

## **REPORT**

Investigation into the Termination of Dr. Ramesh Thakur  
as Director of the Balsillie School of International Affairs,  
affiliated with the University of Waterloo,  
Wilfrid Laurier University,  
and the Waterloo-based Centre for International Governance Innovation

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**SUMMARY:**

I undertook this One-Person Ad Hoc Investigation on behalf of the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) because of concerns over circumstances leading to and from the dismissal of Dr. Ramesh Thakur as Director of the Balsillie School of International Affairs (BSIA), a School hosted and overseen by the University of Waterloo (UW) and Wilfrid Laurier University (WLU). In furtherance of this investigation, I was given a clear but non-restrictive mandate (see Appendices 1 and 2 for my letter of appointment and the CAUT Guidelines for such activities). I was also afforded access to a considerable body of relevant documents. After reading these documents carefully several times, I then endeavoured to contact a wide range of people. Some of them replied by e-mail while others preferred to talk on the telephone. From these exchanges I built up a sense of Dr. Thakur's scholarly and administrative competence and reputation, both locally and internationally, and of the evidentiary basis for the two main versions of the Thakur/Balsillie affair I encountered. The first version casts the BSIA Director's termination as part of wider purge beginning with the ousting of Dr. John English as Executive Director of the entity from which the BSIA derives, the independent think-tank called the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). The second version claims that Dr. Thakur's termination as Director of BSIA was the result of dissatisfaction among senior CIGI administrators, senior administrators at the UW and WLU, and CIGI Chairs in the BSIA, dissatisfaction with Dr. Thakur's management of the consultative and communications needs of a complex, three-way partnership and the day to day operational necessities of a fledgling school lacking clear and comprehensive governance and financial structures and effective support systems for Chairs, adjunct faculty from both UW and WLU, and students recruited to the BSIA's graduate programs.

In pursuing this investigation, I received significant assistance from all the main parties or their representatives. I am grateful to them all for helping me "to review fully and fairly the matters" I was appointed to investigate ("CAUT Procedures in Academic Freedom Cases" Section 6 d).

That said, it is necessary to add that I did not acquire all the information I sought. Nor did I secure the degree of comment on the record that I would have preferred. Privacy considerations account for some of the gaps and silences I had to accept, while deficiencies in disclosure attest to ongoing legal concerns, the gag orders attached to or proposed for different severance packages for participants and witnesses to this affair, and an atmosphere of intimidation and fear such as I have rarely encountered in my more than thirty years on faculty in the Canadian academy.

From my investigation I have concluded three things. First, a purge scenario – also described to me as a coup, ouster, firing, forcing out, house-cleaning, shock, world turned upside down, and desire for a clean slate and fresh start – this scenario seems the most likely version of what occurred. Second, there was a serious lapse of judgement and loss of commitment to institutional

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autonomy, academic integrity, due process, and natural justice by UW and WLU, and a regrettable failure to educate the principal donor behind both CIGI and BSIA, Jim Balsillie, as to a donor's proper role in enabling the work of a School devoted to graduate teaching and academic research under the broad rubric of "International Affairs." And third, the BSIA has a tremendous pool of faculty and students, and the potential to do great things, but it may not realize that potential and fulfill the hopes of its private and public funders unless and until the CIGI/BSIA relationship is resolved unequivocally and comprehensively in the interests of the academic autonomy and integrity of the BSIA.

In sum, this is a story about the down side of autonomy, the dark side of philanthropy, and the fact that no amount of money, whether public or private, can guarantee academic excellence unless academic principles and values are well understood and protected. (See Appendix 3 for CAUT's statement on the nature and importance of academic freedom). Universities can best serve their academic staff, students, multiple publics, and actual and prospective donors when, and only when, universities' established and emerging structures, policies, and procedures evince and promote the importance of institutional autonomy and academic integrity and freedom. Otherwise universities betray their own explicit mandates, public trust, and the good intentions of experienced and inexperienced donors alike.

### **BACKGROUND:**

The generosity of the prime movers behind Research in Motion (RIM), Mike Laziridis and Jim Balsillie, in founding and supporting the Perimeter Institute, CIGI, the BSIA, and a number of related initiatives, is truly remarkable. In using some of their wealth to support high-level research in theoretical physics and international governance – exploring the nature of the universe and the interactive future of our species, no less!-- these two iconic Canadian entrepreneurs have infused with rigor, subtlety, vision, and responsibility the sometimes glib or empty notion of "a new knowledge economy." One need not live in the Kitchener-Waterloo region to admire and applaud their business acumen, and their respect for intellectual inquiry, fresh synergy, and the impact of ideas and innovative applications on the world.

Mr. Balsillie in particular was able to recognize a good fit between Canada's traditional role and residual reputation as an honest, savvy broker on the international scene and the need for better policies and instruments of global governance than we can currently lay claim to. Mr. Balsillie was also able and willing to use his public prominence and business clout to secure significant amounts of federal and provincial tax dollars and support from the City of Waterloo to get CIGI up and running towards a destination and global prominence that met with widespread praise and intense anticipation within Canada and internationally. Estimates of the public monies committed to CIGI's establishment and ongoing activities go as high as one hundred million dollars (see Appendix 4 for details). Such levels of support are not surprising, given the policy deficits and practical realities that prevail, and the broad themes to which CIGI chose to devote

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its growing human and financial capacities: Environment and Resources; Global and Human Security; Health and Social Governance; International Economic Governance; International Law, Institutions, and Diplomacy; and Shifting Global Order (CIGI Website). This degree of support required appropriate acknowledgement and oversight. Accordingly, CIGI documents point to the extent and importance of public support for a set of privately stimulated and branded initiatives which will be gathered together in the Balsillie Centre of Excellence. When built, this Centre will include the BSIA among its residents. Meanwhile, government investments and the public interest are thought to be protected by having a government representative on the five-person CIGI Operating Board of Directors chaired from its inception by Jim Balsillie himself, a situation that indicates his commitment to making thinking make a difference in the world is serious, ongoing, and anything but capricious. Consistent with its global interests and reach, CIGI also has a seven-person International Advisory Board of Governors also chaired by Mr. Balsillie.

Having made these comments about CIGI, let me emphasize that CIGI is a self-described “independent, not-for-profit, non-partisan think-tank based in Waterloo, Ontario that conducts research, holds conferences, and publishes working papers and books, and makes policy recommendations on international governance issues.” This work is “led by a group of experienced practitioners and distinguished academics” in a remarkably imaginative, multi-sectoral, collaborative arrangement. In dealing with the matter before me, I have neither the authority nor the desire to influence or judge how CIGI does its business, **except** insofar as CIGI, functioning through its Operating Board, managers, and support staff as a *de facto* proxy of its principal donor, Jim Balsillie, interferes, or seeks or seems to interfere, in the academic activities of the BSIA.

As its name indicates, CIGI is a free-standing entity aligned with “Innovation,” a phenomenon closely associated these days with developments in the high-tech industry in which RIM excels. The entity to which CIGI gave birth, namely the BSIA, is independent too, in the sense that it is as academically independent of CIGI as are the two universities to which it is affiliated, even though it is much more financially dependent on the largesse of Mr. Balsillie than its host institutions are.

The BSIA is called a “School,” a term closely aligned with educational and academic values, procedures, and objectives. This alignment with academic independence enjoyed by the two universities to which it is affiliated, was underscored in the Agreement establishing the BSIA and the stipulation therein that the School’s Director was to report to the Presidents of UW and WLU or to their designates within each University (see Appendix 5). A further reinforcement of the academic nature of the BSIA came in the form of Dr. Thakur’s appointment as the School’s first Director, bringing as he did to that position an impressive research record and intellectual momentum, together with formidable academic networks and administrative and collaborative skills demonstrated in the apposite but endlessly challenging milieu of international diplomacy

within and beyond the United Nations and its complex structures and affiliations. The mention of the United Nations also calls to mind the academic impetus behind the founding of CIGI itself, which, according to Dr. English in his comment of April 8, 2010 (see Appendix 5) was first envisioned as “a United Nations University centre for Waterloo,” before jurisdictional and other obstacles led to the favouring of the think-tank option.

In theory, on paper, and at its inception, BSIA seemed assured of the academic autonomy and integrity consistent with its academic status, responsibilities, and aspirations. CIGI itself had been running since 2002 and had chosen as Director of the School someone whom Mr. Balsillie and Dr. English had aggressively recruited to CIGI as a Distinguished Fellow and to a professorial contract in the Department of Political Science at UW. Dr. Thakur had uprooted himself from a satisfying life and thriving career half a world away in Tokyo, and from a prestigious position as Senior Vice Rector at the United Nations University, because of the reputation of the people leading CIGI at that time and the opportunities afforded by a CIGI Fellowship to fulfill a mandate on global governance that resonated so promisingly with his own life’s work and most deeply held values. Moreover, people with a keen sense of the importance of branding, and extensive experience in marketing products and ideas, chose to publicize Dr. Thakur’s appointment as Director of BSIA with unreserved enthusiasm and pride.

Given the levels of good will, acuity, and resolve attending the birth of CIGI’s more exclusively academic progeny, the BSIA seemed to be in good hands, both custodial and directorial. So what went wrong, if indeed anything did go wrong? The “tangled tale” as one CIGI chair termed it, unfolded around several key turning points (for a fuller chronology of events see Appendix 6).

### **FIRST KEY DEVELOPMENT:**

Having joined CIGI in May 2007, Dr. Thakur had sufficiently impressed his colleagues there that he was appointed inaugural Director of the BSIA thirteen months later. His was a two-year contract, though it took some months to work out the details and he did not sign on until 22 February 2009. On 11 March of that same year, at a high-level meeting of CIGI’s Strategic Committee chaired by Jim Balsillie, it was moved by the President of WLU, Max Blouw, seconded by the President of UW, David Johnston, and unanimously approved by those present, that Dr. Thakur’s term as Director of BSIA be extended from two to five years. This development was not instigated by Dr. Thakur but he readily accepted the offer made to him when he joined the meeting after this vote had taken place.

There are three inferences to be drawn from this decision by the CIGI leadership and that of the two universities. First, there must have been satisfaction with Dr. Thakur’s performance to date as Director and a desire to let him know that he was doing well. Second, Dr. Thakur must have felt vindicated in his priorities and practices with regard to BSIA. And thirdly, the extension of his term was a form of normalization, placing it more in line with arrangements elsewhere in institutions like the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto where the

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Director is appointed to a five-year term and reviewed formally only towards the end of that term and before an external review of the School is undertaken, though interactions with the Director will happen at least annually along the way. To use the language of academic mentoring and review, *formative* interactions occur on a regular basis during an appointee's term, with a *summative* review following according to a predetermined and clearly enunciated process towards the end of the term in question. In other words, Dr. Thakur could assume that a process for evaluating his Directorship would be worked out in due course and before his five-year term ended. In the meantime, the mode and substance of the extension of his Directorship entitled him to conclude that he enjoyed the respect and confidence of those to whom he reported, and that he now had a more appropriate time-span in which to make the contributions to the BSIA of which so many people thought him capable.

I found no evidence of opposition to this decision at the time it was made, and Dr. Thakur says he was not made aware of any, though CIGI Chair Thomas Homer-Dixon characterized this decision to extend the Director's term in retrospect as "a mistake." Professor Homer-Dixon and the Interim Director of BSIA and CIGI Chair David Welch felt that concern about Dr. Thakur's leadership and administration were already evident and growing at the time he had his term as Director extended to five years.

### **SECOND KEY DEVELOPMENT:**

Late November 2009 Dr. John English ceased to be Executive Director of CIGI. I do not know whether he resigned willingly or was forced out. What I do know is that the manner and timing of his departure caused shock and consternation in the local community, speculation in the local and national media, and reverberations in Dr. English's prodigious network of associates across the world. Here I return to the terms used to describe to me what happened: purge, coup, ouster, firing, forcing out, shock, world turned upside down, house cleaning, desire for a clean slate and a fresh start. I introduce this internal CIGI matter into my report because it informs the narrative and provides some indication that there was a great deal of fear across and beyond the CIGI community. This impression was conveyed by people I had no reason to disbelieve, given their accomplishments and their responses to my probing. And the aftermath of Dr. English's departure can be traced in reactions among the senior administration at UW to the treatment of one of their own who had resigned his faculty position in the Department of History in order, it would seem, to avoid the appearance of loyalty divided between an academic and an independent institution, and to devote himself even more concertedly to the flourishing of CIGI. The anxiety and dismay felt by many people who knew Dr. English indicates that his departure caused substantial collateral damage in the local community as well as the media. The question I am charged with asking is not "Was there collateral damage?" but rather "Did the evident and undeniable collateral damage extend to a prominent recruit whose abilities, values, and performance Dr. English vocally and sincerely admired?" Was Dr. Thakur's fate as Director of the BSIA, and perhaps as Distinguished Fellow at CIGI, sealed when one of his strongest

proponents, Dr. English, left CIGI at the beginning of a substantial turnover of academic and other staff there? It did not take long for rumours to that effect to surface, but were they anything more than rumours?

### **THIRD KEY DEVELOPMENT:**

Dr. Thakur learned on December 1, 2009 from a former CIGI Board member that he was apparently next in line to be ousted. He took this rumour to the person to whom he directly reported in UW, Dean of Arts Dr. Ken Coates, who played it down as mere rumour. A meeting was scheduled between Dr. Thakur and President David Johnston for December 18, and this occasioned further speculation that brought the following reassurance from the President to his Director of BSIA: “Ramesh I’ve just gotten off the phone with .... who reported a terribly false rumour about your and my meeting tomorrow. So that there can be no doubt I asked you to meet with me on your immediate return from Australia *to reinforce your leadership of the BSIA and to plan together* how we can stabilize an irrational situation in the short term and ensure the middle and long term success of BSIA. That is the purpose of our meeting” (emphasis added). The need for such reassurance indicates both the destabilizing effects of such rumours and the persistence of the belief in some quarters inside and beyond CIGI that a purge was underway. Yet Dr. Johnston sounds like the same person who had seconded the motion to extend Dr. Thakur’s Directorship of BSIA to five years. The President talks about short, middle, and long-term needs and sees his current Director as having a role in effectively addressing all of them. Dr. Johnston does not specify what the “irrational situation” at the School consists in, but he seems to concede that Dr. Thakur’s leadership requires reinforcement, even though they both know he has a five-year term in which to complete his work on behalf of BSIA, and has been acting accordingly.

The subject heading of this message is “Story from Melbourne U,” and it is the third of three e-mails exchanged that day between President Johnston and Dr. Thakur. Here are the two that preceded it:

RT to DJ: You might find this interesting, the concluding sentence of which is “At dispute are the recent history of planning for expansion and funding of the facility, the balance between corporate and scientific priorities, and the surprise removal of Professor Lamb.”

DJ to RT: “Ramesh some sad and salutary lessons here. Let us put our strong efforts into the future of the BSIA so that we avoid these unfortunate debilitating conflicts. Travel home safely. See you tomorrow at 4pm.”

As part of his duties as Director of BSIA and Distinguished Fellow at CIGI Dr. Thakur had been away again from Waterloo. While in Australia, he encountered a breaking story on the controversial dismissal of Chemistry Professor Robert Lamb, the inaugural Director of the

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Australian synchrotron (see Appendix 7 for the account in *The Australian*). The analogy could hardly be more apt, and in retrospect, poignant. One inaugural Director points to the fate of another and is looking for reassurance that it is not a fate he too will soon share. The allusion is even more pointed in that Professor Lamb was vigorously defended in the media by the Vice Chancellor of his university, Glyn Davis. What a contrast with the silence surrounding the departure of Dr. English as Executive Director of CIGI, and, in retrospect, with the termination of Dr. Thakur as another inaugural Director of a high-profile research entity affiliated with two universities! Dr. Thakur is discreet rather than disrespectful in drawing President Johnston's attention to the Australian case. There is a warning about bad press and the damage it can cause, and a reminder that academic staff can (and should) be supported publicly by their institutional leadership when it seems an injustice is being done to them. In Australia, the problem with Professor Lamb is described by the Chair of the Synchrotron Board, as "compliance and 'stakeholder relations.'" In Canada, it is implied, the problem is not with the two host universities but with an unduly directive donor and prominent stakeholder, Jim Balsillie, and his functionaries. Dr. Johnston recognizes "some sad and salutary lessons here" before turning to a different future in the case of his university and his colleague.

#### **FOURTH KEY DEVELOPMENT:**

Of course there were two university partners involved in the BSIA agreement with CIGI. On 22 December 2009, a week after the e-mail exchange with Dr. Johnston discussed above, Dr. Thakur received an e-mail from Dr. Max Blouw, President of WLU. Dr. Blouw indicated that he had talked with Dr. Johnston after the latter's December 18 meeting with Dr. Thakur, a meeting at which Dr. Thakur recalls (in a message to Jim Turk of CAUT) as confirming that his position as Director was secure. President Blouw affirmed the existing arrangement whereby Dr. Thakur as Director of BSIA reported to the two presidents via their designates, Dean Coates at UW and VP Academic and Provost MacLatchy at WLU. President Blouw went on to strike a note of caution: "However proactive development around the wider issues of governance relating to the intersection of BSIA with CIGI should be deferred until there is more information available from those who have the mandate to review and make the recommendations with respect to governance and operations at CIGI." In a context where there is abundant expertise about governance, the task of determining the governance structure of BSIA and the crucial relation between BSIA and CIGI had been assigned in late October of the previous year (and shortly before the departure of Dr. English from his role at CIGI) to Cosimo Fiorenza, Secretary to and Member of the Operating Board at CIGI and a corporate tax lawyer.

This development put in abeyance efforts by the Associate Directors of CIGI at UW and WLU to draft a governance document for the School. Dr. Thakur had delegated this work to them because of their intimate knowledge of two distinct faculty cultures and administrative structures at UW and WLU, and because of Dr. Thakur's own commitments as Director and CIGI Distinguished Fellow. But this delegation placed a strain on the two universities, and progress had been further

complicated by budgetary and jurisdictional considerations and negotiations with another Ontario university about a joint LLM program. However, a draft was produced by BSIA Associate Directors Gerry Boychuk of UW and Terry Levesque of WLU and then shared by Dean Coates with Mr. Fiorenza at CIGI. On November 18, 2009, under the message heading “CIGI—Next Steps” Mr. Fiorenza made plain he was now very much in charge of establishing a governance structure for the BSIA, a process linked to impending changes in CIGI, and that his proposals had the full support of Jim Balsillie and Dennis Kavelman (Chief Financial Officer at RIM and Treasurer on the Operating Board of CIGI). Mr. Fiorenza’s message opens bluntly:

It’s important that CIGI be at the table regarding all of the academic discussions for the BSIA for the reasons that I mentioned previously namely the following:

- i. We need to ensure that all approved areas of study are consistent with our mandated themes.
- ii. Also, academic direction will necessarily impact structure and finances.

... As Ramesh correctly noted in his e-mail to me last week, I believe that we need to land on structure before we go any further. Thus, I would ask that we not submit the draft agreement that has been circulated nor go any further on it until we land on structure. I am hopeful that if we can bring some focus to the table that all of the parties will act quickly so that we can achieve the desired timelines. I am also hopeful that when the dust settles we will be able to use much of the work that has been done, but that we should do so based on a structure that CIGI and the schools can all buy into.

Despite Mr. Fiorenza’s hopes, “the dust” has not yet settled. He recognized in this same message that it was not “fair to Ramesh that he be required to speak to CIGI issues (when he is structurally representing all of the other parties as well).” Dr. Thakur was thus seen as already multi-tasking and overextended. He himself had delegated responsibility for the drafting of a governance structure for BSIA to his two Associate Directors in UW and MLU (and he would later ask Professor Homer-Dixon to Chair a sub-committee of BSIA faculty on this matter). Dr. Thakur could hardly complain about this work being built on from another source, **unless** that source proposed a structure that imperiled the academic autonomy and integrity of the BSIA. But this is precisely what was being proposed at this time as CIGI, a principal funder of the School, demanded direct representation at “all” BSIA’s academic discussions so as to monitor not only their financial implications but also their consistency with CIGI’s “mandated themes.” There are three obvious problems with the proposed arrangement. First, will mandate compliance be understood so narrowly as to call into question the academic judgments of the BSIA’s academic staff on academic matters? Second, how much of a chill--or worse--will attend these academic discussions when one or more representatives of a principal funder are in the room? And third, if Balsillie interests are entitled to such representation, then why not the government funders too?

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And there is another problem with the proposed arrangement. It reasserts a position regarding which Dr. Thakur and Jim Balsillie had already a difficult discussion. Here is Dr. Thakur's version of what happened.

Mr. Balsillie had indicated an interest in supporting a graduate program in law to be established at UW (later WLU too), in association with the Balsillie School of international affairs.... The final round of the initial set of discussions with the U of Ottawa team was held on 13 October 2009. About five minutes before the meeting was scheduled to begin, I was approached by Ms. Alison DeMuy, Partnerships Director at CIGI, saying that she had been instructed by Mr. Fiorenza to attend the meeting. I said that the discussions were purely and solely on academic matters to do with course curricula for the different combinations and packages that were under consideration. Much of it would be over my head even. Therefore I thought it would be a waste of her time. Instead, maybe after this meeting I could give her the full background, bring her up to speed, and then she could sit in and attend meetings more productively. We both went to the office of John English [still ED of CIGI at this time] and he agreed with the strategy. Alison seemed comfortable with this too.

Very shortly after the meeting finished, I got a phone call from Mr. Balsillie. He was quite agitated and angry and asked who was I to excuse Alison from the meeting. I was informed by Jim that the CIGI Board has mandated Cos[imo Fiorenza] and Alison to lead the negotiations with respect to all third party partnerships, including with U of Ottawa regarding the law program. I explained that I had not "excused" Alison from the meeting as such. Rather, I had explained to her that we were dealing purely and solely with academic content and I did not think it fair to drop her into the middle of a highly technical discussion without advance briefing or preparation. I had some difficulty getting through to Mr. Balsillie, and he got even more agitated when I noted that technically, I reported to and took orders from the two university presidents and not the CIGI Board. Accordingly, I need clearance and authorization from the universities on the appropriate boundary demarcations between what CIGI should and should not be involved in. Mr. Balsillie began to repeat himself and insisted that I should apologize to Alison. I said I would be happy to do so, as it had never been my intention to offend or upset her.

After the call, I sent an email message to Alison apologizing if I had upset her, explaining again it was merely to avoid wasting her time for that particular meeting. She came to see me in my office almost immediately, feeling quite embarrassed that Mr. Balsillie had called me. She said she understood perfectly what I had said and why, and had not been upset or offended. For all subsequent requests from her in connection with the Balsillie School, I did get clearance from Dean Coates and WLU Provost Dr. Deborah MacLatchy.

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No sooner had I sent my message to Alison than I got a call back from Mr. Balsillie, even more angry at feeling that I had hung up on him. I pointed out that no one in CIGI would do that to him, that if he thought about it, I had not even raised my voice to him nor lost my temper. On the contrary, feeling anxious that Alison—whom I liked personally—might be upset, I had wanted to get on with sending her a reassuring message asap. So, under the impression that our conversation had ended, I proceeded to do exactly what he had asked me to do, namely apologize to Alison. But the basic problem remained that I was facing constant uncertainty over my reporting lines and lack of any clear and firm guidance on the demarcation of roles and responsibilities between CIGI, WLU and UW. We urgently needed a clear and transparent governance structure.

I reported very briefly on this conversation in an e-mail message to Dean Coates on 14 October and in greater detail in a conversation in my office with President Johnston on 18 December.

Dr. Thakur's account offers one person's perspective on an unfortunate misunderstanding. There are doubtless other readings of the situation to which I am not privy. Dr. Thakur does, however, identify a unilateralist tendency in the CIGI Board confirmed in Mr. Fiorenza's letter of November 18 quoted above. Mr. Fiorenza had already been given Board approval on the matter of CIGI representation at all academic discussions at the BSIA, even though its Director had not been as yet informed that was the case. Dr. Thakur's sense that he is caught between contractually specified reporting arrangements and real power relations is also confirmed in Mr. Fiorenza's message, in the point about it not being "fair to Ramesh" to be representing several different constituencies. There is also a plausible sense of exasperation on Mr. Balsillie's part that, the CIGI Board already having resolved on a course of action, one of the person's acting for CIGI on that basis has been thwarted by Dr. Thakur in an act of indirect insubordination, an act compounded over the telephone by his reminding Mr. Balsillie that his first duty is to his academic bosses and the academic institutions they lead and not to the BSIA's main financial sponsor.

Major questions about donor's rights apparently raised by Mr. Balsillie and certainly broached by Mr. Fiorenza's proposal have not been settled by the time President Blouw writes to Dr. Thakur on December 22. In the meantime, Dr. English's departure from CIGI has raised far more dust than Mr. Fiorenza's message seems to anticipate, and increased anxiety about the price of academic independence in the BSIA. Dr. Thakur's desire for a governance structure within which his Directorship and the BSIA itself can flourish is unabated, but he himself is prohibited by both CIGI and university authorities from taking on this task, and can hardly be held responsible for further delays in achieving this basic goal.

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**FIFTH KEY DEVELOPMENT:**

By January 13, 2010 it was a little clearer what was in store for Dr. Thakur and the BSIA. Dean Coates in an e-mail to Thakur writes: “We need to talk with some urgency about the Balsillie School... I have picked up some intelligence re: future actions by CIGI that require our urgent attention.” There is no mention here about problems **inside** the BSIA. The locus of power and concern seems still to be CIGI. The following day Dr. Thakur had a meeting with Dean Coates in which, according to Thakur, they discussed “terms and conditions on which he might relinquish the Directorship.” Dr. Thakur’s claim of a desire to buy him off or buy him out is confirmed in subsequent e-mails of 29 January and 5 February from Dean Coates to Dr. Thakur. In the meantime, silence reigned at the top of UW and WLU despite a poignant appeal from Dr. Thakur to President Blouw on 18 January:

Dear Max,

When I met David [Johnston] on Dec 18, I said that if, following the unfortunate upheaval in CIGI, undue pressure was brought to bear on the Balsillie School and the universities stood up in defence of academic freedom, I would be prepared to join in the fight to save the School’s identity and integrity as an academic institution housed in the two universities. But I would be reluctant to be the only protagonist. I understood from him then that as far as he and UW were concerned, I had done an admirable job as Director and they wished me very much to continue. If either of the other two partners had any concerns, those could be discussed and addressed.

On the basis of recent conversations with Ken [Coates] I am led to believe that the CIGI part of the tripartite partnership is or will be seeking a new Director of the Balsillie School in order to have a completely new slate for the combined operations of CIGI and the Balsillie School. It is also my understanding that UW has concluded that, for larger and longer-term considerations, it is not in a position to resist this demand. Although this goes against my instinct and judgement, I am prepared to respect the UW wishes, provided, of course, my individual interests are reasonably protected. I have detailed these in conversations with Ken today.

As you are the third major party in this partnership, I think you should be made aware of where things stand so that, should you wish to do so, you can express your views and preferences before final decisions are made irrevocably.

With best regards, ....

This e-mail was copied to President Johnston and Dean Coates at UW and Vice-President and Provost MacClatchy at WLU. Dr. Thakur made claims in this message that could have been readily refuted by any or all of the addressees if untrue, or corrected if misleading. Yet his

message received neither acknowledgement nor response. In a telephone conversation with Jim Turk of CAUT on 6 February, UW Vice-President Academic and Provost Feridun Hamdullahpur provided a belated response of sorts to the charges made in Dr. Thakur's e-mail to President Blouw, denying that there was any pressure or request from UW or WLU or CIGI in relation to any academic aspect of the BSIA, including its Directorship. This denial was confirmed by Dean Coates to Dr. Thakur later the same day. In the same message, Dr. Coates indicated that Provost Hamdullahpur had authorized a review of Dr. Thakur's performance as Director of the BSIA, a process that would lead to his firing as Director of the BSIA.

In this message to President Blouw, Dr. Thakur shows both caution and courage. Given recent and "unfortunate upheaval" at CIGI, he is understandably reluctant when speaking with President Johnston on December 18 to act as solitary academic tribune or whistleblower. However, he shares a challenging message with the academic leadership of both the universities which house the BSIA. He has academic work to do and clear mandate to continue doing it. A month later, he can read the writing on the wall in UW, and the shift from veiled capitulation to mollifying compensation in Dean Coates's interactions with him. However, he appeals to President Blouw to consider the implications of the determination to remove him as Director of the BSIA. If one university failed to defend its own and the School's autonomy and academic integrity, maybe the other one would. It did not.

#### **SIXTH KEY DEVELOPMENT:**

In the absence of the support he had explicitly requested from the senior administration at both UW and WLU to defend BSIA's academic independence, and in the midst of a review process he considered unwarranted and procedurally inappropriate—a process that CIGI Chair Professor Will Coleman described to me in a telephone interview as premature and procedurally flawed—Dr. Thakur thought it time more directly to address the challenges he saw the BSIA facing in its relations with CIGI. On 22 March, 2010, he therefore circulated a two-page memorandum to his colleagues in the BSIA spelling out the stakes of CIGI interventionism as he saw them. On 4 March the UW CIGI chairs in the BSIA had been invited by Dean Coates to comment on his performance to the Dean by mail or in person under the aegis of what the Dean tendentiously termed "The annual review of the Director," and Dr. Thakur needed to provide some context for the review and for relations between CIGI and the BSIA.

This analysis by the inaugural Director of BSIA and CIGI Distinguished Fellow calls for a quarantining of the School (see Appendix 8 for the full text) to protect its "long-term credibility and viability." He makes a clear and apposite distinction between "the corporate world" and universities as "collegial enterprises [where] even the newest and most junior faculty member is treated by the university president as a respected colleague, not an employee or functionary." (As Professor Tom Weiss of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York put it when I talked to him, scholars, especially ones as eminent and sought-after as Dr. Thakur, cannot be

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treated by donors or academic administrators like “hired hands.”) Dr. Thakur concedes that CIGI’s point of view “might well be that they need a clearer, more direct and more active role in various aspects of the School’s activities and operations, including the selection, appointment, termination and reporting obligations of the Director.” In face of such understandable impulses, Dr. Thakur asks whether “recent events in CIGI underline the need to quarantine the Balsillie School, including the Director, from non-academic institutions, personnel and pressures.” He goes on to appeal to the understanding of the role of donors as understood by CAUT and the UW and WLU faculty associations before defending the existing, insufficiently elaborated but basically sound arrangements for having an academic Director reporting on academic issues to presidential designates in the two universities. Dr. Thakur concludes by sundering the two issues of financial and academic oversight which Cosimo Fiorenza had conjoined in his first major move as the person responsible for redefining CIGI/BSIA relations and developing a governance structure for the latter.

Dr. Thakur places the primary responsibility on the academy to ensure that donors, “no matter how generous,” do not overstep the mark separating financial support from academic control. If they do, he suggests, the consequent diminishment of academic autonomy may bring about similar diminishment in credibility, especially in areas where “global excellence” is the objective, as at the BSIA. He is implicitly appealing to senior administrators at UW and WLU to defend more forcefully than they have in the past the need for, and benefits for all parties, of academic control of academic matters. He is also urging his colleagues to think about CIGI/BSIA relations at a moment when the BSIA Faculty Council’s sub-committee on governance is revisiting the status and role of the School’s Director and the rights and role of CIGI as “an equal partner” with UW and WLU in the management of the BSIA. He throws down the gauntlet more publicly than in the past, not least because “the principles and values at stake are not just a local issue, but matters for the university community to think about nationally.”

### **THE IGNOBLE ART OF EASING OUT:**

The procedures by which Dr. Thakur was subjected to a prematurely summative review of his performance as Director of BSIA bear signs of administrative desperation and the retrofitting of collegial process in order to produce a negative outcome. Policy 40 at UW describes the “Qualifications, Duties and Responsibilities” of the “Chair of a department [or Director of an academic unit of departmental status].” Policy 40 is not designed for assessing someone directing an entity like the BSIA. But it was the only instrument available for following up on Provost Hamdullahpur’s decision that Dr. Thakur’s Directorship had to be reviewed immediately. Whose responsibility is that?

Dr. Thakur has never conceded the legitimacy of the review process to which he was subjected as Director of the BSIA. To do so would have reduced the status of the BSIA and everyone associated with it, and would have dignified a process bearing a number of signs of a maladroit

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ousting of an inconveniently academic dissident. Dr. Thakur's refusal to accept assessment via Policy 40 led the provost to fire him as Director: "While we accept your position on this matter [the applicability to BSIA Director Thakur of Policy 40]," in the absence of invoking the processes set out in Policy 40, we will now move to terminate you in your position as Director of the Balsillie School, effective immediately."

It appears that in the absence of Dr. Thakur being prepared to submit to the procedural expediency provided by Policy 40, the Provost exercised provostial fiat.

Things are not quite that simple, however. The review process had apparently elicited negative comments from an unspecified number of CIGI chairs in the BSIA, criticisms and complaints summarized by Dean Coates in his letter to Dr. Thakur of 29 April, 2010 (see Appendices 9 and 10 for this letter and Dr. Thakur's compendious response to it). Dean Coates's summary of the results of the review process is not helped by his opening moves. He begins with a generic view of the review process, before admitting that a "formal review" did not occur "last year as your contract was not signed until January 2009." What is the force of "formal review" here, and where is accountability for the delay in signing the contract? Dean Coates then refers to a "job description" which was nowhere in evidence when Dr. Thakur agreed to become the inaugural Director of the BSIA but is there in remarkable detail when a "formal" performance review is deemed necessary. What follows accords praise to Dr. Thakur as a scholar and prominent presence in international affairs, while Dean Coates uncouples oversight of local operations from the larger international agenda of the BSIA. This uncoupling seems especially contrived and implausible after one has read Dr. Thakur's dazzling Performance Review Report for 2008-2009 and the encomium to his sense of responsibility, integrity, and abilities by, for example, Jayantha Dhanapala [the President of the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs; former UN Under-Secretary General; former Ambassador of Sri Lanka to the USA and to the UN in Geneva; and Director of the UN Institute for Disarmament Research], or the equivalent praise for Dr. Thakur and his work offered by Professor the Hon. Gareth Evans AO QC [Chancellor of the Australian National University; Honorary Fellow of Magdalen College Oxford; President Emeritus of the International Crisis Group; Co-Chair of the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, and Co-Chair International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty]. (See Appendices 11 and 12).

Dr. Thakur's response to the concerns raised in Dean Coates's letter appear to offer a convincing and complete answer.

In his response to Dean Coates's appraisal of his performance, Dr. Thakur willingly admits to the frustrations of some of his BSIA colleagues with the operations of the School. Indeed, he admits to sharing those frustrations, while pointing out that he has been asking (as we have already seen) for precisely the clear governance structures whose absence some of his colleagues lament. But the reality is that some people expect the inaugural Director of the School to perform

miracles, and this in less than a third of the five years to which his term was properly extended. To put matters starkly, some people want the Director ousted at any price while others want him to be both Gandhi and C. D. Howe: an international icon for non-violence and the master of the smallest details in mobilizing materiel on the home front.

Toward the end of his summary, Dean Coates observes that “it is quite clear that having you remain as Director of the Balsillie School will delay the evolution of this important institution.” As Dr. Thakur points out in his response, Dean Coates on 15 November, 2009, in regard to a draft governance document sent out to WLU and to Dr. Thakur, said the following: “*By any measure -- stature of faculty and staff, number of graduate student applications and quality of admitted students, national and international reputation, invitations to partner with other institutions, fund-raising opportunities—the Balsillie School has exceeded the most optimistic forecasts and expectations*” (emphasis added). Dr. Thakur claims that this assessment of the BSIA under its inaugural Director was repeated on 10 January 2010, at a lunch with Dr. Thakur and John English. Once again Dr. Thakur is getting feedback from those to whom he reports to the effect that he is doing a fine job and should keep on doing what he is doing. Yet in an interview with me and Provost MacLachy of WLU, she on the speaker phone and Dr. Coates sitting beside me in my office on campus at the University of Saskatchewan, Dr. Coates said that he would respond to the question of whether it was right to remove Dr. Thakur as Director of BSIA with a “strong and sorrowful yes.” He said he was “extremely comfortable’ with this decision, adding that he himself was “75% responsible for it.”

The rapid and startling about-face in the Dean’s assessment of the state of the BSIA and its Director is such that one assumes it was the result of new and dramatically negative or worrying evidence garnered from--at the very least-- a careful sounding out of all of the BSIA community and careful attention to considerations of natural justice as well as due process. Otherwise, no justifiable action could be taken on the Director’s future. And where, one might well wonder, in this process was constructive conversation with partners and participants of the kind to which President Johnston had referred as a way of ironing out difficulties, “reinforc[ing]’ Dr. Thakur’s “leadership” of the BSIA and “plan[ning] together”. This kind of formative interaction did not occur as fully and openly as it should have. Indeed, we seem to go from Dean Coates receiving “urgent intelligence re: *future actions by CIGI that require our urgent attention*” (emphasis added) to negotiations about Dr. Thakur stepping down as Director of the BSIA, to a contacting of CAUT, to a retaliatory review that functions as a lightning rod for legitimate frustrations in BSIA and both universities, to an ousting more precipitate than convincing. There is clearly much to be concerned about in this process of easing Dr. Thakur out of the Directorship of BSIA.

For example, when Dr. Thakur suggested that Dr. John English was in the best position to assess his performance as Director of the BSIA, and that a letter from the former Executive Director of CIGI was forthcoming, Dean Coates responded thus in an e-mail of March 24: “I confirmed

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internally the comment I made yesterday regarding John [English]. I was told again that UW's reading was that his involvement in providing comments requested by you would create difficulties. But that is only ou[r] opinion. As part of the review process, UW is seeking comments from its institutional partners and not from individuals. I also learned that the final submissions will be received shortly, which will mean the process has to be completed sooner rather than later."

However, this seems at odds with the fact that they were polling individual CIGI chairs. It also seems counterproductive since John English was Executive Director of CIGI during the period of review and has a unique institutional memory that should at least have been considered.

By April, Dr. Thakur has received the "comment" from Dr. English about his Directorship (appendix 5). It offers invaluable context for the founding and operation of the BSIA and is revealingly **academic** in its emphases. Why would anyone want to rule out such evidence from such a process? For whom does a measured and informed letter from Dr. English create "difficulties," and why?

Another example of troubling process leading to the termination of Dr. Thakur's Directorship of BSIA involves Dean Coates's request to Dr. Thakur that he cancel a meeting of the Faculty Council of BSIA he had called for Friday May 21, 2010. This meeting would have allowed Dr. Thakur to communicate his sense of things to his colleagues, to share with them dimensions of the governance challenges and budgetary frustrations he had faced in his tenure as inaugural Director of the BSIA and which he had kept from them in order, he said, to protect senior administration from criticism stemming from their own disorganization. The request that he cancel this meeting with BSIA faculty occurred midst a flurry of administrative activity at UW to get Dr. Thakur to step down and shut up. As part of the effort at damage control, he had already been asked on May 14, in a letter co-signed by the Provosts of UW and WLU, to give up his Directorship of the BSIA. If, in addition to doing so, he were willing to give up his academic post at UW, he would receive a lump sum of \$100,000 (less statutory deductions). It is difficult to read this offer constructively as an attempt to be generous in a difficult situation; for why would they be offering him \$100,000 to leave his post at UW in addition to giving up the Directorship of the BSIA, especially since fifteen days previously, Dean Coates, after criticizing Dr. Thakur's performance as Director of the BSIA, had added, "Your status as Director is separate and distinct from your position as Research Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Waterloo ... Indeed your stellar contributions as a scholar, public intellectual and teacher would be welcomed within the Department of Political Science and Faculty of Arts, University of Waterloo." The Provosts' offer can be more easily read as an attempt to forestall bad publicity and much else.

Dr. Thakur complied with the request from Dean Coates to cancel the Faculty Council meeting, but one wonders what lay behind the move. If, as Dean Coates claimed in a letter to Dr. Thakur

of May 18, he had “lost the confidence of a significant number of the faculty members associated with the School,” it would have been procedurally fairer to allow him to meet with his colleagues and to share with them his concerns about what was happening, the governance and budgetary concerns he had, and to provide his response to charges about his leadership and relations with WLU and CIGI.

### **ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND TERMINATION PROCESSES:**

Dr. Thakur’s termination as Director of the BSIA was communicated in a letter to him from UW’s Provost Hamdullahpur of May 21, 2010. Efforts to sweeten and hasten his departure from UW had failed and he would now return as his contract stipulated to his position as a Professor of Political Science in UW. On May 26 he received from Thomas Bernes, Acting Executive director of CIGI, a letter which begins thus:

We have received a copy of the letter issued May 21, 2010 by the University of Waterloo terminating you in your position as Director of the Balsillie School of International Affairs (“School”) and returning you to a full time appointment at the University of Waterloo with no change in your compensation entitlement. In light of those steps, it is appropriate to confirm the status of your association with The Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI”). We advise you that your appointment as Distinguished Fellow to CIGI is terminated, effective immediately.”

The letter concludes: “We wish you well in resuming a full time academic role with the University of Waterloo.”

This text is troubling in that it suggests, despite the fact that Dr. Thakur’s Fellowship at CIGI is scheduled to expire on 30 April, 2012, that the Fellowship is being prematurely terminated because of action taken at UW. Officials at UW knew that Dr. Thakur would never have agreed to come to Waterloo simply to be a member of its Political Science Department. His secondment to CIGI as Distinguished Fellow (initially Distinguished Researcher) was always part of the deal and revealingly ranks first in the UW Department of Political Science’s announcement of Dr. Thakur’s appointment, and this research position was now being taken from him despite a research record whose scope and quality was never questioned by anyone at UW or WLU or CIGI. Why was CIGI not returning him to the 50% secondment that still had two years to run, 25% of which had been assigned to his Directorship of the BSIA? There is no mention of this possibility in a letter of May 26 from Thomas Bernes to Dean Coates and copied to Dr. Thakur. I therefore sought further clarification of the reasons for terminating the CIGI Fellowship from Neve Peric, Vice President of Operations at CIGI. Ms. Peric in an e-mail of August 20 made clear to me that from CIGI’s point of view they had no choice but to terminate Dr. Thakur’s secondment contract and his Fellowship “As a consequence of the University [of Waterloo]’s decision to recall Dr. Thakur to full time teaching.”

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Predictably, the news of Dr. Thakur's double termination at BSIA and CIGI came to public attention, partly as a result of Dr. Thakur sending an email to Elizabeth Church before she published her story in the *Globe and Mail* entitled "Turnover at Balsillie School raises questions of academic freedom."

Also worth noting here is the implication that Dr. Thakur's reputation may be damaged in the eyes of anyone who knows anything about him or about the academy when it becomes known that he has been terminated in his Directorship and Fellowship and reassigned to full time teaching in Political Science at UW. This, it seems, will be interpreted as serious demotion and punishment as a consequence of significant incompetence or dereliction of duty. Or will it be interpreted to the detriment of CIGI, UW, and WLU? Whatever the negative outcomes, according to CIGI its hands are clean. They tried their best to keep a lid on this affair, and the decision to return Dr. Thakur to full time teaching was UW's. CIGI was dealing as discreetly as possible with the consequences of a situation not of CIGI's making. However, on one particular matter CIGI did in fact have a choice about how to proceed.

In the letter terminating Dr. Thakur as CIGI Distinguished Fellow, Thomas Bernes raised the question of Dr. Thakur's "participation in the Australian Research Council (ARC) project entitled 'Building the Rule of Law in International Affairs.'" In light of recent events, CIGI wishes to change its own role in this project from "Partner" to "Funder." But, if the other parties agree, and Dr. Thakur signs a release document accompanying this letter, then CIGI will transfer its remaining financial contributions to UW so that Dr. Thakur can continue as a Principal Investigator on the project. The document in question is a "RELEASE OF ALL CLAIMS," claims which Dr. Thakur "may have relating to the termination of his appointment as Distinguished Fellow at CIGI." What does this stipulation say about CIGI's understanding of academic freedom, scholarly values, and the ethics of research collaboration?

On the positive side, CIGI wants to follow through on its funding obligations for a research project that attracted great praise from its ARC reviewers for the quality of its three main investigators, including Dr. Thakur. More neutrally, CIGI wants to be described one way rather than another in the various forms of reporting on this project. It is after all an independent think tank with a strong sense of its own brand and the best ways to market it. But, to try to make the continuing of Dr. Thakur as a key member of a research project to which he has already committed years of effort and much expertise, to make *this* contingent on his signing of a sweeping release document appears to be wholly inappropriate. Recall that CIGI is the entity that wants to be an "equal partner" present at "all" academic discussions at the BSIA, its role as funder firmly linked, it would appear, to legal hardball as well as financial clout. The Acting Executive Director of CIGI whose signature is on the letter containing this proposal is of course not an academic like Dr. English, but Mr. Bernes's other title at CIGI is Director of Programs, programs that continue to require the input of scholars as well as practitioners in the field of global governance.

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**FINDINGS:**

Dr. Thakur was unfairly treated in the months leading up to his dismissal as Director of the BSIA.

The conditions of his reassignment to full time teaching at UW unfairly resulted in his termination as Distinguished Fellow at CIGI, removing an entitlement that had persuaded him to relocate to the Waterloo region and casting aspersions on a record of research activity since he joined CIGI which none can dispute and few could rival.

Dr. Thakur had every right to expect support from the Presidents of UW and WLU and their designates when he sounded the alarm on CIGI's proposals for tri-partite partnership on the BSIA. Insofar as his academic freedom depended on the protections of institutional autonomy, it became increasingly vulnerable to threats from the outside and complicity on the inside.

UW and WLU misled Dr. Thakur about their commitment to his Directorship of BSIA and buckled under pressure from CIGI, possibly in the form of a threat to walk away from multiple commitments after ten years (as it is contractually entitled to do) and thus leave two overextended universities and their public funders to clean up the mess.

The process whereby Dr. Thakur was subjected to prematurely summative review was illegitimate, and it encouraged those who opposed, envied, or resented him or his affiliation to UW, or who were frustrated by ongoing operational ambiguities and difficulties, to undermine his position while he was denied the chance to answer his critics and empower his supporters.

Dean Coates claims that "this is an administrative matter that happens at many universities all the time," that UW acted "following established procedures," and that "A university should be free when making such decisions." If the first claim is true, then the Canadian academy is in big trouble. The second claim is true as stated, but the problem is the procedure in question was "established" for a different purpose than it was employed for. The third claim shows the down side of autonomy, with universities acting as if "free" in order to foreclose on the academic freedom of their academic staff, including those occupying administrative positions.

Dr. Thakur's freedom to explain himself in collegial fora was unfairly constrained by Dean Coates's request he cancel a meeting with the BSIA Faculty Council.

Dr. Thakur's freedom to pursue his intellectual work on topics of his own choice, in the ways he deems most productive, and in collaboration with the scholars he feels most appropriate, was unfairly constrained by the Schedule "A" Release he was required to sign in order for CIGI's remaining funding of the ARC project to flow.

Dr. Thakur's personal and academic reputation has been unfairly damaged, but not as much the reputation of CIGI, UW, and WLU. Dr. Thakur has been eagerly recruited by the Australian National University, a leading institution with first-hand experience of the kind of contributor and collaborator he is. Meanwhile, the future of the BSIA remains in doubt while there is still a possibility that its new governance structure (still being worked on) will leave CIGI present at discussions where it should not be.

Members of independent think tanks may be inescapably subject to the whims of the donors who fund them in whole or in part, though that will surely sabotage any reputation for independence such tanks aspire to; but members of academic entities hosted by universities must function free from such whims, vagaries, and pressures.

### **RECOMMENDATIONS:**

1. UW, WLU, and CIGI should all apologize publicly to Dr. Thakur for the premature, unjustified termination of his five-year contract as Director of the BSIA.
2. UW, WLU, and CIGI should negotiate with Dr. Thakur fair financial compensation for the losses he incurred by relocating to Canada.
3. CIGI should apologize publicly for attempting to make Dr. Thakur's continuing on the ARC project contingent on his signing the Schedule "A" Release.
4. The impending text on the governance structure of BSIA should **not** permit CIGI to be at the table for academic determination of academic matters within the School.
5. The Director of the Balsillie School should continue to be a distinguished academic, as was Dr. Thakur and as is the interim Director, Professor Welch, so that the School's academic autonomy and reputation can be restored and enhanced.
6. The Director's term of appointment should be five years, and procedures for performance review should be consistent with the formative and summative practices followed in comparable entities elsewhere.
7. UW and WLU should develop clear and comprehensive guidelines for dealing with current or potential donors and for collaborative initiatives such as BSIA, so as to ensure that the academic autonomy and integrity of all university-associated institutes, centres, or schools.

**APPENDICES:**

1. Findlay letter of appointment from CAUT, July 2, 2010
2. CAUT Procedures in Academic Freedom Cases
3. CAUT Policy Statement on Academic Freedom
4. CIGI's funding
5. Letter from John English on Dr. Thakur's Directorship of BSIA, April 8, 2010
6. Chronology of Events: May 2007 – May 2010
7. Article from *The Australian*, December 17, 2009
8. Thakur Memo to BSIA Budget Committee, March 17, 2010
9. Coates letter to Thakur, April 29, 2010
10. Thakur's response to Coates, May 4, 2010
11. Letter from Jayantha Dhanapala re Thakur, July 22, 2010
12. Letter from Gareth Evans re Thakur, July 28, 2010

**APPENDIX 1:**

**Findlay letter of appointment from CAUT**

**July 2, 2010**



Canadian Association of University Teachers  
Association canadienne des professeures et professeurs d'université

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## **Appendix 1**

July 2, 2010

Prof. Len Findlay  
Department of English  
University of Saskatchewan  
Saskatoon, SK  
S7N 5A2

Dear Professor Findlay:

Thank you for agreeing to serve as a one-person ad hoc investigatory committee into the termination of Prof. Ramesh Thakur as the Executive Director of the Balsillie School of International Affairs at the University of Waterloo and Wilfrid Laurier University. Your inquiry will be conducted in accordance with Section 6 of *CAUT Procedures in Academic Freedom Cases* (attached). If you have any questions about the procedures, please let me know.

We would like you to investigate the circumstances surrounding Professor Thakur's termination as the Executive Director of the Balsillie School as no reason was provided in his termination letter and as there appeared to be no procedure characterized by natural justice followed by the University of Waterloo and Wilfrid Laurier University in taking the action to remove him from his position despite his having a contract to 2013.

Among the questions we would like you to address are: Were there academic freedom issues associated with Prof. Thakur's termination? Was there a procedurally fair process followed in reaching the decision to terminate him? As he was the head of an institute funded by a donor agreement and federal and provincial money, were there any indications that third-party pressures played a role in his termination or that the academic integrity of the Balsillie School was compromised by the termination? Several days after his termination, he was also terminated by the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) as a "Distinguished Fellow." Although CIGI is not a university-affiliated body and therefore not subject to the same issues of academic autonomy as university-affiliated bodies, was his termination by CIGI related to his

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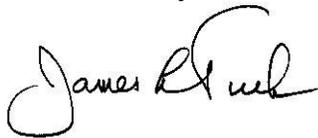
termination at the Balsillie School? Will either termination have implications for his future academic work?

We would like you to address the above questions and any related questions that become relevant in the course of your investigation. After presenting your findings, we would like you to make any recommendations that you feel appropriate.

We hope that you can conclude your investigation and submit your report by early September.

If you have any questions, please let me know.

Yours sincerely,



James L. Turk  
Executive Director

Attachment

cc: David Johnston, President, University of Waterloo  
Max Blouw, President, Wilfrid Laurier University  
George Freeman, President, Faculty Association at the University of Waterloo  
Judy Bates, President, Wilfrid Laurier University Faculty Association  
Penni Stewart, President, CAUT  
Victor M. Catano, Chair, CAUT Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee  
Ramesh Thakur

**APPENDIX 2:**  
**CAUT Procedures in Academic Freedom Cases**

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## **Appendix 2**

### **CAUT Procedures in Academic Freedom Cases**

- 1.** CAUT will consider all cases of alleged violations of academic freedom brought to its attention. Concerns about violations of academic freedom should be brought to the attention of the executive director. In cases where attention by CAUT seems justified, the executive director will notify the president and the chair of the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee and will expeditiously take steps to determine whether there is a prima facie basis for further action. The executive director will provide the president and the chair of the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee a list of all other requests brought to his attention. All requests brought to the executive director, president and chair of the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee that are not expeditiously dealt with will be referred to the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee.
- 2.** If it appears to be useful, the executive director may attempt to assist the affected parties and the institution in arriving at a satisfactory resolution of the situation.
- 3.** If the alleged violation is serious and if a satisfactory resolution of the matter does not seem to be possible through informal negotiation, the executive director, in consultation with the president, the chair of the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee, and others as appropriate, will undertake one or more of the following as is most suitable to help bring about the conditions for a fair resolution of the matter:

  - a) cause the situation to be brought to public attention;
  - b) request that the CAUT Executive authorize an independent committee of inquiry to investigate and issue a public report on the matter (see 5 below);
  - c) establish an ad hoc investigatory committee that will look into the situation and report to CAUT through the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee (see 6 below).
- 4.** In all instances where a CAUT local association exists at the institution where the alleged violation of academic freedom occurred, the executive director will consult with the local association where there appears to be prima facia basis for further action, to determine whether remedies may be available under the collective agreement. If any of the follow-up actions under 3(b) or 3(c) are being considered, the assistance of the local association will be sought with reference to work of a committee of inquiry or an ad hoc investigatory committee.
- 5.** Where an independent committee of inquiry is authorized by the CAUT Executive (see 3b), the following guidelines will apply:

  - a) The members and a chairperson of the independent committee of inquiry will be appointed by the CAUT Executive upon the recommendation of the president, chair of the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee and the executive director. Normally, independent committees of inquiry will consist of two or three members, with one designated as chair.

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- b) Independent committee of inquiry members will serve without remuneration except for expenses.
- c) The committee will be provided with terms of reference that pose specific questions to be addressed. The terms of reference will be developed by the president, the chair of the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee and the executive director.
- d) The committee will seek to review fully and fairly the matters it has been appointed to investigate and will prepare a report which will be published by CAUT in its entirety as delivered and in a timely manner, subject to the final report of the committee having been previously reviewed by the committee's legal counsel. CAUT will hold the committee members harmless from any legal actions that arise as a result of their work on the committee of inquiry.
- e) The committee has no statutory powers and no authority to compel individuals to participate in its inquiry. To ensure that it is fully informed with regard to the matters under review, the committee will rely on the cooperation of everyone concerned. Anyone who chooses to be interviewed by the committee may be accompanied by a colleague or an advisor.
- f) The committee will begin by reviewing the documentary record available to it upon its appointment, and will seek further information from individuals in a position to have relevant information by inviting them to meet with it and to submit documents.
- g) Persons interviewed by the committee will be provided with a statement of matters under investigation in advance of the interview. Persons interviewed will be permitted to make a statement to the committee and to raise issues that they consider relevant, subject to the right of the committee to decide, having been provided an opportunity for arguments to the contrary, that particular matters are not relevant to its terms of reference.
- h) Committee members will take notes during interviews and interviews may be recorded where the person being interviewed consents.
- i) To ensure fairness to persons potentially affected in a material adverse way by findings in the committee's report, a fair summary of the information upon which such findings could be based will be provided in confidence to such persons reasonably in advance of the publication of the committee's report.
- j) At any stage in its inquiry, the committee in its discretion may request further information or clarification from individuals who have been interviewed or made written submissions, from those mentioned by witnesses or in submissions, or from other persons, by way of either a written statement or an interview with the committee.

k) All documents received by, or produced by, the independent committee of inquiry shall remain the property of the independent committee of inquiry and the chairperson shall be responsible for arranging the safe keeping of all such materials.

l) The CAUT Executive shall consider any recommendations made by the committee.

**6.** Where an ad hoc investigatory committee (see 3c) is constituted, the following guidelines apply:

a) The members will be appointed by the executive director in consultation with the president and the chair of the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee. Normally, ad hoc investigatory committees will consist of two or three members, with one designated as chair.

b) Members will serve without remuneration except for expenses. CAUT will hold the committee members harmless from any legal actions that arise as a result of their work on the ad hoc investigatory committee.

c) The committee will be provided with terms of reference that pose specific questions to be addressed. The terms of reference will be developed by the president, the chair of the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee and the executive director.

d) The committee will seek to review fully and fairly the matters it has been appointed to investigate and will prepare a report to CAUT in a timely manner.

e) The committee has no statutory powers and no authority to compel individuals to participate in its inquiry. To ensure that it is fully informed with regard to the matters under review, the committee will rely on the cooperation of everyone concerned. Anyone who chooses to be interviewed by the committee may be accompanied by a colleague or an advisor.

f) The committee will begin by reviewing the documentary record available to it upon its appointment. Further relevant information from individuals will be sought by inviting them to meet with the committee and to submit documents.

g) Persons interviewed by the committee will be provided with a statement of matters under investigation in advance of the interview. Persons interviewed will be permitted to make a statement to the committee and to raise issues that they consider relevant, subject to the right of the committee to decide, having been provided an opportunity for arguments to the contrary, that particular matters are not relevant to its terms of reference.

h) Committee members will take notes during interviews and interviews may be recorded where the person being interviewed consents.

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- i) As soon as possible after receipt of the report of the ad hoc investigatory committee, the executive director will review it and communicate with the committee regarding any suggestions for revision.
- j) To ensure fairness to persons potentially affected in a material adverse way by findings in the committee's report, the executive director will send a fair summary of the information upon which such findings could be based to such persons, allowing a reasonable time for them to respond. The executive director will then invite the ad hoc investigatory committee to revise its report in light of the comments received.
- k) The committee's draft report will be transmitted to the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee which may request further revisions. Following consideration of the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee's request, the committee's final report will be submitted to the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee for final review.
- l) All documents received by, or produced by, the ad hoc investigatory committee shall be and remain the property of CAUT, and CAUT shall be responsible for arranging the safe keeping of all such materials.
- m) Following the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee's final review, CAUT will actively explore resolution of the matter with the parties concerned.
- n) If the matter cannot be satisfactorily resolved, CAUT, on the advice of the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee, will publish the final text of the report. The members of the ad hoc investigatory committee will be listed as authors of the published report unless they withhold their names because of disagreement with changes requested by the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee or as a result of comments from the parties potentially affected in a material adverse way.
7. The president and executive director will report on the status of all outstanding academic freedom cases at each meeting of the Executive Committee and at each meeting of the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee.

**Approved by CAUT Council, April 2002;  
revised November 2005, November 2006, revised September 2009.**

**Approved by CAUT Council, November 2009.**

**APPENDIX 3:**

**CAUT Policy Statement on Academic Freedom**

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### **Appendix 3**

#### **CAUT Policy Statement on Academic Freedom**

(1) Post-secondary educational institutions serve the common good of society through searching for, and disseminating, knowledge, truth, and understanding and through fostering independent thinking and expression in academic staff and students. Robust democracies require no less. These ends cannot be achieved without academic freedom.

(2) Academic freedom includes the right, without restriction by prescribed doctrine, to freedom of teaching and discussion; freedom in carrying out research and disseminating and publishing the results thereof; freedom in producing and performing creative works; freedom to engage in service to the institution and the community; freedom to express freely one's opinion about the institution, its administration, or the system in which one works; freedom from institutional censorship; freedom to acquire, preserve, and provide access to documentary material in all formats; and freedom to participate in professional and representative academic bodies.

(3) Academic freedom does not require neutrality on the part of the individual. Academic freedom makes intellectual discourse, critique, and commitment possible. All academic staff must have the right to fulfil their functions without reprisal or repression by the institution, the state, or any other source.

(4) All academic staff have the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion, expression, assembly, and association and the right to liberty and security of the person and freedom of movement. Academic staff must not be hindered or impeded in exercising their civil rights as citizens, including the right to contribute to social change through free expression of opinion on matters of public interest. Academic staff must not suffer any institutional penalties because of the exercise of such rights.

(5) Academic freedom requires that academic staff play a major role in the governance of the institution. Academic freedom means that academic staff must play the predominant role in determining curriculum, assessment standards, and other academic matters.

(6) Academic freedom must not be confused with institutional autonomy. Post-secondary institutions are autonomous to the extent that they can set policies independent of outside influence. That very autonomy can protect academic freedom from a hostile external environment, but it can also facilitate an internal assault on academic freedom. To undermine or suppress academic freedom is a serious abuse of institutional autonomy.

**Approved by the CAUT Council, November 2005**

**APPENDIX 4:**  
**CIGI's funding**

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## **Appendix 4**

### **Funding for CIGI**

(from the CIGI web site - <http://www.cigionline.org/about/funding>)

#### **Public Support**

In 2003, the Government of Canada provided a \$30-million endowment grant to the organization, a portion of which has been protected and capitalized in perpetuity. This grant was matched by private donations and the income earned on the capitalized portion of the fund is being used to support world-leading research in the area of global governance, particularly in the area of global economic and financial governance, and to further Canada's interest in having a stable and well-governed global economic system in order to enhance the standard of living and quality of life of its population.

In 2007, the Government of Ontario provided a \$17-million grant to the organization which was matched by a private donation and is being spent over 10 years for the following purposes: to strengthen graduate programs in global governance at the University of Waterloo and Wilfrid Laurier University; for projects leading to a better understanding of the growth processes and economic diplomacy strategies of large emerging economies; for projects focusing on emerging global industrial, environmental and security governance challenges; and for projects that will assist the Government of Ontario and Ontario businesses and individuals in understanding the trade, financial and security linkages that exist between Ontario and other areas of the world.

In 2008, the City of Waterloo leased the land adjacent to CIGI and bordered by Erb Street and Father David Bauer Drive for \$1 per year for the CIGI/Balsillie Centre of Excellence. Under CIGI's leadership and direction, the Balsillie Centre of Excellence will create resources and facilities to run programs of studies in partnership with the University of Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University and other universities in Canada and internationally. The Centre will house several schools and programs, including the already established Balsillie School of International Affairs.

In 2009, the Government of Canada, as part of its 2009 Knowledge Infrastructure Program, and the Government of Ontario, as part of its 2009 Budget commitment to invest in Ontario's colleges and universities, pledged \$25 million each for building and infrastructure associated with creating the Balsillie Centre of Excellence. The \$50 million will be matched by CIGI founder Jim Balsillie. Under CIGI's leadership and direction, the Balsillie Centre of Excellence will create resources and facilities to run programs of studies at each school in partnership with the University of Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University and other universities in Canada and internationally.

In addition, CIGI acknowledges financial support received for various activities from several government-funded ministries, departments and agencies:

*Federal*

Canadian Foundation for Innovation  
Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)  
Environment Canada  
Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC)  
The International Development Research Centre (IDRC)  
The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT)

*Provincial*

Ontario Ministry of Research and Innovation  
Ontario Research Fund

*International (Public & Government Agencies)*

Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)  
Geneva Centre for the Public Control of Armed Forces  
UK Government Department for International Development (DFID)

**Private Support**

Jim Balsillie, co-Chief Executive Officer of Research In Motion (RIM), founded CIGI in 2002 with a vision that the world's most pressing challenges needed greater structured dialogue and improved international governance mechanisms. In 2002 Mr. Balsillie made the original contribution of \$ 20 million to CIGI's endowment fund. Mike Lazaridis, President and Co-Chief Executive Officer of RIM, contributed \$10 million. These donations were matched by the Government of Canada with \$ 30 million. In 2007, Mr. Balsillie matched the \$17 million contribution from the Ontario government. Over the years, Mr. Balsillie has made other additional donations in support of CIGI's work.

In 2002, local philanthropists Anna and Klaus Woerner generously gifted their former country home, the property known as Woerner House, on Roseville Road, Cambridge, as an exclusive location for CIGI meetings and conferences. The property has approximately 12 developed acres, a swimming pool and more than 60 acres of beautiful forested land.

In 2007, an anonymous benefactor contributed a multi-million dollar donation in support of The African Initiative, a five-year CIGI program that will research, assess and develop policy solutions to address the socio-economic impacts of climate change on the African continent.

In addition, the following individuals and organizations have contributed to CIGI over the years:

Artindale and Partners  
Dennis Kavelman  
Encana Corporation  
Gluskin Sheff & Associates  
Kendall Cork  
Kumpf Drive Limited (KDL)  
Leah Lawrence

Michael Barnstijn & Louise MacCallum  
Power Corporation  
Richard and Norma Brock  
Scotiabank  
Solowave Design Inc.  
TD Friends of the Environment Foundation  
The Brascan Foundation  
The Rockefeller Foundation

**APPENDIX 5:**

**Letter from John English on Dr. Thakur's Directorship of BSIA**

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**Appendix 5**

April 8, 2010

Dr. Ramesh Thakur,  
Director, Balsillie School of International Affairs,  
Waterloo, ON.

Dear Ramesh:

Further to our conversation, I am pleased to offer a comment upon your work as inaugural Director of the Balsillie School of International Affairs (BSIA). As you know, I was the Executive Director of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) when you were offered the position of Director of the BSIA and worked closely with you in my capacity of Executive Director of CIGI until I left in November 2009.

I should begin with some comments on your recruitment. You came to Waterloo and, ultimately, to the BSIA after extensive collaboration with you through the United Nations University (UNU) of which were vice-rector. Your commitment to the study of international governance and your exceptional knowledge of international organizations and academic work on international relations impressed all of us who worked with you. For that reason, when early consideration of the establishment of a think tank on international affairs in Waterloo took place, Jim Balsillie and I turned to you for guidance on how we should proceed. We first thought of a United Nations University centre for Waterloo, but the Canadian government from which we were seeking matching funds hesitated to embrace such a course. Accordingly, we created CIGI and, within a short time, built a strong relationship with you and UNU. You supported several CIGI conferences, pointed us to persons who might serve on CIGI's International Board of Governors, and expressed great enthusiasm for the potential of CIGI.

Because of our collaboration and Waterloo's need for outstanding international scholars, I encouraged the University of Waterloo and the CIGI board to consider you for a position in Waterloo. You became a faculty member at Waterloo and a distinguished senior fellow at CIGI. You very quickly became a leading force in shaping CIGI. When the BSIA was established, you were immediately recognized as a future leader within the new academic institution. You were full of ideas about how the BSIA might grow and were indispensable in making contacts for CIGI and BSIA internationally.

The rapid growth of BSIA required a leader. We initially considered some outside candidates but those recruitment attempts were unsuccessful. Professor Jennifer Clapp of Waterloo was the first to suggest that you become the Director, and I began discussions with both universities and the CIGI board about that possibility. There was strong support among the CIGI Chairs at the time, and in the spring of 2008 you accepted a two year contract as the Director, effective September 1, 2008. The appointment brought a flurry of activity, including more effective recruitment of students, approaches to eminent academics throughout the world, and the creation of a solid academic program for the school.

The success of your directorship as well as the ambitious expansion plans for the Balsillie School resulted in the decision to extend your contract on March 11, 2009. At that meeting chaired by Jim Balsillie and attended by both university presidents, Amit Chakma of Waterloo

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strongly insisted on the appointment, saying that it was not only appropriate but truly essential for the development of BSIA. There was unanimous support for the motion extending the contract until August 31, 2013.

Following that meeting, the BSIA has been, in my view, enormously successful. One measure is the quality and diversity of the students. The doctoral program has attracted remarkable applicants from all continents, and the MA programs must reject over eighty percent of the applicants. This astonishing response to a new program in a field where there are many rivals attests to your leadership, particularly in the recruitment of faculty.

As a Distinguished Senior Fellow at CIGI, you represented CIGI on the hiring committees and other committees dealing with academic programs. Recognizing that the individual universities would have responsibility for hiring Chairs, you had a most difficult role. You had the overall interests of the BSIA in mind, and that concern required that you strongly state the BSIA's view on individual appointments. In determining that view, you consulted widely, not only with Balsillie Chairs but also with CIGI. I recall many conversations with you about potential candidates and your shrewd analysis of their appropriateness for the BSIA. From the point of view of CIGI, we believe that you handled the difficult problems of university autonomy, academic integrity, and CIGI's role as a stakeholder through the generous donation of funds by Jim Balsillie, our principal funder, very effectively.

The new building to house the BSIA was a continuing challenge for you. Although a building committee bore most of the responsibility for the plans and the negotiations with various constituencies, you were an effective voice on that committee which represented the interests of the faculty and the students. Your strong voice derived, I believe, from your good relationship with the students and the faculty members. Indeed, during my time as Executive Director of CIGI, I heard no criticism of your leadership from either the BSIA Chairs or Balsillie School students, many of whom I knew and several of whom I taught. Several students came to me and indicated how highly they valued your presence because of your international reputation, your extraordinary contacts in the UN system and the international relations community, and your perceptive commentary on their work and their plans. I know you were approached by many to be a supervisor, a tribute to your outstanding academic qualities.

In conclusion, I want to express my appreciation for your remarkable efforts to establish a school that will rank among the finest in the world in the field of international affairs. In hiring faculty members, recruiting an international student base, and, not least, in representing the BSIA in international and national fora, you have done an exceptional job. From the point of view of CIGI, you have formed a strong academic base for its work. Moreover, you've been a fine colleague, who offers perspectives derived from a rich personal and international experience.

I hope these comments reflect adequately my high regard for your work in Waterloo.

Yours sincerely,

John English, CM, FRSC,  
Former Executive Director, CIGI.

**APPENDIX 6:**

**Chronology of Events: May 2007 - May 2010**

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**Appendix 6**

## **Chronology May 2007 – May 2010**

**May 2007** - Ramesh Thakur took up a new position as Distinguished Fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and Professor of Political Science at the University of Waterloo in Canada after having served as Vice Rector and Senior Vice Rector of the United Nations University (and Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations) from 1998–2007.

**June 2008** – Dr. Thakur accepts offer of inaugural directorship of Balsillie School of International Affairs.

**July/August 2008** – Appointment is announced internally and then externally.

**1 Sep 2008** – Takes up post as Director.

**22 Feb 2009** – Signs contract for two years.

**11 March 2009** – Offered and accepts extension to five years, terminating on 31 August 2013. Meeting chaired by Jim Balsillie. Motion proposed by WLU President Max Blouw and seconded by UW President David Johnston. Approved unanimously.

**18 Oct 2009** – CIGI Board member and treasurer, Cosimo Fiorenza, sent an email to Thakur and English specifying how CIGI wanted to proceed with governance – specifically that “CIGI be at the table regarding all of the academic discussions for the BSIA . . . to ensure that all approved areas of study are consistent with our mandated themes . . . [and] academic direction will necessarily impact structure and finances.”

**23 Nov 2009** (on or about) – John English is ousted as Ex Director of CIGI.

**1 Dec 2009** – Dr. Thakur received first rumour from a former CIGI board member that he is next in line to be ousted.

**1 Dec 2009** – Dr. Thakur immediately contacts University of Waterloo Dean Ken Coates who gives little credence to the rumour.

**17 Dec 2009** – In an email message to Thakur, University of Waterloo President David Johnston wrote: “Ramesh I've just gotten off the phone with . . . who reported a terribly false rumour about your and my meeting tomorrow. So that there can be no doubt I asked you to meet with me on your immediate return from Australia to reinforce your leadership of the BSIA and to plan together how we can stabilize an irrational situation in the short term and ensure the middle and long term success of BSIA. That is the purpose of our meeting.”

**22 December 2009** – WLU President Max Blouw emailed Thakur indicating that he had spoken with Waterloo President David Johnston, and affirmed that Thakur's reporting relation was with the two

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presidents' designates – Dean of Arts Ken Coates at Waterloo and VP Academic and Provost, Deb MacLatchy at WLU. “Therefore it would be entirely appropriate for you to meet with Ken and Deb to discuss future directions and operational matters between BSIA and the two universities. However proactive development of ideas around the wider issues of governance relating to the intersection of BSIA with CIGI should be deferred until there is more information available from those who have the mandate to review and make recommendations with respect to governance and operations at CIGI.”

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**13 Jan 2010** – In an email to Thakur, Ken Coates wrote “We need to talk with some urgency about the Balsillie School... I have picked up some intelligence re: future actions by CIGI that require our urgent attention.”

**18 Jan 2010** – Thakur sent an email to Max Blouw, President of WLU, copied to WLU Provost and to UW President David Johnston and Dean Ken Coates, where he said: “On the basis of recent conversations with Ken [Coates], I am led to believe that the CIGI part of the tripartite partnership is or will be seeking a new director of the Balsillie School in order to have a completely new slate for the combined operations of CIGI and the Balsillie School. It is also my understanding that UW has concluded... that, for larger and longer-term considerations, it is not in a position to resist this demand... As you are the third major party in this partnership, I think you should be made aware of where things stand so that, should you wish to do so, you can express your views and preferences before final decisions are made irrevocably.” Thakur never received an acknowledgment, let alone a reply.

**6 Feb 2010** – In a telephone conversation with Jim Turk, University of Waterloo Provost Feridun Hamdullahpur said that there was no pressure or request from any of the three parties in relation to any academic aspect of the School, including the directorship. Thakur then contacted Coates saying “there is no need for the two of us to continue with our conversation on alternative arrangements.” Coates acknowledged this later the same day and said that the Provost had confirmed to him the gist of the conversation with Turk. In the same message, Coates said that Provost has requested a review of Thakur’s performance as director. As part of that, and subsequent to that date, Coates sought inputs from the CIGI Chairs on Thakur’s performance.

**22 March 2010** – Thakur wrote Turk to express concerns about the protecting the Balsillie School’s “institutional autonomy, intellectual freedom and academic integrity.”

**16 April 2010** – Jim Turk (along with the presidents of the Wilfrid Laurier and Waterloo faculty associations) met with Waterloo President David Johnston and Wilfrid Laurier President Max Blouw to express strong concern about a private entity, CIGI, attempting to have an oversight role in an academic school and attempting to change the profile of who can be director so that it would not be an academic and not be anyone from Wilfrid Laurier or the University of Waterloo.

**21 May 2010** - University of Waterloo Provost Feridun Hamdullahpur terminates Thakur as Director of the Balsillie School. No reason was given.

**26 May 2010** – CIGI terminates Thakur as Distinguished Fellow.

**APPENDIX 7:**

**Article from *The Australian***

December 17, 2009

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## Appendix 7

### **Glyn Davis demands answers from synchrotron**

- Bernard Lane
- From: *The Australian*
- December 17, 2009 7:15PM

**MELBOURNE University's vice chancellor, Glyn Davis, has demanded a full written report from the Australian Synchrotron on its unexpected removal of chemistry professor Rob Lamb as founding director of the facility.**

On October 30, the chairman of the synchrotron board, lawyer Catherine Walter, made a brief statement announcing the end of Professor Lamb's secondment from the university.

She has cited concerns about compliance and "stakeholder relations" under Professor Lamb's management. Professor Lamb says he remains puzzled about the reasons for his removal. There is no suggestion of any impropriety by him.

On Tuesday, Professor Davis wrote to Mrs. Walter insisting that the synchrotron honour its obligation under the terms of the secondment to give Melbourne a report of the circumstances leading up to the removal.

"The written report should identify and include copies of all materials, such as emails, which were relied upon ... and what opportunities were provided for Professor Lamb to address any perceived concerns," Professor Davis writes.

"In the normal course, we would have expected a full investigation by (the) Australian Synchrotron Company and an opportunity for Professor Lamb to respond to issues raised."

The university had first asked for a report on November 16. "Despite the clear requirements of the secondment agreement, the report has not yet been provided," Professor Davis says.

The board could not be contacted for comment tonight.

Meanwhile, the chief financial officer of the synchrotron, Peter Dawson, has handed in his resignation. Asked why, he said: "Personal reasons".

Australia's only synchrotron, a particle accelerator, is housed in the Melbourne suburb of Clayton. Experiments began on its beamlines in 2007.

As an institution, the synchrotron has been suffering from conflict between the board, management and scientists. At dispute are the recent history of planning for expansion and funding of the facility, the balance between corporate and scientific priorities, and the surprise removal of Professor Lamb.

**APPENDIX 8:**

**Thakur Memo to BSIA Budget Committee, March 17, 2010**

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## **Appendix 8**

### **A. Budget**

The mandate we were given in establishing the Balsillie School of International Affairs was to be ambitious, not modest. More recently this has been expressed as the desire to make the School one of the top ten or top twelve of its kind in the world. This is the vision animating our CIGI Chair recruitment process and the three teaching programs. Such an accomplishment will take at least a decade, if not longer. We should consider making it an aspirational goal for 2020 or 2025, and then outline a process and the steps required for marking progress towards that goal.

I would like the budget and policy committee to draw up a document that outlines the required resources to translate this vision into reality. The committee should do so entirely as a self-contained exercise, without reference to any of our three partners (UW, WLU, CIGI). This is why I have difficulty, as stated in the draft minutes of the last meeting, with the idea that the committee should come up with its document in consultation with CIGI which is then discussed and approved at the Balsillie School Faculty meeting before being forwarded to the two university partners. I am not convinced of the propriety of consulting with one of the three partners and then presenting the proposal to the other two partners. They have entered into a joint undertaking and should bear the responsibility for adequately resourcing it to enable the implementation of the vision.

Instead, our position should be that the three partner institutions entered into an agreement to establish a world-leading school of international affairs. To achieve that ambitious goal, these are the establishment and recurring resources that we believe are required. The document then goes from the committee to the Balsillie School Faculty (where CIGI is represented by the Executive Director, at least one Vice President, and the Partnerships Director). Once approved there, we send it to the three partner institutions for discussion, consideration and implementation directly among themselves. We work out what the necessary resource base is; they can decide how to distribute the sharing of the support base.

### **B. Governance**

For the long-term credibility and viability of the Balsillie School of International Affairs, it will be important to protect its institutional autonomy, intellectual freedom and academic integrity. The corporate world is one of mergers and acquisitions, holding companies, wholly-owned subsidiaries, and controlling shareholders. The bottom line is profit-maximization and shareholder value and returns. Universities operate as collegial enterprises and even the newest and most junior faculty member is treated by the university president as a colleague, not an employee or functionary to be bossed around.

The Balsillie School is an unusual, perhaps even a unique, three-way partnership between two separate universities and a third, non-university institution that is an independent think tank. The complexity of the relationship and the requirement that the governance arrangements (i) facilitate cooperation and collaboration among the partners; (ii) advance and promote the interests, vision and values of the three

partners; and (iii) protect and respect the autonomy and independence of the three partners, mean that the governance structure and arrangements must be carefully formulated and examined before they are presented for formal approval to the appropriate authorities in the three partner institutions.

The recent departure of CIGI's Executive Director and the ongoing internal review of CIGI's structure, operations and priorities have necessitated a reassessment of the relationship between the School and CIGI.

From CIGI's point of view, the conclusion might well be that they need a clearer, more direct and more active role in various aspects of the School's activities and operations, including the selection, appointment, termination and reporting obligations of the Director.

Is this necessarily in the best interests of the School from its own, independent, point of view? What about the opposite conclusion, that the recent events in CIGI underline the need to quarantine the Balsillie School, including the Director, from non-academic institutions, personnel and pressures? If so, how can this degree of autonomy be reconciled with the nature of the partnership and the funds coming through CIGI?

The other issue to bear in mind is the extent to which there is separation, autonomy or arms length relationship between CIGI as an institution and its Board of Directors, which is chaired by the principal donor. Canadian universities have traditionally taken the position, or at least so I understand, that donors, no matter how generous, should have no role in academic matters like appointment and termination of academic staff, including the director. Can it credibly be argued that to give up on this would put at risk the core integrity of the Balsillie School as an academic institution housed within two universities? Might compromising academic autonomy severely undermine the goal of achieving global excellence among schools of international affairs? Or is this claim implausible, hyperbole more than reality?

I would anticipate that the two universities' faculty associations have views on this topic and will seek opportunities to engage university administrations in a dialogue on the best governance arrangements. So might the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT), for the principles and values at stake are not just a local issue, but matters for the university community to think about nationally. From their point of view, the Director should continue to report to the university authorities, and only to them. The Balsillie School's governance arrangements should quarantine all academic matters, including all academic personnel not excluding the Director, from control and influence by non-academic bodies and persons. The Director will continue to report to the university presidents through designated officials and to consult with the Executive Director of CIGI on a as-needed basis. The decisions on what are academic matters or not will be made either by the Director, or by the Director in consultation with the WLU Provost and UW Dean of Arts (as the reporting authorities for the Director) or, if necessary, in consultation with the School's Faculty Council.

The accountability mechanisms for ensuring that funds are spent as intended and with due prudence can be separated. As the overwhelming bulk of the funds are channeled through CIGI directly to the two

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universities, financial reporting and auditing is more properly addressed to the relationship between UW and WLU, on the one side, and the CIGI Board of Directors, on the other. The Office of the Director should work with the appropriate CIGI and university officials to ensure prudential oversight of those funds that are within the discretionary authority of the Director.

*Ramesh Thakur*

*17 March 2010*

**APPENDIX 9:**

**Coates letter to Thakur, April 29, 2010**

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**Appendix 9**

April 29, 2010

Dr. Ramesh Thakur,  
Balsillie School of International Affairs  
67 Erb Street West  
Waterloo, ON N2L 6C2

Dear Dr. Thakur,

As you know, the University of Waterloo reviews its faculty and administrative personnel on an annual basis. I have been charged, on behalf of the University of Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier and the Centre for International Governance Innovation, with providing this assessment. We did not do a formal review last year as your contract was not signed until January 2009, although you had been performing the duties since September 2008. This review covers the 2009 calendar year and the first three months of 2010. I have appended to this review a copy of the job description for the Director, Balsillie School of International Affairs so that you are reminded of the nature and extend of the job that you undertook when you assumed the Directorship. The review is based on input from the Dean of Arts Office, University of Waterloo, the Provost's Office at Wilfrid Laurier University and the Executive Director's Office at CIGI. I also wrote, as part of the Dean of Arts Office review of your work, to the University of Waterloo's CIGI Chairs, giving them an opportunity to comment on your leadership, if they so wished.

The results of this review are not favourable. Each of the partners reviewed your contributions and offered a detailed assessment of strengths and weaknesses of your work. The partners all understand that BSIA is a start-up operation and that there has been considerable flux and uncertainty in the arrangements. The tripartite structure has added complexity, as has the pace and nature of expansion. There is agreement, however, that strong and clear leadership of the School is essential for the progress of the project.

**Personal Outreach:** The partners in the Balsillie School understand and welcome your academic and professional contributions beyond the academy. Your contributions in the press and through invited lectures and participation on various panels and conference sessions have re-enforced your status as a leading thinker on matters of global governance. They have helped raised the profile of the Balsillie School although, it was noted, at the cost of attention to the important work involved in establishing the institution.

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dean@arts.uwaterloo.ca

The major concerns identified by the partners in the Balsillie School are as follows:

**Budget Development and School Management:** The partners have not been presented with a formal budget plan and this aspect of the management of the school appears to have attracted little of your attention. The partners have not been kept fully informed of plans for institutional development, staff management, future and needed hires, and ongoing financial issues. A great deal of the financial management has defaulted to the Dean's office at the University of Waterloo when it should have been handled at the School level.

**Reporting and Communication:** WLU and CIGI both report considerable difficulty in maintaining contact with you and indicate that they have not been updated or engaged with the management of the School in the manner all expected. UW has had fewer difficulties in this regard, largely due to the greater regularity of meetings with the Dean and Dean's Office staff. The other partners indicate that they raised the question of communications and reporting with you and that no appreciable change occurred. Indeed, the creation of the additional position, that of Associate Dean of the Balsillie School, at WLU was largely due to the difficulties with communications and engagement.

**Institutional Development:** Movement on developing an internal governance system for the Balsillie School has been slow. Equally, it is quite clear that this work is now being done largely by others and has not attracted your full and sustained attention. This is an important matter – fundamental to the long-term operation of the School – and is very difficult to understand why this issue has not had your attention from the outset. The Advisory Board and Executive Committee envisaged in the founding documents are not in place or, at least, have not been fully described to the partners. There is no strategic plan in hand, even though the early stage development of the School urgently requires such a document.

**Support for the CIGI Chairs:** The CIGI Chairs will obviously be crucial to the future of the Balsillie School of International Affairs. It is clear from comments from partners and from several of the Chairs that the CIGI Chairs do not feel that they have received the support that their work requires. Concerns were expressed about your participation in several hiring processes and, in particular, about limited engagement with the CIGI Chairs based at Wilfrid Laurier University. The efforts that have been made to develop an institutional culture within the School appear to have been started and directed by others, including non-CIGI Chairs, rather than by the Director. The CIGI Chairs, individually in several cases and collectively in a meeting with the Executive Director of CIGI in February 2010, indicated that they do not understand their role within the School, do not understand how to secure research funds, and lack an understanding of CIGI's role in the BSIA partnership. Indeed, CIGI is under the distinct impression that you do not value and support CIGI's active participation in the partnership and have communicated this to the CIG Chairs. The CIGI Chairs indicated to the Executive Director that the Director has not provided guidance on these importance issues and has not met with them regularly on topics specific to the role of the CIGI Chairs.

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**Inter-Institutional Collaboration:** One of the goals of the Balsillie School was to capitalize on the strengths of the three partners. This has not been done effectively. Each partner institution is devoting a great deal of time and effort to work that should be focused in the School and that should be managed out of the Director's Office. Indeed, over the past year, the partners have found themselves spending more time on Balsillie School activities rather than less, and many of the management details remain to be worked out. CIGI is particularly concerned about your apparent willingness to keep the organization out of important discussions (with CIGI recognizing in full that the organization does not have a directive role on purely academic and personnel matters).

**Concluding Observations:** This review has revealed serious issues with your Directorship and with the management of the Balsillie School of International Affairs. These are not, individually and collectively, minor matters, but that speak to the overall impact of your management to date. As one of the CIGI Chairs commented, "It is difficult to conclude that at present the school is effectively managed or administered." One partner observed that your work "activities have lacked necessary and required focus." The other partner in the Balsillie School concluded that you have "not provided the day-to-day operational leadership and strategic direction to BSIA." This review has revealed a very difficult situation. The CIGI Chairs are not fully supportive of your continued leadership. Indeed, the Balsillie School faculty have taken the lead on developing ideas and approaches that should have been managed by the Director. Each of the partners is devoting a great deal of time and effort to tackling work that they believe should be handled by the Director. The major founding structures, such as a strategic plan, and full budget submission, a governance structure, are either not in place or are being handled by people other than the Director.

After more than a year of your leadership, the Balsillie School is adrift and seeking direction. All partners understand the complexity of the situation and the difficulties associated with substantial personnel change in all three of the partner institutions. There is general recognition, as well, of your profile-raising efforts and your continued and highly professional interventions on the international scale. As a scholar, researcher and public commentator, your work is truly impressive. One must conclude, however, that your ability to continue as Director have been compromised by your activities and the developments of the past year. It has become quite clear to me through the preparation of this review that your Directorship does not have the support of the institutional partners and is not supported by at least some of the CIGI Chairs. It is difficult to imagine you continuing successfully in this position. Indeed, given the nature of the comments received through this review, it is quite clear that having you remain Director of the Balsillie School will delay the evolution of this important institution.

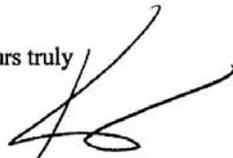
I welcome your comments and response to this evaluation. I will forward this letter and your reply to the Provost and Vice-President (Academic) of the University of Waterloo. The Provost, in turn, will discuss the review and your response with his counterparts at Wilfrid Laurier University and the Centre for International Governance Innovation. The Provost will, subsequent to those discussions, contact you about the next steps and about

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his decision on the matter of your continuing as Director of the Balsillie School.

Given the nature of this review, and the sharply negative conclusions, it is important for me to reiterate a point I made to you in person and in writing several times. Your status as Director, Balsillie School of International Affairs, is separate and distinct from your position as a Research Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Waterloo. Should you be removed from the Directorship or should you, based on this review, decide to step aside from the post, you are assured of the continuation of your faculty position through to the end of the contracted term. Indeed, your stellar contributions as a scholar, public intellectual and teacher would be welcomed within the Department of Political Science and the Faculty of Arts, University of Waterloo.

Yours truly



Dr. Ken Coates,  
Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Waterloo

KSC/sdc

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**APPENDIX 10:**

**Thakur's response to Coates**

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## Appendix 10

### BALSILLIE SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

**Office of the Director**

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4 May 2010

Dr. Ken Coates  
Dean, Faculty of Arts  
University of Waterloo  
200 University Avenue West  
Waterloo, Ont. N2L 3G1

Dear Dr. Coates,

Thank you for your letter of 29 April in which, on behalf of the University of Waterloo (UW), Wilfrid Laurier University (WLU), and the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), you very kindly provided me with the annual assessment of my performance. It is refreshing and, at this early stage in the establishment of the Balsillie School of International Affairs, very helpful to have such a candid assessment.

I thank you in particular for your generous comments on my contributions as a scholar, public intellectual and teacher.

I am equally grateful and indebted to you for your observations on areas of concern expressed by the various partner institutions, and wish to address my response to answering those concerns. Considering that my initial two-year appointment was extended to five years – not at my request or initiative, I should note – on the proposal of one university president, seconded by the second university president, with the principal donor in the chair and in the presence of the Executive Director of CIGI and the UW Provost, the alleged shortfalls are indeed a matter of surprise and concern. As late as 15 November 2009, in a draft governance implementation document that you sent out to WLU and me, you wrote:

By any measure – stature of faculty and staff, number of graduate student applications and quality of the admitted students, national and international reputation, invitations to partner with other academic institutions, fund-raising opportunities – the Balsillie School has exceeded the most optimistic forecasts and expectations.

You repeated this assessment of the Balsillie School having “over-achieved” at the lunch that you, Dr. English and I had on 10 January 2010. Dr. English’s own assessment of my record and performance until the time he left CIGI is equally positive. The discrepancy between these assessments and your most recent formal assessment with its “sharply negative conclusions” is as startling as it is disconcerting.

At the same time, with respect to some of the frustrations expressed by CIGI Chairs, it is only fair to say that I share them.

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I have organized my response around the four broad headings of governance, budget, CIGI Chairs, and inter-institutional collaboration.

## 1. Governance

It would be an under-statement to say that the matter of the best governance arrangement for the Balsillie School has taken up a lot of time and attention of several of us and remains a work-in-progress rather than completed task. The first hint of the difficulties that lay ahead came with my own contract, when it took the three parties several months to work out an agreed document that we then signed well after I had already assumed my position.

### *Law Program*

Perhaps I can give no better example of the confusion on governance arrangements than the history of my involvement in efforts to establish a law program. You will recall that on 12 August 2008, you set up a planning group to work on the curriculum, logistics and related matters with respect to the proposed graduate law program. The group included UW President Dr. David Johnston, CIGI Executive Director Dr. John English, and Dr. Gerry Boychuk as director of the Global Governance program. The role of a relationship with WLU was left to be determined later.

On 6 September 2008, you asked me to join you as co-chair for the inaugural meeting of the group and in order to underline the fact that the initiative should be seen as an integral part of the Balsillie School. I readily agreed.

In October you and I initiated a conversation with Dean Bruce Feldthusen of the University of Ottawa Law School to explore collaboration with them in our proposed law program. We had our first face-to-face meeting with him in Toronto on 19 January 2009 and reported back to the UW President and Provost on how satisfactory the discussion had proven to be.

We subsequently discovered that Ottawa was also engaged in parallel bilateral discussions with WLU on some sort of a combined law program between those two universities. At a meeting on 2 February, it was decided to convert the bilateral discussions among UW and University of Ottawa into a tripartite discussion by bringing in WLU as well. UW Provost Dr. Amit Chakma then sent the draft of a proposed agreement on the law program to WLU President Dr. Max Blouw for his review. Dr. Blouw duly nominated WLU representatives to join our ongoing discussions with Ottawa and in all subsequent correspondence we brought UW Provost Dr. Deborah MacLatchy into the conversation loop. I reported on the status of the discussions to the meeting of the Strategic Committee on 11 March 2009 that was chaired by Mr. Balsillie and included both UW and WLU presidents as well as the UW Provost. At this meeting, it was also decided to continue discussions with Ottawa and politely decline an approach from University of Toronto Law School to explore

a partnership with them instead. At the same time, Dr. English and I were mandated to explore project-specific collaboration with Toronto and subsequently we held a fruitful discussion with one of their deans in Toronto.

We set up several working groups to identify requirements, synergies and curricula details with regard to the combined degrees between the Balsillie School and the Ottawa Law School. Intensive working discussions, including extensive internal consultations with potentially interested departments and faculties at UW and WLU, were held for several months.

By the end of September, we had agreed that both UW and WLU will collaborate with the University of Ottawa, offering combined Masters and PhDs in conjunction with the LLM. Three streams would be developed for the LLM:

- International Law
- Environmental Law
- Intellectual Property Law/Technology Law

We at UW would identify up to ten programs that would be prepared to offer a combined degree with the Ottawa LLM. WLU would produce a comparable list. To finalize the details – to cross the “Ts” and dot the “Is,” so to say – we then convened a long meeting on 13 October 2009 with a delegation from the University of Ottawa that came down to Waterloo to over the complex and technical curricula and other requirements for the combined degrees. By this time we were also including Dr. Sue Horton closely in the discussions, not the least because of her role as WLU Provost in setting up the Balsillie School and then subsequently moving across to UW as a CIGI Chair and assuming a senior administrative position at UW. After that very productive discussion, we agreed internally that we had to move rapidly in order to meet the tight calendar deadlines for approvals by the various authorities leading to the UW Senate meeting of 22 February 2010.

Then, on 14 October – just one day after what we thought was nearing the endgame discussions with Ottawa – I sent you the following message:

After the very productive discussions with the U of Ottawa team on the law program yesterday, I was informed by Jim that the CIGI Board has mandated Cos and Alison to lead the negotiations with respect to all the third party partnerships, including with U of Ottawa regarding the law program. He asked me to apologise to Alison (which I have done) for having excused her from the meeting, which I did on the grounds that we were dealing purely and solely with academic content and I did not think it fair to drop her into the middle of a highly technical discussion without advance briefing or preparation.

I assume John and or David can fill you in on the details of this. For me the most immediate requirement is that Cos and Alison be fully involved henceforth, informed of and invited to all future meetings in connection with the law program.

You replied thus on the 15<sup>th</sup>:

Many thanks for your note. This is a matter of concern and it requires clarification. CIGI is a wonderful partner and shall remain thus. In general, however, we need to have a separation of academic and other decision-making.

I will get back to you on this.

On 18 October 2009, I was informed by Mr. Cosimo Fiorenza (from the CIGI Board of Directors) that CIGI's agreement with the Government on the entities to be established on the Balsillie Campus precluded the Law Program from being located inside the Balsillie School. Accordingly, I terminated my involvement in the discussions on the law program on that date. On 23 October, you wrote me in an email message:

Have been meaning to update you on a conversation with [UW Provost] Ferudin.

He and [UW President] DJ have spoken at length at Cos about arrangements.

There is agreement about cigi's role - which will focus on the initial discussions about new initiatives/financial commitments.

There was a sense that the law program has gotten ahead of itself and needs to be reconsidered around issues of size, quality, income, etc. I will work with DJ on this front.

In other words, for well over a year, we engaged in an intensive, time-consuming exercise involving several people from three universities, with the seniormost leadership of both University of Waterloo and Wilfrid Laurier University, and with Mr. Balsillie being aware of and approving the conversations. No one – not you, not I, not the two university presidents and provosts, not the CIGI Executive Director – was aware that we were acting outside our mandate.

Only the detailed narrative can capture the sense of confusion and uncertainty over the roles and responsibilities of the various parties.

#### *The Long Search for a New Structure for the Balsillie School*

The story of the law program is symptomatic of the problematic nature of expectations among the three partners of their respective roles, responsibilities and jurisdictions.

On 26 February 2009, you wrote to the WLU Provost that:

Here is the short version re BSIA

The current structure is administratively cumbersome -- we love working with WLU and CIGI, but the multitude of three party agreements and hiring processes is very complex.

We would like you to consider, with us, making the BSIA an autonomous organization/institution. We would allocate funding directly to it, as would WLU, on some formula basis, and BSIA would then operate autonomously. We can discuss the broader plan and scope out some details -- but it seems to us important to liberate BSIA from routine tripartite (and, with U of Ottawa coming on stream, four-party) administrative processes.

The topic of governance arrangements for the Balsillie School was discussed at the meeting of the Strategic Committee on 11 March 2009 where there was general agreement that the existing vacuum was unsatisfactory for all concerned. It was suggested that we should look at the church-college model as a means of autonomous relationships and how it eliminates internal problems. It was thought that a standalone institute, independent, with its own budget and a unified board would eliminate many problems. Mr. Balsillie emphasized the “need to get the structure right and get it right now.” After I left the meeting to go to my scheduled class, the committee decided that the two university presidents, the CIGI executive Director and I should carry this discussion forward off-line.

Subsequently, we agreed that the other three would first establish the feasibility and desirability of this model and then I would join the conversation to work through the details of the structure. In the event, although I received no formal communication to the effect, the model was not considered feasible and workable and quietly dropped from the agenda over the next couple of months.

In the meantime, the situation got even more complicated with the announcement of initiatives to do with the Balsillie Centre of Excellence, as recognized, for example, in your memo of 19 June, sent to a restricted circle within UW, with an attached document on the governance arrangements for the BCE that you had drawn up on 15 June.

On 18 July 2009, you sent the WLU Provost and me a draft proposal for new administrative arrangements for the Balsillie School, wherein you outlined four different models (autonomy, collaborative, single management, other). You explained that:

**The general priority in what follows is to focus decision-making authority and budgetary control where it should properly lie: in the hands of the Board and Director of the Balsillie School of International Affairs.** This is a key element in shifting the operation from a collaborative and time-intensive undertaking to a more free-standing and fast-moving institution, while still closely affiliated with its university and CIGI partners.

As indicated in the last section on the law program, in October 2009 Mr. Fiorenza became actively engaged in structuring the partnership arrangements for the Balsillie School. On 18 October Dr. English and I received the following message from him:

I wanted to get back to you on how I plan to proceed. I have spoken to Jim and Dennis and they are onside with the approach.

**BSIA:**

It's important that CIGI be at the table regarding all of the academic discussions for the BSIA for the reasons that I mentioned previously namely the following:

- i. We need to ensure that all approved areas of study are consistent with our mandated themes.
- ii. Also, academic direction will necessarily impact structure and finances.

I don't think that it's fair to Ramesh that he be required to speak to CIGI issues (when he is structurally representing all of the other parties as well). Until, we finalize the existing internal reorganization of CIGI, the plan is that I and / or Alison will be attending all of these meetings / discussions on behalf of CIGI (that is of course in addition to John should be choose to attend). I will mention this plan to UW (David / Feridun) and WLU (Terry Levesque). Ramesh, you can feel free to pass this along to the individuals that you are dealing with at each school. Also, I would really appreciate if you could give me a head's up on any upcoming meetings.

We will need to deal with the financial issues associated with the school (addressing the lease considerations, dealing with outstanding chair negotiations, etc.). I will deal with David and Feridun and Terry, respectively on that and reach out to the two of you for help from time to time.

Also, I have asked Alison to pull together a list of all of the approved chairs and fellows (with a summary of the areas of study and their financial arrangements). Also, if there are candidates up for consideration, we should have those as well (with the same types of information). I trust that you will assist her in this.

John and Alison have given me their views on the Indian initiative. From a substantive perspective, they agree that this is an obvious project for us to undertake. I want to review the structure and financial components of the arrangement with Dennis (and Jim) before we decide to proceed. As I promised John the other day, I will get back to you shortly.

### The Law School

Our government funding requires the law school to be separate from the BSIA. Also, from the beginning, the CIGI board has been consistent in its desire to keep the two schools separate. Thus, although I appreciate Ramesh's help to date on this matter, I don't think that it make sense that Ramesh drive this from CIGI's perspective. I would welcome the opportunity to use Ramesh (and John of course) as a resource as appropriate. Also, when I am ready, we will need to discuss the combined LLM / Global Governance program that I believe is being contemplated.

As Ramesh correctly noted in his email to me from last week, I believe that we need to land on structure before we go any further. Thus, I would ask that we not submit the draft agreement that has been circulated (or go any further on it) until we land on structure. I am hopeful that if we can bring some focus to the table that all of the parties will act quickly so that we can achieve the desired time-lines. I am also hopeful that when the dust settles we will be able to use much of the work that has been done, but that we would do so based on a structure and financial arrangement that CIGI and the schools can all buy into.

John, as I mentioned on Friday, it seems to me that there can be no LLM without UoFO's involvement. Thus, I would like to reach out to them to determine what they envision regarding the LLM program (scale of the operation, the extent to which chairs will be in Waterloo vs. Ottawa, the resources that they can bring to bear, etc.). I would like to reach out to Allan Rock and the Dean of the law school (Bruce Feldthusen I believe) in this regard. John, if you could provide me with their email addresses that would be great.

I will explain that I am taking this approach when I speak to the local universities. At the same time, I will explore with them what they envision structurally and what they are able to contribute to the venture.

Hope this all makes sense and thank you for your help in this regard.

I replied the same day:

Thanks Cos. I am relieved as well as pleased that you are taking charge of this process. Should help things along greatly. Just a few comments.

I am taking you up on your offer to pass this along to individuals I am dealing with at each of the two universities to copy Ken Coates at UW and Deb Maclatchy at WLU on my reply, so they are in the loop. Also, as I said to you in my earlier message, they are the two people to whom I formally report when wearing my Balsillie School hat. They are also the two people who can answer all questions on the list of all the chairs and fellows approved to date with areas of study and financial arrangements. And finally, they are the key individuals for taking the initiative forward to the various committees/senates etc for approval at each stage, and thus need to be informed of your request that the draft agreement not be circulated and that we not go any further on it until the structure has been agreed on.

On the India initiative, once again, I am glad to leave all substantive discussions on the nature and terms of the partnership to you (and Alison), John, Ken and the CIF. I am just pleased to have been able to bring the parties together.

On the Law Program (and I am told by John that we are not permitted to call it a Law School, which is why I am using the word "Program" instead), I don't think I was ever meant to be representing CIGI interests/perspectives. I was under the impression - obviously wrong, in the light of what you say -- that the Program would be housed in the School, and that is why I was involved. Conversely, if the Law Program is part of the Balsillie Campus but separate and independent from the Balsillie School, then it is not clear to me why I should be involved in the discussions at all. Obviously, I am happy to attend as required and stay informed about the progress of the initiative, but I don't see any formal role for myself.

Again, thanks for helping to clarify respective roles and responsibilities.

Naturally, I copied this to you. In response, you wrote to me that:

I think we all agree that CIGI is a clear partner in the Balsillie and other initiatives, that it provides vital financial resources, and that it does not participate directly in the academic decisions. The key thing is defining the point when the discussions are focused on funding -- the law program requires access to Chairs, for example -- and not on academic content, personnel decisions and the like. Is this a reasonable demarcation of responsibilities.

I wrote back to you:

Thanks Ken. But a couple of things still concern me.

1. The comment That "Until, we finalize the existing internal reorganization of CIGI, the plan is that I and / or Alison will be attending all of these meetings / discussions on behalf of CIGI" - you had better clarify/decide/agree what "all" means in this context
2. If the Law Program is not part of the School - even if it is under the BCE umbrella - I think I should withdraw from the discussions.
3. Most importantly, I think the content and tone of the msg. does suggest that there is a risk of the Balsillie School (and other parts of the BCE initiative) being viewed as sub-units to be managed under the overall "ownership" of CIGI. It's the early days that will set the tenor of this relationship.

Your reply was brief and to the point: "I agree on all fronts. This is a worrisome situation or perhaps misunderstanding. Will work with DJ to clarify."

You also forwarded the Fiorenza–Thakur correspondence to UW President Dr. Johnston with the following accompanying letter:

David

Please read this correspondence from the bottom up. This relates to the proposed expansion of the BSIA and CIGI's role. The issues are complicated, but include:

- Financial arrangements with CIGI
- Organizational structural issues, esp. with CIGI 's changes
- Academic decision-making, and an appropriate role for CIGI
- The arrangements with WLU and how to proceed on new initiatives, esp. financial arrangements
- Managing relations with new donors (who are not keep about our internal arrangements)

My view, for what is worth, is that CIGI should be directly engaged in discussions with UW, WLU and Balsillie on the foundational elements

- Initial discussion and proposal
- Funding
- Management agreement

Once the structures and agreements are in place, then the primary role transfers to the Balsillie. Consultations and cooperation with CIGI will, of course, continue.

- Academic programming
- Personnel matters
- Program delivery

I am sure that this is what Cosimo has in mind, but some of the language used does not capture this.

I can understand CIGI's reforms and how this changes arrangements. It is crucial, however, that e figure out clear, fast and appropriate structures in place, particularly those relating to academic autonomy and management.

I appreciate your comments and suggestions - and I look forward to hearing about your discussions with Cos.

If you received a reply from Dr. Johnston, it was never copied or forwarded to me.

On 3 November, I received the following message from Ms. Alison DeMuy, CIGI Partnerships Director:

I'm sorry we couldn't meet and chat today. I would have taken the opportunity to ask you a few questions. Since you are leaving in the next few days, I hope you don't mind if I pose these to you via email. These will help bring both Cos and I up to speed on the strategy and operations of the Balsillie School to date.

1. Can you explain the current governance structure of the school? How are decisions made? Who sits on each committee, what are their respective responsibilities and how often do they meet?
2. What is the role of Chairs in the school? What is their role vis-a-vis CIGI? Are these roles contractual?
3. What is the role of other BSIA faculty in the school and CIGI?
4. What is the role of Director? Do you have a job description - what are your major responsibilities. How does that breakdown in terms of time percentage wise?

5. What is/was the process for the recruitment of Chairs? At UW and WLU?
6. I understand there was a strategic retreat for BSIA in August. Did that result in a strategic plan for the school? If so, could you share that with us?
7. Is there a budget for BSIA beyond the programs (ie recruitment, promotion, travel etc?). Is so, could you please share?

I forwarded this to you and sought your advice-cum-guidance. Your reply, received the same day, said: "I am checking. This is not promising. Some of these are fine. But others not."

On 15 November 2009, you sent out the following message to the UW Provost, Dr. Terry Levesque who was (and is) the lead person at WLU for all matters to do with the Balsillie School, and to me:

Hello Deb, Ramesh and Terry

As you know, we have all been working very hard to regularize the Balsillie School -- with a view to clarifying financial arrangements, streamlining the management, and putting everything on an appropriate basis. Lynne and I have been working on a document that would spell all of the assumptions, agreements and rules out. I do not think that there are any surprises or radical changes here. Instead, it stands as a summary, clarification and simplification of where we currently sit with the Balsillie School. The goal is also to clarify the role of CIGI and the donor and to make responsibilities and commitments as clear as possible.

You all know my main concerns: that the Balsillie School is not yet on a firm financial foundation, that we are over-managing it in terms of time and level of engagement (this document is, effectively, an "over to you now, Ramesh" statement, with UW and WLU having clearly outlined their support, commitment and continued interest).

We have included statements about UW's arrangements and structures and we have deliberately stayed away from adding in the WLU positions/statements, for fear of getting it wrong or being seen to interfere.

So, what I need from all of you is:

- a review of document
- suggestions for changes, additions or deletions
- addition of WLU-specific statements and ideas (Deb and Terry)
- Modifications based on the view from the Balsillie School (Ramesh)

When we are done, we can circulate this to CIGI for their input and comment, to make sure that we eliminate as much misunderstanding and misapprehension, particularly regards reporting arrangements, authority, etc.

I truly hope that this process brings us very close to a resolution. My personal goal would be to have everything clarified before Christmas so that Ramesh and the Balsillie School can operate in an environment of greater clarity and direct managerial responsibility than our processes have permitted to this date. This all said, the Balsillie School is a remarkable example of inter-institutional collaboration. But we have done a lot very fast -- and we need to formalize things as soon as possible.

The attached document referred to in the above message included the following comment:

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Given the speed and multi-institutional nature of the Balsillie School implementation, it is not surprising that some important structural and administrative arrangements need to be addressed. There are very few graduate schools of this type and scope managed by two institutions. Equally, the remarkable partnership with the Centre for International Governance Innovation creates both enormous opportunities and ongoing managerial complexities. Over the next two months, the partners in the Balsillie School – the University of Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University and the Centre for International Governance Innovation – will identify and resolve the outstanding procedural, governance and operations issues.

I said to you then that I would wait to submit my response to your proposal until after we heard back from WLU. On 2 December 2009, I wrote to you asking if you had heard anything further from them, and you replied that you had not but would try again.

In the meantime, Drs. Gerry Boychuk from UW and Terry Levesque from WLU had also been working together on a governance document, a draft of which they sent out to us for comment on 7 December 2009.

Then we discovered, somewhat fortuitously rather than as a result of any formal communication, that Mr. Fiorenza and Ms. DeMuy had taken over the task of structuring the partnership of the Balsillie School with the three partners.

In addition, Dr Levesque has been working on an administrative model for a de facto Balsillie School department in WLU and, at my request, Drs. Boychuk and Horton have held equivalent discussions with you. My dilemma in this is a familiar and ongoing one. At present I have no formal status in WLU (although we have talked occasionally of an adjunct appointment or any other formula that would give me formal status), and so cannot take part in these internal discussions at WLU. As long as I cannot take part in WLU discussions, for me to take part in or lead the parallel discussions at UW would merely aggravate the optical perception that I am a UW person, not a director representing both partner institutions equally.

By the end of 2009, Mr. Fiorenza had assumed responsibility, together with Ms. DeMuy, CIGI's Director of Partnerships, for formulating the formal governance structure to clarify responsibilities, relationships, jurisdictions, reporting lines and accountabilities. Until new arrangements are in place, as per the existing contract, the director reports formally to the two university presidents through the Dean of Arts at UW and the Provost at WLU.

As late as 22 December 2009, WLU President Dr. Blouw wrote to me that:

Hello Ramesh,

Thank you for taking the time to have lunch with Deb and me yesterday. It was good to have a candid chat about the present and future of BSIA.

I am copying this message to Deb and Terry to ensure that they are in the loop of communications.

I have now spoken with David Johnston as I promised to do. It has been established from the outset that your reporting relationship to the universities as Director of BSIA is with the Dean of Arts at UW, and the VP Academic and Provost at WLU. Therefore it would be entirely appropriate for you to meet with Ken and Deb to discuss future directions and

operational matters between BSIA and the two universities. However proactive development of ideas around the wider issues of governance relating to the intersection of BSIA with CIGI should be deferred until there is more information available from those who have the mandate to review and make recommendations with respect to governance and operations at CIGI.

In other words, as of the end of last year, the two university presidents were specifically instructing me to await a proposal “from those who have the mandate to review and make recommendations with respect to governance and operations at CIGI.”

Based on this detailed chronology of events, I totally reject the charge of having failed in my duty as director to develop governance arrangements.

Please note, incidentally, that the luncheon meeting referred to was indeed at my request to apprise them of where matters stood of that date.

## **2. Budget**

By this time it will come as no surprise to you that the uncertainty and confusion surrounding the governance arrangements affected the budgetary situation for the Balsillie School as well. The brute fact is that I have a budget of zero dollars. I am not sure how I am expected to present a budget for a whole year in these circumstances. We have gone back and forth discussing various funding models that would give us financial as well as management autonomy, but the reality is that all funding decisions have been held hostage to the lack of progress on governance arrangements. Yet another complication in this, of course, is that Faculty are cross-appointed between different departments/faculties and it is not clear how the revenue income from student fees would be split among the various departments and the Balsillie School either.

In a message on 21 July 2009, you wrote to me that:

You may know this - and this is not formalized - but DJ has been in discussions with JE re program funding for BSIA. The arrangements, if and when confirmed, will be enormously helpful. A sum of \$100,000 a year will set aside for BSIA program - special events, specialized travel, promotion, etc etc. You and Lynne and I need to prepare, for discussion with WLU, a list of things to be covered from this program funding.

This is a big step forward and will help a great with launching the activities of BSIA. You have surrounded yourself with great scholars; now you have the ongoing program funding to do special things.

On 7 October 2009, Lynne Jelokhani-Niarakhi (Office of the Dean of Arts) informed us that “The two universities have agreed to contribute \$2,500 toward a basic operating budget for the BSIA while the big picture is still in development.”

In an email message to Mr. Fiorenza on 15 October 2009, I wrote:

Dear Cos,

Welcome aboard! I look forward to working with you as we bring this exciting and important new development to a closure.

I think I have been to just one CIGI Board meeting, so you will have to forgive me if I can't quite place you. I am certainly getting old. But both John and Alison have spoken very highly and warmly of you, so it will be great to have you take the lead on structuring the partnership. As I said to Jim on the phone, I will be totally out of my depth in the complex negotiations between UW, WLU, UofO, and Jim/CIGI.

I got your msg after landing in Ottawa. Unfortunately, tomorrow morning I have my session where I am one of the panellists on the final plenary session. The conference has been going on for two days, but they were kind enough to accept that I could only attend tomorrow morning. After that I fly down to DC for meetings tomorrow evening and Saturday, returning Sunday afternoon.

To bring you up to date as best I can, here's a summary of where we stand.

It seems like a very long time ago that David, Jim and John asked Ken and I to lead the working level discussions with Ottawa on this new partnership. When all the academic issues were sorted out, we were to report back, and at that stage Jim, David, Allan Rock from UO, and possibly John would take over and resolve all final issues, including cost and resource distributions etc.

Subsequently, we discovered that UO was engaged in parallel discussions with WLU on pretty much the same set of issues and goals. Since that seemed silly, we merged the two sets of discussions under the one umbrella of the Balsillie School. We set up three separate joint working groups with reps from all three of the universities to look at the whole range of academic issues involved. The fruit of that was the draft paper that UO prepared based on those discussions through the summer. I gave a copy of that to Alison, so she should certainly be able to forward it to you. It pretty much brings you up to date on where we stand, as we agreed to it with minor revisions/modifications to follow.

You will see in that that we concentrate exclusively on academic issues of appropriate course combinations that will satisfy the statutory requirements of the three partner universities and enable us to take it to the OCGS for their endorsement. If we are to get this through in time for the 2010-2011 academic year, we have to move to a very tight schedule in getting departmental/faculty/senate approvals as well as OCGS.

I suppose to some extent this throws up a chicken and egg problem. We can't really estimate resource requirements and constraints, and how these are to be divided and distributed among the three universities, and with what links and support with/from CIGI, until after we know the shape of the program that will pass muster with the universities and the OCGS. But I guess we can't commit to that until we have the resources in place.

To date we haven't even begun to talk about the resources aspect. I had a brief conversation with John, and he seemed to share my sentiment that we would prefer to leave that to the university presidents and Jim (I guess that now means you in practice). Of course, I am happy to attend all meetings if required or asked just so I am aware of what is going on.

I am copying this to Ken and Deb at UW and WLU respectively, as they are the two authorities to whom I formally report and who will presumably be closely involved in the negotiations phase as well. They may wish to add or supplement what I've said, or correct me if I have got some things wrong in substance or nuance. The reason for copying John should be self-evident. The other reason for making sure everyone knows what is happening, aside from the intrinsic virtue of an inclusive approach, is that until governance arrangements have been worked out, I am somewhat uncertain of my bearings. I would feel far more comfortable if these issues were handled above my level and clear directions given to me. As I said, as far as I can remember my formal reporting line is to Ken and Deb.

Let me know if you still need to talk to me on the phone and we can perhaps try do so early morning. But I suspect you will get more value from talking to Ken. If you are taking the lead on structuring partnerships, you might also want to touch base with John on the India initiative.

Hope this helps!

Ramesh Thakur

I had copied you on this and you sent me back a quick short message the same day saying "Great summary. Thanks."

On 5 January, I wrote to you requesting the sum of \$40,000 from the School's budget, on condition that we raised a matching amount from external sources, for an authors' workshop for *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy* as a flagship inaugural project for the School. You replied immediately: "I will look into this right away. I have to confirm that CIGI will provide the program funds that we discussed with JE earlier. If so, there seems to be a nice fit with everyone's mandate!" But I have not heard from you since.

On 14 January 2010, I forwarded you and the WLU Provost an estimate from Ms Sandy Rung, Director of Operations for the Balsillie School, that we needed \$15,000 for an urgent update of our website. As neither of you were convinced of the merits of the proposal, we did not move forward on this.

In the meantime, back in Fall 2009, Ms DeMuy had initiated a conversation with me on operationalizing the CIGI-Balsillie School partnership. As part of that, we began to think of what it would take to position and establish the Balsillie School as one of the top ten schools of international affairs in the world. This conversation was repeated at the Balsillie School Faculty Council meeting on 7 January (one reason why her participation was warmly welcomed by all!). Accordingly, I set up a committee with Dr. T. Homer-Dixon as chair to prepare a needs-assessment with the ambition of establishing the School as an institution resourced well enough to aim for this goal. The committee, which in practice has been open to anyone from the full Faculty Council interested in participating in its work, has worked hard and diligently and made considerable progress. A draft document is expected to be tabled for discussion at the next Balsillie School Faculty Council meeting on 6 May 2010.

### 3. CIGI Chairs

I come finally to your report of the comments from some of the CIGI Chairs. First, as a preliminary response, may I say your letter gave no sense of the number of CIGI chairs with whom you talked and the number who expressed serious concern with my performance. That said, I have never known a university department where, if asked, most faculty would not express some concerns, reservations and criticisms of how the Chair does his/her work. Similarly, it would astonish me greatly if the chairs in any faculty in turn did not express some similar concerns, reservations and criticisms of their deans, regardless of the institution and personalities involved. This comes with the territory. As a second preliminary comment, I note that some of

the CIGI Chairs will have supplied comments before having completed even one year with us, with the interesting consequence that the director is being evaluated by the Faculty before he has had an opportunity to assess their performance.

However, on some substantive issues I fully share the sense of frustration and unhappiness of many CIGI Chairs with the continuing confusion over just where they stand. The lack of clarity over the status, roles, responsibilities and relations with CIGI of the CIGI chairs was endemic long before the Balsillie School came into being. It is worth recalling that two CIGI Chairs each were appointed at UW (Drs. Clapp and Helleiner) and WLU (Drs. Heine and Kugler) prior to the creation of the School. Accordingly, I had absolutely no involvement in their recruitments. Nor was I involved in the recruitment of two Chairs whose negotiations were completed formally after the School's creation, but discussions with whom had begun well before (Drs. Homer-Dixon and Welch).

In the recruitment of all other Chairs, all discussions over the detailed terms and conditions were conducted directly between the potential Chair recruits and the relevant Deans at UW and WLU, on the one hand, and the CIGI Executive Director, on the other.

It soon became clear to me that hardly any CIGI Chair seemed to have a clear idea of just what the title entailed by way of roles, responsibilities and rights and privileges. And one of the messages above from Ms. DeMuy shows that CIGI people themselves were in the dark on the same subject. In the meantime, in CIGI the management, in consultation with research and distinguished fellows, had spent considerable time and effort in 2007–08 in rationalizing research streams and research and program management. So one answer we gave to the CIGI Chairs during the recruitment process was that these are the six themes in which CIGI's portfolio of work are grouped and, since CIGI's direct internal research capacity was limited, CIGI Chairs would have some sort of privileged access to CIGI research funds in these program areas. But the details should be discussed with CIGI management directly.

As we know, in November 2009 the CIGI Board decided on a major change of focus and senior leadership. This effectively rendered all previous conversations and understandings inoperative (just as it effectively brought to a halt your discussions with Dr. English to secure the \$100,000 per year operating expenses for the Balsillie School referred to above under Budget). Fresh discussions were initiated by the Acting Executive Director Mr. Tom Bernes in 2010 with the various CIGI Chairs to see if all parties could come to a common understanding of the position and designation. I was not invited to be party to these discussions, which once again emphasized that this was a matter for bilateral discussions directly between the CIGI Chairs and CIGI. The needs assessment exercise that the Balsillie School Policy and Budget Committee has been engaged in attempts to specify these and estimate dollar figures as well to support the CIGI Chairs. I hope once these understandings are spelt out in writing the scope for confusion and uncertainty will diminish.

In addition to clarifying the role of the CIGI Chairs, there is also the question of rationalizing their relative positions and standardizing their conditions of office. For example, I have raised the cases of Drs. Clapp and Helleiner with you several times spread over many months. On 31 March 2009, I wrote to you that:

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The mtg. was at their request. They do want clarification, in writing, of their required teaching loads and relationships between Balsillie School and Depts. It was good to be able to say that we were already on to it, but that progress had been held up as senior admin struggles to work through the implications of the financial crisis and has had less time to deal with other, less pressing matters.

So, we need to:

Standardize teaching loads and expectations for all CIGI Chairs – two one semester courses per year;

Rationalize as much as possible primary location in School for administrative purposes – I think all CIGI Chairs' first affiliation should be the School, without cutting into their ability to offer courses in relevant departments;

Look at the salary packages to make sure they are not at a disadvantage relative to new appointments in relation to seniority and accomplishments.

Eric and Jennifer did not raise the last point, but we must look into it on our own.

Your reply of the same day stated:

I looked at Eric's salary package and will check again. I can address that if there is an imbalance, he should be close to Kathy's -- I think he has one more year as a full prof. Deep said he would look into Jennifer's.

Both have formal appointments in other Departments -- we have to manage the removal issues.

Standardizing the loads is very important.

Most recently, after being prompted by Dr. Clapp, on 26 January 2010, I reminded you about the need to do something about them. You wrote then to them both that:

Ramesh raised the issue of the CIGI chairs with the Dean's Office. We were surprised to discover that your initial letters of offer did not indicate that you are CIGI Chairs. We have had under discussion the best means of regularizing your appointments as CIGI Chairs. Our office is looking into this matter already and we will attend to this issue as a matter of urgency.

If something has been done, I am yet to be informed.

In addition to the confusion over the roles, responsibilities and privileges of the CIGI Chairs in terms of their relationship with CIGI, there has also been matching confusion about the place and roles of other Faculty who contribute actively to the Balsillie school's programs, for example by teaching one or more of the courses in the three degree programs.

I sent you and the WLU Provost an email message on 5 November:

We had a mtg. of the extended Balsillie School faculty today – not just the School's core faculty, but all who teach courses in it or are otherwise directly involved. (Not all were able to attend, of course.) One of the conclusions from the discussion was a resolution to the vexed issue of how to recognise faculty from beyond the core group. We agreed that the cleanest and most appropriate way would be to list everyone as Balsillie School Faculty; to give their formal ranks (Prof/Assoc Prof/Asst Prof); to put an asterisk besides the CIGI Chairs; and to have a separate link on the website that directs visitors straight to the

CIGI Chairs and their bios. This will permit us to highlight the special status of our core faculty without actually making invidious distinctions in public between core and adjunct faculty.

For administrative, internal purposes, however, those who are not appointed into the Balsillie School can be designated as adjunct faculty. This will keep all administrative issues related -- for example, to resources and hiring, promotion and tenure -- within the departments to which the faculty belong.

If this seems appropriate to you, we can get updated lists from Gerry and Terry and proceed to implement it expeditiously.

Both of you replied the same day expressing agreement and so indeed we proceeded to implement it.

#### **4. Inter-Institutional Communication**

With respect to CIGI, you have the formal, written comment on my performance report directly from Dr. John English where he expresses full and complete satisfaction with my performance while he was executive Director of CIGI, which indeed covers most the reporting period for this report. It is simply not possible for the director of any institute to act in anticipation of major changes in the top leadership of a partner institution which retroactively changes the nature of expectations and requirements of his or her post. And I am more than baffled by the statement that CIGI has reported "considerable difficulty in maintaining contact" with me. As you know, I use CIGI as my main working office on a daily basis and am in visual contact with the (Acting) Executive Director. I have never refused any request from CIGI to help and assist with any event or matter, most recently the Signature Lecture by Mr. Bruce Reidel on 29 April when I was asked and agreed to be a discussant. This week I am participating in the CIGI conference on the G20. I have been invited to be a discussant at the annual CIGI10 conference in the Fall which too I have duly accepted.

Significant changes began to be planned and implemented in CIGI's approach and operations around the Fall of 2009 and the departure of Dr. English as Executive Director was just one event in this. As noted above, part of the changes included a more hands-on involvement in the Balsillie School's affairs by Mr. Fiorenza and Ms. Alison DeMuy. Bearing in mind your comments of 15 October 2009 that the exact nature of the relationship with CIGI "is a matter of concern and it requires clarification. CIGI is a wonderful partner and shall remain thus. In general, however, we need to have a separation of academic and other decision-making," I was careful to seek the views of the WLU Provost and you, as my two reporting authorities, to various requests for CIGI presence and involvement. At no time did I recommend that we deny them a seat at the table and, as soon as the two of you had agreed/approved, I sent formal letters to that effect. For example, on 4 January 2010, Ms DeMuy requested attendance at the next meeting of the Balsillie School Faculty Council scheduled for the 7<sup>th</sup>. I checked with you and Dr. MacLachy and, as both of you agreed, I responded with a positive reply to Ms. DeMuy on the same day as her original request: "This is to confirm we are all very happy for you to attend these regularly scheduled meetings of the Balsillie Faculty. This is in addition to the CIGI Ex Dir. And as discussed if you could report on progress to date on partnership arrangements, that would be great." And indeed her participation proved to be very valuable and was warmly welcomed by all.

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As for communications with WLU, as you know, we had considerable difficulties in the initial weeks and months as we worked through the implementation implications of the new Balsillie School venture. But matters improved dramatically once Dr. MacLatchy was appointed Provost and focussed on the School's unique nature and requirements, and then Dr. Levesque was appointed as the point person in a senior position for dealing with all School related matters. Barring a break during some health problems that Dr. Levesque had, we maintained regular contact as required. We were able to work pragmatically and cooperatively in the WLU recruitment process for appointing Dr. Rianne Mahon, when Dr. Boychuk and I were able to present our views to the WLU appointments committee on the field of shortlisted candidates without overstepping jurisdictional boundaries. As a result, when Dr. MacLatchy asked me for my views on Dr. Mahon on 28 March 2009, I replied to her in the affirmative on the same day. Thereafter, and until we set up the Balsillie School Faculty Council, I maintained regular contact with various people – Drs. Joan Norris, Debora Van Nijnatten, Randall Wigle – in addition to Drs. Levesque and MacLatchy as required, and, with Dr. Levesque, sometimes even when not required. Thus I had several constructive exchanges with Dr. Levesque when he was developing the EPE proposal and drafting a new CIGI Chairs vacancy posting.

With respect to UW, finally, I note (with some relief) that you do not consider this to have been a problem. I hope to be able to maintain the same active relationship with your successor next year.

### **Conclusion**

I apologize for the length of this response but, in view of the gravity of your highly negative assessment, I wish to document my response in full detail. Please consider this a response for the record, if you will.

To sum up, yes, we have had problems, far more and lasting far longer than any of us anticipated. That became clear even with my own contract. But we have slowly but surely been addressing most of them, albeit with uneven success. Of course, none of us is perfect and therefore our performance could always be faulted for falling short in one respect or another and can always be improved.

But I strongly refute the charge that I am responsible either advertently or inadvertently. Almost all the problems raised in the assessment arise from the complexity of the unique set of relationships of the Balsillie School with three separate and independent institutions, each with their own sets of expectations and management and operational cultures and requirements; the protracted evolution of a governance structure that includes identifying a common understanding of the location and role of the Director in managing these relationships; the lack of any core dedicated funds for the School as the basis for planning activities and operations on a predictable and stable basis; the continuing confusion over the meanings of "CIGI Chairs" and their roles vis-à-vis CIGI; and the relationship to the School of those Faculty members at UW and WLU who contribute to the School's various activities. These are challenges with which I have been dealing and will continue to do so.

I am pleased that good progress has been made on all these fronts in the last few months and, with the help of the Balsillie School Faculty Council in particular, issues are being debated and decisions made collectively with a sense of ownership by the whole group.

Some time ago Dr. David Johnston, President of UW, wrote to me of his desire “to reinforce your leadership of the BSIA and to plan together how” to ensure the middle and long term success of the School. Absent further unexpected disruptions and volatility, I intend to ensure that the Balsillie School of International Affairs is well on its way to being established as one of the world’s premier institutions of its kind by the time of the completion of my term as the inaugural director in 2013. I look forward to working with all three partners to this effect.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ramesh Thakur".

Ramesh Thakur

**APPENDIX 11:**

**Letter from Jayantha Dhanapala re Thakur**

**July 22, 2010**

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## **Appendix 11**

Date: Thu, 22 Jul 2010 21:11:28 -0700 (PDT)  
From: Jayantha Dhanapala <jdhanapala@yahoo.co.uk>  
Reply-To: Jayantha Dhanapala <jdhanapala@yahoo.co.uk>  
Subject: Re: Ramesh Thakur  
To: Len Findlay <len.findlay@usask.ca>

Dear Professor Findlay,

Thank you for your communication. I would like very much to co-operate with you in your task. In view of the time difference between Canada and Sri Lanka it seems better to communicate via email rather than telephone.

I first met Professor Ramesh Thakur in Canberra in 1995-6 when I was a member of the Australian Government sponsored Canberra Commission. Professor Thakur was then the Head of the Peace Centre at Australian National University and was a part of the intellectual resource team supporting the Commission. In our frequent meetings on the margins of the Canberra Commission sessions it was clear to me that Professor Thakur was not just another bright academic involved in international affairs. He had a deep commitment to certain principles of international governance and combined a profound knowledge of the theory of international relations with a pragmatic grasp of its actual workings in the diplomatic field. His experience living and working in different countries - his native India, Canada, New Zealand and Australia - had led to a cosmopolitan outlook and a global perspective which was unique.

A few years later our paths crossed when we were both international civil servants - Thakur as Senior Vice Rector and Assistant Secretary-General at the UN University - and I as Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs at UN Headquarters in New York. We agreed to work closely to advance the UN agenda on disarmament and peace and participated together in several conferences and research projects where Thakur's keen mind and boundless energy for research were evident. I had had a previous acquaintance with the UN University and marvelled at the transformation of a sleepy branch of the UN system tucked away in Tokyo into a vibrant center for intellectual activity supporting the core areas of the UN's work. The output of high quality books in the peace and security area alone - many authored or co-authored by Thakur - was astonishing. At the same time as he conducted his research and publications Thakur supervised many of the institutes throughout the world that came under the UN University. In my view, during my tenure on the UN University Council, Thakur was the ideal candidate to be the Rector of the University but the politics of selecting heads of UN bodies prevented this. Little did I realize that there would be politics in academia that would dog him!

Since leaving the UN University, Thakur has been at Waterloo and I have participated in many conferences and research projects with him. His dedication to high ideals in academia and global politics is unquestioned; his knowledge on the UN and global governance unrivalled and his perceptive insights into international politics unique. I was deeply shocked to learn of his abrupt termination as Director of the Balsillie School of International Affairs just as he was beginning to make an impact there. Fortunately Thakur's services to academia and to international affairs will remain but this blow to his integrity and academic freedom must be protested.

Jayantha Dhanapala

President, Pugwash Conferences on Science & World Affairs,  
former UN Under-Secretary-General 1998-2003, former Ambassador of Sri Lanka to the USA 1995-7 and to the UN in Geneva (1984-87), Director UN Institute for Disarmament Research (1987-92).

**APPENDIX 12:**

**Letter from Gareth Evans re Thakur**

**July 28, 2010**

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## Appendix 12

Date: Wed, 28 Jul 2010 17:29:36 +1000  
From: Gareth Evans <ge@gevens.org>  
Reply-To: ge@gevens.org  
Subject: Re: Ramesh Thakur  
To: Len Findlay <len.findlay@usask.ca>

I share your bemusement, and that of the scholarly and policy community worldwide, that someone of Ramesh Thakur's unquestioned stature and credibility, who seemed at least from the outside to be so obviously touching all the necessary bases in his stewardship at the Balsillie School and his role at CIGI, should have been treated as he was, with the abrupt termination for no clearly stated cause of both these positions.

In short, Professor Thakur is a prolific and multi-talented scholar of enormous international reputation in both academic and policy communities worldwide. It is not often that one finds someone who is both an outstanding teacher and scholar “totally respected by his academic peers, with a daunting list of sophisticated and thoughtful major publications to his name covering a wide range of both theoretical and applied subjects” and at the same time an extraordinarily effective contributor to global policy debate. I can think of no-one more capable of playing a more dynamic and effective role in the development of an institution like Balsillie, designed as I understand it has been to straddle the academic and policy universes in a way that combines both intellectual rigour and communications flair.

I first came to know, and be impressed by, Ramesh Thakur as head of the Peace Research Centre at ANU when I was Australia's Foreign Minister, and have had many contacts with him during the subsequent phases of his career, not least in his capacity as a member of the path-breaking Canadian government sponsored International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty which I co-chaired, and of whose report he was a major author. I have produced forewords for several of his books, of which the following extract, written to introduce his highly-regarded *The United Nations, Peace and Security* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), perhaps best sums up the various qualities that have made him such a respected occupant of so many high positions during his career:

There could be few persons better qualified in the world to write about [the UN's peace and security role] than Ramesh Thakur. As an Indian who has researched and taught in Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Europe and the USA, and as a policy adviser to governments and international organisations, a distinguished scholar and highly articulate and visible media commentator, his personal and professional identity is, as he notes himself, “at the intersection of East and West, North and South, and of international relations scholarship and the international policy community”. He writes, moreover, with eloquence, conviction and passion, nowhere more intensely than when describing the inequities, injustices, imbalances and institutional inadequacies of the world as it is seen by its largely voiceless majority. His analysis is often dense and multilayered, but, written from the heart as well as the head, is never dry and bloodless.

I hope that is relevant and helpful for your purposes. Please do not hesitate to get back to me if I can be of assistance in any other way.

Yours sincerely

Gareth Evans

Professor the Hon Gareth Evans AO QC  
Chancellor, The Australian National University  
Professorial Fellow, The University of Melbourne  
Honorary Fellow, Magdalen College, Oxford  
President Emeritus, International Crisis Group  
Co-Chair, International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament  
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