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MASTERS OF DEFENCE STUDIES (MDS) THESIS

**THE AUSCANUS PACIFIC NAVAL TRIAD:
IMPROVING CANADA'S INFLUENCE IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION**

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**THE AUSCANUS PACIFIC NAVAL TRIAD:
IMPROVING CANADA'S INFLUENCE IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION**

ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the security setting of the Asia-Pacific region, examines how the US, Australia, and Canada, have worked together to make progress on regional security interests, and outlines what Canada must do to build confidence and derive the most influence from its naval commitment to the region.

Research was conducted by reviewing primary and secondary sources to identify historical precedents for Canada's naval involvement in the region. Analysis of regional dynamics and security concerns resulted in goals that are achievable within the resources available to the Canadian Navy. The paper concludes that the Canadian Navy has an important role to play in Asia-Pacific in conjunction with the US Navy and the Royal Australian Navy, and that a focused effort is required, in cooperation with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

THE AUSCANUS PACIFIC NAVAL TRIAD:
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INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the Cold War, the Canadian Navy's need to be committed to European defence through NATO has diminished greatly, and NATO has become more of a political security entity. Thus the Canadian Navy has been able to shift its focus to other parts of the world that are of interest to Canada. While it is both likely and beneficial for Canada to maintain its contribution of a ship to the Standing Naval Force Atlantic or Mediterranean, there is a need for greater emphasis on other regions that have the potential to involve the Canadian Navy in coalition operations, most notably in the Asia-Pacific region.

Canada has both the opportunity and the need to build relationships in the Asia-Pacific region; relationships that will be instrumental in dealing with regional conflicts that loom on our western horizon. Our ability to operate with our closest allies in the Asia-Pacific region, namely the United States and Australia is an essential aspect to be considered, as our operations in the region will invariably be conducted with one or both of these nations. From a naval perspective, these activities demand complete interoperability in both doctrine and information technology.

It is vitally important that Canada understand all of the important factors when trying to develop an improved relationship with Asian countries. It is intuitively obvious that there are significant cultural differences between our traditional European allies and our new allies in Asia, but it is essential that we appreciate those differences in order to earn Asian respect, and build our bilateral and multilateral relationships. In Asia-Pacific, relationships are built over many years of consistent behaviour and commitment. Without this commitment, a nation cannot

be taken seriously or trusted. As Canadians, we must also understand that there is no common security outlook in the region. Rather, each country has its own set of concerns, often with its own neighbours because of the turbulent history of the region.

The aspect of bilateralism is also important to understand, because it is the one-on-one relationships that are vital to making progress on important issues. This is necessary once again, because each country in the region has very different national and international agendas. This reality is well understood by the United States Navy (USN), which has operated large fleets of warships in the Pacific continuously over the past century, and has built strong relationships based on bilateralism. In fact, as a result of the US interest in the region, and America's ability to influence events and contribute to regional security, the US has several bilateral defence agreements with Asian countries like Japan and South Korea. These agreements commit the United States to military involvement should any conflict arise involving the other party.

The United States and Australia are the two countries in the Asia-Pacific region with which Canada has the most in common, and will almost certainly be partners in any future regional coalition. As the Canadian Navy's blueprint for the future, *Leadmark*, points out,

“Canadian naval forces will be joined to offshore and overseas military operations in order to bring hasty resolution to an undesirable situation. But the Canadian government will want to influence the conduct of the operation and the employment of their forces. What counts in multinational operations is a prominent position.”¹

To gain this position of influence, the Canadian Navy must dedicate effort and resources to the Asia-Pacific region, and reinforce our relationship with our two greatest regional allies there, the United States and Australia.

¹ Leadmark: The Navy's Strategy for 2020. p. 112.

AIM

This paper analyses the security setting of the Asia-Pacific region, examines how the US, Australia, and Canada, have worked together to make progress on regional security interests, and outlines what Canada must do to build confidence and derive the most influence from its naval commitment to the region.

BACKGROUND

As a former colony of Great Britain, Canada began acting independently in addressing its own foreign affairs in the early part of the 20th century. Since then, Canada has been expanding its degree of influence throughout the world by means of diplomacy, and where necessary, becoming involved militarily to defend human rights and freedoms. “It is in this spirit of engaged internationalism that Canada historically has deployed force overseas, not at the insistence of senior allied partners, but to a large extent out of national self-interest.”² But to gain the most from our personnel and resource commitment to the Asia-Pacific region, Canada must be prepared to back-up its good intentions with action. The development of ties with the region is not a “one shot” deal; it requires a government foreign policy that is clearly articulated, with a specific set of goals to be achieved in the region, and one that is respectful of the differences associated with countries in the region. Canada must select those countries with which closer ties are to be developed, countries with the greatest need for what this country has to offer, as well as those that have something to offer in return.

While economic considerations are not within the scope of this paper, regional security aspects are, and Asia-Pacific regional economics have an enormous impact on regional security.

² Leadmark 2020. Page 75.

When economies are strong, there is greater likelihood of increased defence spending which can lead to a regional arms race. When economic conditions are poor, citizens become dissatisfied with their standards of living and put pressure on their governments for change. From a Canadian economic perspective, Asia-Pacific represents the greatest amount of imports and exports for the Canadian economy after the United States. However, this condition cannot be viewed in isolation, as Western Europe remains a close third. Furthermore, sea routes are essential to the movement of most goods that are traded, and the Asia-Pacific region has many waterways and seas that are of strategic importance to all trading nations. Were a conflict to erupt in the region, it would certainly have an impact on all free-trading nations' economies, a situation that would have negative effects for all of us. Canada must, therefore, develop a better understanding and degree of influence in the region, if our needs and interests are to be considered in the course of normal trade, as well as when regional disputes or crises are settled.

Canada has a reputation for having a stabilizing influence on the conflicts the country becomes involved in. Indeed, our involvement in the War on Terrorism shows that we're not afraid of becoming involved in combat, even if we lack recent experience. Canada has a great deal to offer any coalition, not just because of the nature of Canada's stabilizing influence, but also because of our degree of professional knowledge of maritime warfare and technological development. This point is particularly important since Canada is more closely interoperable with the United States Navy than any other nation. When determining what Canada can bring to the table in the Asia-Pacific region, and to any potential coalition partners, our ability to interoperate with the United States Navy must be considered.

History has shown that Canada is a nation fully engaged in world events in order to ensure international peace and stability. For example, Canada was one of the first countries to

commit its forces to the two World Wars, and the Korean War. It is equally true today as Canada maintains the third largest military presence in Southwest Asia³ as a member of the United States led coalition in the war against terrorism. Canada believes strongly in multi-lateral relationships and formal dialogue to resolve disagreements. However, when dialogue fails, the country has also shown that it is prepared to contribute armed forces to an international effort to resolve a crisis. In fact, when a crisis erupts, it is almost invariably the Canadian Navy that is dispatched by the government to lead Canada's response. This sends a clear message to our allies and to belligerents that Canada is intent on restoring regional stability.

The Canadian government has stated its interest in the Asia-Pacific region, from an economic and security standpoint. The Canadian Navy is an important vehicle for the realization of Department of National Defence (DND) and Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) related goals. A concerted effort has been made over the past ten years to improve Canada's influence by using ship deployments and high level visits to the region, and this has achieved considerable success in promoting Canadian interests. This issue will be covered in greater detail in this paper.

Asia-Pacific Regional Security Setting

The Asia-Pacific region has many troubled spots, all of which have the potential to escalate into regional conflict. The possible causes of conflict in Asia-Pacific include: territorial disputes, offshore resource ownership disputes, rogues states' threats to use weapons of mass destruction, internal insurgency and terrorism, and potentially, food and water shortages for a rapidly growing populations. Any conflict would have a devastating effect on the region's

³ Comments by Vice-Admiral Ron Buck, Chief of the Maritime Staff, to the Maritime Component of Command and Staff Course 28, Canadian Forces College, Toronto. 27 March 2002.

fragile and recovering economies, and hamper the efforts of governments to improve their citizens' standard of living and quality of life. In fact, economic development in the region is a double-edged sword. On one hand it improves the quality of life of its citizens, while on the other it provides the resources governments' need to develop their countries' defences. This, in turn, has the potential to trigger a regional arms race. While a regional security umbrella, such as that provided by NATO, would appear to be a logical step towards improving security and stability, its development is unlikely due to widely differing concerns of the nations that would be affected.

The solution to the problem is complicated, and will require a careful process of dialogue and international engagement by the key players, namely, China, Japan, the United States, and increasingly, the Republic of (South) Korea. Indeed, all nations in the region must remain engaged in dialogue, particularly those possessing weapons of mass destruction, such as the Democratic Peoples' Republic of (North) Korea. In view of the fact that China, Japan and South Korea rely so heavily on sea trade for their economic security, and in particular on a steady supply of oil from the Arabian Gulf, it is likely that these states will continue to require naval forces to protect their vital national interests.

US presence in the region is key. It promotes the stability that is needed so that neighboring countries can focus on developing their economies and ensuring their internal stability. This is perhaps the main reason why North Korean incursions into the South have been dissuaded⁴, although the North Koreans continue to cite US presence in the region as destabilizing.⁵ Since the end of World War Two, Japan has been reluctant to take-on a greater

⁴ Discussion during Southeast Asia briefing in Brodeur Theatre, CFC Toronto, 24 March 2002.

⁵ "US, South Korea end War Games." Agence France-Presse Article 27 March 2002. (<http://www.defense-aerospace.com/afp/defense/020327080810.6ets01ov.html>)

role as a military power in the region, because of the pacifist nature of its society and its present constitution. However, there is a groundswell developing in Japanese society that may lead to a greater international role for Japan's military in the future. Indeed, there is a growing national desire to become engaged in Peace Support Operations, as evidenced by Japan's role in providing logistics support to UN operations in East Timor.

The United States will probably remain the dominant regional power in the Asia-Pacific region for at least another twenty years. It is difficult to forecast whether China will be prepared, economically and militarily, to assume the leading role in the region by then, although it is clear that this is China's long-term strategic goal.⁶ China's economic growth over the past twenty years has been tremendous, but China has not yet reached the point where it can challenge the presence of the US, replacing it as the region's main influence. The country still has too many internal issues to be addressed first.

Other regional powers are also developing their military capabilities, commensurate with the economic means available, and the need to protect their foreign trade interests. Japan has built a "Maritime Self-Defence Force" that is, by all accounts, the most capable navy in the region next to the USN. South Korea is also in the process of building a modern fleet for regional presence.

Navies reflect the political and economic aspirations of internationally engaged nations.⁷ Economic prosperity however, is not necessarily a guarantor of regional security. The key to security in this region will be continuing dialogue amongst the nations involved. An article

⁶ China's National Defence in 2000, Section II. (<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/features/NDpaper/nd.html>)

⁷ Comments made to the Maritime Component of Command and Staff Course (CSC) 28 by Vice-Admiral Ron Buck, Chief of the Maritime Staff, during his visit to the Canadian Forces College 26 March 2002.

produced by the Institute for National Strategic Studies in Washington, DC, that analyses the security prospects for the Asia-Pacific region and US involvement, makes the point that:

“The year 2010 may see a more stable and unified region, firmly committed to responsible, accountable government and market economics. It could also be a divided region, threatened by instability and conflict, with many nations rejecting core democratic values. The challenge for the United States is to support a regional security architecture consistent with its core values.”⁸

It is worth noting that the US policy of promoting democratic principles throughout the world is not universally accepted; in fact, relations between Taiwan, which applies democratic practices, and the People’s Republic of China, is a good example of how the promotion of democracy can lead to greater instability between states.

Until the commencement of the War on Terrorism, the most significant issue for Asia-Pacific was considered to be US commitment to the region, and in particular, to Taiwan.⁹ In this regard, while the Chinese see development of their country's economy as their top priority, this is a means to an end. They want to develop the country's defence so that they can counter the regional effects of the US presence there. The US alliance with Japan is also cited by the Chinese as an area of concern because the Chinese are worried about a re-emergence of Japan as a regional power. Memories of the Japanese occupation prior to and during World War Two are still very prominent in the minds of the Chinese and the leaders of Southeast Asian nations.

Australia is also revamping its military posture due, in large degree, to its experience in East Timor. The new Defence White Paper (2000) not only underscores the need for a balance amongst the three services, but calls for a joint regional power projection capability, with a detailed plan for funding and implementation over the first decade of the 21st century. Indonesia

⁸ *Asia Pacific Region: Murky Future?* Institute for National Strategic Studies. 1999. (<http://www.ndu.edu/inss/sa99/08.pdf>). Page 121.

⁹ *The Military Balance 2001-02*. Page 172.

continues to struggle economically and politically, and because of its close proximity to Australia, it is easy to understand why Australia feels the need to restructure its armed forces, despite the apparent warming of relations between the two countries.

When looking at areas that have the greatest potential for instability, it is clear that all of the pre-conditions for conflict exist in the Asia-Pacific region. Generally speaking, regions that have the greatest economic security are those with the least reason for conflict. Europe has experienced sustained economic growth through the EU, and political stability through both the EU and NATO. However, the same international security structure as provided by NATO does not exist for the countries that make up the Asia-Pacific region. While there are organizations such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and economic fora like the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, these do not provide a formal arrangement for collective defence; in fact, they only provide a structure for dialogue, and are still dependant on member nations' participation in good faith.

While the economic growth that has been experienced in the region over the past decade constitutes a sign of future prosperity, there remain several unresolved regional issues. The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) has provided a structure whereby nations can exploit the natural resources that exist offshore within their respective 200 nautical mile limits. However, in the case of the South China Sea, whereas UNCLOS was intended to resolve disputes, it has created new ones because of conflicting claims to the resource rich sea bottom in the area, and the potential for additional oil discoveries. Other historical conflicts remain that still haunt the region. The economic growth of countries has also led to the means available to improve territorial defence, and when one country makes improvements to its military, its neighbours feel pressured to do the same. Indeed, it was recently noted by retired Commodore

Sam Bateman (RAN) that a naval arms race is already underway in Southeast Asia¹⁰, particularly with regard to regional submarine proliferation.

In addition to the strictly regional issues, there are also issues related to the movement of trade by the sea. The Strait of Malacca is a key strategic choke point that funnels shipping to and from the South China Sea. The fact that a portion of their trade moves through this potentially troubled region means that the economies of western nations such as the United States and Canada, are subject to regional stability and the free movement of shipping. To gain a better understanding of the impact the region may have on Canada, Australia and the United States, a closer analysis of each of the areas of potential conflict will be conducted.

China and Taiwan

The Chinese have produced a defence policy document entitled "China's National Defence in 2000"¹¹, which establishes a plan to restructure, modernize and improve the country's armed forces over a five year period. The Chinese are also working to make their armed forces less reliant on conscripts and more professional in nature. They have cited the threat arising from the more robust alliances between the US and Taiwan and the US and Japan, as the reason for increased national defence expenditures. While the Chinese have begun investigating the acquisition of aircraft carriers to provide them with some power projection capability, it appears that it will be some time before they have the resources to follow through on this plan. As a stopgap measure, the Chinese have acquired two Sovremenny-Class guided missile destroyers,

¹⁰ Sam Bateman. "Regional Naval Developments – A Strategic View." Pacific 2002 Handbook. Centre for Maritime Policy, University of Wollongong, Australia. 2002.

¹¹ China's National Defence in 2000. (<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/features/NDpaper/nd.html>).

armed with SSN-22 SUNBURN anti-ship missiles, to provide some limited means of countering the US carrier presence in the region.¹²

In addition to perceived external threats, China is also preoccupied with addressing the growing problem of internal threats, such as the Uighur separatist movement in Xinjiang province. While the problem is to be addressed primarily by police and internal security forces, there is some threat to Chinese military installations due to terrorism.¹³

Until the commencement of the War on Terrorism, the most significant issue for the region was considered to be the US policy towards Taiwan, and in particular, the more assertive nature of the Bush Administration as compared to the Clinton Administration.¹⁴ In this regard, while the Chinese see development of the country's economy as their top priority, a healthy economy is considered necessary in order to continue the development of the country's defences, including the countering of the regional effects of the US presence there.

Another concern for China is a US offer of four Kidd-Class Destroyers and twelve P3 Orion Maritime Patrol Aircraft to Taiwan in April 2001. More recently, Taiwan's acquisition of the US Patriot Missile System, as part of a Theatre Ballistic Missile Defence (TBMD) capability, and the planned construction of German-designed diesel electric submarines with US technical assistance, has raised tensions.¹⁵ The Chinese view this action as US interference in their internal matters, and contrary to the "principles of respect for [the] sovereignty and territorial integrity" as articulated in the US-Sino Communiqué signed between former US President Richard M. Nixon, and Chairman Mao Tse Tung in 1972.¹⁶

¹² The Military Balance 2001-02. Page 172.

¹³ *Ibid.* Page 173.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Page 172.

¹⁵ The Taipei Times. 20 March 2002. (<http://www.taipeitimes.com/news>)

¹⁶ Joint Communiqué between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America Issued in Shanghai, 28 February 1972. (<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/ea/uschina/jtcomm.htm>)

This communiqué outlined an understanding between the two states that would increase mutual confidence and understanding of each other. It also articulated the philosophy of “One China”, which both states agreed to. However, “One China”, from the Chinese perspective, is a unified socialist state, whereas the Taiwanese would prefer independence. Given the significant differences in ideology, it is unlikely that the issue will be resolved in the foreseeable future, and will likely remain a cause of tension in the region.

Japan

The US security alliance with Japan is also cited by the Chinese as an area of potential conflict, owing to Chinese concerns over the possible re-emergence of Japan as a regional military power.¹⁷ Memories of the Japanese occupation prior to and during World War Two are still very prominent in the minds of regional populations, and has resulted in a generally pacifist outlook in Japanese society. However, since the Gulf War of 1990-91, Japan has expanded its regional influence to include Peace Support Operations (PSO) as part of UN mandated coalitions. Having suffered the embarrassment of making only a financial contribution to the coalition against Iraq during the early 1990s, Japan is now being urged by the US and other allies to take on a greater role militarily. For example, the Japanese Maritime Self-Defence Force has been operating in support of the US-led coalition in the War on Terrorism by providing humanitarian relief supplies for refugees in Afghanistan,¹⁸ and logistics support to coalition ships. But this was only made possible after an historic law was passed that allowed Japan to contribute forces to assist in fighting terrorism.

¹⁷ The Military Balance 2001-02. Page 173.

¹⁸ Japanese Embassy in Pakistan Press Release:
<http://www.japanemb.org.pk/Press/Press%202001/12%20Dec%202001%20JSDF%20Ship.htm>

Japan has also supported the ongoing UN International Force in East Timor (INTERFET) by providing Japanese Ground Self-Defence Force vehicles for use by peacekeepers.¹⁹ However, Japan still struggles with the idea of using its forces in any non-peace support or humanitarian role. Recently, an Australian newspaper reported that the Japanese government wrestled with a decision about providing fuel to Australian warships that were conducting maritime interdiction operations against Iraq,²⁰ even though these operations are in accordance with UN sanctions.

In December 2000, the Japanese Security Council and Cabinet passed a “mid-term defence program” which establishes priorities for the Japanese Self-Defence Forces. This includes the ability to counter cyber attacks, to secure information technology and communications, and to have the ability to counter any direct threats to Japan, particularly from weapons of mass destruction.²¹ Given the ongoing threat posed by North Korea, and to a lesser degree, China, the defence relationship between the US and Japan will likely continue to be the dominant power alliance in the Asia-Pacific region, and remain a concern to Beijing.

North and South Korea

Although some progress had been made in the relationship between South and North Korea, as a result of continued dialogue between the two states, the recent hard line taken by the US towards North Korea’s nuclear weapons policy and the testing of delivery platforms has increased tensions. The US president identified North Korea as a part of an “axis of evil”²², implying that the Bush Administration intends to expand the War on Terrorism beyond

¹⁹ Japan Today article “Ship with 159 GSDF vehicles leaves for E Timor”. 13 March 2002. (<http://www.japantoday.com>)

²⁰ The Age: “Japan agonises over refuelling our warships” 6 March 2002. (<http://www.theage.com.au/index.html>)

²¹ The Military Balance 2001-02. Page 174.

²² Karen DeYoung. “Bush Lays Down A Marker for 3 'Evil' States” *The Washington Post*. 30 January 2002. (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&node=&contentId=A59025-2002Jan30¬Found=true>)

Afghanistan. However, the fact remains that North Korea has not been able to provide reassurance that it is not pursuing the development of these weapons, and as a result has increased regional tensions. Other states within range, including the US, feel the need to take self-defensive measures. For US allies this could include participation in theatre missile defence programs, a development the Chinese strongly oppose as destabilizing to the region.

The US has about 37,000 military personnel in South Korea, and will likely continue to maintain this presence until a peaceful and democratic reunification of the Koreas can be achieved. However, given the North's strong opposition to the US presence, and intention to reunite with the South under a socialist government, it is probable that tensions will continue on the Korean peninsula.

Indonesia

Indonesia is considered to be the least stable country in Southeast Asia. Internal insurgency and terrorism from the "Free Aceh Movement" continue to plague the struggling Indonesian government. For its part, the government is attempting to eliminate independence movements within the country. However these movements have erupted into uncontrolled violence in the past, such as that seen in East Timor during the late 1990s. Properly applied, the military continues to be the only force available to the government able to address internal security matters. While the US recognizes this fact, support for Jakarta is tempered by a careful watch on human rights abuses by the military and para-military militias.²³

It is worth noting that Indonesia has the world's largest population of Muslims and fears have been raised that Muslim extremist groups connected to Al Qaeda will situate themselves

²³ The Military Balance 2001-02. Page 176.

within the population. This situation requires that US policy be very sensitive to the potential for terrorism and to perceptions of American involvement in the region.

Spratly Islands

The Spratly Islands of the South China Sea are hotly contested by several states of the region, due to rich natural resources located there. Claims to portions of the Spratly Islands are also used to leverage control of the strategically important seas located adjacent to the small islands. This situation has occasionally resulted in fighting between claimants, including an incident between the Chinese and Vietnamese navies in 1988, where several Vietnamese vessels were sunk resulting in the deaths of about 70 sailors.²⁴ According to the *CIA World Fact Book*:

“All of the Spratly Islands are claimed by China, Taiwan, and Vietnam; parts of them are claimed by Malaysia and the Philippines; in 1984, Brunei established an exclusive fishing zone that encompasses Louisa Reef in the southern Spratly Islands, but has not publicly claimed the island; in 2000, China joined ASEAN discussions towards creating a South China Sea "code of conduct" - a non-legally binding confidence building measure”²⁵

It appears that China would prefer to leave the Spratlys ‘problem’ unresolved, so that the issue can eventually be determined regionally and on its terms. The fact that the area is contentious also justifies naval expenditures by all of the parties involved.²⁶ Notwithstanding the legal issues surrounding the islands, there is a practical consideration as well; despite the considerable distance between China and the Spratlys relative to the other claimants, the rich fishing grounds of the area are an important source of food for China’s population of over one billion people.

²⁴ John Pike. “Spratly Islands.” *Federation of American Scientists Web Site*. 30 January 2000. (<http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/war/spratly.htm>)

²⁵ CIA World Fact Book (<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/pg.html>)

²⁶ CFC 28 Maritime Component Discussion following syndicate presentation on Southeast Asia Security, 24 March 2002.

Piracy

Piracy continues to disrupt the secure movement of shipping in the South China Sea and Strait of Malacca. While some countries have attempted to address the problem, notably Japan and India, other key players such as China have only made a token effort to resolve the problem. Incidents of piracy have been on the increase in recent years, and have been cited by countries such as Singapore and South Korea as an issue that must be addressed through coordinated means by the countries affected.

In an address to the 7th Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS), Rear-Admiral Liu Tuck Yew of the Royal Singapore Navy (RSN) urged all member countries to coordinate their efforts to address the threat of piracy to shipping.²⁷ This point was reinforced by the South Korean representative, who stated that “because Pacific Asian countries heavily rely on their sea-lanes’ safety for economic survival, continued disregard on a growing piracy problem could upset either national or regional maritime security stability in the near future.”²⁸

Australian Security Concerns

When viewed from a geographic perspective, it can be seen that Australia is in many respects isolated from most other “like-minded” nations. Although it has a close ally in New Zealand, their combined military power is still insufficient to counter any significant threats that could develop in the region. It is for this reason that Australia maintains a very close bilateral relationship with the United States; a relationship that provides a great deal more security than Australia could achieve on its own.

²⁷ Rear-Admiral Liu Tuck Yew RSN. “Professional Areas of Mutual Cooperation.” 7th Western Pacific Naval Symposium. Auckland, New Zealand, 8-11 November 2000.

²⁸ Admiral Soo-yong Lee (Director of Naval Operations Republic of Korea Navy). “Cooperative Scheme against Piracy in the Region.” 7th Western Pacific Naval Symposium. Auckland, New Zealand, 8-11 November 2000.

Australia recognizes itself as "an island continent in a maritime region"²⁹. Like Great Britain, Australia understands the fundamental importance of maritime defences to protect the nation and its interests abroad. Recognizing the great distance between Australia and its strongest ally, the United States, Canberra fully understands the importance of a strong defence force, and particularly, a strong Navy. In the recent Australian Defence White Paper (2000), the government enumerates the most critical regional security issue as:

“the relationships between the region’s major powers – China, Japan, India, Russia, and the United States. These countries are important to Australia’s security because they are the ones with the power – actual or potential – to influence events throughout the Asia Pacific region.”³⁰

In a document entitled *Australian Maritime Doctrine*, an assessment is undertaken of the social dimensions of Australia's maritime environment. It identifies that over 95% of Australia's population live within 150 kilometres of the coastline. Whereas Canada's greatest trade is conducted continentally across the border with the United States, Australia's greatest trade partners like Japan are located in other parts of the far-flung region. In that respect, the trade routes through the Southeast Asian region are of vital importance to the country's economy. (Figure 1 shows the flow of shipping around Australia).

Australian Maritime Doctrine goes on to say that Australians generally recognize the importance of the sea, particularly given the current problem of people smuggling into Australia. This maritime awareness constitutes an important distinction between Australians and Canadians; the importance of sea transport to the economy is not as obvious to Canadians as most of this countries trading is done between the industrial and economic centres of Eastern Canada across the border to United States using land-based means of transportation.

²⁹ Australian Maritime Doctrine. Page 11.

³⁰ Australian Defence White Paper, 2000. Page 5.

In defining the nation's strategic environment, it is clear that Australia's "physical security is directly related to the security and stability of maritime southeast and southwest pacific."³¹ Economic development in the Asia-Pacific region is a "key driver" of change in the strategic system, and "political and social changes that result from development will bring about the evolution of new international power relationships, the most important of which will involve the United States, China and Japan."³²

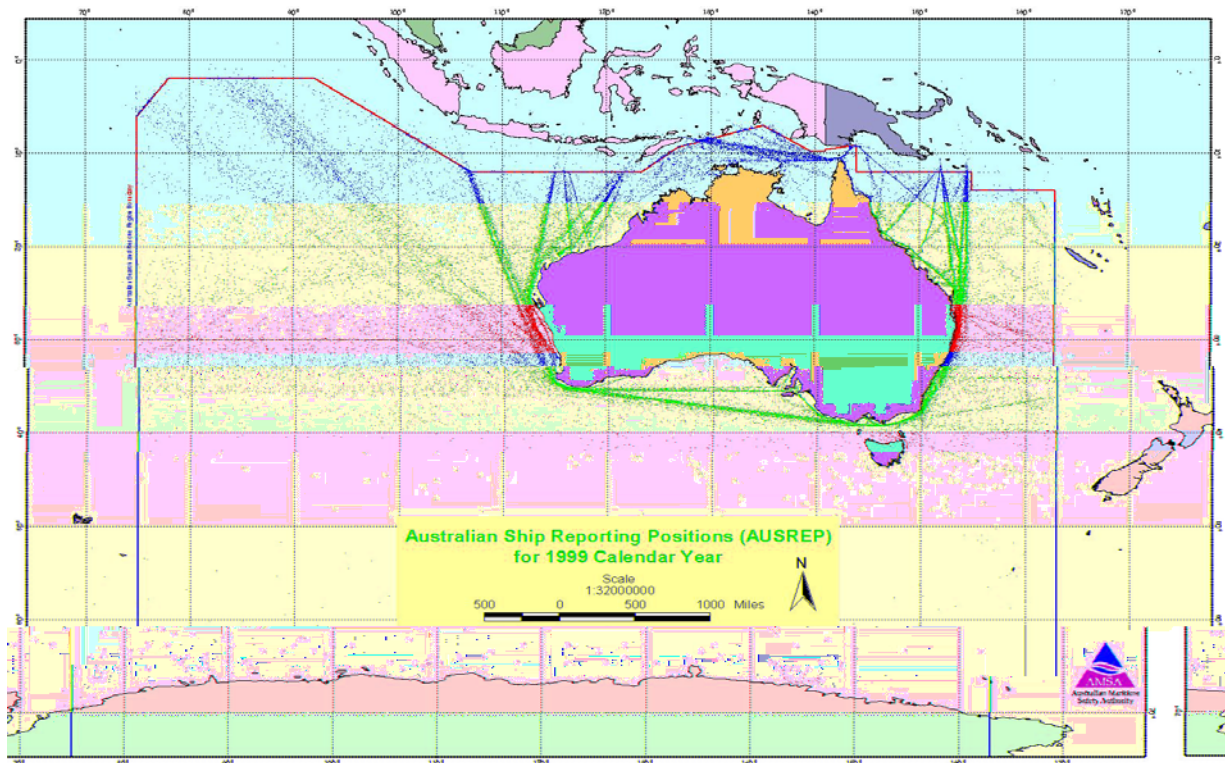


Figure 1. Australian Shipping Reporting Positions (AUSREP) for 1999. Source: Commander Howard Furness RAN, Naval Attaché. "The Australian Defence Force". Presentation to Maritime Component of CSC 28, Canadian Forces College, Toronto, Ontario. 22 March 2002.

Indonesia is also identified as "a defining element within Australia's strategic environment"³³, due primarily to its close geographic location and level of internal instability.

³¹ Australian Maritime Doctrine. Page 30.

³² *Ibid.* Page 31.

³³ *Ibid.*

Indonesia continues to struggle economically and politically. With such close proximity, it is easy to understand why Australia feels the need to restructure its armed forces in order to have a solid expeditionary capability, particularly given the country's experience in East Timor in 1999-2000. Australia's relationship with Papua New Guinea is also identified as central to their security interests.

The new Defence White Paper not only underscores the needs for a balance amongst the three services, but combines them into a joint regional power projection capability, with a detailed plan for funding and implementation over the first decade of the 21st century. Other "enduring strategic interests" include:

“Avoiding destabilizing strategic competition between the US, China and Japan as their relationships develop and change; preventing the emergence of a dominant power, or group of powers, within the region whose strategic interests are hostile to Australia; maintaining a benign environment on the region, particularly regarding territorial integrity of all states; preventing the positioning of "extra-regional military forces" in neighbouring countries that might be contrary to Australia's strategic interests; and preventing the proliferation of WMDs.”³⁴

Australia has embarked on a program of bilateral and multilateral exercises and dialogue. The most important of these is Exercise Tandem Thrust, which tests the country's national defences in cooperation with its primary regional partner, the US. There is some concern in Australia that this exercise is no longer strictly bilateral, and that countries like Canada are now taking part. This is one aspect that must be addressed to reduce concerns on the part of the Australians.

Australia also conducts exercises with powers in adjacent regions, including India. These exercises are intended to increase confidence between the two nations. Furthermore, they are designed to maintain a degree of influence in relations between India and Pakistan, another area

³⁴ *Ibid.*

with the potential to escalate into conflict, including the possible use of WMDs. The Indian Navy continues to expand its blue water and power projection capabilities, and has plans to build a fleet of SSNs, as well as develop a surface navy based on two carrier battle groups. The core of these CVBGs would be the 45,000-ton, Russian-built aircraft carrier, the Admiral Gorshkov. The rest of the Battle Group would consist of modern warships, including several Russian-built Krivak-class frigates.³⁵

Canadian Regional Interests: A Shifting Emphasis

There is a growing appreciation in Canada, and the Canadian Navy in particular, that the historical emphasis placed on our Defence Policy-mandated involvement in NATO is starting to give way to increased emphasis on and involvement in the Asia-Pacific region. There are many reasons why this is so. The shift is due in part to the fact that NATO is evolving into an organization for the enhancement of political stability among its members and non-member states. Nevertheless, NATO will continue to be an important part of Canada's national security structure. It provides Canadians with a disproportionately strong political voice and the means to offset or moderate the sometimes-overwhelming influence of our mighty neighbour, and close ally, the United States.

In defining the future security environment, *Leadmark: The Navy's Strategy for 2020* explains that:

“while the security and defence of Canada and allies will remain the paramount mission, the CF's maritime forces will require the capacity to operate thousands of nautical miles from Canadian shores. Preferably, this will be undertaken in cooperation with blue water regional force projection navies, but the Canadian Navy must be prepared for opposition in many situations.”³⁶

³⁵ The Military Balance 2001-02. Page 156.

³⁶ Leadmark: The Navy's Strategy for 2020. Page 88.

Canada has an important role to play in Asia-Pacific, given its membership in the international community, its influence as a member of the G8, its capabilities as a peacekeeping nation, and its own self-interest, not the least of which relates the Canadian economy. While remaining engaged internationally has its costs, both in terms of resources and risks to the government, the risks are more than offset by the influence the country gains by being a part of the solution when regional crises develop. As explained by Joe Varner, a senior advisor to Canadian senate committees, who specializes in Canadian and international security issues:

“States such as Canada can help promote and restore stability using diplomatic and/or economic resources. But in the end, they must be prepared to deploy combat capable forces for operations ranging from traditional, or “Pearsonian”, peacekeeping to armed intervention and war fighting.”³⁷

For its part, the Canadian Navy has had, and will continue to play, a key role in the Canadian government’s policies in Asia-Pacific. “Whether in the interest of Canadian values, or out of the value of our interests, Canada will remain engaged on the world scene. This means that the Canadian Navy must continue to be prepared to deploy globally, and at short notice.”³⁸

In positioning the Canadian Navy for future operations, *Leadmark* states that:

“The regions where such forces are expected to operate will continue to be of strategic importance to the global economy and international stability, namely the Middle East and Asia. Historically, Canada and its allies have conducted operations in these theatres to uphold international law – Korea in the 1950s, the Persian Gulf in the 1990s – and they can expect to do so in the future, should a crisis materialize.”³⁹...“A broadened security agenda signifies not only the ongoing vigilance of the Canadian Forces towards armed aggression by foreigners against the territory of Canada and its allies, but the CF’s continued deployment overseas in regional crisis.”⁴⁰

³⁷ Joe Varner. *The Niobe Papers Volume 10 - Canada’s Asia-Pacific Security Dilemma*. Page 21.

³⁸ *Leadmark: The Navy’s Strategy for 2020*. Page 106.

³⁹ *Ibid.* Page 88.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* Page 74.

This means that deployed operations to distant parts of the world will continue to be an important part of the Navy's mission. To connect the Navy's role to the Canadian government's policy for the region, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) is responsible for development of a coherent strategy and policy to advance Canada's interests in Asia-Pacific. In that regard, a Foreign Policy review or update will be undertaken in 2002, presumably in conjunction with the recently initiated Defence Policy review. It is clear that a realistic Defence Policy cannot be created without first having defined Canada's foreign interests, which could then lead to definition of Canada's defence strategy for achieving certain regional goals.

Canada has taken a multi-track⁴¹ approach to its relations with the nations of the Asia-Pacific region, building ties through economic and security related fora. To make a contribution to regional economic growth, stability and security in the region Canada participates in a number of multilateral regional organizations including Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum (ARF). As highlighted in a briefing note to the Assistant Deputy Minister for Policy in the Department of National Defence (DND), the Department's broad objectives in Asia-Pacific can be summarized as the "enhancement of Canadian Forces familiarity with and capability to operate in the region; demonstration of Canadian military commitment in support of regional security; and [the provision of] support to Canada's broader security and foreign policy agenda."⁴²

⁴¹ Track 1 diplomacy consists of government-to-government dialogue, in a "public" capacity. Track 2 diplomacy provides a forum for people-to-people discussions amongst interested parties acting in a "private" capacity. This includes various non-government organizations and academia. (<http://www.le.ac.uk/csd/dsp/n2lee.html>).

⁴² LCol S.H. Chessum. BRIEFING NOTE: Overview of Canada's Defence Relations in the Asia-Pacific Region. DAP Pol 2, Assistant Deputy Minister (Policy), National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa. 19 February 2002. Page 2/10.

The briefing note goes on to explain that the government and DND will aim to accomplish the following:

- “Maintain, and in certain areas, enhance Canada’s relationship with the US, Australia [and New Zealand];
- Continue to strengthen mutual understanding and inter-operability with Japan and the Republic of Korea;
- Build a military-to-military relationship with the PRC [People’s Republic of China];
- Continue to participate in multi-lateral exercises and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) to promote security dialogue and mechanisms in the area; and
- Begin to determine useful areas of bilateral defence contact with India, within the context of overall Canadian policy.”⁴³

On the basis of these goals, it is possible to develop a strategy for engagement in the region. This strategy will not differ significantly from the one that has been undertaken by the Navy over the past ten years. However, it must be clearly understood that commitment to the region does not come without a thorough understanding of the goals, and the willingness to allocate the resources required to achieve those goals; goals that reflect the importance Canada places on this region and the government’s intention to remain engaged there.

THE AUSCANUS RELATIONSHIP

In order to get the most from limited resources, Canada has aligned itself with “like-minded” nations involved in the region, primarily the United States and Australia. This is an

⁴³ *Ibid.* Pages 2-3/10.

approach that has yielded some benefits. However, there are indications that a degree of uncertainty and skepticism remains regarding the legitimacy of Canada's regional intentions, because Canada does not have the same level of interest in the Asia-Pacific region that Australia does. There is also concern that Canada is interfering with the highly synergistic bilateral regional defence relationship that exists between Australia and the US currently. In this regard, the fact that Exercise Tandem Thrust is no longer strictly a bilateral exercise between the US and Australia because of Canada's participation, reinforces this perception.

Concerns have also been expressed that because Canada can bring only limited resources to the table it cannot make a viable contribution to the collective defence effort in the region. To a certain degree, Australia's concerns are well founded. If Canada is serious about being a player in the Asia-Pacific region, then a tangible and consistent effort needs to be forthcoming through the contribution of Canadian sea power. This must be done in a manner that contributes forces and knowledge to collective security of the region, and improves the level of confidence for both Australia and the US.

Historical Precedence: The Canadian – Australian Connection

The Australian and Canadian Navies have very similar roots that date back to the period prior to World War One. While the two nations have evolved differently, many of the same factors bore on the decisions made by the respective governments over the course of the next century.

As naval historian Roger Sarty has observed, "the origins of the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) and Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) were more closely intertwined than has been

appreciated."⁴⁴ Having lost the sea-borne support of the British, following First Sea Lord Admiral Sir John Fisher's withdrawal of Royal Navy (RN) ships to home waters (1904-1910)⁴⁵, Australia felt increasingly isolated and in need of the protection afforded by a major naval fleet. This general sentiment was shared by British Columbians, who felt isolated from the protection afforded Central and Eastern Canadians. The Australian experience of bilateral cooperation with the US began in earnest in March 1908 when Australian Prime Minister Alfred Deakin invited the US Navy to pay a visit to Australia. This was done to gain a US naval presence. That presence was intended to counter fears of a growing threat posed by the Imperial Japanese Navy, which, having defeated Russia (1904-05) was expanding its operations into the Southwest Pacific.

All this was done despite the existence of an Anglo-Japanese agreement (30 January 1902) that provided a measure of increased confidence in each other's intentions for the region. Clearly, in the minds of most Australians, and indeed, British Columbians, the treaty did not instill sufficient confidence that the dominions' interests would be protected in the event that Japan expanded its operations to include the occupation of either Australia or coastal British Columbia.

Many of the motivations for establishing independent naval forces in Canada and Australia were similar. Both countries were former colonies feeling a sense of acute isolation following the Royal Navy's withdrawal to European waters. Both countries argued against a system sponsored by the British Admiralty whereby the dominions made financial contributions

⁴⁴ T.R. Frame, J.V.P. Goldrick and P.D. Jones. Reflections on the RAN. "The Origins of the Royal Canadian Navy: The Australian Connection" by Roger Sarty. Kangaroo Press Pty Ltd., Kenthurst, NSW. 1991. Page 98.

⁴⁵ Although RN ships were withdrawn to concentrate maritime defence of Britain in the face of the growing threat of Germany's sea power prior to World War One, naval dockyards were transferred to the former colony so that self-defence initiatives could be pursued.

to the maintenance of an imperial fleet for the protection of the Empire. But as local imperatives began to overshadow those of the Empire, dominion governments recognised that they had to respond to the needs of their own citizens, who were demanding greater national autonomy. This eventually led to the creation of national navies in Australia and Canada, navies that would contribute to collective defence, once their own national interests had been addressed.⁴⁶ This was also a strong indicator that both Canada and Australia were beginning to exercise control of their own foreign affairs⁴⁷, a matter that was important to Canada in its relationship with the United States, particularly with respect to US over-fishing in Canadian waters off the East Coast.

Despite the message that the government sent in creating the Royal Canadian Navy in 1910, political pressures caused the Navy to languish in the few years preceding, and for the twenty years following World War One. This pattern has repeated itself throughout the history of the Canadian Navy. However, one fact remains; in every national crisis in the 20th century, the Canadian Navy played a role of increasing importance, up to and including the War on Terrorism. Indeed, Canada has made the third largest naval contribution to the US-led coalition effort. This fact has not been lost on our major allies, namely the United States, Britain and Australia.

Canada's naval participation during the war in the Pacific against Japan was much less significant than in the Battle of the Atlantic. Destroyers operating from Esquimalt took part in operations with the British Pacific Fleet (BPF). In addition, flying boats contributed to coastal defence in BC waters. There was also involvement by several HMC ships in support of US

⁴⁶ Roger Sarty. "The Origins of the Royal Canadian Navy: The Australian Connection". Reflections on the RAN. Ed. T.R. Frame, J.V.P. Goldrick and P.D. Jones. Kangaroo Press Pty Ltd., Kenthurst, NSW. 1991. Page 98.

⁴⁷ Captain (N) Dan McNeil. "The Development of Canadian Foreign Policy." Canada's Pacific Naval Presence: Purposeful or Peripheral. Ed. Haydon and Ann L. Griffiths. Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S. 1999. Page 25.

efforts to re-occupy the Aleutian Islands of Kiska and Attu, following the Japanese invasion in the summer of 1942.

As the war in the Atlantic began to turn against Germany, and confidence grew that the allies would soon win the Battle of the Atlantic, the leadership of the RCN began to turn their attention to the type of navy Canada would require to shape events in the Pacific campaign. Given that the war in the Pacific was dominated by the need for air power, a balanced fleet that included light aircraft carriers, defending cruisers and destroyers, was deemed essential if Canada were to play a viable role.⁴⁸ Some senior leaders in government and the navy criticized the Chief of Naval Staff (CNS), Vice-Admiral Nelles, for this approach. His critics argued that because the war in the Atlantic was still underway, Nelles was detracting from the prompt defeat of Germany by redirecting assets to the Pacific. However, it was prudent of the CNS to consider what major operations were approaching on the horizon, and what tools would be needed to do the job. Furthermore, as it appeared that it was only a question of time before Japan would eventually be defeated, there was also the need to consider what the Royal Canadian Navy would look like following the war.

The role that the RCN was supposed to play in the Pacific war was a good indicator of this Canada's need to maintain strategic control of its own forces. As author and retired naval officer Stuart Soward notes, employment of the RCN in the Pacific was, at times, a source of consternation for Britain:

“[A] more contentious issue was the assumption by the Admiralty that the RCN Pacific Forces would include operations in the Indian Ocean as part of the British offensive. This assumption was in keeping with Prime Minister Churchill's objective of reclaiming the remnants of the British Empire. The British view was not shared by the Canadian government which believed that Canadian naval operations should be directed against

⁴⁸ Lieutenant Commander Stuart Soward, RCN (Retired). “Pacific Operations of the Royal Canadian Navy in World War Two.” Canada's Pacific Naval Presence: Purposeful or Peripheral. Ed. Peter T. Haydon and Ann L. Griffiths. Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S. 1999. Page 49.

Japanese forces in the Pacific. In this instance the Canadian view prevailed which marked one of the first times that the strategic planning of RCN forces was shifted to align with that of Washington in a hemispheric alliance, rather than continuing in accordance with the overall British policy of protecting its Far East interests.”⁴⁹

As an indicator of Canada’s foreign policy priorities in the Pacific, this important strategic decision must not be overlooked. It was consistent with Prime Minister McKenzie-King’s drive to maintain Canada’s independence in international affairs. Previously, its role as an incremental part of the British Empire had limited Canada’s naval involvement in World War One. It also made clear that Canadian and US interests in the Pacific had more in common now than in the past. This continued with Canada’s subsequent involvement in the region, including participation in the Korean War.

Dr. W.A.B. Douglas explains that during World War Two the Royal Canadian Navy had all of “the necessary elements of a fleet that could have taken part in the Pacific War, a very different kind of war than the Battle of the Atlantic, had the atomic bomb not brought the war against Japan to an end in August 1945.”⁵⁰ Since then, the world has had almost six decades of experience with these weapons. Their use is now widely recognized as an act of last resort, with serious global implications. Indeed, Canadian government policy is for reduced reliance on these weapons, with eventual elimination as the ultimate goal. Were Canada involved in another large scale, but regionally contained, operation such as in the Pacific theatre during World War Two, it is probable that conventional forces would be the only weapons used.

Despite the similar origins of the Canadian and Australian navies, there are key differences that remain. Unlike Australia, which is universally understood to be a maritime

⁴⁹ Lieutenant Commander Stuart Soward, RCN (Retired). “Pacific Operations of the Royal Canadian Navy in World War Two.” Page 44.

⁵⁰ Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy - The Canadian Navy and Foreign Policy. Edited by Ann L. Griffiths, Peter T. Haydon and Richard Gimblett. Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University. June 1998. Page 19.

nation, Canada has largely defined itself as a continental nation, with maritime interests like any other country that depends on the sea for a sizeable portion of its foreign trade. In his opening remarks in *Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy*, Douglas explains that "...the continental mindset of Canadians has persisted, and the Navy has continued to depend for the past 50 years or more on the ability of sailors, and the public servants and politicians they have striven to educate, to exploit the advantages of this country's enormous maritime potential."⁵¹ However, Canadians recognize that their economic well-being and national security are tied, continentally, to the United States. This reality continues to challenge the Canadian Navy, as its relevance to Canadian citizens is not immediately apparent. While Australians appreciate the absence of other reasonably powerful, like-minded neighbours, Canadians feel a sense of security due to the military strength and close proximity of their closest ally, the United States. This reality must be considered when securing their support in the fulfillment of the government's role for the Canadian Navy in Asia-Pacific.

Canadian Forces in East Timor

Canada's military involvement in 1999 in the UN International Force in East Timor (INTERFET), known as "OP TOUCAN," provided a strong indication of this country's interest in contributing to international peace and security, the preservation of human rights, and the stability of the Asia-Pacific region. There were, in fact, additional reasons why Canada became involved in East Timor. Australia, which led the UN Chapter 7 operation there, was rallying support from allies, and in particular, from those that could make a military contribution alongside the Australian Defence Forces in the region, which totaled over 5000 personnel. In this respect, interoperability between the forces involved was a key consideration.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* Pages 21-22.

As observed by the former Commander of Canada's INTERFET Contingent, Commodore (then Captain (N)) Roger Girouard, Australia sought the support of Canada knowing that Canadian forces could operate alongside theirs, in a seamless manner. Given the uncertain nature of the operation at the outset, and the possibility of protracted guerrilla warfare by local Indonesian militiamen, Australia looked for a contribution that could be relied upon if the going got tough. Coincidentally, Prime Minister Chretien was conducting a trade mission to the region at the time.

Canada's contribution was made-up of about 1000 personnel, including the AOR HMCS PROTECTEUR, a company-sized (650 personnel) Light Infantry Component from the Royal 22nd Regiment, members of a Naval Construction Troop from CFB Esquimalt, BC, and an Air Lift Task Force (ALTF) of two Hercules transport aircraft that were a vital component needed to provide flexibility in the logistics support train that was developing. In addition to supporting various Canadian contingents ashore, HMCS PROTECTEUR was also used to refuel Royal Australian Navy vessels operating in support of the UN operation. This support was particularly valuable to Australia, given that the RAN was short of AOR resources due to previous commitments.

The Australian INTERFET Commander, Major-General Peter Cosgrove, was primarily concerned with "logistics, and the coalition's ability to deliver both force and sustainment to a country whose infrastructure was essentially wiped out..."⁵² With respect to command and control arrangements, although the CF Contingents were under the Operational Command (OPCOM) of a Canadian officer, the Operational Control (OPCON) of forces was held by the respective component commander: the RAN Maritime Component Commander for HMCS

⁵² Roger Girouard. "AN OP TOUCAN OVERVIEW." Maritime Warfare Bulletin 2000. Canadian Forces Maritime Warfare Centre. Canadian Communications Group, Inc. Halifax, NS. October 2000. Page 23.

PROTECTEUR, the RAAF Air Component Commander for the Canadian Hercules aircraft, and the New Zealand Land Component Commander for a company of troops from the Royal 22nd Regiment. While having a Canadian commander as OPCOM ensured that the overall employment of Canadian personnel was consistent with national aims, their day-to-day employment was effectively under the direction of Australian and New Zealand commanders.

There were several lessons learned from Canada's INTERFET experience. Many of the logistics complications that were highlighted by the Canadian Contingent Commander, could have been overcome with the employment of an Afloat Logistic Support Capability (ALSC) vessel of the sort currently being proposed by the Maritime Staff. The ALSC would replace Canada's aging AORs and meet the growing need to transport and support a Canadian contingent much like the one that was deployed to East Timor. Another consideration was when to disengage and return to Canada. The uncertainty faced by the CF contingent in East Timor is shared by Canadians involved in other UN operations such as the ones in the former Yugoslavia. Uncertainty over existing strategies places an enormous burden on CF personnel, and must be considered closely in any future operation, particularly given the long distances involved in supporting them in the Pacific.

Commodore Girouard summarizes Canada's main areas of weakness in this operation as "[O]perational logistics support, heavy lift helicopters, and littoral sea-lift"⁵³. These are all aspects of capital procurement that are being scrutinized as part of Canada's present defence review. As the Commodore noted, the ability to move materiel across a beach, is an aspect that must not be overlooked if Canada is to contribute to UN and coalition disaster relief operations

⁵³ Roger Girouard. "AN OP TOUCAN OVERVIEW." Maritime Warfare Bulletin 2000. Canadian Forces Maritime Warfare Centre. Canadian Communications Group, Inc. Halifax, NS. October 2000. Page 26.

and peace enforcement operations where national infrastructure to support RORO vessels does not exist, or has been destroyed.

In summarizing the most important lessons learned from OP TOUCAN, Commodore Girourd highlighted: "logistics support has a critical mass, and that the expectations of an ally's efforts may be optimistic." Furthermore, he observed that logistics is something that Canada is good at. The second is that "[S]ea power as a diplomatic force is alive and well"⁵⁴, and that the presence of the coalition naval forces off the coast of East Timor helped to convince the Indonesian government, its army and local militias, that the international community was firmly resolved to execute the operation.

War on Terrorism

Canada's involvement alongside the USN in the present War on Terrorism has increased this country's international reputation as a nation prepared to make a tangible contribution to the outcome of the crisis, despite some allies' criticism that Canada does not spend enough on defence. Indeed, Canada has made the third largest naval contribution to the war on terrorism, after the US and the UK and its ships maintain a 92% operational tempo, second only to the United States.⁵⁵ According to the *US Department of State International Information Programs*, Canadian contribution to the War on Terrorism totaled approximately 2260 personnel as of February 2002.⁵⁶ In fact, it could be argued that Canada has made a much greater contribution to the war effort compared to its allies, than the numbers of personnel and equipment would

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Comments by Vice-Admiral Ron Buck, Chief of the Maritime Staff in addressing the Maritime Component of CSC 28, 24 March 2002. In this sense, Op Tempo pertains to the actual period spent at sea conducting operations, compared with time spent in theatre.

⁵⁶ Coalition Partners' Contributions in War Against Terrorism. US Department of State Web Site. 27 February 2002. <http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/sasia/afghan/fact/0227dodfs.htm>

indicate. This is largely due to the Canadian Forces' high degree of interoperability with US forces.

Canada's presence in the northern Arabian Sea has also served as a means to access the inner planning of current and subsequent operations in Asia-Pacific region. US Pacific Command (PACOM) is responsible for the theatre that may see further activity in the war on terrorism. The growing US presence in the Philippines supports this observation. Although any expanded military involvement in the War on Terrorism must continue to be consistent with Canada's foreign policy, by remaining engaged, Canada is now better positioned politically and militarily to participate in the planning and execution of ongoing operations, particularly given our navy's high degree of interoperability with the USN.

At present, the PACOM planning for follow-on operations includes participation by representatives from Japan, South Korea, Australia, and Canada. Were it not for Canada's initial contribution, it would be easy to see the country excluded from the inner planning circle. As demonstrated by the first phase of this war, the projection of power from the sea will be a fundamental aspect of any follow-on operations. This means that there is the probability that Canadian naval forces will continue to be involved to some degree. This bodes well for increasing Canadian relevancy in the Asia-Pacific region, and securing Canada's position as an active contributor to the security of the Asia-Pacific region. These circumstances also provide Canada with a good opportunity to build its relationship with Australia.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Interview with Captain (N) David Kyle, Canadian Liaison Officer to Commander-in-Chief US Pacific Fleet. 5 December 2001.

Present State of the AUSCANUS Relationship

Canada's present relationship with Australia is characterized by three main aspects: Australian feeling of isolation in the Asia-Pacific region and concern over protecting its relationship with the US; the perception of Canadian intrusion into that relationship; and the effects of defence cuts, which have resulted in less interaction between Canada and Australia over the past decade.⁵⁸

The Australia-New Zealand-United States (ANZUS) Treaty provides for the collective defence of these countries, and has been in effect since 1951. Since 1985 however, New Zealand has not benefited from the treaty because of Wellington's refusal to allow US nuclear powered or armed warships into its ports. As a result, most activity has been bilateral between the US and Australia. It is this treaty that provides the framework for USN/RAN operations in the Asia-Pacific region, something Canada does not have.

As already noted, Australia has regional security concerns that differ from those of Canada because of the latter's geographic proximity to its closest ally, the United States. While the US is also Australia's most important ally, the geopolitical situation facing Australia means that the maintenance of a strong and continuous US military presence is vital to the country's national security. Australia has spent many years nurturing that relationship, and has expressed concern over the diluting effects of other nations' involvement in the region, most notably, Canada's. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that, at least until the commencement of the War on Terrorism, the US had been reducing its military presence on the Asia-Pacific region

⁵⁸ Interview with Captain (N) David Kyle, Canadian Liaison Officer to Commander-in-Chief US Pacific Fleet. 5 December 2001.

following the end of the Cold War. Whether this will change as a consequence of the terrorist attacks in the US on 11 September 2001 remains to be determined.

The annual bilateral exercise, known as Tandem Thrust,⁵⁹ is a combined US-Australian crisis action planning and contingency response military training exercise, and has provided the means to develop and validate the AUS-US defence capability in the region for sometime. However, because Canada is also now a participant with hopes of playing an increased role in the exercise, it could be viewed that the last exclusively bilateral exercise in which US and Australian forces can be trained in the fulfillment of the country's defence plans, has been compromised.

Although HMC ships participated in Tandem Thrust 2001, their role was limited to that of opposition forces. The prospect of broader participation, involving the inclusion of Canadian ground forces, is presently considered unlikely. While involvement as the opposition force may be considered a positive step toward increased combined operations with Australia and the US in the region, it is doubtful that Australia will welcome Canadian participation on a regular basis, particularly as the purpose of the exercise is to train AUS-US forces in meeting their bilateral defence treaty responsibilities. Canada must, therefore, demonstrate to the Australians, and to a lesser degree, the Americans, that this country has something to offer the partnership. This is the only way to increase confidence and to address Australian anxieties.

The overall relationship between the Australian and Canadian navies has historically been quite good. However, this has been challenged over the past ten to twelve years as cuts in defence spending in both countries have reduced the frequency of exercises and port visits. Despite retaining a few personnel exchange positions, the decline in interaction between the

⁵⁹ Exercise Tandem Thrust Web Site (<http://www.c7f.navy.mil/tt01>).

RAN and the Canadian Navy has resulted in a loss of understanding of each other's interests, strengths and weakness. Having said this, Maritime Forces Pacific has embarked on an aggressive program of Asia-Pacific deployments know as "PACEX" to support Defence Policy goals. This initiative has helped to improve the Navy's profile, influence, reputation, and interoperability in the region.

From the US perspective, Canadian and Australian defence security concerns in the Asia-Pacific region are less important than those of Japan and South Korea, two countries that also have defence treaties with the US. This reality makes it even more important that Canada and Australia resolve relational issues, and present solutions that can be readily supported by the USN in the region. At present, Japan is arguably the closest ally of the US in the Asia-Pacific region. There are many good reasons why this should be the case, notwithstanding the experience of World War Two. Japan has Asia's strongest economy, despite the severe economic difficulties experienced in recent years. The country's geographic location is a great asset as a staging point for the USN in the region, particularly with respect to North Korea. As a consequence the US regional presence is anchored and likely to remain in Japan. Relatively speaking, Canada and Australia have less direct involvement in, or influence over, Japan.

The US is generally supportive of Canadian naval involvement in the region. However, until recently, the presence of Canadian ships in the region was not deemed sufficient to demonstrate consistent Canadian resolve. However, Canadian participation in CVBG operations against Iraq in the Arabian Gulf has served to improve the understanding of Canada's relevance in that theatre of operation, and potentially, the Asia-Pacific region.

BUILDING STRONGER TIES

As explained previously, the Canadian Navy was involved in the Asia-Pacific region during World War Two, and as part of UN operations against North Korea during the Korean War (1950-53). In comparison, the RAN has been fully engaged and has made significant sacrifices over the decades to ensure the protection of its national security, including participation in the First and Second World Wars, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. Since the end of the Cold War, and with the rapid growth of Asian economies, it appears that Canadian interests are driven more by economic than by security considerations, with emphasis placed on maintaining stability in the global shipping system and movement of goods to and from North America. It is, therefore, not difficult to understand why Australia would be somewhat reluctant to welcome Canadian participation and increased involvement in the region, particularly if Canada does not maintain the level of commitment when a threat to regional security exists.

The Canadian Navy has an important role to play in promoting Canadian government objectives in the Asia-Pacific region. An inherent characteristic of warships is that they represent the Canadian government, and can be deployed quickly to a region of instability as a show of the government's resolve. Ships can fulfill many different roles, ranging from humanitarian assistance, to participation in combat operations as part of an international coalition. This latter point is important because Canada does not have a history of acting unilaterally in the international context when it comes to the use of force. Furthermore, ships can change roles quickly as required, and can, when appropriate, be withdrawn quickly. This capability has been demonstrated clearly in the present War on Terrorism in Afghanistan where the US Navy launched the first American strike against terrorists, long before ground forces were

deployed to the area. The USN was also able to deploy combat aircraft deep into Afghanistan to soften the resolve of the terrorists located there.

Canada needs to continue improving its relevance in the Asia-Pacific region. This can be done at different levels, but in any case must be done with consistency. For example, since the end of the Gulf War, Canada has maintained a near continuous presence in the Arabian Gulf, and since 1998 has participated as an integral member of US Carrier Battle Groups operating in the region. Canada has gained a degree of admiration from the RAN in this regard because of the Canadian Navy's ability to integrate ships with USN Carrier Battle Groups and to achieve common operational and strategic goals. The RAN has not yet achieved this degree of integration. This may present an opportunity for trilateral operations, whether in the Arabian Gulf, or elsewhere in the Asia-Pacific region.

One capability that this country could bring to the region is the Canadian Task Group, with its flexibility to integrate with other US or Australian task groups. In discussing the environment in which Canada's Naval Task Group may be expected to operate, Rear-Admiral David Morse points out quite rightly that the main operating environment has switched from the open ocean to the littoral. He highlights the variables in this new operating environment as follows:

"Usually the littoral is an area congested with too many forces, it has a difficult topography, hydrography and bathymetry. It has an incredibly crowded electronic spectrum and most significantly is within the reach of coastal missile batteries, coastal gun forts, controlled coastal minefields, short-range gun and missile boats, coastal submarines and aircraft, and is often down wind and in range of chemical threat. The other demand in the littoral area is the possibility of encountering evacuees or refugees and the doubtful vessels in which they travel. In other words, we sacrifice the advantage of open ocean maneuver warfare and play into the advantage of the forces of position."⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Rear Admiral David Morse. "The Canadian Naval Task Group." Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy - The Canadian Navy and Foreign Policy. Ed. Ann L. Griffiths, Peter T. Haydon and Richard Gimblett. Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University. June 1998. Page 286.

Rear-Admiral Morse adds that: “as an ‘instrument of national will’, the introduction of a fleet with balanced capabilities equal to or better than many of our allies permits a degree of influence and independence unseen since [HMCS] *Bonaventure*.”⁶¹ He points out that a naval task group can be more flexible in its structure, and is "a grouping of capabilities formed in response to a mission."⁶² In other words, there is a degree of inherent flexibility in the design of the task group, provided that the right combination of forces is available to meet the demands of the mission.

For example, a modernized IROQUOIS Class destroyer provides the necessary command and control capability. In addition, the vessel provides an area air defence capability. Frigates provide universally capable platforms that are particularly good at anti-surface and under sea warfare. Maritime air forces (fixed and rotary wing) greatly expand the range of sea control for the task group, while submarines add sea denial to the force make-up. Critical to the sustainment of this force is, of course, the availability of an AOR. Without such a vessel complete independence and operational flexibility would not be possible. Indeed, without an AOR, Canada would be dependant on the resources of allies, who would naturally be considering their own national priorities first.

Ensuring Relevance: What the Canadian Navy Has to Offer

There are a variety of means available to the Canadian Navy to improve its influence in the Asia-Pacific region. However, in order to ensure the greatest degree of success, consistent with national goals in the region, the Navy must undertake these activities in such a way as to

⁶¹ *Ibid.* Page 287. HMCS BONAVENTURE was Canada’s last light aircraft carrier that served in the RCN from 1957 to 1970.

⁶² *Ibid.* Page 287.

build confidence with our key allies in the region, namely, the United States and Australia. In explaining the Canadian Navy's future diplomatic role, *Leadmark* states:

“It follows that the ‘Navy After Next’⁶³ must have the potential to play a significant role on the global stage in crisis management and naval diplomacy. This may involve the use of the sea to reach troubled or potentially unstable regions of the world in order to engage in track two diplomacy, confidence building or even the provision of humanitarian assistance. It otherwise may involve the presence or symbolic use of the Canadian fleet to reassure a friend or deter an aggressor. Naval diplomacy, as such, will be deployed to influence, not only potential adversaries, but also friends and partners.”⁶⁴

Other mechanisms are available as well. As identified in the briefing note to the Assistant Deputy Minister (Policy) for DND, these include: “personnel exchanges, defence consultations, exercises, and information sharing agreements.”⁶⁵ In his keynote article entitled "Wagging the Dog: How Canada has Influenced the Exercise of Sea Power", Dr. Douglas observes that Canada's naval influence is disproportionate to the size of its naval forces. He adds that while larger navies with global interest are often spread thinly, "this often opens up opportunities to influence the exercise of sea power" by middle and small maritime powers.⁶⁶ This point is particularly valid for Canada and Australia. Both countries have medium-sized navies; both rely on a close relationship with the United States Navy for their national security; and both exercise sea power in the protection of their national interests abroad.

Dr. Douglas adds that the generation of naval forces by middle powers has “brought about change of one sort or another, change that almost always acted to the advantage of the region's political or economic well-being.” To put this into context, he was referring to regions

⁶³ This is the Navy that Canada will require to perform anticipated roles in the year 2020.

⁶⁴ *Leadmark*. Page 96.

⁶⁵ LCol S.H. Chessum. BRIEFING NOTE: Overview of Canada's Defence Relations in the Asia-Pacific Region. DAP Pol 2, Assistant Deputy Minister (Policy), National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa. 19 February 2002. Page 5/10.

⁶⁶ W.A.B. Douglas. “Wagging the Dog: How Canada has Influenced the Exercise of Sea Power.” Canadian Gunboat Diplomacy - The Canadian Navy and Foreign Policy. Ed. Ann L. Griffiths, Peter T. Haydon and Richard Gimblett. Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University. June 1998. Page 10.

of national interest that, in general, were adjacent to the home shores. However, the same is true with respect to influencing events of national interest on the global scale. In fact, most of the operations that the Canadian Navy has undertaken since the end of the Cold War have been in far distant waters, in the interest of addressing regional crises before they spiral out of control.

Enhanced Interoperability with Regional Navies

Both the RAN and USN have identified interoperability as an important capability required for future coalition operations. When addressing the 7th Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS) on the subject of interoperability between navies of the region, the current US Commander Pacific Command, Admiral Fargo stated that:

“We will need to build cooperation and exercise within both bi-lateral and multi-lateral frameworks - to once again deal with the full spectrum of security challenges for our future. Most importantly, when we do cooperate we need to do so effectively and immediately.”⁶⁷

Admiral Fargo also reinforced the importance of interoperability between nations of the region, particularly given the possibility of regional coalition operations. In this respect, Canada has already made significant progress through the navy’s ability to integrate with US Carrier Battle Groups. In his opening remarks at the 7th WPNS conference in 2001, the Australian Chief of Naval Staff, Vice Admiral Shackleton, also highlighted the importance of interoperability among participating navies.⁶⁸ From the Canadian perspective:

“A command and control capability is not only the basic underpinning for successful conduct of national operations, but it is also the vehicle by which command of multinational forces can be exercised. From the personnel perspective, it is through the

⁶⁷ Enhanced Regional Cooperation by Admiral Thomas B. Fargo Commander, U.S. Pacific Fleet. 7th WPNS Symposium, New Zealand, 8-11 November 2000.

⁶⁸ Vice-Admiral D.J. Shackleton AO RAN. “WNPS 2010: How Will We Inter-Operate In Ten Years”. 7th Western Pacific Naval Symposium. Auckland, New Zealand, 8-11 November 2000.

existence of national task groups that future Canadian multinational commanders gain experience. Operationally, not only does it assure a place in the decision-making process, it also provides a mechanism for significant input to allied doctrinal development.”⁶⁹

The Canadian Navy has developed the ability to completely integrate with USN Carrier Battle Groups, as demonstrated by recent events in the enforcement of UN sanctions against Iraq. This capability should be leveraged, both to assist regional navies in developing standards of interoperability with the USN, and to increase Canada’s relevance and importance in the region. While USN security concerns will limit the type of activities that can be undertaken, this can be addressed on a case-by-case basis consistent with a coalition’s mission. Ultimately, the experience in integration with the USN that the Canadian Navy has developed can greatly assist preparation of other like-minded nations’ navies for coalition operations in the Asia-Pacific region. This may also provide the justification for elevating Canada, from observer status, to full member within the WPNS so that the Canadian Navy has greater influence in the region.

Bilateral and Multi-lateral Exercises and Dialogue

More than the other services within the CF, the Canadian Navy has made significant progress in becoming more familiar with the Asia-Pacific region through a programme of visits, exercises and staff talks. Indeed, the navy’s annual deployment of ships is considered to be “the most visible expression of Canada’s military involvement in the Asia-Pacific region.”⁷⁰

Since 1994, Maritime Forces Pacific (MARPAF) has undertaken an annual programme of ship deployments to the region, initially called WESTPLOY, now known as Pacific Exercise (PACEX). This has been aimed at satisfying strategic goals as articulated in the Defence White

⁶⁹ Leadmark: The Navy’s Strategy for 2020. p. 108.

⁷⁰ LCol S.H. Chessum. BRIEFING NOTE: Overview of Canada’s Defence Relations in the Asia-Pacific Region. DAP Pol 2, Assistant Deputy Minister (Policy), National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa. 19 February 2002. Page

Paper, and meeting DFAIT objectives in the region. Deployments to the region include ports visits by ships taking part in multi-national regional exercises such as Exercise Tandem Thrust and Exercise Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC), in addition to those ships that are in transit to, or from deployments in the Arabian Gulf. Better liaison with the USN and RAN is needed, however, to ensure that training opportunities are exploited whenever possible, such as during routine transits by HMC ships and submarines through the region. This can be achieved by maintaining close contact with the various scheduling authorities, through inter-navy staff stalks, and by sharing information pertaining to routine vessel movements.

To make the vital connection with Canada's foreign policy, personnel in HMC ships have also developed a consistent rapport with DFAIT and embassy representatives in the region. Ships that have taken part in PACEXs have recommended that DFAIT personnel should embark in the ships while enroute between port visits. This recommendation has proven to be an excellent way to prepare ship's companies culturally, and it adds to the quality of the exposure when in port. This also has a positive effect on DFAIT personnel. Sea time increases their understanding of the Canadian Navy and the contribution the navy can make to diplomacy in the region.

In addition to the annual deployment of ships, since the late 1990s MARPAC has hosted numerous security related seminars, which have included involvement of experts from many nations in the region. In the past, Dr. James Boutilier, Special Advisor (Policy) to the Commander MARPAC, and the Commander Canadian Fleet Pacific (COMCANFLTPAC), have made regular visits to the ports visited by ships during PACEX, hosting informative seminars related to areas of common interest. This is another very effective way of raising the profile of

the visits, increasing dialogue and understanding of each other's concerns, and fostering the relationships that are so important in the region.

Early on-site liaison prior to port visits has invariably been the key to success. This has included appropriate representation from MARPAC planning personnel, as well as the employment of Forward Logistic Site (FLS) personnel. Moreover, the degree of profile provided by senior officers, and Canadian flag officers in particular⁷¹, cannot be over-emphasized, and is thought to be a vital part of the relationship building process. This has been done in past PACEXs, but must be continued consistently in the future and carefully coordinated with DFAIT and local senior officials to ensure the most is made of every opportunity. Direct and close liaison with DFAIT representatives in all the countries to be visited is essential.

Needless to say, a higher level of cooperation does not come without costs. However, a precedent has already been set in the cost-sharing initiatives that exist between the CF and its US and NATO allies. This approach could be applied with allies in the Asia-Pacific region, and might include exchange of service agreements to minimize costs for port services, for example.

Preparing for Coalition Operations

As part of Canada's foreign and defence policies, the Canadian Navy's involvement in Peace Support operations, generally under United Nations Chapter 6 or 7 mandates, has been a recurring theme over the past ten years. It is probable that this trend will continue into the future. Were the Asia-Pacific region to be disrupted by a conflict, the United States would be engaged because of its commitment to maintaining international stability, and because of its defence

⁷¹ Interview with Captain (N) David Kyle, Canadian Liaison Officer to Commander-in-Chief US Pacific Fleet. 5 December 2001.

treaty obligations. Australia's national security and economic well-being are also inextricably linked to stability in the Asia-Pacific region, and as a result Australia would almost certainly be engaged in any coalition that is created to deal with a regional crisis. For similar reasons, it is highly probable that Canada would become involved as well in any coalition formed to deal with a regional crisis. One has only to look at the recent example of the formation of a coalition led by the United States to remove a terrorist threat ashore in Afghanistan to see this phenomenon at work.

An argument could also be made that Canada's homeland defence begins far from its shores, and that "defence-in-depth" includes participation in coalitions that contain regional conflicts. This is an important issue to reflect upon as the government and other security stakeholders go through the process of reviewing the country's foreign and defence policies. Furthermore, because all of the key players in the region have significant maritime interests, particularly with regard to their economic security, it is probable that any military involvement in the region will be spearheaded by a naval component.

Based on the assumption that Canada will respond militarily and contribute to a coalition aimed at resolving any future crisis in the region, it is incumbent upon the Canadian Navy to be prepared to operate in Asia-Pacific. But this is easier said, than done. To be effective, groundwork must be laid now. Canada must continue to build relationships with its allies in the region consistent with our foreign affairs policies. This will include most importantly, our regional relationships with United States and Australia, and to a lesser degree, other countries with which Canada may someday form a coalition in the region, such as South Korea and Japan. Relationship and confidence building measures are needed, including the maintenance of

standards of interoperability, none of which can be achieved without some concerted expenditure of time and resources.

Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief

The Australian Defence White Paper 2000 explains that, as a secondary capability, its forces must be available to operate in support of other neighbours in the region, particularly when needed to provide disaster relief and other forms of humanitarian assistance.⁷² In his address to the 7th WPNS, the Chief of the Singapore Navy pointed out that the “Asia-Pacific region also claims the infamous ownership to more than 70% of the world's natural disasters,”⁷³ and as a consequence there is considerable need for preparedness, and a clearly defined role for navies in the region in the event of a natural disaster.

The Canadian Navy’s future role is clearly articulated in Leadmark, and is an important part of this country’s diplomatic effort, and support to Canadian foreign policy.⁷⁴ Given the likelihood that normal communications by land and air routes may not be available, the navy’s proposed expeditionary capability would greatly enhance Canada’s ability to respond. However, at the very least, logistic support using an AOR would help to get vital supplies to where they are needed most. This would of course be dependent upon current employment of the AOR, its ability to embark disaster-relief stores and then deploy to the region, given the vast distances involved and corresponding transit time.

⁷² Australian Defence White Paper. Page 7.

⁷³ RAdm Liu Tuck Yew RSN. “Professional Areas of Mutual Cooperation.” 7th Western Pacific Naval Symposium. 7th WPNS Symposium held in Auckland, New Zealand, 8-11 November 2000.

⁷⁴ Leadmark 2020. Page 97.

Summary

Canada considers itself a medium power with a small, but modern, combat capable, and globally deployable, navy. In fact, Canada has a much smaller navy than many nations in the Asia-Pacific region. Yet, by comparison with those regional navies, the Canadian Navy is more engaged throughout the world with comparatively fewer resources. Despite limited resources, there are some very good reasons for Canada to remain engaged. Canada's national security and economic interests are far more dependent on a stable global shipping system than many others that trade regionally. Furthermore, because there are no direct threats to Canada's shores, other than economic threats such as over-fishing, illegal immigration and drug trafficking, Canada can become more engaged in the protection of its international economic interests.

Many countries in the Asia-Pacific region trade with each other, or with the United States. The US has a large, blue-water, power projection navy capable of protecting American interests, which are dependent on stable world trade. Canada has an important role to play as a member of the G8 in ensuring the protection of its own interests in Asia-Pacific, as well as contributing to a balanced international coalition for protection of the global economy. By maintaining "defence in depth", Canada possesses the means to contribute to the resolution of regional crises before they expand to global proportions. There are several key areas that must be addressed in order to ensure that Canada is able to improve its influence with its key allies in the Asia-Pacific region. As discussed, they are:

- Enhancing interoperability with all regional navies, and leveraging the Canadian Navy's strengths in this regard;
- Building confidence with other regional navies through continued bilateral and multi-lateral dialogue and exercises;

- Preparing for coalition operations by developing relationships within the region, and building confidence with potential coalition partners; and
- Being prepared to provide humanitarian assistance and disaster relief.

CONCLUSION

There are some who argue that Canada cannot afford a blue water navy, or for that matter, an expeditionary capability that can influence events far from its shores. They argue that Canadians should focus on what they are good at, and bring a niche capability to any coalition that Canada commits forces to. However, to follow this path, because we can't afford to do otherwise, would mean that Canada would lose a broader capability that "provides the government and Canadians with options"⁷⁵ when it comes to addressing international crises. Provided that it is given the resources to do the job, and enjoys continued support of Canadians to stay involved in the resolution of international crises, the Canadian Navy will remain engaged.

"Where international peace support and humanitarian operations are concerned, the rationale is not so much that of the Cold War, to prevent armed aggression against the Canadian state through a global superpower confrontation; rather it is a desire to prevent regional troubles from threatening the global economic system to which Canada's welfare is firmly linked. As well, there is a desire to promote Canadian values, including the respect for democracy, the rule of law, human rights and the environment."⁷⁶

Canada has had a voice in NATO because our country has committed forces to the collective defense of alliance members since 1949. Indeed, Canada has assisted in defending the free countries of Europe in times of war since the beginning of the 20th century. No such security structure exists in the Asia-Pacific region, nor is it likely to develop because of the

⁷⁵ Comments by Vice-Admiral Ron Buck, Chief of the Maritime Staff, to the Maritime Component of Command and Staff Course 28, Canadian Forces College, Toronto. 27 March 2002.

⁷⁶ Leadmark: The Navy's Strategy for 2020. p. 74.

differences already discussed. It is imperative, therefore, that Canada make a tangible commitment to the region. This commitment must be carefully thought out, articulated to the nations of the region, and consistently applied. This approach involves relationship building through high-level visits by Canadian flag officers, visits by HMC ships and submarines, participation in regional exercises, participation in bilateral staff talks, and participation in multi-lateral discussions that are aimed at improving regional understanding and interoperability. With regard to interoperability, Canada has developed a very strong capability to operate with its strongest ally, the US, in the maritime environment. This capability needs to be leveraged and enhanced so that Canada remains current with, and increasingly relevant to other navies in the region.

Finally, as a generally open-minded western nation, Canada has a lot to offer, culturally and technically, in the Asia-Pacific region. How it is applied, and whether the Canadian Navy will have a role to play in solving a regional conflict will depend on our commitment in times of peace.

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