CANADIAN FORCES COLLEGE / COLLÈGE DES FORCES CANADIENNES
CSC 29 / CCEM 29

MDS RESEARCH PROJECT/PROJET DE RECHERCHE DE LA MED

IDENTIFYING THE LEADMARK:
THE CANADIAN NAVY IN SUPPORT OF FOREIGN POLICY
SINCE 1945

By /Par LCdr Art McDonald

Abstract

This paper explores the role of sea power in facilitating national status. Specifically, the paper examines the relationship between sea power and Canada's emergence as a middle power. Although a significant body of influential works exists discussing the utility of sea power for some Great Powers, only a limited collection of works considers the role of sea power in enabling middle powers. Canada's close affiliation with the middle-power concept that she has helped define since 1945 makes the Canadian relationship between sea power and national status particularly illuminating. In three sections, this paper presents the tenets of sea power relevant to foreign policy support, overviews post-Second World War Canadian foreign policy themes, and then relates the two through a survey of naval activity since 1945. The utility of sea power in the promotion of foreign policy demonstrated through this methodology inextricably links the exercise of sea power with foreign policy success and accompanying national status. Therefore, this paper concludes that sea power has played a significant role in Canada's emergence as a middle power.

Introduction

The relationship between sea power and national status has captured the attention of statesmen, academics and sailors for more than a century. In 1890, for example, United States Navy (USN) Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan produced the landmark manuscript The Influence of Sea Power Upon History in which he described how the Royal Navy (RN) exercised sea power to facilitate the United Kingdom's (UK) ascent to Great Power status. Although Mahan's work became a prescription for the naval strategy of many states, as a descriptive work it was merely intended to expose how sea power could be exploited for national advantage.[1] A century later, Colin Gray's The Leverage of Sea Power reiterated Mahan's thesis and described sea power as "a great enabler."[2] Gray's 2500-year historical survey includes case studies that demonstrate how sea power enabled the United States (US) to emerge as a Great Power in the century following Mahan's dissertation.[3] In Seapower as Strategy, Norman Friedman reinforced the importance of sea power in support of national ambitions, citing that "at the dawn of the twenty-first century the USN is the foremost instrument of US military diplomacy."[4] Clearly, sea power has played a significant role in the emergence of several Great Powers.

It has not been as clearly established that sea power has played a similar role in supporting the achievement of middle-power status. The body of work concerning the role of sea power in shaping nations and supporting foreign policy, for example, ignores the middle power and is instead preoccupied with past and present Great Powers. The relative infancy of middle-

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[1] Captain (USN) Alfred T. Mahan, The Influence of Sea Power Upon History 1660-1783 (Boston: Little Brown, 1890), 25-57. Discussed in Craig Symonds, "A Review of the Literature: (d) Alfred Thayer Mahan," Maritime Strategy and the Nuclear Age, Ed. Geoffrey Till (London: MacMillan, 1984), 28-33.

[2] Commander (Ret'd) Peter Haydon, Sea Power and Maritime Strategy in the 21st Century: A "Medium" Power Perspective, Maritime Security Occasional Paper (MSOP) No. 10 (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 2000), 28.

[3] Colin S. Gray, The Leverage of Sea Power: The Strategic Advantage of Navies in War (New York: The Free Press, 1992), x.

[4] Norman Friedman, Seapower as Strategy: Navies and National Interests (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2001), 1.

power status in the Westphalian order is a likely cause. Although the term predates the Second

World War, the concept of a middle power has only emerged in the second half of the twentieth

century,[5] primarily at the insistence of Canada,[6] the self-proclaimed middle-power trailblazer in

the community of states.[7] Therefore, post-Second World War Canada is an ideal case study for an

examination of the relationship between sea power and a nation's emergence as a middle power.

In 1950, Canada dispatched three destroyers at short notice as Canada's lead commitment

to Korean War participation. This deployment marked Canada's place as a middle power by

demonstrating her willingness and capacity for international action. More than fifty years later,

Canada's major commitment to the US-led "War on Terror" was a naval Task Group (TG). This

involvement, unlike the Korean War commitment, represented the significant contribution of a

middle-power nation playing its rightful and recognized part in international affairs. In the second

half of the twentieth century, Canada, as neither a Great Power nor a small state, steadfastly

staked a place in world affairs as a middle power, enjoying a level of influence previously

unknown to non-Great Powers but one which has come to be accepted as appropriate for states

with middle-power standing. Bracketing Canadian development, as well as supporting it

throughout, was the activity of the Canadian Navy.

It is not coincidental that the emergence and continued perception of Canada as a middle

power coincides with naval effort. Much as sea power has enabled several Great Powers, in our

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[5] Rear Admiral (Ret'd) Fred Crickard, and Gregory Witol, "The Political Uses of Medium Power Navies," Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy: The Canadian Navy and Foreign Policy, Eds. Ann Griffiths, Peter Haydon, and Richard Gimblett (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1998), 245.

[6] As John Ravenhill observes in "Cycles of Middle Power Activism" "… the first author to use the idea of middle or medium power was sixteenth century archbishop of Milan, Giovanni Botero. The modern idea of a middle power, however, Holmes suggests, has its origin in Jan Smuts' 1918 publication, The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion. It was, however, only the persistent Canadian claims to middle power status after 1945 that popularized the concept." (John Ravenhill, "Cycle of Middle Power Activism: Constraint and Choice in Australian and Canadian Foreign Policies," Australian Journal of International Affairs 52.3 (November 1998), 1. 31 January 2003 <http://web26.epnet.com/citation.asp>.)

[7] Paul Painchaud, "Middlepowermanship as an Ideology," Canada's Role as a Middle Power, Ed. J. King Gordon (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1966), 29-35.

maritime world [8] sea power appears to be equally as important to the evolution of middle powers such as Canada by serving as an enabler for middle-rank influence and prosperity. This paper shall establish that sea power has played a significant role in Canada's emergence as a middle power.

This paper comprises three major sections. Section one will examine sea power theory, defining sea power as well as the associated roles and subsidiary functions of navies. Roles and functions relevant to foreign policy support will be emphasized. Foreign policy itself will be examined in section two, which will document Canada's internationalist tradition since 1945 under the leadership of Prime Ministers (PM) Louis St. Laurent, Lester B. Pearson, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Brian Mulroney and Jean Chrétien. This overview of successive foreign policy positions will collectively prove that Canada has pursued the middle-power approach that she proclaimed[9] and for which she is generally recognized.[10] Significantly, given that a universally accepted definition of the term middle power has eluded political scientists and statesmen for over half a century, this paper has no remit to provide one. Instead, section two will characterize Canada's middle-power status by bounding it in foreign policy themes. This will be sufficient to permit a subsequent evaluation of the support afforded to foreign policy endeavours by naval activity in section three. In this section, a survey of Canadian naval activity since the Second World War will be used as the medium linking the tenets of sea power to the particular foreign policy objectives that were supported in each case. Specifically, section three will highlight how Canadian naval activity applied sea power to the advantage of specific foreign policy endeavours,

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[8] The world can be considered to be a "maritime world" in the sense that "over 70 per cent of the world's surface is covered by the sea, 80 per cent of countries have a coastline and most of the world's population live within 300 miles of the coast." (Jane's Amphibious Warfare Capabilities (Coulsdon, UK: Jane's Information Group, 2000), 1. Quoted from Canada, Department of National Defence [DND], Leadmark: The Navy's Strategy for 2020 (Ottawa: DND, 2001), 2.)

[9] Ravenhill, 1.

[10] Kim Richard Nossal, The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1985), 12.

which, in turn, contributed to Canada's international status. In three sections, therefore, the significant role of sea power in Canada's emergence as a middle power will be established.

This methodology necessitates some assumptions. The most significant are the assumptions that Canada is a middle power and that vested in middle-power status is appropriate influence within the hierarchy of states. A significant body of work has debated these subjects.[11] Needlessly expanding on the matters herein would detract appreciably from the emphasis of this paper because it is the nature of sea power's role in support of the nation's status that is being contended rather than the precise nature of Canada's international standing. Therefore, these assumptions permit focus on the relationship between naval activity and foreign policy in order to demonstrate the thesis. Another significant assumption is that direct defence-of-Canada activity falls outside the scope of this paper, despite the impact that such activity may have on Canada's foreign relations. Consequently, the paper focuses on activities in direct support of foreign policy

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[11] As Crickard and Witol observed in 1998, "medium, or middle, powers occupy an ambiguous position within the hierarchy of international society." (Crickard and Witol, 244.) Notwithstanding the numerous workable definitions contributed by a variety of recognized academics and statesmen, Leadmark provides a definition that is satisfactory for the purpose of this paper. Leadmark defines medium power as "a description of behaviour for a state that tends to participate with responsibility and effectiveness in world events within a partnership of like-minded states. It exists when a number of parameters – economic, cultural, intellectual, military, geographical – all point in the same direction, towards a significant autonomy and capacity for self-help in the preservation of national identity and vital interests."(Leadmark, 29.) Regardless, while many disagree as to a completely adequate definition, "what is not an assumption is the existence of medium powers." (Rear Admiral J.R. Hill, Maritime Strategy for Medium Powers [London: Croom Helm, 1986], 218.) Canada, in fact, is often cited as the original middle power (G.R. Berridge and Alan James, A Dictionary of Diplomacy (UK: Palgrav, 2001), 156.) since "only the persistent Canadian claims to middle power status after 1945 … popularized the concept."(Ravenhill, 1.) Moreover, Canada is also an influential middle power. According to a recently produced policy development paper posted on the DFAIT website, for example, many "applaud Canada's middle power foreign policy traditions and recognize Canada's ability to build trust and contribute to conflict resolution in the world. Canada's continued commitment to promoting multilateralism in Washington and elsewhere, and its efforts to support the United Nations system are widely recognized." (Suman Bhattacharyya, "A Way Forward for Canada and the Muslim World: Scenarios and Policy Options," Oct. 2002, 3 Mar. 2003 <www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/cfp-pec/library/muslim-world-report-en.asp?pm=1>) Similarly, Garth Stevenson cited "a survey of foreign journalists, academics, and policy-makers … suggest[ing] that Canada is on the whole viewed favourably." (Garth Stevenson, "The Determinants of Canadian Foreign Policy," De Mackenzie King a Pierre Trudeau. Ed. Paul Painchaud (Quebec: Presses de l'Universite Laval, 1989), 35-53.) Quoted from Commander Batsford, ed. CSN 29 Strategic Studies Department Reading Material (C/SS/CDM303 & CNS 301) (Toronto: CFC Toronto, 2002).) Given these typical observations, it is not surprising that DFAIT has concluded that "Canada occupies a position of leadership among the open, advanced societies which are becoming increasingly influential as world power is dispersing and becoming more defined in economic terms." (Canada, DFAIT, "Canada in the World Main Page: Summary," - , 3 Mar. 2003 <www.dev.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreign_policy/end-world/summary-en.asp>). In short, the body of evidence supports the assumption that Canada is an influential middle power.

that generally involve the use of assets beyond Canada's coastal approaches. Since, as Nicholas Tracy observes, "the fundamental historical motive for state investment in naval forces was for power projection across the sea, and for defence against such foreign aggression,"[12] this paper must differentiate between the two. Hence, substantial activities related to defence and sovereignty protection, such as the 1995 Canadian-Spanish "Turbot War," and bi-lateral Canadian-American (CANUS) continental defence arrangements, such as those exercised during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, will not be discussed. These assumptions are essential to maintaining a tight focus on the relationship between sea power and national status.

As Lieutenant (N) Bruce Fenton observes in his article "Foreign Policies and Naval Forces: A Canadian Perspective," "the foreign policy roles of navies have… not always been acknowledged or fully understood."[13] This paper is intended to address this issue by establishing an appreciation of how a middle power, like the Great Powers of which Mahan and Gray have written, can also exploit sea power for national advantage. Popular acknowledgement of this maxim is essential to the Canadian Navy's claims of legitimacy as a valuable national institution worthy of reinvestment. In a nation where popular support for international engagement runs in the ninety-percentile range,[14] the best answer to Samuel Huntington's question regarding the "function … perform[ed] which obligates society to assume responsibility for your maintenance"[15] is an exposition of the relationship between naval operations and foreign policy implementation. After all, as Commander (Retired) Peter Haydon observes, "a state that upholds

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[12] Nicholas Tracy, Canada's Naval Strategy: Rooted in Experience, MSOP No. 1 (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1995), 1.
[13] Lieutenant (N) Bruce Fenton, "Foreign Policy and Naval Forces: A Canadian Perspective," Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy: The Canadian Navy and Foreign Policy, Eds. Ann Griffiths, Peter Haydon, and Richard Gimblett (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1998), 131.
[14] Canada, DFAIT/CIDA, Canadian Opinions on Foreign Policy, Defence Policy and International Development Assistance 1995 (Ottawa: Insight Canada Research, 1995), 1.
[15] Samuel Huntington, "National Policy and the Transoceanic Navy," United States Naval Institute Proceedings 80.5 (May 1954), 484.

a foreign policy of active internationalism is likely to require that its navy be able to go almost anywhere, function effectively in the face of danger, work with a wide range of other navies, and generally be seen as a symbol of the home state."[16] In this light, this paper is intended to expose the significant role which sea power has played – and continues to play – in Canada's foreign policy implementation.

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[16] Haydon, <u>Sea Power and Maritime Strategy in the 21<u>st</u> Century</u>, 71.

Section 1: Sea Power – Instrument of the State

As observed in Maritime Strategy in a Nuclear Age, the role of sea power as an instrument of the state in circumstances short of war has become "an important declared function of navies and justification for having them."[17] In Force Without War, for example, Barry Blechman and Stephen Kaplan observe that "the navy has been the foremost instrument of US political uses of armed forces: at all times, in all places, and regardless of the specifics of the situation."[18] Their historical analysis of post-Second World War American use of military force short of war reveals that "the USN shared in 177 of the 215 international incidents involving United States forces between 1945 and 1975."[19] These statements attest to the American realization of the utility of sea power and are consistent with Mahan's observation concerning the utility of sea power to Great Powers. The same can be said for middle powers such as Canada. According to James Eayrs, for example, the post-war period has seen that "the major function of the Canadian military establishment has had practically nothing to do with our national security, and practically everything to do with supporting and sustaining our national diplomacy."[20]

Whether or not Eayrs' observation can be more narrowly applied to Canadian Navy employment clearly depends upon the Canadian definition of sea power and its components. This section shall define sea power in a Canadian context and then establish the related roles and functions of naval forces.

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[17] Geoffrey Till, Maritime Strategy in a Nuclear Age (London: MacMillan, 1984), 211.
[18] Barry Blechman, and Stephen Kaplan, Force Without War: US Armed Forces as a Political Instrument (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1978), 39.
[19] Ibid., 38.
[20] James Eayrs, "Military Policy and Middle Power: The Canadian Experience," Canada's Role as a Middle Power, Ed. J. King Gordon (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1966), 69.

Sea power, like diplomacy, has many different interpretations. As Haydon observes, "it is an ambiguous and perhaps a misunderstood term."[21] Traditionally, sea power has been defined as "the ability of a state or group of states to exercise control over the seas and to project power when necessary."[22] Contemporarily, however, sea power has also come to be recognized as including intellectual and economic components. As a result, Leadmark: The [Canadian] Navy's Strategy for 2020, defines sea power as

> the military power that is brought to bear at sea: on the surface of the sea, underneath it or in the air and space above it. A nation's sea power is determined not only by the weapons and armed forces with which it can affect events at sea but also by its merchant marine, its fishing and oceanographic fleets, and its maritime outlook and tradition.[23]

Notwithstanding this broad definition, the root of national sea power remains the military might, which is vested in naval forces that comprise "a state's main instrument of maritime force."[24] This is consistent with the dimensions of trade protection, territorial aggrandisement and influence peddling for which nations have historically exploited "the great commons"[25] because navies are the means by which maritime nations have participated in the application of sea power beyond their jurisdiction. As Haydon observes, "the basic purpose of navies is to act as instruments of state policy on, over and under the oceans, and their primary function has always been, and will remain, the management of violence and lawlessness at sea."[26]

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[21] Haydon, Sea Power and Maritime Strategy in the 21st Century, 28.

[22] Ibid., 37. Rear-Admiral (RCN) Jeffry V. Brock advanced a very similar definition in Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Naval Objectives. (Jeffry V.Brock, Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Naval Objectives (Ottawa: RCN, 1962), 20.)

[23] Leadmark, 29.

[24] George W. Baer, One Hundred Years of Sea Power: The US Navy, 1890-1990 (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1993), 1. Quoted from Haydon, Sea Power and Maritime Strategy in the 21st Century, 36.

[25] Haydon, Sea Power and Maritime Strategy in the 21st Century, 30.

[26] Ibid., 37.

In Navies and Foreign Policies, Ken Booth establishes the now well-accepted concept of naval use of the sea as being comprised of three intertwined roles – military, diplomatic and policing - that he names the trinity.[27] The military role of navies is the legitimate and disciplined use of military force. The military role serves as the foundation of the trinity because "it is a navy's ability to threaten and use force which gives meaning to its other modes of action."[28] The diplomatic role involves the exploitation of the military character of the navy in support of foreign policy ventures. Moreover, as Laura Higgins observes in Canadian Naval Operations in the 1990s: Selected Case Studies:[29]

> The diplomatic role of navies is the use of naval forces to achieve political objectives, and these diplomatic actions take place under conditions short of formally declared war. Navies conduct diplomatic roles when they augment and support state policy in particular circumstances – their potential for peace or hostility can be useful in negotiations or in projecting intentions.

The policing role, meanwhile, involves the exercise of sovereignty within a state's jurisdiction. Booth's concept is endorsed as the theoretical basis in Leadmark. However, Canadian doctrine also finds that the model, which was conceived during the Cold War, does not sufficiently recognize the use of force in instances short of war. To compensate, Leadmark notes that Eric Grove's The Future of Sea Power more effectively "illustrates the overlap amongst the different roles which occurs in practice… acknowledging that not all activities involving the use of force could be limited to the military role."[30] From the Booth-Grove model, Canadian doctrine makes further refinements that promulgate revised general roles as well as associated subsidiary functions. The resulting "Leadmark Model" is depicted in Figure 1 below.

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[27] Ken Booth, Navies and Foreign Policies (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979), 15.
[28] Ibid., 16.
[29] Laura J. Higgins, Canadian Naval Operations in the 1990s: Selected Case Studies (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 2002), 7.
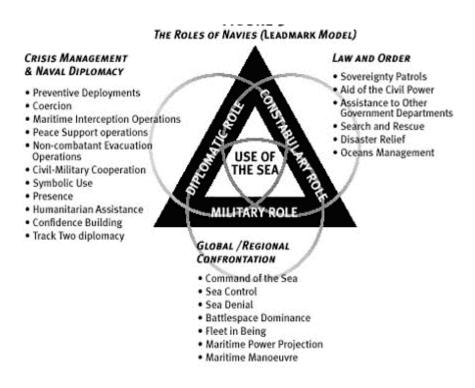[30] Leadmark, 33.

THE ROLES OF NAVIES (LEADMARK MODEL)

CRISIS MANAGEMENT & NAVAL DIPLOMACY
- Preventive Deployments
- Coercion
- Maritime Interception Operations
- Peace Support operations
- Non-combatant Evacuation Operations
- Civil-Military Cooperation
- Symbolic Use
- Presence
- Humanitarian Assistance
- Confidence Building
- Track Two diplomacy

LAW AND ORDER
- Sovereignty Patrols
- Aid of the Civil Power
- Assistance to Other Government Departments
- Search and Rescue
- Disaster Relief
- Oceans Management

DIPLOMATIC ROLE · CONSTABULARY ROLE

USE OF THE SEA

MILITARY ROLE

GLOBAL / REGIONAL CONFRONTATION
- Command of the Sea
- Sea Control
- Sea Denial
- Battlespace Dominance
- Fleet in Being
- Maritime Power Projection
- Maritime Manoeuvre

Figure 1 – The Roles of Navies (<u>Leadmark</u> Model)[31]

Of the three roles of the trinity, the diplomatic role shall be the focus herein. The

diplomatic role has been the most significant in the last half-century because "the experience of

the years after 1945 emphasized the uses of navies short of war."[32] Moreover, from the Canadian

perspective, the military role has been overshadowed because "in 90 years since the Navy formed

there has only been war in 16 of them."[33] Similarly, the constabulary role[34] has been likewise

eclipsed by recognition that "there are no direct threats to Canada's national security."[35] Given

the priority of the diplomatic role, it is not surprising that <u>Leadmark</u> describes the Canadian Navy

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[31] <u>Leadmark</u>, 34.

[32] John Hattendorf, "American Thinking on Naval Strategy 1945-80," <u>Maritime Strategy and the Nuclear Age</u>, Ed. Geoffrey Till (London: MacMillan, 1984), 62.

[33] Richard Gimblett, Introduction, <u>Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy: The Canadian Navy and Foreign Policy</u>, Eds. Ann Griffiths, Peter Haydon and Richard Gimblett (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1998), 1.

[34] <u>Leadmark</u> uses the term "constabulary" in lieu of the term "policing" that Booth employed in his model. <u>Leadmark</u>, 30.

[35] Canada, DND, <u>Defence White Paper 1994</u> (Ottawa: DND, 1994). Quoted from Canada, DND, <u>Maritime Component Programme (MCP) 1: Naval Doctrine Manual</u> (Toronto: CFC Toronto (DDMS), 2001), 5-1/21.

as "a medium global force projection navy" that can "consistently demonstrate a determination to exercise [its capacities] at some distance from home waters…"[36] In other words, as Haydon observes, "from a medium power perspective, … and from a Canadian point of view in particular, naval diplomacy has a greater potential value in protecting national interests than sea control initially."[37] This sentiment is consistent with Richard Gimblett's observation in Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy: The Canadian Navy and Foreign Policy that "these types of operations form the bulk of a navy's peacetime occupation."[38]

According to the Canadian Forces College's Maritime Component Programme (MCP 1) Naval Doctrine Manual, "the diplomatic role has always been an important one for most navies, and has involved a wide variety of operational tasks."[39] This fact is not surprising given the advantages that naval forces possess for such employment. According to Edward Luttwak in The Political Uses of Sea Power, the attributes of navies "render [them] peculiarly useful as instrument[s] of policy even in the absence of hostilities."[40] Warships, the only military units recognized under international law as legal extensions of their parent state, provide their government with a highly symbolic and readily available response option. The urgent deployment of a warship allows a government to signal its position to both foreign and domestic audiences early in a crisis when such a signal is critical. Immediate dispatch is permissible because navies have no basing requirements. Warships bring inherent combat capability that can be employed almost anywhere for extended periods to conduct a variety of tasks across the spectrum of conflict without extensive pre-arrangement. This versatility, coupled with on-scene intelligence reporting, allows warships to help inform national decision-makers and remain

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[36] Leadmark, 44.
[37] Haydon, Sea Power and Maritime Strategy in the 21st Century, 60.
[38] Gimblett, Introduction, Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy, 2.
[39] MCP 1, 4-10/39.
[40] Edward N. Luttwak, The Political Uses of Sea Power (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1974), 1.

responsive to their direction. As <u>Leadmark</u> observes, "the ability of a navy to stand off a foreign shore for an indefinite period with substantial combat capability cannot be matched."[41] Another advantage of naval forces is that they are easily committed for significant value and also easily withdrawn without embarrassment, thereby allowing a nation to "take as much or as little of the war as [it] will."[42] The final significant advantage that naval forces enjoy in supporting foreign policy is that navies, through their shared use of the "great commons"[43] with other navies and through their involvement in three-dimensional warfare, have inherent joint and combined interoperability. These advantages have made navies valuable foreign policy instruments capable of "ideal expressions of political commitment."[44]

Exploiting the foregoing characteristics, naval forces serve as the instrument through which force is legitimately applied in support of a nation's foreign policy. Indeed, according to Haydon, "the ability to project superior military power by sea is an essential component of modern diplomacy."[45] Several renowned theorists have described the manner in which navies exploit their latent military capability to support diplomatic overture across the spectrum of conflict. Their contributions have defined the Canadian doctrinal position concerning the categories and subsidiary functions of the diplomatic role of the Canadian Navy.

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[41] <u>Leadmark</u>, 31.

[42] Francis Bacon quoted in Friedman, 4.

[43] David Griffiths' article "Confidence Building At-Sea" in <u>Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy</u> provides an excellent description of what he calls the maritime advantage meaning a number of factors that forge a unique bond between sailors, mariners and navies. Although Griffiths indicates that the maritime advantage is beneficial to Confidence Building Measures (CBM) at-sea – itself a diplomatic role subsidiary function according to the Leadmark role – the case can certainly be made that the advantage has a wider application in the trinity of sea use. (David Griffiths, "Confidence Building At-Sea," <u>Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy: The Canadian Navy and Foreign Policy</u>, Eds. Ann Griffiths, Peter Haydon and Richard Gimblett (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1998), 322.)

[44] Allen G. Sens, "Canadian Defence Policy After the Cold War: Old Dimensions and New Realities," <u>Canadian Foreign Policy</u> 1.3 (Fall 1993), 24.

[45] Haydon, <u>Sea Power and Maritime Strategy in the 21<u>st</u> Century</u>, 28.

Leadmark is the logical source for initial considerations of the categories and functions of

the diplomatic role for two reasons: Firstly, it is current Canadian doctrine; and secondly, as a

recent product, it has adapted the arguments of renowned theorists to reflect the contemporary

circumstance of a "shift [in emphasis] from war-fighting to crisis-management and from

traditional military 'threat-based' planning to a concept of 'response-based' planning."[46] Under

these circumstances, Leadmark sees a diplomatic role for navies because "diplomacy is by

definition 'the management of international relations,' and modern crisis-management often calls

for the controlled capacity for violence (or threat of violence) resident in the fleet."[47] In rejecting

the pejorative term "gunboat diplomacy"[48] as too narrow, Leadmark identifies the diplomatic role

of navies as existing in two "increasingly indistinct"[49] dimensions: "the traditional notion of

naval diplomacy and the overarching concept of crisis-management."[50] Under the banner of these

two dimensions, Leadmark adopts the following functions of navies:[51]

- o **Preventive Deployments** – deployment of forces to contribute to preventing the development of a specific crisis or conflict generally;
- o **Coercion** – the use of force, or the threat of force to persuade an opponent to adopt a certain pattern of behaviour against their wishes;
- o **Maritime Interdiction Operations (MIO)** – the surveillance, interception and, if necessary, boarding of commercial vessels to verify, re-direct or impound their cargoes in support of the enforcement of economic sanctions;
- o **Peace Support Operations (PSO)** – a generic term, describing operations designed not to defeat an aggressor, as in the case of war, but rather to assist diplomatic and humanitarian activities to achieve a long-term political

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[46] Haydon, Sea Power and Maritime Strategy in the 21st Century, 11.

[47] Leadmark, 36.

[48] James Cable is credited with defining gunboat diplomacy as "the use or threat of limited naval force, otherwise than as an act of war, in order to secure advantage or to avert loss, either in the furtherance of an international dispute or else against foreign nationals within the territory or the jurisdiction of their own state." (James Cable, Gunboat Diplomacy 1919-1991: Political Applications of Limited Naval Force (London: MacMillan, 1994), 10.)

[49] Leadmark, 38.

[50] Leadmark accepts the Royal Navy's BR1806 definition of "naval diplomacy [as] the use of naval force in support of diplomacy to support, persuade, deter or compel." Leadmark, 37. See also Great Britain, Admiralty, The Fundamentals of British Maritime Doctrine BR 1806 (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1999).

[51] Leadmark, 38-40.

settlement. The five forms of peace support operations include preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace-enforcement and post-conflict peace building;

o **Non-combatant Evacuation Operations (NEO)** – an operation to relocate, to a place of safety, non-combatants threatened in a foreign country;

o **Civil Military Cooperation (CIMIC)** – all action and measures undertaken by a military commander which concern the relationship between a military force and the government, civil agencies or civilian population in the areas where the military force is stationed or employed;

o **Symbolic use** – a form of naval diplomacy in which naval forces can be used purely to signal a message to a specific government, while not in themselves posing any threat to an opponent or providing significant assistance to a friend;

o **Presence** – the exercise of naval diplomacy in a general way involving deployments, port visits, exercising and routine operating in areas of interest to declare interest, reassure friends and allies, and to deter;

o **Humanitarian Assistance** – activities conducted by military forces, mostly in urgent circumstances, to relieve human suffering, especially when local or governmental authorities are unable, or possibly unwilling, to provide adequate aid to the population. Humanitarian aid can take the form of protection against epidemics, provision of food aid, medical aid or assistance in public health efforts such as re-establishing essential infrastructures, with or without the consent of the State, if sanctioned by a UN resolution;

o **Confidence Building Measures (CBM)** – steps taken by past, present or potential adversaries to create a positive change in their security relationship by establishing trust and reducing the risks inherent in misunderstanding or miscalculation. Examples include agreements to prevent incidents at sea, such as the US-USSR agreement of 1972 (eventually followed by a separate Canada-USSR agreement of 1989), prior notification of major military activities, inviting observers to witness exercises and, ultimately, active cooperation; and

o **Track Two Diplomacy** – interaction among people from adversarial groups or nations, intended to explore issues and solutions on an informal and unofficial basis. Typically, this takes the form of academic conferences in which, for example, military officers, government officials and academics participate as private individuals rather than as official representatives.

Not surprisingly, as <u>Leadmark</u> alludes, the evolution of Canadian doctrine has been consistent with Allied doctrine. The RN's <u>The Fundamentals of British Maritime Doctrine</u> (<u>BR1806</u>), for example, describes the four underlying functions of naval diplomacy as follows:[52]

o **Preventive Deployment** - deployment of forces to avert a conflict;

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[52] <u>BR1806</u> quoted from Gimblett, Introduction, <u>Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy</u>, 3.

- **Coercion** - the use of force, or the threat of force to persuade an opponent to adopt a certain pattern of behaviour, against his wishes;
- **Symbolic Use** - the use of forces purely to signal a message to a specific government while not in themselves posing any threat to an opponent or providing significant assistance to a friend; and
- **Presence** - the exercise of naval diplomacy in a general way involving the deployments, port visits, exercising and routine operating in areas of interest to declare interest, reassure friends and allies and to deter.

The consistency of Allied doctrine stems logically from the pioneering theories relating navies and foreign policy which James Cable, Edward Luttwak, Ken Booth and others have produced. The original landmark in the field of naval diplomacy was Cable's 1971 Gunboat Diplomacy, which provides four definitive functions or categories of naval diplomacy:[53]

- **Definitive** - the use of local force to create or remove a fait accompli. The government embarking on such an act should have a reasonable expectation that the force initially employed will be sufficient to achieve the specific purpose originally envisaged without regard to the reaction of the victim;
- **Purposeful** - to change the policy or character of a foreign government. Force in itself does not do anything, rather it induces someone else to take a decision that would not otherwise have been taken;
- **Catalytic** - to stand nearby to take immediate advantage of a changing situation; and
- **Expressive -** to emphasize attitudes, to lend verisimilitude to otherwise unconvincing actions, or to provide an outlet for emotions.

Luttwak, like Cable, wrote in the 1970s when the world had seen more than two decades of "the role of force short of war,"[54] but found that "[the] concepts, and even [the] definitions, for coping with the multiple political uses of armed force [remained] cloudy and misleading."[55] In his contribution to the definition of the diplomatic use of sea power, Luttwak defined the distinct

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[53] Cable quoted in Gimblett, Introduction, Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy, 3-4.
[54] Robert Osgood, Introduction, The Political Uses of Sea Power, By Edward N. Luttwak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1974), vi.
[55] Ibid.

modes in which political effects are generated by naval forces.[56] He proposed that armed suasion

at sea consisted of latent naval suasion in the forms of deterrent and supportive modes and active

naval suasion in the forms of supportive and coercive modes. According to Luttwak, a typology

for the political application of naval power would consist of the following elements: [57]

- o **Active Suasion** - effects evoked by the deliberate exercise of armed suasion where the intention is to elicit a given response from a specified party [and employed in one of two forms:]
  - o **Deterrent Mode** – [which] sets a series of tacit limits on the actions that may have otherwise been considered desirable or, at any rate, feasible; [and]
  - o **Coercive Mode** – [which] uses the direct threat; [and]
- o **Latent Suasion**: the undirected, and hence possibly unintended, reactions evoked by naval deployments maintained on a routine basis [and employed in one of two forms:]
  - o **Deterrent Mode** - [which] sets a series of tacit limits on the actions that may have otherwise been considered desirable or, at any rate, feasible; [and]
  - o **Supportive Mode** – [which] reminds allies and clients of the capabilities that can be brought to their aid.

As discussed, Booth's contribution to the definition of the diplomatic role of navies was <u>Navies</u>

<u>and Foreign Policy</u> in which he provided lists of subsidiary functions to the components of his

trinity. He proposed, for example, that the diplomatic functions consisted of three subcategories

and subsidiary policy objectives as follows:[58]

- o **Negotiation From Strength** -
  - o Reassure and strengthen allies and associates;
  - o Reassure and strengthen friendly governments threatened by serious internal challenge;
  - o Reassure and strengthen friendly governments fearing external attack;
  - o Change the behaviour of friendly governments when the latter are facing the threat of external attack;
  - o Signal 'business as usual' during a crisis;

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[56] Luttwak, 2.
[57] Ibid., 11, 13, and 25.
[58] Booth, 17-18.

- Support or threaten force from the sea to support friendly governments contemplating acquisitive military action;
- Improve bargaining strength;
- Threaten force from the sea to support policy; and
- Improve one's ability to affect the course of specific diplomatic negotiations; and
- **Manipulation -**
  - Manipulate bargaining positions within an alliance;
  - Demonstrate support to different countries;
  - Gain or increase access to new countries;
  - Build up foreign navies and create proxy threats;
  - Create a degree of naval dependency; and
  - Provide standing demonstrations of naval power in distant waters to establish the right to be interested; and
- **Prestige -**
  - Provide psychological reassurances for the home country;
  - Project a favourable general image of one's country; and
  - Project an image of impressive naval force.

Peter Haydon led the Canadian contributions to the body of theoretical work in the subject. His Sea Power and Maritime Strategy in the 21st Century endorses Cable's study and advocates an update by asserting that "with navies being used ever more diversely to support government foreign policy initiatives, there is a need to add three more forms of employment into the naval diplomacy mission."[59] His additions are confidence building, support of economic sanctions and support of trade. The first two of these have been incorporated outright into the Leadmark doctrine and the last has been adopted under a different title.

Collectively, the contributions and influences of these theorists are evident in Table 1, which shows how the various models compare to the functions that the Leadmark model assigns to the diplomatic role. Notwithstanding the plethora of descriptive categories that the theoretical works provide, only the Leadmark functions will be employed for discussion in section three because it is most appropriate to employ the Canadian doctrinal terms in Canadian case studies.

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[59] Haydon, Sea Power and Maritime Strategy in the 21st Century, 56.

Leadmark	BR1806	Cable	Luttwak	Booth	Haydon
Preventive Deployment	Preventive deployment	Definitive Force	Active Supportive	Negotiation from Strength	
		Catalytic Force		Manipulation	
Coercion	Coercion	Purposeful Force	Active Coercive – Compellence	Negotiation from Strength	
			Active Coercive – Deterrence	Manipulation	
Symbolic Use	Symbolic	Catalytic Force	Latent Deterrent	Prestige	
			Latent Supportive		
Presence	Presence	Expressive Force	Latent Deterrent	Prestige	Support of Trade
			Latent Supportive	Manipulation	
Maritime Interdiction Operation (MIO)					Support of Sanctions
Peace Support Operations (PSO)				Negotiation from Strength	
Non-Combatant Evacuation (NEO)					
Civil-Military Cooperation					
Humanitarian Assistance					
Confidence-Building Measures (CBM)				Manipulation	CBM
Track Two Diplomacy					

Table 1 – A Comparison of The Theories of the Subsidiary Functions of the Diplomatic Role

In addition to the diplomatic role of navies, a brief discussion about the military role in support of foreign policy is also useful. Despite its position as the foundation of the trinity of naval roles, the military role is subordinated to the diplomatic in relation to foreign policy endeavours because the diplomatic functions have a wider spectrum of applicability than do the military functions alone. This subordination is the result of the fact that "there are many legitimate applications of limited naval force in support of a nation's foreign policy … in actions short of war."[60] Nonetheless, there is a need for consideration of the impact on foreign policy of the military role in its own right. Since the Second World War, for example, the Canadian Navy has performed its specific military roles on at least three occasions: The Korean War, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the Gulf War. Clearly, if the Canadian case is indicative, then it can be said

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[60] Leadmark, 36.

that an international community intent on crisis-management will occasionally find itself

embroiled in conflict in which military roles will eclipse the diplomatic, as they did in the Gulf

War.[61] Therefore, in addition to the diplomatic, the military roles of navies must also be

understood as a precursor to a survey of sea power's impact on foreign policy.

The military role of navies is the legitimate and disciplined use of military force.

<u>Leadmark</u>

In the increasingly complex and dangerous "New World Order"[66] that has helped promote the utility of naval diplomatic roles, maritime power projection has also been emphasized. Hence, as Haydon observes, "in recent times, the power projection mission has come to symbolize 'joint' (multi-service) operations and has acquired a crisis-management application in intervention operations requiring less than full war-fighting procedures to achieve the aim.[67] This broader utility of power projection from the sea in contemporary circumstances is the basis of the US naval strategy Sea Power 21, demonstrating the continued relevance of the military role of navies in foreign policy support.

In this section, the theory and doctrine of sea power have been identified to facilitate the discussion of the practical application of sea power in Canadian foreign policy that will follow. It has been revealed that sea power includes military, economic and intellectual components. However, the traditional core element of military might vested in naval forces was cited as the one uniquely relevant to this particular survey because, as Gimblett captured in Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy, "in essence, a navy provides its government a range of options in the exercise of its foreign policy."[68] This range of options emerges from the attributes that naval forces bring to the variety of roles and subsidiary functions that they can perform. In keeping with Booth's observation in Navies and Foreign Policy that "[the] presentation of naval functions as a trinity should not be taken to mean that each part is of equal importance,"[69] the diplomatic role and its functions have been emphasized as particularly relevant to considerations of foreign

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[66] Rear Admiral (Ret'd) Fred Crickard and Lieutenant-Commander (Ret'd) Richard Gimblett, "The Navy as an Instrument of Middle Power Foreign Policy: Canada in Korea 1950 and the Persian Gulf 1990," Maritime Forces in Global Security: Comparative Views of Maritime Strategy as We Approach the 21st Century, Eds. Ann Griffiths, and Peter Haydon (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1995) 335.
[67] Haydon, Sea Power and Maritime Strategy in the 21st Century, 51.
[68] Gimblett, Introduction, Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy, 5.
[69] Booth, 17.

policy and sea power. This emphasis has been placed on "the diplomatic use of navies – often pejoratively referred to as 'gunboat diplomacy' – … [because] these types of operations form the bulk of a navy's peacetime occupation."[70] Yet recognition of the military role as both a foundation in the trinity of naval roles and of itself reflects the theoretical – if not practical – significance of the wartime application of force to support foreign policy. Having examined the application of sea power in foreign policy from a theoretical and doctrinal sense, therefore, the practical application may be examined.

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[70] Gimblett, Introduction, <u>Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy</u>, 2.

Section 2: Canadian Foreign Policy – Intentions of the State

In addition to an appreciation of the tenets of sea power, an understanding of the principles and policy themes of Canadian foreign policy is required to allow an assessment of the role that sea power has had in Canada's emergence as a middle power. After all, "it is this international dimension which … [is] the basis for the CF mission as an instrument of Canadian foreign policy…."[71] This section shall review Canadian foreign policy since the Second World War.

The Second World War significantly altered the direction of Canadian foreign policy. Having learned the cost of an isolationist policy, Canada emerged from the war determined to capitalize upon its sacrifices and experiences to exploit its hard-won wartime status. However, Canada also recognized that despite its gains, it was still not a great power.[72] Moreover, Canada also had no desire for such status if its cost was the commitment of great resources in order to maintain significant military establishments. Instead, Canada sought to develop both the nation and the community of states to which it belonged. Canada adopted an internationalist outlook.

In balancing the domestic and external imperatives, PM Mackenzie King defined the appropriate international role in an address to the House of Commons in 1943:

> The strong bonds which have linked the United Nations into a working model of cooperation must be strengthened and developed for even greater use in the years of peace…. The time is approaching, however, when even before victory is won the concept of the United Nations will have to be embodied in some form of international organization. On the one hand, authority in international affairs must not be concentrated exclusively in the largest powers. On the other, authority cannot be divided equally among all of the thirty or more sovereign states that comprise the united nations, or all effective authority will disappear. … In the view of the government, effective representations on these bodies should neither be restricted to the largest states nor necessarily extended to all states. Representation should be determined on a functional basis which will

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[71] Sens, 27.
[72] Ravenhill, 1.

admit to full membership those countries, large or small, which have the greatest contributions to make to the particular object in question…. Some compromise must be found between the theoretical equality of states and the practical necessity of limiting representation on international bodies to a workable number. That compromise can be discovered, especially in economic matters, by the adoption of the functional principle of representation…[73]

His speech defined the principle of functionalism under which Canada would assert her newfound internationalism.[74] Functionalism demanded that states such as Canada be recognized as valuable participants in the post-war world order and, more importantly, that such states recognize that their participation was both a right and a responsibility. Functionalism declared that the post-war world order would not be the Great Powers' alone to define. As John Ravenhill observed in "Cycles of Middle Power Activism," "Ottawa used the idea [of the middle power] to justify its claim that countries should be accorded a role in international organizations proportionate to their capacity to contribute resources and expertise."[75] This concept was promoted primarily through strong support for the creation of a formal United Nations (UN) to replace the burgeoning community of "united nations"[76] that King and others had increasingly referred to during the Second World War. The UN provided a foundation on which Canada's middle power foreign policy could be built.

Once the UN was created, Canada required a more detailed foreign policy platform to guide her actions. Canada's first Secretary of State for External Affairs,[77] Louis St. Laurent, provided the necessary detail by defining what would become enduring hallmarks of Canadian

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[73] Canada, House of Commons, Debates, 9 July 1943, 4555-58. Quoted from J.L. Granatstein, ed., "Mackenzie King on the Functional Principle, 1943," Canadian Foreign Policy: Historical Readings (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), 23-24.

[74] John W. Holmes, "Is there a Future for Middlepowermanship?" Canada's Role as Middle Power. Ed. J. King Gordon (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1966), 14.

[75] Ravenhill, 1.

[76] "Mackenzie King on the Functional Principle, 1943," 23.

[77] Upon appointment as Secretary of State for External Affairs in September 1946, Louis St. Laurent became the first Cabinet Minister to hold the post of Foreign Minister in Canada. Prior to this appointment, Canada's Prime Minister had always also served as Foreign Minister.

post-war foreign policy in a 1947 policy speech. As David Dewitt and David Leyton-Brown

observe in Canada's International Security Policy, "St. Laurent's speech set the tone for Canada's

foreign policy over the next decade, and particularly Canadian involvement in international

security issues."[78] The policy was encapsulated in a number of guiding principles that ultimately

recounted the functional principle by declaring "however great or small that role may be, we

must play it creditably. We must act with maturity and consistency, and with a sense of

responsibility."[79] The principles included:[80]

- national unity;
- political liberty in that, as St. Laurent remarked, "we believe that the greatest safeguard against the aggressive policies of any government is the freely expressed judgement of its own people… [and that] we have consistently sought and found our friends among those of like political traditions";[81]
- the rule of law;
- the values of a Christian civilization and the conception of human values;
- willingness to accept international responsibilities because "the security for this country lies in the development of a firm structure of international organization";[82]
- participation in constructive international organization/action;
- understanding the limitations upon influence of any secondary power; and
- special recognition of Canadian relationships with the Commonwealth, the UK, the US and France. [83]

According to Kim Richard Nossal in The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy, St. Laurent's

classic statement of post-war Canadian internationalism can be summarized as comprising "five

[major] principles: national unity; political liberty; the rule of law in international affairs; the

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[78] David B. Dewitt, and David Leyton-Brown, "Canada's International Security Policy," Canada's International Security Policy (Scarborough: Prentice Hall Canada, 1995), 6.

[79] "The Foundation of Canadian Policy in World Affairs." An address by Right Hon. Louis St. Laurent, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Inaugurating the Gray Foundation Lectureship at Toronto University, January 13, 1947 Department of External Affairs, Statements and Speeches, No. 47/2, 13 January 1947, 3-11. Quoted from J.L. Granatstein, ed., "St. Laurent on the Principles of Canadian Policy, 1947," Canadian Foreign Policy: Historical Readings (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), 33.

[80] Ibid., 26-31.

[81] Ibid., 27.

[82] Ibid., 28.

[83] Ibid., 26-31.

values of a Christian civilization; and the acceptance of international responsibility."[84] These principles have continued to remain at the heart of Canadian foreign policy.

The final contributor to the foundation of Canada's post-Second World War internationalism was Lester B. Pearson. Pearson served as Secretary St. Laurent's Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs from 1946 to 1947, as PM St. Laurent's Foreign Minister in 1948, and as Prime Minister himself from 1963 to 1968. Owing to the close relationship between Pearson and St. Laurent and in recognition of Pearson's ardent support for St. Laurent's five principles, Pearson has been equally associated with the classic statement of Canadian post-war internationalism. However, as Under-Secretary and later as PM, Pearson refined the defining principles of Canadian foreign policy to include the precepts of "responsibility, multilateralism, commitment, and international institutions."[85]

Ultimately, King's functional principle, St. Laurent's guiding principles, and Pearson's precepts collectively provided the enduring foundation of post-war Canadian foreign policy. In concert they shaped the Canadian perception of the middle-power status that "subsequently became central to the establishment of a sense of Canadian national identity in foreign affairs."[86] As Nossal observes, "what started out as a description of rank [based on the functional principle] underwent a gradual metamorphosis in the decade after the war… [when] middle power also denoted a certain style in foreign policy," one that embodied the principles and precepts of the St. Laurent-Pearson transcripts.[87] Canadian diplomat Daryl Copeland describes Canada's post-war foreign policy as follows: [88]

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[84] Nossal, 55.
[85] Ibid., 54.
[86] Ravenhill, 1.
[87] Nossal, 12.
[88] Daryl Copeland, "Foreign Policy, Foreign Service and the 21st Century: The Challenge of Globalization," Canadian Foreign Policy 4.3 (Winter 1997), 107.

> … born of notions of Pearsonian internationalism, middle-power diplomacy, and a vision of Canada as an "honest broker" or "helpful fixer," this warm and fuzzy vision informed Canadian foreign policy for at least a generation or more after the Second World War.

Fortunately, since universal consensus has not emerged despite more than 50 years of usage, a more precise definition of middle power is not required for this examination and will not be provided. Instead, it is sufficient to recognize that Canadian middlepowermanship is not so much defined as it is bounded by the contributions of King, St. Laurent, and Pearson. Collectively, their contributions address both aspects of the term middle-power: status, which is embedded in King's functional principle; and style, which is embodied in the guiding principles and precepts of St. Laurent and Pearson. From this foundation, Canadian middlepowermanship has been shaped by a remarkably consistent series of foreign policy themes by successive governments.

Notwithstanding the enduring concept of middle-power status, complete with its functional principle and the St. Laurent-Pearson defining principles and precepts,[89] Canada's foreign policy has been updated, consolidated, and published as a statement of policy several times since 1947. The statements of the three lengthy mandates that followed the Pearsonian era are relevant.

In 1970, Pierre Elliott Trudeau's Liberal government produced the first significant foreign policy review since St. Laurent's initial definition. Prominent among Trudeau's revisions was an expression of nationalization[90] that saw the inclusion of sovereignty incorporated into Canada's foreign policy themes for the first time. Economic and environmental components were also

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[89] In the DFAIT publication Foreign Policy Framework 1991 it is claimed, "For over fifty years, Canada's foreign policy has shown remarkable consistency." (Canada, DFAIT, Foreign Policy Framework 1991 (Canada: DFAIT, 1991), 1].)

[90] Michael Tucker, Canadian Foreign Policy: Contemporary Issues and Themes (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980), 9-10.

Trudeau initiatives. In total, Trudeau's <u>Foreign Policy for Canadians</u> proclaimed six major policy themes:[91]

- o fostering economic growth;
- o safeguarding sovereignty and independence;
- o working for peace and security;
- o promoting social justice;
- o enhancing the quality of life; and
- o ensuring a harmonious natural environment.

Significantly, "the quest for countervailing influences to the American presence in Canada, while not given explicit recognition in the form of a policy 'guideline' until the enunciation of the Third Option strategy in 1972, was always a dominant theme in the foreign policy of the Trudeau era."[92] Regardless, the new foreign policy themes "dismissed Canada's post-war diplomacy because it sought a role as a helpful fixer doing good throughout the world regardless of Canada's own interests."[93] In the words of Dewitt and Leyton-Brown, "the election of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's majority Liberal Government in the spring of 1968 ushered in a period during which the … [St Laurent-Pearson] … approach to Canada's place in the international community was examined and altered, … [although] he [would later] reverse his earlier position."[94] While ultimately "Trudeau's government did not abandon those fundamentals of post-war internationalism that it had criticized so ardently in 1970,"[95] it did introduce additional themes for Canadian foreign policy during the 1970s.

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[91] Canada, DEA, <u>Foreign Policy for Canadians</u> (Ottawa: DEA, 1970), 5-30. Quoted from J.L. Granatstein, ed., "Foreign Policy For Canadians, 1970," <u>Canadian Foreign Policy: Historical Readings</u> (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), 54.
[92] Tucker, 10.
[93] Canada, DFAIT, "1968-1984: The Trudeau Years," <u>Canada and the World: A History</u> (Ottawa: DFAIT, 2002), 4 October 2002, 3 March 2003 <www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/departmet/history/canada9-en.asp>.
[94] Dewitt and Leyton-Brown, 7.
[95] Nossal, 59.

In 1985, fifteen years after the last comprehensive overhaul of Canada's foreign policy, the Progressive Conservative government of Brian Mulroney, which "possessed a strong mandate for renewal and change,"[96] produced a discussion paper[97] on Canadian foreign policy. Entitled Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada's International Relations, the Green Paper identified six revised policy themes:[98]

- o unity;
- o sovereignty and independence;
- o justice and democracy;
- o peace and security;
- o economic prosperity; and
- o the integrity of our natural environment.

A Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons conducted subsequent public hearings on the paper before submitting a report to Parliament entitled Independence and Internationalism in which recommendations for Canadian foreign policy were forwarded for consideration. Thereafter, as Dan Middlemiss and Joel Sokolsky observe in Canadian Defence: Decision and Determinants, "rather than producing a formal White Paper on foreign policy, in December 1986 the Department of External Affairs issued a point-by-point response to the Joint Committee report, which then served as the Mulroney government's statement of foreign policy."[99] The response, entitled Canada's International Relations, adopted a "decidedly Pearsonian tone"[100] in amplifying the original Green Paper themes. Significant as well was the pervasive undertone of the Mulroney government that emphasized improved Canadian-American

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[96] Joe Clark, Forward, Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada's International Relations. (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1985), 3.

[97] In keeping with Parliamentary tradition, a discussion paper is called a "Green Paper." Similarly, an official policy statement is called a "White Paper."

[98] Canada, DFAIT, Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada's International Relations (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1985), 3.

[99] Dan Middlemiss, and Joel Sokolsky, Canadian Defence: Decisions and Determinants (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Canada, 1989), 45.

[100] Ibid., 46.

(CANUS) relations.[101] The Mulroney government's <u>Foreign Policy Framework 1991</u> re-committed to the same themes but provided the consolidated listing which follows: [102]

- o strengthening cooperative security;
- o creating sustainable prosperity; and
- o securing democracy and respect for human values.

In 1995, Jean Chrétien's majority Liberal government conducted the most recent revision of Canada's foreign policy themes. Chrétien's <u>Canada in the World: Government Statement</u> was written in an era "when the world [was] changing rapidly"[103] and it attempted to reinvigorate the role of Canada as a middle power[104] by committing "to ensuring that Canada will continue to do its fair share for the world, maintaining our proud and uniquely Canadian contribution to global governance and prosperity."[105] The statement further revised and simplified foreign policy themes as follows:[106]

- o the promotion of prosperity and employment;
- o the protection of our security, within a stable global framework; and
- o the projection of Canadian values and culture, "…[including] respect for human rights, democracy, the rule of law, and the environment"[107]

Under Chrétien, Canada actively re-embraced the middle-power role while also emphasizing the economic driver of Canada's foreign policy themes.

The Chrétien government's foreign policy themes attest to the enduring nature of internationalism in Canadian foreign policy since the Second World War that is reflected in Table

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[101] Desmond Morton, <u>A Military History of Canada</u> (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990), 265.
[102] <u>Foreign Policy Framework 1991</u>, 18.
[103] Canada, DFAIT, <u>Canada in the World: Government Statement</u> (Ottawa: DFAIT, 1995), i.
[104] Ravenhill, 5.
[105] <u>Canada in the World</u>, iii.
[106] Ibid., 10.
[107] Ibid., ii.

2. This table summarizes the principles and themes of the period's major mandates that have been presented. Although policy themes have been enduring, their associated titles have not. The St.Laurent - Pearson theme of "the Rule of Law," for example, has been incorporated under four different banners through the half-century. For ease of reference in the case studies that follow in section three, Table 2 promulgates appropriate composite titles for the various iterations of common themes. Nine such composite titles capture the essence of Canadian foreign policy since 1945. Of the nine, only one – functionalism – addresses what has herein been described as the status aspect of middlepowermanship. Functionalism has been the steadfast anchor of Canadian middlepowermanship since entrenched under St. Laurent, and has left little to differentiate between successive mandates. The remaining eight composite themes are, however, more appropriately considered as defining the style of middlepowermanship, since the relative priorities assigned to each by respective administrations can be seen as flavouring Canadian internationalism of the day. When considered from the perspective of these composite themes, the subtle variations in the demeanour of middlepowermanship pursued by respective mandates is evidenced. It is convenient, therefore, to characterize the mandates by the one or two composite themes that the mandate prioritized. St. Laurent's mandate, for example, is most defined by the status aspect of functionalism because this mandate was charged with the premiere post-war enactment of the functional principle. Following St. Laurent's successful entrenchment of functionalism, Pearson championed the composite themes of responsibility and multilateralism, thereby addressing the style of middlepowermanship in what was essentially the first such concerted effort in the post-war period. Under Trudeau, the style of Canadian internationalism demoted responsibility and multilateralism in favour of the composite theme of sovereignty. Trudeau also introduced the element of prosperity into the Canadian internationalist style.

Mulroney's mandate attempted to balance a renewed emphasis on the Pearsonian theme of responsibility in addition to that of prosperity. Finally, internationalism under Chrétien has emphasized the composite themes of prosperity, multilateralism, and Canadian values as its style. Interestingly, while the merits and relative successes of the various styles may be debated, collectively the efforts have staked a consistent position and path for Canada. Despite the fact that the major themes have been re-prioritized and adjusted over five decades in order to produce variations of middle-power style, the overall consistency of foreign policy principles and policies has provided a steady target upon which the instrument of sea power could act. Having identified the principles and policy themes that have guided Canadian participation in world affairs over the past five decades, it is now possible to consider how sea power served as an instrument in supporting the declared foreign policies of successive governments and thus Canada's emergence as a middle power.

St. Laurent	Pearson	Trudeau	Mulroney	Chrétien	THEME COMPOSITE TITLE	STATUS/ STYLE
Functional Principle (PM King)					FUNCTIONALISM	STATUS
Acceptance of Responsibility	International Institutions	Peace & Security	Peace & Security	Security	RESPONSIBILITY (Cooperative Security)	
	Responsibility					
	Commitment				MULTILATERALISM (Cooperative Security)	
	Multilateralism					
Political Liberty		Social Justice	Justice & Democracy	Canadian Values & Culture	DEMOCRACY	
Rule of Law						
Values of Christian Civilization		Quality of Life			CANADIAN VALUES	STYLE
Unity		Sovereignty & Independence	Unity / Sovereignty & Independence)		UNITY	
					SOVEREIGNTY	
		Economic Growth	Economic Prosperity	Prosperity & Employment	PROSPERITY	
		Environment	Environment	Canadian Values & Culture	ENVIRONMENT	

Table 2 – A Summary of Canadian Foreign Policy Principles and Themes Since 1945

Section 3: Fifty Years of the Canadian Navy – Intentions Through Instruments

Armed with an understanding of the tenets of sea power and post-Second World War

Canadian foreign policy for the conduct of a brief historical survey, one can appreciate that

Canadian foreign policy has been well advantaged by sea power. In fact, as James Eayrs argues

in "Military Policy and Middle Power: The Canadian Experience,"[108]

> The main and overriding motive for the maintenance of the Canadian military
> establishment since the Second World War has little to do with our national
> security as such; … it has had everything to do with underpinning our diplomatic
> and negotiating positions vis-à-vis various international organizations and other
> countries.

Eayrs' statement is particularly applicable to the Navy because, as Crickard suggests in "The

Political Uses of Medium Power Navies," "the Canadian Navy has been in the business of naval

influence politics and naval power politics since 1950."[109] Such employment, in fact, is identified

by the Naval Officers' Association of Canada as one of two main functions of a modern maritime

force.[110] This section speaks to these observations. In relating the tenets of sea power and themes

of foreign policy, this section will review Canadian naval activity since 1945 in order to establish

the significant contribution that the Navy has made in supporting foreign policy.[111] Throughout,

attention shall be drawn to the utility – and indeed the adaptability – of naval activity in support

of the various styles of middlepowermanship pursued by successive governments, the naval

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[108] Eayrs, 70.
[109] Crickard and Witol, 251.
[110] Rear Admiral (Ret'd) Fred Crickard, and Commander (Ret'd) Peter Haydon, <u>Why Canada Needs Maritime Forces</u> (Nepean: Napier, 1994), 1.
[111] This section will not attempt to provide a comprehensive history of the Canadian Navy since 1945. Instead, only those activities relevant in the Navy's role of supporting foreign policy and which are necessary to establish that the navy contributed to significant foreign policy efforts over the past fifty odd years will be discussed. For a complete history of the Canadian navy in the period in question, consult Marc Milner's <u>Canada's Navy: The First Century</u> (Marc Milner, <u>Canada's Navy: The First Century</u> (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).) and <u>The Sea is at Our Gates: The History of the Canadian Navy</u> by Commander (Ret'd) Anthony B. German. (Commander (Ret'd) Tony German, <u>The Sea is at Our Gates: The History of the Canadian Navy</u> (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990).)

involvement in the significant achievements that have constituted Canada's middle-power history, and the voluminous contribution of naval activity in Canada's overall pursuit of middle-power standing.

Following the Second World War, the Canadian Navy, like the other services, entered a period of retrenchment in which manpower and fleet strength were significantly reduced. During this period "the third largest fleet in the world, with over 400 combatants of all types,"[112] was reduced to only 6,800 personnel and an active fleet of one carrier, one operational cruiser, five destroyers and a frigate[113] by 1948. The almost unanimous pre-occupation of the war-torn international community with similar military retrenchment processes and with diplomatic restructuring, provided limited opportunity and even less desire for nations to employ their military in anything but force reduction. In this atmosphere, Canada's first post-war PM, Mackenzie King, made no use of naval forces to bolster Canada's burgeoning internationalist foreign policy. His predecessor, St. Laurent, would do so first.

Although Canada's Korean War commitment is often cited as the first post-war employment of the Navy in support of an internationalist foreign policy, that honour is rightfully bestowed upon the 1949 deployment of *HMCS CRESCENT* to the China Station. Operation CANAVHED 1-49,[114] as the four-month deployment to China was called, deployed *CRESCENT* to Shanghai to evacuate Canadian citizens and assist the Canadian embassy, if necessary, during the final days of the Chinese civil war. This endeavour was significant because Canada found it desirable to demonstrate her independence, self-reliance, and capacity by responding with national forces even though sufficient excess allied capacity existed to accommodate Canadian

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[112] Leadmark, 57.
[113] Commander (Ret'd) A.B. German, "Canada's Navy 1910 to 1985," Canadian Defence Quarterly – Special Marketing Feature, December 1985/January 1986, 26.
[114] Leadmark, C1.

requirements in addition to their own – a service that a youthful Canada had depended upon in the past. The deployment was entirely consistent with the newly minted functional principle, demonstrating Canadian resolve regarding the new foreign policy pillar. As Gimblett cites, "both [St. Laurent and Pearson] were anxious to break with the past and embark upon an interventionist foreign policy, appropriate to the country's growing international standing."[115] Ultimately, in rendering this service to Canadian foreign policy, *CRESCENT* was not required to perform her primary assigned tasks. However, according to the Canadian Ambassador, her contributions to the allied effort nonetheless "enhanced the prestige of Canada out [there]."[116] Therefore, as Leadmark observes, the subsidiary naval function demonstrated in Op CANAVHED 1-49 was presence. Gimblett provides the more detailed assessment that:

> The delicate negotiations on the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the desire to establish a true Commonwealth of countries out of the crumbling British Empire, and the overriding principle of middle-power functionalism all were factors in the [*CRESCENT]* decision – a perfect example of expressive gunboat diplomacy.

Clearly, *CRESCENT*'s 1949 employment on the China Station demonstrated for the first time in the post-war period that naval activity could significantly endorse foreign policy. The operation educated Canadian statesmen to the "prestige potential"[117] of national naval forces, setting the tone for the years that would follow. Although a relatively minor deployment, *CRESCENT*'s employment was a significant incident in Canada's middle-power history because it represented the first time that the functional principle was exercised following the Second World War.

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[115] Richard Gimblett, "*HMCS Crescent and the Chinese Civil War*," Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy: The Canadian Navy and Foreign Policy, Eds. Ann Griffiths, Peter Haydon, and Richard Gimblett (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1998), 79.
[116] Ibid., 83.
[117] Ibid., 90.

Overshadowing the *CRESCENT* deployment as a foray in foreign policy support was the dispatch of HMC Ships *ATHABASKAN, CAYUGA,* and *SIOUX* from Esquimalt within days of the outbreak of the Korean War. The ships departed Esquimalt on 5 July 1950 and arrived in Korean waters on 30 July, highlighting that "… of the three services, only the [Navy] was in a position to provide an active service force for immediate use."[118] *ATHABASKAN, CAYUGA,* and *SIOUX* were the first of eight Canadian ships that, collectively, provided a continuous and significant Canadian presence for the following five years – three years of war and two years of armistice oversight.[119] This contribution earned the Navy the right to claim status as the first Canadian units in theatre and the last ones out,[120] thereby reemphasizing the utility of naval forces in enabling foreign policy options. In theatre, the Canadian ships performed "blockade duties, shore bombardment, amphibious and evacuation operations as well as escorting aircraft carriers and logistics forces."[121] Moreover, as Commander (Ret'd) German enthusiastically declares in The Sea is at Our Gates, "the UN navy's role [in Korea] was the historic one of projecting land power."[122] Leadmark credits the ships with performing both the military and diplomatic roles through contributions to Allied efforts in "sea control, battlespace dominance, maritime power projection, maritime manoeuvre, MIO, PSO, and humanitarian assistance."[123] The mixture of diplomatic and military role subsidiary functions performed is typical of sea power application in a limited war context. Significantly, although comprising a multi-ship

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[118] Thor Thorgrimsson, and E.C. Russell, Canadian Naval Operations in Korean Waters, 1950-1955 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1965), 3.
[119] As observed on the Veterans Affairs Canada website in which the Canadian contribution to the Korean War is detailed, HMC Ships *CAYUGA, ATHABASKAN, SIOUX, NOOTKA, IROQUOIS, HURON, HAIDA* and *CRUSADER* all served with the Canadian Destroyer Division, Far East during the Korean War. Canada, Veteran Affairs Canada [VAC], "Air and Naval Support" Valour Remembered: Canadians in Korea (Ottawa: VAC, 1998) 6 October 1998, 3 March 2003 <http://vac-acc.gc.ca/general/sub.cfm?source=history/KoreaWar/valour/airnaval>.
[120] Crickard and Witol, 255.
[121] Fenton, 136.
[122] German, The Sea is at Our Gates, 218.
[123] Leadmark, C1.

deployment, the Canadian ships were not employed as a national TG per se and instead served

predominantly as integrated units in British and American formations. While full political

advantage is often undermined by such circumstances, arguably[124] such was not the case here

because participation alone satisfactorily serviced the limited objectives[125] of Canadian

involvement in the Korea War. Specifically, since "the Far East had never been an area in which

Canada had any special national interest,"[126] Canadian participation was focused only on

reemphasizing Canada's newly adopted, independent, internationalist outlook and on promoting

the UN – the foundation of Canada's middle-power foreign policy – as an effective mechanism

for international crisis-management. In pursuit of these objectives, the naval contribution offered

utility and sustainability in addition to immediacy. The rapid response afforded by naval

deployment afforded Canada, as a force contributor, the necessary leverage to help shape the

international response as a UN, not a US, endeavour. By making it clear that the Canadian

contribution was "help to the UN, fulfilling our obligations under the charter, and not help to the

US,"[127] Canada invigorated the international movement[128] to influence the US to act

multilaterally through the UN instead of unilaterally.[129] Crickard summarizes the Canadian

objectives this way:[130]

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[124] A dissenting point of view is presented in the Orr and Crickard article "Canadian Naval Expeditionary Forces." (Katie Orr, and Rear Admiral (Ret'd) Fred Crickard, "Canadian Naval Expeditionary Forces," Maritime Security and Conflict Resolution at Sea in the Post-Cold War Era, Eds. Peter Haydon and Ann Griffiths (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1994), 231.)

[125] According to Desmond Morton, "for St. Laurent and Pearson, Korea was [only] a test of the United Nations and collective security." (Morton, 234.)

[126] Canada, "Canadians in Korea, 1950-1953," - , 3 March 2003 <http://www.korean-war.com/canada.html>

[127] Pearson to St. Laurent, 4 July 1950, in Documents on Canadian External Relations, 16: 1950 (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1996), 49-50. Quoted from Adam Chapnick, "Collaborative Independence: Canadian-American Relations in Afghanistan," International Journal 57.3 (Summer 2002), 343.

[128] According to Deputy Under-Secretary for External Affairs, Escott Reid, "[Canadian] influence in Washington will be in direct ratio to our willingness to do our full share in strengthening the military power of the free world." (Chapnick, 344.)

[129] Canada, DFAIT, "1945-1957: A Divided World, Canada and the World: A History (Ottawa: DFAIT, 2002), 4 October 2002, 3 March 2003 <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/department/history/canada7-en.asp>.

[130] Crickard and Witol, 254-255.

> …the Canadians wanted to distance themselves from the US as well as to win friends to influence American behaviour in the conduct of the war. The UN provided the "safety in numbers" sought by the Canadian government. Canada needed the UN to distance itself from the American adventurism (the view of the former PM, Mackenzie King) and to preserve the integrity of the UN (the view of the "internationalists" led by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Lester Pearson).

Once again Canada's internationalist outlook rooted in the functional principle was validated. In fact, according to a parliamentary committee, the immediate and sustained contribution of forces demonstrated Canadian acceptance of "a substantial measure of responsibility for the preservation of the world order which [Canadians] feel is essential for the security of our way of life and the safety of Canada as a nation."[131] Ultimately, "many observers point to the Korean War as the prototype for future crisis-management operations, making the Canadian naval experience there particularly instructive."[132] Certainly, the Korean War intervention boosted UN prestige because it marked "the first time in history [that] an international organization [had] intervened effectively with a multi-power force to stem aggression."[133] Canada, whose force commitment among 16 nations was exceeded only by the US and the UK, [134] shared the UN's success. As Adam Chapnick observed in International Journal, in Korean War participation "Canada saw itself as a faithful adherent to the UN Charter, a supporter of peace and democracy, and an essential international mediator."[135] In short, participation allowed Canada to affirm her status as a middle power, entrench functionalism in Canadian internationalism, and begin defining an initial approach or style of middlepowermanship that emphasized responsibility. The

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[131] Defence Liaison Division to Wilgress, 9 July 1952, Documents on Canadian External Relations, 18: 1952 (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1990), 1113. Quoted from Chapnick, 344.
[132] Leadmark, 58.
[133] "Canadians in Korea, 1950-1953"
[134] H.H. Herstein, L.J. Hughes, and R.C. Kirbyson, Challenge and Survival: The History of Canada (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 413.
[135] Chapnick, 343.

Canadian Korean War contribution, spearheaded as it was by the Navy, visibly demonstrated

Canada's new internationalism, rooted in the UN mechanism, and effectively demonstrated how

the tenets of sea power contributed to the furtherance of Canadian foreign policy themes of the

day. German put it best: "[The Canadian Navy] had done a first-class job, an important one, for

the UN, for peace, and for Canada."[136]

The strain of "maintaining three destroyers in the mission area [during the Korean War]

was a considerable effort for a navy of only 11 destroyers, of which no more than nine were in

commission during [the] period."[137] This commitment left virtually no spare capacity for

additional commitments. Although the Korean War and the emerging Cold War had spawned a

naval reconstruction programme, it would not produce significant effect upon the Navy's ability

to support foreign policy until the late 1950s. Therefore, it was only once the Korean War

commitment ceased in 1955 that significant naval resources emerged to support new foreign

policy initiatives.

Such an initiative occurred in 1956-57 when the carrier HMCS *MAGNIFICENT* was

rapidly reconfigured for troop transport and afloat headquarters duty and then deployed in short

order to Port Said, Egypt. The deployment supported a Canadian-proposed and Canadian-led,

UN-brokered peace arrangement that won its champion, Lester Pearson, a Nobel Peace Prize, and

that brought both Canada and the UN enhanced reputations.[138] Within 14 days of receiving

sailing orders, *MAGNIFICENT* disembarked over 200 vehicles, hundreds of army personnel and

accompanying stores in support of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), a multinational

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[136] German, The Sea is at Our Gates, 232.
[137] Douglas Thomas, "Maritime Contribution to Peace-Support Operations," Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy: The Canadian Navy and Foreign Policy, Eds. Ann Griffiths, Peter Haydon, and Richard Gimblett (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1998), 188.
[138] Herstein, Hughes, and Kirbyson, 415.

force wedging between the warring factions.[139] Once again the immediacy and flexibility of naval forces in support of foreign policy were highlighted. Moreover, Operation RAPID STEP saw the diplomatic role subsidiary functions of preventive deployment, humanitarian assistance, PSO, and CBM performed.[140] Through the UNEF, St. Laurent and Pearson jointly exercised Canadian middlepowermanship, exhibiting the foreign policy themes of responsibility and multilateralism with which they were associated. Owing primarily to its role as an enabler of the initiative, the Canadian Navy was found again playing a significant role in support of Canadian foreign policy for the final time in St. Laurent's mandate.

Throughout St. Laurent's mandate sea power was sagely exploited in support of foreign policy. Charged to enact the functional principle that it had so loudly espoused, St. Laurent's government deliberately seized the opportunities that the immediacy of naval force employment afforded in order to demonstrate Canada's genuine commitment to an internationalist outlook. With *CRESCENT*'s deployment and the Korean War naval contribution, St. Laurent was able to exercise Canada's rights and responsibilities as an emergent middle power, firmly entrenching the functional principle at the heart of Canada's internationalist foreign policy. His success in doing so was the defining achievement of the St. Laurent mandate's foreign policy, a fact that elevates the significance of the associated naval contribution. Moreover, both events are significant in Canada's middle-power history. Although the CRESCENT deployment was a minor naval operation, its symbolic significance as a premier demonstration of Canada's newly minted internationalism is undeniable. Similarly, given the significance of the UN's success in Korea, Canada's share - achieved in large part as a result of the leverage afforded by the early naval contribution – clearly bolstered her claim to middle-power standing. The significance of

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[139] Thomas, 189-190.
[140] Leadmark, C1.

these events further enhances the claim that the naval contributions contributed significantly to Canada's emergence as a middle power. Of course, in addition to supporting the status aspect of Canada's middlepowermanship during St. Laurent's mandate, naval activity also bolstered the style element when the Navy served as an enabler for the Canadian UNEF contribution. Through the UNEF, which brought great credit to Canada's middle-power record, both St. Laurent and Pearson advanced their visions of Canadian foreign policy, thereby emphasizing responsibility (St. Laurent and Pearson) and multilateralism (Pearson). Although the Navy's contribution to UNEF was small, as an enabler it must rightly share in the prestige that Canada garnered for proposing and leading the force. Through these events, the record shows that naval activity well advantaged St. Laurent's pursuit of an internationalist policy and Canada's emergence as a middle power during the first decade and a half after the Second World War.

John Diefenbaker succeeded St. Laurent as PM in 1957. Perhaps as a result of the indecisiveness that is perceived to have characterized the mandate,[141] Diefenbaker's term provided a brief respite from Canada's post-war internationalist agenda, and so warrants only passing discussion here. Not surprisingly then, between 1957 and 1963 Leadmark records the conduct of only one minor naval mission that was not a direct defence-of-Canada/North America mission. However, planned but not executed were at least 2 operations that would have seen Canadian naval activity off Cuba under UN auspices. The predominant Canadian naval activity on Diefenbaker's watch was the 1962 Cuban missile crisis in which Canada's Navy, performing a direct defence-of-Canada (continental defence) mission, assumed a war-footing practically without government permission. Although falling beyond the scope of this paper,[142] the Crisis

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[141] John Hilliker, "Diefenbaker and Canadian External Relations," in Canadian Foreign Policy Historical Readings (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), 183-197.
[142] Haydon's The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis: Canadian Involvement Reconsidered documents that Canada's Navy played a significant role in the Cuban missile crisis (2) through the implementation of standing bilateral

provided many lessons for the Navy and government alike and it "had lasting effects on Canadian

defence policy and the structure of the Canadian military."[143] The Crisis also contributed to

Diefenbaker's electoral defeat to the Liberals, under Pearson, in 1963.[144]

Under Pearson, Canada approached internationalism with a renewed vigour. Given

Pearson's previous experience in naval force employment in foreign policy support during the St.

Laurent mandate, it is not surprising that this renewed effort was coincident with greater naval

activity in other than direct-defence-of-Canada roles.[145] Fortunately, the mid-1960's Navy, which

was significantly larger and more capable than its 1950's predecessor,[146] was better equipped to

handle the tasks, despite increased direct defence-of-Canada and collective-security taskings.

Consequently, four major naval diplomatic role operations were planned or executed in Pearson's

four-year mandate alone,[147] an unprecedented tempo of contribution to the middle-power record.

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continental defence plans, (102-103, and 161-162) although it did so practically without authorization (124-128) and to the great embarrassment of its government. Whereas the continental defence nature of the event disqualifies it for more detailed consideration in this paper, it is noteworthy in passing that the deficiencies in the civil-military relationship that were exposed during the Crisis (219-221) demonstrate the fragile nature of the association between the government and its Navy. Given that this relationship is at the core of the foreign policy support mission, it is essential that both naval commanders and government leaders benefit from the historical example. (Commander (Ret'd) Peter Haydon, The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis: Canadian Involvement Reconsidered (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1993).)

[143] Haydon, The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis: Canadian Involvement Reconsidered, 1.

[144] Herstein, Hughes, and Kirbyson, 404-405.

[145] According to Leadmark's Annex C, which lists "Canadian Maritime Operations 1945-2001" out-of-area deployments (ie; those beyond the seaborne approaches to North America in which Canadian maritime assets would be considered to be performing sovereignty protection and defence-of-Canada operations), only one destroyer and miscellaneous aircraft deployed between 1958 and 1963. This happened in spite of the completion of a rebuilding programme in which the Navy grew to include 20,000 men serving in one ASW carrier, more than 25 destroyers, 18 escort frigates and a total of 62 vessels. However, during the tenure of Prime Minister Pearson, naval diplomacy or foreign policy support deployments (ie; those not directly related to defence-of-Canada roles and areas) surged to a total of three operations involving the carrier (twice) as well as five destroyers and one AOR. (Leadmark, C2.)

[146] According to "Canada's Navy 1910-1985," "The 50th anniversary of the RCN saw a navy of over 20,000 with one ASW carrier with ASW, fighter and helicopter aircraft; 14 modern destroyer escorts with six more building; 11 older destroyers; 18 ocean escort frigates and a number of smaller ships – 62 in all. In the next couple of years the first RCN operational support ship, Provider, was launched, the first submarine since 1922 – HMCS Grilse-commissioned, and three "O" class submarines ordered." (German, "Canada's Navy 1910 to 1985," 32.)

[147] Leadmark cites only three in Annex C. It overlooks the employment of HMC Ships ST. LAURENT and GATINEAU to the Barbados Independence celebrations in 1966.

The 1963 Haitian operation was the first under the Pearson mandate. The operation saw HMCS *SASKATCHEWAN* ordered off Port-au-Prince in May 1963 during a period of civil unrest precipitated by the dictatorial President Papa Doc Duvalier. *SASKATCHEWAN* provided a Canadian presence in an area in which a USN Amphibious Task Force, as well as British and French destroyers, manoeuvred to intimidate the Duvalier government.[148] The Canadian operation also saw the carrier HMCS *BONAVENTURE* and her escort group, which were in Charleston, South Carolina, alerted for a possible NEO mission if the situation deteriorated. The operation, demonstrating for the first time a significant Canadian interest in Caribbean affairs, was intended to dissuade President Duvalier from further aggravating the situation and to provide a national means of evacuating Canadians if necessary. As Sean Maloney observes in "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," since Canada had no special interest in the Caribbean, the Pearson foreign policy theme driving the initiative was likely that of unity because the death of the more than 400 francophone priests included among the thousand Canadians in Haiti "would have been a severe political liability for the Pearson government"[149] which was "quite concerned about the place of Québec in Canada in the wake of the first wave of Frente [sic] de la Liberation du Québec (FLQ) violence."[150] Ultimately, the situation stabilized and the operation was terminated without the need of NEO, thereby relegating the role played by *SASKATCHEWAN* to one of presence only, according to Leadmark.[151] However, given the operation's proximity to the USN-led multinational intimidation efforts, this operation could also easily be construed as demonstrating coercion. Regardless, as explained below, naval forces had once again been

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[148] Sean Maloney, "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy: The Canadian Navy and Foreign Policy, Eds. Ann Griffiths, Peter Haydon, and Richard Gimblett (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1998), 151.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Leadmark, C2.

exploited by the nation to support foreign policy themes including responsibility, multilateralism, democracy and Canadian values, in addition to that of unity explained above. Canada's involvement was consistent with her post-war actions under the functional principle and it reiterated the Pearsonian style of emphasizing responsibility and multilateralism owing to the dutiful presence of Canadian forces alongside those of the US and Europe in a region previously ignored by Canada. Moreover, the commitment of forces in position to observe, dissuade, or intervene in another country's strife marked one of the earliest incidents in which the foreign policy themes of democracy and Canadian values were supported by tangible commitment. In addition to ushering in a period in which naval forces were heavily tasked in support of foreign policy, the 1963 Haiti operation marked the beginning of significant Canadian foreign policy and accompanying naval activity effort in the Caribbean.[152]

A further demonstration of both the significance of naval activity in Pearson's foreign policy promotion and the heightened Canadian interest in the Caribbean occurred in 1966 when an appropriate level of naval support for the Barbados Independence celebration was arranged. In accordance with the priority that St. Laurent and Pearson had placed on the Commonwealth of Nations, Pearson ensured that adequate representation was made available. HMC Ships *ST. LAURENT* and *GATINEAU* attended as the only warships of any flag present. As Maloney observes, "the presence of not one but two ships indicates that this was a deliberate show of support for the newly independent Barbadians who were now members of the Commonwealth."[153] In addition to presence, the deployment represented an application of the

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[152] As Sean Maloney observed in "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," "… since 1960, Canada has used its military forces at least 26 times in the Caribbean to support Canadian foreign policy. In addition, Canada planned three additional operations, including two unilateral interventions into Caribbean states. Sixteen out of these 29 operations have involved the use or planned use of Canadian maritime forces." (Maloney, "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," 147.)

[153] Ibid., 153.

symbolic use of navies in support of the diplomatic role. Sean Maloney also suggests a more provocative purpose for the strength of the deployment in exposing a potentially preventive deployment aspect:[154]

> We can only speculate at who the "signal" was directed towards, but given the fact that tensions were running high in the Caribbean over the Dominican Republic affair, it is likely that the targets were any outside force, probably Cuban, which might be tempted to interfere with Barbadian independence.

While obviously only a modest contribution to the record of Canadian middlepowermanship, this employment of naval forces speaks to the government's ability to find utility in naval activity in supporting foreign policy endeavour. In this case, Pearson used a modest naval contribution to shore his efforts to impart upon Canada his style of middlepowermanship, which emphasized the themes of responsibility and multilateralism. That responsibility was supported is evidenced by a continued involvement in the Caribbean even though it was a region in which Canada had no particular interest. Essentially, involvement occurred only because Canada, as a middle power, felt an obligation or responsibility to render what support and assistance it could afford. Multilateralism, meanwhile, was supported in the sense that a respected body of nations, the Commonwealth, was being promoted. In any event, this exploitation of naval activity in supporting Canadian foreign policy is typical of the Pearson regime.

The heavy tasking of naval forces in foreign policy endeavours under Pearson continued in March 1964. Operation SNOW GOOSE saw HMCS *BONAVENTURE* and an escort destroyer deploy in a military sea-lift role "to transport 95 soldiers, 54 vehicles, and some 400 tons of equipment and stores to Cyprus to support the army's UN mission."[155] This operation saw the diplomatic role subsidiary functions of preventive deployment, humanitarian assistance, PSO,

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[154] Ibid.
[155] Thomas, 191.

and CBM performed. Similarly, in May 1967 the Navy deployed HMCS *PROVIDER* and two destroyer escorts to the Egyptian coast in support of a planned evacuation of UNEF personnel prior to the Six Day War. As the evacuation mission was not executed, <u>Leadmark</u> cites this tasking as consisting of only PSO and presence.[156] These deployments once again demonstrated the effort of the Pearson administration to impart a style identifying responsibility and multilateralism as tenets because they saw dutiful participation in multilateral action without obligation having been demanded by special interest in the region affected. Moreover, once again Pearson found good, albeit modest, service for the Navy as an enabler of his efforts. When considered in conjunction with the previously cited missions conducted under Pearson's mandate, these taskings reveal Pearson's effective employment of naval activity in foreign policy support.

Pearson's style of middlepowermanship, characterized by responsibility and multilateralism, was clearly advantaged by the application of sea power. As has been cited, on St. Laurent's watch the Navy served as an enabler for Pearson's Nobel Prize-winning UNEF initiative, a significant event in Canada's middle-power history and a defining moment of the Pearsonian style – illustrated even prior to his assumption of the premiership. During his mandate proper, moreover, in servicing Pearson's initiatives in the Caribbean and continued Canadian involvement in UN actions during the mid-1960s, the Navy further contributed to the embodiment of the renowned Pearsonian-style of middlepowermanship. In providing a demonstrable, albeit modest, effort in the Caribbean, for example, the Navy provided the means for the foreign policy theme of responsibility to be exercised. Since Canada had little to gain and has subsequently gained relatively little through Caribbean interest and activity, it is clear that the theme of responsibility to contribute to the pursuit of global peace, order, and security drove the

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[156] <u>Leadmark</u>, C3.

involvement, not an ulterior motive. Multilateralism, meanwhile, was promoted through participation in UN-mandated actions and through support of such international forums as the Commonwealth, to both of which the Navy also made modest contributions under Pearson. Importantly, the naval action off Haiti in 1963 also involved elements of the foreign policy themes of democracy and Canadian values. These foundational Canadian foreign policy themes, which had been embraced by both St. Laurent and Pearson, figured with some prominence for the first time under Pearson. Ultimately, the thrust of Pearson's foreign policy efforts was the introduction of an appropriate style of Canadian middlepowermanship in order to build upon St. Laurent's entrenchment of middle-power status. So successful were his efforts to likewise entrench responsibility and multilateralism as the foundational style of Canadian middlepowermanship that the style incorporating these themes has come to be known as "Pearsonian." In any event, it has been evidenced that sea power served Pearson's achievements and the continued emergence of Canada as a middle power throughout his mandate. Pearson found utility in naval activity in support of Pearsonian middlepowermanship, as the level and variety of naval activity that occurred during his tenure indicates.

In April 1968, when Trudeau replaced Pearson as PM, sweeping change loomed for foreign and defence policy. Three months later, Trudeau's newly elected majority government executed a mandate for change across the spectrum of public policy.[157] Both defence and foreign policy were affected significantly by Trudeau's "nationalization" emphasis. Defence priorities were realigned so that sovereignty protection became the priority.[158] Similarly, in rejecting Canada's "international boy scout"[159] image, Trudeau's government embarked upon a new style

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[157] Canada, DFAIT, "Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy," Canada World View (Ottawa: DFAIT, 2001) 10 (Winter 2001), - , 3 March 2003 <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/canada-magazine>.
[158] Middlemiss and Sokolsky, 33.
[159] "Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy."

of foreign policy by declaring that "Canadian foreign policy would be 'the extension abroad of national policies.'"[160] Trudeau believed that Canadian interests and not necessarily the common good should drive foreign policy endeavour. Additionally, his foreign policy introduced and emphasized the theme of prosperity. Although, over the course of its fifteen-year term the Trudeau government did not actually abandon the post-war internationalism that it had initially rejected, the adjustments that it introduced to foreign and defence policy saw Canadian middlepowermanship depreciated relative to the preceding regimes. The accompanying opportunities for sea power to contribute to Canada's emergence as a middle power between 1968 and 1983 declined accordingly. There was, for example, greater emphasis placed on direct defence-of-Canada and sovereignty taskings, while foreign policy initiatives such as the peacekeeping missions initiated by St. Laurent and Pearson declined in number. Meanwhile, there were also fewer forces available. The Navy downsized throughout the Trudeau mandate, falling from an establishment of 14, 390 personnel in 1968 to 8,781 in 1981.[161] Although fleet strength remained numerically stable as a result of the Tribal acquisition,[162] Canada's only carrier, *BONAVENTURE*, was paid-off. Since *BONAVENTURE,* and her predecessor *MAGNIFICENT,* had factored significantly in the foreign policy support missions of the previous two decades, the carrier's absence reduced the overall utility of the fleet. With fewer naval resources and a greater emphasis on sovereignty, Trudeau's entire 15-year mandate saw only 5 foreign policy support missions for the Navy.[163] As Marc Milner observes in Canada's Navy: The First Century "if Canada had to have armed forces, Trudeau reasoned, they should be kept as

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[160] Ibid.
[161] Canada, Report of the Sub-Committee on National Defence of the Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs: Canada's Maritime Defence (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1983), 113.
[162] Dan W. Middlemiss, "Economic Considerations in the Development of the Canadian Navy Since 1945," The RCN in Transition, 1910-1985, Ed. W.A.B. Douglas (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988), 279.
[163] Leadmark, C3-C4.

small and as close to home as possible."[164] Nonetheless, even Trudeau's foreign policy was the

benefactor of naval support, owing to several missions.

In 1973, HMC Ships *TERRA NOVA* and *KOOTENAY* "were deployed to Southeast Asia

in support of Canadian Forces (CF) personnel serving on the International Commission of

Control and Supervision (ICCS) in South Vietnam."[165] The ships were tasked "to maintain a

readily-available sea-lift evacuation capability for Canadian citizens in the Vietnam area, and …

to carry out individual ship exercises and a familiarization cruise in West Pacific waters."[166]

Leadmark labels these assignments as evacuation (planned) and presence.[167] The Canadian

presence, both in ICCS and off the Vietnam coast, was consistent with the foreign policy themes

of responsibility and multilateralism because Canada had no special interest in the region and

participated in the multinational observer mission only to contribute appropriately as a western

nation of middle-rank. Participation also demonstrated the continued relevance of the functional

principle in Canada's internationalism. Although the contribution was minor, it demonstrated that

naval activity continued to have a place to play in middle-power foreign policy endeavours,

however limited those endeavours were.

Similar deployments of limited consequence occurred in the mid-1970s when an AOR

was dispatched on Operation DANACA to the Egyptian coast to support UNEF II and when an

AOR and several destroyers were deployed to Portugal. These deployments were less significant

in their contribution to foreign policy than the very similar deployments made in the 1950s and

1960s because of the relative insignificance of the mission they supported. In the earlier cases,

naval activity supported Canadian-driven events such Pearson's Nobel Prize winning

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[164] Milner, 263.
[165] Fenton, 137.
[166] Thomas, 193.
[167] Leadmark, C3.

peacekeeping initiative, whereas in the 1970's instances Canada was a mere participant. The significance of the event supported is an important factor in determining the role of naval activity in supporting Canada's emergence as a middle power. Nonetheless, the contributions cannot be completely overlooked since foreign policy endeavours continued to be supported.

Of course, there were significant deployments during Trudeau's mandate as well. Of the half dozen naval missions in support of foreign policy in the Trudeau era, three significant ones occurred in the Caribbean.[168] Given that "under the Trudeau government, Canadian interest in the Caribbean dramatically increased [as a result of] the government's adoption of what is known as the Third Option[169] in 1972,"[170] the operations devoted to foreign policy support in this region take on particular significance, regardless of the Third Option policy's ultimate failure. These missions demonstrate that despite the precarious relationship between the military and its government that existed at the time, naval activity was still able to contribute effectively to foreign policy endeavours. Moreover, the actions establish that contribution can still produce visible effect for foreign policy endeavours and contribute to middlepowermanship, regardless of the ultimate success of the endeavour, policy, or programme supported. Hence, the missions to Grenada and Haiti in 1974 and the one planned for Jamaica in 1979 warrant further discussion.

In February 1974 HMCS *ANNAPOLIS* visited Grenada with Secretary of State for External Affairs, Alan MacEachern, aboard "to demonstrate the friendship of Canada for the

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[168] Although Leadmark (C3-C4) notes only five operations, a humanitarian mission to Haiti conducted by HMCS *PRESERVER* at CIDA's request in March 1974 is not included. The *PRESERVER* employment is cited in Sean Maloney's "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean." (164). The *PRESERVER* mission rounds out the number of operations in support of foreign policy that were conducted or planned as six, half of which were to the Caribbean.

[169] "The Third Option essentially was a policy to "strengthen Canadian ownership, diversify Canadian trade, and protect Canadian political, economic and cultural" independence that in turn would act as a "counterweight" to American political, economic and cultural dominance…. The Caribbean had, during the policy formulation process been singled out as an important test area." (Maloney, "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," 154.)

[170] Maloney, "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," 154.

people of Grenada"[171] during independence celebrations. MacEachern's attendance attests to Canadian interest in Grenada. Moreover, his embarkation in *ANNAPOLIS* re-emphasises the symbolic significance attached to a warship visit for such occasions. *ANNAPOLIS*'s presence was cited by Canada's High Commissioner to Grenada as "illustrat[ing] the importance Canada attaches to the independence of a Commonwealth Caribbean country where we have extensive interests compared to those of any country except the UK and the USA."[172] Significantly, the visit also included plans for NEO of Canadians if necessary, owing to the political unrest that had coincided with the march towards independence.[173] For such an event, HMC Ships *ASSINIBOINE* and *ST. CROIX* remained close at-hand in neighbouring islands. The two components of this tasking perfectly demonstrate how Canadian naval activity can provide the government with a range of diplomatic options. In any event, this mission supported the Trudeau government's exercise of several themes. In supporting and celebrating the peaceful emergence of a former British territory, the themes of democracy and Canadian values were supported. [174] More importantly, Trudeau's priority theme of prosperity was also supported in that Canada's presence encouraged closer economic ties between the two nations.[175] Importantly, improved relations also serviced the Third Option policy. Moreover, as modest as it was, the magnitude of the Canadian contribution, relative to those of the US and UK, embodied the foreign policy theme of sovereignty, since Canadian action was at Canadian discretion and not spawned by obligation or allied insistence. Hence, in attending Grenada independence celebrations, the

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[171] Ibid., 160.
[172] ATI, DEA, (31 Jan 74) message Bridgetown to External Ottawa, "Grenada Independence." Quoted in Maloney, "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," 159.
[173] Leadmark, C3.
[174] Maloney, "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," 157.
[175] "Canada was involved in the banking system and supported Grenada in the creation of a Caribbean free trade area which was designed to attract foreign capital. Canadian foreign aid prior to 1974 was incorporated with aid to Grenada and the five other Leeward and Winward Islands, which collectively were the third largest recipient of Canadian aid in the Caribbean." (Maloney, "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," 157.)

Canadian Navy contributed to Canada's emergence as a middle power by supporting Trudeau's middlepowermanship style, including the Third Option and Canadian influence in the Caribbean generally.

Immediately following the Grenada employment, in March 1974, naval activity promoted Canada's Caribbean interests further when HMCS *PRESERVER*, in response to a request from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), provided humanitarian assistance in Haiti. The significance of the short assignment is advanced by Sean Maloney's comment, in "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," that the deployment coincided with a six-year Canada-Haiti aid agreement and pre-dated renewed American aid by two years.[176] This is the most direct evidence illustrating naval contribution to the Third Option. It also demonstrates the utility of naval activity to the Trudeau mandate's themes, policies and endeavours.

The final demonstration of the diplomatic role of the Canadian Navy during the Trudeau mandate occurred when plans were developed for a unilateral Canadian intervention in Jamaica in 1979. The contingency plan was developed "in 1979 after the election announcement [in Jamaica] was made and related to the possibility of massive violence and even overthrow of the Manley government."[177] Michael Manley had been elected in 1972 and was implementing a liberal democratic agenda in Jamaica. Throughout his tenure, which ran coincident with the Trudeau Third Option era and the period of burgeoning Canadian interest and influence in the Caribbean, Canada and Jamaica enjoyed close economic, political, and military relations.[178] Although details are limited, it is known that the plan called for an AOR and three destroyers as well as a contracted CN Marine ferry in which a Canadian infantry battalion was to be

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[176] Maloney, "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," 164.
[177] Ibid., 163.
[178] Ibid., 160.

embarked.[179] As observed in <u>Leadmark</u>, this contingency involved both diplomatic (NEO) and military (maritime manoeuvre) roles. Had it occurred, the operation would have supported the foreign policy themes of sovereignty, prosperity, and democracy. The theme of sovereignty is evident in the unilateral nature of the action. The theme of prosperity was supported in that the action was intended to secure Canadian business interests on the island. Meanwhile, the democracy theme was serviced because the operation was also intended to restore order and a legitimate government, in support of Canadian interests. The plan, however, was never executed. Nonetheless, as Fenton observes, "even when the option provided was not fully exercised, naval forces provided the government with a flexible and viable response to a situation."[180] Regardless, the effort further contributes to the body of evidence that naval activity continued to support foreign policy themes throughout the Trudeau years.

In addition to contingency operations, the deliberate coordination of fleet port visit programmes in active, not coincidental, support to foreign policy and international trade endeavours emerged during the Trudeau era. The coordinated planning effort associated with a 1968 'Far East Cruise' ushered in what has now become routine coordination and cooperation between the Department of External Affairs (DEA) and the Department of National Defence (DND).[181] Whereas ship visits had been exploited prior to 1968, thereafter the coordinated programme saw the Navy approach "the question of deployments … holistically, and therefore [attempt] to maximize the impact of the ship visits for diplomatic, commercial, naval, security

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[179] Ibid.
[180] Fenton, 139.
[181] Lieutenant (N) Elizabeth Kerr, "Beyond Tradition: The Evolution of Naval Deployments to the Asia-Pacific Region," <u>Canada's Pacific Naval Presence: Purposeful or Peripheral</u>, Eds. Peter T. Haydon, and Ann L. Griffiths (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1999), 137.

and foreign policy purposes."[182] Given the capacity of warships to "serve as venues for trade initiatives, as examples of Canadian technology, and as visible symbols of Canadian interest in a country or region,"[183]

appreciably in comparison to that which had occurred under his predecessors. Quite simply, the sovereignty and prosperity emphasis that defined the Trudeau mandate's style of middlepowermanship failed to contribute significantly to Canada's record of accomplishments as a middle-power. Thus, opportunities for the exploitation of naval activity in support of middle-power emergence fell commensurately. Essentially, Trudeau's desire to keep his forces small and close to home prevented him from exploiting an overseas capability as extensively as had his predecessors. However, as has been cited, a few foreign policy support missions did occur during Trudeau's lengthy mandate. These few occurrences allowed the government to exploit modest naval activity in furtherance of its foreign policy objectives and style, thereby speaking to the adaptability and utility of sea power for government. In supporting Grenada's independence and in plans for a unilateral Jamaican invasion, for example, naval activity supported the independent foreign policy action demanded by Trudeau's emphasis on the theme of sovereignty. Similarly, naval activity in Grenada and Haiti, as well as Jamaican invasion plans, saw the government successfully exploit naval activity in pursuit of the policy theme of prosperity. Sovereignty and prosperity themes were also modestly advantaged through the introduction of a coordinated port visit programme, done for the first time under Trudeau to further the theme of prosperity that he had introduced. Most significantly, however, the Trudeau government made good use of naval activity in the Caribbean to help implement the Third Option, a fact undiminished by the ultimate failure of the policy programme.   Meanwhile, in supporting such activities as the ICCS and Operation DANACA in addition to Caribbean actions, the Trudeau mandate exploited naval contributions in support of a variety of more foundational middle-power themes. Indeed, even Trudeau found utility in the application of sea power in support of his foreign policy.

When Mulroney became PM in 1984, defence and foreign policy again came under review. Under Mulroney, a Pearsonian-tone returned to government philosophy and Canada reaffirmed the priority of responsibility in its middle-power style. As hinted at by the title of the government's 1985 foreign policy green-paper <u>Competitiveness and Security</u>, there was also renewed emphasis on the economic component of foreign policy. A final significant aspect of the Mulroney foreign and defence policies was what Desmond Morton calls "the PM's desire to be 'a good ally' in the opinion of the Reagan White House,"[187] a theme that surfaced in nearly every consideration of the Mulroney government. Mulroney's pro-Americanism was consistent with his middle-power style. Unlike Trudeau, Mulroney saw closer economic union and solid relations with the US as key to Canadian prosperity, and, unlike Trudeau, he believed that the priority he placed on the theme of responsibility would ensure Canada would carry its own weight on the world stage as an effective counterbalance against potential US dominance. Although these themes provided the conditions in which naval activity in support of foreign policy could flourish, a growing military commitment-capability gap[188] and a defence policy emphasizing collective defence[189] undermined more substantial foreign policy employment in the first Mulroney term. Only a single significant foreign policy driven naval deployment occurred during the first term of the Mulroney government - a NEO tasking in Haiti in 1988. However, by the

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[187] Morton, 265.

[188] Middlemiss and Sokolosky, 50. Speaking to this issue from the capability perspective, in <u>Examining the "Adjusted Course" of the Canadian Navy in the 'New World Order'</u> Higgins summarized the 1980s fleet capacity this way: "The Cold War Canadian fleet during the 1980s was comprised of sixteen refitted *ST. LAURENT, RESTIGOUCHE, MACKENZIE,* and *ANNAPOLIS* Class destroyers, originally launched between 1951 and 1963; four newer DDH280 Tribal Class destroyers; three replenishment vessels; and three Oberon Class submarines. The fleet reached an all time post-war low in 1989." (Laura Higgins, <u>Examining the "Adjusted Course" of the Canadian Navy in the 'New World Order'</u>, Dissertation (Halifax: Dalhousie University Department of Political Science, 2000), 48.)

[189] The Mulroney Government saw collective defence as being achieved under the auspices of credible contributions to NATO and NORAD commitments. (Middlemiss and Sokolosky, 50.)

early 1990s when the commitment-capability gap began to close[190] and the world emerged from

the yoke of Cold War collective defence requirements, foreign policy-driven deployments fuelled

the fleet programme and yielded 8 operations in the 3 final years of the Conservative mandate.[191]

Additionally, throughout the Conservative mandate, the Navy, seizing upon the trend of

governments to promote economic growth through new market access, promoted its port visit

programme as an indispensable foreign policy tool in itself. Overall, the navy played a significant

role in supporting the Conservative government's foreign policy objectives and style of

middlepowermanship, contributing to Canada's reinvigorated middlepowermanship of the post-

Cold War period.

     The Mulroney government's first foray into naval activity in support of foreign policy

occurred in 1988 when a national TG, consisting of a destroyer, two destroyer escorts and a

replenishment vessel, was deployed to Haiti for NEO in the event of civil unrest during the

Haitian election. Operation BANDIT placed a covert Canadian TG within 50 miles of the Haitian

coast during the vulnerability period so that as many as 1400 Canadian ex-patriots living in Haiti

could be immediately extracted if necessary. Fortunately, the Haitian strife never materialized

and the operation was cancelled. Nonetheless, as Leadmark observes, the operation performed the

functions of NEO (planned) and presence.[192] Moreover, the mission was also a preventive

deployment in that, as Fenton observed, "deployed warships also send a statement of concern

over events to officials in the country in question… [as was] the case in 1987-88 when Canadian

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[190] The closure of the commitment-capability gap speaks more to the delivery of a modernized fleet then to a rationalization of commitments. Commitments actually increased: "In the last decade of the 20th century, the Canadian Navy, like the CF in general, was more actively engaged in a greater variety of operations throughout the world than at any other period in its peacetime history." (Leadmark, 66) Fortunately, during the same period the Navy took possession of 12 *HALIFAX* Class frigates, 4 modernized *IROQUOIS* Class destroyers and 12 *KINGSTON* Class Maritime Coastal Defence Vessels while retaining 2 AORs. The Oberon Class submarines also continued to serve in the early 1990s. (Leadmark, 63-65)
[191] Leadmark, C4-C5.
[192] Leadmark, C4.

warships were deployed to Haiti."[193] Certainly, this application of sea power contributed to the

Mulroney domestic agenda regarding Haitian-Montrealers[194] because the interests of the Haitian-

Canadian population to have Canada promote peace and order in their homeland were met,

thereby contributing to the foreign policy theme of unity. The operation also supported the

themes of democracy and Canadian values because action was envisioned to encourage elections

and discourage civil unrest. Most importantly, the operation demonstrated the renewed

commitment to the responsibility theme for the first time in the Mulroney mandate.

The continued evolution of the DND/DEA cooperation in the development of a holistic

port visit programme, meanwhile, produced a routine presence around the world in support of

foreign policy endeavours and trade throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s. As Higgins

observes, "diplomatic initiatives … expanded to include a broader and less concentrated scope –

building relations on an economic, social and political level as well as a military/security one."[195]

This was particularly evident in the Pacific where, in response to the emergence of Asian

economic might and subsequent Green Paper recognition of growing Canadian interests in the

region, the fleet port visit programme assumed an extensively diplomatic and trade-driven

flavour. The diplomatic role subsidiary function of presence achieved through high profile visits

to Japan, Korea, China and Vladivostok, Russia – the first non-communist Navy visit since 1937

[196] - contributed significantly to Canadian prestige throughout the region, bolstering pursuit of the

themes of cooperative security - both responsibility and multilateralism components - and

prosperity.

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[193] Fenton, 141.
[194] Maloney, "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," 168.
[195] Higgins, Examining the "Adjusted Course" of the Canadian Navy in the 'New World Order,' 99.
[196] Captain (N) D.E. Collinson, "Canadian Naval Operations in the Pacific," The Canadian Navy in Peace and War in the 1990s, The Niobe Papers 3 (Halifax: Nautica, 1991), 43.

The 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent Gulf War punctuated the transition

from the Cold War to the chaotic contemporary era. In response, Canada deployed a TG

consisting of HMC Ships *ATHABASKAN, TERRA NOVA,* and *PROTECTEUR* to the Arabian

Gulf as a vanguard commitment to the American-led and UN-sanctioned campaign. Operation

FRICTION, which employed a total of more than 4000 personnel,[197] was Canada's most

substantial military action since the Korean War. In addition to ships, Operation FRICTION

involved two squadrons of CF-18 fighters and a field hospital. However, the naval contribution,

the largest operational force assigned by Canada,[198] was the most significant because it was both

immediate and substantial. As in the Korean War, the immediacy of naval response could not be

paralleled. The TG deployed "within two weeks of the call."[199] In addition to being timely, the

contribution of a TG was significant because it "constitute[d] a substantial contribution to a

multinational operation"[200] as evidenced by the fact that the TG did "a quarter of all MIF

(Maritime Interception Force) interceptions, even though it accounted for only 10 per cent of MIF

strength."[201] The significance of the contribution enhanced both Canadian diplomatic and

military prestige. This permitted Canada to successfully lobby the US to refrain from unilateral

action and instead to lead an UN-sanctioned coalition.[202] It also permitted a Canadian to be given

"a major Coalition naval warfare responsibility, [making him] the only non-USN officer [so

appointed]."[203] Canadian employment as the Commander of the Combined Logistics Force

(CLF), with operational command of over thirty allied escorts and support ships from 10

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[197] Canada, DND, "Backgrounder: The Canadian Forces in the Gulf War (1990-1991)." (Ottawa: DND, 1997) 3 April 1997, 3 March 2003 <http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/Newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=957>.
[198] Milner, 298.
[199] Leadmark, 63.
[200] Fenton, 133.
[201] Milner, 298.
[202] Crickard and Gimblett, 336.
[203] Leadmark, 63.

countries,[204] further enhanced the prestige associated with the Canadian contribution. In any event, Canadian ships, engaged in MIO against Iraq and sailing in the CLF, performed both military and diplomatic functions. As in Korea, the nature of the limited war saw both aspects present. Hence, Leadmark credits the naval forces with performing the subsidiary diplomatic functions of coercion and MIO as well as military functions of sea control and battlespace dominance.[205] Furthermore, the UN's demonstration of coercive force was also supported.[206] These sea power applications performed by the Canadian TG produced significant foreign policy effect. According to Crickard, for example, Canada's involvement in "[the Gulf War] was a replay of Korea. The UN was an essential offset to American pressure, necessary for public support at home and a way, through numbers, of preventing the US from acting unilaterally."[207] As a middle power, Canada saw participation as essential "to counterbalance the larger countries, and to prevent the destabilizing use of unilateral force."[208] In other words, Canada was required to participate in some meaningful way in accordance with the themes of functionalism and responsibility. Besides, "as one of the leading industrialized powers, Canada [had] an obligation to support collective efforts to make and keep the peace in the world community."[209] Significantly, in successfully championing a UN mandate in the Gulf War, Canada strengthened her contention that the UN remained an effective mechanism through which collective security, peace and prosperity could be achieved, even in the post-Cold War era.[210] Moreover, in again playing a large part in shoring up the UN – traditionally the foundation of Canada's middle-

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[204] Crickard and Witol, 258.

[205] Leadmark, C4.

[206] Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, the assembled armada demonstrated what Leadmark calls coercive force because the efforts of the coalition were intended to compel Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.

[207] Crickard and Witol, 257.

[208] Commander (Ret'd) Peter Haydon, Navies in the Post-Cold War Era, MSOP No. 5 (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1998), 8.

[209] Ibid.

[210] Mark Moher, "Canadian Foreign Policy in the 1990s," Canada's Navy Sailing into the 21st Century, The Niobe Papers 5 (Halifax: Nautica, 1993), 18.

power foreign policy – Canada made a significant contribution to collective security, another significant achievement in Canada's middle-power record. In addition, "the foreign policy dividend was probably quite significant in so far as CANUS relations at the government-to-government level were concerned,"[211] a fact of importance to Mulroney's government. These results made the Gulf War a significant event in the realm of collective security. Similarly, the event also had significance for Canada's middle-power standing, which was demonstrated as having survived the end of the Cold War and seen to be continuing in the so-called "New World Order."[212] All totalled, Operation FRICTION, in which the naval contribution was vanguard and backbone, advantaged Canada's foreign policy theme of cooperative security (responsibility and multilateralism) and fostered improved CANUS relations.

Following the Gulf War, the 1990s, unlike the previous decade, promised to be banner years for the employment of naval forces in foreign policy-driven deployments. The post-Cold War era introduced a so-called "New World Order"[213] that ushered in a period of instability and uncertainty. In response, policy emerged in 1991which recognized "the emerging reality of growing global instability, [and] the need to be ready for contingency operations."[214] With this declaration, the Mulroney government embarked the Canadian military upon what would become a torrid pace of international employment befitting the government's style of middlepowermanship, with its declared Pearsonian undertone. This course of action marked the beginning of an unprecedented period of military activity by the CF in which the Navy

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[211] Orr and Crickard, 237.
[212] Crickard and Gimblett. 335.
[213] Ibid.
[214] Major General A.M. DeQuetteville, "Canada's Maritime Force Posture and Financial Constraint in the 1990s," Canada's Navy Sailing into the 21st Century, The Niobe Papers 5 (Halifax: Nautica, 1993), 42.

"… participated in seven peacekeeping or peace enforcement operations since 1989, … [whereas, it had only participated] in four in the preceding 39 years."[215]

The Navy's initial involvement in PSO following the Gulf War consisted of the deployment of HMCS *HURON* to the Arabian Gulf in 1991 on Operation FLAG, and of HMCS *RESTIGOUCHE* to the Red Sea in 1992 on Operation BARRIER. In both cases, the ships performed MIO, enforcing sanctions against Iraq. This annual commitment further demonstrated Canada's willingness to share the burden of collective efforts to make and keep the world peace, consistent with the priority that the government had assigned to responsibility. These efforts furthered the Mulroney government's Pearsonian foreign policy and maintained the prestige that Canada had gained during the Gulf War.

As a humanitarian crisis unfolded in Somalia in 1992, Canada responded to a UN request for support in a US-led action. Given that "Canada has been and remains one of the most dedicated supporters of UN PSO, whether it be restoring and upholding the peace … or responding to humanitarian relief missions,"[216] the government deployed the Canadian Airborne Regiment (CAR) Battle Group as well as HMCS *PRESERVER,* in support of the UN Mission in Somalia (UNISOM). *PRESERVER* was originally tasked only to provide sea-lift of required stores to Somalia and afloat administrative support for 550 CAR troops in theatre (Operation CORDON). However, the tasking was expanded to include supporting a Canadian Joint Force Headquarters, the first time a Canadian ship had operated as a joint headquarters since Korea,[217]

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[215] Rear Admiral (Ret'd) Fred Crickard, "Maritime Issues in Canadian Security Policy," Canada's Navy Sailing into the 21st Century, The Niobe Papers 5 (Halifax: Nautica 1993), 27.
[216] Canada, DND, "Backgrounder: Canada and Multilateral Operations in Support of Peace and Stability," (Ottawa: DND, 1998) 27 February 1998, 3 March 2003 <http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=914>
[217] Higgins, Canadian Naval Operations in the 1990s, 53-54.

and the 950 personnel strong battle group ashore (Operation DELIVERANCE).[218] Through 34

replenishments at sea, *PRESERVER* also sustained the ships of six different countries that

operated in the theatre. *PRESERVER*'s support, which was officially recognized as outstanding

by the US in 1993, [219] anchored the Canadian effort of restoring security and providing

humanitarian aid over an area of 30,000 square kilometers. The naval contribution to Operations

CORDON and DELIVERANCE saw the Navy's diplomatic role subsidiary functions of PSO,

humanitarian assistance and presence performed. The foreign policy objectives of the Somalia

mission were essentially the same as those pursued in Operation FRICTION – endorsement and

support for the UN, and the enhancement of Canadian interests with the US.[220] Additionally,

"Canada's presence in a multinational force pursuing the implementation of peace and the

distribution of humanitarian assistance was intended to demonstrate Canada's commitment to

stability in the Horn of Africa."[221] The theme of responsibility was again supported since Canada

had no special interests in the region and participated primarily because she felt an obligation or

responsibility to render what support and assistance she could afford. Through these effects, Op

DELIVERANCE demonstrated, once again, the role of the Navy in buttressing a proactive

foreign policy appropriate to a middle power.

    The third significant naval operation in as many years for the Canadian Navy and the first

under Mulroney's successor, Kim Campbell,[222] occurred in July 1993 when the Standing Naval

Force Atlantic (SNFL) was committed to the Adriatic Sea to bolster the limited North Atlantic

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[218] Orr and Crickard, 237-8.
[219] Thomas, 218.
[220] Orr and Crickard, 237.
[221] Higgins, Canadian Naval Operations in the 1990s, 50.
[222] Mulroney retired and was replaced as Conservative leader and Prime Minister by Kim Campbell in June 1993. However, owing to the short duration of Campbell's premiership before her defeat in an October 1993 general election, the two missions – SHARP GUARD and DIALOGUE - that were initiated under Campbell's watch were consistent with the Mulroney foreign policy themes. When these are counted, Mulroney's mandate is seen as having contributed to 5 foreign policy deployments through 8 operations.

Treaty Organization (NATO) and Western European Union (WEU) efforts in the enforcement of UN sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). NATO's Operation SHARP GUARD occurred between July 1993 and June 1996, after which the successful UN embargo was terminated.[223] Through the routine SNFL contribution and an occasional augmentee, such as HMCS *CALGARY* in 1995, Canada rotated seven destroyers/frigates and two replenishment ships through SHARP GUARD, in addition to two rotations of MPA detachments. In addition to MIO, Leadmark credits ships participating in SHARP GUARD with performing the diplomatic subsidiary function of coercion as well as the military role subsidiary function of maritime power projection.[224] Sean Maloney's detailed analysis of Canadian participation in SHARP GUARD endorses the assertion concerning coercion stating, "The main objective of the MIO was to send a message to the FRY government and thus modify its behaviour."[225] The assertion of maritime power projection has been less well documented but can certainly be seen as consistent with Haydon's amplifications concerning the Canadian interpretation of maritime power projection that were cited earlier.[226] Through these roles, Canadian naval activity in the Adriatic Sea supported the cooperative security agendas of both the Conservative and Liberal governments it served because it contributed to the containment and reduction of Balkan violence.[227]

During Operation SHARP GUARD, the Navy was again tasked with activity off Haiti. In fact, the Mulroney government had directed the Navy to prepare for an Operation BANDIT-like

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[223] According to Douglas Thomas, "during the course of the operation, more than 75,000 ships were challenged, over 6,000 were boarded and inspected at sea, and some 1,500 vessels were diverted to Italian ports for inspection. Only six ship were found to have been carrying arms in contravention of the UNSCRs." (Thomas, 225.)

[224] Leadmark, C5.

[225] Sean Maloney, The Hindrance of Military Operations Ashore: Canadian Participation in Operation SHARP GUARD 1993-1996, MSOP No. 7 (Halifax: Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 2000), 51.

[226] As quoted in Section 2 of this paper, Haydon has observed "in recent times, the power projection mission has come to symbolize 'joint' (multi-service) operations and has acquired a crisis-management application in intervention operations requiring less than full war-fighting procedures to achieve the aim." (Haydon, Sea Power and Maritime Strategy in the 21st Century, 51.)

[227] Maloney, Hindrance, 54.

NEO mission in 1991 when the democratically elected Jean-Bertrand Aristide was overthrown in a military coup, although this plan (Operation ESCORT) was never executed.[228] However, when the UN finally decided to take action in Haiti, Canada, as one of the "Friends of Haiti"[229] was a keen participant. During the 1993 Canadian general election, one of the final acts of the Conservative government was to deploy a TG comprising HMC Ships *PRESERVER, FRASER* and *GATINEAU* on Operation DIALOGUE in order to "establish an immediate Canadian presence, to enforce UN sanctions, and to assist in the evacuation of Canadian and other foreign nationals if necessary."[230] The UN mandated MIO/stand-by NEO mission eventually included 20 ships from a half dozen nations. It terminated after only one year when, in the fall of 1994, the UN authorized the US to employ all necessary force to restore democracy to Haiti. A total of four Canadian ships participated in Operation DIALOGUE, performing the functions of MIO, NEO (planned), presence and coercion.[231] The target of the coercive efforts was obviously the military junta who was being encouraged to return power to Aristide.[232] The typical foreign policy objectives associated with Canadian efforts in Haiti applied during Operation DIALOGUE. The themes of cooperative security, democracy and prosperity continued to be served as Canada and other nations encouraged the conduct of orderly elections and discouraged civil unrest in the interest of both human rights and continued trade relations. Specifically, "Canada's presence off the coast of Haiti was initiated with a primary objective or re-instating democratic rule and stability in the Caribbean."[233] However, according to Maloney the Canadian government's earnest desire for democracy and prosperity in Haiti in the 1990s was less selfless than it had

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[228] Leadmark, C5.
[229] The Friends of Haiti consisted of the US, Canada, France and Venezuela. (Maloney, "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," 173.)
[230] Maloney, "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," 175.
[231] Leadmark, C5. Also see Maloney, "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," 174-177.
[232] Maloney, "Maple Leaf Over the Caribbean," 175.
[233] Higgins, Canadian Naval Operations in the 1990s, 131.

been in the two preceding decades because the desire for Haitian prosperity was "so that Haitians would stay in their country"[234] and not seek refuge in Canada. Regardless, when peace came to Haiti in 1995, over 3 decades of significant naval activity in the region "strengthened [Canada's] role as a leading player in the hemisphere and demonstrated how peace-building components can successfully be integrated into peacekeeping operation."[235]

Under Mulroney, sea power was again well utilized to advantage Canada's emergence as middle power. Mulroney, like Pearson, found that naval activity provided a particularly valuable tool in promoting a style of middlepowermanship that emphasized the theme of responsibility. The Gulf War best illustrates this fact. It

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albeit less dramatically. For example, the government exploited the maturing holistic port visit programme to support both diplomatic and trade initiatives, particularly in the Pacific – an area of interest rediscovered in the 1985 Green Paper. Although the overall benefits of the programme were modest, it nonetheless contributed to Canada's standing as a middle power by building and maintaining Canadian visibility and prestige. Prosperity was also significantly advantaged through Canada's improved relations with the US, which were, in no small part, the result of Canada's willingness to assume a greater share of the burden for international action, such as in the Gulf War and in Somalia. In the end, Mulroney had successfully added to Canada's emergence as a middle power with some significant achievements. Both his foreign policy endeavours and style benefited from the application of sea power - interestingly, beginning and ending with Haitian operations.

While Operation DIALOGUE transpired off the Haitian coast, the short-lived Campbell government was defeated and Liberal Jean Chrétien was elected PM in October 1993. Long overdue policy reviews produced new foreign and defence policy statements by 1995, the first in the post-Cold War era. These new statements reiterated Canada's consistent claim to middle-power status and characterized the Chrétien middlepowermanship style as emphasizing prosperity, multilateralism, and Canadian values. Significantly, the foreign policy White Paper Canada in the World also placed renewed emphasis on prosperity, which was, for the first time, listed as the first of the government's key objectives.[236] The Chrétien mandate was committed to maintaining the momentum of active internationalism that emerged in the Mulroney years, although efforts to reduce the budgetary deficit remained the immediate priority. As a result, the late 1990s continued to be the busiest years since the Second World War for the CF and, as

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[236] Canada in the World, i.

always, the Navy had a substantial role to play. Fortunately, the Navy was unique amongst the services because, as Leadmark observes, "the Navy of Today arguably represents the most capable fleet in Canadian history."[237] The Liberal government, like the Conservatives before them, ensured that the Fleet served foreign policy through routine deployments and contingency operations.

Given the priority placed upon prosperity in Chrétien's mandate, it is appropriate to begin an examination of naval activity in this era with a review of the manner in which the Navy served as the only branch of the CF capable of advancing this priority. In addition to the contingency operations of the early 1990s, the Navy continued to refine the holistic port visit programme by devising "a coherent strategy of [routine] naval deployments"[238] that focused on providing direct support to diplomatic and trade missions. This involved an expansion and refinement of the collaborative efforts of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) and DND that had begun under Trudeau. The emphasis of the port visit programme was on supporting the foreign policy themes of prosperity and multilateralism. This effort was consistent with the highly-touted Team Canada Mission series that Chrétien initiated and in which government and business progressively blitzed target countries in support of diplomatic and trade initiatives. Owing to the Canadian discovery of its Pacific potential under Mulroney, and the resulting 1987 rationalization of the coastal fleets, the activity of the fleet in the Pacific throughout the 1990s is particularly germane in sampling the substance of the naval effort. Recognizing the desire of the government for increased presence throughout Asia-Pacific, the Commander Maritime Forces Pacific (COMMARPAC) instituted a five-year deployment

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[237] Leadmark, 70.
[238] Rear Admiral (Ret'd) Bruce Johnston, "Canada's Year of Asia Pacific 1997," 1997 National Foreign Policy Conference Selected Conference Papers (Regina: Canadian Institute of Foreign Affairs, 1997), 3-5 November 1997, 18 November 2002 < http://www.ciia.ciia.org/johnston.html>.

schedule that exploited routine multinational exercises and routine deployments[239] to full

advantage in maximizing Canadian Navy exposure across the region. As a result, between 1995

and 2001, for example, over 18 Pacific countries were visited.[240] The benefits of these

deployments have been assessed by one COMMARPAC as follows:[241]

> First, diplomatic: the visibility of Canadian diplomatic missions, embassies and
> missions, is enhanced by a ship's presence. We have the opportunity to promote
> confidence-building measures between navies. There is a trading and business
> dimension. We have had tremendous success at promoting Canadian industry. I
> received a nice letter from CAE Ltd. About a year ago saying thanks to the 1996
> deployment they won $100 million worth of contracts in the region. We have the
> high-tech ships with Canadian technology that provide the platform to open
> doors for Canadian high-tech industries, but we can also sell Canadian wheat,
> wine, and promote tourism… I make the point that when you send 225
> ambassadors, young Canadians, under the Canadian flag, with this level of
> Canadian technology it makes a very real visible presence, not just about
> Canadian industrial capabilities but about Canadian ideals.

Officially, as a DND briefing note observed, the Department's objectives in Asia-Pacific are the

"demonstration of Canadian military commitment in support of regional security and support to

Canada's broader security and foreign policy agenda,"[242] referring to those objectives that have

been identified above. Similar efforts occurred around the globe, as evidenced by HMCS

HALIFAX's 1997 visits to South Africa and Brazil, and HMCS *FREDERICTON*'s 1995 visit to

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[239] In 1994, plans were being finalized to see routine Canadian participation in the Arabian Gulf. For West
Coast ships the transit to and from the Arabian Gulf theatre of operations normally required a transit through Asia-
Pacific waters.

[240] Higgins, Canadian Naval Operations in the 1990s, 100.

[241] Rear Admiral Russell Moore, "Canadian Naval Strategy in the Pacific in the 1990s," Naval Challenges
and Developments in the Asia-Pacific Region The Niobe Papers 12, Ed. Peter Haydon (Halifax: Maritime Affairs,
1999), 40.

[242] Lieutenant Colonel S.H. Chessum, "Briefing Note: Overview of Canada's Defence Relations in Asia-
Pacific Region," DAP Pol 2, Assistant Deputy Minister (Policy), National Defence Headquarters (Ottawa: DND,
2002), 19 February 2002, p 2/10. Quoted from Commander Kelly Larkin, "The AUSCANUS Pacific Naval Triad:
Improving Canada's Influence in the Asia-Pacific Region," Canadian Forces College Review 2002 (Toronto: CFC
Toronto, 2002), 164.

Abu Dhabi, UAE.[243] Through routine deployments featuring coordinated port visit schedules, the Navy provided presence in support of the Chrétien policy themes of prosperity and multilateralism while also contributing to CBM and Track Two Diplomacy efforts.[244] Therefore, regardless of the relatively modest effects achieved in terms of dollars and influence, once again the utility of naval activity in supporting foreign policy endeavour and style was demonstrated.

Further exploiting routine naval operations early in the Chrétien mandate, the government approved a Navy initiative to integrate a surface combatant into a deploying USN formation, on an annual basis. Since 1997, seven frigates have been integrated into either USN Carrier Battle Groups (CVNBGs) or Pacific Middle East Force Surface Action Groups (PACMEF SAGs), replacing a USN destroyer, not merely augmenting the formation.[245] All of these deployments have involved USN formations deploying to the Arabian Gulf in support of UN sanction enforcement efforts or the "War on Terror," although the 1999 deployment of HMCS *REGINA* with the USS *CONSTELLATION* CVNBG also included a brief period of service off the Korea peninsula. In 1997 the deployment of frigates to Arabian Gulf MIO as integral components of USN groups, replaced the routine deployment of single frigates for Gulf service in the multinational enforcement effort, after Canada had completed three independent deployments between 1995-1997. USN integration offered Canada some distinct military and political advantages. Militarily, integration demonstrated the competency of "the only foreign navy to successfully operate as [an integral] part"[246] of a US group, reiterating the proficiency recognized during the Gulf War. Politically, integration provided the Chrétien government a new and visible means of demonstrating Canada's willingness to share the burden of collective security with the

US while simultaneously – owing to the affiliation of the duty with sanctions enforcement in the

Arabian Gulf – supporting the UN. Effectively this allowed Canada to frugally exploit a

multilateral contribution with the simultaneous benefit to her most important bi-lateral

relationship – one with particular significance to prosperity. As Crickard has observed,

"Canadian naval sea power will be increasingly justified as an instrument of CANUS

relations."[247] Through the routine integration of a single combatant in a USN formation, now

appropriately called Operation AUGMENTATION, in the strictest sense, only the diplomatic

subsidiary function of MIO is performed.[248] However, according to Higgins' Canadian Naval

Operations in the 1990s:[249]

> Additional objectives are to project Canadian values, illustrate Canadian
> commitment to the international rule of law, and establish a presence to provide
> visible evidence of Canada's commitment to international security while
> contributing to regional stability. Finally, a Canadian frigate in the Persian Gulf
> attached to a US carrier battle group enhances CANUS naval integration.

Moreover, given the contemporary US maritime strategy defined in Sea Power 21 and the typical

employment of CVNBGs, integration must certainly be considered to include some component of

maritime power projection. Regardless, the tenets of sea power associated with the routine

integration of a ship into a USN formation have supported the foreign policy themes of

cooperative security, as well as favourably impacting the critical CANUS relationship.[250]

The first significant contingency operation involving the deployment of naval force in

support of foreign policy during the Chrétien mandate occurred in 1999 when Operation

TOUCAN was ordered as the Canadian contribution to a UN mission intended "to restore peace

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[247] Crickard and Witol, 274.
[248] Leadmark, C7.
[249] Higgins, Canadian Naval Operations in the 1990s, 67.
[250] Ibid., 77.

and order in East Timor following violence precipitated by a vote to secede from Indonesia."[251]

Operation TOUCAN saw the contribution of 600 CF personnel including HMCS *PROTECTEUR*

as well as two C-130 transport aircraft and an infantry Company Group to the UN endorsed and

Australian-led International Force in East Timor (INTERFET). *PROTECTEUR*, the first of the

CF contributions to be deployed, performed at-sea and ashore replenishment functions in East

Timor, thereby supporting and sustaining the efforts of the 16-nation force. As one of only three

AORs that served in INTERFET,[252] *PROTECTEUR*'s contribution as a force-multiplier made her

participation particularly significant.[253] Moreover, owing to the work of her Ship's Company in a

variety of humanitarian projects ashore and her work with regional Armed Services throughout

the deployment, *PROTECTEUR* contributed to humanitarian assistance efforts and CBM, in

addition to PSO. The TOUCAN contribution to INTERFET, anchored by *PROTECTEUR,*

supported the Chrétien government's claim to active internationalism and promoted the foreign

policy themes of multilateralism and responsibility. Supporting the INTERFET mission was also

entirely consistent with the foreign policy theme of Canadian values. TOUCAN demonstrated

continued Canadian commitment to UN collective security action in addition to a willingness to

share the burden of international action in keeping with the functional principle. Finally,

TOUCAN also emphasized Canada's engagement strategy in Southeast Asia Pacific,[254] a

significant foreign policy objective since at least the mid-1980s and one re-emphasized under the

Chrétien style of middlepowermanship that prioritized multilateralism. Ultimately, TOUCAN

was a notable middle-power feat at the international level because it was proposed and led by the

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[251] Canada, DND, "International Force in East Timor (INTERFET) – Operation TOUCAN," Annual Report 1999-2000 (Ottawa: DND, 2003) 6 February 2003, 24 April 2003 <http://www.cds.forces.gc.ca/pubs/anrpt/anxaintnl_e.asp>.
[252] Higgins, Canadian Naval Operations in the 1990s, 60.
[253] Canada, DND, "The Right Ship For the Right Time," HMCS *PROTECTEUR* (Ottawa: DND, 2001), 20 May 2001, 24 April 2003 <http://www.navy.dnd.ca/protecteur/new/new.htm>.
[254] Higgins, Canadian Naval Operations in the 1990s, 63.

middle-power Australia. Canada's contribution, led by *PROTECTEUR*, allowed her to share in the success of the mission.

The second and most significant of the Chrétien government's contingency deployments of maritime forces occurred in response to the 9/11 terrorism attacks against the US. In October 2001 Canada launched Operation APOLLO, the "largest deployment of CF into combat-international operations since the Korean War."[255] Although the operation is ongoing, "in the year following September 11, 2001, the CF committed nearly 3,000 personnel to support the international coalition against terrorism," including a Canadian naval TG, an Army Battle Group, a Tactical Airlift Detachment, a Long Range Patrol Aircraft Detachment, Special Operations Forces and a Task Force Headquarters. Canada ranks "third, behind the US and Britain, in its military commitment to the US-led anti-terrorist coalition"[256] which is called Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. Although the commitment of an Army Battle Group to combat-action in Afghanistan eclipsed the contribution of a naval TG in media headlines, the naval contribution represents a significant component of the Canadian response because it was immediate and enduring. As in the past, the Navy was the service of immediate response.[257] Upon Defence Minister Art Eggleton's announcement of the initial Canadian commitment on 8 October 2001, HMCS *HALIFAX* chopped out of SNFL and departed for the Arabian Sea. The alerted high-readiness TG, consisting of HMC Ships *IROQUOIS, CHARLOTTETOWN,* and *PRESERVER*, sailed from Halifax nine days later, followed shortly thereafter by HMCS *VANCOUVER*, which integrated into the USS *JOHN C. STENNIS* CVNBG. This response allowed Canada to become

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[255] Canada. At a Crossroads: Annual Report of the Chief of Defence Staff 2001-2002, (Ottawa: DND, 2002), i.
[256] John Geddes, John Demont, Julian Beltrame, and Ken Macqueen, "Canada Goes to War," Macleans 10 December 2001, 26.
[257] Canada, DND, "The Canadian Forces' Contribution to the Campaign Against Terrorism," Backgrounder (Ottawa: DND, 2001), 9 October 2001, 3 March 2003 <http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/Newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=297>.

the first coalition navy after the US to deploy a TG to the Arabian Sea,[258] a fact significant

enough to be cited on the web sites of both the White House and US Central Command. The

Canadian naval contribution peaked in January 2002, when 1,500 navy personnel and six

warships were deployed, and since then the commitment has consisted of no fewer than two

Canadian warships and 500 personnel. This ongoing commitment has seen 11 of the Navy's 15

operational destroyers and frigates, and both replenishment ships, participate in the operation to

date. The continuous participation of the naval TG has represented a significant and visible

demonstration of Canada's willingness to do its part in the maintenance of international peace

and order in the new post-9/11 environment. Moreover, since Canada is a leading member of a

coalition responding to an international event of great significance, Canada's commitment to

collective security stands out as a significant entry in the record of Canada as a middle power. Of

course, the significance of the naval contribution in the Canadian effort means that the Navy

shares in this achievement. While on station in the Arabian Sea, Canadian ships have performed

force protection, fleet-support, leadership interdiction operations (LIO), and MIO.[259] Canadians

have been leaders in the maritime and leadership interdiction efforts, performing the majority of

the hails and boardings.[260] Additionally, the naval TG is the only CF unit that has apprehended

suspected terrorists.[261] It is not surprising, therefore, that US news services have reported "few

US allies have been more critical and more helpful in the War on Terror than Canada… [whose]

Navy has quietly assumed leadership in patrolling the Gulf region."[262] This leadership resulted in

[258] Canada, DND, "The Canadian Forces' Contribution to the International Campaign Against Terrorism," Backgrounder (Ottawa: DND, 2002), 13 November 2002, 3 March 2003 <http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/Newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=490>.

[259] Ibid.

[260] USA, Central Command, "International Contributions to the War on Terrorism: Canada," - , 3 March 2003 <http://www.centcom.mil/Operations/Coalition/Coalition_pages/canada.htm>.

[261] Ibid.

[262] Mike Burleson, "Canada Leads in Terror War," Government and Politics: Navy Review, 31 December 2002, 3 March 2003 <http://www.buzzle.com/editorials/12-29-2002-32774asp>.

the Canadian TG Commander being assigned as Commander Task Force (TF) 151, the

multinational naval force devoted to leadership interdiction efforts in the Gulf of Oman that

currently boasts 15 ships from 6 countries.[263] Regarding the position of the naval contribution in

the overall effort, Richard Gimblett has observed that while[264]

> some observers have quibbled that there is little point to naval contribution against a land-locked opponent, but they overlook two factors: the developing American understanding of littoral warfare, .. and that Canadian naval units can integrate seamlessly in USN carrier battle groups, from which a large portion of the war has been prosecuted. … [Consequently] it was a godsend that a capable navy exists to make a meaningful contribution.

In Leadmark terms, the TG is performing MIO and presence functions. From the foreign policy

perspective, the government is exploiting the naval immediate, significant and enduring presence

primarily for the purpose of advancing collective security against the asymmetric terrorist threat,

to which Canada is making a demonstrably commitment in keeping with the functional principle.

According to Adam Chapnick,[265]

> …it is clear that the multilateral nature of the military effort has helped preserve the sense of global unity. Canada clearly remains a staunch ally of the US; it has nonetheless, asserted itself on the world stage as a supporter of the rule of law and a promoter of its prized concept of human security through its public support of the Geneva conventions and its position of leadership in the UN humanitarian mission.

Meanwhile, continued significant participation enhances bilateral relations with the US by

emphasizing Canada's willingness to assume an appropriate burden in the interest of collective

security, a long-standing desire of the US vis-à-vis Canada. Hence, the growing role of sea power

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[263] CBC, "Canadian Officers Sent to US Base in Qatar," In Depth: Iraq, 11 February 2003, 24 April 2003 <http://www.cbc.ca/storyview/CBC/2003/02/11/canada_iraq030211>.
[264] Richard Gimblett, "A Strategic Overview of the Canadian Security Environment," Canadian Foreign Policy 9.3, (Spring 2002), 8.
[265] Chapnick, 345.

as an instrument of CANUS relations is reiterated. However, US recognition of the Canadian effort notwithstanding, for a variety of unrelated reasons CANUS relations have been heavily strained since 2001, thereby effectively undermining Chrétien's ability to reap the full benefits of the significant Canadian contribution to Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. Since CANUS relations have deteriorated despite the US acknowledgement of the significant Canadian contribution to the "War on Terror," one can only surmise how bad relations might be without the APOLLO contribution to ENDURING FREEDOM. In any event, while this circumstance is indeed unfortunate, it does not discredit the significant and recognized contribution to Canada's middle-power record which has been provided by the most significant CF deployment since the Korean War and what has grown into the most significant naval deployment since the Second World War.

Chrétien's style of middlepowermanship, emphasizing active internationalism and characterized by the themes of prosperity, multilateralism and Canadian values, has exploited naval activity to good advantage. Utilization of the naval port visit programme in a similar manner to the more high profile Team Canada Missions, for example, has produced modest but measurable contributions to Canada's economic prosperity as COMMARPAC's experience has demonstrated. The visits have also served to maintain Canada's profile in a variety of forums around the globe and encouraged Track Two diplomacy and CBMs that support the mandate's multilateralism theme. In addition to contributing to the port visit programme, routine operational deployments themselves have been more effectively exploited under Chrétien. Routine integration into USN formations has allowed Canadian multilateralism to be used for bilateral CANUS advantage as well. Meanwhile, the themes of multilateralism and Canadian values were well advantaged in the Operation TOUCAN deployment in which the naval contribution proved

particularly valuable. It was, however, the response to the 9/11 attacks that provided the most substantial contribution to Canada's middle-power record under the Chrétien mandate. More importantly, in the context of this paper, is the fact that the government's active internationalism was embodied primarily in a naval contribution that was both immediate and enduring. Given that Canada's commitment to collective security has stood out as a significant middle-power contribution, the Navy can therefore be cited as having again contributed to a significant milestone in the emergence of Canada as a middle power. Ironically, despite the magnitude of its commitment, the Chrétien government has not been able to leverage full diplomatic advantage out of the operation, primarily as a result of unrelated strains in the CANUS relationship. This does not, however, diminish the significance of the contribution to Canada's middle-power record, nor does it undermine the significance of the naval contribution in that regard. Ultimately, Chrétien's mandate has made varied and beneficial use of sea power to advance its middlepowermanship style, as well as Canada's standing as a middle power in general.

As Chrétien's mandate draws to a close, the ongoing contribution to Operation APOLLO is just the most recent example of how the Canadian Navy has applied the tenets of sea power to the good advantage of Canadian foreign policy themes of successive governments since 1945. This section has been replete with many more, as Tables 3A and 3B detail. This history and Admiral Moore's 1997 claim that Canadian warships contain 225 ambassadors[266] dispute Canadian diplomat Daryl Copeland's claim that "only the foreign service is out there to engage the world through the distinctive prism of Canadian values, policies and interests."[267] Despite the fact that the major themes have been re-ordered in order to produce various middle-power styles appropriate to successive governments, the remarkable consistency of Canadian foreign policy

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[266] Moore, 40.
[267] Copeland, 110.

themes throughout the post-Second World War era has been matched only by the consistent and significant support that the Navy has produced in over 25 contingency deployments and countless routine deployments and visits.

In the final analysis, the significance of naval contributions to Canada's emergence as a middle power is threefold. Firstly, the utility of sea power in support of a variety of styles of middlepowermanship has been illustrated. Although St. Laurent made effective use of the tenets of sea power in addressing the status aspect of middlepowermanship through the *CRESCENT* deployment and the naval contribution to the Korean War, for example, the same tenets were applied with equal success by subsequent PMs to promote differing styles of middlepowermanship. Under Trudeau, for example, a planned operation in Jamaica featured an NEO component just as the *CRESCENT* mission had, although Trudeau's effort was in support of his style of "nationalized" middlepowermanship and not merely middle-power status. Similarly, Mulroney employed a NEO component in an operation off Haiti to promote a starkly different and more Pearsonian-style of middlepowermanship. As these few illustrations evidence, sea power proved to be a readily adaptable foreign policy tool that was exploited to varying degrees by successive administrations in the furtherance of their foreign policy goals and middle-power style. In other words, naval activity has contributed to Canada's evolution as a middle power by providing utility in foreign policy support for successive mandates. Secondly, it has been established that Canada's Navy has contributed directly and, in many cases, significantly to several of the defining incidents, seminal events, or achievements in Canada's middle-power history. The naval contribution was significant, for example, in Canada's participation in the Korea War, the Gulf War, and the "War on Terror," major events on Canada's middle-power record. Finally, it has also been established that an impressive quantity of naval activity in

support of Canada's middle-power foreign policy effort has occurred. Tables 3A and 3B, for example, identify 20 operations discussed herein. However, this number actually undervalues the extent of the contribution since many of the operations were of a long duration or involved the commitment of sizeable forces. Korean War participation, for example, involved eight of an available 11 destroyers over five years, with three ships in theatre at any one time. This provides for an average of two years in theatre per ship. In 1988, Operation BANDIT employed a four-ship TG in the Caribbean for two months. More recently, Operation APOLLO has seen 13 of the 17 vessels on strength deployed in less than two years. Obviously, the collective naval contribution to foreign policy has also been voluminous. Ultimately, it is precisely the voluminous, significant and adaptable extent of naval contribution to Canada's foreign policy endeavour that proves that sea power has played a significant role in Canada's emergence as a middle power.

DATES	PM	NAVAL ACTIVITY	SEA POWER APPLIED (**LEADMARK** TENET) (Listed by subsidiary function)	COMPOSITE FOREIGN POLICY THEME(S) SUPPORTED
1949	St. Laurent	*CRESCENT*'s Deployment to China	• NEO (Planned) • Presence	• Functional Principle
1950 – 1955	St. Laurent	Korean War Participation	• MIO • PSO • Humanitarian Assistance • Sea Control • Battlespace Dominance • Maritime Power Projection • Maritime Manoeuvre	• Functional Principle • Responsibility • Multilateralism • Endorsement/Support of UN
1956	St. Laurent	*MAGNIFICENT* Deployment in Support of UNEF	• Preventive Deployment • PSO • Humanitarian Assistance • CBM	• Functional Principle • Responsibility • Multilateralism • Endorsement/Support of UN
1963	Pearson	*SASKATCHEWAN* off Haiti	• NEO (planned) • Presence	• Functional Principle • Responsibility • Multilateralism • Democracy • Canadian Values
1964	Pearson	*BONAVENTURE* Deployment to Cyprus	• Preventive Deployment • PSO • Humanitarian Assistance • CBM	• Functional Principle • Responsibility • Multilateralism
1966	Pearson	*GATINEAU & ST. LAURENT* Celebrates Barbados Independence	• Presence • Symbolic Use • Preventive Deployment • NEO (Planned)	• Responsibility • Democracy
1967	Pearson	*PROVIDER* Deployment in Support of UNEF	• UNEF Evac (Planned) • PSO • Presence	• Functional Principle • Responsibility
1973	Trudeau	*TERRA NOVA & KOOTENAY* in Support of ICCS	• ICCS Evacuation (planned) • Presence	• Functional Principle • Responsibility • Multilateralism
1974	Trudeau	*ANNAPOLIS* at Grenada Independence	• Presence • Symbolic value • NEO (Planned)	• Sovereignty • Prosperity • Democracy • Canadian Values • Also promoted Trudeau's Third Option Policy & general Caribbean Influence
1974	Trudeau	*PRESERVER* to Haiti at CIDA Request	• Humanitarian assistance	• Canadian Values • Promoted Third Option
1979	Trudeau	Contingency Plan for Jamaican Intervention	• NEO (planned) • Maritime Manoeuvre (planned)	• Prosperity • Sovereignty • Democracy

Table 3A – Sea Power Tenets Applied in Support of Foreign Policy Themes (1945-1979)

DATES	PM	NAVAL ACTIVITY	SEA POWER APPLIED (**LEADMARK** TENET) (Listed by subsidiary function)	FOREIGN POLICY THEME(S) SUPPORTED
1968 - Present	Trudeau Mulroney Chrétien	Routine Holistic Port Visit Programme	• Presence • CBM • Track Two Diplomacy	• Prosperity • Multilateralism
1988	Mulroney	TG off Haiti	• NEO (planned) • Presence • Coercion	• Functional Principle • Responsibility • Unity • Democracy • Canadian Values
1990	Mulroney	Op FRICTION (TG to Arabian Gulf to participate in Gulf War)	• MIO • Coercion • Sea Control • Battlespace Dominance	• Functional Principle • Responsibility • Multilateralism • Endorsement/Support for UN • Enhancement of CANUS relationship
1991 - 1992	Mulroney	*HURON & RESTIGOUCHE* to Gulf for PSO Ops	• MIO	• Functional Principle • Responsibility
1992	Mulroney	*PRESERVER* off Somalia	• PSO • Humanitarian Assistance • Presence	• Responsibility • Multilateralism • Canadian Values • Endorsement/Support for UN • Enhancement of CANUS relationship
1993 - 1996	Campbell - Chrétien	Op SHARP GUARD participation	• MIO • Coercion • Maritime Power Projection	• Responsibility • Multilateralism • Support for UN
1993	Campbell	Op DIALOGUE (TG off Haiti)	• MIO • NEO (Planned) • Presence • Coercion	• Responsibility • Multilateralism • Democracy • Prosperity
1997 - Present	Chrétien	USN CVNBG Integration	• MIO • Presence • CBM • Maritime Power Projection	• Responsibility • Multilateralism • Enhancement of CANUS relationship
1999	Chrétien	*PROTECTEUR* In Op TOUCAN off East Timor	• PSO • Humanitarian Assistance • CBM	• Responsibility • Multilateralism • Endorsement/Support of UN
2001	Chrétien	Op APOLLO (participation in the US-led anti-terrorism coalition)	• Preventive Deployment (to deter terrorism) • Leadership Interdiction Operations (LIO) / MIO • Presence	• Functional Principle • Responsibility • Multilateralism • Enhancement of CANUS relationship

Table 3B – Sea Power Tenets Applied in Support of Foreign Policy Themes (1980-2001)

Conclusion

Through the preceding three sections, it has been established that sea power has played a significant role in Canada's emergence as a middle power. The prerequisite understanding of sea power was provided in section one. Notwithstanding a broad contemporary definition, sea power was identified as remaining a vestige of naval forces. Navies were seen to impart their influence both at sea and from the sea through the universally accepted trinity of military, diplomatic and constabulary roles - the first two of which are relevant to foreign policy support missions. The diplomatic role, comprising eleven doctrinal functions, was then evidenced as the dominant component of sea power in foreign policy support considerations, primarily because the use of force short of war has dominated the post-Second World War experience. This explained "what" tenets of sea power are applied in foreign policy support. Section two addressed the question of "why" Canada has acted as she has on the world stage by surveying the internationalist tradition that Canada has embraced since the Second World War. The survey revealed a remarkably consistent foreign policy that conforms to the middle-power position to which Canada has laid claim. Significantly, the survey also identified that the successive mandates were distinguishable only in that they assigned different priorities to the common themes. Avoiding the semantic debate regarding middle power definition, section two exploited an exegesis of Canadian foreign policy to bound Canadian middlepowermanship[268] by themes including functionalism, responsibility, multilateralism, democracy, Canadian values, unity, sovereignty, prosperity, and environment. Given the "what" and "why" concerning the application of sea power in foreign policy support, section three provided the "when, where and how." A historical survey of naval activity since 1945 established "when and where" sea power was applied to support foreign

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[268] Dr. Paul Mitchell, E-mail to the author. 24 April 2003.

policy. More importantly, in identifying the specific tenets of sea power applied and the particular foreign policy themes advantaged throughout the historical survey, section three describes "how" sea power has played a significant role in Canada's emergence as a middle power. In the final analysis, sea power was seen as having played a significant role in Canada's emergence as a middle power for three reasons. Firstly, it proved to be an adaptable tool well utilized by successive mandates irrespective of the style of middlepowermanship that the mandate embraced. Secondly, it proved instrumental to the achievement of several of Canada's middle-power achievements and milestones. And thirdly, it has produced an impressive quantity of effort in pursuit of Canada's remarkably consistent middle-power foreign policy. Given that Canada's middlepowermanship is obviously based on the successful application of her foreign policy themes, the utility of sea power in the promotion of the foreign policy themes established in section three links sea power to Canada's emergence as a middle power.

The <u>Naval Doctrine Manual</u> declaration that "the theme of navies and foreign policy has been use of the seas"[269] is validated in the Canadian case study. Clearly, sea power can be as significant to the nurturing of a middle power as it can be for a Great Power.

Recognition of the significant role of sea power in buttressing Canada's foreign policy serves two important purposes. Firstly, this recognition both validates and encourages Canada's internationalism. Clearly, the significant role which sea power has been seen to play in Canada's foreign policy success reveals that Canada has a demonstrated will and capacity to secure national interests through international endeavour. This is consistent with <u>Competitiveness and Security</u>'s declaration that "nations derive their international influence from the assets at their disposal and their effectiveness in using them; influence is a function both of national assets and

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[269] <u>MCP 1</u>, 4-5/39.

of national will. Neither by itself is sufficient."[270] Therefore, given that success is the best encouragement, as long as the Navy provides a reasonable capacity, presumably the national will shall be actively internationalist. And secondly, the significant role of sea power in buttressing Canadian foreign policy serves to legitimize the Navy as a valuable national institution worthy of reinvestment. As Gimblett opines in the introduction to Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy, "… Canada's Navy has been far from irrelevant, … the state has received a fair return on its investment."[271] Interestingly, this is the same argument that saved the Navy from disbanding in 1933 when Chief of Naval Staff Rear Admiral Walter Hose "was able to demonstrate to the Treasury Board that the RCN was integral to the achievement of Canada's foreign policy goals."[272] Of course, Hose's battle was made more challenging by the fact that he did not have an internationalist foreign policy and middle-power status as the leadmarks for his Navy's passage. Conversely, in the vastly different political climate of today, the growing popularity of increased defence spending, in order to "have more international influence,"[273] coupled with the demonstrated utility of naval forces, in this regard, bodes well for what Leadmark calls the "the Navy of Today" and "the Next Navy."[274]

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