



# The End of the Afghanistan War:

*Its Impact on NATO and Great Power Rivalries*

**January 21 2022**

The American withdrawal from Afghanistan raises many questions, both in the United States and in other NATO countries. What impact has it had on the dynamics of cooperation within NATO?

We know that the Biden administration's unilateral withdrawal created tensions within the alliance. The UK and France, for instance, expressed their frustrations and concluded that they were too dependent on the United States for their own security. More broadly, what does the end of the Afghanistan war mean for NATO? Is this the end of its out-of-area operations?

The American withdrawal also raises questions about great power rivalries. Do Beijing and Moscow see it as further proof that the United States is in decline? Now five months since the withdrawal, have China and Russia taken advantage of the American departure to increase their influence and make geostrategic gains in Central Asia? This conference organized by the Network for Strategic Analysis in partnership with the Institut militaire de Québec will address these key questions.



**Jan 21, 2022**

**9:30 am** | **Opening Remarks**

**9:35 am** | Jonathan Paquin

**9:35 am** | **The Withdrawal From Afghanistan and its Impact**  
**11:30 am** | **on the Competition Between Great Powers**

Moderator : Justin Massie (UQAM)

- Igor Delanoë (Franco-Russian Observatory -- France-Russia -- in Moscow)  
*Russia and post-U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan*
- Pierre Jolicoeur (Royal Military College of Canada)  
*Geopolitical reconfiguration in Eurasia: challenges and opportunities for Russia*
- Niva Yau Tsz Yan (OSCE Academy in Bishkek and Fellow at the Eurasia Program of the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia)  
*China's Calculations in Afghanistan*
- Ting Sheng Lin (University of Quebec in Montreal)  
*Will the 'graveyard of empires' trap China?*

**11:30 am** | **Keynote Speaker - Ben Rowswell**

**12:30 pm** | Canada in Afghanistan: A Political Assessment

**12:30 pm** | **Lunch**  
**1:30 pm** |

**1:30 pm** | **The Impact of the End of the War in Afghanistan**  
**3:30 pm** | **on NATO**

Moderator : BGen (ret.) Richard Giguère

- Chiara Ruffa (Uppsala University, Sweden)  
*The US withdrawal from Afghanistan: what future for NATO's out of area missions?*
- Alexander Lanoszka (University of Waterloo)  
*Reflections on American Power and Alliance Leadership after Afghanistan*
- Hani Nasser (Department of National Defence of Canada)  
*Canada and NATO*
- Heidi Hardt (University of California, Irvine)  
*NATO's Strategic Lessons from Afghanistan in the Aftermath of Exodus*

**3:30 pm** | **Closing Remarks**

**3:40 pm** | Jonathan Paquin

# Biographies

## Panel One



### Igor Delanoë

Igor Delanoë is Deputy Head of the French-Russian Analytical Center Observo (CCI France-Russia, Moscow) and a PhD in history from the University of Nice-Sophia Antipolis. His expertise covers the geopolitics of Russia, the Russian presence and interests in the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the Middle East, and Russian security and defense issues, particularly the navy. In 2013, he did a post-doctorate at the John F. Kennedy School of Government (Harvard University), within the National Security Program. He is an associate researcher at the Center for International and European Studies (Kadir Has University, Istanbul), at the Center for Modern and Contemporary Mediterranean (CMMC) and at the Center for International and European Law (LADIE) of the Côte d'Azur University (Nice). He has been a consultant for the French Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense, for the DCAF (Geneva Center for Security Sector Governance) as well as for the Centre pour le Dialogue humanitaire (Geneva). He teaches at the NATO Defense College (Rome) and l'École de Guerre (Paris), and teaches Russian defense policy at the Iris Sup' school (Paris).



### Pierre Jolicoeur

Pierre Jolicoeur is Full Professor at the Department of Political Science at Royal Military College of Canada. Specialist of the former Soviet Union and South Eastern Europe, his research focuses on secessionist movements, foreign policy, federalism and cybersecurity. At RMCC, he teaches international relations and comparative politics. Through NATO programs, he also taught in Moldova and in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Author or co-author of 2 books, 10 articles in Peer review journals, 23 chapters in university press, his publications, both in French and English, appeared in *Études internationales*, *Journal of Borderland Studies*, *Canadian Journal of Foreign Policy*, and *Connections*. He also contributed to the public debate, notably by publishing 29 articles in the *Point de mire* series, which he edited between 2000 and 2006, 20 op-eds (*Le Devoir*, *La Presse*, *Whig Standard*) or numerous interviews. He is the RMCC representative to the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences since 2011.



### Niva Yau Tsz Yan

Niva Yau is Senior Researcher at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek and Fellow at the Eurasia Program of the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia. Her work focuses on China's foreign policy, trade and security in its western neighbourhood, including Central Asia and Afghanistan. She has conducted a number of commissioned research on China affairs in Central Asia, concerning security engagement, private security companies, Belt and Road Initiative, governance export, influence campaigns, renewable investments in Central Asia, and more. Ms Yau is quoted by news agencies globally, such as BBC, The Independent, Nikkei Asia, The Economist, VICE, Le Monde, Deutsche Welle, Al Jazeera and others. Ms Yau was awarded the Albert Otto Hirschman prize for best political economy writing in 2020 by The Washington Post for her work on the latest development of Chinese policy banks in Central Asia. Originally from Hong Kong, Ms Yau has been based in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan since 2018, she is a native speaker of Cantonese, Mandarin, English and learner of Russian.



## **Ting Sheng Lin**

Ting-Sheng Lin is associate professor of political science at University of Québec in Montréal, scholar at Centre d'études sur l'intégration et la mondialisation (CEIM) and founder and director of the Observatoire de l'Asie de l'Est : Chine, Japon, Corée. His research focuses on East Asia (principally), on China, Japan and Korea, East Asia militarization, strategic cultures and collective security institutions. He has published in academic journals National Defense Journal, Taiwan International Studies Quarterly, Review of Global Politics, Chronique de l'Observatoire de l'Asie de l'Est, Canadian Journal of Political Science, Monde Chinois. He is the author of *Le régime de travail en Chine* (Éditions Le Manuscrit, 2009).

## **Keynote Speaker**



## **Ben Rowswell**

Ben Rowswell has been President and Director of Research at the Canadian International Council since 2018. The CIC is a non-profit organization with a presence in 20 cities across the country with a mandate to engage citizens in foreign policy development.

As a Canadian diplomat he was an expert in international security. His experiences date back to a first job with the United Nations in Mogadishu, Somalia in 1993. In 2003 he was Canada's first diplomatic envoy to Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein. After a year as Deputy Head of the Canadian Mission in Kabul, he served as head of the NATO Provincial Reconstruction Team in Kandahar in 2009 and 2010.

Ben gained experience in international security decision-making at the Privy Council Office during the terms of Jean Chrétien and Stephen Harper, and at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington D.C. from 2003 to 2004. He concluded his diplomatic career as Canada's Ambassador to Venezuela (2014-2017).

## **Panel Two**



## **Chiara Ruffa**

Chiara Ruffa is Academy fellow at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University and associate professor in War Studies at the Swedish Defense University. Chiara's research focuses on civil-military relations and state militaries in nonconventional operations (such as peacekeeping and search and rescue). Her work has been published in the European Journal of International Relations, Security Studies, Acta Sociologica, Armed Forces and Society, Security and Defence Analysis, Small Wars and Insurgencies, Comparative European Politics, and several edited volumes. Her first book *Military Cultures in Peace and Stability Operations* was published with the University of Pennsylvania Press in 2018. Her second book (with Vincenzo Bove and Andrea Ruggeri) is entitled *Composing Peace. Mission Composition in UN Peacekeeping* and was published with Oxford University Press (April 2020).



## **Alexander Lanoszka**

Alexander Lanoszka is an assistant professor of International Relations at the University of Waterloo. His research focuses on military alliances and European security. He has published articles in International Security, International Affairs, Security Studies and the Journal of Strategic Studies. He is also the author of *Atomic Assurance: The Alliance Politics of Nuclear Proliferation* (Cornell, 2018) and *Military Alliances in the Twenty-first Century* (Polity, 2022). He received his PhD from Princeton University and was a postdoctoral fellow at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and at Dartmouth College. Prior to joining the Department of Political Science at Waterloo, he was at City, University of London. He has served as a consultant for Global Affairs Canada, the U.S. Department of Defense, and other organizations involved in defence policies.



## Heidi Hardt

Heidi Hardt is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Irvine. Her research examines effectiveness, knowledge and change in international organizations, particularly in conflict management. She has expertise in NATO, the EU, UN, international cooperation, crisis management, military operations, organizational learning, organizational culture, gender mainstreaming and gender in STEM. Hardt has authored two books: *NATO's Lessons in Crisis: Institutional Memory in International Organization* (Oxford University Press, 2018) and *Time to React: The Efficiency of International Organizations in Crisis Response* (Oxford University Press, 2014). Hardt's research is published or forthcoming in the *Journal of Politics*, *Global Governance*, *Review of International Organizations*, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, the *Journal of Global Security Studies*, *European Security* and *African Security*. She has received grants from the National Science Foundation, the Fulbright Commission, the American Political Science Association and NATO Science for Peace and Security.



## Hani Nasser

Hani Nasser is the Director of NATO Policy at the Department of National Defence, where he leads a team that focuses on Canada's policy development and direction with regards to NATO and manages Canada's bilateral defence relationships with European countries and the EU. Prior to joining DND, Hani spent 15 years at Global Affairs Canada. Most recently, he was the Political Counsellor and Deputy Head of the Political Section at Canada's Embassy to the United States in Washington DC. In this position, Hani managed Canada-US relations on high priority and high profile issues, including Asia, Europe, multilateral organizations, sanctions and human rights. Hani has also held various other positions within GAC, including Acting Director of the division that negotiated and managed the Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement and Spokesperson at the Embassy of Canada to the U.S. He has also worked on international economic relations, international security, and Southeast Asia. Outside of policy, Hani was also a member of Canada's Standing Rapid Deployment Team, which worked to support Canadians during challenging events around the world. Hani has a Bachelor of Science degree from Queen's University in Life Science, and a Master's degree in Public Administration, also from Queen's. He is married with three children.



## Justin Massie

Justin Massie is Full Professor of political science at the Université du Québec à Montréal and Co-Director of the Network for Strategic Analysis. He was the 2019 Fulbright Visiting Research Chair in Canada-U.S. Relations at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Washington, DC. His research focuses on the global power transition, multinational military coalitions, and Canadian foreign and defence policy. His work has been published in several journals, including *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *Contemporary Security Policy*, *Comparative Strategy*, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *International Journal* (winner of the best article published in 2017), *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* (winner of the best article published in 2008) and *Études internationales* (winner of the best article published in 2011). He is the author of *Francosphère : l'importance de la France dans la culture stratégique du Canada* (PUQ, 2013), and co-editor of *Paradiplomatie identitaire : Nations minoritaires et politique extérieure* (PUQ, 2019) and *America's Allies and the Decline of U.S. Hegemony* (Routledge, 2019).



## Richard Giguère

Having accumulated more than 35 years of varied experience with the Canadian Army (career in the infantry with the Royal 22e Régiment), BGen (ret'd) Richard Giguère has worked in operational environments in Canada and abroad (Germany, Oka Crisis, Haiti, Kabul, Kandahar), diplomacy (military attaché in Washington) and academics. He commanded the Second Battalion of the Royal 22e Régiment and the Citadelle de Québec, the Land Force Quebec Sector (now the 2nd Canadian Division) and Joint Task Force (East), and the Canadian Forces College in Toronto, whose mission is to prepare senior military and civilian leaders (Canadian and foreign) to tackle complex defence and security challenges through professional development and academic studies at the master's level. BGen Richard Giguère is an expert in residence at the Graduate School of International Studies at Laval University, an associate professor and trainer at the École nationale d'administration publique (ENAP), and lecturer at the Université du Québec à Chicoutimi. BGén (ret) Giguère specializes in issues related to international security, the principles and issues of public administration and strategic management. A graduate of l'École de Guerre de Paris, he holds a bachelor's degree with a specialization in military and strategic studies from the Royal Military College Saint-Jean and a post-graduate diploma in strategic studies from Université Sorbonne Paris-Nord. He completed training at the Harvard Kennedy School and the Joint and Combined Warfighting School in Norfolk, Virginia. He is currently the President of the Quebec Military Institute and the Deputy Director of the Centre on International Security (CSI) at Laval University. With two colleagues in 2017, he founded a consulting firm, Ducimus Groupe Conseil, which promotes the practice of leadership in companies.



## Jonathan Paquin

Jonathan Paquin is professor of Political Science at Université Laval. He has written numerous articles on foreign policy and international relations in *Cooperation and Conflict*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *Mediterranean Politics*, *the Canadian Journal of Political Science* and *International Journal*, among others. He is also the co-editor of *America's Allies and the Decline of US Hegemony*, Routledge, 2020; the coauthor of *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Toolbox*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018; the co-editor of *Game Changer: The Impact of 9/11 on North American Security*, UBC Press, 2014; and the author of *A Stability-Seeking Power: US Foreign Policy and Secessionist Conflicts*, McGill-Queen's, 2010. He received a Ph.D. in Political Science from McGill University and was a Fulbright visiting scholar and Resident Fellow at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS, Johns Hopkins) in Washington DC.