

Dec 12, 2023 | Ottawa, ON

WORLD POLITICS IN LIMBO

Non-Alignment, Hybrid Challenges, and New Frontiers



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Great powers. Allies and Friends. Rivals, or lately even enemies. These are the labels we typically use to refer to countries we care about the most for our defence and security. As talk of a "new Cold War" abounds in policy discourse, the world seems once again like it can be divided into rival, competing blocs. There are those we cooperate with, and others we compete with. Yet most countries of the world do not fall neatly within these categories. Instead, they are often located in-between (or even outside) such binaries. Their non-alignment concerns us, and we fear the implications of them choosing the "other" (wrong) side.

In the current geostrategic context, international institutions are a prime venue of competition as major powers vie for support but are met with resistance against attempts to force "the Rest" to pick sides. Friendshoring, through the reinforcement of existing alliances or the launching of new ones among the "like-minded," also presents new opportunities for cooperation. It also results in fragmentation, closure and exclusion, perceived by some as provocations that increase the likelihood of conflict. In addition, rising threats below the threshold of war, in cyber, informational or AI domains, but also in the "new frontiers" of space and the deep sea, can lead to new types of conflict we are ill-prepared to face. Against this volatile backdrop, the security implications of climate change, from rising sea levels, disasters, food insecurity, and displacement, are increasingly salient. They beg for a kind of cooperation that is proving more challenging against the backdrop of fraught major power relations, and lead to tensions in the Arctic, the South China Sea, Africa, and elsewhere.

This colloquium investigates why and how these various "in-betweens" of security and defence matter for Canada. It deals with a broad range of issues and geographical areas where cooperation and conflict unfold in tandem, straddling divides between "us" and "them." It showcases that Canada should actively centre these actors, issues, and spaces in its defence and security policy if it is to approach the current global security environment with open eyes.

an initiative by:







9:009:15

Opening Remarks

Justin Massie, Network Co-Director and Full Professor, UQAM

9:15

Keynote Speaker: General Wayne Eyre

Moderator

Sarah-Myriam Martin-Brûlé, RAS Co-Director - Full Professor, Bishop's University

10:15

Health Break

10:30

Panel 1 – Cooperation In An Era of Emergence: The New Frontiers

The security implications and the rising threats in the cyber, information and AI domains, including the "new frontier" of space, beg for more governance, the design of new rules, and a kind of cooperation that is becoming increasingly more challenging as interstate competition makes these issues matters of national interest and zero-sum. The goal of nuclear non-proliferation remains elusive as this same competition has brought back rearmament to the fore. This panel will investigate the challenges and opportunities for cooperation on these various emerging security domains as well as their implications for Canada and the world.

Chair

Sarah-Myriam Martin-Brûlé, Full Professor, Bishop's University

Speakers

- Alexander Lanoszka, Assistant Professor, University of Waterloo
- Michael Manulak, Assistant Professor, Carleton University
- Marc De Bellefeuille, Deputy Director Cyber, Space and Emerging Tech, Domains and Technology Policy, National Defence
- David Dubé, PhD Student, McGill University

12:00

Lunch

13:0014:30

Panel 2 – Beyond Allies and Enemies: Non-Aligned Actors in World Politics

Shifts in global and regional balances of power have fostered a more complex environment, granting an expanding number of actors the capacity to wield varying degrees of influence. Existing international institutions have adapted to new realities as rising powers continue to gain prominence with the expansion of organisations such as the BRICS. This panel explores the impact of increasing multipolarity on the global environment, in a context where certain states require change in the rules-based order, some more assertively than others, while other actors act outside of its formal bodies to secure their own interests. This panel discusses an often-neglected aspect of world politics: the resurgence of non-alignment, motivations behind this phenomenon, and strategic implications for Canada.

Chair

Jonathan Paquin, RAS Co-Director and Full Professor, Laval University

Speakers

- Marion Laurence, Assistant Professor, Canadian Forces College
- Philippe Frowd, Assistant Professor, University of Ottawa
- Jean Daudelin, Associate Professor, Carleton University
- Emmanuelle Rousseau, PhD Candidate, Université de Montréal
- Amélie Chalivet, PhD Student, UQAM

14:3014:45

Health Break

14:45

Panel 3 – Cooperation or Competition? The Case of Natural Resources

Natural resources are distributed unevenly around the world. The rise of geopolitical pressures and the return of economic nationalism means that states—and industries—are positioning themselves to compete with neighbors, rivals, and even partners to secure access. Oil, ores, and even water are the objects of covert or overt interstate and intrastate conflicts. This fact is only made more complex—and worrisome—by the durable impact of climate change on their distribution and (un)ethical extraction. This panel will discuss how the drive for natural resources is affecting different regions of the world, how actors compete over them, and how they might potentially cooperate.

Chair

Sarah Sharma, RAS Co-Director and Assistant Professor, University of Victoria

Speakers

- Nadège Compaoré, Assistant Professor, University of Toronto
- Pascale Massot, Assistant Professor, University of Ottawa
- Frédéric Lasserre, Full Professor, Laval University
- Victoria Breda, Senior Analyst PCO

16:1516:30

Closing Remarks

17:00

Networking Cocktail, Novotel Ottawa

biographies

in alphabetical order



Marc De Bellefeuille, Deputy Director Cyber, Space and Emerging Technologies Policy, National Defence

Marc started as a policy officer at the Department of National Defence in 2009. Over the years, he held various desk officer positions in the areas of cyber policy, parliamentary affairs, Middle East and Africa geostrategic analysis, and arms control, including secondments at now Global Affairs Canada. Notably, Marc deployed with the Canadian Armed Forces to the Middle East as Policy Advisor to Operation IMPACT, Canada's military contribution to the Global Coalition Against Daesh, and later acted as the Policy Advisor to the Commander of the Canadian Army. He recently was Deputy Director for Strategic Coordination and Outreach, and moved into his current position last September as Deputy Director for Cyber, Space and Emerging Technologies Policy. Before joining National Defence, Marc worked at the Canada Border Services Agency as a customs officer. He holds a Bachelor degree in Communications and a Masters degree in International Relations from Université Laval in Quebec City.



Nadège Compaoré, Assistant Professor, University of Toronto

W.R. Nadège Compaoré is an Assistant Professor of International Relations in the Political Science Department at the University of Toronto. Her main research is concerned with claims of sovereignty by African states and communities affected by oil and mining extraction. Nadège's work lies at the intersection of International Relations theory, African politics, global resource/environmental politics, as well as gender and race in global politics. Nadège is also currently developing a research project on the links between Pan-Africanism and Black female internationalism. She has co-edited a book on natural resource governance in Africa, and her various research projects have been published in leading journals and book chapters, in English and French. She received her PhD in Political Studies from Queen's University, where her research on the global governance of oil revenues was informed by fieldwork in Gabon, Ghana, and South Africa. Nadège is a past board member of the Canadian Association of African Studies, and currently sits on the editorial board of International Studies Review.



Jean Daudelin, Associate Professor, Carleton University

Jean Daudelin teaches on development and conflict. He is a specialist of Latin America, particularly Brazil and Central America, where he has researched armed insurgencies, religious movements, indigenous politics, land reform, urban violence, economic integration, and regional politics. His current research focuses on illegal markets and their governance, on property rights theory, and on crime, policing and violence.



General Wayne Eyre, Chief of the Defence Staff - CAF

Gen Eyre joined Army Cadets at age 12 and has been in uniform ever since. Gen Eyre attended Royal Roads Military College Victoria and Royal Military College of Canada Kingston. Upon commissioning in 1988 he joined the 2nd Battalion, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI), and has had the great privilege of spending the majority of his career in command or deputy command positions, including commanding 3 PPCLI, 2 Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group, 3rd Canadian Division and Joint Task Force West, Deputy Commanding General - Operations for XVIII (U.S.) Airborne Corps, Deputy Commander United Nations Command in Korea, Deputy and for a short time Commander of Military Personnel Command, and Commander Canadian Army. He has been in the Chief of the Defence Staff role since February 24, 2021.



Philippe Frowd, Associate Professor, University of Ottawa

Philippe M. Frowd is Associate Professor in the School of Political Studies at the University of Ottawa. He received his PhD from McMaster University in 2015. His research focuses on the transnational governance of security in the Sahel region of West Africa, with an emphasis on interventions around transnational organized crime, irregular migration, and border control. More generally, Philippe's work focuses on techniques and technologies of security and the professionals who interact with them. He is the author of Security at the Borders: Transnational Practices and Technologies in West Africa (Cambridge University Press, 2018) and his work has appeared in journals such as Security Dialogue, Millennium, and Geopolitics. Philippe is an editor of the Canadian Journal of African Studies.



Alexander Lanoszka, Assistant Professor, University of Waterloo

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.



Frédéric Lasserre, Full Professor, Laval University

Frédéric Lasserre is professor in the Department of Geography at Laval University, researcher at the École supérieure en Études internationales (ESEI) and at the Institut Hydro-Québec en Environnement, Développement et Société (IEDS), and director of the Conseil québécois d'études géopolitiques (CQEG). Frédéric Lasserre holds a Master's degree in Commerce (ESC Lyon), an MBA (York U.), a DEA in Geopolitics (U. Paris VIII) and a PhD in Geography (U. Saint-Étienne). His research focuses on strategic issues of water management, law of the sea issues, borders, the Canadian Arctic and climate change. His work has been published in the journals Polar Geography, Advances in Polar Sciences, Politique étrangère, L'Espace Politique, Recherches sociographiques, Relations internationales, Revue québécoise de droit international, Hérodote, Études internationales and many others. He is the author of Le partage de l'eau. Une réflexion géopolitique (Odile Jacob, 2018) and has directed Les nouvelles routes de la soie. Géopolitique d'un grand projet chinois (PUQ, 2019); and Passages et mers arctiques. Géopolitique d'une région en mutation (PUQ, 2010). He has published numerous books and is the author of multiple book chapters.



Marion Laurence, Assistant Professor, Canadian Forces College

Marion Laurence is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Defence Studies at the Canadian Forces College. Her research focuses on global security governance, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, protection of civilians, and the political sociology of international organizations. Her current book project draws on fieldwork she conducted in Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, and New York City to investigate changes in how United Nations peacekeepers interpret the norm of impartiality on a day-to-day basis. The book is under contract with Oxford University Press. Her work has been supported by grants and fellowships from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), the Ontario government, the University of Toronto, Global Affairs Canada, the Canadian Department of National Defence, and the International Studies Association. She has published in the Journal of Global Security Studies and International Peacekeeping, and in 2023 she guest edited a special issue of the Journal of Intervention & Statebuilding. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Toronto.



Michael Manulak, Assistant Professor, Carleton University

Michael W. Manulak is Assistant Professor of International Affairs, anchoring NPSIA's Diplomacy and Foreign Policy cluster. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of Toronto, his M.A. from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University, and earned a D.Phil in International Relations from the University of Oxford. His research focuses on international organizations, multilateral diplomacy, Canadian foreign policy, global environmental politics, and Non-Proliferation. He is author of Change in Global Environmental Politics: Temporal Focal Points and the Reform of International Institutions (Cambridge University Press, 2022), winner of the International Studies Association's Chadwick F. Alger prize in 2022 for the best book on international organizations and multilateralism.



Sarah-Myriam Martin-Brûlé, Full Professor, Bishop's University

Sarah-Myriam Martin-Brûlé is Full Professor at Bishop's University and Non-Resident Fellow at the International Peace Institute, New York. She is the Deputy Director of the Centre FrancoPaix. She is an associate faculty member of the Center for International Peace and Security Studies (CIPSS) and of the Montreal Center for International Studies (CERIUM). Her research focuses on peacekeeping-intelligence, peace operations and security issues related to intra-state wars. Her most recent publications include "Competing for Trust: Challenges in UN Peacekeeping-Intelligence". Author of the first UN guidelines on Gender and Peacekeeping-intelligence, she is also co-author of the first United Nations Field Handbook on Joint Mission Analysis Centres (United Nations, 2018), she recently conducted fieldwork at the MINUSCA (Central African Republic), MINUSMA (Mali), MONUSCO (Democratic Republic of Congo), UNOCI (Côte d'Ivoire) and UNMISS (South Sudan). She is co-hosting the podcast "Conseils de sécurité" a co-production of the CDSN-RCDS and RAS-NSA.



Pascale Massot, Assistant Professor, University of Ottawa

Pascale Massot is an assistant professor at the School of Political Studies of the University of Ottawa. In 2022, she was a member of the Indo-Pacific Advisory Committee to the Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs. She was also the senior advisor on China and Asia to various Canadian ministers, including in the offices of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of International Trade, at various times between 2015 and 2021. Her research interests include the global political economy of China's rise, China's impacts on the governance of international natural resource markets, Canada-China and Canada-Asia relations, and Canadian public opinion towards Asia. She was the recipient of the 2014-2015 Cadieux Léger Fellowship at the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of British Columbia, an MA in Asia-Pacific Public Policy Studies from the University of British Columbia, and a BA in East Asian Studies and Economics from the Université de Montréal.



Justin Massie, Full Professor, UQAM

Justin Massie is Full Professor of political science at the Université du Québec à Montréal, Co-director of the Network for Strategic Analysis, and Co-director of Le Rubicon. 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 International Studies Quarterly, International Relations, Foreign Policy Analysis, Contemporary Security Policy, Comparative Strategy, Canadian Journal of Political Science, International Journal (winner of the best article published in 2017), 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), America's Allies and the Decline of U.S. Hegemony (Routledge, 2019), and Intelligence Cooperation in a Multipolar World: Non-American Perspectives (UTP, 2024).



Jonathan Paquin, Full Professor, Laval University

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.



Sarah Sharma, Assistant Professor, University of Victoria

Sarah E. Sharma is an Assistant Professor of International Political Economy in the Department of Political Science at the University of Victoria. She received her Ph.D. in Political Science from Queen's University. Before joining the University of Victoria, she was a postdoctoral fellow in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto, Scarborough; prior to her Ph.D., she worked at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in New York City. In 2022, she was the Chair of the Women & Inclusivity in Sustainable Energy Research (WISER) Network. Her research examines the global political economy of environmental governance, focusing on climate mitigation and adaptation governance and geopolitical relations between the global North and global South. She has published in outlets such as Review of International Political Economy, International Affairs, New Political Economy, Urban Geography, amongst others.

emerging scholars



Amélie Chalivet, PhD Student, UQAM

Amélie Chalivet (she/her) is a doctoral student in cotutelle at the University of Paris 2 Panthéon-Assas and at the University of Quebec in Montreal. She is starting her thesis on India's strategic culture under the supervision of professors Jean-Vincent Holeindre and Justin Massie. Her academic interests include India's foreign policy, its ties with its neighbors in South Asia and its nuclear deterrence strategy.



David Dubé, PhD Student, McGill University

David Dubé is a researcher-in-residence at the Observatory of the United States of the Raoul-Dandurand Chair in Strategic and Diplomatic Studies. His research focuses on U.S. and Russian foreign policy, the relationship between the two states, and Russia-NATO relations. David also works on projects related to the Canada-US relationship, in terms of economic, commercial and security issues in the border states.



Emmanuelle Rousseau, PhD Candidate, Université de Montréal

Emmanuelle Rousseau is a PhD student in Political Science at the Université de Montréal. She is also a Junior Fellow of the Defence and Security Foresight Group at the University of Waterloo. Her doctoral project, financed by the Quebec Research Fund - Society and Culture, deals with diplomatic contestation in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the East-West dynamics in cooperative security within the OSCE region.



Kerry Buck, Senior Fellow, University of Ottawa

Kerry Buck was most recently Assistant Secretary to the Treasury Board, Economic Sector, from 2018 to 2021. Prior to that, she was Canada's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to NATO from 2015 to 2018. Ms. Buck is a career diplomat who was Political Director and Assistant Deputy Minister for International Security and Political Affairs, and served in Assistant Deputy Minister positions on Afghanistan, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and Director General for the Middle East and Maghreb. Earlier in her career she was posted to the Canadian Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York. Ms. Buck led Canadian government Task Forces for Afghanistan, Russia/Ukraine, Syria, Mali, the Haiti earthquake and other foreign policy and humanitarian crises. Throughout her diplomatic career, she supported Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers at the G7 and NATO Summits and represented Canada at the UN, G7, NATO, OAS and OSCE on issues of human rights, security, disarmament, terrorism and humanitarian affairs. She represented Canada on international negotiation of Women, Peace and Security issues from 1992 to 2018, helping build international law and practice on combatting gender-based violence.

Victoria Breda, Senior Analyst, Privy Council Office

Victoria Breda is a Senior Analyst at the Privy Council Office with a focus on climate security and the energy transition. Prior to her time in government, she worked in the private sector for various consumer goods companies. Victoria holds an Honors Bachelor of Arts from the University of Toronto where she studied art history. When she's not behind a desk, or a book, Victoria enjoys spending her time travelling and exploring new cities and cultures.