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## CANADA'S BLUE WATER NAVY: A TIME FOR INTROSPECTION AFTER THE NAVAL CENTENNIAL

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**JCSP 37**

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**CANADA'S BLUE WATER NAVY:  
A Time for Introspection after the Naval Centennial**

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## ABSTRACT

Why does Canada need a blue-water navy? Despite the clear identification of the historical blue-water navy benefits since the end of the Second World War, the significant investment the Government of Canada has made towards modernizing its navy has resulted in a period of introspection for Canadians. Although there is a great deal of literature on the Canadian Navy, few attempts have been made to link the importance of internationalism with Canada maintaining a balanced global force projection navy. This project will explain why Canada, as a middle-power, needs a balanced global force projection navy capable of meeting the demands of both domestic and continental operations along with its international obligations. More specifically, these obligations are co-operative security operations to promote peace and stability with other like minded states, namely the United States. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, the US Navy has borne the heavy burden of taking the lead in these missions and has called upon other states to balance their national sovereign requirements to that of their international obligations. One of these specific missions is the US campaign as the lone-world superpower to confront the rise of transnational criminal activity. In particular, the recent rise in piracy off the coast of Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden, a strategic international shipping route, has garnered significant international attention. Considering both Canada's desire to project leadership on the international stage and that 90 percent of the world's trade travels by sea, Canada has a vested interest in suppressing this emerging maritime threat. In this regard, Somalia is the international maritime hotspot and is where Canada's navy, as a balanced medium global force projection navy, ought to be.

**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

Accelerated Defence Program	(ADP)
Anti-Submarine Warfare	(ASW)
Canadian Forces	(CF)
Carrier Strike Group	(CSG)
Chief of Defence Staff	(CDS)
Chief of Maritime Staff	(CMS)
Combined Task Force	(CTF)
Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade	(DFAIT)
Economic Exclusive Zone	(EEZ)
Government of Canada	(GOC)
Gulf of Aden	(GOA)
Halifax Class Modernization	(HCM)
Her Majesty's Canadian Ship	(HMCS)
International Security Afghanistan Force	(ISAF)
Minister of National Defence	(MND)
National Defence Headquarters	(NDHQ)
North Atlantic Treaty Organization	(NATO)
Operation	(OP)
Operation Enduring Freedom	(OEF)
Rim of the Pacific	(RIMPAC)
September 11, 2001	(9/11)
Standing NATO Maritime Group 1	(SNMG 1)
United Nations	(UN)
United Nations Emergency Force	(UNEF)
United Nations Security Council	(UNSC)
United Nations Security Council Resolution	(UNSCR)
United States	(US)
United States Navy	(USN)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	(USSR)
Variable Depth Sonar	(VDS)

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## INTRODUCTION

Governments cannot live forever, for governments are born to grow and die as well as men . . . but mark my words, whoever may take over the reins of power will have to have a navy, as every nation with a seashore must have and has had in the past. 1

*Sir Wilfred Laurier, 10 November 1910.*

In 2010, Canada celebrated its naval centennial and this was a time for introspection regarding Canada's blue-water naval role. The significant milestone of 100 years of naval service has encouraged the Government of Canada (GOC), the navy, as well as the public at large to examine the specific tasks or roles which delineate the Canadian Navy's function and to consider the significant investment to be made towards its future.<sup>2</sup>

Laurier's comments remain valid today; there is still a requirement for a navy. Covering almost six million square kilometres, Canada's Economic Exclusive Zone (EEZ) is one of the largest in the world and its coastline, covering three oceans, is by far the longest in the world. Canada is a maritime state and must be able to defend its interests and project power abroad with other like-minded states. In doing so, Canada requires a blue-water navy capable of consistently deploying abroad with other global force projection navies.

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<sup>1</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy: The First Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press Inc, 2010), v.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Matas, "Part 5: Ships From the Past Power – Canada's Navy of the Future," in *Globe and Mail*, 28 October 2010. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/time-to-lead/military/part-5-ships-from-the-past-power-canadas-navy-of-the-future/article1775775/>; Internet; accessed 20 January 2011; Campbell Clark, "Part 2: Canadians Pick Peacekeeping over Combat," in *Globe and Mail*, 25 October 2010. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/time-to-lead/military/part-2-canadians-pick-peacekeeping-over-combat/article1771103/>; Internet; accessed 20 February 2011.

Since the end of the Second World War, Canada's maritime strategy has been largely focussed on a blue-water capability integrated with a multinational naval force either led by the United States (US) or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Although the definition of a blue-water navy is somewhat fluid, it refers to states' warships that are designed and intended for extended fleet operations on the high seas or open-ocean as opposed to domestic operations focussed primarily in the littoral waters/continental shelf area or estuaries.<sup>3</sup> In the Canadian case, naval expeditionary forces capable of integrating within a multinational force proved to be a key diplomatic tool and symbol in promoting Canada's foreign policy principles abroad. Simply put, and regardless of the level of conflict worldwide, Canada's naval role has played a significant part of the country's history.<sup>4</sup>

*Leadmark*, Canada's 2001 maritime strategy, incorporates a ranking classification matrix that describes the various roles of a state's navy and contends the Canadian Navy is a global force projection navy.<sup>5</sup> A decade later, however, it begs the question as to what role should our navy have now, and for the foreseeable future. In this vein, it seems that the Canadian Navy is rescinding towards a medium regional, vice global force projection navy, as there has not been a warship consistently scheduled on a regular

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<sup>3</sup> Encyclopedia Dictionary, [Dictionary on-line]; available from <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O63-bluewater.html>; Internet; accessed 10 December 2010.

<sup>4</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy...*, xv; Governor General Michael Jean, "Foreword," in *The Naval Service of Canada, 1910-2010: The Centennial Story*, foreword, ed. Richard Gimblett (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009); Michael Hadley et al, *Nation's Navy*, (Kingston: Queens-McGill University Press, 1996), 20.

<sup>5</sup> Department of National Defence, "Leadmark: The Navy's Strategy: 2020," Directorate of Maritime Strategy, NDHQ/Chief of the Maritime Staff, (Ottawa: DND, 18 June, 2001), 44-45.



rotation basis to deploy overseas for operations since April 2010.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the navy, based on direction from Canadian Forces (CF) driven policy, has placed more focus on domestic and continental operations (OP) such as the Arctic (OP *Nanook*), Grand Banks (Fishery Patrols), Mexico/Caribbean (OP *Caribbe*), Atlantic/Pacific Ocean (counter drugs/illegal immigration), Vancouver Olympics (OP *Podium*), Eastern Newfoundland (OP *Lama*), and Haiti (OP *Hestia*).<sup>7</sup> Regional demands such as these have caused a shift from expeditionary operational combat doctrine that is aligned with blue-water overseas deployments to constabulary domestic and continental operations. In this regard, a recent article, authored by Julian Brown in the *Canadian Naval Review*, argues that the Canadian Navy should be a balanced constabulary role rather than a medium global projection navy.<sup>8</sup>

However, as a major maritime nation, the Canadian economy and social system are dependent on the global marketplace and Canada has vested interests both in its own oceans and those abroad. True, Canada has a commitment to ensure its coastline and natural resources within the EEZ are not exploited with illegal activity. However,

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<sup>6</sup> On 2 March 2011, HMCS *Charlottetown* was deployed overseas to enforce an embargo on Libya under a UN Mandate with other naval alliance. This was not a scheduled operational deployment and was instead a crises response by the Government of Canada to a United Nations Security Council Resolution. The last ship to conduct an extended Canadian Expeditionary Force Command (CEFCOM) planned six month deployment overseas beyond North/South America was HMCS *Fredericton* in April 2010.

<sup>7</sup> OP *Caribbe*: counter-drug surveillance and deterrence with US Coast Guard in Caribbeans; OP *Nanook*: joint-sovereignty operations in Arctic Region; OP *Hestia*: earthquake disaster and relief efforts in Haiti; OP *Lama*: hurricane Igor disaster and relief efforts in Eastern Newfoundland; OP *Podium*: Canadian Navy provided unique military capabilities at sea and in Vancouver Harbour in support of the RCMP-led Integrated Security Unit for the 2010 Olympic and Para-Olympics Winter Games; Fishery patrols: mandated 125 sea days of fishery patrols under a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with DND and Dept. of Fisheries and Oceans; Other Government Departments (OGD) Operations: i.e. Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and Canadian Border Securities Agency (CBSA) operations consisting of surveillance and counter-drug and illegal immigration.

<sup>8</sup> Julian Brown, "Operating Within Limits: Canada's Maritime Forces and the Challenges of the Terrorist Era," in *Canadian Naval Review*, Vol 6, no 3 (Fall 2010): 4-9.

considering that 90 percent of the world's trade travels by sea,<sup>9</sup> Canada also has an international obligation, along with other states, to make certain there is global stability beyond its oceans by ensuring international law is enforced and political liberties are not threatened. From the maritime perspective, global stability would also include the free movement of shipping on the world's oceans and that seafarers are protected from transnational criminal activity. As well, blue-water capable warships can deploy quickly to act as a significant diplomatic symbol of a nation's concern and commitment to a resolution in an area where there is a threat to regional instability that may, if not resolved, further impact the global system.

Nevertheless, while Canada is committed to fulfilling its international requirements, it clearly has its challenges balancing between domestic and expeditionary operations for the navy. Finding a balance is difficult considering Canada's vast coastline and EEZ to patrol as well as the number of possible international tasks compared to the limited number of warships available to commit to domestic and expeditionary operations. Compounding this issue is a maritime blindness that makes the balancing even harder. As Marc Milner, author of *Canada's Navy: The First Century*, notes:

Canada may have the longest coastline of any country in the world and it may be heavily dependent on trade carried in ships, but the sea remains far from the consciousness of most Canadians – even from its politicians. And yet, as Laurier observed, whoever governs Canada needs a navy.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> JaeBin Ahn, *et al*, Trade Finance and Great Trade Collapse, (Columbia University: December 30, 2010), 7; [Article on-line]; available from [www.aeaweb.org/aea/2011conference/program/retrieve.php?pdfid=571](http://www.aeaweb.org/aea/2011conference/program/retrieve.php?pdfid=571); Internet; accessed 15 January 2011.

<sup>10</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy...*, xi.

Canadian politicians must use this time for introspection and examine the benefits of the blue-water naval role since the end of the Second World War to this past decade. This blue-water navy role and its benefits are what Canadians at large must understand before deciding what type and how big a navy the country should have. For that matter, any blue-water naval strategy must be based on what is perceived internationally as the current and future threats both at home and abroad.

As an example, the recent rise in piracy off the coast of Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden (GOA), a strategic international shipping route, has garnered significant attention from international actors, Canada included.<sup>11</sup> These criminal acts are not only a threat to seafarers and shipping, they also pose a threat to the region and perhaps to the global system if left unchallenged because of the potential to attract increased transnational crime based on the financial gain. In response to this emerging regional problem, the United Nations' Security Council (UNSC) enacted Resolution 1816 in June 2008. This resolution condemned all acts of piracy and armed robbery against vessels off the coast of Somalia and authorized a series of decisive measures to combat those crimes.<sup>12</sup> Accordingly, piracy became the new post-9/11 threat at sea and the UN called upon all

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<sup>11</sup> International Maritime Bureau, "Reports on Piracy and Armed Robbery," [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.imo.org/OurWork/Security/PiracyArmedRobbery/Pages/PirateReports.aspx>; Internet; accessed 18 December 2010; Margaret Besheer, "UN Security Council Extends Anti-Piracy Measures off Somali Coast," in *Global Security.Org*, 2 December 2008. [Article-on-line]; available from <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/news/2008/12/mil-081202-voa06.htm>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2011.

<sup>12</sup> United Nations. UNSCR 1816: *Security Council Condemns Acts of Piracy, Armed Robbery off Somalia's Coast, Authorizes for Six Months 'All Necessary Means' to Repress such Acts*, 5902<sup>nd</sup> Security Council Meeting 2008, [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008/sc9344.doc.htm>; Internet; accessed 18 December 2010.

states, including Canada, to suppress piracy by protecting shipping and safeguarding innocent seafarers.

Given the costs of expeditionary operations, now accentuated in tough economic times,<sup>13</sup> and the contemporary challenges in confronting Somali piracy, would it be wise for the government to send Canadian naval vessels again to the waters near Somalia to counter piracy? Answering such a question would still lead to an identification of blue-water benefits since the inception of NATO in 1949 and the specific benefits of confronting Somali pirates for the Canadian Navy and for Canadian security policy alike. What it might avoid would be the need to weigh the balance between domestic and expeditionary operations and instead focus on advancing its international scope by consistently deploying its navy abroad in order to keep with Canada's blue-water traditions and policy desires.

This paper will be broken into three chapters. The first chapter will define the various roles of a navy and then discuss Canada's naval role. It will then examine the benefits of Canada continuing to contribute to naval expeditionary operations with the US and other allies. This analysis will further examine the strategic benefits of maintaining an expeditionary naval force. Lastly, this chapter will also explore Canada's national interests and weigh the need for expeditionary naval operations considering what is lost by not committing internationally.

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<sup>13</sup> Lyne Slotek, "Tough Economic Times Ahead," Community Foundations of Canada, 20 October 2010. [Article on-line]; available from <http://vitalsignscanada.blogspot.com/2010/10/tough-economic-times-still-ahead.html>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2011.

The second chapter will examine the historical context of Canada's blue-water strategy since the end of the Second World War. The chapter, in particular, will illustrate Canada's long standing internationalist theme that was first introduced under the leadership of the Honourable Louis St. Laurent who laid the foundation of Canada's guiding principles to foreign policy. These same principles remain as relevant today as when they were first articulated, specifically to how the navy is deployed. This chapter will highlight how the Canadian Navy's international deployments have helped in upholding longstanding foreign policy values. Moreover, this section will examine the historical utility of the Canadian Navy in international expeditionary operations. These historical accounts of Canada's Navy, since the end of the Second World War, will demonstrate how the various blue-water navy roles contributed to Canada garnering an international reputation as an influential middle-power nation.

The final chapter will highlight the global threat of piracy, particularly in the GOA. This analysis is required in order to narrow Canada's international scope in treating piracy as a case of the contemporary need for a blue-water navy that links back to practices and policy as outlined in the earlier chapters. It will begin with a brief examination of the perils of piracy, dating back to 67 BC during the Roman Empire, and to the Barbary Wars of the 13<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Century. This study is necessary in order to outline the significance of acting today in this specific international region. When compared to today's piracy in the GOA, it will be evident that very little has changed regarding piracy and the international community's counter-piracy efforts. Finally, an empirical analysis of counter-piracy operations in the GOA will demonstrate why Canada, given the nature of this asymmetric threat and the terrorist era we now live in, is in its best interests to

commit naval forces along with other states led by the US. Accordingly, this specific international naval task demonstrates the relevancy of maintaining a blue-water navy as part of Canada's role in world affairs and commitment to global stability.

## CHAPTER I – BENEFITS OF A BLUE WATER NAVY

Canada will remain one of the world's great coastal states, as well as a leading member of the international community with deep and abiding maritime interests at home and abroad. It's those interests that define our navy today and that will continue to define us in the future.

*Vice-Admiral Dean McFadden, Canada's Chief of Maritime Staff<sup>14</sup>*

When examining the *Canada First Defence Strategy* and Maritime Strategy post-2010, one can only assume, based on Vice-Admiral McFadden's comments, that the GOC will continue to employ its CF abroad. Clearly, Canada, as a maritime nation, requires a blue-water navy. But just as clearly, the next decade will prove challenging for the Canadian Navy to balance domestic and expeditionary operations given the several strains put on the service. Some of these more significant examples include: domestic and continental commitments; modernization of its current fleet; procurement of other naval vessels as laid down in the *Canada First Defence Strategy*; personnel issues to crew the ships, and; lastly, the defence budget challenges faced by the GOC given the status of the Canadian and world economies. Nevertheless, as will be identified with the many benefits of maintaining a continuous naval expeditionary force, the Canadian Navy must remain an active instrument of Canadian foreign policy. More specifically, the navy must continue to integrate with multinational naval forces that intervene in world crises in order to maintain Canada's middle-power status and relevance in naval operations.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Department of National Defence, "Strategic Issues: The Future: The Role of Canada's Major Warships," [Article on-line]; available from: [www.navy.forces.gc.ca/cms/10/10-a\\_eng.asp?id=753](http://www.navy.forces.gc.ca/cms/10/10-a_eng.asp?id=753); Internet; accessed 20 January 2011.

This chapter will explore these benefits of maintaining naval expeditionary operations abroad by first discussing in more depth the effects gained through international deployments. These operational and strategic effects, such as UN/NATO commitments, security operations, and interoperability with allied navies, showcase the Canadian Navy's relevance and diplomacy in foreign countries and contribution at the international level. More importantly, the Canadian Navy's ability, in its own right, to build and maintain experience levels in joint and combined operations in order to allow Canada to assume larger leadership and influential roles in potential follow-on deployments. Moreover, what will be demonstrated is the importance of naval operations among naval coalitions, particularly those led by the US.

These types of operations further demonstrate the continuing GOC interest and engagement in strategically important regions where international attention is focussed. This chapter will explain how these operations not only support the US Global Maritime Partnerships initiative but also build effective relationships for Canada. The last section will address the need to balance domestic and expeditionary operations in order to maintain a continuous naval presence among multinational navies.

## **WHY CANADA NEEDS A BLUE WATER NAVY**

Before proceeding with an examination of Canada's maritime strategy, it is important to expand on the definition of naval expeditionary forces or a blue-water navy. Canada's Maritime Strategy *Leadmark* defines it simply as, "military operations that can be initiated at short notice, consisting of forward deployed, or rapidly deployable, self-

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<sup>15</sup> Middle-power represents 1) actual capabilities; 2) certain modes of action; and 3) certain preferred contexts for activism.



sustaining forces tailored to achieve a clearly stated objective in a foreign country.”<sup>16</sup> In the same manner, the *Leadmark* further delineates the scope of the various naval roles based on the capabilities and the states’ political will to employ their naval vessels.<sup>17</sup>

Table 1, below, incorporates these various levels that assesses a state’s navy.

**Table 1.0 – Ranking of Naval Strategies**

Rank	Naval Role	Remarks	Country
1	Major Global Force Projection (complete) Navy	- capable of carrying out all military roles of naval forces on global scale. Full range of carrier and amphibious capabilities, sea control forces, and nuclear attack and ballistic missile submarines, and all in sufficient numbers to undertake major operations independently.	US
2	Major Global Force Projection (partial) Navy	- possess most if not all of the force projection capabilities of a “complete” global navy, but only in sufficient numbers to undertake one major “out of area” operation.	UK, France
3	Medium Global Force Projection Navy	- may not possess the full range of capabilities, but have a credible capacity in certain of them and consistently demonstrate a determination to exercise them at some distance from home waters, in cooperation with other Force Projection Navies.	Canada, Netherlands Australia
4	Medium Regional Force Projection Navy	- possess ability to project force into the adjoining ocean basin. While they may have the capacity to exercise these further afield, for whatever reason, they do not do so on a regular basis.	Libya, Egypt, Japan
5	Adjacent Force Projection Navy	- have some ability to project force well offshore, but are not capable of carrying out high level naval operations over oceanic distances.	China, Tunisia
6	Offshore Territorial Defence Navy	- have relatively high levels of capability in defensive (and constabulary) operations up to about 200 miles from their shores, having the sustainability offered by frigate or large corvette vessels and (or) a capable submarine force.	Bahrain, Kenya
7	Inshore Territorial Defence Navy	- have primarily inshore territorial defence capabilities, making them capable of coastal combat rather than constabulary duties alone. This implies a force comprising missile-armed fast-attack craft, short-range aviation and a limited submarine force.	Poland
8	Constabulary Navy	- significant fleets that are not intended to fight, but to act purely in a constabulary role.	Cameroon
9	Token Navy	- have some minimal capability, but this often consists of little more than a formal organizational structure and a few coastal craft. These states, the worlds’ smallest and weakest, cannot aspire to anything but the most limited constabulary functions.	Seychelles, Madagascar

Source: Department of National Defence, “Leadmark: The Navy’s Strategy 2020,” 44-45.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Department of National Defence, “Leadmark: The Navy’s Strategy for 2020,” (Ottawa: Directorate of Maritime Strategy, 2001), 13.

<sup>17</sup> Department of National Defence, *Leadmark...*, 44.

*Leadmark's* drafters classified the Canadian Navy as a rank 3: medium global force projection navy, confirming its role as a blue-water navy. As will be further examined, Canada's naval role has remained as a rank 3 projection navy since the inception of NATO. This paradigm is relevant and provides measurement for Canada's naval expeditionary forces today and in the future.

In a balanced rank 3: medium global force projection navy, three elements are central. First is the ability to maintain maritime forces in a state of readiness based on the mission and role. Second is the ability to meet the domestic and continental obligations of the GOC by maintaining standard and/or restricted readiness ships to meet those demands. Third is the ability to develop/force generate a high readiness ship while maintaining/force employing a high readiness ship committed appropriately to international commitments such as UN/NATO or coalitions under a combined operation that meets Canada's foreign security interests. These are the underlying factors that should continue to be the future strategy and roles of the Canadian Navy.<sup>19</sup>

Critics might suggest that the Canadian Navy should accept the financial and personnel limitations and re-focus its scope towards a more domestic constabulary role

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 44-45; Leon Engelbrecht, "Fact File: Ranking African Navies," in *Defence Web*, 21 January 2010, [Article on-line]; available from [http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=6229:fact-file-ranking-african-navies&catid=79:fact-files&Itemid=159](http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6229:fact-file-ranking-african-navies&catid=79:fact-files&Itemid=159); Internet; accessed 20 January 2011. Note: Several countries were examined and added to original source as there were no countries allocated for rank 4-9 navies.

<sup>19</sup> Canadian Navy maintains four distinct readiness levels for its navy: Extended Readiness: an extended maintenance period with a significantly reduced crew size, unable to conduct at sea operations until trials and training completed; Restricted Readiness: able to conduct basic domestic operations with limited crew size, training and functioning equipment (requiring further trials); Standard Readiness: able to conduct both domestic and continental operations with normal crew size, functioning equipment and training for domestic and continental operations only; and High Readiness: able to deploy globally for various international missions including combat operations. Ships of High Readiness are fitted with most if not all equipment in operational working condition and highly trained crewed at its maximum strength.

(rank 8 in Table 1) rather than its previous blue-water navy concept. One of these critics is Julian Brown, author of *Operating Within Limits: Canada's Maritime Forces and the Challenges of the Terrorist Era*. Brown argued that the Canadian Navy should have a stronger emphasis on a constabulary role in this new era of terrorism since 9/11:

... the Canadian Forces must narrow their scope, and focus on specific roles and tasks and address specific threats and objectives. Too large a scope causes a thinning of resources, leaving key areas vulnerable ... For Canada, a stronger emphasis on a constabulary role might be the answer. This would provide the navy with the ability to perform a range of operations while taking a step back from the more expensive military role. With this focus the navy could still maintain the ability to pursue national interests.<sup>20</sup>

Brown highlights a few valid points and provides incredible insight on the need to balance the navy's role. He is also right – to a degree – when suggesting narrowing the CF scope in order to achieve better effects. However, when pursuing national interests and what role Canada's navy should play he disregards the many benefits that both the Canadian Navy and Canada gain by maintaining a naval expeditionary capability. Moreover, Canada's interests are well beyond its shorelines and the navy is one of Canada's key diplomatic assets when asserting itself on the world stage. What must be maintained is the necessary balance between the resources and time devoted to national and continental roles to that of international roles.

For this reason, the *Canada First Defence Strategy* in 2008 outlined a new direction for the CF. In terms of its title, it was chosen for a reason, as the policy primarily focuses on Canada's primary interest of domestic and continental operations. More specifically, the first two priorities are about protecting Canada's interests at home

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<sup>20</sup> Julian Brown, "*Operating Within Limits: Canada's Maritime Forces and the Challenges of the Terrorist Era...*, 4-5.

and defending North America in cooperation with the US. Considering the government's decision to withdraw its combat troops from Afghanistan and not to officially re-deploy a warship to Somalia since April 2010, internationalism appears to be the last priority. Perhaps these decisions arguably demonstrate the GOC's and National Defence Headquarters (NDHQ) current as well as future position regarding deploying the CF abroad. If the deployment of Canada's navy for whatever reason does not consistently deploy then based on this new strategy and the naval ranking definition, the Canadian Navy will soon be regarded as a rank 4: medium regional force projection navy. Therefore, it must be recognized that the future of the naval service will not be granted the same benefits of deploying internationally as will be outlined later in this chapter.

What must be taken into consideration is that the GOC's significant investment in the procurement of high-tech naval, air and land assets as part of the *Canada First Defence Strategy* will bring a capability for future UN, NATO, or US requirements. Yet, the GOC's defence budget figures published by DND show that spending in 2010 has actually decreased.<sup>21</sup> In 2009, the Canadian Navy was allocated CDN \$2.1 billion and in the next year this figure decreased to \$1.97 billion and is expected to be further reduced in 2011.<sup>22</sup> This continued trend of further reductions will only impact the number of tasks for the Canadian Navy and likely the number of naval expeditionary missions abroad with other coalition navies. As James Kirkas in *Maritime Command, National Missions, and Naval Identity* explained:

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<sup>21</sup> CBC News, "Canada's Navy cuts Canada's Patrol Navy in Half," in *CBC News*, [Article online]; available from <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/nova-scotia/story/2010/05/13/ns-navy-coastal-ships.html>; Internet; accessed 20 January 2011.

<sup>22</sup> CBC News, *Canada's Navy cuts Canada's Patrol Navy in Half*.

Some commentators and analysts on defence issues have argued that using warships for national missions has been an attempt by the navy to find relevancy after the end of the Cold War. Although these arguments ignore the historical contributions that the Canadian navy has made in fisheries and sovereignty patrols, no analyst would suggest building destroyers and cruisers strictly for sovereignty protection and national missions.<sup>23</sup>

Given the recent visibility the Canadian Navy achieved in 2010, as a result of the Canadian naval centennial and the announcement that the GOC will spend billions to modernize its fleet, Canadian politicians, as James Kirkas implies above, have begun to examine the role its navy should serve. What is looming in the minds of the Canadian public, given the tough economic climate, is the substantiation for the billions of tax payers' dollars being spent on modernizing the Halifax Class ships and procuring the new Joint Support ships, Arctic patrol ships and Surface Combatant Class.<sup>24</sup> The substantiation is hard to determine but the historical diplomatic benefits are clearly a factor when looking at the future. James Ellis, a political scientist, once argued that maintaining the traditional naval role is essential and explained, “[t]o understand how those [naval] roles will be fulfilled in the future, we must understand the historical uses of the ocean.”<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> James Kirkas, “Maritime Command, National Missions, and Naval Identity,” in *A Nation’s Navy...*, 345.

<sup>24</sup> Campbell Clark and Jeremy Torobin, “Tough Choices for Defence Spending,” in *Globe and Mail*, 25 October 2010. [Article on-line] available from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/time-to-lead/military/tough-choices-for-defence-spending/article1771105/>; Internet; accessed 26 February 2011.

<sup>25</sup> James O. Ellis, “Traditional Naval Roles,” in *The Role of Naval Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Operations*, ed. Richard H. Shultz and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, 141-146 (Washington: Brassey’s Publishing, 2000), 141.

The need for the navy and GOC to educate the Canadian public on the historic benefits of its navy is critical. It was evident that one of the aims surrounding the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Canadian Naval service was to establish visibility surrounding the benefits and utility of having a blue-water navy. Coincidentally, 2010 also marked the commencement of the Halifax Class Modernization (HCM) program, an increased focus on domestic/continental operations as well as an aggressive media campaign to justify the relevance of procuring more naval vessels. The problem, however, is that a new naval vision is required in order for Canadians to better understand the benefits and role of their future navy – to not only meet the domestic and continental needs but Canada’s international needs as well.

### **Maritime Blindness & Awareness**

During the last decade and a half, these frigates have been to the four corners of the world, performing every conceivable mission. And like the workhorses they are, they rarely get the praise they deserve.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper,  
onboard HMCS *Halifax*<sup>26</sup>

Despite the fact that Canada’s economy, security and future are inescapably bounded by three oceans, Canadians, including politicians, are faced with ‘maritime blindness.’ They do not really understand, as Prime Minister Harper implies above, the benefits of a navy. Furthermore, several senior naval officers commonly refer to ‘maritime blindness’ regarding the public’s understanding of the need to have a navy. For instance, Vice-Admiral McFadden regularly communicated this concept when

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<sup>26</sup> Government of Canada, Prime Minister’s Office, “Prime Minister Stephen Harper Announces New Upgrades to the Navy’s Halifax-Class Frigates,” 5 July 2007, [Article on-line]: available from: [www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1735](http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1735); Internet; accessed 20 January 2011.

addressing public venues stating, “It has always been a challenge to overcome maritime blindness in Canada.”<sup>27</sup> Peter Haydon, a political scientist, reinforced this concept under the term ‘sea blindness’:

It seems that the primary symptom of sea blindness is political and public apathy to the economic importance of the oceans. A secondary factor is the lack of consensus on the size and type of naval forces needed to maintain order at sea and how it should be done.<sup>28</sup>

Similarly, Marc Milner explains the Canadian lack of public knowledge of the navy as follows: “Most Canadians never even see the navy unless they live in Halifax or Esquimalt, which is pretty tragic.”<sup>29</sup>

What Canadians must understand is that Canadian warships “are the price of admission if Canada wants to play a meaningful role in naval operations with our allies.”<sup>30</sup> This message still remains valid today, yet, this maritime or sea blindness could perhaps explain the controversial and politically-driven strategic move to develop maritime awareness by Vice-Admiral McFadden when he wrote a letter on 23 April 2010 providing direction regarding the budget shortfall for the navy. Vice-Admiral McFadden made the decision and ordered his naval leadership on both coasts to make cuts to major warship operations and to tie up six Kingston Class ships, minor coastal defence vessels,

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<sup>27</sup> Dean McFadden, Vice-Admiral, Chief of Maritime Staff of Canada’s Maritime Command, “Canadian Navy Marks Naval Centennial,” in *Canada News Center*, [Article on-line]; available from <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-eng.do?m=/index&nid=528839>; Internet; accessed 9 January 2011.

<sup>28</sup> Pater Haydon, “Maritime Blindness You Say?” *Canadian Naval Review* Vol 6, No 3 (Fall 2010): 3.

<sup>29</sup> Richard Foot, “Rough Seas for Canada’s Navy; Vessels are out of date and not much is being done to replace them,” in *Vancouver Sun*, June 5, 2010, C.8.

<sup>30</sup> Department of National Defence, *Strategic Issues: The Future: The Role of Canada’s Major Warships*.

in order to meet the demands of the financial constraints imposed on the Canadian Navy.<sup>31</sup> This decision garnered enough media attention nationally to provide awareness to the Canadian public and therefore became quite political. As Vice-Admiral McFadden, explained, “I have had to make difficult choices that will directly impact fleet capability and availability this year and possibly for the medium term.”<sup>32</sup>

The Chief of Maritime Staff’s (CMS) letter and subsequent order to downsize the navy was immediately overruled by the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) as a result of a political outcry by Canadian politicians and public alike.<sup>33</sup> Although this issue is still open for much further debate, the CMS caused an awareness of the challenges faced by the navy in meeting its operational demands. As Marc Milner explained, “There are alarm bells going off in the navy about the government’s long failure to purchase new ships and properly fund what is arguably Canada’s most important strategic military service.”<sup>34</sup>

Despite the letter by the CMS being rescinded by the CDS, the move garnered significant maritime awareness, thereby creating the much demanded adjustments to provide the necessary financial resources for the navy. As military analyst Mercedes Stephensen suggested, “What McFadden did was, he got his way ... So, ultimately, he

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<sup>31</sup> Times Colonist, “No Way to Run Canada’s Navy,” in *Times Colonist*, 21 May 2010, A.12.

<sup>32</sup> David Aiken, “Military Rescinds Cuts to Canada’s Navy Fleet,” *Star-Phoenix Saskatoon*, 15 May 2010, A.15.

<sup>33</sup> Richard Foot, *Rough Seas for Canada’s Navy...*, C.8.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*



wins because he got the cuts reversed.”<sup>35</sup> When the Minister of National Defence (MND) was questioned regarding the cutbacks, he responded that “the navy’s operational requirements are assessed regularly with a view to ensure that we’re able to patrol all three coasts.”<sup>36</sup> Based on these remarks, one can only conclude that because there was no mention of international commitments in the MND’s response – only domestic and continental – then, perhaps, there is a shift away from naval international deployments and instead the scope has been narrowed on *Canada First*. Just as the title suggests, the GOC’s priority is domestic security. As the case may be, this statement by the MND may foreshadow an evolutionary shift of maritime strategy. A shift towards a primary focus of domestic and continental operations derived from the *Canada First Defence Strategy*. Essentially, internationalism conceivably placed as a last priority for the Canadian Navy.

This lack of emphasis is important because the new naval strategy being generated is expected to be released in 2011 to provide awareness and direction regarding the future role of the Canadian Navy. This maritime policy will replace the Canadian Navy’s strategy: *Securing Canada’s Ocean Frontiers: Chartering the Course from Leadmark* that was generated in May 2005.<sup>37</sup> The upcoming new maritime strategy follows the release of the *Canada First Defence Strategy* in order to articulate the navy’s new role given the higher direction of the CF policy and the intent to spend a significant

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<sup>35</sup> David Aiken, *Military Rescinds Cuts to Canada’s Navy Fleet...*, A.15.

<sup>36</sup> The National – CBC Television. “Canada’s Navy Cuts Coast Patrol Fleet in Half,” in *CBC News*, 13 May 2010.

<sup>37</sup> Department of National Defence, *Securing Canada’s Ocean Frontiers: Chartering the Course from Leadmark*.

investment in naval ships. The navy's role, missions and tasks are derived from this government defence policy based on navy strategy and defence planning process.

In order for the Canadian Navy to be credible, the document needs to state explicitly: what it is the navy does and why? This new strategy is critical in order to educate the Canadian public of the navy's benefits both historically and of the future in order to promote the ever need to continue its blue-water navy. In other words, the navy exists to defend the country's interests. In the complex world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century featuring failed/failing states and transnational crime, threats to peace and security are far more complicated and diverse than what the navy has ever experienced in the past. Moreover, what must be clear is that incidents anywhere in the world may demand a response. In these instances, the Canadian Navy provides options for the GOC. More specifically, a naval option demonstrates the importance of a globally deployable navy that can easily integrate into a larger multinational naval force to exercise sea control where needed to ensure stability.

In communicating the new Canadian maritime strategy, several factors must be taken into consideration, but the most important is about educating the audiences at large with what role the navy will play. Stanley Weeks, in *Strategy of Canadian Sea Power*, identifies five audiences to be targeted: the Canadian Navy, the Joint Leadership (military and civilian) of the CF, Canada's political leadership, Canada's attentive public and finally the US Navy and US Defence leadership.<sup>38</sup> Table 2 below outlines the targeted

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<sup>38</sup> Weeks, Stanley – Strategy of Canadian Sea Power, in *Canadian Naval Review*, (Fall 2009), 25. [Journal on-line]; available from

audiences and the strategy that must be resonated in order to properly educate the Canadian Navy's strategy and create maritime awareness.

**Table 2.0 - Target Audiences in Communicating Canada's new Maritime Strategy**

Target Audience	Maritime Strategy
Canadian Navy	The new strategy must reflect accurately the internal consensus of what the Canadian Navy does, how it does it, and sketch the desired future force evolution plans
Joint leadership (military and civilian) of the CF	The new strategy must explain how the Canadian Navy provides unique capabilities and options, and also how it complements (and enables) the other services
Canada's political leadership	The strategy must carefully reflect key guidance in the current government's Canada First Defence Strategy, but it would also be wise to acknowledge continuities from previous governments' defence policies
Canada's attentive public	Any new maritime strategy should be given trial runs in discussions with the Canadian public, and then have a firm strategic communications plan for rollout
US Navy and US defence leadership	The keyword and storyline in this context should be 'contribution' – how the Canadian Navy has been, and will continue to be, a contributing and relevant value-added ally

Source: Stanley Weeks, "Strategy of Canadian Sea Power," in *Canada Naval Review*, Fall 2009, <http://naval.review.cfps.dal.ca/archive/authenticate.php?vol=5&num=3&art=5>; 25.

Another maritime policy is also expected to be released regarding the GOC's stance on detainees and counter-piracy operations for possible future Canadian Navy deployments in the GOA. This new upcoming policy was a result of a public outcry and political debate after Her Majesty's Canadian Ship (HMCS) *Winnipeg's* 'catch and release' of suspect pirates while conducting operations in 2009 off the coast of Somalia.<sup>39</sup> Since this debate became public in 2010, after HMCS *Fredericton's* return from the region in April of that year, no other warship has operated in the region. Moreover, there

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<http://naval.review.cfps.dal.ca/archive/authenticate.php?vol=5&num=3&art=5>; Internet, accessed 10 December 2010.

<sup>39</sup> Murray Brewster, "Pirate Release Troubled Ottawa," in *Canadian Press*, [Article on-line]; available from <http://news.ca.msn.com/canada/cp-article.aspx?cp-documentid=25475773>; Internet; accessed 10 December 2010; CBC News, "Canada seeks to change policy on pirate prosecution: Mackay," in *CBC News*, [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.cbc.ca/world/story/2009/05/21/canada-piracy-kenya894.html>; Internet; accessed 10 December 2010; and Peter Worthington, "Catch and Release: Fishing for Pirates," in *CNEWS*, [Article on-line]; available from <http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Features/2010/09/13/pf-15330056.html>; Internet; accessed 10 December 2010.

have been no warships officially designated by the GOC to deploy to the region as Canada's continued commitment to the UN's Resolution to counter-piracy in the region. The implication here is that Canada is not applying itself not due to the nature of the challenge but rather because of the issue of finding a balance between domestic and international commitments with that of GOC and/or NDHQ priorities.

Figure 1 below illustrates the number of international operations the CF committed to as of April 2011 and provides a snapshot of the relative lack of international presence by the Canadian Navy. In fact, prior to Canada's announcement to send a warship off the coast of Libya on 1 March 2011, the last two naval extended expeditionary operations were OP *Saiph* (Gulf of Aden) and OP *Heista* (Haiti) that were both completed in April 2010. Of the 17 expeditionary deployments shown below, there are no other naval ships deployed internationally other than HMCS *Charlottetown's* deployment off the coast of Libya. Apart from Canada's recent naval commitment off the coast of Libya and that Canada is still contributing a few specialists in a Headquarters role capacity as part of its Op *Saiph* maritime commitment, the Canadian Navy has not consistently been deployed overseas.<sup>40</sup> As a result, this inconsistency only reflects a relative lack of international presence by not deliberately planning to deploy a warship on a regular basis.

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<sup>40</sup> Department of National Defence, "Operation Saiph," [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.comfec-cefcom.forces.gc.ca/pa-ap/ops/saiph/index-eng.asp>; Internet; accessed 25 January 2011; Note: "The current deployment on Op SAIPH is the initial rotation (Roto 0) of Task Force Northwood, a team of specialists in naval co-operation and guidance who work at the Allied Maritime Component Command Headquarters Northwood. Their task is to support efforts to ensure the safe passage of merchant shipping and the safety of naval vessels off the Horn of Africa by providing liaison between NATO naval forces and the international shipping industry."

**Figure 1.0 – CF Expeditionary Deployments as of April 2011**



Source: Department of National Defence, “Operations Map,” <http://www.comfec-cefcom.forces.gc.ca/pa-ap/ops/ops-mc-eng.asp>; Internet; accessed 9 April 2011.

Consequently, the Canadian Navy is digressing from its historic rank 3 medium global force projection navy to a rank 4 medium regional projection navy as previously outlined in Table 1. Although the Canadian Navy has the capability to deploy overseas, the navy does not do so on a consistent or regular basis.<sup>41</sup> In this case, the reasons are arguably fiscal management and allocation of resources in addition to GOC and/or NDHQ priorities. However, given the benefits that will be next examined, the requirement to provide a more narrowed scope in naval overseas missions and tasks will be highlighted in order to recognize the relevance of having a blue-water navy deployed globally on a regular basis.

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<sup>41</sup> Department of National Defence, *Leadmark...*, 44.

### **Internationalism – International Commitments (UN/NATO)**

As will be explained further in the next chapter, the Canadian Navy's deployments to Korea, the North Atlantic, the Pacific, the Adriatic Sea, the Gulf, the Arabian Sea and to Somalia were all directly linked to Canada's commitment to UN, NATO and US-led operations. These deployments were a result of the GOC's willingness to accept international responsibilities in keeping to St. Laurent's comments in his *Gray Lecture*:

[Internationalism] is willingness to accept international responsibilities. If there is one conclusion that our common experience has led us to accept, it is that security for this country lies in the development of a firm structure of international organization ... respect for the rule of law has become an integral part of our external as of our domestic policy.<sup>42</sup>

Essentially, St. Laurent implied that Canada must continue to accept greater responsibilities by embracing a more active role in world affairs while abiding by the rule of law in international affairs. These were core elements of Canada's foreign policy and are still valid today as evidenced with Canada's continued commitment to several major multilateral organizations such as G8, G20, NATO, UN, the Commonwealth, and la Francophonie. Multilateral organizations such as these are a prominent feature of international relations. They have become increasingly common as states form new agreements, binding laws and initiatives involving other different states with similar regional interests or through a recognized international body such as the UN.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Louis St. Laurent, the Honourable, *The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs*. Duncan and John Gray Memorial lecture (Toronto, ON: The University of Toronto Press, 13 January 1947) 23-25.

<sup>43</sup> Department of National Defence, *Chief of Force Development...*, 6.

The challenge for Canada is being a good ally to these multilateral organizations, namely the UN and NATO, and finding the right balance. Over sixty years ago, St. Laurent said, “We should give our support to every international organization which contributes to the economic and political stability of the world.”<sup>44</sup> His words remain true today as multilateral organizations are an expression of promoting Canadian interests and values to the international community. George Maclean, a political scientist, reinforced this principle in *Canadian Foreign Policy: The Practice and Principle of Internationalism*, “... self interest drives the Canadian internationalist impulse ... Functionally, internationalism through multilateralism gives Canada greater input at the table. Ideologically, internationalism reflects the core values of Canadian society.”<sup>45</sup>

In this regard, a necessary part of Canada’s international security commitments is the deployment of its navy. A blue-water navy is an appropriate instrument of diplomacy promoting internationalism abroad: diplomatic engaged foreign port visits by showing the flag; integrating with multinational navies; and lastly its commitment to combined operations abroad to promote peace and security. Internationalism and, therefore, having influential input at the UN is at stake if the Canadian Navy’s role shifts away from international operations to that of domestic and continental operations.

In order to project Canada as a leader at the international stage, the GOC is challenged with finding the necessary balance with regional and international tasks that

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<sup>44</sup> Louis St. Laurent, *The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs...*, 37

<sup>45</sup> George A. Maclean, “Canadian Foreign Policy: The Practice and Principle of Internationalism,” University of Manitoba. Paper presented at the 48<sup>th</sup> Annual International Studies Convention Chicago, Illinois, 1-4 March 2007.

are best aligned with the US and UN/NATO interests. The UN's membership has grown considerably from 51 to 193 states since its inception in 1945.<sup>46</sup> As a result of multilateralism, organizations such as the European, Islamic Organization, African and Latin American Unions which share common values are making influential decisions based on a common regional self-interest. To further project Canada's influence and ensure that national interests are taken seriously not only should a stronger bond be made with the UN and NATO but also with the US in forging a union to serve both North American and global best interests.

As such, based on the changing environment, Canada has been somewhat less reliant and committed to the UN since the fall of the Soviet Union. During the Cold War, Canada was a top peacekeeping UN contributor and even after the Cold War in the 1990s still ranked in the top ten.<sup>47</sup> Canada had a global reputation as a middle-power and mediatory state that resolved disputes peacefully. However, the GOC stance on internationalism has taken a considerable step back since the Cold War and 1990s. Take for example Canada's peacekeeping commitment over the past five years: Canada ranked 63rd among 105 UN countries that committed military as of September 2009, a substantial difference compared to Canada's commitments in previous years.<sup>48</sup> All being

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<sup>46</sup> UN, "Growth in United Nations Membership, 1945-present," [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.un.org/en/members/growth.shtml> ; Internet; accessed 30 October 2010.

<sup>47</sup> Walter Dorn, "Canada: The Once and Future Peacekeeper," in *Peace Magazine*. Oct-Dec 2006, 16. [Journal] on-line; available from <http://archive.peacemagazine.org/v22n4p16.htm>; Internet; accessed 28 October 2010.

<sup>48</sup> Bill Robinson, "Foreign Policy Series: Canadian Military spending 2009," in *Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives*, December 2009, [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/reports/docs/Canadian%20Military%20Spending%202009.pdf>; Internet; accessed 26 October 2010.



said, Prime Minister Harper has publically stated the importance of Canada projecting international leadership on the world stage:

Providing international leadership is vital if Canada is to continue to be a credible player on the world stage. This will require the Canadian Forces to have the necessary capabilities to make a meaningful contribution across the full spectrum of international operations, from humanitarian assistance to stabilization operations to combat.<sup>49</sup>

Despite the fact that Canada has taken a step back in its international military commitments to the UN this past decade, as Prime Minister Harper implies above, Canada still maintained a reputation as a global contributor and leader. For instance, Canada ranked 7<sup>th</sup> in UN peacekeeping funding, albeit a legal obligation to contribute financially under the UN membership.<sup>50</sup> From an international security perspective, Canada had been committed to the International Security Afghanistan Force (ISAF) for the past several years. From a naval perspective, Canada's international naval operations had been equally demanding: operations in the Northern Arabian Sea and Gulf of Oman as part of OP *Apollo* and *Altair* that were in support of searching for Al Qaeda and Taliban operatives fleeing from Afghanistan and deterring terrorist organizations from moving illicit cargo throughout the gulf region. Naval operations that continued in the region, however, were refocused in 2008 to the GOA region in support of counter piracy and world food program efforts to deliver aid to Somalia. These ISAF and naval commitments have put a significant strain on Canadian financial and military resources to be able to deploy on peacekeeping/making missions elsewhere.

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<sup>49</sup> Government of Canada, *Canada First Defence Strategy*.

<sup>50</sup> Bill Robinson, *Foreign Policy Series: Canadian Military spending 2009...*, 7.

However, what must be taken into consideration is that Canada has been heavily involved in Afghanistan and therefore strained both financially and in resources to significantly contribute towards UN/NATO operations elsewhere. Furthermore, the issue from a naval peacekeeping commitment perspective as Adam Siegel explains in *Naval PeaceKeeping and Humanitarian Operations: Stability from the Sea*, "... the UN simply cannot afford to pay countries for access to naval forces in the same way that it pays for ground units ... Navies are simply too expensive for the United Nations to engage on a routine basis in run-of-the-mill peace support operations."<sup>51</sup> The issue is that countries committing ships to UNSCRs are not accounted for in UN military contributions statistics unless it is a UN led mission. In a different approach, a continuous naval involvement in UN sanctioned operations, such as Haiti, Somalia and most recently Libya, could relieve pressure off the GOC regarding current and future commitments to the UN – but more importantly projecting leadership abroad.

Rob McLaughlin, in *United Nations Naval Peace Operations in the Territorial Sea*, identifies a range of functions naval forces can achieve during UN peace operations. These functions include: force delivery, patrolling and monitoring, logistic support, command and control, non-combatant evacuation and a diplomatic platform for peace negotiations.<sup>52</sup> Functions such as these describe the new role and partnership NATO has with the UN. In this regard, NATO is a particular important blue-water naval venue in which Canada can be a leader and project leadership at the international level. So, in

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<sup>51</sup> A.B. Siegel, "Maritime Peace Support operations," in *Naval PeaceKeeping and Humanitarian Operations: Stability from the Sea*, ed. James J. Wirtz and Jeffrey A. Larsen, (New York: Routledge, 2009): 105.

<sup>52</sup> Rob McLaughlin, *United Nations Naval Peace Operations in the Territorial Sea*, (Boston: Marintus Nijhoff Publishers, 2009), 49-54.

order to satisfy both UN and NATO commitments, participating NATO states can benefit by committing its navy to continuous annual rotations within the Standing NATO Maritime Group 1 (SNMG 1), enforcing the counter-piracy UNSCR off the coast of Somalia. Doing so can only positively augment a state's global image regarding its international commitments.

### *NATO's Relevance*

Some critics have argued that NATO's relevance since the end of the Cold War has come into question considering the organization emerged based on the threat of the Soviet Union.<sup>53</sup> As a result of a need to prove its relevancy as an organization and adapt to the challenges of the new security environment, NATO embarked on new roles outside the North Atlantic and Europe to regions where global stability is affected. For instance, NATO has been committed to Afghanistan since 2003 and SNMG 1 has been operating off the coast of Somalia since 2008 conducting counter piracy operations in support of multiple UNSCRs. One can only assume that SNMG 1 intends to remain in the region until a new maritime threat emerges that requires NATO intervention. As Robert Jordan explains:

... as to political impact, the essential flexibility and mobility of NATO naval forces permit their continuous combining and recombining within a coalition framework which does not arouse national hostilities as readily as do the military forces of one or more countries stationed on another's territory.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Global Europe, "What Future for NATO: A Global Europe Online Colloquium," *Global Europe*, 3 March 2010. [Article on-line] available from <http://www.globeurope.com/standpoint/what-future-for-nato>; Internet; accessed 26 February 2011; NATO. "NATO on the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: End of the Cold War," [http://www.nato.int/docu/21-cent/html\\_en/21st04.html](http://www.nato.int/docu/21-cent/html_en/21st04.html); Internet; accessed 25 February 2011;

<sup>54</sup> Robert S. Jordan, *Alliance Strategy and Navies...*, 150

In this regard, the benefits of an international deployed naval force, such as SNMG 1 stationed off the coast of a country, has achieved necessary desired effects. The naval presence is a viable option considering NATO land forces are already heavily committed in Afghanistan. Furthermore, national hostilities are not aroused as was the case during the UN Somalia mission in 1992-1995 that resulted in several fatalities to UN soldiers and civilians.<sup>55</sup> NATO intervention at sea off the coast of Somalia has reinforced its relevancy as a collective security force that challenges a global threat.

### **Interoperability among Allied navies – Showcasing Canada’s Navy**

Canada’s Maritime strategy that is communicated to the public on the National Defence website outlines the following factors as being the major elements surrounding the existing and future requirement to maintain a blue-water navy capability:

- Frigates and destroyers are the minimum size of warship that are physically capable of accommodating the fuel, provisions, weapons systems, sensors, communications equipment, and personnel that are needed to provide these fundamental capabilities in a single ship that is capable of carrying out a broad range of tasks;
- Frigates and destroyers are the minimum size of warship needed to play a meaningful role in diplomacy. Smaller, less capable warships do not carry the same symbolic value;
- Smaller warships do not have the sea-keeping qualities needed to operate in the very rough seas that are often encountered offshore – particularly within Canada’s large offshore areas which are known for their high seas and rough weather;
- The flexibility of frigates and destroyers allows them to rapidly change role or missions – even after they have been deployed abroad;
- The general-purpose design of frigates and destroyers offers governments a very wide range of options when choosing how to respond to an international crisis;
- The frigate or destroyer is considered to be the basic building block of a naval force when warships are assembled into groups during alliance or international coalitions. They are the “price of admission” in making a meaningful and visible contribution to multinational operations; and
- Frigates and destroyers have the ability to operate autonomously for extended periods, or they can be integrated into a highly effective group of ships known as

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<sup>55</sup> UN, “Somalia, UNOSOM II,” [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unosom2p.htm>; Internet; accessed 20 January 2011.

a 'Task Group', which can be used to accomplish more complex or difficult missions.<sup>56</sup>

Based on possessing these blue-water capabilities outlined above, the Canadian Navy has garnered a significant reputation among its allies over the decades through its various international deployments. These types of capabilities have also provided the opportunity for Canada to project its image abroad. Not only do these capabilities build upon Canada's reputation as a global leader but the experience gained from being able to operate with several multinational navies and headquarters has its benefits as well. More specifically, interoperability provides not only operational benefits for the navy but several other strategic effects such as the ability to obtain leadership roles within an alliance.

Building experience levels in the navy in joint and combined operations allow Canada the ability to assume larger leadership roles in potential follow-on deployments. For instance, Canada, as a result of building upon its experience levels through international deployments, was capable on several occasions to take command of several multinational navies such as: NATO's Standing Naval Force Atlantic during the Bosnia Conflict in 1993-1995 and Kosovo War in 1999 in the Adriatic Sea; Combined Task Force (CTF) 151 in 1990 and 2003 in the Central and Southern Arabian Gulf; and CTF 150 in 2008 in the Arabian Sea and GOA.<sup>57</sup> In these cases, a Canadian naval

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<sup>56</sup> Department of National Defence. *Strategic Issues: The Future: The Role of Canada's Major Warships*.

<sup>57</sup> Bob Davidson. Rear-Admiral, "Naval Diplomacy – A Practitioner's View," in *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* Vol 11, No. 1 and 2, (Fall and Winter 2008/9).

Commodore was embarked with a staff – Canadian and/or International – to coordinate and lead these operations.

There were also other leadership examples involving Canadian warships that were selected ahead of other coalition navies to act as Group Commander responsible for the tactical employment of coalition aircraft and ships to execute assigned missions. For example, HMCS *Charlottetown*, during OP *Altair Roto 3* (2007-2008) in the Arabian Sea, was selected on several occasions as a Group Commander of numerous coalition warships. As highlighted by the ship's executive officer, Lieutenant Commander Mike Davie, "*Charlottetown* earned a reputation among the operational commanders as a 'go to' ship. If something had to get done, *Charlottetown* would go out and do it."<sup>58</sup>

Canada's navy demonstrated the importance of international experience and assuming leadership roles as it substantiated to other multinational countries not only the professionalism of its navy, but the status as a middle-power state and leader in world affairs.

Similarly, Canada's navy throughout the decades has showcased NATO allies' ability to integrate with ease among its allies, particularly the United States Navy (USN). As Paul Cellucci, former US Ambassador to Canada, explained, "Canada's navy receives a passing grade for interoperability from the United States and other NATO partners."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Department of National Defence, "HMCS *Charlottetown* Homeward Bound," [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.cefcom.forces.gc.ca/pa-ap/fs-ev/2008/05/02-eng.asp>; Internet; accessed 20 January 2011.

<sup>59</sup> James Baxter and Graham Hughes, "Only the Navy fits with U.S. forces, Ambassador says," in *CanWest News*, Oct 10, 2002, 1. [Article on-line]; available from <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=351838531&sid=2&Fmt=3&clientid=1711&RQT=309&VName=PQD>; Internet; accessed 20 January 2011.

The ability to easily integrate and operate with coalition navies, namely the USN, is a reflection of the number of international deployments by the Canadian Navy in multi-national combined operations. Interoperability with coalition warships builds upon experience levels in the navy in joint and combined operations in order to allow Canada to assume larger leadership roles in potential follow on deployments. Canadian warships have also demonstrated the capability to integrate with a US Carrier Strike Group (CSG). In fact, HMCS *Charlottetown* during OP *Altair* was the last Canadian warship to be part of a CSG.<sup>60</sup> To that end, Canada and the UK are the only middle-power navies in the world able to fully integrate into a US CSG or as US Admiral William Gortney, former Commander of the Harry S. Truman Strike Group, strategically referred CSG as the “Coalition Strike Group.”<sup>61</sup> The mere ability to integrate into a US CSG speaks volumes of Canada’s blue-water naval joint doctrine capabilities and sea power as a middle-power.

Interoperability with the US and its NATO partners is a key objective for the USN considering the number of missions around the world that requires the naval superpower’s presence. As Robert Jordan explains:

The ‘habits of working together’ formed can contribute positively to whatever future emerges ... the world is still a very dangerous place and may even become more so, which can make the NATO phenomenon as a maritime Alliance increasingly more, rather than less, relevant, whatever shape or form it takes.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Department of National Defence, “Operation *Altair*,” [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.comfec-cefcom.forces.gc.ca/pa-ap/ops/altair/index-eng.asp>; Internet; accessed 20 January 2011.

<sup>61</sup> Personal experiences as the Canadian Liaison Officer embarked onboard USS Harry S. Truman who integrated into Admiral Gortney’s operational staff during the Coalition Strike Group’s workup training prior to deploying to the Arabian Gulf/Sea in 2007/08.

<sup>62</sup> Robert S. Jordan, *Alliance Strategy and Navies...*, 155.

In this regard, the issue is not that there is a lessening of hegemonic power but instead reflects the breadth and scope of the contemporary challenges faced by the US in the twenty-first century. As Jordan implies above, working together can only contribute positively considering the demonstrated effectiveness of the US and NATO alliance in ending the Cold War.

### **US Led Global Maritime Partnerships: the “1000 ship Navy” concept**

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, the US has achieved Sea Command of the Oceans as the largest, most powerful and complete rank 1 global force projection navy in the world: “capable of carrying out all military roles of naval forces on global scale.”<sup>63</sup> When reflecting upon US power, Daniel Goure explains, “Of all the elements of U.S. military power the one that has been the most versatile and, arguably, the most successful at keeping the peace in its domain is [US] naval power.”<sup>64</sup> Yet, given the rise of the number of failing/failed states and the reliance on globalization through the use of the sea in addition to the current and future cutbacks of US naval forces, much has changed regarding controlling the sea environment and as a result so has the approach by the USN.

In 2005, the USN developed a new strategy first referred to as the ‘1000 ship Navy’ and now rephrased in 2007 as ‘the Global Maritime Partnerships’, that would be the basis of the US new maritime cooperative strategy. This strategy describes, “... how

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<sup>63</sup> Department of National Defence, *Leadmark...*, 44-45.

<sup>64</sup> Daniel Goure, “The Essence Of American Global Power Is The Carrier Strike Group,” in *Defence Pro News*, 6 January 2011, [Journal] on-line; available from: <http://www.defpro.com/news/details/21002/?SID=9fb68405914d788eddbb41f300c36efc>; Internet; accessed 20 January 2011.



sea power will be applied around the world to protect [American] way of life, as we join with other like minded nations to protect and sustain the global, inter-connected system through which we prosper.”<sup>65</sup> Essentially, this strategy recognizes that it is imperative that the USN develop and work with other like minded maritime states to achieve effective sea power for political and military reasons. When contextualizing US power and leadership among collective security partnerships, John Steinbruner offers a way ahead: “Someone must be the father in this situation, and the United States as a whole is better positioned than any other society.”<sup>66</sup> Within that broad view, the rationale behind establishing a naval coalition force is normally to accomplish a mission that a single maritime state would otherwise have difficulty accomplishing alone.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, a US-led coalition naval force provides several benefits such as influencing national and international opinion, information sharing and concentration of naval assets. This cooperative strategy’s aim is essentially to maintain global stability through sea power and therefore prevent interstate war. As the US Committee on the ‘1000-Ship Navy’ explained in *Maritime Security Partnerships*, “No single navy or nation can do this alone. Security threats in the maritime domain are an important challenge.”<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> United States of America, Department of Defence, “A Cooperative Strategy for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sea Power,” (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, October 2007): 3. [Document on-line]; available from [www.navy.mil/maritime/Maritimestrategy.pdf](http://www.navy.mil/maritime/Maritimestrategy.pdf); Internet; accessed 17 December 2010.

<sup>66</sup> John Steinbruner, “Can the United States lead the World?” in *Statecraft and Security: The Cold War and Beyond*, ed. Ken Booth, (UK: Cambridge Press, 1998): 147.

<sup>67</sup> Jeffrey A. Larsen, *Naval PeaceKeeping and Humanitarian Operations: Stability from the Sea*, ed. James J. Wirtz and Jeffrey A. Larsen, (New York: Routledge, 2009): 175.

<sup>68</sup> National Research Council, “Maritime Security Partnerships,” (Washington: The National Academies Press, 2008), ix.

In order for this cooperative strategy to be effective, the US requires like-minded states, such as Canada, to support this concept. In order to strengthen bilateral ties with the US, the GOC can use this as an opportunity to provide necessary solidarity and support to the US. Certainly, during war or conflicts, the US has effectively employed its navy as an instrument of foreign policy abroad. One can argue that in operations other than war, in order to maintain stability through presence operations, there should be no difference. As Colin Gray explains in *Leverage of Sea Power*, “Sea Power needs to secure maritime lines of communication (the ability of ships to move) for positive purposes, as well as deny enemies a reliable ability to use the sea.”<sup>69</sup> In this regard, coalition maritime states, such as Canada, with global naval projection capability have an obligation and stake in supporting the US co-operative maritime strategy initiative. This type of naval commitment is perhaps what ‘maritime blindness’ leads many Canadians to overlook when it comes to the importance of international naval alliances working towards a common maritime security strategy.

Naval alliances must work together by maintaining sea control of its own waters (in Canada’s case North Atlantic, Pacific and Arctic waters) and by contributing internationally to a multinational presence in strategically important shipping routes or regions where a threat or crisis is imminent and/or emerging. As Thomas Marfiak explains in *The Role of Naval Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Operations*, “... it is important to note that a coalition or alliance-based force, properly deployed, at an early point in crisis

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<sup>69</sup> Colin Gray, *Leverage of Sea Power...*, 25.

generation, can play a deterrent role.”<sup>70</sup> Establishing liaison and building understanding, trust and common purpose within an alliance of maritime states is the key to success in the contemporary operating sea environment. In Ken Booth’s words:

...governments of sovereign states will remain important actors in world politics and will continue to serve key functions, *inter alia*, in the regulation of violence, the development of law, the direction of social policies and the management of external relations. Statecraft will therefore continue to be of significance.<sup>71</sup>

For that matter, governments contributing to an alliance of concentrated naval sea power are improving the level of efficiency of collective global security. Take for example, SNMG 1 as an alliance of concentrated naval power that provides collective security. As Robert S. Jordan explains, “The way in which the NATO navies moved to meet a severe threat to their interests in the Gulf would not have been possible without their prior experience of working together multilaterally.”<sup>72</sup> Though the world’s economy is reliant on the ability of its shipping commerce to move freely, the challenge for maritime states is finding the balance between its obligation as a sovereign state to patrol its own waters and its international obligation to co-operate with other like minded states to maintain global security and stability.

### **WEIGHING THE BALANCE: Domestic & International Operations**

As mentioned at the onset of this chapter in table 1, the Canadian Navy, in accordance with the Canadian Maritime Strategy in 2005 *Securing Canada’s Ocean*

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<sup>70</sup> Thomas F. Marfiak, “The Role of Alliances and Coalitions in MTW and Non-MTW Contingencies” in *The Role of Naval Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Operations*, ed. Richard Shultz and Robert Pfaltzgraff, 184.

<sup>71</sup> Ken Booth, *Statecraft and Security: The Cold War and Beyond*, (UK: Cambridge Press, 1998), 349-350.

<sup>72</sup> Robert S. Jordan, *Alliance and Strategy and Navies...*, 154.

*Frontiers: Charting the Course from Leadmark*, was classified as a rank 3 navy.<sup>73</sup> This status is based on Canada's commitment to US-led naval operations over the past decade. For example: the Afghanistan war; followed by naval operations in the region in support of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF); and in 2008-2010 naval operations off the coast of Somalia in support of UNSCR. Since 9/11, every major Canadian naval vessel has deployed and operated in South West Asia – with some of these warships returning for two-three more rotations<sup>74</sup> – thus reaffirming Canada as a then rank 3 navy.

Canada's naval commitment to internationalism in the Middle East region since the First Gulf War has been impressive and yet a year has past since April 2010 and there have been no follow on naval deployments to the region for a Medium Global Force Projection type Navy. Although there are critics that argued that navies are a diplomatic means of the past, Robert Matas argued that, “navies are the force of the future, especially for countries such as Canada. When there's a problem, we often send a ship.”<sup>75</sup> What is required is a need to avoid the requirement to weigh the balance between domestic and expeditionary operations and instead weigh the balance between the number of possible expeditionary operations to maintain proficiency and relevance. Furthermore, it is recognizable that the challenge ahead for the navy will be balancing the

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<sup>73</sup> Department of National Defence, *Securing Canada's Ocean Frontiers: Charting the Course from Leadmark...*, 3.

<sup>74</sup> Richard Gimblett, “The Transformation Era, 1990 to the Present,” in *The Naval Service of Canada...*, 202.

<sup>75</sup> Robert Matas, “Part 5: Ships from the Past Power Canada's Navy of the Future,” in *Globe and Mail*, 28 October 2010, [Article on-line]; available from <http://m.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/time-to-lead/military/part-5-ships-from-the-past-power-canadas-navy-of-the-future/article1775775/?service=mobile>; Internet; accessed 20 January 2011.

HCM program with the Force Generation and Employment requirements.<sup>76</sup> It is perhaps for this reason and financial issues that may explain the rationale for not consistently deploying a warship to the Middle East region as had been in the past.

Although critics argue that investing in the navy is expensive, what must be considered is what is lost by not investing in the navy. As Peter Haydon argued, “a navy gives the government a means of responding quickly to any crisis at home and overseas. The other service cannot provide that response ... a warship is an extension of the government and so is a clear signal of intent.”<sup>77</sup> In this same respect, warships provide another element of blue-water benefits in addition to its ability to show commitment and that is not risking casualties when responding to a regional crisis. In this regard, many states are loath to risk casualties when committing its military forces for fear of political consequences. As a result, by investing in a blue-water navy, a state is likely able to make the greatest impact from both a political and diplomatic perspective and provide the necessary credibility of a state’s commitment to a crisis.

Yet, it is important to recognize a country’s ability to balance roles will be a challenge for any navy based on domestic and international demands. In Canada’s case, these domestic and continental tasks based on government direction include missions such as arctic sovereignty, counter drug operations in the Caribbean, fisheries patrols, humanitarian operations, other government department operations (environmental, drug

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<sup>76</sup> Force Generation: support, training and preparedness for operations; and Force Employment: conducting actual operations.

<sup>77</sup> Terry Weber, “Is Canada's navy the past or the future?” *The Globe and Mail*, 27 October 2010, [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/time-to-lead/military/is-canadas-navy-the-past-or-the-future/article1765241/>; Internet; accessed 20 December 2010.

and human trafficking), search and rescue operations, and force generation training exercises. This is a long list of continental and domestic obligations for the Canadian Navy. Nevertheless, unlike their American counterparts, the Canadian Coast Guard vessels are unarmed and their primary responsibilities are primarily navigation safety, icebreaking, environmental disaster management, and search and rescue.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, the Canadian Navy is obliged to fulfill the requirements as a sovereign state to conduct sovereignty patrols of its three oceans. Yet, Canada is also obliged to meet its international requirements as a middle-power to conduct naval expeditionary missions abroad as a NATO/UN member.

In the end, when looking at the balance of regional versus international naval tasks, what must be taken into consideration is what is missed by not properly balancing these naval tasks. What is often overlooked is the requirement to maintain the proper readiness for combat related tasks and the ability to operate with other allied naval forces as a blue-water navy. This is the main purpose of any state's navy and as Peter Cairns explains, "Given the pressures at work in society at large, maintaining the required equilibrium will not be easy."<sup>79</sup> Contrary to what Julian Brown suggested, blue-water capable warships were designed for combat related operations and not solely on constabulary roles focussing on independent sovereignty patrols. What is at risk is not only a perishable skill of the Canadian Navy with regards to interoperability but the

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<sup>78</sup> Department of Fisheries and Oceans, Canadian Coast Guard, "Our Mandate Today," [Article on-line]; available from [http://www.ccg-gcc.gc.ca/e0003829#Our\\_Mandate\\_Today](http://www.ccg-gcc.gc.ca/e0003829#Our_Mandate_Today): Internet; accessed 20 January 2011.

<sup>79</sup> Peter Cairns, "Points of Departure: Towards the Next Forty Years," in *A Nation's Navy...*, 357.

international leadership opportunities missed in keeping with the *Canada First Defence Strategy*.

## SUMMARY

In examining Canada's maritime strategy and blue-water navy in this chapter, it is evident that CF campaign planning as it pertains to force employment should consider maintaining its naval interoperability capability with USN and NATO forces both during global and continental operations. The USN has an incredible responsibility to patrol the world's oceans in addition to its own coastline. As Stanley Weeks in *Canadian Sea Power* explains, "The Canadian Navy will have a sympathetic friend in the US Navy as it continues to acquire more effective maritime capabilities, particularly in the areas of ... global deployments."<sup>80</sup> In this case, in order to build upon an effective relationship with the US, Canada must maintain a balanced medium global projection navy and be a part of the US led Global Maritime Partnerships initiative.

It is also important to recognize that the global system shifts of world powers have affected the nature of naval sea power. The balance of global power has changed significantly since the end of the Cold War. Instead of being shared between the Eastern and Western countries, dominated by the USSR and the US respectively, it has shifted to the US now being the hegemonic state responsible for the new world order. Overseas presence and deterrence operations became almost commonplace for foreign naval warships as a means of governments to demonstrate the capacity and willingness to deescalate or prevent a crisis and assist the US. These expeditionary deployments

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<sup>80</sup> Stanley Weeks, *Canadian Sea power...*, 27.

included UN and/or NATO missions, as well as other coalition missions such as CTFs or US led 'Coalitions of the Willing.' The US Navy has borne the heavy burden of taking the lead in these various types of missions and has called upon other states to balance their national requirements to that of their international obligations.<sup>81</sup> In this regard, this commitment speaks not necessarily to a lessening of a hegemonic power but instead to the breadth and scope of contemporary challenges and how Canada as an ally can support the US by maintaining a blue-water navy.

However, the Canadian Navy's budget and therefore the allocation of its naval assets both domestically and internationally has clearly become a worry by senior naval leadership in 2010. These efforts have provided maritime awareness and created an opportunity to re-examine naval tasks and priorities by NDHQ and the GOC to ensure necessary funding be allocated in order to maintain proficiency in naval missions at home and abroad with other navies. The ability to integrate with ease into coalition navies and joint headquarter environments when an emerging or immediate crisis calls for states to act is not only an attractive leadership opportunity for the GOC but also an opportunity to demonstrate its international support and influence.

What must be next examined is the historical utility associated with maintaining a blue-water navy and its benefits as it pertains to the internationalist theme presented in this chapter. In doing so, it will only further highlight the need to balance international naval deployments to that of regional and continental tasks.

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<sup>81</sup> United States, Department of Defence, "A Cooperative Strategy for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Seapower," (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, October 2007). [Document on-line]; available from [www.navy.mil/maritime/Maritimestrategy.pdf](http://www.navy.mil/maritime/Maritimestrategy.pdf); Internet; accessed 17 December 2010.



## CHAPTER II – BLUE WATER NAVY: CANADA’S HISTORY

To further explain how Canada’s blue-water strategy has evolved from a historical perspective, it is necessary to first examine the period when Canada had the “third largest navy in the world ... with over 400 warships of various types.”<sup>82</sup> This era followed the end of the Second World War and marked the foundation of Canada’s blue-water navy strategy. At that time, the GOC in a similar way to today faced tough decisions to make regarding the size of its naval forces and the requirement to weigh the domestic versus international roles. These decisions would be aligned with Canadian foreign policy initiatives considering the part the country would play in the formation of the UN in 1945 and then NATO in 1949 to counter the Soviet Union threat. As it turned out, Canada would remain committed to the multinational organizations and its navy would play key symbolic roles in major conflicts and crises in the decades that followed.

In particular, at the end of the Second World War, Canada was viewed globally as a rising middle-power with an influential international mediatory voice and reputable naval service. As a result, the post-war Department of External Affairs embraced a more active role internationally that would define Canadian Foreign and Defence policies until today.<sup>83</sup> Of particular note, in 1947, Canada’s Secretary of State for International Affairs, the Honourable Louis St. Laurent, delivered the *Foundations of Canadian Policy*

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<sup>82</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada’s Navy...*, 157.

<sup>83</sup> Canada’s Department of External Affairs is known today as Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. Following the Department's merger with the Trade Commissioner Service in 1982, its operations and mandate expanded in new directions, changes reflected in its current name, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade; Source: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade: <http://www.international.gc.ca/history-histoire/departement-ministere/index.aspx?lang=eng>; Internet; accessed 24 January 2011.

*in World Affairs*, also known as the *Gray Lecture*.<sup>84</sup> During this lecture, he articulated the key principles of Canadian foreign policy that form the basis of Canada's international relations.

St. Laurent identified the core principles as: national unity; political liberty; human values; rule of law in international affairs, and; internationalism.<sup>85</sup> The GOC's deployment of its naval forces abroad over the decades to follow was aligned to these same guiding principles. The naval service served as a key diplomatic symbol of Canada in world affairs. Accordingly, the naval service demonstrated the utility and benefits of maintaining a blue-water navy by a middle-power state in order to promote political liberties and internationalism. As well, Canada's post-Second World War naval history furnishes useful guidance on a maritime state's roles and obligations towards the commitment of these core principles through sea power. This internationalist theme will prove to be significantly more important through the commitment of multinational naval forces working together to counter threats such as transnational criminal activity as the world moves forward in the twenty-first century.

This chapter will examine the historical benefits of a Canadian blue-water capability since the Second World War. From this timeframe, specific international events will be identified to highlight when the GOC called upon its naval service to demonstrate the government's genuine concern over a developing situation that garnered significant international attention. These specific examples will demonstrate the

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<sup>84</sup> Louis St. Laurent, *The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs*.

<sup>85</sup> Louis St. Laurent, *The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs...*, 6-45.

longstanding GOC interest and engagement in strategically important regions where international attention is focussed. In line with the preceding arguments, this chapter will explain how the deployment of the Canadian Navy builds upon effective relationships for Canada. The last section will address the requirement by the GOC to continue to deploy its navy overseas in the Middle East region with other coalition navies to conduct counter piracy missions in order to demonstrate Canada's commitment to internationalism.

### **TRADITIONAL HISTORIC ROLES OF CANADA'S BLUE WATER NAVY**

The GOC's employment of its navy, since the end of the Second World War, served as a key function both militarily and diplomatically, in order to support foreign policy agendas. The foreign security initiatives executed by the Canadian Navy were in keeping with the foreign policy principles outlined in St. Laurent's *Gray Lecture* in 1947.<sup>86</sup> Since Prime Minister Stephen Harper's Conservative party formed a government in 2005, the foreign policy principles, and resulting naval tasks, surrounding Canada's foreign security policy are as relevant to those core principles outlined in 1947 by St. Laurent. In the same way, Canada's blue-water navy would be a key service to ensure Canada remained as a 'middle-power' at the international table regarding world affairs, all the while ensuring its national interests were promoted internationally. Meanwhile, the challenge for Canada, as a member in NATO, was the Cold War and countering the threat of communism. What evolved over this Cold War period was a unique relationship and alliance that was built between Canada and other NATO countries, namely its foremost ally; the US. A coalition of expeditionary naval forces able to

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<sup>86</sup> Louis St. Laurent, *The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs*.

communicate and operate effectively would emerge and states, especially Canada, benefitted as a result.

### **Canadian Navy Post-Second World War**

The fact that Canada's naval service evolved over the course of the Second World War into a reputable medium-power blue-water navy in the post-war period is an obvious theme, and probably the most important theme, in the history of the Canadian Navy. Despite the efforts by the Naval Service in Ottawa to maintain a balanced blue-water navy after the Second World War, the GOC approved the demobilization of Canada's naval service on 28 September 1945. As historian Donald Graves explains:

The RCN's [Royal Canadian Navy] participation in surface wars in these [Second World War: European, Pacific and Atlantic] theatres was primarily driven by the ambition of Naval Service Headquarters in Ottawa to build up a "balanced fleet" or "blue water navy" that would be the foundation of a post-war service so strong that never again would it face possible dissolution as it had in the 1920s.<sup>87</sup>

In spite of the ambitions by the Naval Service Headquarters, the GOC directive at the end of the Second World War drastically reduced the naval service by downsizing its number of ships and crew.<sup>88</sup> This demobilization implied that the naval service was not successful in portraying its utility as not only as a combat option but as a diplomatic option for the GOC. Although, Canadian politicians were "sceptical of the need for a blue-water navy" there was soon after an agreement of a joint requirement with the US to

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<sup>87</sup> Donald Graves, "“Stepping Forward and Upward”: The Royal Canadian Navy and Overseas Operations, 1939-45" in *The Naval Service of Canada 1910-2010: The Centennial Story*, ed. Richard H. Gimblett, 59-83 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009), 60.

<sup>88</sup> Isabel Campbell, "A Brave New World, 1945-1960" in *The Naval Service of Canada 1910-2010: The Centennial Story*, ed. Richard H. Gimblett, 123-137 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009), 124. Note: The navy was reduced to 5 naval warships after the GOC declared the downsizing of the naval service at the end of the Second World War.

protect North America based on the threat of the Soviet Union.<sup>89</sup> Indeed this bilateral relationship demonstrated the utility of the naval service as a diplomatic instrument in world politics. In fact, this relationship between the US and Canada to defend North America marked one of the three post-war tasks.

What is more, several other multilateral organizations would also emerge involving Canada, such as the UN, that would yield yet another post-war task and demonstrate a requirement for Canada to have a defence strategy. At the end of the war, the three post-war tasks that were formed would remain the guiding principles of Canada's defence white papers. The post-war tasks, or defence priorities, were: "the protection of sea lines of communication; 'hemispheric' or continental defence with the Americans; and support for international security through the United Nations."<sup>90</sup> As a result, the Canadian Navy would be a key component of Canada's military and diplomatic options in world affairs in the years to follow the end of the Second World War.

Soon after the creation of the UN, after the end of the Second World War, NATO was formed on 4 April 1949 and Canada would be compelled to commit military forces abroad based on the Soviet threat as part of its NATO security obligations. This marked an important milestone for western maritime states as a naval alliance consisting of multi-national navies was established to conduct expeditionary operations to counter the threat of Soviet aggression and communist ideology. In order to fulfill its international

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<sup>89</sup> Jan Drent, "A Good, Workable Little Fleet, Canadian Naval Policy, 1945-1950," in *A Nations Navy*, ed. Michael Hadley *et al*, 224.

<sup>90</sup> Isabel Campbell, *A Brave New World, 1945-1960...*, 124-125.

obligations, Canada committed naval forces to integrate with other naval powers such as the Americans and British to act as a deterrent in the North Atlantic.

As a result of Canada's involvement in international affairs after the end of the Second World War, Canada emerged as a middle-power in a new generation of world politics. This status would be affirmed when world peace was compromised when war suddenly broke out in the Pacific when Soviet backed Communist North Korea invaded US backed South Korea on 25 June 1950. Under a UN mandate, the GOC committed forces alongside the US and other countries to protect the UN recognized country of South Korea. This particular conflict would be the first Cold War test between the coalition of western forces, and Communist North Korea backed by both China and the Soviet Union.

### **The Korean War – Interoperability & Internationalism: the First Test**

The GOC's decision to join the UN-mandated and US-led intervention in Korea highlighted key aspects of Canada's middle-power status and foreign security policy. First, it demonstrated Canada's blue-water navy and diplomatic capability through the ability to deploy military assets that could be put in place very quickly to demonstrate the country's concern and commitment to a global crisis. In fact, the first service of Canada's military to respond to the crisis was the Canadian Navy – three destroyers were deployed to the region.<sup>91</sup> Secondly, it demonstrated that a decision not to join in the

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<sup>91</sup> Isabel Campbell, *A Brave New World, 1945-1960...*, 130.

conflict could possibly weaken Canada's diplomatic ability to pursue its own interests with the UN.<sup>92</sup>

In the context of demonstrating the utility of the Canadian Navy as a viable option for the GOC in world affairs crises, an examination of the naval service participation in the Korean War reveals the options a blue-water navy can provide. The Korean War demonstrated the effectiveness of the UN to pass a Resolution and have countries that included Canada come together to act in order to suppress the invasion of South Korea. Moreover, it proved the willingness of states to provide military and diplomatic support to protect a sovereign country's political liberties. In Canada's case and from a naval perspective, this conflict showcased the interoperability between the Canadian Navy and the USN. As Marc Milner explains, "... by the time of the Korean War, [Canada] was perhaps the only navy in the world capable of working effectively and easily alongside the USN."<sup>93</sup> By the end of the Korean War in 1953, Canada deployed a total of eight warships to the US-led coalition intervention force.<sup>94</sup> The Canadian Navy garnered the reputation as the "Train Busters" providing gunnery support from sea and disrupting the North Korean rail supply lines.<sup>95</sup> The Korean conflict made the Canadian public and politicians realize the importance and benefit of maintaining a blue-water navy that was

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<sup>92</sup> G.M. Dillon, "Canadian Naval Policy Since World War II: A Decision-Making Analysis," (Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1972), 35.

<sup>93</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy...*, 169.

<sup>94</sup> Isabel Campbell, *A Brave New World...*, 132.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

capable of rapidly integrating into a multinational force to suppress the rise of Communism and counter the Soviet bloc threat.

In the same context, the navy's role in the Korean War demonstrated Canada's ability to hold true to its foreign policy values and stand side by side its allies when confronting crises and/or conflict. In addressing political liberty, St. Laurent once said, "we are all conscious of the danger to our own political institutions when freedom is attacked in other parts of the world."<sup>96</sup> Promoting internationalism and political liberty around the world was one of the guiding principles in Canada's foreign policy at the time and was showcased in Canada's reaction to the Korean conflict. The proven ability of the Canadian Navy had been impressive; first, the ability to respond at short notice to another region in the world as part of an international effort; second, to contribute and stop a communist bloc aggressor (North Korea) from occupying a state (South Korea), and; third to enforce Canadian principles abroad when political liberties and human rights were threatened was a realization of the benefits of a blue-water navy.

Shortly after the commencement of the Korean War, which foreshadowed a potential full scale war with not only the Chinese and Koreans but also with the Soviet Union, the GOC soon realized the impacts that the imposed force reductions had on its naval service. Essentially, the navy was not capable of balancing the demands of domestic operations to protect Canadian and North American coastlines and international commitments such as NATO and UN missions.<sup>97</sup> As a result, the GOC designed an

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<sup>96</sup> Louis St. Laurent, *The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs...*, 21.



Accelerated Defence Program (ADP) to increase defence spending and procurement thereby approving a major procurement of warships that included fourteen *St. Laurent* class destroyers and fourteen minesweepers to augment and modernize the Canadian Navy.<sup>98</sup> As Milner suggests, “The decision to build the *St. Laurents*, ... , remains one of the most remarkable industrial and technological commitments Canada has ever made as a nation.”<sup>99</sup> This ship building project would provide the blue-water capability the GOC required in order to meet the domestic and foreign security objectives in the years to come. This programme commenced in the 1950s and continued throughout the 1960s and laid the basis and defined the role of the blue-water navy throughout the Cold War period – the primary mission being anti-submarine warfare (ASW) to counter the Soviet submarine threat.<sup>100</sup>

### **The *St. Laurents* – International Diplomacy & Canadian Warships**

In addressing internationalism and promoting political liberty around the world, Louis St. Laurent suggested, “No foreign policy is consistent nor coherent over a period of years unless it is based upon some conception of human values.”<sup>101</sup> This guiding principle was central in several foreign security policy decisions by Canadian

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<sup>97</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy...*, 201.

<sup>98</sup> Isabel Campbell, *A Brave New World...*, 133; Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy...*, 204.  
 Note: As a result of the ADP, The *St. Laurent* class shipbuilding procurement program was approved for 14 vessels of its class to be commissioned by 1955; however, due to changing design specifications as a result of the Cold War naval environment and Soviet submarine threat, in addition to Canada's war commitment during the Korean War, resulted in only seven of its class being completed by 1957. The remaining seven vessels were of a different class and design and would be called the *Restigouche*-class that incorporated technological advancements in naval warship design.

<sup>99</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy...*, 183.

<sup>100</sup> G.M. Dillon, *Canadian Naval Policy Since World War II...*, 20, 23.

<sup>101</sup> Louis St. Laurent, *The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs...*, 21.

governments on whether to deploy the CF abroad in order to promote the same political liberty and freedoms valued in Canada. It was fitting that the new *St. Laurent* Class ship building program in the 1950s and 1960s would be named after Canadian rivers during Louis St. Laurent's term as the 12<sup>th</sup> Canadian prime minister (1948-1957). St. Laurent not only laid the foundation of Canada's foreign affairs principles in his *Gray Lecture*, he also approved and expedited the laying of the keels of the *St. Laurent* classes of warships during his term in order to counter the rise of communism and threat of the Soviet Union Communist Bloc.

With the Soviet threat of war against political liberties and human rights, as was the case with the Korean conflict, it was evident that Canada would require a strengthened blue-water capability to contribute to the coalition strength of NATO. The Canadian naval design of its new ship building program resulted in substantial naval warfare innovations with the improved *St. Laurent* class warships. These surface ships were redesigned to be fitted with embarked maritime helicopters and a Variable Depth Sonar (VDS) used to detect and localize Soviet submarines.<sup>102</sup> After the Korean War, Canada would continue its naval procurement program to augment its navy as well as continue to commit naval forces to NATO through various training exercises in the North Atlantic.

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<sup>102</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy...*, 225.

## **The Suez Crisis – Canadian Impartiality & Middle-Power Status**

The October 1956 Suez Crisis highlighted Canadian independence and diplomacy. In the same fashion, it showcased Canada as a reputable and impartial middle-power with a voice at the international level. Eleven years after the Second World War, Canada was somewhat expected to side with the UK and join its coalition in the invasion of Egypt. However, Canada remained impartial during the crisis and chose not to join the coalition forces of UK, France and Israel against Egypt. The US would not be involved directly in the invasion, however, Washington agreed to supply Israel with arms while the Egyptians received arms from the Soviets.<sup>103</sup> This conflict had the potential to threaten stability in the Middle East and further evolve into a clash of the superpowers leading to potential nuclear war. In response, Prime Minister St. Laurent assigned Lester B. Pearson, the external affairs minister, to represent Canada and mediate the crisis at the UN after hostilities broke out. In order to return stability back in the region, Pearson proposed to the UNSC that a United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) be deployed to the region to act as a mediator between the two sides.<sup>104</sup> The UNSC agreed to the proposal and the first UNEF was deployed to the region to provide the required stability in the Middle East. The UN highlights Canada's diplomacy efforts during the Suez Canal Crisis as follows:

The deployment of the United Nations Emergency Force acted as a precedent for the way the international community would deal with conflict in the years to come ... The ground-breaking approach of the

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<sup>103</sup> Peter McCluskey, "History of Canadian Peacekeeping," in *CBS News*, 30 October, 2003, [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/cdnmilitary/peacekeeping.html>; Internet; accessed 15 December 2010.

<sup>104</sup> Peter McCluskey, *History of Canadian Peacekeeping*.

force also helped define Canada's international military role for the next five decades, as well as its strong peacekeeping tradition.<sup>105</sup>

In times of conflict, Canada had always been expected to follow the lead of the UK and the US. Yet, Canada demonstrated its independence and influential middle-power status internationally by mediating a peaceful solution to the Suez Crisis. More importantly, Canada's involvement marked the beginning of a new era in peacekeeping for the UN as a "formal institution of conflict resolution."<sup>106</sup> Furthermore, Canada's ability to transport a battalion of Canadian UN peacekeepers by sea to a region to act as a buffer and separate military powers in conflict while the politicians negotiated a peaceful resolution is another attribute of the Canadian Navy's capability and contribution towards the GOC's diplomatic efforts.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, it can be argued that Canada's impartiality, military capability to employ UN peacekeepers to the region and ability to negotiate a peaceful settlement assisted in preventing another war and cementing Canada's middle-power status.

Although there are critics who argue that UN missions are too costly and ineffective, the Suez Canal Crisis is a clear example that reveals the potential cost, both financially and in human life. This potential cost could have been devastating had the conflict not been mediated, in large part, by Canadian led peacekeeping efforts. As Peter McCluskey explains,

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<sup>105</sup> United Nations, "UN Peacekeeping: The First Mission – Suez Crisis, 1956," [Article on-line] available from <http://www.unac.org/peacekeeping/en/un-peacekeeping/fact-sheets/the-first-missionsuez-crisis-1956/>; Internet; accessed 15 December 2010.

<sup>106</sup> UN, *UN Peacekeeping: The First Mission – Suez Crisis, 1956*.

<sup>107</sup> Michael A. Hennessy, "Fleet Replacement and the Crisis of Identity", in *A Nation's Navy*, ed. Michael Hanley *et al*, 131-153 (Kingston: Queens-McGill University Press, 1996), 149.

Arguments exist for the end to UN peacekeeping operations: too costly, too ineffective, a hindrance to the development of a stable, lasting peace negotiated by politicians and diplomats. But in the near future it seems unlikely the UN will abandon what has become its most highly respected international symbol.<sup>108</sup>

This specific conflict in the Middle East, with Canada's involvement both politically and through its military as a peacekeeping force, created a reputable role for Canada in international politics and as a top contributor in UN peacekeeping missions for years to follow. For instance, Canadian warships were again sent to the region during the Arab-Israel Crisis in 1967. The Canadian warships sent there were a diplomatic instrument used to demonstrate a gesture of Canadian concern.

In spite of these benefits of the blue-water navy being used effectively as a diplomatic tool, the commitment to NATO was downplayed significantly during Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's term from 1968-1979/1980-1984. To that effect, Trudeau shifted priorities back to Canada after two decades of an internationalist approach to Canadian foreign policy.<sup>109</sup> In fact, Trudeau reversed Canadian defence priorities in the Defence Paper in 1971 as follows: 1) Sovereignty and surveillance of Canada; 2) Defence of North America; 3) NATO, and; 4) Support to the UN.<sup>110</sup> In this sense, Trudeau was very openly reluctant to commit Canada's military to NATO and to spend on the navy. Trudeau's logic was that it did not make sense to invest in the navy as nuclear war was inevitable and the navy could do nothing but provoke it. However, it took many years and pressures from both Europe and the US for Trudeau to understand the connection

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<sup>108</sup> Peter McCluskey, *History of Canadian Peacekeeping*.

<sup>109</sup> Marc Milner, *A Nation's Navy...*, 263.

<sup>110</sup> Department of National Defence, "Defence White Paper, 1971," (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 1971).

between conventional and nuclear deterrence. In the end, it was the economic pressure from Europe that finally compelled Trudeau to modernize the CF.<sup>111</sup> In this regard, the Canadian Navy's relevance as a conventional diplomatic tool was understood yet at the same time the naval service was in dire need of modernization and upgrading in order to continue to act as a relevant deterrent in the North Atlantic. The irony is that Trudeau introduced one of the greatest spending sprees in the military's history outside of wartime.<sup>112</sup>

### **Fall of the USSR & Rise of the US: the New Role**

The superpower arms race in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s resulted in a heightened Cold War and an increase in defence spending across NATO and the Warsaw Pact. For instance, Canada, as a NATO member and close ally with the US, was compelled to modernize its navy because of its commitments to the security of the North Atlantic. The government's reaction to pressures from its allies based on the Soviet and Communist threat resulted in its subsequent decision to modernize its fleet are strikingly familiar to that of the Korean War. In the same way, this meant that Canada's navy was to enter a second post-war modernization in order to continue to maintain its naval warfare specialty in ASW and modernize its destroyers to an area air-defence and command and control capability. This capability was required in order to continue to be a relevant presence to counter the increasing Soviet submarine threat.<sup>113</sup> The GOC

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<sup>111</sup> Marc Milner, *A Nation's Navy...*, 264, 271.

<sup>112</sup> David Pugliese, "Trudeau was Canada's Top Defence Spender: Study," in *CANWEST*, 3 December 2007. <http://www.nationalpost.com/news/story.html?id=141640>; Internet; accessed 20 February 2011.

approved the procurement of the Canadian Patrol Frigate and Tribal-Class Update and Modernization programs as part of its allied commitments to boost NATO's military strength and capability.<sup>114</sup>

It is important to recognize that the government shift in power from the Trudeau government to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government (1984-1993) affected a resurgence of the Canadian Navy's blue-water focus. The 1987 Defence White paper re-instituted the importance of collective security through internationalism, more specifically the focus on East-West Strategic relations through NATO and US in order to deter the Soviet Threat.<sup>115</sup> The arms race was a period of deterrence that continued throughout the 1980s until, in 1989, the Berlin Wall collapsed and the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan: these two events signalled the fall of the Soviet Union and therefore the end of the Cold War by 1991. NATO and its US led multinational force demonstrated its relevance as it won the Cold War without firing a shot at the Soviet Union. As Robert Jordan in *Alliance Strategy and Navies* explains, "In the history of war, NATO stands out as an Alliance that worked because there has been no war in Europe during its lifetime."<sup>116</sup> Meanwhile, the Canadian Navy had still acquired upgraded and modern warships in the Iroquois Class and Halifax Class ships which were specifically designed to counter the Soviet threat. However, the Canadian Navy had

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<sup>113</sup> Fred W. Crickard, "Strategy, the Fleet-in-Being, and the Strategic Culture of the Officer Corps," in *A Nation's Navy*, ed. Michael Hanley, *et al*, 57-68 (Kingston: Queens-McGill University Press, 1996), 66.

<sup>114</sup> Fred W. Crickard, *Strategy, the Fleet-in-Being...*, 66.

<sup>115</sup> Department of National Defence, "Challenge and Commitment: A Defence Policy for Canada," 1987 Defence White Paper," (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 1987).

<sup>116</sup> Robert S. Jordan, *Alliance Strategy and Navies*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 154

another specialty beyond ASW and this new niche was interoperability and integration experience with coalition naval forces. As Marc Milner explains,

. . . the whole pattern of events after 1989 meant that at the end of its first century of service the Canadian navy's principal operational task was support of Canadian foreign policy and the international community on a worldwide scale. It was a remarkable demonstration of the reach, professionalism, and capabilities of the little fleet that could.<sup>117</sup>

Canada, in keeping with the internationalist theme, Milner implies above, would commit its military, more specifically its blue-water navy, to voice its discern when Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990. The UNSC reacted and passed a series of Resolutions from August to November 1990. Then on 29 November 1990, UNSCR 678 gave Iraq an ultimatum: a final opportunity to withdraw from Kuwait or states would be authorized to use "all necessary means . . . to restore International peace and security in the area" by forcing Iraq out of Kuwait after the deadline.<sup>118</sup> Canada was one of the first states to condemn the attacks and as a result the Canadian Navy immediately deployed three ships to the region to join a coalition naval force led by the US.<sup>119</sup> Canada would still commit to its international obligations even though its navy was in a modernization period with the first of the twelve Halifax class ships still going through a trial acceptance period.

Canada's navy, compared to the army and air force commitments throughout the Gulf War, was the "largest operational force assigned by Canada" during the entire

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<sup>117</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy...*, 304.

<sup>118</sup> United Nations, "United Nations Security Resolutions 1990," [UNSCRs on-line]; available from <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1990/scres90.htm>; Internet; accessed 15 January 2011.

<sup>119</sup> Richard Gimblett, "The Naval Service of Canada, 1910-2010: The Centennial Story," (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009), 187.



conflict.<sup>120</sup> In fact, Canada would be the only non-US Commander to command a component of the US-led invasion. Canada would be Commander of Logistic Forces for the Central Arabian Gulf encompassing responsibility of eleven coalition states' naval forces. This assignment by US Command was purely based on reputation due to the Canadian Navy's past performance in NATO and interoperability with the USN.<sup>121</sup> This level of engagement speaks volumes of Canada's interoperability and experience with the US. Not only was the Canadian Navy quickly deployable but it also assumed a leadership role during the operation.

In the same fashion, the Gulf War also demonstrated the importance of a coalition of blue-water navies under a UNSCR umbrella to intervene when regional stability and political liberties are at stake. As Robert Jordan suggests, "The way in which the NATO navies moved to meet a severe threat to their interest in the Gulf would not have been possible without their prior experience of working together multilaterally."<sup>122</sup> In Canada's case, exercising together with NATO allies, namely the US, resulted in Canada assuming a larger leadership role among other coalition ships as the Canadian Navy was familiar with coalition doctrine and tactics.

Moreover, following the end of the Gulf War, the newly commissioned Halifax Class ships along with the Destroyer and Replenishment ships would continue to

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<sup>120</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy...*, 298.

<sup>121</sup> Richard Gimblett, "Multi-national Operations: The Canadian Navy in the Persian Gulf 1990-1991," in *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, 29. [Journal on-line]; available from <http://centreforforeignpolicystudies.dal.ca/cdq/Gimblett%20August%201992.PDF>; Internet; accessed 20 January 2011.

<sup>122</sup> Robert S. Jordan, *Alliance Strategy and Navies...*, 154.

participate in multinational naval forces. Correspondingly, these roles would change from the traditional ASW roles of the past and would instead be interdiction and presence roles or involve participation in international exercises. These interdiction roles, specifically, would be with other coalition naval forces in the Gulf to enforce the UN oil for food embargo on Iraq for the next decade until the US led invasion of Iraq in 2003 or in the Adriatic Sea with NATO during the Kosovo War in 1999.<sup>123</sup> Canada's participation in NATO on the East Coast and Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) on the West Coast were focussed primarily on interoperability and presence roles.<sup>124</sup> These roles were to show the Canadian flag and promote Canadian interests and values in addition to demonstrating the navy's ability to project power.<sup>125</sup>

### **9/11 – A New Threat**

With only one exception, not much has changed regarding Canada's obligation to UN missions since the Suez Crisis in 1956 and this has, in large measures, defined how the GOC committed naval forces in overseas missions. The only exception was Canada's involvement in the war in Afghanistan following the attacks on the US on September 11, 2001 (9/11). Even though the UNSC had not authorized an invasion into Afghanistan, Canada joined the US led Coalition and deployed five ships to the region to integrate in

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<sup>123</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy...*, 310-311.

<sup>124</sup> RIMPAC is Rim of Pacific exercise that involves Pacific region countries that is led by the US Navy as a means of interoperability exercises in the Pacific as a means of promoting stability in the region. Exercises were also meant as a show of force and coalition capability to deter threat of China of invading Taiwan and North Korea threat of invading South Korea.

<sup>125</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy...*, 312.

the US led naval force as part of OEF.<sup>126</sup> As President George Bush stated to the UNSC regarding the 9/11 attack:

Every civilized nation here today is resolved to keep the most basic commitment of civilization. We will defend ourselves and our future against terror and lawless violence. The United Nations was founded in this cause. In the Second World War, we learned there is no isolation from evil. We affirmed that some crimes are so terrible they offend humanity itself, and we resolved that the aggressions and ambitions of the wicked must be opposed early, decisively and collectively before they threaten us all. That evil has returned, and that cause is renewed.<sup>127</sup>

The decision by the GOC, without surprise, was to stand by its neighbour. Likewise, international law was also a factor in accordance with NATO Article 5, “an attack on one is an attack on all.” In this case, this would be the first time the NATO alliance would invoke this article.<sup>128</sup> Meanwhile, Canada’s naval service would again be the first service to mobilize and immediately deploy in order to be the first Canadian military asset to arrive in the theatre of operations.

Nevertheless, Canada’s participation in every US-led ‘Coalition of the Willing’ operations was not always a sure thing. This was demonstrated in Canada’s decision to remain impartial and not join the US-led invasion of Iraq as part of Operation Iraqi Freedom in 2003. This was a difficult decision to make by the GOC, considering the

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<sup>126</sup> Richard Gimblett, *The Naval Service of Canada...*, 199. Note: Five ships originally deployed as part of Operation *Apollo*, Canada’s initial response to US Operation Enduring Freedom consisted of: HMCS *Halifax*, *Vancouver* and *Charlottetown* (Halifax Class Patrol Frigates), HMCS *Iroquois* (Iroquois Class Destroyer) and HMCS *Preserver* (Replenishment tanker).

<sup>127</sup> CNN News, “U.S. President Bush’s Speech to United Nations,” in *CNN News On-Line*. [Speech on-line]; available from [http://articles.cnn.com/2001-11-10/us/ret.bush.un.transcript\\_1\\_murderer-indifference-and-equal-satisfaction-faiths-and-many-nations?\\_s=PM:US](http://articles.cnn.com/2001-11-10/us/ret.bush.un.transcript_1_murderer-indifference-and-equal-satisfaction-faiths-and-many-nations?_s=PM:US); Internet; accessed 20 January 2011.

<sup>128</sup> NATO, “NATO and the Scourge of Terrorism: What is article 5,” [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.nato.int/terrorism/five.htm>; Internet; accessed 12 January 2011.

country's close alliance with the US, but this invasion was not popular amongst the Canadian public, in part because it was not sanctioned by the UN.<sup>129</sup>

Although this decision was not looked upon favourably by the US, Canada did make other arrangements to appease its US ally. If anything, the Chretien government was mildly supportive of the US and would use its navy to show this support. For instance, Canada deployed its navy to relieve US naval forces in the Arabian Sea and took over the responsibility of coordinating a coalition force of 20 ships from a dozen countries.<sup>130</sup> Again, the naval leadership assignments are strikingly similar to the Canadian Navy assuming the leadership role during the 1990 Gulf War.

However, this Canadian led coalition force was only responsible for searching for Taliban and Al-Qaeda operatives onboard from fleeing in vessels in the Arabian Sea, as part of OEF.<sup>131</sup> Canada's navy, clearly demonstrated the diplomatic and operational benefit in its blue-water capability to relieve US naval assets to redeploy to the Northern and Central Gulf region in order to focus US efforts on the 2003 Gulf War.

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<sup>129</sup> Tim Harper, "Canadians back Chretien on war, poll finds: 71% approve of decision to stay out," in *Toronto Star*, 22 March 2003. Note: It was for this main reason – being an unsanctioned war – that then Prime Minister Jean Chretien used to substantiate his decision when addressing the House of Commons on 17 March 2003 on why Canada would not join the US led 'Coalition of the Willing'.

<sup>130</sup> Richard Gimblett, "Chronicling Canada's Navy [National Edition]" in *National Post*, 11 July 2005, A.13.  
<http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=866198161&sid=2&Fmt=3&clientId=1711&RQT=309&VName=PQD>; Internet; accessed 20 January 2011.

<sup>131</sup> Richard Gimblett, *Chronicling Canada's Navy...*, A.13. Note: Operation Enduring Freedom was not affiliated to Operation Iraqi Freedom (Iraq) and was centrally focused on supporting the Afghanistan conflict.

Throughout the decades, Canada's naval forces have consistently upheld their responsibilities at the international level in promoting international law, political liberty and human values through several UN and NATO missions since the Second World War. In these circumstances, Canada was not impartial in times of conflict; Canada either sided with the decisions of the UN/NATO or decided upon itself as it was the right decision considering its closest ally was attacked. Successive Canadian governments held the same common values in world affairs and sought to protect and nurture them through the UN and NATO umbrella. Regardless of the threat of nuclear warfare between the two Cold War superpowers, Canada's naval forces demonstrated a significant conventional role within UN/NATO operations during regional crises. As Isabel Campbell explains,

The brave new world of atomic weapons had not spelled the end to conventional maritime forces, as the Korean Crisis, the Suez Crisis and the ever increasing importance of United Nations peacekeeping actions demonstrated. The RCN [Royal Canadian Navy] had a relevant and even significant role to play because Canadian naval units deployed quickly and effectively when their government needed them.<sup>132</sup>

Canada held true to its guiding principles with respect to its foreign security policy decisions. When international law was broken and political liberties were thereby threatened, Canada, along with several other states took the appropriate and required action. All in all, the first service to consistently respond to the government's call was the navy. In this regard, the Canadian Navy advanced its internationalism scope and its relevancy as a blue-water navy.

Since the Afghanistan war in 2001, Canada demonstrated its blue-water navy credibility and capacity by consistently deploying its navy in cooperation with other

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<sup>132</sup> Isabel Campbell, *A Brave New World...*, 137.

Force Projection Navies. In this regard, Canada committed several warships to the Arabian Sea region in support of OEF and the Bush Administration's proclaimed US Global War on Terror. The naval role in the region would be part of a greater coalition effort to conduct maritime security operations meant to deter terrorist organizations from moving illicit cargo throughout the Gulf region. Even though the Canadian Navy's resources were significantly strained, international commitments to the South-West Asia region were still consistently met as part of the navy's new role in multinational efforts as part of Canada's foreign policy focus on internationalism. In the end, Canada continued to demonstrate its middle-power status through its naval expeditionary force in the Northern Arabian Sea in addition to its significant contribution of land and air force services in Afghanistan.

The future of Canada's role for its navy and how it applies to Canada's foreign policy remained where it always has and that was in the hands of NDHQ in Ottawa. Several months prior to the 9/11 terrorist attack on the US, Canada's maritime strategy, the *Leadmark* was generated by NDHQ but, as a result of these attacks, the world would now face a new yet uncertain security threat environment that required a re-examination of Canada's defence policies. In this case, the navy was required to alter course and therefore a new maritime strategy would be required to develop a new *Leadmark* as the navy headed into newly uncharted waters with an unknown threat.

### **CANADA'S NAVY TODAY POST 2005 – the New Maritime Strategy**

Since 9/11, the maritime security environment has changed and as a result this required the development of a new vision for Canadian defence. A new maritime strategy called *Securing Canada's Ocean Frontiers: Charting the Course from Leadmark*

was generated in May 2005.<sup>133</sup> This strategy was developed in order to “bridge the gap” and address the shortfalls in *Leadmark* given the new maritime threat that was emerging from the rise of failed and failing states.<sup>134</sup> The global confrontation of liberty, values and interests are as relevant today with the GOC’s employment of the Canadian Navy when confronting failing/failed states such as Somalia in 2008 or states that harbour terrorist cells or threaten world peace such as the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan in 2001.

Today, Canada’s Navy is much smaller comparable to its size at the end of the Second World War yet the defence priorities and tasks are much the same. There are thirty-three vessels divided between Canada’s only two naval bases in Halifax, Nova Scotia and Esquimalt, British Columbia. Nineteen vessels are on the east coast and the remaining fourteen are located on the west coast.<sup>135</sup> Aside from the smaller naval force, the expectations of the navy’s readiness to meet the regional and international tasks have not decreased.

It is recognizable that the Canadian Navy is strained in its ability to maintain maritime forces in a state of readiness. This theme is similar to what the Canadian Navy

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<sup>133</sup> Department of National Defence, *Securing Canada’s Ocean Frontiers: Charting the Course from Leadmark*, Directorate of Maritime Strategy, NDHQ/Chief of the Maritime Staff, (Ottawa: DND, 21 May 2005).

<sup>134</sup> Department of National Defence, *Securing Canada’s Ocean Frontiers...*, Foreword.

<sup>135</sup> Department of National Defence, “Canadian Navy: The Fleet,” [Article on-line]; available from [http://www.navy.forces.gc.ca/cms/1/1\\_eng.asp](http://www.navy.forces.gc.ca/cms/1/1_eng.asp); Internet; accessed 10 January 2011. Note: Maritime Forces Pacific (MARPAAC) consists of: 1 Destroyer, 5 Frigates, 1 Supply Ship, 1 Submarine, 6 Coastal Defence Ships; Maritime Forces Atlantic (MARLANT) consists of: 2 Destroyers, 7 Frigates, 1 Supply Ship, 3 Submarines, 6 Coastal Defence Ships. Not taken in account are 8 Orca Class ships stationed in MARPAAC that are designed primarily as training tenders and secondary as surveillance/coastal patrol vessels.

experienced: post-Second World War; leading up to the 1980s prior to the Arms Race that led to the fall of the USSR; and during the 1990s during the Force Reduction plan after the end of the Cold War. In these situations, the Canadian Navy experienced a lack of personnel, lack of funds and/or a requirement to modernize. These elements are the same to which Canada's navy faces today with the many tasks both at the regional and international level.

Yet, of the many tasks the Canadian Navy is mandated to fulfill, probably the most significant is dealing with transnational crime and the associated maritime threat. This threat in turn poses a most significant impact both nationally and internationally if left unchallenged. In this regard, Canada has a vested interest.

### **Transnational Crime: a Growing Threat to Global Security**

Transnational criminal activity is an emerging threat that has been steadily increasing over the past two decades. There are two elements that are the root causes of the steady rise in criminal activity: globalization and the fall of the Soviet Union.<sup>136</sup> Firstly, maritime trade is an intrinsic part of that global economic system based on the large amount of international trade by sea. Globalization and a reliance on maritime trade equate to money to be made and therefore criminal organizations are focussing their efforts on exploiting this global market in order to reap the financial gains. Secondly, the fall of the Soviet Union has resulted in a power vacuum and rise of failing and failed states that harbour criminal activity. As Susan Woodward explains, "The problem of

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<sup>136</sup> Misha Glenny, "The New Gangsterism," in *Times Magazine*, 7 May 2008, 1. [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1738098,00.html>; Internet; accessed 1 February 2011.



failed or failing states in our current international system is like the uninvited guest at a party. The overwhelming impulse is to ignore it, to treat it as insignificant to the real show, and to hope it will go away.”<sup>137</sup> Yet, left unaddressed, transnational criminal activity has the potential to result in significant extenuating circumstances that will likely lead to a negative impact on both the global economy and security.

Transnational criminal activity can refer to several methods of exploiting globalization; trafficking from one state to another state, women for prostitution, refugees, illegal migrant workers, drugs, weapons, blood diamonds, and other black market goods are only a few examples of organized maritime crime at the global level.<sup>138</sup> Shipping, in particular, is an attractive method of criminal activity because only a very small volume of containers shipped to North America are actually inspected.<sup>139</sup>

Shipping illicit cargo is one means of organized crime and as Martin Murphy also suggests, so is piracy.<sup>140</sup> The problem as Murphy explains,

More profitable piracy requires larger and more sophisticated organization. . . . It is true that financial gain has undoubtedly been the main motivator for all types of criminal, including pirates, but neither has it been far from the minds of maritime insurgents and terrorists.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Susan Woodward, in “Failed States: Warlordism and “Tribal” Warfare,” in *The Role of Naval Forces in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Operations...*, 99.

<sup>138</sup> Misha Glenny, *The New Gangsterism...*, 3.

<sup>139</sup> Peter Chalk, *The Maritime Dimension of International Security: Terrorism, Piracy, and Challenges for the United States...*, 36. Note: only about three percent of the containers handled at North American ports are physically inspected.

<sup>140</sup> Martin Murphy, “Small Boats, Weak States, Dirty Money,” (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 5.

<sup>141</sup> Martin Murphy, *Small Boats, Weak States, Dirty Money...*, 5.

It is important not to confuse piracy and terrorism here as their motives are quite different. Despite the fact that piracy is likely funding terrorism, pirates act out of greed, not out of idealism as terrorists do. Peter Chalk explains, “the presumed convergence between maritime terrorism and piracy remains highly questionable, however, to date, there has been no credible evidence to support speculation about this nexus.”<sup>142</sup>

Notwithstanding that there is no credible evidence, what must be explored is that organized crime, terrorism and piracy all have one thing in common: the desire for money in order to support their organizations and cause.

So what does transnational criminal activity and piracy mean to Canada and the navy? As a maritime nation and middle-power, Canada needs to develop a balance in meeting its domestic, continental and international obligations. First, from the domestic and sovereignty perspective, the navy must patrol Canada’s three coastlines such that it is not exploited by criminal activity. Secondly, the navy in working closely with the US in continental operations, in particular in the Caribbean and Arctic, can contribute towards stability in the region such that the waters are not exploited with illicit cargo entering US/Canada markets. Lastly, the navy, in working with other maritime states, can contribute towards global stability as part of a greater co-operative strategy to patrol strategic regions that are not able to be patrolled by failed/failing states. In this regard, the region of the world where the Canadian Navy is required to be is off the coast of the failed state of Somalia where acts of piracy has been flourishing since 9/11. Figure 2 below highlights the number of piracy incidents based on the International Maritime

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<sup>142</sup> Peter Chalk, *The Maritime Dimension of International Security: Terrorism, Piracy, and Challenges for the United States...*, 31.

Bureaus statistics in 2009 and 2010. The world map highlights the majority of these reported incidents were concentrated in the GOA and Indian Ocean regions.

**FIGURE 2 – International Maritime Bureau Reported Piracy Incidents**

**2009**                      **and**                      **2010**



Source: International Chamber of Commerce Crime Services, <http://www.icc-ccs.org/home/piracy-reporting-centre/imb-live-piracy-map-2010/piracy-map-2010>; Internet; accessed 5 February 2011.

Canada and its allies have largely focused on this new counter-piracy task based on this emerging maritime threat. This threat is “asymmetrical warfare” against criminal and terrorist organizations that, harboured in failed/failing states, are capable of acquiring weaponry and technology of states. What this means to states’ navies is deterring the use of the sea to transport illicit cargo and operatives by both criminal and terrorist organizations in addition to ensuring that there is no unlawful depredation of the sea by criminal activity – or commonly referred as piracy. In supporting its international commitments, more specifically UN and NATO demands, Canada has deployed several warships to the region since 2008 to provide protection of World Food Program vessels shipping aid supplies to Somalia and to conduct counter-piracy security operations with other states.

Canada's commitment towards OEF and Counter Piracy Operations through security and development aid over the last several years in Afghanistan and Somalia are examples of the heavy burden taken by Canada in NATO and the UN to promote internationalism, liberty and human values throughout the world.<sup>143</sup> As Lawrence Cannon, the Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs explained:

Canada is strongly committed to NATO and views the alliance as the primary forum for security consultation and cooperation between Europe and North America. NATO meetings constitute an opportunity to advance Canada's interests, principles and values.<sup>144</sup>

Although Canada's combat mission in Afghanistan ends in 2011, one can assume that Canada will still be somewhat involved with NATO and the UN in promoting internationalism through humanitarian, training and governance efforts in the regions. However, what is unclear is Canada's future naval role.

## **SUMMARY**

In examining the historical elements of Canada's blue-water navy, there is no doubt that over the past six decades that internationalism is used consistently as the central foundation of both Canada's defence/maritime strategies and foreign security policies. Yet, with the paradigm shift of Canadian governments in power over the decades since the Second World War, the underpinning foundation of Canada's foreign security policy – St. Laurent's guiding principles and Defence White Papers – have

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<sup>143</sup> David Pratt, "The 2007 Ross Memorial Lectures in Military and Strategic Studies: Is there a Grand Strategy in Canadian Foreign Policy?" in *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, Vol. 10, no. 2 (Winter 2008): 24; [journal on-line]; available from [www.jmss.org/jmss/index.php/jmss/article/download/93/103](http://www.jmss.org/jmss/index.php/jmss/article/download/93/103); Internet; accessed 27 October 2010.

<sup>144</sup> DFAIT, "Minister Cannon Builds on Relations with NATO Allies and Partners," [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.international.gc.ca/media/aff/news-communicues/2009/373.aspx?lang=eng>; Internet; accessed 27 October 2010.

remained relevant today. As demonstrated with several examples of naval expeditionary operations, the national governments, of whatever political stripe, held true to St. Laurent's core values when making foreign security policy decisions and deploying Canadian naval warships that impacted Canadian's values and interests. These same core values in Canada's future foreign security policy must remain valid if Canada is to continue to maintain its status as an influential middle-power among its UN, NATO, and US allies.

Although defence priorities and values had shifted somewhat through various governments in power, such as Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's years in power, not much has changed in the CF Defence strategy considering these same priorities were again articulated in the *Canada First Defence Strategy* in 2008: "1) Canada; 2) North America; and 3) Internationalism."<sup>145</sup> These three priorities once more outlined the requirement to maintain a blue-water capability by Canada's Maritime Command in order to meet their domestic and international obligations, such as the UN and/or NATO.

The post-Second World War years and post-Cold War years have demonstrated the Canadian Navy's utility, as an expeditionary navy, as a key instrument in foreign security policy. In many ways, internationalism continued to be strong and evident, over the course of the Cold War, through Canada's involvement in several multinational agencies such as NATO and the UN. On the whole, the Canadian Navy has responded to "wars, crises, insurgencies, terrorist threats, piracy and natural disasters around the

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<sup>145</sup> Department of National Defence. *Canada First Defence Strategy* (Ottawa: DND Canada, June 2008). [Document on-line]; available from [http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/pri/first-premier/June18\\_0910\\_CFDS\\_english\\_low-res.pdf](http://www.forces.gc.ca/site/pri/first-premier/June18_0910_CFDS_english_low-res.pdf); Internet; accessed 29 October 2010.

world.”<sup>146</sup> Furthermore, the examination of the Canadian Navy over the previous decades highlighted three main themes 1) diplomacy; 2) interoperability/leadership during operations; and 3) multilateralism.

In view of these three main themes and Canada’s naval commitments since the Second World War and this past decade, it is evident that Canada remained devoted to its international naval responsibilities and reputation as a rank 3 navy (table 1). However, Canada is pulling out its combat troops from Afghanistan and it has been a year since Canada has last contributed a naval warship to the Middle East region. From this context, it still begs the question: What is the future role for the CF internationally and with respect to the Canadian Navy what suitable international task is envisioned by the GOC in order to maintain a capable blue-water navy given the historical benefits examined? In answering such a question, the future benefits of deploying a blue-water navy to the GOA to counter piracy must be next examined. Until such a connection of the benefits of a blue-water navy is clear, international deployments by the Canadian Navy will seemingly be a lesser priority by the GOC.

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<sup>146</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada’s Navy...*, 341.

### CHAPTER III – THE RISE OF PIRACY: A WARNING FROM HISTORY

Piracy is one of the big challenges of our times both for the region and for the international community . . . We need to tackle both the root-causes and the symptoms of the problem in a comprehensive manner. We want to build a partnership with the countries in the region towards sustainable solutions based on local ownership with international support.

*European Union Foreign Policy Chief,  
Catherine Ashton*<sup>147</sup>

Not much has changed regarding the traditional challenges of piracy considering the environment in which we live. The world is made up of 70 percent of oceans and waterways. The existence of the sea, where there is an absence of control, facilitates the existence of transnational criminal activity. Indeed, piracy can be traced back for centuries to ancient times. States have been impacted by acts of piracy and the great naval powers that existed had an obligation to counter the rise of piracy at sea. Pirates attacked cargo ships, thereby terrorizing those who ventured on the high seas, and impacted negatively those states' economies.<sup>148</sup> The tactics, the means and justification for attacking and capturing merchant shipping are as relevant to today's Somali pirates in the GOA as they were by the buccaneers of centuries past.

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<sup>147</sup> Sofia Echo, "All at Sea against Piracy," Hiiran Online: News and information about Somalia, [journal on-line]; available from [http://www.hiiraan.com/news2/2010/may/all\\_at\\_sea\\_against\\_piracy.aspx](http://www.hiiraan.com/news2/2010/may/all_at_sea_against_piracy.aspx); Internet; accessed 17 December 2010.

<sup>148</sup> Peter Underwood, "Pirates, Vikings and Teutonic Knights," in *Pirates, Terrorists, and Warlords: The History, Influence, and Future of Armed Groups Around the World*, ed. by Jeffrey Norwitz, 17-27 (New York: Skyhorse publishing, 2009), 18. Note: "Piracy follows well-defined cycles. Initially small groups attack weak merchants. As small groups gain wealth and grow in size and power, they absorb or drive off other, smaller groups, a pattern readily recognizable in other organized criminal groups. When sufficient power is gained and pirates become a genuine threat to a state's stability, the sovereign will make a concerted effort to crush that threat. If the offensive is successful, piracy will return to a low level of annoyance. If not, pirates begin to be more than just criminal gangs."

At the onset of the new millennium, acts of piracy began to significantly increase off the coast of Somalia and in the GOA – a strategic international shipping route.<sup>149</sup> In 2008, the UNSC acted and approved Resolution 1816 which condemned all acts of piracy against vessels off the coast of Somalia and authorized a series of decisive measures to combat those crimes.<sup>150</sup> What makes the Somalia piracy threat stand out is the relative lack of regional capacity compared to the South East Asia piracy case with the straits of Malacca. Accordingly, piracy became the new post-9/11 threat at sea. This section will demonstrate that ‘there is nothing new under the sun’ regarding piracy and that Canada, as part of a greater coordinated coalition effort led by the US, must decisively manoeuvre its blue-water naval forces’ international commitments to counter piracy. Furthermore, Canada’s response to piracy would be in keeping with Canada’s blue-water traditions and policy desires on a number of fronts: leadership, internationalism, supporting US, and lastly St. Laurent’s principles of promoting political liberties and human values.

Some suggest that Canada should instead focus its efforts on operations such as illegal movement of people and illicit cargo, arctic sovereignty patrols, humanitarian operations, fisheries patrols and “balance of power” naval roles.<sup>151</sup> These types of

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<sup>149</sup> International Maritime Bureau, “Reports on Piracy and Armed Robbery,” [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.imo.org/OurWork/Security/PiracyArmedRobbery/Pages/PirateReports.aspx>; Internet; accessed 18 December 2010.

<sup>150</sup> United Nations, UNSCR 1816: *Security Council Condemns Acts of Piracy, Armed Robbery off Somalia’s Coast, Authorizes for Six Months ‘All Necessary Means’ to Repress such Acts*, 5902<sup>nd</sup> Security Council Meeting 2008, [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008/sc9344.doc.htm>; Internet; accessed 18 December 2010.

<sup>151</sup> James Boutillier, “The Problematic World of the Navy’s Second Century” in *The Naval Service of Canada 1910-2010: The Centennial Story*, ed. Richard H. Gimblett, 207-219 (Toronto: Dundurn Press 2009), 217-219.



operations would be in line with *Canada First Defence Strategy* priorities.<sup>152</sup> However, if piracy in a region is left unchallenged by the international navy and we fail “to shape the future, we will be the beneficiaries of a future designed by others,”<sup>153</sup> as seen centuries ago with the failure to take effective action. Coalition warships will only serve to provide co-operative security and police the region, but will not fix the root of the problem. Somalia’s status as a failed state, widespread poverty, warlords struggling for power in the region and lack of effective authority are the root causes of piracy in the region.<sup>154</sup> Only a Whole of Government approach and a joint military service (navy, land and air) are needed to truly rectify the issue of piracy in the region. Piracy is land based and is only an extension at sea. Without action in Somalia, warships will only act as a deterrent at sea in its efforts to protect shipping around a failed state simply trying to survive while faced under poverty like conditions.<sup>155</sup> So what does this mean to Canada?

Prior to answering this question and analyzing Canada’s naval commitment to counter piracy operations off the coast of Somalia, this chapter will first examine the origins of the rise of piracy. This section will describe how piracy first challenged the global system and what similarities can be drawn to that of the rise of contemporary piracy in Somalia and the GOA. Next, a comparison will be made to that of contemporary piracy and the challenges in the GOA region in order to emphasize

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<sup>152</sup> Department of National Defence, *Canada First Defence Strategy*.

<sup>153</sup> Jeffrey Norwitz, *Pirates, Terrorists, and Warlords: The History, Influence, and Future of Armed Groups Around the World...*, 9.

<sup>154</sup> Martin Murphy, “Piracy and the Exploitation of Sanctuary,” in *Pirates, Terrorists, and Warlords: The History, Influence and Future of Armed Groups Around the World*, ed. Jeffrey Norwitz, 166-176 (USA: Skyhorse publishing, 2009), 173.

<sup>155</sup> Martin Murphy, *Piracy and the Exploitation of Sanctuary...*, 166.

counter-piracy as an example of the need for Canadian ‘blue-waterism’ and how combating piracy is in keeping with the earlier long standing foreign policy themes.

### **THE RISE OF PIRACY – Ancient Rome and the Barbary Wars**

In the historical context, pirates were a group of organized criminals that would prey on vessels with one objective in mind – money. Pirates of ancient times rarely challenged a state’s navy, yet when acts of piracy increased without adequate intervention, pirates began to organize and develop into powerful naval organizations capable of coordinated action that severely impacted the global power of their time.<sup>156</sup> Similarities can be drawn to the US-led efforts to challenge the rise of piracy emanating from the failed state of Somalia to that of the efforts of ancient Rome and the combined efforts of the British, Europeans, and Americans to end the Barbary States’ acts of piracy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

When acts of piracy, whereas the vessel and crew are held for ransom, are not stopped and permitted to rise without being significantly challenged, the result is global instability. For instance, in 67 BC, as a result of the rise of piracy that threatened the Roman Empire, King Pompey augmented his military resources and focussed his military effort in the threatened region in order to counter the pirates. Pompey defeated the pirates and regained sea control, thereby ensuring that shipping in the region would be safe from piracy.<sup>157</sup> However, piracy began to flourish again in the 13<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>156</sup> Peter Underwood, *Pirates, Vikings and Teutonic Knights...*, 19.

<sup>157</sup> The Illustrated History of the Roman Empire, *Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106-48 BC): Pompey The Great*, [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.roman-empire.net/republic/pompey-index.html>; Internet; accessed 18 December 2010.

period off the coast of North Africa, when pirates became increasingly “powerful actors, consistently with the support of existing states.”<sup>158</sup> This rise in power and status resulted in the formation of regional powers off the North Coast of Africa called the Barbary States. The Barbary pirates continued to plunder shipping for centuries and grew so powerful that they began to impact global stability. As a result, the British Empire, European powers and the Americans conducted several counter-piracy operations to stop the Barbary pirates rise in power leading up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>159</sup>

The similarities with Pompey’s efforts in 67 BC to that of the European naval efforts during the Barbary Wars to counter the piracy threat are no different. Countries were drawn into the Barbary Wars as their national interests were threatened: their vessels and citizens were attacked and held for ransom.<sup>160</sup> As Charles Koburger stated, “The civilized nations of the world succeeded in putting piracy down during the mid-1800s. It was getting in the way of their burgeoning trade.”<sup>161</sup> History has thereby repeated itself. The rise of piracy and inaction during the Roman Empire and Barbary era demonstrates a common theme throughout history: when piracy is left unchallenged without an overwhelming concentrated naval effort to stop the acts of piracy it affects regional stability.

Considering the number of failing and/or failed states in Africa, and the rise of piracy in the region, the similarities to the Roman and Barbary Wars cases to that of

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<sup>158</sup> Peter Underwood, *Pirates, Vikings and Teutonic Knights...*, 19.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 20

<sup>160</sup> Gregory Fremont-Barnes, *The Wars of the Barbary Pirates: To the Shores of Tripoli. The Rise of the US Navy and Marines*, (New York: Osprey publishing, 2006), 6.

<sup>161</sup> Charles Koburger, *Sea Power in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century...*, 20.

today's Somalia are quite daunting. As Charles Koburger explains, "The ability and readiness of the Third World ... particularly those along the narrow seas, to challenge established rules of international conduct is nothing new. Think of the Barbary States!"<sup>162</sup> As examined, when piracy is left unchallenged it can result in regional instability. This was the case of the Barbary pirates who gradually became a regional power with government authority when dealing with other states.<sup>163</sup> Not much has changed regarding piracy from a historical context compared to that of contemporary piracy of today.

### **MODERN DAY PIRACY – Nothing New Under the Sun**

Since the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, NATO no longer had a conventional maritime threat. As a result, NATO and member governments have taken a step back to examine the specific roles which delineate its navies' functions. Subsequently, maritime policy has placed emphasis on both sovereignty and contribution to international peace and security operations under UNSCRs and/or NATO naval commitments. However, since 9/11 a new maritime threat began to re-surface in regions around the world. Shipping regions that lacked sea control, such as the GOA, began to realize a significant rise of piracy.<sup>164</sup> Although there are various definitions of piracy by organizations such as the UN and the International Maritime Bureau, its definition today

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<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>163</sup> Peter Underwood, *Pirates, Vikings and Teutonic Knights...*, 20.

<sup>164</sup> International Maritime Bureau, *Reports on Piracy and Armed Robbery*.

is similar to states and seafarers' understanding centuries ago. As Martin Murphy explains, "Piracy is, very simply, unlawful depredation at sea."<sup>165</sup>

The reaction to confront the rise of piracy by a superpower, the US, and other middle-power countries is no different than what was seen in the past. As history has proven, piracy will only flourish if there is a lack of consequences because of the financial gains. The inaction by international navies to confront piracy would likely result in piracy spreading globally, involving terrorist cells, and therefore becoming a larger problem. In other words, copy-cat groups with an emphasis on the developing world. Therefore, an increase in piracy would have a significant impact on the global market considering 90 percent of trade travels by sea.<sup>166</sup> In order to confront this evolving threat, US maritime strategic policy was developed to ensure maintaining a peaceful global system was the new priority.

The security, prosperity, and vital interests of the United States are increasingly coupled to those of other nations. Our Nation's interests are best served by fostering a peaceful global system comprised of

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<sup>165</sup> Martin Murphy, *Contemporary Piracy and Maritime Terrorism: The Threat to International Security*, (London: Routledge publishing 2007), 11. Note: IMB defines piracy as: "an act of boarding or attempting to board any ship with the intent to commit theft or any other crime and with the intent or capability to use force in the furtherance of that act." Whereas the UN under Article 101 defines piracy as: a) any legal acts of violence or detention, or any act of depredation, committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private ship or a private aircraft, and directed: i) on the high seas, against another ship or aircraft, or against persons or property on board such ship or aircraft; ii) against a ship, aircraft, persons or property in a place outside the jurisdiction of any State; b) any act of voluntary participation in the operation of a ship or of an aircraft with knowledge of facts making it a pirate ship or aircraft.

The difference with the UN definition of 1982 is that it includes the high seas as being beyond a country's territorial waters (TTW) - 12 nautical mile limit. This legality, therefore, permits pirates to evade capture by entering TTW as foreign navies are not permitted to enter another country's sovereign waters – even if that country is not capable of policing its own sovereign waters. However, as previously defined earlier in the paper, piracy of the past and of today are consistent in that both involve 'money and are an unlawful act.'

<sup>166</sup> Ndumbe J. Anyu and Samuel Moki, "Africa: The Piracy Hot Spot and Its Implications for Global Security," in *Mediterranean Quarterly* 20, (Summer 2009): 116; Nick Blenkey, "Maritime Security: Rampant Piracy takes Shipping Hostage," in *MarineLog Magazine* 113, No. 11 (November 2008): 68.

interdependent networks of trade, finance, information, law, people and governance.<sup>167</sup>

As explained in chapter one, this maritime cooperative strategy, “Global Maritime Partnerships”, describes how US sea power must work in concert with other like-minded states in order to protect and sustain the global system.<sup>168</sup> So in this case, the rise in piracy in the GOA has threatened global stability and therefore the UN called upon states led by the US to act.<sup>169</sup>

Somalia is a failed state unable to police its own sovereign waters and therefore is a breeding ground for pirate activity. Piracy flourishes as an alternative means by locals faced with poverty conditions.<sup>170</sup> As Martin Murphy explains, “Piracy is a low-risk criminal activity that pays well. It occurs for one over-riding reason: opportunity. Poverty is often cited as the main motivator.”<sup>171</sup> In the case of Somalia, the opportunity is its geographic location to a strategic shipping route and its motivator is its failed state status. As John Burnett, a victim of piracy and author of *Dangerous Waters*, explained, “In many parts of the world it has become evident to hungry locals that attacking a ship is

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<sup>167</sup> United States of America, Department of Defence, “A Cooperative Strategy for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Sea Power,” (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, October 2007): 1. [Document on-line]; available from [www.navy.mil/maritime/Maritimestrategy.pdf](http://www.navy.mil/maritime/Maritimestrategy.pdf); Internet; accessed 17 December 2010.

<sup>168</sup> United States, *A Cooperative Strategy...*, 8.

<sup>169</sup> Rob McLaughlin, *United Nations Naval Peace Operations in the Territorial Sea* (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2009), 80. Note: ...the right of any warship to conduct a visit on the high seas in accordance with LOSC [Law of Sea Convention] Article 110 – where there are reasonable grounds for suspecting that the vessel is engaged in one of five prohibited acts – also implies a right to use force in what is clearly an international context . . . with respect to piracy, this arguably includes the use of lethal force – Article 105, for example, authorises the “seizure” of any pirate vessel or vessel controlled by pirates, and the assumption will generally be that any such seizure is likely to be resisted.

<sup>170</sup> James Kraska, “Freakonomics of Maritime Piracy,” in *Brown Journal of World Affairs* XVI, No. 2, (Spring Summer 2010): 112.

<sup>171</sup> Martin Murphy, *Contemporary Piracy and Maritime Terrorism...*, 12.

more lucrative than fishing or growing rice and robbing an undefended ship is a lot easier than robbing a bank.”<sup>172</sup> Although, in Somalia’s case it is more about the ransom than robbing, however in the same manner, opportunity and poverty clearly explain the existence of the rise of piracy by Somalia gangs that regard this as a lucrative business.<sup>173</sup> The unanswered question is who benefits from this illegal business other than the pirates?<sup>174</sup> There was usually someone in power that benefited from the spoils of piracy and for this reason also contributed to the rise in power of the pirates.

In the case of the Barbary pirates, the rise to power and subsequent multinational naval effort to stop the acts of piracy was not because of the impact to commerce but because of the ability of the pirates to become an organized crime group with political influence of the North African states. The rise of contemporary piracy in the failed state of Somalia and the financial gains are an attractive criminal activity that has the potential to be exploited by terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda. The ability to profit from the financial gains of acts of piracy is a key enabler for Al Qaeda that is inspired by its own political, religious and military motives to either overthrow or influence a government to obtain necessary political power. As Martin Murphy explains, “Power at sea is an adjunct to, or an extension of – but not a substitute for – power on land.”<sup>175</sup> Peter Chalk

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<sup>172</sup> John Burnett, *Dangerous Waters: Modern Piracy and Terror on the High Seas*, (New York: Penguin Group, 2003), 117-118.

<sup>173</sup> CNBC News, “Somali Pirate: I made 2.4 Million in 2010,” in *CNBC News*, 11 March 2011, [Article on-line]; available from [http://www.cnbc.com/id/42023601?\\_source=otbrn%7Coutbrainext%7C&par=otbrn&\\_source=otbrn%7Coutbrainext%7C&par=otbrn](http://www.cnbc.com/id/42023601?_source=otbrn%7Coutbrainext%7C&par=otbrn&_source=otbrn%7Coutbrainext%7C&par=otbrn); Internet; accessed 15 March 2011.

<sup>174</sup> John Kleinen and Manon Osseweijer, *Pirates, Ports and Coasts in Asia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, (Netherlands: International Institute for Asian Studies 2010), 5.

<sup>175</sup> Martin Murphy, *Small Boats, Weak States, Dirty Money...*, 2.

sees the main concern as, “extremist groups will seek to overcome existing operational constraints in sea-based capabilities by working in conjunction with or subcontracting out missions to maritime crime gang and syndicates.”<sup>176</sup> In this regard, pirate tactics at sea is an alternate and attractive means for Al Qaeda to enable their power and influence on land. Equally important, in order to fund pirate and Al Qaeda organizations both require financial support and from this perspective have common ground.

Contemporary pirate tactics are similar to those tactics used centuries ago. For instance, from a geographic perspective, piracy occurred along coasts and narrow seas in close proximity to shipping lanes. Pirates are land based and generally thrive within regions that have dense traffic areas.<sup>177</sup> This permits more targets of opportunity – as was the case in the past. Pirates are generally well armed and use several small fast boats to overwhelm the vessel prior to boarding:

Somali Pirates are not ragtag bands of thugs. According to reports, they dress in military fatigues and use speedboats fitted with satellite phones and global position system technology. With an arsenal of automatic weapons, anti-tank rocket launchers and a variety of grenades at their disposal, commercial ships are easy targets.<sup>178</sup>

When the ship has been boarded, the vessel and crew are held for ransom and then proceeds towards territorial waters as foreign navies are not permitted to enter another

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<sup>176</sup> Peter Chalk, *The Maritime Dimension of International Security: Terrorism, Piracy, and Challenges for the United States...*, 31.

<sup>177</sup> Martin Murphy, *Contemporary Piracy and Maritime Terrorism...*, 14.

<sup>178</sup> Jason Kirby, “Piracy: Terror and Plunder on the Seas,” in *Maclean’s Magazine*, 5 November 2007, 37.



country's sovereign waters.<sup>179</sup> Table 3, outlines the financial gains in 2009 and Table 4 outlines the campaign results since the UNSCR came into effect in August 2008.

**Table 3 – Summary of 2009 data: growing piracy problem in the Indian Ocean**

EVENT	STATS
Number of global piracy attacks in 2009	406
Average ransom paid	Between \$2-3 million (US)
Average cost to a hijack (to shippers)	\$1 million (US)
Value of Hijackings to Somalia economy	\$90 million (US)
Number of states contributing to naval anti-piracy forces	20
Average number of warships patrolling daily	17
Drop in attacks since patrolling began	50 percent
Number of cargo ships that transit yearly	30,000 (approx. 80 daily)

Source: Ken Hansen, "Canadian Naval Review Forum."<sup>180</sup>

**Table 4 – Combined Task Force Campaign Results: 22 August 08 – 24 October 2010**

EVENT	STATS
Vessels transiting the Gulf of Aden each Year	23,000
Average of Coalition and Non-Coalition ships on patrol daily	25
Number of Pirates Encountered	1301
Number of vessels with crew held for ransom	19 vessels / 384 crew
Number of Acts of Piracy disrupted	789
Number of Pirates apprehended	509
Number of Trials completed – incarcerated	87
Number of Trials completed – released	26
Number of Trials in progress	113
Number of Trials pending	86
Disposition unknown	197
Pirate vessels destroyed	86
Pirate vessels confiscated	20
Weapons confiscated	237 arms, 58 RPGs, 119 RPG projectiles
Other equipment confiscated	80 boarding equipment; 34 GPS; 67 cell phones

Source: Combined Maritime Forces, "Unclassified Campaign Results," 24 October 2010.

<sup>179</sup> United Nations, "United Nations Conventions Law of the Sea: Part II – Territorial Sea and Contiguous Zone," [UNCLOS on-line]; available from [http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention\\_agreements/texts/unclos/part2.htm](http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/part2.htm); Internet; accessed 25 January 2011. Note: UNSCR 1816 authorized member states to operate within the failed state of Somalia's territorial waters in order to counter the pirates' tactics and suppress the acts of piracy in the region.

<sup>180</sup> Ken Hansen, "Canadian Naval Review Forum," [Article on-line]; available from <http://naval.review.cfps.dal.ca/forum/view.php?topic=52>; Internet; accessed 16 December 2010; Defence IQ Press, "Cost of Piracy Escalating Despite Navy Surveillance Efforts," [journal on-line]; available from [http://www.defenceiq.com/article.cfm?externalID=1995&mac=DFIQ\\_OI\\_Featured\\_2010&utm\\_source=defenceiq.com&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=DefOptIn&utm\\_content=3/3/10](http://www.defenceiq.com/article.cfm?externalID=1995&mac=DFIQ_OI_Featured_2010&utm_source=defenceiq.com&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=DefOptIn&utm_content=3/3/10); Internet accessed 16 December 2010;

Despite the number of global piracy attacks, the above tables demonstrate an unchanging need to ensure that counter-piracy operations are governed by a clearly articulated aim under a UN resolution that calls upon all states to act. Just as in earlier times when the British and US efforts to counter piracy during the Barbary Wars of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, once a strategic aim is selected, it must be maintained in order to effectively suppress piracy. Michael Pearson explains that the re-emergence of piracy concerns today is no different to that of the past with particular reference to the Asian region (that also encompasses the Indian Ocean as part of South West Asia):

Much contemporary discussion of piracy focuses on the threat of today. However, an historical perspective may show that nothing is really new, and that modern concerns can be found far back in history. Perspectives from the past may even illuminate modern problems, dangers and even solutions.<sup>181</sup>

The US led coalition naval presence off the coast of Somalia operating under a UNSCR is an example of current strategic efforts to suppress piracy in one region around the globe. As a result, Europe, Russia and even China are taking a bigger naval role in the GOA and Indian Ocean region as well.

As has been examined, there is ‘nothing new under the sun’ in how maritime states challenged piracy today compared to how states augmented their naval forces in the past. An overwhelming concentrated counter-piracy effort has wielded successful results in suppressing piracy as demonstrated throughout history and during modern times off the coast of Somalia. This effort was a result of having a blue-water capability

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<sup>181</sup> Michael Pearson, “Piracy in Asian Waters: Problems of Definition” in *Pirates, Ports and Coasts in Asia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. John Kleinen and Manon Osseweijer, (Netherlands: International Institute for Asian Studies 2010), 15.

to counter this threat from beyond a state's shores. Next, we will explain why Canada must decisively manoeuvre its blue-water naval forces in order to continue to be part of this US led naval effort in the GOA that is under the umbrella of the UN.

### **INTERNATIONAL COUNTER-PIRACY EFFORTS – Canada's Obligation**

Canada is a maritime nation that relies on trade not only with other industrialized maritime states but also especially with its main economic partner the US. Therefore, if the US economy is threatened by piracy attacks on shipping then one can only assume that this would have an indirect impact on Canada. As Charles Koburger stated, "Maritime power . . . is the ability to use the sea, in peace and war, commercially as well as militarily . . . Navies are the cutting edge of this power."<sup>182</sup> Accordingly, Susan Woodward suggests, "the phenomenon of failed states challenges the key operating assumptions of the current international order."<sup>183</sup> In this regard, the US being the *Pax Americana* of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century is somewhat obligated to use its naval power and influence to stop acts of piracy impacting shipping that affects US and Western interests. However, as alluded to in the first chapter, the US will not be successful unless there is a coordinated and coherent international effort of naval and air assets to suppress piracy.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Charles Koburger, *Sea Power in the Twenty-First Century*..., 20.

<sup>183</sup> Susan L. Woodward, "Failed States: Warlordism and "Tribal" Warfare," in *The Role of Naval Forces in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Operations*, ed. Richard H. Shultz and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff Jr, 99-111 (Washington: Brassey's Publishing, 2000), 99.

<sup>184</sup> United States, National Security Council, "Countering Piracy off the Horn of Africa: Partnership & Action Plan," National Strategy Report for Maritime Security (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, December 2008), 4.; Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "Pax," [Dictionary online]; available from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pax>; Internet; accessed 22 December 2010. Note: *Pax* is Latin word for peace and is defined as: PEACE; *especially capitalized* : a period of general stability in international affairs under the influence of dominant military power —usually used in combination with a Latinized name <*Pax Americana*> . Therefore in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, post-Cold War, the peace that is supposed to be established in the world is by the dominant military power of the US.

Therefore, middle-power maritime countries, namely Canada, are expected to be a continuous part of that international effort.

In 2008, UNSCR 1816 was put into effect and several countries, including Canada, committed naval vessels to the GOA region to conduct counter-piracy operations and achieved significant effects (tables 3 and 4).<sup>185</sup> What is alarming is that an attack on a large vessel at the wrong place could result in the closing down of a strategic international strait, such as the Strait of Bab el Mandeb.<sup>186</sup> This event would have an enormous impact on the global system. This particular strait links the GOA to the Red Sea and is a vital shipping route that connects Middle East Oil via the Suez Canal to Europe and North America. Approximately 40 percent of the world's oil shipments transit through the straits of Bab el Mandeb every year en-route to the Suez Canal. Therefore, any type of regional instability in the vicinity of the straits of Bab el Mandeb shipping route would directly impact the number of shipments required to maintain the same amount of oil output to the European and North American markets.<sup>187</sup> So in this

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<sup>185</sup> NATO, "Standing NATO Maritime Group 1 (SNMG 1) Press Releases 2010," [Article on-line]; available from [http://www.manw.nato.int/page\\_press\\_release.aspx](http://www.manw.nato.int/page_press_release.aspx); Internet; accessed 18 December 2010; Dept. of National Defence, "Operation Sextant," [Article on-line]; available from <http://www.comfec-cefcom.forces.gc.ca/pa-ap/ops/sextant/index-eng.asp>; Internet; accessed 18 December 2010. Note: Canada has deployed 4 ships to the Gulf of Aden region since 2008. HMCS *Charlottetown* (2007/2008), HMCS *Ville De Quebec* (2008), HMCS *Winnipeg* (2009) and HMCS *Fredericton* (2009/2010). Note: HMCS *Fredericton* returned from her deployment in May 2010 and there is not a Canadian ship officially designated yet to deploy again to SNMG 1 or the Gulf of Aden region to continue to conduct counter-piracy operations in accordance with the UNSCR.

<sup>186</sup> John Burnett, *Dangerous Waters: Modern Piracy and Terror on the High Seas*, (New York: Penguin Group, 2003), 11.

<sup>187</sup> Glenn Davis, Charles Dragonette, and Randy Young, "Dangers at Sea," *Foreign Affairs*. (September 2007) [journal on-line]; available from <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/62840/glenn-davis-charles-dragonette-and-randy-young/dangers-at-sea>; Internet; accessed 18 December 2010.

case, Canada has a vested interest and in order to project internationalism a blue-water navy is required to demonstrate Canada's concern and commitment.

The international maritime community led by the US has a stake to ensure shipping is not disrupted by acts of piracy. The ongoing rates of GOA pirate activity in the past decade directly impact industrialized trading states, especially the US and Canada, by virtue of its geography and reliance on seaborne trade.<sup>188</sup> Although acts of piracy are at record highs, those regions patrolled by naval warships have seen a significant drop in piracy attacks. For instance, in 2009, as a result of the UNSCR and the increased presence of international naval patrols, piracy attacks in the GOA where naval vessels patrolled dropped significantly by 50% (table 3). The CTF results during the period August 2008 - October 2010 (table 4) highlight the effects of the continued naval presence. As St. Laurent once said, “[Internationalism] is willingness to accept international responsibilities. . . . security for this country lies in the development of a firm structure of international organization.”<sup>189</sup> So in this case, Canada as a maritime state and middle-power has an obligation to continue to contribute naval forces towards global peace and stability through this coordinated coalition effort to stop piracy – this effort cannot be ignored.

The commitment by NATO countries to provide naval forces to conduct counter-piracy operations and contribute towards collective peace and security is a dynamic one. The apparent reduction in piracy threat levels to shipping routes that are actively

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<sup>188</sup> Peter Chalk, *The Maritime Dimension of International Security: Terrorism, Piracy, and Challenges for the United States...*, 36.

<sup>189</sup> Louis St. Laurent, *The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs...*, 23-25.

patrolled in the Indian Ocean (table 4) has provided a great incentive to maintain a continued presence. As Martin Murphy explains, “The failure to confront piracy effectively has its consequences. Like those of any crime, incidents of piracy are likely to increase and become more serious if they are not suppressed.”<sup>190</sup> Susan Woodward further suggests that, “The overwhelming impulse is to ignore it . . . The lack of agreement on policy, within both civilian and military leaderships, shows how far we have to go.”<sup>191</sup> Therefore, only through a concerted blue-water naval effort by not only NATO but other maritime countries such as China, India, and Russia, to name but a few, can there be a possibility to provide adequate co-operative security for maritime shipping and therefore suppress piracy in other regions threatened around the globe. As Russian Admiral Vladimir Vysotsky stated:

The Russian Navy supports the idea of conducting international anti-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden . . . Our view on the international fight against sea piracy is clear: we believe that these operations must be conducted under the aegis of the United Nations . . . Russia will conduct both separate missions and joint operations in cooperation with foreign navies in the Gulf of Aden.<sup>192</sup>

As explained in chapter one, US Admiral Mullen articulated this strategic concept as a ‘1,000-ship Navy’ to patrol the maritime environment in order to pursue common objectives and defeat illegal exploitation of the sea.<sup>193</sup> The challenge, as Charles

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<sup>190</sup> Martin Murphy, *Contemporary Piracy and Maritime Terrorism...*, 86.

<sup>191</sup> Susan L. Woodward, *Failed States: Warlordism and “Tribal” Warfare...*, 99.

<sup>192</sup> Ria Novosti, “Anti-Piracy Operations must be Led by UN – Russia’s Navy Chief,” *Global Security*, [journal on-line]; available from <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/news/2009/06/mil-090625-rianovosti03.htm>; Internet; accessed 16 December 2010.

<sup>193</sup> Robert W. Button *et al*, “Small Ships in Theatre Security Cooperation,” (USA: RAND Corporation, 2008), 2.

Koburger suggests, “For any new Pax to be accepted, it must bring law and order for all. Trade must thrive, not crime.”<sup>194</sup> However, what is required is a co-operative strategy among the navies patrolling the region by sharing information and positioning within the region accordingly in order to have the best economy of effort in effectively deterring the threat. The US, regardless of being a superpower, cannot do this alone. When referring to the Canada-US relationship, St. Laurent once said, “. . . peoples who live side by side on the same continent cannot disregard each other’s interests, and we have always been willing to consider the possibility of common action for constructive ends.”<sup>195</sup> In this regard, Canada is somewhat compelled to support the US in its endeavour as the world *Pax*. Canada, therefore, has an opportunity with a blue-water capable navy to support the USN in this capacity.

Some argue that a concentrated naval presence is not the solution to counter piracy. For instance, Peter Chalk, a political scientist, argues that “total security is neither tenable nor desirable” to suppress piracy and instead suggests that the US needs to resolve the growing threat through political influence and development aid of failed/failing states.<sup>196</sup> He is right – to a degree. The requirement exists for effective governance as well as US influence and development aid, especially considering the legal issues surrounding prosecuting and detaining pirates.<sup>197</sup> However, the problem as Martin Murphy explains, “As the ‘broken windows’ theory of policing suggests, serious crime

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<sup>194</sup> Charles Koburger, *Sea Power in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Projecting a Naval Revolution...*, 21.

<sup>195</sup> Louis St. Laurent, *The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs...*, 24.

<sup>196</sup> Peter Chalk, *The Maritime Dimension of International Security...*, 43.

<sup>197</sup> Phillippe Gohier, “Why are we Setting Pirates Free?” in *MacLean’s Magazine*, May 4, 2004,

can take root in areas where the small things go unpunished.”<sup>198</sup> Therefore, a continuous 24/7 patrol of several naval ships protecting shipping routes and World Food Program aid to Somalia is required in order to establish a presence and therefore deterrence. These types of security operations send a clear message to the pirates – piracy will not be tolerated.

What happens beyond our oceans impacts Canadians and cannot go ignored. In the case of Somalia, Canadian security officials have recently reported that there are several youths from the Greater Toronto Area that have been recruited by Al-Shabaab — an organization based out of Somalia with links to Al Qaeda.<sup>199</sup> The problem, as Canadian officials claim, is, “the group has been so successful at recruiting that it is now considered to be the number 1 threat to Canada’s national security . . . English-speaking extremists in Somalia are heard urging youths in the West to wage holy war, or jihad.”<sup>200</sup> Therefore, maritime states such as Canada are obligated to act and decisively manoeuvre their navies accordingly in order to suppress the rise of piracy that will only trigger a follow-on global economic and security crisis if left to its own demise. Moreover, the GOC and the CF leadership need to re-examine its current maritime strategy that outlines the country’s international obligation:

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<sup>198</sup> Martin Murphy, *Contemporary Piracy and Maritime Terrorism...*, 86.

<sup>199</sup> CBC News, “Somalia Group Recruiting Canadian Youth,” 26 January 2011, in *CBC News*, [Article on-line]; available from <http://news.ca.msn.com/top-stories/cbc-article.aspx?cp-documentid=27421516>; Internet; accessed 26 January 2011; CNBC News, “Somali Pirate: I made 2.4 Million in 2010,” in *CNBC News*, 11 March 2011, [Article on-line]; available from [http://www.cnbc.com/id/42023601?\\_source=otbrn%7Coutbrainext%7C&par=otbrn&\\_source=otbrn%7Coutbrainext%7C&par=otbrn](http://www.cnbc.com/id/42023601?_source=otbrn%7Coutbrainext%7C&par=otbrn&_source=otbrn%7Coutbrainext%7C&par=otbrn); Internet; accessed 15 March 2011.

<sup>200</sup> CBC News, *Somalia Group Recruiting Canadian Youth*.



Where international peace support and humanitarian operations are concerned, the rationale is not so much that of the 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.<sup>201</sup>

In this regard, Somalia is the international maritime hotspot and is where Canada's navy as a rank 3 medium global force projection navy ought to be.

## **SUMMARY**

As this chapter has examined, the challenges faced by the rise of piracy during ancient times are no different today. When acts of piracy threatened regional stability it was only suppressed by the concerted effort by states with naval power. Given the rise of piracy in Somalia, it is the duty of all capable maritime states to contribute to counter-piracy operations. What is at stake is that acts of piracy, if left unchallenged, will continue to increase because of the financial gains and likewise attract warlords or terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda. To that end, 'there is nothing new under the sun' and states of today must act like states had centuries ago in order to stop this rise. In order to effectively combat piracy, states including Canada need to work together as a coalition to ensure that the determined efforts of pirates do not disrupt the free flow of traffic by the sea routes. The coalition response to counter-piracy must be such that the pirates do not succeed in threatening global security considering 90 percent of world trade travels by sea. In this regard, a blue-water navy commitment clearly provides governments a viable option to contribute as part of an international concerted effort.

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<sup>201</sup> Department of National Defence, *Leadmark...*, 5.

## CONCLUSION

This paper demonstrated how the evolution of Canada's blue-water navy has endowed the GOC with a viable option to promote Canadian foreign policy desires on several fronts. In this new environment of globalization, the Canadian Navy is a useful diplomatic instrument when required to demonstrate leadership and promote St. Laurent's founding principles of internationalism, political liberty and Canadian values abroad. Since the inception of NATO, Canada's naval responses have showcased the benefits of a blue-water capable navy able to deploy in far off regions and to represent Canadian interests abroad. Measures undertaken by the GOC to deploy its blue-water navy abroad provided not only an option but also credibility not only with UN and NATO, but with the US.

As examined, there were several examples of crises and conflict that resulted in Canada committing its warships among a multinational force abroad to promote internationalism and to demonstrate Canada's concern: Korea (1950), Suez Canal (1956), Arab-Israel (1967), Gulf (1990), Kosovo (1998), and Afghanistan (2001) conflicts/wars. In all cases, regional, if not international, stability had been threatened: Communist North Korea invaded South Korea; UK, France and Israel Coalition attacked Egypt over the control of the Suez Canal; Iraq under the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein invaded the sovereign state of Kuwait; Yugoslavia forces attacked Kosovo, a province of Serbia, and conducted ethnic cleansing of Albanians; and the Al Qaeda, harboured under the Taliban rule in Afghanistan, claimed responsibility of the 9/11 attacks on the US.<sup>202</sup> On the

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<sup>202</sup> NATO, "NATO's relations with the UN," [Article on-line]; available from [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_50321.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50321.htm); Internet; accessed 27 October 10. Note: Not all

whole, the Canadian Navy has responded to “wars, crises, insurgencies, terrorist threats, piracy and natural disasters around the world.”<sup>203</sup> Furthermore, the examination of the Canadian Navy highlighted several themes through Canada’s naval commitments to UN/NATO and US-led operations.

The US, as the single superpower and the new *Pax*, has been given the ultimate responsibility to impose its foreign security agenda upon international events to ensure global stability. However, the US understands very well the globalized economy and that in order to gain acceptance of its foreign security policies, it must rely on multilateralism, that supports combined operation efforts. Therefore, if Canada wants to be part of the unfolding future of international politics, the GOC may want to consider drawing from its strengths and traditions of naval expeditionary operations in order to increase its interoperability with other naval forces from other states. Maintaining a balanced medium global projection navy will only ensure Canada is noticed on the world stage and preserve an already positive perception of Canada as an international player and therefore a voice in world politics. The GOC should learn from its own naval history and how its navy has in the past garnered a significant reputation internationally to be the first on the scene, to integrate with ease with other coalition forces but more importantly to be part of the international contribution towards global stability.

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Canadian international operations were examined in this section prior to 2005, but the Canadian Navy also participated in several other international operations that included: “humanitarian relief efforts in East Timor (Operation Toucan), escort missions for aid deliveries to Somalia (Operation Deliverance and Relief, 1992-1993), peace enforcement operations in Haiti (Operation Forward Action, 1993-1994), UN sanction enforcement on Iraq (Operation Tranquility, 1995; Operation Prevention, 1997; Operation Augmentation, 1998-2005; and Operation Determination, 2002) as well as UN sanction enforcement on Serbia (Operation Sharp Guard, 1993-1996).” Source: Canadian Encyclopedia, [Dictionary on-line]; available from <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0000307>; Internet; accessed 5 January 2011.

<sup>203</sup> Marc Milner, *Canada’s Navy...*, 341.

However, Canada may fall further behind in both its UN and NATO naval commitments in 2011 and beyond considering the economic challenges the country is currently facing. These challenges, in the midst of tough economic times, are financial costs associated with Canada's deployment in Afghanistan, costs to maintain domestic and continental operations, and financial commitments to procure high-tech modernized equipment for the CF. Moreover, there has not been a ship deployed in the Middle East region since HMCS *Fredericton*'s counter piracy mission ended in April 2010 off the coast of Somalia. So in this regard and in keeping with Canadian foreign security policy initiatives, NDHQ should consider the benefits of consistently deploying its navy as it balances fiscal management and allocation of resources agenda to meet government foreign policy initiatives.

At the moment, the future of Canadian deployments to the GOA/Indian Ocean is still uncertain. Commander Steve Waddell, the former Commanding Officer of HMCS *Fredericton*, indicated that the navy's efforts in the region are far from complete, "My view is that the work is not complete here ... There will be a requirement, in my opinion, to see further deployments here to sustain the effort, both in counter-piracy and in counter-terror."<sup>204</sup> As a result, discussions are likely ongoing between the navy and NDHQ about whether to deploy another ship to the region given the economic and new priorities being set by the GOC on its military forces. Given the significant changes the *Canada First Defence Strategy* has undergone, without the full benefit of a full

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<sup>204</sup> Allison Cross, "Canadian Warship Keeps Watch for Shipments of Drugs, Weapons in Arabian Sea," in CANWEST News Service, 16 March 2010, [Article on-line] available from <http://www.canada.com/news/Canadian+warship+keeps+watch+shipments+drugs+weapons+Arabian/2682050/story.html>; Internet; accessed 10 January 2011.

examination, it is high time that NDHQ fully examine the direction of the Canadian Navy's new focus of domestic and continental operations being a priority ahead of international commitments. These three elements are all extrinsically interwoven as we live in a globalized world and what impacts Canada extends far beyond its shorelines.

If a reliance on a Canada first domestic-like maritime strategy becomes the future model of Canadian naval operations, the GOC must realize the impact of this decision and reflect on its long standing foreign policy values. Maintaining a blue-water navy that is consistently deployed internationally is in keeping to several themes as highlighted in this paper: internationalism, leadership, St. Laurent's principles, fostering US relationships and building upon experience levels. In this regard, the GOC must strive to broaden its focus and stand shoulder to shoulder with both the UN/NATO and the US in their call for maritime states to join the cause to fight the unlawful depredation of the sea – to fight piracy. A consistent approach to maritime strategy should focus on maintaining a balanced medium global power projection navy while promoting long standing Canadian foreign policies as a middle-power.

In the year following the naval centennial, the Canadian Navy must now move forward with a modern balanced naval force structure that can continue to integrate with coalition navies and assume larger leadership roles in order to maintain its middle-power status. The GOC should not allow its navy to lose this perishable skill of interoperability and permit its once reputable naval force to digress because of maritime blindness that results in a non-forward looking approach towards maritime strategy of the future. What must happen is careful dialogue between politicians (strategic) and naval (operational)

leadership which may, in turn, offer some greater assurances that a balanced blue-water navy that is consistently engaged in world affairs is both politically and financially worthwhile in meeting Canadian foreign policy objectives. In making these recommendations, it is hoped that there is maritime awareness on the importance of balancing consistent international blue-water naval commitments with that of domestic/continental commitments. What must be avoided is a *Canada First* priority image that will only be regarded internationally as more selfish than selfless.

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