military effectiveness of alliances and coalitions, in both peacetime and war. She is the author of the May 2019 NDC Policy Brief “Building the airplane while flying: adapting NATO’s force structure in an era of uncertainty.” She received her PhD from Columbia University.
Dr. Carol Evans  
*Research Professor of National Security Affairs, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College*

Dr. Carol V. Evans is Research Professor of National Security Affairs at the Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, PA. Her research and teaching interests are wide ranging in the areas of Joint, Interagency and International Operations/Affairs, Geoeconomics, Homeland Security/Homeland Defense, and Terrorism. She is Instructor for Elective NS 2295, “Economics of National Security: Contemporary Issues in the Global Economy” with Professor Mark Duckenfield, Chair, DNSS. Since 2014 Dr. Evans has been a Lecturer at NATO, Center of Excellence-Defense Against Terrorism (COE-DAT) in Ankara, Turkey. There she teaches in NATO COE-DAT’s Critical Infrastructure Protection Against Terrorist Attacks training program.

Dr. Evans brings 25 years of operational expertise in the areas of mission assurance, defense critical infrastructure protection, crisis & consequence management, C4ISR, asymmetric warfare, terrorism, maritime security, homeland defense, and homeland security. With that expertise, she has served as Advisor to the Director of Central Intelligence, Technical Advisor to the National Ground Intelligence Center, Department of the Army, and as Technical Advisor, the Defense Science Board, Office of the Secretary of Defense. Prior to joining the Army War College, Dr. Evans was Senior Program Manager, National Security Global Business Division, with Battelle Memorial Institute. Battelle is the largest non-profit applied research and development company in the world. At Battelle, she provided strategic planning support in the Pentagon to the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services and the Pentagon Force Protection Agency, and to DHS’ Office of Infrastructure Protection.

Dr. Evans’ operational experience includes deployments with the U.S. Navy Third Fleet, U.S. Pacific Fleet, USS CORONADO, where she executed Fleet Battle Experiment – ECHO, as well as Limited Objective Experiment – ZERO. These at-sea experiments and exercises examined U.S. joint operations and tested C4ISR systems against emerging asymmetric warfare and WMD threats. On behalf of the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School, Center for Asymmetric Warfare (CAW), Dr. Evans successfully designed and executed over 25 multi-agency, maritime homeland security full-scale and table top exercises throughout the United States.

Dr. Evans began her career in academe in the field of international political economy, having held a variety of faculty and research positions, including at Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service, the University of California, Berkeley, Harvard University, Washington University, St. Louis, and at the Brookings Institution. She holds a Master of Science (M.Sc.) degree and a Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) degree from the London School of Economics.

Dr. James McKay  
*Associate Dean of Social Sciences and Humanities, Royal Military College of Canada*

Dr. J.R. McKay was educated at Bishop’s University, the Royal Military College of Canada, and King’s College London. He is an Associate Professor of Political Science and is currently serving as the Associate Dean of Social Sciences and Humanities (Faculty) at RMC. His current research interests include the Trump Administration, strategic coercion, and contemporary international conflict. His most recent works have been published in the Canadian Foreign Policy Journal and the Journal of Transatlantic Studies.
Ferry de Kerckhove
former Ambassador and Senior Fellow, Canadian Global Affairs Institute

Ferry de Kerckhove was born in Belgium in 1947. Prior to migrating to Canada, he did his military service in the Armed Corps of Belgium where, at 18, he commanded a platoon of tanks. He has a B.Soc. Sc. Honours in Economics, an M.A. in Political Science from the University of Ottawa and pursued Ph.D. Studies at Laval University in Québec City.

After working as an intern at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Ferry de Kerckhove became a Researcher at the Québec Centre for International Relations and then later headed up the International Security Section at the Canadian Institute for International Affairs (Québec section).

In September 1973, Ferry de Kerckhove entered the Canadian Foreign Service. After a stint in European Affairs, he was posted as Third Secretary to the Canadian Embassy in Tehran. When Ferry de Kerckhove returned to Canada in 1976, he became Assistant Secretary, Inter-Departmental Committee on External Relations then moved to East European Affairs (Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania). From 1978 to 1981, he was responsible for Canada-France relations. From 1981 to 1985, he was Economic Counsellor at the Canadian Delegation to NATO.

Back in Canada, Ferry de Kerckhove became Deputy Director of the Political and Strategic Analysis Division, then Director of the Economic and Trade Analysis Division in the Policy Planning Bureau. In 1989, he became Director, Economic Relations with Developing Countries Division. In September 1992, he was posted to Moscow as Minister and Deputy Head of Mission.

Ferry de Kerckhove returned to Ottawa in September 1995 to become Associate Chief Air Negotiator. In January 1996, he became Deputy Head of the Policy Branch and Director-General, Federal-Provincial Relations in Foreign Affairs and International Trade. He remained in this position until being named Canada's High Commissioner to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in August 1998. He spent three years in Islamabad. On September 13, 2001, Ferry de Kerckhove presented his credentials as Ambassador to the Republic of Indonesia. He was also accredited to Timor Leste.

Ferry de Kerckhove returned to Ottawa in September 2003 and joined the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ottawa as a Canadian Center for Management Development Diplomat in Residence.

On August 9th, 2004, he returned to the Department of Foreign Affairs and became Director General, International Organizations. In July 2006, he added to his responsibilities the function of Personal representative of the Prime Minister for Francophonie.

From September 10th 2008 to September 10 2011, Ferry de Kerckhove was in Cairo as ambassador to the Arab Republic of Egypt.

He retired from the Foreign Service on September 23d, 2011. He is a Senior Fellow at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ottawa, where he teaches part-time, as well as at York University's Glendon College. He is a former Executive Vice-President and member of the Board of Directors of the Conference of Defence Associations Institute; he is author of two editions of the Institute's Strategic Outlook for Canada 2015 and 2016 (as well as co-author of previous editions) he is a Fellow of the Canadian Global Affairs Institute. He is an advisor to the Canada Arab Institute and to the Canada-Pakistan Business Council. He is a former board member of WIND Mobile Canada. He is a member of the board of Le Collège militaire royal de St. Jean. He is President of Golden Advice Inc.

Ferry de Kerckhove has published numerous papers on international relations as well as on the relationship between the Muslim world and the West in specialized journals. He is a regular commentator on international issues on radio, television and newspapers.
Kathryn M. Fisher, PhD
Associate Professor, College of International Security Affairs, National Defense University (Ft Bragg)

Kathryn M. Fisher is an Associate Professor at National Defense University with their College of International Security Affair’s Joint Special Operation’s Master of Arts Program based at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, USA. There she teaches members of the Special Operations community graduate level coursework on International Relations, critical security studies, and terrorism/counterterrorism, while also advising a range of thesis projects. Her research is located primarily around intersections of security, identity, and insecurity, with publications including her book Security, Identity, and British Counterterrorism Policy (Palgrave 2015) and co-authored chapter in North American Strategic Defense in the 21st Century: Security and Sovereignty in an Uncertain World (2018, with Christian Leuprecht, Joel J. Sokolsky, and Thomas Hughes). Current projects include chapter “Time, Terror, and (in)Security” for The Oxford Handbook of Time and Politics (2019) and manuscript on identity and border security to map how constructions of us and them influence ideational (societal meaning) and material (security policy) outcomes. More specifically, this project explores the extent to which spatial and temporal configurations of identity, and assumptions of distance and difference as danger, play a causally constitutive role in how border security, insecurity, and identity interrelate. A driver of her research and teaching is to try and make us more strategically effective and ethically committed scholars and practitioners. She holds a PhD in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science, MA in International Affairs from American University, and BA in Geography and French from the University of Colorado.

Dr. Sara McGuire
International Relations, University of Pennsylvania

Sara McGuire is a lecturer in the International Relations Program at the University of Pennsylvania. Prior to joining the International Relations Program at Penn, she was an Assistant Professor and Associate Director of the National Security Studies Institute at the University of Texas at El Paso. She holds a PhD in International Relations from McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario and an LLM in International Public and Comparative Law from the University of Exeter in the UK. Dr. McGuire completed her Master of Arts in War Studies at the Royal Military College of Canada and her Bachelor of Arts (Honours) at Queen’s University, both in Kingston, Ontario. She has developed and taught courses on U.S. homeland security and U.S. national security law. She has also presented papers at a number of academic conferences and serves on various academic journal review boards. Dr. McGuire has published articles on homeland security, Canadian foreign policy, and refugee law, among other topics. Her research interests include: American and Canadian foreign and defense policy, homeland security, international relations theory, and national security law.
Professor Stéfanie von Hlatky
Fellow, Centre for International and Defence Policy, Queen’s University
Stéfanie von Hlatky is an associate professor of political studies at Queen’s University and the former director of the Queen’s Centre for International and Defence Policy (CIDP). 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’s Center for Peace and Security Studies, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Dartmouth College’s Dickey Center for International Understanding, the Centre for Security Studies at 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, International Journal, European Security, Asian Security, as well as the Journal of Transatlantic Studies and has a book with Oxford University Press entitled American Allies in Times of War: The Great Asymmetry (2013). She has also published two edited volumes: The Future of US Extended Deterrence (co-edited with Andreas Wenger) with Georgetown University Press (2015) and Going to War? Trends in Military Interventions (co-edited with H. Christian Breede) with McGill-Queen’s University Press (2016). Stéfanie von Hlatky is the founder of Women in International Security-Canada and current Chair of the Board. She also serves on the Senate of the Princess of Wales’ Own Regiment. She has received grants and awards from NATO, the Canadian Department of National Defence, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Public Safety, the Government of Ontario’s Ministry of Research and Innovation and Fulbright Canada.

Dr. Marc Ozawa
Senior Researcher, NATO Defense College (Rome)
Dr. Marc Ozawa is a Senior Researcher at the Research Division at NATO Defense College. His current research examines the role of trust in international relations, NATO-Russian relations, the geopolitics of energy, and Russian and Eurasian affairs.
He has previously held teaching, research and editorial positions at the University of Cambridge, IHS CERA, Yale University, and the Yale Journal of International Affairs. Marc has taught and supervised both undergraduate and graduate level students in the subjects of international relations, the geopolitics of energy and intrastate conflict.
He has published works on Russia’s relations with its neighbors, energy security and European-Russian relations. Marc is the co-editor of a forthcoming book titled, In Search of Good Energy Policy (Cambridge University Press) and is completing a book on European-Russian relations.
He recently co-authored and lead a multidisciplinary group on Russian-Chinese energy cooperation called, the “Power of Siberia: a pipeline good for whom?” and co-authored a chapter with Michael Pollitt on conducting multidisciplinary research (both chapters forthcoming in In Search of Good Energy Policy from CUP).
Marc is a graduate of the University of Alaska (BA), Yale University (MA) and the University of Cambridge (MSt, PhD). Additionally, he conducted coursework at Lomonosov Moscow State University and North-Eastern Federal University in Yakutsk.
Robert Baines
President and CEO, NATO Association of Canada

Robert Baines is President and CEO of the NATO Association of Canada where he is focused on communicating the importance of NATO and the international rules-based order to Canadians (www.natoassociation.ca). The Association is a charitable non-profit which hosts events across Canada, publishes hundreds of articles online every year and engages young Canadians about NATO through social media. Robert is a commentator on NATO issues in the Canadian media and regularly participates on panels discussing security and defence. He has represented the NATO Association at the side conferences of the Warsaw Summit in 2016 and the Brussels Summit in 2018.

Together with the NATO Association Chair, Hon. Hugh Segal, Robert is working to make new links with cultural institutions and organizations to engage non-traditional partners about the importance of security and NATO to Canada. His engagement with arts and culture has included significant interaction with the Royal Ontario Museum Young Patron’s Circle, the Art Gallery of Ontario NEXT program, the Toronto Arts Foundation Emerging Leaders, the Toronto International Film Festival Connect program, the Business for the Arts Ambassadors’ program and the Massey Hall/Roy Thompson Hall Centre Aisle program.

In 2017 he became a director of the Canada-Turkey Business Council. He was formerly Executive Director of the Canada-Albania Business Council and Corporate Development Officer of the NATO Association. Robert is President of the St. George’s Society of Toronto (Toronto’s oldest charity) and is Co-Chair of the Young Professional Board of the Canadian Opera Company.

He received a B.A. in Politics, Philosophy, and History from Trinity College at the University of Toronto and an M.A. in History from York University. Robert is also a member of the Canadian Armed Forces Reserve with the Toronto Scottish Regiment. He deployed to Resolute Bay, Nunavut on operation NANOOK in 2010 and has received the Canadian Forces Decoration. He is currently attached to HMCS York.

Brigadier General Frédéric Pesme
Deputy Director, Policy & capabilities Division, International Military Staff, NATO

Brigadier General Pesme is a Combat Engineer officer. As a platoon leader and company commander, he has specialized in underwater reconnaissance and river crossing operations with the 3rd Armored Engineer Battalion (1987-1995). He was then assigned to the Engineer Corps Directorate, human resources management office (1995-1998). After graduation of the Joint Staff College (2000) he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel to become the head of the international studies department and the deputy director of the international program at Saint-Cyr Military Academy (2000-2003). He was then assigned as Staff officer, NATO desk, at the Joint Staff (2003-2006). Promoted to colonel in 2015, he took command of the 1st Marine Training and Education Battalion, Fort de France in July 2006. After his command, he was assigned to the Directorate for Strategic Affairs of the French Ministry of Defense, where he was the head of the North America and Arctic desk (2008-2011). He was then deployed with the NATO Training Mission – Afghanistan / Combined Security Transition Command – Afghanistan where he was the Chief, Force Integration Division within the DCG OPS G7 (April 2011 to April 2012). After this tour, he was assigned to Allied Command Transformation Norfolk where he was successively executive assistant to the deputy chief of staff Capability Development (2012-2013) and executive assistant to the Supreme Allied Commander Transformation (2013-2015). Back in Paris, he was the deputy director of the Euro-Atlantic directorate of the Joint Staff. Upon selection for brigadier, he was elected to become the deputy director Policy and Capabilities division of the International Military Staff as of September 2018.
General Pesme is a graduate from Saint-Cyr Military Academy, receiving his commission as a second lieutenant in 1985. He is also a 2000 graduate of the Canadian Forces College Command and Staff Course. He owns a MA in Geopolitics from the University of Paris-Est Marne la Vallée (1999). He has attended the 3rd session of the Diplomatic Institute of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2003 and the High Level Course of the European Security and Defense College in 2010. His decorations include the French Legion d’Honneur (chevalier), the National Merit Order (officer) and the US Meritorious Service Medal.

**Professor Kim Richard Nossal**  
_Director, Centre for International and Defence Policy, Queen's University_

Kim Richard Nossal is the director of the Centre for International and Defence Policy and professor of political studies, Queen's University. From 1976 to 2001 he taught international relations at McMaster University before coming to Queen’s to head the Department of Political Studies. From 2013 to 2015, he was the director of the Queen’s School of Policy Studies.

He served as editor of International Journal, the quarterly journal of the Canadian International Council (1992–97), and was president of the Canadian Political Science Association (2005–06). From 2006 to 2012, he was the chair of the academic selection committee of the Security and Defence Forum of the Department of National Defence. In 2017 he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the Royal Military College of Canada.

He is the author of a number of works on Canadian foreign and defence policy, including _Charlie Foxtrot: Fixing Defence Procurement in Canada_ (2016) and, with Jean-Christophe Boucher, _The Politics of War: Canada’s Afghanistan Mission, 2001–14_ (2017).

**Ali Wyne**  
_Policy Analyst, RAND Corporation_

Ali Wyne is a Washington, DC-based policy analyst in the RAND Corporation’s Defense and Political Sciences Department. He serves as a nonresident senior fellow with the Atlantic Council’s Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security and a nonresident fellow with the Modern War Institute. Since January 2015 he has been the rapporteur for a U.S. National Intelligence Council working group that convenes government officials and international relations scholars to analyze trends in world order.

Ali served as a junior fellow in the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace’s China Program from 2008 to 2009 and as a research assistant to Graham Allison at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs from 2009 to 2012. He has also conducted research for Robert Blackwill, Derek Chollet, Henry Kissinger, Wendy Sherman, and Richard Stengel. From January to July 2013 he worked on a team that prepared Samantha Power for her confirmation hearing to be U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. From 2014 to 2015 he was a member of the RAND Corporation’s adjunct staff, working for the late Richard Solomon on its _Strategic Rethink_ series.

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**Professor Sumit Ganguly**  
*Distinguished Professor of Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington*

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**Dr. Christopher Ankersen**  
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Dr. Christopher Ankersen is Clinical Associate Professor at New York University’s Center for Global Affairs, where he teaches in the Transnational Security concentration. Prior to joining NYU, Christopher worked with the United Nations for 12 years, the last seven of which were in Southeast Asia.

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*Chair War Studies Program, Royal Military College of Canada*

Dr. Howard G. Coombs retired from full-time duty with the Canadian Armed Forces in 2003 and transferred to the Canadian Army Reserve, where he continues to serve on a part-time basis. He is currently assigned to the staff of the Chief of Reserves, in Ottawa, as a Strategic Advisor. Coombs is a graduate of the Canadian Forces Staff School, Canadian Land Force Command and Staff College, United States Army Command and General Staff College, and the US Army School of Advanced Military Studies. Coombs received his PhD in military history from Queen’s University in Kingston, Ontario and is currently the Associate Chair War Studies Program of the Royal Military College of Canada.

Coombs has operational deployments to the former Yugoslavia and Afghanistan as a military officer on regular and reserve duty. In addition, he deployed with Joint Task Force Afghanistan from September 2010
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Dr. Isaiah (Ike) Wilson
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Dr. Isaiah (Ike) Wilson III, PhD is the Director of the U.S. Army War College (USAWC)
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Kerry Buck
Assistant Secretary, Treasury Board Secretariat
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Kerry Buck is Assistant Secretary, Economic Sector at the Treasury Board of Canada
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Outside of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada, Ms. Buck served in the Privy Council Office as Director of Operations for Machinery of Government Secretariat, as Director of Policy and International Programs at the Canadian Human Rights Commission, with the International Development Research Centre and the Constitutional Law Bureau of the Office of the Attorney General of Ontario.
Dr. Anna Geis  
Chair of International and Security Studies, Helmut Schmidt University

Dr. Anna Geis is Professor of International Security and Conflict Studies at Helmut Schmidt University/University of the Federal Armed Forces Hamburg (Germany). She is currently a Visiting Researcher at the Centre for International and Defence Policy at Queen’s University/Kingston. From 2012 to 2016 she was Professor of International Relations at Otto von Guericke University Magdeburg and Programme Director of the MA study programme “Peace and Conflict Studies”. Prior to this, she has held several visiting professorships at the political science departments of the Ludwig Maximilians University Munich and Goethe University Frankfurt. She obtained her “habilitation” at the Goethe University Frankfurt with a study on legitimacy problems of democratic security politics. From 2002 to 2009 she was a postdoctoral research fellow and project director at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, directing a comparative study on “democratic peace/democratic war”. She was a research associate at the Department of Political Science of Hamburg University, where she received her PhD (2002). She was Speaker of the Section “International Politics” of the German Political Science Association from 2012-2015 and Speaker of the Section “History of Ideas/Political Theory” of the German Political Science Association from 2003-2006.

Her research and teaching areas include the (domestic, international) legitimation of military interventions, theories of peace and war, German Foreign and Security Policy, citizen participation in Western foreign and security policy, external relations of the European Union, African security governance (military missions of the African Union), Private Military and Security Companies, the (non-)recognition of armed non-state actors in violent conflicts, and International Criminal Justice/Transitional Justice.

Major General John S. Kem  
Commandant, U.S. Army War College

Major General John Kem leads the U.S. Army War College, which focuses on developing strategic leaders and ideas invaluable to the Army, the Joint Force, and the Nation.

MG Kem was commissioned in 1985 through the United States Military Academy as a distinguished cadet earning a bachelor’s degree in Civil Engineering. He later earned a Master’s of Science in Environmental Engineering and a Masters of Business Administration (Kellogg Business School) from Northwestern University. His military education includes the Army Command and General Staff College and the Industrial College of the Armed Forces where he earned a Master’s of Science in National Resource Management. He is a registered Professional Engineer in Virginia and a Chartered Financial Analyst.

Most recently, MG Kem served as the first Provost of the Army University and Deputy Commandant of the Command and General Staff College (CGSC). His previous command assignments include the Commanding General U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Northwestern Division in Portland, OR from 2013 to 2015; the Europe District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers from 2008 to 2011; and the 16th Engineer Battalion, 1st Armored Division, Germany, and Operation Iraqi Freedom, from 2003 to 2005.

Other assignments include serving in the Army Legislative Liaison Office in Washington, DC; the NATO Joint Engineering Directorate, Afghanistan; and Congressional Fellow, U.S Senate Appropriations Committee.
KCIS 2017: Developing the Super Soldier: Enhancing Military Performance
Edited by William G. Braun, III, Dr. Stéfanie von Hlatky, Dr. Kim Richard Nossal.

How can military leaders develop soldiers to ensure unity of purpose, optimal physical and cognitive performance, resilience, and ethically applied fighting spirit? How can the armed forces balance military effectiveness with a stated commitment to reflect society's values and norms? How do we anticipate individual soldier enhancements required to maintain a competitive edge at the individual level of performance?

KCIS 2016: Engagement Between Peace and War: How Soldiers and Military Institutions Adapt
Edited by William G. Braun, III, Dr. Stéfanie von Hlatky, Dr. Kim Richard Nossal.

Today, military operations are conducted across a broad spectrum of conflict. How do we prepare our armed forces to achieve policy objectives in the ambiguous space between peace and war? What cultural awareness and human interactive skills would enhance the military's ability to conduct operations at the lower end of the spectrum of conflict? What are the defense policy, training and doctrinal implications? KCIS 2016 examined how soldiers and military organizations adapt to rapidly changing conflict dynamics with a focus on addressing rivals who challenge Canada, the US and their allies in the “gray zone” and employ tactics associated with “hybrid warfare”. This edited collection features contributions from academic and military experts who examine the theme of adaptation across various dimensions: civil-military relations, interagency cooperation, leader development and spiritual resilience.

KCIS 2015: Robotics and Military Operations
Edited by William G. Braun, III, Dr. Stéfanie von Hlatky, Dr. Kim Richard Nossal.

In the wake of two extended wars, Western militaries find themselves looking to the future while confronting amorphous nonstate threats and shrinking defense budgets. The 2015 Kingston Conference on International Security (KCIS) examined how robotics and autonomous systems that enhance soldier effectiveness may offer attractive investment opportunities for developing a more efficient force capable of operating effectively in the future environment. This monograph offers 3 chapters derived from the KCIS and explores the drivers influencing strategic choices associated with these technologies and offers preliminary policy recommendations geared to advance a comprehensive technology investment strategy. In addition, the publication offers insight into the ethical challenges and potential positive moral implications of using robots on the modern battlefield.